

*The Preaching of
the Third Crusade
(1187–1192)*

The Early University of Paris, Biblical Exegesis,
and the Coming Apocalypse

Alexander Marx

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Commentaria

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Coming Apocalypse*

By

Alexander Marx



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Preface

This book is the result of ten years of intense research. The entire project began in 2014 when my mentor Philippe Buc suggested to me a subject for a MA thesis: the exceptional text of Peter of Blois' *Passio Raginaldi*. When analysing this text, I started wondering what genre it might belong to, concluding that the most suitable label would be that of a sermon, precisely a sermon text meant for mobilizing participants in the Third Crusade. I continued with these efforts in my PhD thesis (2014–2019), which was devoted to the preaching of the Third Crusade in general, the basis for this book. I quickly discovered how much preaching material is still out there that has remained hitherto unexploited, and how much this material interacted with the crusade movement, shedding light on corresponding mobilization efforts and contemporary crusade spirituality. Every time I opened a sermon collection, I found material pertinent to the crusading purpose. This is especially true for unpublished material, notably from Parisian collections, including much further material that was not ultimately included in this study. I can therefore only highly recommend that other young scholars searching for an untrodden field in which to distinguish themselves take a look at the vast and rich sermon material of the central Middle Ages. Yet, I shall not conceal that it takes quite some effort and training to familiarize oneself with this material, including time-consuming work with manuscripts—but eventually, this endeavor bears copious fruits.

After having consulted numerous sermon collections and manuscripts, I ended up with this book, which examines nine preachers, considers around a hundred manuscripts, and relates 42 sermon texts specifically for the purpose of crusade mobilization. By the end of my PhD (2019), I realized that I had opened the door to such rich source material, that I decided it would be worth spending further time and effort on this subject. I thus devoted a first Postdoc project to an Iberian preacher involved in the Third Crusade, the Augustinian canon Martin of León. The results of this project have now also been fruitfully incorporated into this book; both in terms of specific results deriving from an analysis of Martin's enormous sermon opus, and in terms of using this case study to develop some essential methodological issues. This has been a worthwhile endeavor that very much informed the final form of my methodological tools. By the end of the same Postdoc project (2023), I once again came to the conclusion that one could well spend some more years on this subject, but I decided, after ten years of genesis, that it is finally time to publish this in a monographic form. I hope that this book can shed light on a whole range of new source material, which challenges the established image of this expedition,

notably as to how it was mobilized, but also occasionally as to the course and nature of the expedition itself. Lastly, I think that there is still much potential for bringing sermon material more into the mainstream of historical research (the bulk of scholars who deal with it are theologians or philologists). I am convinced that this material, which has survived in such vast quantities from the medieval period, can contribute much to the understanding of several historical phenomena.

I am grateful to many people for contributing to the genesis of this book, most notably to my PhD advisor Philippe Buc, who was such a devoted teacher and from whom I have learned so much. Without him, I would never have had the academic career that I now pursue. He was always ready to read and comment on my work, picking on me for all my crazy ideas; as he once put it, they are sometimes emanating in all directions like fireworks. Furthermore, I am grateful to David d'Avray who hosted me in London for a semester in 2016 (Institute of Historical Research, University of London) and from whom I have learned so much about sermons. Patiently, he sat down with me every week to discuss the progress of my work. The same goes for Nikolas Jaspert, who hosted me twice at the University of Heidelberg, once for a semester in 2016, during the PhD, and again for my Postdoc project on Martin of León (2021–2023). Examining an Iberian crusade preacher, my host was the perfect fit for this project, and also very helpful in finalizing this book. Similarly, Jessalynn Bird has been such a diligent reader and supporter of my work, always encouraging me that my ideas about the sermons and their entanglement with crusading were on the right track. Last but not least, I am grateful to Christoph Maier for being a critical antipode to my work; the discussions with him have also been very helpful in establishing the final version of this study. Moreover, there are many colleagues to whom I am grateful for discussions and for commenting on my work, whether in oral or in written form, especially Wolf Zöllner, Jonathan Phillips, Helen Birkett, Korbinian Grünwald, Alexander Pfeiffer, Patrick Marschner, and Gerd Micheluzzi. But there are many colleagues whom I must thank for valuable discussions and inspirations including (but not limited to) Matthew Phillips, Cecilia Gaposchkin, John Cotts, Simon John, Iris Shagrir, Sini Kangas, Georg Strack, Connor Wilson, Thomas William Smith, Suzanne Coley, Guy Lobrichon, Jay Rubenstein, James Henry Kane, Christoph Egger, Claudia Rapp, Christina Lutter, Walter Pohl, Lukas Husa, Nora Kuch, Kristina Hutter, Roman Kabelik, Reinhild Rössler, Valentin Portnykh, Pavel Soukup, and Jan Odstrčilík. Moreover, I am grateful to the two Vienna Doctoral Academies (Medieval Academy and Theory and Methodology in the Humanities); these allowed me to get in contact with numerous other PhD students from several disciplines, and this forum was a very useful resource for developing my research. Finally,

I am grateful to the ÖAW (Austrian Academy of Sciences), which funded me during my PhD via their DOC fellowship; and the same goes for the FWF (Austrian Science Fund), which funded my first Postdoc project via their Erwin Schrödinger fellowship. Without this generous funding, it would not have been possible to conduct this extensive research. Last but not least, I owe my thanks to Marcella Mulder, my responsible editor at Brill, the two anonymous reviewers, and the entire editorial board of *Commentaria* for supporting the publication of this book.

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Abbreviations

CCCM	Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis (Turnhout 1966–)
CSW	Bernard of Clairvaux, <i>Sämtliche Werke</i> , 10 vols, lateinisch-deutsch, ed. and tr. Gerhard B. Winkler (Innsbruck 1990–1999)
FC	Fontes Christiani (Freiburg 1990–)
MGH rer. Germ.	Monumenta Germaniae Historica, rerum Germanicarum in usus scholarum (1841–)
MGH SS	Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores (1826–)
PL	Patrologiae Cursus Completus, Series Latina, 221 vols, ed. Jacques Paul Migne (Paris 1844–1864)
RS	Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aevi Scriptores (Rolls Series), 253 vols (London 1858–1911)
RHC Occ.	Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Historiens Occidentaux, 5 vols (Paris 1841–1895)
BL	British Library, London, United Kingdom
BNF	Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, France
Bodl.	Bodleian Library, Oxford, United Kingdom
ÖNB	Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, Austria

Note on Quotation of Sources

1 Editions

Citing works from large series (such as PL or MGH), series and editor are not noted in the short reference; see the bibliography for the data—save for cases where this study cites more than one edition of the same text. All other editions are always cited with the editor. Sermons (*sermones*) and letters (*epistolae*) are cited in the footnotes as to the specific text (e.g., *Sermo 17* or *Ep.98*), while the bibliography provides an entry for the entire collection (e.g., Peter of Blois, *Sermones*). Manuscripts are also cited with short titles in the footnotes; see likewise the bibliography for full data. The Bible is quoted according to the *Nova Vulgata* of the Vatican; the study cites the four books of Kings (instead of two books Samuel, two Kings); counting the Psalms follows likewise the *Nova Vulgata* (with higher numbering, e.g., Ps. 79, not Ps. 78). This study refers multiple times to digital source databases; see the section ‘Biblical Elements in Sermon Texts’ in the chapter on methodology as well as the full data in the bibliography.

2 Quotations

Medieval texts are cited according to available editions (including the PL), while noteworthy variants of the manuscripts are provided within brackets:

- | | |
|-----------------|--|
| [Ms. X: >< ...] | Variant—the word before the brackets is deviating in this manuscript |
| [missing Ms. X] | Absence—the word before the brackets is missing in this manuscript |
| [Ms. X: + ...] | Addition—the manuscript holds here the following additional text |

This procedure notes pertinent variants; insignificant variants are omitted. If the deviation spans more than one word, all relevant words are enclosed in quotations marks (‘...’). Signatures of manuscripts are abbreviated as much as possible; full data is found in the bibliography.

All unpublished texts cited in the course of this study derive from my own work with the manuscripts and are thus my own transcriptions; two unpublished texts are provided in full as transcriptions in the chapter on ‘Exemplary Descriptions’. The guidelines that informed the transcription and handling of

unpublished texts can also be found there. Unless otherwise noted, translations of sources provided in this study are my own (though I am indebted to existing translations of the Bible, especially the *King James Version* and the *English Standard Version*).

Introduction

1 Objective and Goals

On 4 July 1187, the forces of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem were crushed at the Battle of Hattin. The Muslim army under Sultan Saladin (c.1138–1193) even captured the relic of the so-called True Cross, an object that used to precede the Christian armies when marching into battle, a visible guarantee of God's protection—until this fateful day. The Cross on which Christ himself had hung was lost. God's favor, so it seemed, was now irrecoverable. This news generated great shock and panic when overwhelming the Latin West in autumn of the same year: Pope Gregory VIII did not hesitate and called all of Christendom to a new crusade. While the Curia was busy with these preparations, Saladin conquered the holy city of Jerusalem on 2 October and thus shattered the kingdom of Jerusalem, which had existed since the successful First Crusade (1095–1099).¹ Two objects, Cross and city, that were of such pivotal meaning to Christianity, representing literal embodiments of this religion, were gone in one fell swoop.² These bewildering events, which seemed to contradict every prophecy and expectation, mobilized the massive expedition of the so-called Third Crusade (1187–1192), a collective endeavor of the Latin West joined by three of the most important European princes as well as thousands of participants; it was likely even the largest expedition to date.³ This study is devoted to the mobilization of this venture and in particular to corresponding preaching activities.

1 On the events, see John France, *Hattin* (Oxford 2015); Penny J. Cole, "Christian Perceptions of the Battle of Hattin (583/1187)," *Al-Masaq* 6 (1993), 9–39; Christopher J. Tyerman, *God's War: A New History of the Crusades* (Cambridge, Mass. 2006), 366–374. On disseminating the news in the West, see Helen Birkett, "News in the Middle Ages: News, Communications, and the Launch of the Third Crusade in 1187–1188," *Viator* 49/3 (2018), 23–61. On the long-term reception of Jerusalem's loss, see Matthieu Rajohnson, *L'Occident au regret de Jérusalem (1187-fin du XIV^e siècle)* (Paris 2021).

2 On the relic's purpose as a war banner between 1099 and 1187, see Alan Murray, "Mighty against the Enemies of Christ: The Relic of the True Cross in the Armies of the Kingdom of Jerusalem," in: *The Crusades and Their Sources*, ed. John France (Aldershot 1998), 217–238. On ideas of Jerusalem between 1099 and 1187, see Sylvia Schein, *Gateway to the Heavenly City: Crusader Jerusalem and the Catholic West (1099–1187)* (Aldershot 2005).

3 See Christopher J. Tyerman, *How to Plan a Crusade: Reason and Religious War in the High Middle Ages* (London 2015), 52. See in general Tyerman, *God's War*, 341–474; Jonathan Phillips, *Holy Warriors: A Modern History of the Crusades* (New York 2010), 126–165.

The modern portrayal of the crusades, including the Third Crusade and notably the preaching of such expeditions, is predominantly narrative in nature and largely dependent on the chronicles, those historiographical accounts that have always figured as the prime sources in crusade studies. However, there is the question of how far these can be considered representative, and whether they can offer sound insights into the venture's mobilization. The fact is that these are artificial and narrative texts whose manuscript evidence is generally slim.⁴ Similarly, these sources contain only limited information about preaching activities, even though such activities undoubtedly fulfilled an essential purpose in drawing attention to the Holy Land, in classifying the Eastern events in providential terms, and in preparing the participants spiritually. The neglect of this subject was likely also due to some misleading modern ideas, especially the myth that not many 'crusade sermons' have survived. However, 'crusade sermon' just like 'the crusade' in general are modern categories; the Middle Ages did not know such a genre, and consequently this category has tended to obscure rather than illuminate in the past.⁵ This results in the essential issue of how to select sources: the contemporary ontology and terminology do not permit an unequivocal identification of the crusade; what we today call 'crusade' was intrinsically interwoven with vital areas of Christian existence such as exegesis, liturgy, or salvation history.⁶ This suddenly opens up the vast field of medieval sermon material and specifically the written form of the sermon text, usually organized in collections that follow the liturgical calendar. Such sources have survived in enormous numbers, whereas large amounts are still unpublished and unconsidered by previous research (especially but not limited to crusade scholars). This material provides the opportunity for challenging the existing portrayal of the Third Crusade by making a range of new sources avail-

4 On the slim transmission, see Tyerman, *God's War*, xv; Kristin Skottki, *Christen, Muslime und der Erste Kreuzzug: Die Macht der Beschreibung in der mittelalterlichen und modernen Historiographie* (Münster 2015), 502–503. On narrative modelling, see Skottki, *Beschreibung*, 252–420; Marcus G. Bull, *Eyewitness and Crusade Narrative: Perception and Narration in Accounts of the Second, Third and Fourth Crusades* (Woodbridge 2019), 193–255.

5 The term 'crusade' only really established itself in the 17th century; see Christoph T. Maier, "When Was the First History of the Crusades Written?" in: *The Crusades. History and Memory*, ed. Kurt Villads Jensen and Torben K. Nielsen (Turnhout 2021), 13–28; and in general Christopher J. Tyerman, *The Debate on the Crusades* (Manchester 2011).

6 See, e.g., Philippe Buc, "Crusade and Eschatology: Holy War Fostered and Inhibited," *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 125 (2017), 304–339; Katherine Allen Smith, *The Bible and Crusade Narrative in the Twelfth Century* (Woodbridge 2020); Cecilia Gaposchkin, *Invisible Weapons: Liturgy and the Making of Crusade Ideology* (Ithaca, NY 2017); Jay Rubenstein, "Crusade and Apocalypse: History and the Last Days," *Quaestiones mediæ aevi novae* 21 (2016), 159–188.

able for understanding the mobilization of this important expedition. These sources permit us to examine the phenomenon in a representative empirical breadth, and the same sources are significantly entwined with a historical practice, that is, preaching, instead of limiting ourselves to a few artificial texts. They can also shed new light on a long-lasting issue, that is, sharpening crusade-specific language and terminology.⁷

The methodological challenge of selecting sermon texts and of classifying them as crusade-related is an essential concern of this book: via the case study of the Third Crusade, the goal is to develop tools for investigating such material through the lens of the crusade, tools that have not yet been sufficiently developed. It is intrinsic to sermon texts that we usually do not know for what purpose or context they were actually used: they were often consciously penned as models, allowing them to be used on different occasions and for different audiences.⁸ This protean nature obligates us as crusade historians to consider whether these texts may have been put to use in the service of the crusade, that is, to examine if these texts hold a semantic potential for the crusading purpose—given that their preaching was certainly a major occupation in the 12th century. The microcosm of the Third Crusade thus provides a spotlight that sheds light on several significant phenomena: the expedition is the pivotal node for understanding the unceasing crusade efforts in the succeeding decades. Its preachers came mostly from the early University of Paris; they are thus vivid witnesses to the nature and goals of this institution. Finally, preaching and the penning of sermon material were at an evolutionary step in the late 12th century, increasingly opening up towards broad lay audiences and anticipating the friars in many efforts.⁹ These preachers formed the so-called circle of Peter the Chanter (c.1130–1197) or biblical-moral school (according to

7 See, e.g., Benjamin Weber, “When and Where Did the Word ‘Crusade’ Appear in the Middle Ages? And Why?” in: *The Crusades: History and Memory*, ed. Kurt Villads Jensen and Torben K. Nielsen (Turnhout 2021), 199–220; Walker Reid Cosgrove, “*Crucesignatus*: A Refinement or Merely One More Term among Many?” in: *Crusades: Medieval Worlds in Conflict*, ed. Thomas F. Madden (Ashgate 2010), 95–110.

8 See David d’Avray, *The Preaching of the Friars: Sermons Diffused from Paris before 1300* (Oxford 1985), 7, 104–131; d’Avray, “Method in the Study of Medieval Sermons,” in: *Modern Questions about Medieval Sermons* (Spoleto 1994), 9–10; Penny J. Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades to the Holy Land, 1095–1270* (Cambridge, Mass. 1991), 113–114.

9 On all these developments, see, e.g., Gaposchkin, *Weapons*, 77–78; Christopher J. Tyerman, “Were There Any Crusades in the Twelfth Century?” *The English Historical Review* 110 (1995), 574–576; Ronald James Stansbury, *Preaching before the Friars: The Sermons of Ralph Ardent (c.1130–c.1215)* (PhD thesis, Ohio State University 2001); Nicole Bériou, “Les sermons latins après 1200,” in: *The Sermon*, ed. Beverly Mayne Kienzle (Turnhout 2000), 394–396.

Martin Grabmann), a movement devoted to a holistic permeation and moral reform of Christian society.¹⁰ Peter the Chanter, at the beginning of his seminal *Verbum abbreviatum*, defines preaching (*praedicatio*) as a vital activity of his reform agenda (besides *lectio* and *disputatio* that precede preaching causally and chronologically). He thus indicates the essential role of preaching as a measure of communication and societal reform—and this already before the friars.¹¹ That this incorporates the crusade movement becomes clear already in the work's title (in at least one manuscript): *Liber magistri Petri Cantoris Parisiensis, qui dicitur viaticum tendentis Iherusalem* (The work of the Paris master Peter the Chanter, which is called the travel insurance for reaching Jerusalem).¹² As Jessalynn Bird aptly demonstrated, crusading was an intrinsic part of the overarching reform agenda. It represented the most effective and hence most attractive way of personal reform, entangled with penitential practices, liturgical actions, and the papal remission of sin. Therefore, crusade preaching must be understood as a significant component of general preaching efforts; it cannot be separated from these, neither formally nor in terms of contents.¹³

-
- 10 See Martin Grabmann, *Die Geschichte der scholastischen Methode* (Freiburg 1911), 2:467–468; Franco Morenzoni, *Des écoles aux paroisses: Thomas de Chobham et la promotion de la prédication au début du XIII^e siècle* (Paris 1995), 67–95; Nicole Bériou, *L'avènement des maîtres de la Parole: la prédication à Paris au XIII^e siècle* (Paris 1998), 1:31–45.
- 11 Petrus Cantor, *Verbum abbreviatum*, 25; see Riccardo Quinto, “Peter the Chanter and the ‘Miscellanea del Codice del Tesoro’ (Etymology as a Way for Constructing a Sermon),” in: *Constructing the Medieval Sermon*, ed. Roger Andersson (Turnhout 2007), 68–69; Nicole Bériou, *Religion et communication: un autre regard sur la prédication au Moyen Age* (Paris 2018), 12, 24–31. On Peter the Chanter's biography, see John Wesley Baldwin, *Masters, Princes and Merchants: The Social Views of Peter the Chanter and His Circle* (Princeton 1970), 1:3–16.
- 12 Ms. BL Add 19767, fol. 153^r. The term *viaticus* can also refer to the Eucharist granted to a dying person. See the entries in *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources*, ed. Richard Asdowne, David R. Howlett, and R.E. Latham, 2 vols (Oxford 1997–2013); and *Mediae latinitatis lexicon minus: lexique latin médiéval; français—anglaise*, ed. Jan Frederik Niermeyer (Leiden 1997). The same manuscript holds crusade-related sermons and other pertinent works by Alan of Lille; see the chapter on immediate context. A similar formulation offers the report about the Third Crusade's contingent that made a stopover in Iberia: *Narratio de itinere navali peregrinorum Hierosolymam tendentium et Sivliam capientium* (ed. David).
- 13 Jessalynn L. Bird, *Heresy, Crusade and Reform in the Circle of Peter the Chanter, c.1187–c.1240* (PhD thesis, University of Oxford 2001); Bird, “Paris Masters and the Justification of the Albigensian Crusade,” *Crusades* 6 (2007), 117–155; Bird, “Rogations, Litanies, and Crusade Preaching: The Liturgical Front in the Late Twelfth and Early Thirteenth Centuries,” in: *Papacy, Crusade, and Christian-Muslim Relations*, ed. Bird (Amsterdam 2018), 155–193. On the remission of sin, see Anne Lise Bysted, *The Crusade Indulgence: Spiritual Rewards and the Theology of the Crusades, c.1095–1216* (Leiden 2015); Valentin Portnykh, “Plenary Indul-

This study identifies nine preachers, many of them hitherto unnoticed, and relates them to the Third Crusade's mobilization via either their works or biographical details: it thus made sense to explore their sermon collections for material that could have served this purpose. This endeavor unearthed numerous pertinent sermon texts devoted to manifold crusade-related subjects: these texts hold a high 'crusade potential,' an analytical concept that will find application throughout this study (see also the tables 9–11). One can identify the crusade in these texts via different parameters, inferring different purposes in terms of crusading activities, just as one encounters a large variety of pertinent thematic strands such as Jerusalem, pagans, or penance. However, a second step is required, which consists of anchoring the texts in their context, in order to argue not only for a thematic but also for a causal and chronological nexus with the endeavor, that is, to argue that a text served the venture's mobilization in one way or another. To do justice to this twofold analysis, this study implements a discourse analysis according to Michel Foucault, which consists of two essential parts: first, investigating the discourse in terms of contents: What did one preach?—that is, examining a large number of sermon texts within the corpus of the Third Crusade. Second, investigating the operating mode of the discourse: How did one preach? How did crusade mobilization unfold?—that is, examining the texts' context with regard to four dimensions: immediate, institutional, media, and historical context. The methodology of discourse analysis also helps with organizing the evidence in order to reach conclusions about the purpose and meaning of specific texts: How do texts construct knowledge and thus a historical reality? And which texts were essential for the discourse?

However, it is crucial to interlace this modern tool with the idiosyncratic foundations of the sources: this primarily means a consideration of the Bible and exegesis, since biblical elements are thus constitutive in sermons, making it impossible to analyse them properly without considering these dimensions.¹⁴ This indicates how strongly the crusades blended with scrutinizing the Bible, and how profoundly the exegetical metatext informed the view of the Holy Land, a dimension that recent research has increasingly engaged with. This research delivers a methodological toolbox for analysing a text's biblical ele-

gence for the Personal Participation in Crusades to the Holy Land as Presented by Crusade Preachers," *History* 106 (2021), 170–199.

14 See d'Avray, "Method," 24; Jessalynn L. Bird, "Preaching and Narrating the Fifth Crusade: Bible, Sermons and the History of a Campaign," in: *The Uses of the Bible in Crusader Sources*, ed. Elizabeth Lapina and Nicholas Morton (Leiden 2017), 340; Miikka Tamminen, *Crusade Preaching and the Ideal Crusader* (Turnhout 2018).

ments.¹⁵ This study thus investigates how clerics and Paris masters developed their vision of the Holy Land on the basis of the Bible, how they subjected contemporary events to their providential schemes, and how they then prepared this vision for broad audiences in the form of sermon texts. This study examines, therefore, primarily the ideas of clerics—these may not be immediately transferable to their audiences, but they provide us with a sense of how these clerics thought that they could effectively mobilize and spiritually prepare a crusade expedition. Considering the rich recruitment, one may surmise that they did so successfully. Even though this study does not claim that preaching was the only factor at play in the maze of mobilization, it does claim that it was a pivotal factor hitherto largely overlooked and underestimated by scholarship. Agreeing with a distinction proposed by Kristin Skottki, the book will preferably speak of a ‘crusade discourse’ and not of a ‘crusade idea’ (the latter has been a popular axiom among scholars).¹⁶ Whereas the latter suggests an essentialist understanding (there was one uniform crusade idea), crusade discourse considers that a variety of ideas were negotiated in society, including developments and breaks when interpretive authority was established, adapted, or discarded—and the preachers were certainly crucial guardians of interpretive authority. They were brokers who mediated between different registers and social groups; they were nodes in a network of crusade mobilization.¹⁷

One can align the nine identified preachers with three centers: the archbishopric of Canterbury, the pivotal Cistercian abbey of Clairvaux, and the early University of Paris—these places played a key role in the crusade’s mobilization, just as the nine preachers were important protagonists, including contacts with vital political figures. The three represented in general centers for the production of texts and knowledge; they thus held great authority in terms of a discourse analysis. Gathered around Canterbury were (1) its archbishop Baldwin of Canterbury, a Cistercian and one of the leaders of the Third Crusade; (2) his secretary Peter of Blois, an eminent Paris master, who was sojourning at the papal Curia in 1187 when the news about Hattin arrived; and (3) Ralph Ardens, another Paris master, who held the office of chaplain in the service of

15 See esp. Smith, *Crusade Narrative*; Philippe Buc, *Holy War, Martyrdom, and Terror: Christianity, Violence, and the West, ca. 70 C.E. to the Iraq War* (Philadelphia 2015), esp. 67–111; Jay Rubenstein, *Nebuchadnezzar’s Dream: The Crusades, Apocalyptic Prophecy, and the End of History* (Oxford 2019).

16 See Skottki, *Beschreibung*, 489. For ‘crusade idea,’ see, e.g., Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading* (Philadelphia 1986).

17 See Jessalynn L. Bird, “‘Theologians Know Best’: Paris-Trained Crusade Preachers as Mediators between Papal, Popular and Learned Crusading Pieties,” *Journal of Medieval History* 49/3 (2023), 1–19.

Richard Lionheart. All three participated in the expedition. Around Clairvaux assembled (4) the Cistercian Henry of Albano, papal legate and one of the venture's main preachers, who also sojourned at the Curia in 1187; (5) Garnerius of Clairvaux, abbot of Clairvaux at the time; and (6) Hélinand of Froidmont, another Cistercian, who had close ties with Philip of Dreux, archbishop of Beauvais and another leader of the expedition. Around Paris assembled (7) Alan of Lille, an important master of his generation; (8) Prevostin of Cremona, another eminent master of the early university; and (9) Martin of León, an Augustinian canon with Parisian education, who likely sojourned in Italy in 1187 and participated in the crusade.

This study will thus demonstrate how the Third Crusade was preached (or at least how its preaching was drafted within the clerical milieu), while making accessible an immense amount of hitherto unnoticed sources. This approach will always keep in mind methodological issues regarding which sermons are crusade-related and how one may identify the crusade in such texts. Contesting the oft-applied focus on chronicles as well as certain modern ideas about crusade preaching, this study will demonstrate the following: Who preached the crusade? What did these protagonists preach? How did the Bible serve as a template for envisioning the Holy Land? How did this stimulate attention towards the same? How may one grasp, define, or demarcate this specific purpose of preaching? How widely disseminated were preaching efforts? And eventually, how do all these results thwart or modify the established narrative on the preaching of the Third Crusade? The next section depicts precisely this narrative, as it presents itself to date, stemming from both medieval chronicles and modern scholarship. It will critically review this story as to its representativeness and gaps—remarkably, seven of the nine preachers just introduced remain invisible in it.¹⁸ The section on methodology elaborates on the issue of what a 'crusade sermon' is, and how this study selected and analysed source material. The book then moves on to the first chapter devoted to the immediate context of the texts: it introduces the nine preachers and their works. The second chapter deals with the institutional context, the early Parisian university: it discusses how this context significantly informed the production of texts and knowledge, thus determining views on and ideas about the Holy Land. Chapters three to six constitute the heart of this study, being devoted to a minute examination of the sermons, focusing on the Cross relic, Jerusalem,

18 Only Baldwin and Henry are visible in the chronicles. Previous research showed some awareness that Peter and Alan were preaching but their corresponding works have not been examined in-depth. As to the state of research relating to particular preachers, see the chapter on immediate context.

and the Holy Land. How do the sermons broach these elements? What other elements do they throw in the mix? What notions and expectations does this create, consequently informing crusade spirituality? Which calls for action do they formulate? Chapters seven and eight contextualize these analyses with the idiosyncratic metatext of salvation history, discussing in particular the dominant role of eschatological ideas for the crusade arena. The ninth chapter examines the media context, that is, the manuscripts. Considering how they present the texts, it argues that these were significantly entwined with preaching practice. Finally, the tenth chapter is devoted to anchoring the sermon texts in their historical context with the help of three dimensions: the framework of the liturgical calendar; the sermon material's (intended) audience; and essential mechanisms of mobilization, including corresponding questions of how preaching efforts operated in the late 12th century.

2 The Established Narrative on the Preaching of the Third Crusade

Existing depictions of and notions about the venture's preaching depend largely on the stories which the chronicles deliver.¹⁹ Modern research literature fused these into one authoritative narrative, and has, overall, reproduced their storylines uncritically.²⁰ Reading these narratives, both medieval and modern, one hears of great councils, effective preaching tours, and of great princes taking the cross—but scholars have hardly tackled the question of what these accounts do not tell. This is the point of departure for this study, which is devoted to preaching activities that were pivotal to the expedition's mobilization, but are not found in any historiographical report. Why should they be present in such texts? Should one suppose that all preaching was protocolled for historical commemoration? The opposite is the case: narrative recording represents an absolute exception, encompassing only a few select events and

19 For an overview of the Third Crusade's chronicles, see Stephen Bennett, *Elite Participation in the Third Crusade* (Woodbridge 2021), 21–25; Graham A. Loud, "Introduction," in: *The Crusade of Frederick Barbarossa* (Farnham 2010), 1–31; Michael Staunton, *The Historians of Angevin England* (Oxford 2017), 216–235.

20 See, e.g., Tyerman, *God's War*, 375–389; Thomas Asbridge, *The Crusades: The War for the Holy Land* (London 2010), 367–385. Fundamental was already: Reinhold Röhricht, "Die Rüstungen des Abendlandes zum dritten großen Kreuzzuge," *Historische Zeitschrift* 34 (1875), 1–73. For a useful overview, see Stephen Spencer, "The Third Crusade in Historiographical Perspective," *History Compass* 19 (2021), 1–14. Subsequently, research literature is cited in an exemplary manner, since most portrayals are broadly identical.

preachers, not least to serve the chronicle's own purpose.²¹ The perception of such reports is highly selective: they usually limit themselves to one or two preaching events, presenting these as the dramaturgical prelude to the venture, whereas they do not reveal any desire for protocolling a crusade's mobilization in an elaborate and detailed manner. This is corroborated by the fact that different reports occasionally offer divergent information on the same event, for example, about who was present or who preached—the famous example are the vastly different versions of Urban II's sermon in Clermont (1095), in preparation of the First Crusade.²² This section depicts the common story of mobilizing the Third Crusade, in order to reflect critically on the notions of previous scholarship, and to unearth focal points and gaps within this established narrative.

Panic broke at the papal Curia in Ferrara upon receiving the news of the defeat at Hattin and the loss of the Cross relic in October 1187. Heraclius, the patriarch of Jerusalem, reported in a call for help to the West that “the most holy and life-giving Cross, the unique and outstanding guarantee of our salvation” had been lost (*sacrosanctam et vivificam crucem, unicum et peculiare salutis nostre subsidium*).²³ Sylvia Schein asserted, “Christendom, unprepared for the disaster, received the news with amazement, horror and grief.”²⁴ Pope Urban III, the chroniclers agreed, was shattered and died only a few days later.²⁵ Panic-fueled but also enthusiastic, the Curia started seeking a new pope, proposing the office to the cardinal bishop Henry of Albano—who rejected it, since he preferred to preach a new crusade in the first flight. An alternative was found in Albert of Mora, who ascended Peter's throne as Gregory VIII,

21 See d'Avray, *Friars*, 61; Jussi Hanska, “Reconstructing the Mental Calendar of Medieval Preaching: A Method and Its Limits—An Analysis of Sunday Sermons,” in: *Preacher, Sermon and Audience in the Middle Ages*, ed. Carolyn A. Muessig (Leiden 2002), 295; Augustine Thompson, “From Texts to Preaching: Retrieving the Medieval Sermon as an Event,” in: *Preacher, Sermon and Audience in the Middle Ages*, ed. Muessig, 25.

22 For a comparison of the versions, see Cole, *Preaching*, 1–36; Jean Flori, *Prêcher la croisade: XI^e–XIII^e siècle; communication et propagande* (Paris 2012), 69–97; Georg Strack, “The Sermon of Urban II in Clermont 1095 and the Tradition of Papal Oratory,” *Medieval Sermon Studies* 56 (2012), 31–37.

23 Heraclius, *Hilferuf* (III), ed. Kedar, 120. Similar in another call for help: Heraclius, *Hilferuf* (II), ed. Jaspert, 512; see also Henry of Albano, *Ep. 32*, PL 204:249; *Itinerarium peregrinorum*, ed. Mayer, 258.

24 Schein, *Gateway*, 162.

25 *La Continuation*, ed. Morgan, 54–55; William of Newburgh, *Historia*, 267–268; Alberic of Trois-Fontaines, *Chronica*, 748; Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, 2:322; Gervase of Canterbury, *Opera*, 1:388; Robert of Auxerre, *Chronicon*, 252; *Chronica Andrensis*, 718. See also Tyerman, *God's War*, 374.

inspired by Gregory VII, the enabler of the crusade movement.²⁶ In *Audita tremendi* the new pope called all of Christendom to a new crusade, underlining the devastating events, the Christian sinfulness that was responsible for them, and the providential necessity of a new expedition.²⁷ The Curia was the germ cell; besides Henry of Albano and Gregory VIII, at least two further preachers were sojourning there: the English cleric Peter of Blois, who immediately began penning sermons and crusade treatises, and the legate Paul of Palestrina, who would become pope as Clement III in December 1187 and immediately republish Gregory's encyclical.²⁸ As Peter reported in a letter to the English king Henry II, the Curia had been overcome by enthusiasm: the cardinals would preach the crusade and lead the others to the Holy Land (*praedicabunt et praecedent alios in terram Jerusalem*).²⁹ It is plausible that these figures were involved in the drafting of the papal encyclical, and they likely started preaching soon thereafter, at the Curia or in northern Italy in general.

News of the devastating events quickly spread throughout the Latin West, as several letters and the reactions of specific princes show.³⁰ This stoked enthusiasm for departing as well as a religious fanaticism that directed its attention towards the so-called enemies of Christ's cross, but also towards Christian sins. Reinhold Röhricht put it thus: "[...] entire Christendom rose with an unanimous fervor, as it had never occurred in the Latin West."³¹ Richard Lionheart took the cross in Tours, already in November 1187, likely immediately reacting to the arrival of the news, a first major occasion where one may expect preaching—

26 *Epistolae Cantuariensis*, ed. Stubbs, 108; Alberic of Trois-Fontaines, *Chronica*, 860–861. On Gregory VII, see Carl Erdmann, *Die Entstehung des Kreuzzugsgedankens* (Darmstadt 1980).

27 See Cole, *Preaching*, 63–65; Thomas W. Smith, "Audita tremendi and the Call for the Third Crusade Reconsidered, 1187–1188," *Viator* 49/3 (2018), 63–101. Urban III already issued a crusade call in Sept. 1187, addressed to Baldwin of Canterbury, and reacting to the defeat at Cresson (May 1187)—the relic's loss is still absent (cited in Gerald of Wales, *De principis instructione*, 201–202; discussed by Jonathan Phillips, *Defenders of the Holy Land: Relations between the Latin East and the West, 119–1187* (Oxford 1996), 265–266).

28 See Smith, "Audita tremendi," 68, 88; Richard W. Southern, "Peter of Blois and the Third Crusade," in: *Studies in Medieval History Presented to R.H.C. Davis*, ed. Henry Mayr-Harting (London 1985), 207–218. On Clement's activities, see also Gaposchkin, *Weapons*, 195–198.

29 Peter of Blois, *Ep. 219*, 508–509, cited in Roger of Howden, *Gesta regis*, 215.

30 See Birkett, "News," 23–61, esp. 32–33, 44–46.

31 Reinhold Röhricht, "Die Kreuzpredigten gegen den Islam. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Predigt im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert," *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 6 (1884), 557: "[...] mit einer einmütigen Begeisterung, wie sie niemals das Abendland erfüllt hatte, erhob sich die ganze Christenheit." My translation.

even if historiographical reports remain silent on the matter.³² The German emperor Frederick Barbarossa was likewise devastated and assembled a council in Strasburg (Dec. 1187), supervised by the future crusader Henry, bishop of the same town. Henry of Albano was perhaps also present (the sources are ambiguous, at least a papal legation was there). This is another occasion where one can expect preaching beyond the chronicles' perception, especially since some already took the cross on this occasion.³³ Paul of Palestrina traveled to the southern German regions—a crucial area for recruitment since the Second Crusade—but his vocation to the papal office soon brought him back to the Curia. As the rich mobilization demonstrates, his presence was not necessary anyway; in other words, preachers were active who are not tangible in the chronicles. Already in December, Barbarossa met with the French king Philip II Augustus, close to Carignan (between Reims and Metz), a meeting where Henry of Albano was likely also present.³⁴

With these efforts underway, the East saw a second devastating event: the fall of Jerusalem. However, contrary to previous scholarly depictions of the unfolding events, Joscius, archbishop of Tyre, had already left for the West (likely in September): he was not the bearer of this news.³⁵ Joscius first landed on Sicily, where William II reacted swiftly by sending a fleet that would help in the defense of Tyre—another occasion for preaching. A plausible candidate is Joachim of Fiore (c.1135–1202), who would preach three years later to the passing Richard Lionheart: a chronicle quotes the corresponding sermon, which underlines the nexus between crusade and eschatology.³⁶ Joscius then

32 William of Newburgh, *Historia*, 271; *Itinerarium peregrinorum*, ed. Mayer, 276–277; Gerald of Wales, *De principis instructione*, 239. See John B. Gillingham, *Richard I* (New Haven, Conn. 1999), 87.

33 *Historia peregrinorum*, ed. Chroust, 123; Ansbert, *Historia*, ed. Chroust, 13; *Annales Marbacenses*, MGH SS 17:163; see Bysted, *Indulgence*, 260; Rudolf Hiestand, “‘Precipua tocius christianismi columpna.’ Barbarossa und der Kreuzzug,” in: *Friedrich Barbarossa*, ed. Alfred Haverkamp (Sigmaringen 1992), 67.

34 *Chronicon Clarevallense*, 1251; Alberic of Trois Fontaines, *Chronicon*, 861; see Ina Friedländer, *Die päpstlichen Legaten in Deutschland und Italien am Ende des XII. Jahrhunderts (1181–1198)* (Berlin 1928), 39–40. They likely agreed at this meeting to hold both a council on *Laetare Jerusalem* (27 March 1188); see below. On the southern German regions, see also the chapter on historical context.

35 See Birkett, “News,” 39, 47. On previous opinions, see, e.g., Cole, *Preaching*, 66–67; Hannes Möhring, *Saladin und der Dritte Kreuzzug: Aiyubidsche Strategie und Diplomatie im Vergleich vornehmlich der arabischen mit den lateinischen Quellen* (Wiesbaden 1980), 66.

36 Roger of Howden, *Gesta*, 2151–153. Scholars hardly realized that Joachim preaches to Richard (exceptions: Rubenstein, *Dream*, 181, 215; Marjorie Reeves, *The Influence of Prophecy in the Later Middle Ages: A Study in Joachitism* (Oxford 1969), 7). The situation was

hastened to the Curia, where Clement III had been elected in the meantime—the archbishop's arrival may have been the occasion for republishing *Audita tremendi* in early January 1188. He continued further north, where he successfully assembled the warlike parties of Henry II and Philip Augustus at the Council of Gisors (between Rouen and Beauvais). Persuaded by the archbishop and Henry of Albano, who was likely present, the two kings took the cross.³⁷ They thus publicly devoted themselves to the cause—a promise that Henry II had made for decades. Now, in light of the situation's seriousness, he seemed finally willing to spring into action. The Council of Gisors was another occasion for elaborate preaching activities, for example, by Baldwin of Canterbury or Philip of Dreux, archbishop of Beauvais, who both took the cross on this occasion.³⁸

Henry II, now fully devoted to the cause, then organized another council at Le Mans, which issued the crusade's legal statutes.³⁹ Upon returning to England, he assembled princes and bishops in Geddington in February 1188 (a town halfway between Birmingham and Cambridge). The chronicles report that both Baldwin of Canterbury and William, bishop of Hereford, preached on this occasion, with numerous people taking the cross as a result. William also attempted to settle a conflict between Baldwin and the Augustinian canons of Canterbury, in order to pave the way for the crusade—the chronicler Gervase of Canterbury quotes a sermon by William on the matter.⁴⁰ At the time, Clement III issued another crusade encyclical addressed to Baldwin and his suffragans (that is, the bulk of England's bishops). It seems as if he is not yet aware of Jerusalem's loss when he voices that God shall protect the city from being polluted by the unbelievers (*sanctam civitatem Jerusalem tueatur*,

mostly rendered as a conversation, but Roger notes that a large audience was listening to Joachim's words: *in quibus [verbis] audiendis rex et sui plurimum delectabantur* (151). Thereafter, he cites Joachim's sermon (151–153). Only then does a conversation develop (153–155). See also Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, 3:75–79.

37 *Itinerarium peregrinorum*, ed. Mayer, 276–277; Roger of Howden, *Gesta*, 2:29–33, 58–59; Ralph of Diceto, *Ymagines*, 51; *L'Estoire d'Eracles*, 111–112, 115; *Chronique d'Ernoult*, ed. Mas Latrie, 244, 247–248; William of Newburgh, *Historia*, 271–272. On Henry of Albano's presence, see *Historia peregrinorum*, ed. Chroust, 143; *Chronica Andrensis*, 719. The latter text says that the two kings even took the cross after he had preached. Henry's invisibility in other reports represents an excellent example of the chronicles' selective perception.

38 Rigord, *Gesta*, ed. Delaborde, 83. On Henry II's promises, see Hans Eberhard Mayer, "Henry II of England and the Holy Land," *The English Historical Review* 97/385 (1982), 721–739.

39 See Röhrich, "Rüstungen," 14; Alexander Cartellieri, *Philipp II. August, König von Frankreich: Der Kreuzzug (1187–1191)* (Leipzig 1906), 2:58.

40 Gervase of Canterbury, *Opera*, 1:410–413; see also Roger of Howden, *Gesta*, 2:29–33, 58–59; *Itinerarium peregrinorum*, ed. Mayer, 276–278; William of Newburgh, *Historia*, 275.

nec eam nefandis manibus impiorum contaminari permittat).⁴¹ This provides us with a new *terminus post quem* that places the arrival of the news even after early February, that is, after the Council of Gisors.⁴² Simultaneously, Henry of Albano initiated a large preaching tour covering Burgundy, Flanders, and the Ile-de-France, bringing his apostolic authority to several important towns.⁴³ He held a large council in Liège where allegedly two thousand clerics had assembled, whom he instructed in the crusade's preaching and spiritual preparation via liturgical and penitential actions. The chronicler Giselbert says that he came to provide counsel and support (*ad dandum consilium et auxilium*).⁴⁴ As a consequence, the town's bishop and 66 other clerics took the cross.⁴⁵ This council was certainly a vector for distributing the preaching effort—unfortunately, the historiographical reports remain reticent on its impact. If only a small portion of the clerics followed Henry's call, this still represents an immense number of crusade preachers—who remain invisible in the chronicles.

At the time, Henry wrote an excited letter to Barbarossa, to entice him to join the crusade. It indicates the legate's efforts in the Holy Roman Empire, whereas his colleagues covered other regions.⁴⁶ These efforts climaxed in the Council of Mainz, the so-called *Curia Jesu Christi*, held on 27 March, the date of *Laetare Jerusalem* (the fourth Sunday in Lent).⁴⁷ It is reported that Henry himself as well as Godfrey, bishop of Würzburg, and Henry, bishop of Strasburg, preached there.

41 Cited in Gerald of Wales, *De principis instructione*, 238. See also Kathryn Hurlock, *Wales and the Crusades, c.1095–1291* (Cardiff 2011), 64.

42 See Birkett, "News," 53.

43 See Friedländer, *Legaten*, 40–45; Barbara Bombi, "Papal Legates and Their Preaching of the Crusades in England between the Twelfth and the Thirteenth Centuries," in: *Legati, delegati e l'impresa d'Oltremare (secoli XII–XIII)*, ed. Maria Pia Alberzoni and Pascal Montaubin (Turnhout 2014), 225–226.

44 Giselbert, *Chonicon*, 555; Alberic of Trois-Fontaines, *Chronica*, 861; Henry of Albano, *Ep.* 31, 247–249; see Yves Congar, "Henri de Marcy, abbé de Clairvaux, cardinal, évêque d'Albano et légat pontifical," *Analecta monastica* 5 (1958), 7, 48–49.

45 *Chronicon Clarevellense*, 1251. The exact number likely refers only to important clerics such as bishops; the text likewise asserts that 68 important princes (*magni principes*) took the cross in Mainz.

46 Ms. BL Add 24145, fol. 77^v and Henry of Albano, *Brief*, ed. Holtzmann, 412–413. On the dissemination of preachers, see the chapter on historical context.

47 *Itinerarium peregrinorum*, ed. Mayer, 278–279; Ansbert, *Historia*, ed. Chroust, 14–15; *Historia peregrinorum*, ed. Chroust, 122–126; Gerald of Wales, *Expugnatio Hibernica*, 366; *Annales Colonienses maximi*, 793–794; *Chronica regia Coloniensis*, 139; *Continuatio Zwentensis*, 543. See Cole, *Preaching*, 66–67; Knut Görich, *Friedrich Barbarossa: Eine Biographie* (Munich 2011), 533–536. On *Laetare Jerusalem*, see the chapter on Jerusalem.

The *Historia peregrinorum* quotes a sermon by the latter.⁴⁸ Inspired by their words and an eschatological mood, Barbarossa and, purportedly, 13,000 others took the cross.⁴⁹ This must have been an enormous preaching event including numerous preachers as well as many venues where preaching took place. On the same meaningful day, Philip Augustus also held a council in Paris that issued the crusade's statutes under the supervision of bishop Maurice of Sully (c.1110–1196).⁵⁰ Unfortunately, the chronicles say little about it, even though this was certainly a major preaching event, in particular for the resident Paris masters, but also for others who may have come for this occasion. Owing to Paris' essential role in contemporary preaching efforts and in the dissemination of preaching material, this council, similar to the one in Liège, certainly represented a vector for furthering mobilization.

Parallel to the ambitions in France and the Empire, the English preachers were also active. Subsequent to the Council of Geddington (which may likewise have operated as a vector), Baldwin of Canterbury organized an extensive tour through Wales, which Gerald of Wales, Peter of Blois, and further preachers, especially Cistercian abbots, joined.⁵¹ This tour may have had the goal of recruiting specifically in those regions that were not well integrated into the English dominion and likely not involved at Geddington. However, the unique evidence that Gerald of Wales offers with his *Itinerarium Cambriae*, an elaborate report on the tour, may distort the picture: if he had not decided to pen this text, we might not even know about the undertaking.⁵² It is highly likely

48 *Historia peregrinorum*, ed. Chroust, 123–124; discussed by Bysted, *Indulgence*, 259–260; Valmar Cramer, “Kreuzpredigt und Kreuzzugsgedanken von Bernhard von Clairvaux bis Humbert von Romans,” *Das Heilige Land* 1 (1939), 88–91. One may also expect preaching by the local archbishop Conrad of Wittelsbach, who was active in the crusade's organization and joined Henry VI's crusade in 1197 (see Möhring, *Saladin*, 90).

49 *Chronica Reinhardsbrunnensis*, 543; see Hiestand, “Barbarossa,” 69–70. Several Hebrew sources speak of more than ten thousand; see Robert Chazan, “Emperor Frederick I, the Third Crusade, and the Jews,” *Viator* 8 (1977), 85, 88. On the council's eschatological nature, see the chapter on the Apocalypse.

50 Rigord, *Gesta*, ed. Delaborde, 84; and Cartellieri, *August*, 2:63; Tyerman, *God's War*, 378, 381. Peter seems to refer to the council in a letter (1188): “Sane, sicut audivimus, exiit edictum a Philippo rege, ut describeretur Gallicus orbis, et oneraretur Ecclesia decimationibus recidivis.” (Peter of Blois, *Ep.20*, 74).

51 Gerald of Wales, *Itinerarium Cambriae*; see Cole, *Preaching*, 72–78; Tyerman, *Plan*, 118–123; Peter W. Edbury, “Preaching the Crusade in Wales,” in: *England and Germany in the High Middle Ages*, ed. Alfred Haverkamp and Hanna Vollrath (London 1996), 221–233.

52 Hurlock already noted this disparity: many sources (especially those from Wales) do not mention the tour at all, even though they deal with the crusade. She only found two other texts that endow the tour with no more than a short remark (Hurlock, *Wales*, 59). It is also noteworthy that Peter of Blois, whose presence is evidenced by charters, remains invisible

that other such tours never entered the historical record; one may suppose that other bishops conducted similar tours or at least preached throughout their dioceses. Baldwin's tour took place in March and April 1188: it started and ended in Hereford, whose bishop was a crusade preacher, as already noted, and it covered a number of places: on *Laetare Jerusalem*, they preached at the important see of Saint David's and in Chester on Easter (early April).⁵³ Thousands seem to have taken the cross at these events; the tour may also have been essential for making Baldwin into one of the expedition's military leaders, whom thousands followed to the Holy Land.

These are the main preaching events according to the chronicle reports, where numerous preachers, princes, and bishops assembled to take the cross together, including the four most important Western rulers: Henry II, Richard Lionheart, Philip Augustus, and Frederick Barbarossa. The events in the East generated a wave of enthusiasm and recruitment—however, it would be quite some time before the crusader armies departed. The essential responsibilities for this protracted period were the following: to maintain peace between the princes, in particular between Henry II and Philip II, to ensure their participation;⁵⁴ to prepare the crusade in practical terms; to prepare the crusade in spiritual and liturgical terms; and to convince further people of the cause. Especially the last two demonstrate that elaborate preaching activities were still requisite. Such preaching, however, was not aligned with the great recruitment events and remains, therefore, invisible in chronicles. Henry of Albano continued preaching in Burgundy, Flanders, and the Ile-de-France, including Cologne where the young Caesarius of Heisterbach (c.1180–c.1240) listened to him, as he recorded some years later.⁵⁵ In the summer of 1188, Henry sojourned in Paris, where he preached together with Maurice of Sully in Notre-Dame cathedral, which was still under construction. And one may expect preaching by other Paris masters on this occasion. At this time, Henry penned parts of his main work *De peregrinante civitate Dei*: it laments that many have taken the cross, but

in Gerald's work—another excellent example of the selective perception of such accounts. See John D. Cotts, *The Clerical Dilemma: Peter of Blois and Literate Culture in the Twelfth Century* (Washington, D.C. 2009), 229.

53 Gerald of Wales, *Itinerarium Cambriae*, 9–11. See also Hurlock, *Wales*, 67–72.

54 See Tyerman, *God's War*, 392–394; Röhrich, "Rüstungen," 20–25; and on the Empire: Hiestand, "Barbarossa," 55–57. Richard was apparently motivated to depart soon after his cross taking, but his father Henry II impeded him, since he feared that Richard might claim Jerusalem's crown (see Möhring, *Saladin*, 75).

55 Caesarius of Heisterbach, *Dialogus miraculorum* (4.79), 872–874. On the further tour, see *Chronica Reinhardsbrunnensis*, 543; *Chronicon Clarevellense*, 1251; and Friedländer, *Legaten*, 39–45.

now postpone their departure—a textual manifestation of his ongoing preaching activities as well as a call to others to be active.⁵⁶ This call was answered at least by Garnerius of Clairvaux who still preached the crusade in late 1191, when Richard Lionheart addressed him in a letter (sent from Acre), encouraging him in this activity.⁵⁷ The same critique as with Henry, in the form of a similar model text, is found in Peter of Blois' *Conquestio*, which can be associated with a specific preaching tour: Peter traveled with Henry II and Baldwin of Canterbury in northern France (summer and autumn of 1188).⁵⁸ This tour was certainly essential for delivering sermons and for mobilizing crusaders in the Angevin dominions, climaxing in another council in November 1188, where Henry of Albano again managed to make peace between Henry II and Philip II.⁵⁹ Both Peter's and Henry's idiosyncratic texts corroborate the ongoing preaching activities beyond the great recruitment events, precisely because the departure was postponed. These delays made it even more necessary to continue preaching, that is, to underline the endeavor's urgency and providential necessity.

Beyond that, one may identify further preaching occasions such as Richard Lionheart's coronation in London (13 Sept. 1189), certainly not coincidentally the day before the feast *In exaltatione sanctae crucis*.⁶⁰ This was a preeminent occasion, with so many people assembled, and because Richard had already presented himself as a devout crusader. Plausible preachers are Baldwin of Canterbury, who crowned Richard, and Ralph Ardens, his chaplain. The coronation also triggered an anti-Jewish pogrom—usually the result of (crusade-related) preaching.⁶¹ Yet, almost another year would pass before the king finally

56 See esp. Henry of Albano, *De peregrinante civitate Dei* (XIII), 358. See also Flori, *Prêcher*, 157–162; Alexander Marx, "Jerusalem as the Travelling City of God. Henry of Albano and the Preaching of the Third Crusade," *Crusades* 20 (2021), 83–120. See the chapter on immediate context.

57 Cited in Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, 3132; see Schein, *Gateway*, 164; Jean-Charles Didier, "Garnier de Rochefort. Sa vie et son oeuvre," *Collectanea Cisterciensia* 17 (1955), 148.

58 Peter of Blois, *Conquestio*, 94; *Epistolae Cantuariensis*, ed. Stubbs, 227, 256; see Congar, "Henri de Marcy," 53. Bishop Hugh of Lincoln also joined this tour.

59 Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, 2:354–355; *Gesta*, 2:51.

60 Already his great-grandfather Fulk of Anjou had been crowned as the king of Jerusalem on the same feast (see Barbara Baert, *A Heritage of Holy Wood: The Legend of the True Cross in Text and Image* (Leiden 2004), 164). On this feast, see the chapter on the Cross relic.

61 William of Newburgh, *Historia*, 2–6; Roger of Howden, *Gesta*, 2:83–84; discussed by Gillingham, *Richard I*, 107–108. Kletter emphasizes that Richard's coronation initiated a period of anti-Jewish violence, marking the end of a certain tolerance that had existed under Henry II (Karen M. Kletter, "Politics, Prophecy and Jews: The Destruction of Jerusalem in Anglo-Norman Historiography," in: *Jews in Medieval Christendom: Slay Them Not*, ed. Kristine T. Utterback and Merrall Llewelyn Price (Leiden 2013), 101).

departed (July 1190). The days of departure represent another occasion, as a sermon by Godfrey of Würzburg betrays, cited in the *Historia peregrinorum* and held soon after the departure of Barbarossa's army from Regensburg.⁶² It is significant that the day of departure was often scheduled for specific liturgical feasts that certainly required preaching. The fact that Richard and Philip Augustus departed together from Vézelay is similarly expressive, since this was a crucial venue of Bernard of Clairvaux's successful preaching of the Second Crusade.⁶³

Some patterns have emerged concerning the information chronicles deliver: they narrate the great councils, especially in conjunction with important princes taking the cross; the preachers visible at these events belong almost exclusively to the first political flight (bishops and legates); the accounts offer hardly any information on the contents of sermons; and different chronicles sometimes deliver divergent information, a fact that points to their selective perception. A number of historiographical issues have thus surfaced:

Save for Baldwin of Canterbury, none of the figures for whom we have sermon texts today appear in the chronicles—the same is true if one expands the horizon to other contemporary preachers. Those who penned sermons and were important preachers of their age scarcely appear in the historiographical narratives. It is also remarkable that not a single narrative survived for Paris, the pivotal center for preaching efforts, even though it doubtlessly played a key role (notably the council on *Laetare Jerusalem*). It transpires that the chronicles are reticent when it comes to preaching events; they do not have any interest in delivering elaborate reports on such activities. Similarly, the historiographical commemoration of particular activities, critically the construction of 'preaching tours,' stems from the idiosyncratic nature of specific sources, as the case of the *Itinerarium Cambriae* tellingly demonstrates. Such sources often make a specific preacher into their hero (here Baldwin of Canterbury), and they can by no means be considered as representative. The idea that there were no further tours beyond those narrated in texts is untenable. The aspect of narrative construction is substantiated by the fact that we do not have any obvious case where we can relate a specific sermon text to a specific preaching event—precisely because the event was not as important as a chronicle wants

62 *Historia peregrinorum*, ed. Chroust, 162–163; discussed by Bysted, *Indulgence*, 261. See also Hiestand, "Barbarossa," 73, 82.

63 See Gillingham, *Richard I*, 127–128; Tyerman, *Plan*, 237–238. The departure of a joint crusade of Henry II and Philip II was scheduled for Easter 1189 (see Gerald of Wales, *De principis instructione*, 240; and Möhring, *Saladin*, 76).

us to believe; efforts were much more widespread and manifold.⁶⁴ Similarly remarkable is the way in which the chronicles leap straight from the reported preaching events to the departure of crusade armies. In most cases, a period of several years lay in between: in the Third Crusade's case, around one year for the German army and more than two years for the English and French contingents. The ideal of crusading would have demanded an immediate departure—but delays and internal Christian conflicts often hindered this, making it even more requisite that preachers underlined the endeavor's spiritual and providential necessity and, thus, drew attention to the Holy Land. However, the chronicles did not have any interest in reporting such activities, probably because doing so would have contradicted their ideal of crusading. If one were to only read such a text, one might think that no more than a few days had elapsed in between cross taking and departure: the enthusiastic mood channeled in the few reported preaching events suggests that the crusaders could not have waited.

Furthermore, in those cases where a 'sermon' is cited within a chronicle (four pieces for the Third Crusade), a comparison with actual preaching material demonstrates that these quotations do not show any formal or contentual resemblance to the sermon texts. This poses the question of whether these can be of any help for investigating common preaching practice. These quotations do not faithfully record a particular sermon, but perhaps provide a 'best of,' an essence of the ideas communicated (as suggested by their compact nature). This is especially true since one may suppose that a cleric preached more than one sermon, in particular at the large assemblies (as we already know for Urban II at Clermont). However interesting these quotations may seem, certainly offering insights into the nature of preaching events, they cannot deliver representative insights into the contents of preaching.⁶⁵ Similarly, their formal criteria cannot be of any help when it comes to determining a sermon text's pertinence to the crusades.

The preaching events in the chronicles show a strong tendency to exaggerate, highlighting the emotional outburst and the preacher's performance and charisma. Their uncritical consideration established the myth among schol-

64 This disparity is already visible with Urban II and Bernard of Clairvaux.

65 For an analysis of such evidence, see Christoph T. Maier, "Kirche, Kreuz und Ritual: Eine Kreuzzugspredigt in Basel im Jahr 1200," *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 55 (1999), 95–115; Maier, "Ritual, What Else? Papal Letters, Sermons and the Making of Crusaders," *Journal of Medieval History* 44 (2018), 338–343. It is remarkable that Urban II's words in their different versions follow the general tenor of the respective chronicle (see Rubenstein, "Crusade and Apocalypse," 179). Supposing that the versions were not freely invented, this suggests that each chronicler selected information from either a longer sermon or more than one sermon.

ars that it was not so much the content of the sermons that was needed, but the preacher's charisma, or that some had already decided to join the crusade anyway.⁶⁶ However, we must assume that their contents fulfilled a pivotal purpose (see the section on methodology). This study will therefore balance the chronicle's place in contemporary discourse with the sermon texts, in order to arrive at a more nuanced and representative picture of the phenomenon. These exaggerated narrations have also fundamentally contributed to the idea that 'crusade sermons' were this extraordinary category separate from 'normal preaching.' Yet, the surviving sermon material by no means corroborates such a separation, while even the chronicles frequently note that one preached the crusade on specific feast days:⁶⁷ they already advise that it is worthwhile to consider liturgical sermon collections. This is even more pertinent to those figures visible as preachers in the narratives such as Baldwin of Canterbury and Henry of Albano. On the basis of their personal relations, for example, with Peter of Blois or Garnerius of Clairvaux, one may consider which of the surviving sermons may have been used for the events reported: the chapter on historical context will be devoted to this task. The bottom line is thus: which preachers and preaching events found their way into the historiographical record was an arbitrary decision, a very selective perception, a small spotlight on a broad phenomenon. The chronicles were subject to narrative modelling, historiographical commemoration, and individual taste, and therefore cannot offer representative insights into crusade mobilization. They were, however, often considered as such by previous scholarship, which barely reflected on their selective perception: this is the point of departure for this study and its method of discourse analysis.

3 Methodology: What Is a Crusade Sermon?

3.1 *State of Research: Defining the Pertinent Source Material*

This study contributes to the field of crusade preaching, which is still in its early stages compared to the phenomenon's vital role and despite some important pioneering work.⁶⁸ However, this research either attempted in vain to cover the

66 See, e.g., Tyerman, *God's War*, 383–386; Rubenstein, *Dream*, 112–115; Giles Constable, "The Language of Preaching in the Twelfth Century," *Viator* 25 (1994), 151–152.

67 See Maier, "Basel," 101–105; Tyerman, *Plan*, 93–96.

68 See the depictions of the state of the art in: Tamminen, *Crusader*, 10–14; Christoph T. Maier, "Propaganda und Diversifikation der Kreuzzüge im 13. Jahrhundert," in: *Die Kreuzzugsbewegung im römisch-deutschen Reich (11.–13. Jahrhundert)*, ed. Nikolas Jaspert and Stefan

entire phenomenon (Penny Cole, Jean Flori), with substantiating research still outstanding in many areas, or it focused on other areas, in particular the 13th century and the friars (such as Christoph Maier or Miikka Tamminen), whereas the 12th century has barely been tackled. Previous research also made clear how many methodological challenges and untapped sources are still waiting, including that of Beverly Kienzle, Constantinos Georgiou, Matthew Phillips, and most notably Jessalynn Bird. Many sermon collections have never been consulted to see whether they contain material relevant for the crusades—quite apart from the fact that one must first discuss the issue of how one can determine such relevance. The pitfalls of previous research consist of four main points:

First, nobody has delivered a substantial study of the Third Crusade's preaching. Some sermons or preachers have occasionally been noted, but not subjected to meaningful analysis; others seem entirely unknown.⁶⁹ The same is true for the 12th century in general: in cases where it was considered (Cole, Flori), this was mostly based on the chronicle evidence. Second, elaboration on a theorization of crusade preaching is still outstanding, including the fact that nobody has tried to define the category of 'crusade sermon' despite using the term. Even though several scholars have identified the problem (Cole, Kienzle, Bird, Tamminen), only Maier seems to have operated implicitly with a definition when identifying sermon texts via specific titles such as *Ad crucesignatos* or *In predicatione crucis*.⁷⁰ It is therefore unclear what is meant by 'crusade sermon,' how one may define or demarcate this anachronistic genre, and how one may thus select source material. Another lacuna consists in discussing the purpose(s) of crusade preaching: Is it motivation and mobilization? Spiritual preparation? Or only a spectacular event, the background music to a military organization?—questions that relate to complex issues about the crusades' nature. Third, the fact that scholars have often blended different types of sources, in order to create a coherent story, needs to be critically reviewed. This study opposes this approach with the help of a discourse analysis, which asks about a text's role and authority within a discourse, weighting different

Tebruck (Ostfildern 2015), 235–237; Constantinos Georgiou, *Preaching the Crusades to the Eastern Mediterranean: Propaganda, Liturgy, and Diplomacy, 1305–1352* (New York 2018), 5–8. Symptomatic is that preaching remains absent from Housley's state of research in crusade studies: Norman J. Housley, *Contesting the Crusades* (Oxford 2006).

69 For details on the specific preachers, see the chapter on immediate context.

70 See Christoph T. Maier, *Crusade Propaganda and Ideology: Model Sermons for the Preaching of the Cross* (Cambridge, UK 2000), esp. 4, 30–31, 53; Maier, *Preaching the Crusades: Mendicant Friars and the Cross in the Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge, UK 1994), 111–112, 170–172.

texts differently. One must draw a clear line between sermon texts on the one hand and narratives about preaching on the other. Posing the question of the representativeness of particular sources shall shed new light on the maze of crusade mobilization.⁷¹ Fourth, discussion of the content of sermons has sometimes remained haphazard;⁷² whereas Kienzle, Tamminen, Phillips, and Bird have already shown ways for profound analysis. There was perhaps an underdeveloped interest in the matter, given the view that the contents were of minor importance to a preaching event anyway.⁷³ Further methodological development of how to examine such sources seems necessary, including reflections on the historical value that this may yield. This brings the blending of crusade and other phenomena into focus—as is common throughout the sermon texts.⁷⁴ The historian is thus prompted to engage with the complex fields of theology, liturgy, and exegesis, whereby this study can build on recent developments in the field. Especially Philippe Buc, Cecilia Gaposchkin, Jay Rubenstein, and Katherine Allen Smith have demonstrated how strongly the crusades interacted with such dimensions, increasingly embedding them in their Christian meta-structure, and thus equipping the scholar with an entirely new toolbox.

Moreover, this study tackles two further essential aspects: the first concerns the state of the art in sermon studies, where the 12th century remains a neglected field, due to the myth that extensive preaching (especially with lay audiences) only unfolded with the friars.⁷⁵ However, the friars represent the outcome, and not the beginning, of a process that originated at least in mid-12th-century Paris, a fact underlined by all previous research on 12th-century sermons. Many of the efforts usually attributed to the friars were already taking shape in the 12th century; the period knew important predecessors and pion-

71 See the section below on the different sources for the contents of crusade-related preaching.

72 Hofreiter criticized this regarding Cole and Maier: Christian Hofreiter, *Making Sense of Old Testament Genocide: Christian Interpretations of Herem Passages* (Oxford 2018), 169.

73 See, e.g., Maier, “Papal Letters,” 342. See also the previous section.

74 Maier brings exactly this juxtaposition to the conclusion that a preacher had to select elements from his model texts, in order to preach the crusade. He thus proposes that only a fraction of each sermon is concerned with ‘the crusade’ (Maier, *Propaganda*, 30–31). This idea requires review: a preacher consciously combined ‘the crusade’ with other matters in a sermon text.

75 See, e.g., Maier, “Diversifikation,” 241–242; Larissa Taylor, *Soldiers of Christ: Preaching in Late Medieval and Reformation France* (New York 1992), 61; Eyal Poleg, “‘A Ladder Set up on Earth’: The Bible in Medieval Sermons,” in: *The Practice of the Bible in the Middle Ages*, ed. Susan Boynton (New York 2011), 208–210. On the developments in sermon studies, see Anne T. Thayer, “Medieval Sermon Studies since *The Sermon: A Deepening and Broadening Field*,” *Medieval Sermon Studies* 58 (2014), 10–27.

eers, just as one observes attempts to encourage preaching and to disseminate preaching material.⁷⁶ Another dimension of sermon studies concerns the fact that one often finds there disciplines other than the historical (many theologians and philologists of different languages), whose interest is often limited to the texts themselves. Dimensions of historical contextualization and the interaction with historical phenomena are left unconsidered more often than not. Sermons, however, did not exist in a vacuum—even biblical commentaries contain numerous references to political, social, and historical phenomena, as Philippe Buc demonstrated (1994). Consequently, one needs to animadvert on the idea common among sermon scholars that model sermons are timeless and unspecific.⁷⁷ While their model character is an important factor, this study will show that such texts offer many specific insights: thanks to historical contextualization, dimensions become visible in the texts that are otherwise overlooked. Yet, this comes with its challenges; scholars such as David d'Avray have developed promising approaches: his profound investigations have revised stereotypical notions such as the antithesis of spontaneous itinerant preaching and university sermons.⁷⁸ Whereas scholars were sometimes quick to assert a spiritual or monastic reading for a sermon, the crusades must find consideration in the central and late Middle Ages as a sermon text's possible purpose and layer of meaning.⁷⁹ Nicole Bériou even asserted that the late 11th century, with the dawn of the crusade movement, represented the pivotal point for the emergence of broader preaching efforts: following the expertise of this eminent sermon scholar, the development of preaching material was from the beginning significantly interwoven with the crusades.⁸⁰

76 See, e.g., Quinto, "Peter the Chanter," 68–70; Stansbury, *Before the Friars*, 78–80, 312; Jean Longère, *La prédication médiévale* (Paris 1983), 87–92, 147. See also Mark Allen Zier, "Sermons of the Twelfth Century Schoolmasters and Canons," in: *The Sermon*, ed. Beverly Mayne Kienzle (Turnhout 2000), 325–326; Mary A. Rouse, "'Statim invenire': Schools, Preachers, and New Attitudes to the Page," in: *Authentic Witnesses: Approaches to Medieval Texts and Manuscripts* (Notre Dame, Ind. 1991), 192.

77 See, e.g., Stansbury, *Before the Friars*, 317–318; Pietro Delcorno, *In the Mirror of the Prodigal Son: The Pastoral Uses of a Biblical Narrative, c. 1200–1550* (Leiden 2018), 117.

78 d'Avray, *Friars*. See also, e.g., Thompson, "Texts," 13–37; Yuichi Akae, "Between *artes praedicandi* and Actual Sermons: Robert of Basevorn's *Forma praedicandi* and the Sermons of John Waldeby," in: *Constructing the Medieval Sermon*, ed. Roger Andersson (Turnhout 2007), 9–32.

79 For a pointed review of such mere monastic readings, see Bruce Wood Holsinger, "The Color of Salvation: Desire, Death, and the Second Crusade in Bernard of Clairvaux's Sermons on the Song of Songs," in: *The Tongue of the Fathers*, ed. David R. Townsend and Andrew Taylor (Philadelphia 1998), 159–162.

80 Bériou, *Communication*, 47–59, esp. 51; see also Phyllis Barzillay Roberts, *Studies in the*

The second aspect concerns reviewing the deeply narrative historiography of the crusades, which established certain myths about crusade preaching, especially that not many ‘crusade sermons’ have survived (see below). This study contests the representativeness of chronicles; this includes the dimension of their reception and distribution, given that their manuscript evidence is generally slim (with a few exceptions).⁸¹ The study will modify the narratives delivered by the chronicles with the help of the sermon texts, since their narrativity requires deconstruction via modern methods—approaches that have only recently received attention.⁸² Chronicles as a source need critical review for another reason as well: they represent a digestion with hindsight—even more so in the case of failed expeditions such as the Third Crusade. Nikolas Jaspert asserted that they are “contaminated by the experiences of the journey.”⁸³ Nevertheless, scholars used chronicles for examining a crusade’s motivations, goals, and preaching.⁸⁴ This study will demonstrate that essential differences exist between expectation a priori and hindsight a posteriori, critically when a crusade failed. The First Crusade, on the other hand, was characterized by the delivery of expectations—as visible in the strongly apocalyptic out-

Sermons of Stephen Langton (Toronto 1968), 42; Charles W. Connell, *Popular Opinion in the Middle Ages: Channeling Public Ideas and Attitudes* (Berlin 2016), 48–108.

- 81 For a convincing argument about specific sources’ lack of representativeness, see Robin J. Vose, *Dominicans, Muslims, and Jews in the Medieval Crown of Aragon* (New York 2009), 5–9, asserting that one cannot determine a serious interest in the evangelization of Muslims in 13th-century Iberia. Many texts do not express any interest in this group—whereas previous research, building on a few polemical treatises, has drawn another picture (see also Skottki, *Beschreibung*, 147).
- 82 See esp. Bull, *Eyewitness*; Skottki, *Beschreibung*, 252–420. On using narratological tools for the medieval period, see Alexander Marx, Gerd Micheluzzi, and Kristina Kogler, “Narrare: Reflexionen über die Anwendung von Erzähltheorie auf das Mittelalter,” in: *Narrare—producere—ordinare* (Vienna 2021), 13–27.
- 83 Nikolas Jaspert, “Das Heilige Grab, das Wahre Kreuz, Jerusalem und das Heilige Land. Wirkung, Wandel und Vermittler hochmittelalterlicher Attraktoren,” in: *Konflikt und Bewältigung*, ed. Thomas Pratsch (Berlin 2011), 75: “durch die Erfahrungen der Reise kontaminiert.” My translation.
- 84 This concerns large parts of crusade studies; see, e.g., Jonathan Phillips, *The Fourth Crusade and the Sack of Constantinople* (London 2005), 1–55; Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders, 1095–1131* (Cambridge, UK 1997), 53–80; William J. Purkis, *Crusading Spirituality in the Holy Land and Iberia, c.1095–c.1187* (Woodbridge 2008), 86–119. Riley-Smith has a chapter entitled ‘Preaching and the Crusaders’ that does not cite a single sermon (save for those narrated in chronicles, esp. Urban 11’s). Purkis has a chapter on ‘The Cistercian Influence on the Preaching of Crusades, 1150–1187,’ likewise citing not a single sermon, yet (astonishingly) he tries to say something about the contents of preaching (e.g., 69, 114). See also the critique of Purkis in: Tamminen, *Crusader*, 109–110. For a more balanced discussion, moving beyond chronicles, see Tyerman, *Plan*, 87–123, esp. 114–118.

look of its chronicles.⁸⁵ This will show that scholars often underestimated the role of eschatological beliefs for the crusade movement.⁸⁶ The historiographical focus is also very much visible in the scholarship on the Third Crusade, which was often devoted to the history of events or military dimensions, for example, John Hosler's book (2018) on the siege of Acre. Symptomatic is also a focus on the leaders, in particular Frederick Barbarossa and Richard Lionheart.⁸⁷ Specific chronicles have been subjected to substantial analysis, just as the events of 1187 have been examined, including the calls for help sent to the West.⁸⁸ Of particular note are Helen Birkett's excellent article (2018), a first systematic investigation of how news of the events spread to the West, as well as Thomas Smith's contribution (2018), who reviewed *Audita tremendi* on the basis of the manuscripts and its different versions—two essential foundations for this study. Finally, Stephen Bennett's recent book (2021) investigated participants in the Third Crusade from northwestern Europe through the lenses of network analysis and prosopography, providing an extensive list of participants in his appendix, which was of great value to this study.⁸⁹ In conclusion, previous research on the Third Crusade focused on certain themes and sources, whereas the venture's preaching has not received any meaningful attention.

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- 85 See, e.g., Buc, *Holy War*, 74–77, 280–286; Jay Rubenstein, *Armies of Heaven: The First Crusade and the Quest for Apocalypse* (New York 2011). See in detail the chapter on the Apocalypse.
- 86 See, e.g., Tyerman, *Plan*, 173; John France, *Victory in the East: A Military History of the First Crusade* (Cambridge, UK 1994), 356; Riley-Smith, *First Crusade*, 34–35, 102; Riley-Smith, “Review of Jay Rubenstein, *Armies of Heavens: The First Crusade and the Quest for Apocalypse*,” *Catholic Historical Review* 98/4 (2012), 786–787. For a useful depiction of the different opinions, see Buc, “Crusade and Eschatology,” 305–307; Rubenstein, “Crusade and Apocalypse,” 167–168.
- 87 See, e.g., Hiestand, “Barbarossa,” 51–108; Stephen Spencer, “‘Like a Raging Lion’: Richard the Lionheart’s Anger during the Third Crusade in Medieval and Modern Historiography,” *The English Historical Review* 132 (2017), 495–532. See also the historiographical survey in: Spencer, “Perspective,” 1–14.
- 88 On chronicles, see, e.g., Edbury, “Wales,” 221–233; Helen J. Nicholson, “The Construction of a Primary Source. The Creation of *Itinerarium peregrinorum* 1,” *Cahiers de recherches médiévales et humanistes* 37 (2019), 143–165; Catherine Croizy-Naquet, “Rigord, Philippe Auguste et la croisade,” in: *De la pensée de l’histoire au jeu littéraire*, ed. Sébastien Douchet and Marie-Pascale Halary (Paris 2019), 148–160. On the events of 1187, see, e.g., Cole, “Perceptions,” 9–39; John H. Pryor, “Two *excitationes* for the Third Crusade: The Letters of Brother Thierry of the Temple,” *Mediterranean Historical Review* 25/2 (2010), 147–168.
- 89 See esp. the chapter on historical context; Bennett’s book was in particular helpful for investigating the network of bishops.

3.1.1 Why Not Propaganda?

Thinking of crusade preaching, it seems tempting to apply the modern concept of propaganda, an attractive keyword that has already embellished the titles of many books and articles. Christoph Maier, in particular, embedded the phenomenon into such a conceptual framework.⁹⁰ However, this concept is undoubtedly indebted to recent history and largely dependent on present-day media and modern concepts of politics. Especially National Socialism used and abused the term, leaving a specific and negative mark on the concept.⁹¹ Several of its key ideas seem unsuitable for the medieval period, in particular mass media, the intended manipulation for own ends (often understood as economic or political interests), and the simplification of complex contents.

First, it is not difficult to argue that the mass media of modernity did not exist in the Middle Ages. Processes of communication were much less centralized and much less controllable. Mediality is crucial for the concept of propaganda: it conveys the world via media, always holding a potential for distortion and abuse.⁹² The sermon, however, was characterized by the personal contact in the mass—even if contents were transported via media, especially via the lens of the Bible. Yet, this was a media distance shared by preacher and audience, whereas with the concept of propaganda, only the recipients are subjected to this distortion. While I agree with David d'Avray that one can consider preaching as a *medieval* form of 'mass communication' that unfolded its impact via its perpetual presence,⁹³ one must still consider the media conditions of the age instead of projecting modern notions.⁹⁴ Second, using the term propaganda obstructs our view on the effectiveness and universality of cultural paradigms; it suggests that the motivations for crusades were somehow imposed, optional, and an unreliable façade. It evokes in particular the notion of a manipulat-

90 Maier, "Propaganda," esp. 7–8, 28. He confirmed this view recently in: Maier, "Diversifikation," 235–248. For other examples, see Connell, *Opinion*, 22–33; Colin Morris, "Propaganda for War: The Dissemination of the Crusading Ideal in the Twelfth Century," *Studies in Church History* 20 (1983), 79–101; Beverly Mayne Kienzle, "Preaching the Cross: Liturgy and Crusade Propaganda," in: *Preaching and Political Society*, ed. Franco Morenzoni (Turnhout 2013), 11–46. Tamminen noted that the concept is problematic, and yet he decided to use it (Tamminen, *Crusader*, 3–4). For a review of the rendering as propaganda, see Gaposchkin, *Weapons*, 7–8.

91 See Wolfgang Schieder and Christof Dipper, "Propaganda," in: *Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe*, ed. Otto Brunner, Werner Conze, and Reinhart Koselleck (Stuttgart 1984), 5108–112; Thymian Bussemer, *Propaganda: Konzepte und Theorien* (Wiesbaden 2008), 153–224.

92 See Bussemer, *Propaganda*, 33–34.

93 d'Avray, "Method," 8–9; d'Avray, *Friars*, 3; see also Thompson, "Texts," 22; Roberts, *Sermons*, 21–22; Delcorno, *Mirror*, 15.

94 As it happens, e.g., in: Connell, *Opinion*, 33–47.

ive clergy who influenced the mass of lay people for their own benefit. But what benefit would that be? Were clerics not those most enthusiastic of all, often found in the first flight of a crusade army? Again, as with the media conditions, producers and recipients were united via common goals, that is, a devout life and the pursuit of salvation.⁹⁵ Third, the modern understanding of propaganda is fundamentally characterized by the simplification of complex subjects, to thus achieve wide broadcasting, to polemicize, and to develop *Feindbilder* (notions of the enemy). The credo is the simpler the better.⁹⁶ One may assert the opposite impetus for medieval preaching: it complicated even the simplest matters by distinguishing subjects according to the four senses of Scripture, by explaining spiritual meanings behind physical objects, or by using manifold biblical imagery.⁹⁷ Meaning is not simplified but multiplied—the opposite of propaganda. Simple appeals such as ‘these are the enemies, vanquish them’ would agree with propaganda, and some scholars may imagine that crusades were preached accordingly—but not a single sermon text exists that would limit itself to such simple messages.

The entanglement of crusades and Christian religion demonstrates how much their mobilization stemmed from the heart of this society and how intrinsically it blended with daily religious practice. Communication and preaching were essential components therein, but notions of manipulation, mass media, or the enrichment of a small elite do not do justice to the phenomenon. As a result, one must not make the mistake of imposing our modern ideas. Already Penny Cole asserted about crusade-related sermons: “They were more didactic than exhortatory; they provided explanations of the moral and spiritual significance of crusading and, in the process, stripped the crusade of its martial realism and replaced this with a wholly spiritual message.”⁹⁸ This nature erodes the border between the crusade and other subjects, and for this reason Jessalynn Bird underlined “the difficulty of identifying sermons

95 Menache concludes that several monarchies abused the concept of crusading in the 14th and 15th centuries for political interests: she speaks here of propaganda—in contrast with the golden age of crusading (Sophia Menache, *The Vox Dei: Communication in the Middle Ages* (New York 1990), 175–190, esp. 189). Surprisingly, however, she uses the term likewise for the earlier crusades (98–123).

96 See Schieder and Dipper, “Propaganda,” 110; Bussemer, *Propaganda*, 34, 220.

97 On the four senses, see Gaposchkin, *Weapons*, 32; Henri de Lubac, *Exégèse médiévale: les quatre sens de l’écriture* (Paris 1959), 1:643–648. See the elaborate discussion in the section on preliminaries.

98 Cole, *Preaching*, 175; see also Gaposchkin, *Weapons*, 211; Christopher J. Tyerman, *The Invention of the Crusades* (Basingstoke 1998), 145.

intended for the crusade.”⁹⁹ David d’Avray argued that “[...] preachers do not usually have to be original and must not propound ideas that seem too alien to their audience.”¹⁰⁰ In agreement, Bird deemed liturgical sermons a *lingua franca* for granting the crusades meaning.¹⁰¹ Preachers relate to the horizon of their audience; they seek to blend with familiar patterns to stimulate participation in an expedition. Crusade mobilization would not have worked if it distinguished itself too much from other preaching. Now, however, the historian is left with the challenge of identifying the crusade within sermon texts.

3.1.2 The Latin Terminology of ‘the Crusade’ and the Corpus of Crusade-Related Elements (Table 1)

The question of crusade-specific language and terminology represents an unresolved issue: one can only draw on studies either examining limited samples or operating in a piecemeal way.¹⁰² It relates to the much-discussed issue of what a crusade is, a debate that often had a cumbersome nature, because scholars hardly distinguished between the ideas of medieval people and modern analytical categories. One may draft an analytical definition, for example, one that agrees with the so-called pluralists (the notion that areas such as Iberia and the Baltic also witnessed crusades)—although this does not say anything about the medieval perception.¹⁰³ This debate tackles another much-discussed question: Did contemporaries understand the First Crusade as something genuinely new or merely as the fulfilment of expectations? Considering the quite unspecific terminology for the crusades, using generic categories such as *peregrinatio* and at best extending their meaning, one can clearly tend to the latter.¹⁰⁴ Similarly telling is the non-existent demarcation of pilgrims and crusaders.¹⁰⁵ Norman

99 Bird, *Heresy*, 124; see also Kienzle, “Cross,” 37.

100 d’Avray, “Method,” 4.

101 Jessalynn L. Bird, “Damiatta the Whore, the Purification of the Virgin Mary, and the Crusade Movement,” *Medieval Sermon Studies* 65 (2021), 18; see also Beverly Mayne Kienzle, “Medieval Sermons and Their Performance: Theory and Record,” in: *Preacher, Sermon and Audience in the Middle Ages*, ed. Carolyn A. Muessig (Leiden 2002), 91.

102 See, e.g., Weber, “Word,” 199–220; Michael Markowski, “Crucesignatus: Its Origins and Early Usage,” *Journal of Medieval History* 10/3 (1984), 157–165.

103 See the discussion of the different approaches in: Housley, *Contesting*, 1–23.

104 See, e.g., Tyerman, “Any Crusades,” 555; Cecilia Gaposchkin, “From Pilgrimage to Crusade: The Liturgy of Departure, 1095–1300,” *Speculum* 88 (2013), 46–47, 65–66, 70; Amnon Linder, *Raising Arms: Liturgy in the Struggle to Liberate Jerusalem in the Late Middle Ages* (Turnhout 2003), 363–364.

105 See, e.g., Martin Völkl, *Muslimen—Märtyrer—Militia Christi: Identität, Feindbild und Fremderfahrung während der ersten Kreuzzüge* (Stuttgart 2011), 43–46; Giles Constable, “The

Housley explained: “But a distinctive crusading vocabulary was slow to emerge, possibly because it was not needed [...]”.¹⁰⁶ This study is interested in how contemporaries conceived of the activity of crusading, that is, the meaning of a journey to the East and the Church’s defense against its manifold enemies. This broaches the issue of how the crusade may express itself in the late 12th century in language and imagery.

Modern research always had a strong desire to identify equivalents to the modern ‘crusade’ in medieval texts, a term that only sharpened its meaning in the 17th century, as Christoph Maier recently demonstrated.¹⁰⁷ Scholars listed terms such as *peregrinatio* or *iter Hierosolimitanum*—but they hardly asked the question if these were in any way representative, that is, did these represent widespread and established concepts for ‘the crusade’?¹⁰⁸ Thanks to the ability to search full text databases, one discovers that none of these terms was very common. Some may even designate attempts by specific authors to establish a new term for the phenomenon. We will see in the following chapters how authors after 1187 tried the same, thereby creating terminological diversity. The terminology for ‘crusaders’ is likewise a complex and unresolved issue—while scholars such as Christopher Tyerman have often been too quick to use *crucesignati* for this purpose.¹⁰⁹ Here, too, database searches demonstrate that this term is a rare occurrence; many crusade-specific texts do not use it at all. Walker Reid Cosgrove emphasized that it remained one term among many, even during Innocent III’s papacy (to whom its establishment is usually attributed).¹¹⁰ As a result, the selection of sermon material cannot limit itself to the

Place of the Crusader in Medieval Society,” *Viator* 29 (1998), 380, 384–390. Henry the Lion’s venture (1172), for example, has been declared a pilgrimage, but it also comprised a large number of armed men (see Jonathan Riley-Smith, “An Army on Pilgrimage,” in: *Jerusalem the Golden*, ed. Susan B. Edgington (Turnhout 2014), 113).

106 Housley, *Contesting*, 7; see also Tyerman, *Invention*, 20–24, 49–55, 76–83.

107 Maier, “First History,” 13–28.

108 For an overview of contemporary terms, see Maier, *Propaganda*, 52–54; Purkis, *Spirituality*, 41–42, 117; Völk, *Märtyrer*, 38–50. Most terms are unspecific such as *iter* or *peregrinatio*. Such are only sometimes aligned with complementing information such as *iter Hierosolimitanum*. Other terms include *labor Hierosolimitana* or *labor peregrinationis* (see Alexander III, *Ep.1504*, 1295; *Ep.1505*, 1296) as well as *via Dei* or *via domini* (see, e.g., Guibert of Nogent, *Gesta*, ed. Huygens, 118; Peter of Blois, *Conquestio*, 81).

109 See Tyerman, *God’s War*, 375; Tyerman, *Plan*, 116.

110 Cosgrove, “Crucesignatus,” 95–110. Telling is that *crucesignati* remained a vague term in canon law, whereas it dealt with other groups systematically and coherently (see Housley, *Contesting*, 16). This substantiates my critique of Maier who supposes that *crucesignati* represented an established and unequivocal terminology (see esp. Maier, “First History,” 15).

appearance of terms that did not loom large in the contemporary discourse. One encounters a diversity of terms and expressions that try to grasp the historical phenomenon somehow; our analysis must remain open to new linguistic forms that may designate 'the crusade.' It also seems that medieval people did not share our desire to grant the phenomenon a specific name.¹¹¹ They did not deem this necessary, likely because the linguistic instruments available (stemming from the Bible, exegesis, and the liturgy) offered more than sufficient categories for apprehending the phenomenon—a fact that impedes our view, eager to sharpen crusade-specific language.

Table 1 catalogues elements and biblical references that occur repeatedly in crusade-specific texts. Mapping an element's manifold occurrences helps with substantiating its crusade-specific nature; this provides the historian with a toolbox that can help in decoding the sermon texts.¹¹² This corpus sharpens, therefore, the recognizability of crusade-specific language and, in case of doubt, it delivers further evidence for an element's crusade nature. Every entry in the table is crusade-specific; it refers either to a crusade-specific source or to a crusade-specific context within a source. Certain parallels with the Third Crusade's corpus are especially insightful, for example, when elements appear in First Crusade chronicles, the pivotal precedent, or if they are present in liturgical texts: this indicates a practice, including the fact that broader parts of society were familiar with these elements. However, it is important to note that the table can only build on the state of research; blank spaces are not necessarily real gaps, for example, much material is still waiting in liturgical manuscripts. The meager state of the art is notably evident in the column 'Crusade-related sermon texts,' since scholars have not examined sermons through the lens of the crusades prior to 1187. The few entries derive from those hitherto known haphazard findings, such as the different versions of Urban 11's sermon. Contrariwise, gaps in well-researched and especially digitized materials (such as the First Crusade accounts) are significant; here, it seems that certain elements indeed remain absent. This also permits initial conclusions as to how the preaching of crusades developed thematically. The table shows that some elements are only present after 1187, a fact due to the events of that year, as this

111 Tyerman asserted a trend of using rather verbs of movement than nouns (Tyerman, *Invention*, 50–51).

112 In the later 13th century, Humbert of Romans composed a list of biblical references that could have served crusade-related preaching: *De thematibus totius biblie ad predicandum crucem* (Humbert of Romans, *De predicatione*, 102–119; see Maier, *Friars*, 115). He thus broached exactly the task that I postulate for today's historian. Yet, one may suppose that his list likewise represents a selection.

TABLE 1A The corpus of crusade-related elements

	Chronicles				Liturgy				Letters			
	First Crusade	12th cen.	Third Crusade	13th cen.	First Crusade	12th cen.	Third Crusade	13th cen.	First Crusade	12th cen.	Third Crusade	13th cen.
Ez. 9:4	x		x	x		x					x	x
Gal. 6:14			x	x	x	x	x				x	x
Ps. 79	x	x	x	x			x			x	x	x
Ps. 131:7 / 1Pet. 2:21	x	x	x	x					x	x	x	x
Hebr. 13:14								x				
Ps. 74:12		x	x	x						x	x	x
Is. 51:7 / 60:1	x	x				x						
Job 9:24		x	x	x							x	x
Cross as a war banner	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	
Ex. 12:7												
Lk. 19:41 and Palm Sunday	x	x			x							
Is. 11:10	x	x		x			x			x		x
Mt. 16:24	x	x	x	x				x	x			x
Comparison Cross and Ark			x								x	
Holy Land as inheritance	x	x	x	x						x	x	x
Ps. 122:2-3	x	x								x		
Laetare Jerusalem (Is. 66:10)	x	x	x		x		x			x	x	
Gates to Jerusalem	x	x		x						x		

TABLE 1A The corpus of crusade-related elements (*cont.*)

	Chronicles				Liturgy				Letters			
	First Crusade	12th cen.	Third Crusade	13th cen.	First Crusade	12th cen.	Third Crusade	13th cen.	First Crusade	12th cen.	Third Crusade	13th cen.
East (<i>oriens</i>)	x	x		x		x		x		x		x
Fulfillment of prophecies	x	x	x	x		x				x	x	x
Earlier conquests of Jerusalem	x	x	x	x		x						
<i>terra sancta</i> (term)	x	x	x	x				x		x		x
The sea as probation	x		x	x						x		
John 12:31–32								x				
<i>pagani</i> / <i>gentes</i>	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Rev. 19			x								x	
<i>Imitatio Christi</i>	x	x	x	x				x				x
Martyrdom	x	x	x	x						x		

TABLE 1B The corpus of crusade-related elements

	Crusade-related sermon texts				Crusade-specific <i>Artes praedicandi</i>		
	First Crusade	12th cen.	Third Crusade	13th cen.	Brevis Ordinacio	Humbert of Romans	Stephen of Bourbon
Ez. 9:4			x	x		x	x
Gal. 6:14			x	x		x	
Ps. 79	x		x	x		x	x
Ps. 131:7 / 1 Pet. 2:21	x		x	x		x	x
Hebr. 13:14			x	x	x		
Ps. 74:12		x	x	x	x		x
Is. 51:7 / 60:1			x				
Job 9:24			x	x			
Cross as a war banner		x	x	x		x	x
Ex. 12:7			x	x		x	x
Lk. 19:41 and Palm Sunday			x	x			x
Is. 11:10		x	x	x			x
Mt. 16:24	x		x	x	x	x	x
Comparison Cross and Ark			x	x		x	
Holy Land as inheritance	x		x	x	x	x	x
Ps. 122:2-3			x	x		x	
Laetare Jerusalem (Is. 66:10)	x		x	x			
Gates to Jerusalem			x			x	x

TABLE 1B The corpus of crusade-related elements (*cont.*)

	Crusade-related sermon texts				Crusade-specific <i>Artes praedicandi</i>		
	First Crusade	12th cen.	Third Crusade	13th cen.	Brevis Ordinacio	Humbert of Romans	Stephen of Bourbon
East (<i>oriens</i>)			x			x	x
Fulfillment of prophecies			x	x			
Earlier conquests of Jerusalem			x	x			x
<i>terra sancta</i> (term)			x			x	x
The sea as probation	x		x	x	x	x	
John 12:31–32			x				x
<i>paganus</i> / <i>gentes</i>	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Rev. 19		x	x	x			
<i>Imitatio Christi</i>	x		x	x	x	x	x
Martyrdom	x		x	x	x	x	x

TABLE 1C The corpus of crusade-related elements

	Corpus of the Third Crusade									
	Baldwin of Canterbury	Peter of Blois	Ralph Ardens	Gamerius of Clairvaux	Henry of Albano	Hélinand of Froidmont	Alan of Lille	Prevostin of Cremona	Martin of León	
Ez. 9:4	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	
Gal. 6:14	x	x	x	x			x		x	
Ps. 79		x	x	x						
Ps. 131:7 / 1Pet. 2:21	x	x	x	x	x		x	x		
Hebr. 13:14		x	x	x		x	x			
Ps. 74:12	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	
Is. 51:7 / 60:1		x	x	x			x		x	
Job 9:24		x	x	x	x		x		x	
Cross as a war banner	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	
Ex. 12:7	x		x	x	x		x	x	x	
Lk. 19:41 and Palm Sunday	x		x	x		x	x	x	x	
Is. 11:10		x			x		x	x	x	
Mt. 16:24	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	
Comparison Cross and Ark		x		x				x		
Holy Land as inheritance	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	
Ps. 122:2-3	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	
Laetare Jerusalem (Is. 66:10)	x	x			x		x			
Gates to Jerusalem		x		x	x	x	x	x	x	

study will discuss. The listed motifs concur with those examined in this study; the table is thus informed by the Third Crusade's corpus.

The column 'Chronicles' includes other narrative sources such as pilgrim reports. Chronicles about the First Crusade that were penned in the advancing 12th century have been moved into the column '12th century.' The column 'Liturgy' builds fundamentally on Cecilia Gaposchkin's and Amnon Linder's contributions, complemented by my own observations for the Third Crusade and some treatises *De officiis* that offer crusade-related discussions. The columns 'First Crusade' and 'Third Crusade' are obviously quite empty, since liturgical practices were not aligned with specific expeditions. In cases where references are given, this derives mainly from historiographical sources that narrate liturgical action. The column 'Letters' primarily considers encyclicals and other letters of broader historical significance: the presence of elements in these sources indicates a spatial and societal distribution of ideas that certainly transcended a clerical or monastic register. The column 'Crusade-related sermon texts' is informed by those sermons that scholars have hitherto classified as crusade-related.¹¹³ These come mostly from the 13th century: using them in a comparative perspective allows us to sharpen crusade-specific language and to substantiate thus the crusade purpose of late 12th-century sermon texts.¹¹⁴

3.1.3 What Is a 'Crusade Sermon'?

It is a tenacious myth that not many 'crusade sermons' have survived. This myth is probably a key reason why scholars hardly developed an interest in the preaching of these ventures. It was fueled by unsubstantiated assertions that give the impression that the matter had been sorted out conclusively, for example, by Christopher Tyerman (1998): "[...] no independent texts of twelfth-century crusade sermons survive until 1189."¹¹⁵ Similarly, Anne Bysted wrote (2015): "All in all, we have evidence of the content matter of crusade sermons of around ten different preachers within our period [i.e., 1099–1215]."¹¹⁶ However, before one could make such definite assertions, one has to deal with two essential issues: first, one needs to discuss what exactly is meant by 'crusade sermon,' since the medieval period did not know such a genre (nor an equivalent).

113 Altogether, 33 such sermons have been edited: 17 in Maier's book (2000) and three more in one of his articles (1995); five sermons by Cole (1991); four by Bird (2004 and 2008); and four by Georgiou (2018). Among these, only eight bear the title *Ad crucesignatos*.

114 This was a fruitful endeavor: it happened more than once that I determined that a certain motif or biblical reference lends itself to the crusade, a result that was then corroborated by the later sources.

115 Tyerman, *Invention*, 63.

116 Bysted, *Indulgence*, 249.

Second, before formulating any quantitative assertions, one needs to survey all extant sermon material, a task that is hardly achievable. This material is already vast (and often unpublished) in the 12th century and largely expanding from the 13th century onwards. This study tried to cope with this task for the Third Crusade: having started with three preachers, the list now includes nine and is still incomplete—at some point, I simply reached the conclusion that the net of sources is too manifold and widespread to be covered in a single monograph. The nine identified preachers, however, were important protagonists, as the first chapter will demonstrate. One can distinguish two schools as to the understanding of what a ‘crusade sermon’ is; two different approaches for how to select sources:

On one side of the spectrum, one observes an understanding largely indebted to the modern concept of ‘crusade sermon’ that strenuously intends to identify a medieval equivalent—and since such a thing does not exist, this approach fuels the myth of lost crusade sermons. Christoph Maier’s research led the way here: while he was reluctant to formulate an explicit definition of ‘crusade sermon,’ and his research clearly revealed the entanglement with the liturgy, he still limited himself to small samples of sermon texts. He identified these primarily via formalistic criteria, in particular sermons’ titles where the crusade surfaces more explicitly in some exceptional cases (and this not before the early 13th century). Valentin Portnykh and Miikka Tamminen agree with this understanding; the latter also attempted a definition of ‘crusade sermon’ (only for his study, not a generic definition).¹¹⁷ Yet, it is problematic because it intends to identify relevant sermons via the audience, but in many cases, we cannot determine any audience (thus, one must consider crusaders as a possible audience), just as ‘crusaders’ do not represent a homogenous or exclusive group that one could demarcate to other listeners.¹¹⁸

On the other side, one observes an approach that is not obstructed by modern categories or the (not crusade-specific) titles of sermons, but examines their contents, thus accessing a broad range of sources, in particular liturgical sermon texts. Beverly Kienzle and Penny Cole have already developed important approaches; the latter formulated the imperative “for reading the medieval sermon books in which the crusade sermons lie buried.”¹¹⁹ Jessalynn Bird

117 Tamminen, *Crusader*, 25–26.

118 On questions of audience, see the chapter on historical context.

119 Cole, *Preaching*, xii. See also Holsinger, “Color,” 156–186, who investigated some of Bernard of Clairvaux’s sermons on the Song of Songs in terms of their pertinence to the crusades. For similar approaches, see Strack, “Urban II,” 30–45; Hendrik Breuer, “‘Quia salus ex iudeis est’ (Joh 4,22). Ein Textzeugnis der rheinischen Kreuzzugspredigt des Heiligen Bernhard

undertook pioneering work in her PhD thesis, demonstrating the entanglement of crusades to the East with anti-heretical efforts and reform ambitions—this made clear that an exclusive categorization of ‘crusade preaching’ does not correspond with the medieval understanding. Her recent research showed how worthwhile it is to consider sermon texts broadly and to classify specific feasts per se as crusade-related, specifically Palm Sunday and Good Friday.¹²⁰ Matthew Phillips pursued a similar approach, discussing crusade elements in liturgical sermon texts (especially the cross, penance, and *imitatio Christi*); and Constantinos Georgiou unearthed numerous pertinent sources for the first half of the 14th century, while emphasizing that much is still waiting in liturgical collections.

The first school is thus characterized by a narrow and formalistic approach that relies on modern concepts. Even though these scholars also produced many pertinent results, their limited samples raise the question of representativeness: conclusions regarding generic traits of crusade preaching or broader developments should be handled with care. Maier and Tamminen also demonstrate great awareness of the complexity of the situation and the entanglement with the liturgy, but—and this is essential—they do not consider these dimensions when it comes to selecting sources. The second school opened up other avenues by considering sermons broadly: one cannot separate ‘crusade preaching’ from other preaching activities; this is a false, modern antithesis. This is corroborated by Gaposchkin’s and Linder’s seminal research on the liturgy: both showed how omnipresent the crusade was within the liturgical framework, and how it blended with pre-existing categories. This study clearly follows the second school, since this agrees with the medieval logic: crusade-related preaching was a ubiquitous phenomenon of the period. Yet, it also intends to provide a synthesis, since there is now the issue of how one may assert ‘crusade potential’ in a specific text. This concerns addressing the precise nature of the relationship between a sermon text and the phenomenon of the crusade—an issue on which protagonists of the second school have not pondered either. Agreeing with Bird’s approach, particular feasts lend themselves to the phenomenon, but at the same time, one finds largely varying contents therein. For instance, some Palm Sunday sermons have little or no crusade potential (for example, since they were meant for the monastic arena); others may even be labeled as ‘crusade sermons’ (for example, since they broach the events of 1187).

von Clairvaux in der Glossa ordinaria des Codex 23 der Kölner Dombibliothek,” *Mittelalterliche Handschriften der Kölner Dombibliothek* 4 (2012), 115–174.

120 This was complemented recently by an article on how sermon texts for *In purificatione sancte Marie* relate to the Fifth Crusade (Bird, “Damietta,” 3–25).

Thus, the crusade potential may vary from text to text, and it may surface via a variety of motifs and expressions. Since ‘crusade sermon’ is not a medieval genre and thus distinguishing it from other preaching occasions seems problematic, the study will abstain from using this term. Instead, it will examine a text’s relationship with the crusading purpose—thematically, causally, and chronologically (see below)—by applying two analytical categories that consider the material’s variety and will henceforth serve for categorizing specific texts:

Sermons with high crusade potential: These are texts where the crusade surfaces clearly; application in service of the crusade seems likely or even certain, for example, if the events of 1187 or the earthly Jerusalem are discussed explicitly, but also if a large number of crusade elements are combined (for instance, a conjunction of Jerusalem, pagans, and penance). An exhaustive analysis will also uncover the crusade-related program that such a sermon proposes in its entirety: for example, the events of 1187 usually do not represent an isolated note, but interact with other elements in the text. Consequently, one must take the text as it stands seriously: an author consciously included a spectrum where crusade elements blend intrinsically with other traits.

Sermons with possible crusade potential: These are texts where implementation in service of the crusade seems possible, but not the only possibility, indebted to the four senses of Scripture and the genre’s model nature, for example, if a sermon broaches Jerusalem (the guise ambiguous), and this could refer, say, to either the earthly or the monastic Jerusalem.¹²¹ These texts thus contribute to notions and expectations; they are pertinent pieces of the puzzle for studying crusade spirituality, but their purpose is not unequivocal. Considering such will help to sharpen the crusade potential of the first category: by comparing texts with ‘high crusade potential’ and ‘possible crusade potential,’ one can establish how one may encounter the phenomenon in sermon texts.

Protagonists of the first school may counter that the 13th century knew ‘crusade sermons’ if titles such as *Ad cruce signatos* or *In predicatione crucis* appear. Even though these are certainly valuable evidence, limiting oneself to them seems problematic, as does equating them with ‘crusade sermon.’ These texts are insignificant in quantitative terms; some rare cases must be set against a vast mass of liturgical specimens.¹²² They make up probably less than 1 per cent of the surviving sermons, whereas crusade-related preaching was certainly a much more dominant phenomenon. Those exceptional cases represent an

121 On the senses and their identification with the different Jerusalems, see the chapter on Jerusalem.

122 See also the section below on the different sources and their representativeness.

addendum to regular preaching and, given their exceptional nature, they may be even further away from common preaching practice.¹²³ Furthermore, this does not have any relevance for the 12th century; I have not found a single sermon with such a title. And the phenomenon may have remained ephemeral: despite extensive surveys, Georgiou has not found a single sermon *Ad cruce signatos* in the 14th century.¹²⁴ Similarly, the crusade-specific titles of the 13th century are manifold in nature; they cannot be subsumed under a single genre. The only type that may have a slight resemblance with such are the sermons *Ad cruce signatos*; these, however, belong to the barely disseminated *ad status* genre. Bird criticized the restriction to such as an “artificially closed tradition.”¹²⁵ Neither qualitatively nor quantitatively is it justified to equate these with the modern category of ‘crusade sermon.’ This is especially true since the terminology for crusaders remained diverse, as discussed, just as nobody would suppose that other sermons *ad status*, for example, *ad clericos*, were the only ones addressed to this group. Other crusade-specific titles note in rare cases preaching occasions; this often appears as a gloss at a sermon’s outset.¹²⁶ These do not justify the definition of a genre either, but likely reflect a scribe’s specific interest in recording something about the text’s earlier use.¹²⁷

How badly an exclusive categorization of ‘crusade sermon’ works is demonstrated by the phenomenon of a sermon’s title deviating from one manuscript to the other. This versatile nature sometimes even appears within a single title: for example, a sermon by Roger of Salisbury (mid-13th cen.) says that it is meant either for *cruce signati* or Good Friday (*istud potest esse thema ad cruce signatos vel in die Parasceves*).¹²⁸ Odo of Chateauroux entitles a text as *Sermo in conversione sancti Pauli et exhortatio ad assumendam crucem* (Sermon on the conversion of Saint Paul and an exhortation to take the cross). Similarly,

123 Humbert corroborates the complementing nature: “Ea que scripta sunt de pertinentibus ad crucis predicationem contra sarracenos ad hoc valere possunt ut predicatorum crucis nondum in tali predicatione exercitati materiam invenient hic huius exercitii, qui vero magis sufficientes sunt, data sibi occasione, plura et meliora superaddant [...]” (Humbert of Romans, *De predicatione*, 5).

124 Georgiou, *Preaching*, 3.

125 Bird, *Heresy*, vi; see also Bird, “Damietta,” 16; Carolyn A. Muessig, “Audience and Preacher: *Ad status* Sermons and Social Classification,” in: *Preacher, Sermon and Audience in the Middle Ages*, ed. Muessig (Leiden 2002), 255.

126 See Tamminen, *Crusader*, 292–293; Nicole Bériou, “La prédication de croisade de Philippe le Chancelier et d’Eudes de Châteauroux en 1226,” in: *La Prédication en Pays d’Oc* (Toulouse 1997), 101–102.

127 See Bériou, *L’Avènement*, 1:216–227; Thompson, “Texts,” 23–24.

128 Roger of Salisbury, *Sermo*, ed. Cole, 227; see Cole, *Preaching*, 167, who argues that this betrays both the flexible model nature and likely actual use in the past.

Gilbert of Tournai notes: *verbum hoc competit cuilibet sancto et crucis negotio* (This text can serve any saint or the business of the cross).¹²⁹ The late 12th century offers comparable evidence: one of Prevostin of Cremona's sermons says that it can be put to use for any saint (*sermo de quolibet sancto*). He takes it to extremes with another text bearing the title *Sermo in quolibet festo*, a sermon for any feast.¹³⁰ Maurice of Sully proposes one for both *in ramis palmarum vel de adventu*, Palm Sunday or Advent—two quite different feasts (aligned by both being concerned with an arrival of Christ).¹³¹ John of Abbeville (early 13th cen.) offers another example: *Sermo iste potest adaptari Paulo, beato Augustino et cuilibet sancto de gentilitate ad fidem converso* (This sermon can be adapted for Paul, the blessed Augustine, and any saint who converted from heathendom to the faith), a title that indicates a crusade-related purpose.¹³² These versatile titles demonstrate how adaptable the sermon material was (hence including the crusade), and how little one should stick with clear-cut categories or the notion of clearly defined genres. This reveals likewise how badly an exclusive categorization of 'crusade sermon' or 'crusaders' as an audience works, and how intrinsically such preaching was interwoven with liturgical feasts.

This study's methodological approach consists thus of four essential steps:

- (1) 'Crusade sermon' is not a medieval genre but a modern concept inhering in certain anachronistic ideas (largely stemming from the concept of propaganda). As a result, this category cannot be of any help in selecting source material. Using modern concepts, the question is always whether they illuminate or obscure a phenomenon; here, the latter is clearly the case, therefore one should discard this category as an analytical instrument.
- (2) As recent research has demonstrated, preaching related to crusading activities was much more than military mobilization, straddling moral and spiritual dimensions and including traits such as the Eucharist or penance. It was intrinsically entangled with pivotal practices of Christian religion; one needs to discard the modern antithesis of 'crusade preaching' versus 'normal (liturgical) preaching'; and one must orientate oneself alongside the usual mode of organizing and entitling sermon material: the liturgical calendar.

129 See Maier, *Propaganda*, 30, 38–39.

130 For the first, see Ms. BNF lat. 14859, fol. 287r; for the second, Ms. BL Add 18335, fol. 3r.

131 Ms. BNF lat. 14934, fol. 183v; see Jean Longère, *Les sermons latins de Maurice de Sully, évêque de Paris: contribution à l'histoire de la tradition manuscrite* (Steenbrugis 1988), 337.

132 Ms. BNF lat. 2516, fol. 116r; see Longère, *Prédication*, 90.

- (3) Applying now a broad approach, one suddenly discovers that numerous medieval sermons deal with elements undoubtedly relevant to the crusades (such as Jerusalem, pagans, or penance). These texts betray at least a thematic relationship with crusading; they must be considered in an empirical breadth to investigate the phenomenon in a sound and meaningful way.
- (4) It follows (and here I go beyond previous research) that one needs to examine the crusade potential of a sermon text, that is, its relationship with crusading activities. However, it is a complex matter how 'the crusade' may surface in such a text, expressing itself in a large variety of imagery, terms, and biblical references. This requires meticulous and exegetical analysis; it requires especially that one approaches these texts unbiased. Furthermore, a text's historical anchoring, if successful, can help with arguing that such a text also inheres in a causal and chronological nexus with crusade recruitment.

3.2 *The Corpus of Sources: A Discourse Analytical Approach*

3.2.1 *Patrologia latina* and Manuscripts

In the service of a discourse analysis, it is first necessary to clearly define the corpus of sources, its size, and how specific texts were selected. Most of the relevant texts are either published in the outdated *Patrologia latina* (ed. Jacques Paul Migne, Paris 1844–1864) or still unpublished—likely a key reason why they have not received meaningful scholarly attention. The PL does not comply with today's academic standards and contains mistakes, often simply reprinting older editions (see the chapter on immediate context). It usually builds only on a portion of the surviving manuscripts or even a single copy; this raises the question of deviations: in both the unconsidered codices and those that flowed into the edition, because the PL offers a uniform text without noting any variants.¹³³ Since this study is very much interested in terminological details and the use as well as adaptation of biblical elements, it was necessary to examine the texts in their manuscripts. A copy's localization and material shape also delivered important insights by considering it as an archaeological artefact that helps in understanding a text's purpose.¹³⁴ Dimensions such as format, com-

¹³³ It is often not even clear which manuscripts the edition used. Comparing the manuscripts has sometimes yielded the result that the PL's version stems from a now lost copy, a fact that makes the PL a valuable source.

¹³⁴ See d'Avray, *Friars*, 57–63; Richard Hunter Rouse and Mary A. Rouse, "Introduction," in: *Authentic Witnesses: Approaches to Medieval Texts and Manuscripts* (Notre Dame, Ind. 1991), 1–4. See the chapter on media context.

position, and organizing devices (for example, tables of contents or glosses) essentially contribute to understanding the practical nature of these sources. Examining the manuscripts thus had four purposes: eliminating errors of the PL; watching out for variants; uncovering texts that are still unpublished; and gaining vital insights into the sources' nature and purpose. I consulted all pertinent manuscripts, that is, those holding sermons or crusade treatises of the nine authors, while not being available in any modern edition.¹³⁵ Since the number of copies is limited, it has not been necessary to narrow down the selection. Depending on the text, four different approaches were applied: (a) sermons that are published in the PL; (b) sermons published in a modern edition; (c) sermons still unpublished; and (d) texts that were not the prime concern (such as preaching aids).

First, after having identified a relevant sermon via the PL, its text has been compared with the manuscripts (considering title, errors, variants, and position in the codex). Second, with texts available in a modern edition, it was not mandatory to consult the manuscripts—unless important copies were missing from the edition (see the chapter on immediate context). However, the physical evidence was still of interest, therefore codices have been consulted when an occasion presented itself (primarily regarding deviating titles and the codex's composition). Third, a large number of unpublished sermons have been read and transcribed. However, many of these, often surviving anonymously or pointing beyond the nine preachers, have eventually not been included in this book, since they would require further research. The chapter on media context provides an impression of the materials that are still waiting in these codices. Fourth, as concerns preaching aids and various treatises, manuscripts have been consulted selectively: I limited myself to early copies, while the focus was on physical shape and composition (partly on issues of attribution); and textual comparisons have only been conducted selectively. The chapter on immediate context delineates what exactly this means regarding particular texts. Save for texts published in a modern edition, the study usually cites the PL's version (where it provides a viable text). This adheres to the simple logic that it is widely available. Important and interesting deviations are noted within a passage's quotation.¹³⁶ All quotations of unpublished texts follow the guidelines that David d'Avray drafted for a 'critical transcription' of sermons; this has the goal of making the texts available without caring about time-

135 See the section on manuscripts in the bibliography and table 2.

136 See the introduction to the chapter on 'Exemplary descriptions' as to how exactly this is done.

consuming editorial standards.¹³⁷ In cases where only the PL is cited (being concerned with a prime source, that is, sermons or crusade treatises), this means that I have not found any meaningful variants.¹³⁸ The texts have still been reviewed via the manuscripts and can thus be considered as verified evidence.

The corpus of the nine preachers includes some 630 sermon texts, both published and unpublished (Canterbury circle: c.280; Clairvaux circle: c.120; Paris circle: c.230): 42 of these texts have been analysed in-depth (c.7 per cent of the corpus), as systematically depicted in tables 8–11. Moreover, c.95 further sermons have been considered (c.15 per cent); this makes around 140 sermons altogether (c.22 per cent). The study thus considered a representative portion of the entire corpus. The next section introduces how and why sermons have been chosen from a collection: these are those with the highest crusade potential and the largest number of crusade elements. In practical terms, the selection was also dependent on the state of publication: it was possible to search published and especially digitized sources systematically for specific motifs and biblical references (Peter of Blois, Baldwin of Canterbury, Ralph Ardens, Martin of León, Garnerius of Clairvaux, and partially Hélinand of Froidmont). However, it was not possible to harvest unpublished sources in the same manner (Alan of Lille, Prevostin of Cremona, partially also Garnerius and Hélinand). I had to orientate myself with parameters such as titles or glosses; specific liturgical feasts, such as Palm Sunday or All Saints, were an important guide—an approach that generated a focus on certain feasts. The exhaustive surveys of the digitized materials corroborate that these feasts are indeed among those with the highest crusade potential, yet it remains possible that some crusade-related texts are still waiting under the heading of a less popular feast. There likewise remains potential for thematic expansion, for example, one could scrutinize the dimension of penance more than I did in this study. In doing so, further crusade-related texts would likely turn up. Regarding the manuscript evidence, the phenomenon of the polygraphic sermon collection (those containing several authors) decreases the amount of material covered in a specific codex, since these contain authors that are not considered here. Further crusade-related texts, for example, by Stephen Langton (c.1150–1228), are certainly waiting in such codices. This study analysed all 42 primarily relevant

137 David d'Avray, *Death and the Prince: Memorial Preaching before 1350* (Oxford 1994), 7–11; d'Avray, *Medieval Marriage Sermons: Mass Communication in a Culture without Print* (Oxford 2001), 38–47; see also Maier, *Propaganda*, 71–73.

138 Obvious mistakes of the PL were tacitly corrected.

sermons in all the extant copies (between one and six for each text): counting every version as an individual text, this makes 99 sermon texts disseminated over 37 codices.

3.2.2 How the Sermon Texts Were Selected

Whereas numerous sermons broach elements doubtlessly pertinent to the crusades (a definite thematic relationship), there is the question of whether one can also assert a causal relationship with the endeavor: that is, to argue that the crusade was a text's prime purpose, its prime layer of meaning. Hence, it likely derives from recruitment efforts related to a particular venture, that is, a chronological relationship. As a result, when speaking of a sermon's relevance, one can distinguish three types (see table 11):

- **A thematic relationship with the crusade:** Such a nexus is certainly present in numerous sermons; every sermon dealing with some kind of crusade element or reciting biblical stories of the Holy Land applies here. These sermons thus operate at least as a repository of ideas and materials for crusade-related preaching. Whether they did indeed derive from such or have been used for such often remains hypothetical, due to the four senses of Scripture and the genre's model nature.¹³⁹ Nevertheless, these are valuable sources for studying crusade spirituality and ideas about specific crusade motifs. The breadth of surviving texts allows us to examine such motifs in-depth, just as it countervails the suspicion that actual preaching may have differed significantly from the texts (see below). The consideration of a large number of sermons allows us to capture the range of resources available to contemporary preachers, which thus informed actual preaching activities. Consequently, it becomes possible to investigate preaching as a historical practice, in agreement with a discourse analysis—whereas small samples and extraordinary texts do not deliver such insights.
- **A causal relationship with the crusade:** This designates that its mobilization and (essentially spiritual) support was a text's prime purpose. Such a nexus is more difficult to argue, yet I am convinced that this is possible in some cases: several parameters indicate the crusade as well as a sermon's

139 Cole discusses such ambiguities for the 13th century, arguing that it is plausible that a sermon concerned with the cross and penance was put to use for the crusade (Cole, *Preaching*, 173–176; see also Jessalynn L. Bird, “Far Be It from Me to Glory Save in the Cross of Our Lord Jesus Christ (Gal. 6:14): Crusade Preaching and Sermons for Good Friday and Holy Week,” in: *Crusading in Art, Thought, and Will*, ed. Matthew Parker and Ben Halliburton (Leiden 2018), 146–147).

intention to contribute to these efforts (see below). These texts derive from such activity (following the premise that an author would pen sermons that he had successfully tested), and they were likely put to use for such (preachers were probably grateful for available material).¹⁴⁰ Liturgical sermon texts comprising such a causal relationship are crucial evidence for the necessity of considering sermon material broadly.

- **A chronological relationship with the crusade:** On the basis of a causal nexus, one can try to establish a chronological one: that is, relating a sermon text to a specific crusade venture. Such a nexus may likewise have existed with texts where one can only assert a thematic relationship, for example, a generic sermon on the cross took on quite a different meaning when used on the eve of an expedition. The (historical) context thus modifies a text's meaning.¹⁴¹ Three parameters help with arguing a chronological nexus: first, broaching or alluding to the events of 1187 provides a *terminus post quem*. Second, the preacher's biography shows in all nine cases that these figures were active in the Third Crusade, therefore relevant texts likely stem from this historical context (see the chapter on immediate context). Third, the chapter on historical context will identify preaching occasions where the surviving texts may have been used.

Six approaches help in identifying the crusade in sermons, permitting at least the assertion of a thematic relationship. Yet—and this will be demonstrated in the following chapters—depending on the quantity of parameters present, but also depending on the quality of their utterances, one can also argue for a causal one (see table 10):

- (1) **A holistic program:** Many sermons express a holistic understanding; this means including all senses of Scripture and hence all possible guises of a phenomenon (such as Jerusalem). Sermons declare, for example, that they are concerned with both visible and invisible enemies, consequently straddling human groups. Such holistic announcements demonstrate that the crusade is part of their perspective.
- (2) **An explicit discussion of physical manifestations:** Whereas it remains in some sermons unclear with which sense of Scripture they endow a subject (indebted to their model nature), others explicitly broach physical

¹⁴⁰ See also the section below on the premises for examining sermon texts.

¹⁴¹ See Gaposchkin, *Weapons*, 61–63, 79–81; Gaposchkin, “Pilgrimage,” 65–66. This is an essential argument for Gaposchkin as to using older liturgical texts in the context of the crusade. This occasionally generated textual adaptations such as transforming an *auxilium sancte crucis* into a *vexillum sancte crucis*.

objects such as the earthly Jerusalem. It is thus clear that the crusade is its purpose (at least thematically; depending on the argument, perhaps also causally).

- (3) **An explicit discussion of the present:** When sermons speak of the Holy Land or other relevant matters, it is essential to consider verb tenses. It is possible to recite a biblical story in the past or perfect tense (developing thereafter a spiritual reading), or to place prophetic predictions in the future. However, if such elements are broached in the present tense, it is clear that the present and the current state of the Holy Land are at stake, for example, when a sermon discusses in the present tense that pagans attack Jerusalem. Similarly significant is if the future tense of a prophetic quotation is adapted into the present or perfect tense: this suggests the prophecy's fulfillment.¹⁴²
- (4) **The quantity of crusade elements:** It is always a useful first step to compose a list of crusade elements appearing in a sermon. If this generates a respectable list, it is already evident that the text is concerned with crusading: the more elements assembled, the higher is its crusade potential—even though a necessary second step is to assess the text's utterances qualitatively.
- (5) **The combination of significant motifs:** There are, for example, sermons that discuss sin in a generic manner, representing the usual harangues. Others, however, intertwine the existing sinfulness with the Holy Land: a cardinal pointer to failure in the East, stemming from the common argument of *peccatis nostris exigentibus*.¹⁴³ One may argue in a similar way, for example, as to a combination of Jerusalem and pagans: such a blending betrays that a sermon is not only concerned with a spiritual Jerusalem. If this is also broached in the present tense, the crusade surfaces even more clearly.
- (6) **The construction of crusade-related identities:** Numerous sermons propose offers of identity to their audiences, whereby some lend themselves to crusading (this may extend beyond the Holy Land, relating, for example, to anti-heretical action). Three offers of identity are noteworthy: first, the identity as cross-bearers may even be understood as tantamount

142 See Matthew Gabriele, "From Prophecy to Apocalypse: The Verb Tenses of Jerusalem in Robert the Monk's *Historia of the First Crusade*," *Journal of Medieval History* 42 (2016), 308.

143 On this argument, see Gaposchkin, *Weapons*, 193–194, 208–219; Elizabeth Siberry, *Criticism of Crusading, 1095–1274* (Oxford 1985), 69–95. See in detail the chapter on the failure of crusades.

to 'crusaders,' including calls to take or to sign oneself with the cross. As the sermon material will demonstrate, it could be expressed via a variety of terms. Second, militant *exempla* make war and violence into virtuous activities; Christ himself, in his eschatological guise, often appears as such, but also several Old Testament figures (such as Gad or Gideon). Third, eschatological identities represent a strong case, in particular binaries such as *iusti* and *impii*, while social or ethnic classifications are (widely) absent in the same text. These are not limited to the crusading arena, but parameters such as an interplay with the Holy Land provide a good indicator.¹⁴⁴

Beyond these parameters, three compelling indicators suggest the crusade as a text's prime purpose; the presence of one of these delivers a substantial argument for a causal relationship (see table 9):

- (a) **An explicit discussion of events in the East, especially those of 1187:** Every broaching of these events can be understood as a reaction to them, therefore standing in a causal and chronological relationship with the Third Crusade. A preacher intends to teach his audience something about them, while references to events of providential standing always inhere in calls for action. Preachers like to proceed to spiritual dimensions and the collective sinfulness for which the events operate as a signifier; they thus construct spatial and temporal causalities that tie the Eastern events into manifold subjects in the West. Identifying the events of 1187 requires close analysis: whereas some sermons explicitly state that 'Jerusalem has fallen' and 'the Cross is lost,' others broach the subject in a more oblique manner. Once news had spread, a preacher could suppose a horizon of knowledge.
- (b) **Calling the audience to take the cross:** This is a strong indicator, designating immediate recruitment for the East. However, the absence of such a call does not represent an argument against a sermon's crusade pertinence, since such preaching straddled a number of purposes (see below), and since there is not any reason to believe that such a call was an obligatory part of a crusade-related sermon. As the next point demonstrates, calling for a journey to the East may express itself in other ways as well. Cross markings also existed, for example, in the monastic context, yet the monks had already taken the cross by entering the monastery. Such a call's rhetorical form suggests, therefore, the context of crusading, even more so if the analysis of the rest of the sermon corroborates this.

144 On these identities and questions of audience, see the chapter on historical context.

- (c) **Calls for activity or departure, in particular with the Holy Land as a destination:** Many sermons formulate calls for activity and deeds, often to counterbalance sins such as *torpor* (numbness) or *acedia* (sloth). This is not crusade-specific per se, yet it is clear that such calls stand in conflict with a contemplative life and, thus, likely addressed broad audiences, possibly related to historical phenomena (such as reform efforts or the war on heresy). It is significant if such appear in conjunction with crusade elements: consequently, the activity called for indicates the crusade. Sermons occasionally urge departure, sometimes even propagating Jerusalem and the Holy Land as a destination: these cases make the crusade as a text's prime purpose obvious.

In the subsequent analyses, specific texts will be classified according to the parameters introduced in this section: whereas the thematic relationship represents the basis via which texts were initially selected, it will be argued in some cases that a causal relationship is likewise detectable. These assertions will be substantiated via the four dimensions of context, each found in its own chapter. It is also necessary to discuss what kind of call to action is inherent in a sermon, of which four can be distinguished; and it is possible for a text to straddle more than one of these (see table 11):

- It could be a direct stimulation or call (including instruction, preparation) for a journey to the East; this indicates a broad audience, especially but not exclusively lay people.
- It could be a call and instruction for an expedition's spiritual preparation (accompanying or explaining liturgical actions, for example, processions). This may have addressed different groups, both clerical and lay. One needs to distinguish between the spiritual preparation of those journeying to the East and those supporting the endeavor from a distance via such actions (whether in the preparation period or during the venture).
- It could be a call and instruction for preaching the crusade: a preacher entices other clerics to spring into action; he operates as a vector in the mobilization effort. Such sermon texts are insightful evidence for the widespread nature of mobilization (if it had fallen on deaf ears, it would likely not exist in textual form).¹⁴⁵
- It could also concern preaching during a crusade: such an application must likewise find consideration for the surviving material (see the chapter on historical context).

¹⁴⁵ On this type of preaching, see the chapter on historical context.

3.3 *How the Sermon Texts Were Analysed*

Discourse analysis is the pivotal instrument of this study, a method first drafted by Michel Foucault and thereafter developed for historical research by scholars such as Achim Landwehr or Edward Said.¹⁴⁶ Applying it provides, on the one hand, a specific toolbox for analysing a subject; on the other, it inheres in some fundamental premises about how to approach texts. A discourse analysis contests hermeneutical approaches focused on an author's alleged intentions and eager to unearth some obscure layers of meaning behind a text's surface. It builds instead on the following essential premises: texts are not only an accumulation of signs, but also the reflection or manifestation of a practice; they are pieces of the puzzle of a living discourse. Similarly, language is not only a reflection of reality, but constitutes reality and the perception of historical agents. Texts are considered as productive forces in the processes of ordering and making sense of one's own world; objects, events, and groups gain meaning via their lingual appropriation. It is therefore the goal to investigate orders of knowledge, that is, the means and ways of how texts produced knowledge, claims of truth, and eventually a historical reality.

A Discourse Analysis Consists of Two Essential Parts

A close analysis of the texts—analysing the discourse in terms of contents: What do the sermons propose for preaching? What ideas and expectations do they create, specifically about the Holy Land?

An investigation of their context—analysing the discourse's operating mode: How did one preach? How did crusade mobilization unfold? How does written preaching material relate to mobilization efforts?

3.3.1 A Close Analysis of the Texts

The goal is to examine patterns, terms, and ideas recurrent in the pertinent corpus, concluding on hierarchies of meaning and clusters of themes, and thereby ordering the evidence. Foucault's framework helps with relating different sources in a network of knowledge, thus assembling a number of texts into a coherent whole. Yet, it is also important to consider that different terms, subjects, and genres have different values for the functioning of a discourse (see below). Examining the relations between texts requires investigating specific textual elements. Such intertextualities tackle, on the one hand, relations within the corpus of the Third Crusade, which indicate a shared background

¹⁴⁶ See Michel Foucault, *L'archéologie du savoir* (Paris 2002); Foucault, *L'ordre du discours* (Paris 2005); Achim Landwehr, *Historische Diskursanalyse* (Frankfurt am Main 2009); Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (London 2003).

of education and a preaching agenda that points beyond the individual text; and on the other, the interdependence between this corpus and the Bible: such observations reveal exegetical traditions and hence established ideas. A hermeneutical approach would start with a topic and then collect sources for its investigation; different sources are accumulated and often uncritically mixed (something I criticized the existing historiography on crusade preaching for). Instead of a preconceived past, a discourse analysis places the media that produced a historical reality in the foreground. Similarly, it not only examines what a text says, but also how it says something, considering factors such as narrativity and rhetoric: this sheds light on how language shapes the perception of one's own reality.

Moreover, the aim is to take the text as it stands seriously. The author and his individual dispositions are not essential for the analysis, but the role of the texts in a larger puzzle is, that is, the university milieu and its processes of creating knowledge and meaning, disseminated to wider audiences via the medium of the sermon. Significantly, sermons often survived in anonymous form; this demonstrates that the text and not its author was the primary concern. The research underpinning this study analysed all relevant sermon texts in their entirety, instead of harvesting them for specific pieces of information: a sermon represents a coherent whole, creating causalities between all the elements it contains. It was thus key to consider its structure and logic, as presented in the chapter on exemplary descriptions, in order to excavate its different layers of meaning, that is, its crusade potential (see also tables 8–11). This shows the reader what such a text offers in its entirety, and how it jumps between different subjects and registers. Thanks to a close reading, sermons reveal crusade potential that one would easily overlook when just skimming the surface. Finally, it is key to consider the role of authority in the creation and dissemination of meaning, including the dominant role of the clergy, the impact of the Bible, and the power of orthodox exegesis—and nowhere can we study these processes in so many texts as in sermons. Foucault's understanding of propagating truth in a discourse is very welcome for a culture where orthodoxy and exegesis, in search of divine truth, are essential features. The pertinent discourse is shaped by those who have the possibility and ability to write and to preserve texts as well as the means to promote crusades.

Foucault's framework also helps with keeping in mind how distant the texts could be from the subjects they discuss, and how much these were thus indebted to the construction, if not imagination, of a discourse. Paris masters and Cistercians were chronologically distant from the biblical past that provided the pivotal foundation of debate, preaching, and exegesis. They were geographically distant from the frontiers of crusading. And they were socially

distant from both the subjects they discussed (pagans) and those they called to fight them (the laity). Even though masters and monks sometimes became engaged in historical events, their texts and the disputations that led to these largely belonged to the time behind their walls. That is not to say that their ideas did not interact with the wider world, but one must consider their texts' imaginative nature stemming from the sources they had at their disposal. This was primarily the Bible that offered more than plentiful resources on the Cross, Jerusalem, and pagans. This study thus examines how these writers drafted a coherent vision of a subject that was actually unknown and distant to them—but then, they used or distributed the texts on occasions such as the crusade, broadcasting their intramural discourse with a significant potential for shaping notions, guiding perceptions, and triggering actions.

The crusades were certainly a mass phenomenon and, according to the state of the art, largely motivated by religious ideas.¹⁴⁷ Sermons were an essential instrument for teaching and explaining religious contents (already before the friars), hence forming spirituality and mobilizing thousands despite all the burdens and hardships of such a journey. Preaching thus represents the pivotal communicative premise of the crusade movement (see also below).¹⁴⁸ As a result, it makes sense to search for 'symptoms' in the sermon texts; symptoms that anticipate the events; symptoms that help with understanding what moved these people; symptoms that offer calls to action and models for historical protagonists. This stems from the so-called *lecture symptomale* of the French philosopher Louis Althusser, a teacher of Foucault, and the historical novelist Eric Vuillard has recently taken up his method.¹⁴⁹ In agreement with Althusser, and borrowed from medicine, the term symptom indicates possible causes; these, however, may be multifarious and ambiguous. He also speaks of a 'structural causality,' demarcating it from a 'linear causality': an existing structure determines the elements it contains.¹⁵⁰ Even though this stems from classic structuralist thinking, this analytical distinction is useful: this study does not propose a linear causality (that is, a specific sermon immediately motivates people to

147 See, e.g., Housley, *Contesting*, 75–98; Jonathan Riley-Smith, "The State of Mind of Crusaders to the East, 1095–1300," in: *The Oxford Illustrated History of the Crusades*, ed. Riley-Smith (London 1995), 75–78; Nikolas Jaspert, "'Wo seine Füße standen' (Ubi steterunt pedes eius). Jerusalemsehnsucht und andere Motivationen mittelalterlicher Kreuzfahrer," in: *Die Kreuzzüge: kein Krieg ist heilig*, ed. Hans-Jürgen Kotzur (Mainz 2004), 173–176.

148 See Cole, *Preaching*, ix; Maier, *Propaganda*, 3; Menache, *Vox*, 98–123.

149 See the review of one of his books for a summary of this approach: Iris Radisch, "Die Welt der NS-Komödianten," *Die Zeit*, 3 May 2018.

150 See Ingo Kramer, *Symptomale Lektüre: Louis Althusser's Beitrag zu einer Theorie des Diskurses* (Vienna 2014), 51–55, 99.

join a crusade), but a structural causality. Sermons were part of a broader discourse, and they were essential tools for communication that shaped or transformed ideas (thus, the sermon as a subject thwarts the idea of rigid structures). Althusser's model is helpful in understanding crusade preaching as a part of the existing preaching system. The crusades existed as an outcome of these processes of communication; now, one can look for their symptoms, and a significant source for these are the sermon texts.

3.3.2 Investigating the Context

- **Immediate context:** the context of text and author, the subject of **chapter (1)**; it introduces the nine preachers and their works.
- **Institutional context:** the networks and conditions that informed the production of the texts, that is, the early university and the reform movement, the subject of **chapter (2)**. It discusses how this context vitally determined the approach to knowledge and truth—and thus, to the Holy Land.
- **Media context:** in what physical form did the texts survive? What can the manuscript tell us as a vivid artefact, a productive force of the discourse? How do paratextual framings inform the meaning and usability of these texts? These questions are the subject of **chapter (9)**; it examines the manuscript evidence of the pertinent sermons.
- **Historical context:** the larger developments to which these texts were reacting, and which they may even have influenced, that is, investigating how the texts relate to the crusade movement. Historical context vitally corroborates their interpretation: one must contextualize a term like Jerusalem with the help of contemporary phenomena. Such a term had quite a different echo in the 12th century than, for example, in the Carolingian period.¹⁵¹ This is the subject of **chapter (10)**, which anchors the sermon texts historically.

These classic dimensions are complemented by two idiosyncratic categories:

- **The exegetical context:** Considering this dimension is essential for understanding biblical elements in the sermon texts. A large variety of sources is available for this purpose; this study considers primarily the *Glossa ordinaria* and three selected collections of *Distinctiones* (likely the three most widely disseminated at the time). The first is worthwhile because this work represented a landmark in contemporary exegesis that

¹⁵¹ See Gaposchkin, *Weapons*, 61–63, 79–81; Gaposchkin, “Pilgrimage,” 65–66.

held much authority and enjoyed wide distribution.¹⁵² The latter are worthwhile because these tools were closest to the sermon texts; they served as repositories of preaching material, offering alphabetical entries for keywords and concepts. Furthermore, two of the collections come from preachers whose sermons are examined here: this permits direct contextualization (Alan of Lille and Garnerius of Clairvaux; the third is that by Peter the Chanter).¹⁵³ Considering the exegetical context is deeply embedded in **chapters (3)–(6)**.

- **The metanarrative of salvation history:** This theological notion about the course of history is the essential premise of exegesis and preaching. Considering it as a force that informs the structure and meaning of texts helps in assembling the numerous sermon texts into a larger picture. In other words, the orders of knowledge become visible via an idiosyncratic analytical tool.¹⁵⁴ This is implemented in **chapters (7) and (8)**, in order to place the textual analyses in a wider context. Salvation history offers an orthodox narrative about past and future that integrates people, places, and events. God is its driving force; his plan grants historical events providential meaning, which is encoded in biblical prophecies. As a result, historical events become the subject of exegetical enterprise, while scholars today may pose the question of how exegetes submitted events

152 The *Glossa* covered the entire Bible and harvested earlier exegetical works. See Lesley Janette Smith, *The "Glossa ordinaria": The Making of a Medieval Bible Commentary* (Leiden 2009); Kevin L. Hughes, *Constructing Antichrist: Paul, Biblical Commentary, and the Development of Doctrine in the Early Middle Ages* (Washington, D.C. 2005), 207–210; Beryl Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages* (Oxford 1984), 46–66. It was an established tool from the mid-12th century onwards, especially with its introduction in Paris under Peter Lombard and Peter Comestor. On the *Glossa* and preaching, see Quinto, "Peter the Chanter," 50–52; Karlfried Fröhlich, "The *Glossa ordinaria* and Medieval Preaching," in: *Biblical Interpretation from the Church Fathers to the Reformation* (Farnham 2010), 1–21. See also Constance Brittain Bouchard, "The Cistercians and the *Glossa ordinaria*," *The Catholic Historical Review* 86 (2000), 183–192; Ernest Norman Kaulbach, "Islam in the *Glossa ordinaria*," in: *Western Views of Islam in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. Michael Frassetto and David Blanks (Houndsmill 1999), 147–163.

153 On the collections of Garnerius and Alan, see the chapter on immediate context. Peter the Chanter's collection is henceforth cited via the copies of Ms. BL Royal 10 A xv1 and BNF lat. 10633. These have been identified as primarily relevant due to their date and localization. The work survived in 88 copies divided into two recensions. See Stephen A. Barney, "Introduction," in: *Petri Cantoris distinctiones Abel*, CCCM 288 (Turnhout 2020), 9–12, 277–279. Since Barney edited the Beta recension, I cite here two copies of the earlier Alpha recension; in cases where the passage exists in Beta, I also provide the reference to the edition.

154 For this methodology, see Marx, Micheluzzi, and Kogler, "Narrare," 24–26.

to their providential schemes. The metanarrative stems from the Bible and consists of the following key elements: Fall of Mankind / Ten Commandments / Old Covenant / Christ / New Covenant / Apocalypse. While it is obvious that one is located between New Covenant and Apocalypse, there is the question of how far along one may be on the timeline towards the End of Days. The narrative provides only a rough framework that permits adaptations and calls for action in specific historical circumstances; it is capable of integrating contemporary elements (such as the First Crusade). Scholars may thus examine the providential vantage point from which a text was written.

3.3.3 Biblical Elements in Sermon Texts: Interlacing Discourse Analysis with Idiosyncratic Conditions

The correlation of Bible and crusade has become an essential focus of current scholarship, since biblical elements occupy such a determinative role for crusade texts—and even more so for sermons. The art historian Daniel Weiss declared: “It is not surprising that such a totalized expression of religious ideology would, from the outset, be described in biblical terms. The medieval West constructed its rationale for propagating religious wars in the Holy Land in large part by appropriating biblical precedent—especially that of the Old Testament.”¹⁵⁵ John Cotts agreed: “Biblical and more recent history resonated as Christian armies converged on Palestine, and the crusades forced Christian historians and exegetes alike to reconsider how these histories related to each other.”¹⁵⁶ Richard Hays described the Bible in Christian culture as a ‘determinative subtext,’ just as Gerard Caspary and Philippe Buc spoke of ‘the grammar of exegesis’ with regard to historical phenomena.¹⁵⁷ The Bible and exegesis were

155 Daniel H. Weiss, “Biblical History and Medieval Historiography: Rationalizing Strategies in Crusader Art,” *Modern Language Notes* 108 (1993), 712; see also Gaposchkin, *Weapons*, 41–42, 210; Hofreiter, *Genocide*, 168–170, 189–194; Penny J. Cole, David d’Avray, and Jonathan Riley-Smith, “Application of Theology to Current Affairs: Memorial Sermons on the Dead of Mansurah and on Innocent IV,” in: *Modern Questions about Medieval Sermons* (Spoleto 1994), 234–235, 244.

156 John D. Cotts, “The Exegesis of Violence in the Crusade Writings of Ralph Niger and Peter of Blois,” in: *The Uses of the Bible in Crusader Sources*, ed. Elizabeth Lapina and Nicholas Morton (Leiden 2017), 279–280.

157 Richard B. Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul* (New Haven 1989), 16; Gerard E. Caspary, *Politics and Exegesis. Origen and the Two Swords* (Berkeley 1979), 112; Buc, *Holy War*, 74–78; Buc, *L’ambigüité du livre: prince, pouvoir, et peuple dans les commentaires de la Bible au Moyen Age* (Paris 1994), 40–49. On sermon texts, see d’Avray, “Method,” 24; Nicole Bériou, “Aux sources d’une nouvelle pastorale: les expériences de prédication du XII siècle,” in: *La pastorale della Chiesa in Occidente dall’età ottoniana al concilio lateranense IV* (Milan 2004), 340–350.

not merely theological matters, but unfolded a historical force in the medieval period. This study develops a model for contextualizing the determinative subtext in sermon texts with the forces and dynamics of the crusade movement. Therefore, the idea that pre-existing textual elements may only be empty topoi must be categorically dismissed.¹⁵⁸ Such an idea indicates only a superficial reading, whereas in-depth investigations have always revealed that authors use such elements for a purpose, often applying them as direct lenses for describing current events or places (for example, via Ps. 79:1 or Job 9:24). Importantly, Benjamin Kedar argued regarding the massacre in Jerusalem in 1099 that such pre-existing elements do not preclude the events described being based on actual observations.¹⁵⁹ And Katherine Allen Smith recently reached the following conclusion regarding the chronicles of the First Crusade: “Further, we must be open to the possibility that sometimes the portions of medieval texts that consist of borrowed material can, paradoxically, be sites of great authorial creativity and originality.”¹⁶⁰ However, the notion of empty topoi shows that it may be challenging to decode such texts: doing so requires close analysis as well as comparative consideration of exegetical sources.¹⁶¹ In many cases, this is the only way to render the meaning of an element comprehensible, since texts operate with rich and often enigmatic biblical imagery. The modern scholar thereby does exactly what the medieval preacher was supposed to do. This study blends modern methods with idiosyncratic conditions accordingly:

Step (1): a biblical element is identified in a sermon text. This concerns every use of the Bible, encompassing explicit quotations, allusions, and the use of

158 See the critique of such notions in: Gerd Althoff, *“Selig sind, die Verfolgung ausüben”*: Päpste und Gewalt im Hochmittelalter (Darmstadt 2013), 124–129, 169–171.

159 Benjamin Z. Kedar, “The Jerusalem Massacre of 1099 in the Historiography of the Crusades,” *Crusades* 3 (2004), 65, 72; see also Buc, *Holy War*, 9–10, 105, 264–272; Rubenstein, *Armies*, 286–292. On the use of Jeremiah’s Lamentations for the events of 1187, see Rajohnson, *L’Occident*, 223–248. For such an approach to the Iberian Peninsula, see Patrick Marschner, *Das neue Volk Gottes in Hispanien: Die Bibel in der christlich-iberischen Historiographie vom 8. bis zum 12. Jahrhundert* (Vienna 2023).

160 Smith, *Crusade Narrative*, 10. See also Sini Kangas, “Scripture, Hierarchy, and Social Control: The Uses of the Bible in the Twelfth- and Thirteenth-Century Chronicles and Chansons of the Crusades,” in: *Transcultural Approaches to the Bible*, ed. Matthias M. Tischler and Patrick Marschner (Turnhout 2021), 109–144.

161 For an example where the lack of contextualization has generated misjudgments, see Alan Murray, “Biblical Quotations and Formulaic Language in the Chronicle of William of Tyre,” in: *Deeds Done beyond the Sea*, ed. Susan B. Edgington and Helen J. Nicholson (Farnham 2014), 25–34, reaching the abstruse conclusion that William of Tyre unconsciously included biblical elements and that they do not serve any purpose in the text.

specific terms, motifs, or imagery, whereby there is the challenge of recognizing the less explicit elements (as rarely happens in editions).

Step (2): the defined corpus of exegetical sources is consulted (*Distinctiones* and *Glossa ordinaria*), in order to examine how they explain the element and which other elements they align it with. The consideration of preaching aids (especially *distinctiones*, sometimes also collections of *exempla* and *artes praedicandi*) reveals resources of meaning available to contemporary preachers.¹⁶²

Step (3): full text databases are consulted for contextualizing an element, that is, examining patterns and frequency of its appearance. These resources have been essential for developing this book, especially the *Patrologia latina Database*, but also *In principio* and the digitized versions of *MGH* and *CCCM*.¹⁶³ These surveys served primarily to contextualize an element within the pertinent corpus, but the quick way of operating made it possible to sneak a peek beyond that. These resources have also been essential for assembling the corpus of crusade elements (table 1). Thanks to this contextualization, a broader image emerges; one unlocks an element's crusade potential.

Step (4): all these results can serve now for understanding the element's use in the source that has been the point of departure. Such an approach is worthwhile because sermons often broach elements only briefly or use triggers, in order to be rhetorically compact, and working with the audience's horizon of knowledge. They require the help of other texts as well as an element's context in the Bible. We must also suppose that we do not understand all the numerous allusions that were familiar to medieval audiences.¹⁶⁴ Contrariwise, this suggests that those matters only present in an allusive manner were agreeing with the audience's horizon. In cases where one can determine an audience, this offers valuable insights into the knowledge of lay people.¹⁶⁵ However, it

162 On the practical nature of *artes praedicandi*, see Akae, "Actual Sermons," 10–11, 25–26; Phyllis Barzillay Roberts, "The *ars praedicandi* and the Medieval Sermon," in: *Preacher, Sermon and Audience in the Middle Ages*, ed. Carolyn A. Muessig (Leiden 2002), 61.

163 See the corresponding section in the bibliography.

164 See Thompson, "Texts," 20; d'Avray, *Death*, 189–198. The same is true for the events of 1187: not every sermon must discuss them explicitly, but it may still have been informed by them: table 9 grasps such in the column 'Penned in the shadow of 1187.'

165 Morton makes the same point as to rendering the enemies as 'pagans'; the audience was not confronted with unknown information: Nicholas Morton, "Encountering the Turks: The First Crusaders' Foreknowledge of Their Enemy; Some Preliminary Findings," in: *Crusading and Warfare in the Middle Ages*, ed. Morton and Simon John (Farnham 2014), 53.

remains possible that they associated the subject with other matters than the preacher intended.¹⁶⁶ Relating the exegetical results to the specific sermon leads to another dimension: In which context is the biblical element placed, and how does the context transform its meaning?

Step (5): the overarching analysis within the Third Crusade's corpus is ultimately essential. By comparing the same element in different texts, one can reach stronger conclusions about its crusade-specific nature (while this does not exclude other layers of meaning). Texts whose crusade nature is certain can serve as points of departure for examining the same element in texts whose crusade nature is less obvious: this approach largely informed the structure of the following chapters. By considering a large corpus, it is possible to reveal an enormous number of parallels and patterns, a fact that demonstrates how strongly this material was shaped by the crusades. Consequently, it either derives from such a purpose (before penning it) or has been used for such (after penning it). Analysing a quantity of sermons unearths the important themes and biblical references of the contemporary preaching agenda: put differently, one investigates the discourse.

3.3.4 Sources for Crusade-Related Preaching and Their Value to the Discourse

Different sources are available for examining the contents of crusade preaching. Yet, these have different values for the inquiry, depending on four dimensions: their proximity to preaching practice; their prime purpose according to genre; the quantities of the surviving texts; and the amount of information they hold on preaching activities. The pivotal question is thus: How representative are specific sources?

Narrative accounts on preaching activities: As argued, chronicles are artificial, narratively modelled, and only contain very limited information on preaching; they cannot deliver representative insights. A partial exception is the *Itinerarium Cambriae*, a valuable source on the tour through Wales, which, however, barely offers any information on the contents of preaching.¹⁶⁷

Quotations of 'sermon texts' in chronicles: As discussed, a comparison with sermon material shows that these do not reflect preaching practice. Their rare occurrence (four cases for the Third Crusade) demonstrates that these stem

166 The translation of Latin material for lay audiences, for example, contained the potential for misunderstandings. See d'Avray, *Friars*, 93–94; Bériou, "Sources," 327–339; Beverly Mayne Kienzle, *The Sermon* (Turnhout 2000), 170, 971–974.

167 See Edbury, "Wales," 224–225.

from a chronicler's individual taste. In terms of content, these may well figure as pieces of the puzzle for investigating preaching, but by themselves they cannot deliver representative insights.

Letters concerned with preaching and mobilization may have influenced the contents of sermons or may have been read aloud prior to a sermon.¹⁶⁸ The Third Crusade's letters cover a spectrum of addressees and regions; this delivers valuable insights into the mechanisms of mobilization.¹⁶⁹ However, regarding quantity (including meager manuscript transmission), they are clearly subordinated to the sermon texts.

Sermon-like treatises are not directly entangled with preaching practice. Yet, as a close analysis reveals, they provide mastertexts or pioneering work, eager to find new ways of preparing sermon material. These are testimonies of innovative approaches that likely held some appeal—but we cannot say much about their impact and use. Quantitatively, it remains a manageable phenomenon (primarily Peter of Blois and Henry of Albano), yet quantity may distort the picture when considering their richness in terms of content. As for the information they contain, one needs to place them at the top of the sources at stake. This includes the fact that they sharpen crusade-specific language (another innovative aspect), an opportunity that likely presented itself precisely because they were not bound to the rules of established genres.

Distinctiones (and other preaching aids) bring us close to practice, as shown by both the genre's purpose and the manuscript evidence.¹⁷⁰ These were repositories of preaching material: their organization, however, betrays a smorgasbord that cannot have served as a direct model for delivering a sermon, therefore these are one step removed from practice. As for information, they are rich but also flexible: they can serve perfectly the contextualization of the sermons, but by themselves, they offer only limited insights. Quantitatively, they represent a dominant phenomenon: collections of *distinctiones* were constantly growing in number (specifically those of Garnerius of Clairvaux, Alan

168 See, e.g., Maier, "Papal Letters," 335–337.

169 See the chapter on historical context and table 5.

170 See d'Avray, *Friars*, 72–75; Bériou, *L'Avènement*, 1138–140, 281; Rouse, "Statim invenire," 204–209; Tuija Ainonen, "Making New from Old: Distinction Collections and Textual Communities at the Turn of the Thirteenth Century," in: *From Learning to Love*, ed. Tristan Sharp (Toronto 2017), 48–69. On *artes praedicandi*, see Kienzle, "Performance," 94–103; Roberts, *Ars praedicandi*, 45–49. On *exempla*, see Roberts, *Sermons*, 82–87; Maier, *Friars*, 118–122, 172–174; Brian Patrick McGuire, "La vie et les mentalités des Cisterciens dans les exempla du XII^e siècle," in: *Les Exempla médiévaux*, ed. Jacques Berlioz (Paris 1998), 107–145.

of Lille, and Peter the Chanter). They survived in numerous manuscripts, being thus available to preachers in many different places.¹⁷¹

Sermon texts *ad status*: One can assess their closeness to preaching similarly to the *distinctiones*; and these are rich sources: they seem to represent another important occasion for sharpening crusade-specific language. However, they only emerged slowly in the late 12th century, and they cannot claim any representativeness, since this exceptional genre has survived in very limited numbers.¹⁷² Such texts can be valuable starting points (for the 13th century), where the crusade surfaces clearly, but considering them alone would be an unjustified approach.

Reportationes are closest to practice: these are notes by a listener (even though it remains possible that they do not record a sermon faithfully). Their manuscript evidence also reveals much entanglement with practice.¹⁷³ As for information, they are equal to the model sermons, and the quantity makes them into representative sources; these survived in growing numbers from the mid-12th century, in particular in Paris. In the late 12th century, however, they were still rare compared to the model sermons (even more so beyond Paris).¹⁷⁴

Liturgical model sermon texts: Together with the *reportationes*, these bring us closest to practice; their elaborate shape provided an immediate model for delivering a sermon.¹⁷⁵ The manuscript evidence likewise betrays numerous indications of practice. As for information, they represent a rich source, especially since such a collection was likely set up with some overarching conception in mind (a dimension hardly investigated by scholars), and are usually of a respectable size. Quantitatively, one clearly needs to place them at the top of the sources discussed: they survived in great numbers and numerous manuscripts, allowing us to study phenomena in a representative empirical breadth.¹⁷⁶

171 On the dissemination of Garnerius' collection, see the chapter on media context.

172 See Muessig, "Audience," 255–276; d'Avray, *Friars*, 127; Maier, *Propaganda*, 8–12.

173 See Bériou, "Sermons Latins," 383–384; Bériou, *L'Avènement*, 1:73, 82–83, 92–97; Delcorno, *Mirror*, 117–120. These texts may still have served as models for preaching: Bériou identified such a case in the 13th century.

174 Hanska asserts that *reportationes* remained rare compared to model sermons (Hanska, "Calendar," 293–294, 298)—but they were still numerous compared to other sources.

175 See d'Avray, *Friars*, 7, 104–131; Delcorno, *Mirror*, 11–115.

176 See d'Avray, "Method," 8–10. According to Hanska's calculation, building on Schneyer's *Repertorium*, c.140,000 sermons survived between 1150 and 1350 (Hanska, "Calendar," 299). Bériou estimates c.4000 sermons alone from 13th-century Paris (Bériou, *L'Avènement*, 1:130).

The following results emerge: model sermon texts and *reportationes* are representative sources thanks to their richness in contents and entanglement with preaching practice. Collections of *distinctiones* are a valuable addition, especially thanks to broad manuscript transmission. Other sources (letters, sermon-like treatises) complement the picture as to specific mechanisms of mobilization. Chronicles (both narratives on preaching and 'sermon quotations') are unsuitable sources in terms of a discourse analysis, since they are artificial, tenuously transmitted, and poor in preaching-related contents.

Quantities of the surviving texts (low to high):

- (1) Quotations of 'sermon texts' in chronicles
- (2) Sermon texts *ad status*
- (3) Sermon-like treatises
- (4) Narratives on preaching (especially chronicles)
- (5) Letters related to preaching
- (6) *Reportationes*
- (7) *Distinctiones* (and other preaching aids)
- (8) Liturgical model sermon texts

Proximity to preaching practice / purpose according to genre (far to near):

- (1) Narratives on preaching (especially chronicles)
- (2) Quotations of 'sermon texts' in chronicles
- (3) Letters related to preaching
- (4) Sermon-like treatises
- (5) *Distinctiones* (and other preaching aids)
- (6) Sermon texts *ad status*
- (7) Liturgical model sermon texts
- (8) *Reportationes*

Amount of information on preaching activities (little to much):

- (1) Narratives on preaching (especially chronicles)
- (2) Quotations of 'sermon texts' in chronicles
- (3) *Distinctiones* (and other preaching aids)
- (4) Letters related to preaching
- (5) Sermon texts *ad status*
- (6) *Reportationes*
- (7) Liturgical model sermon texts
- (8) Sermon-like treatises

3.3.5 Sermon Texts: Premises of This Study

This study presupposes certain premises concerning sermon texts and their purpose, premises which the evidence corroborates and which stem from the state of research—however, these tackle complex and much-discussed issues of sermon studies that one may also evaluate differently:

In agreement with a discourse analysis, a sermon text can be understood as an archaeological artefact of a historical practice, the actual preaching activity. It represents a snapshot, the moment when the vivid oral medium finds its way onto parchment. One can suppose that such a text had a prehistory (earlier applications, experience on which the author drew) as well as a subsequent history (using the text as a model for preaching—this is the reason why it was penned).¹⁷⁷ Such a text's production stemmed from specific interests and necessities; just as one may assume that preachers readily used available material and that such a text (with possible variations) was likely put to use on multiple occasions, if not frequently (a text on a specific feast could have been used each year). A single text was likely a multidimensional vector related to many preaching events that may have straddled different users and occasions. As a result, the surviving texts represent metatexts that informed contemporary preaching agendas—all the more so, the more copies there are. By analysing numerous texts within a reasonably defined corpus, one unlocks the range of the preaching agenda, that is, the sum of materials reflects actual preaching activity.¹⁷⁸ Consequently, one may neglect the issue of potential deviation between text and delivery. The relationship between the two likely took on varying forms on different occasions, but the text provided the basis—otherwise, one would not have chosen it as a model.

However, I do not formulate here any argument as to how close a specific text may have been to its delivery: this remains unknowable in specific cases—but some essential arguments suggest that the written material was significantly entwined with practice. Jussi Hanska reached the conclusion: "Therefore it is safe to assume that model sermons also reflect quite well the style and contents of actual Sunday sermons. They may not be identical with each other, but they are close relatives."¹⁷⁹ Four essential arguments derive from the nature of the evidence: first, the fact that sermons have been penned in vast numbers, in particular since the 12th century, indicates the entanglement with a

177 See Longère, *Prédication*, 158; d'Avray, *Friars*, 120–121, 130; Bériou, "Sermons Latins," 383–385, 424–427; Beverly Mayne Kienzle, "The Twelfth-Century Monastic Sermon," in: *The Sermon*, ed. Kienzle (Turnhout 2000), 289–290.

178 See d'Avray, *Friars*, 251; Hanska, "Calendar," 293–315.

179 Hanska, "Calendar," 299.

practice. As noted, their manifestation on parchment stems from particular interests and necessities, and considering the quantity of materials, these cannot be explained otherwise than as serving preaching.¹⁸⁰ Second, the pertinent corpus holds well-drafted texts, a product ready for use, including numerous elements obviously meant for oral delivery; their composition, length, and rhetoric reflect their oral nature. Within a range between schematic model sermon (as would become more common in the 13th century) and a text ready for use, the relevant corpus clearly lends itself to the latter.¹⁸¹ Third, as the chapter on media context will demonstrate, the manuscripts betray an intrinsic entanglement with practice; these are certainly not classroom practices or library records intended for preservation. Fourth, in those cases where the same sermon exists as both model text and *reportatio*, scholars have shown (for the 13th century) how surprisingly identical the two are: preachers apparently stuck closely to the text.¹⁸² This was not necessarily always the case, but this significant evidence delivers a spotlight on an existing practice. We will also encounter such cases in this study—the argument is thus transferrable to the late 12th century (see the chapter on media context).

Two further arguments are more hypothetical but plausible considering the historical context: on the one hand, the human condition makes it likely that one drew on accomplished work. Be it out of laziness, lack of time, or because the simple clerics did not have the skills to pen their own sermons, it seems more likely than not that one used available material.¹⁸³ Preachers also had a great need for such material, even more so if matters were pressing such as with the crusade. On the other, we are dealing with an orthodox religion of the book, which was clairaudent about traitors in its own ranks. The culture of exegesis demonstrates how fatally utterances may have been put to the test.¹⁸⁴

180 This is corroborated by the often anonymous transmission of the texts: the usability of the material was more important than authorship (see Bériou, *L'Avènement*, 1191). This also applies to some of the pertinent manuscripts, whose sermons are attributable to an author thanks to another copy. See the chapter on media context.

181 On the 12th century, see also Kienzle, "Monastic Sermon," 292–293. On schematic sermons, see Roberts, *Sermons*, 60–61; Kienzle, *The Sermon*, 977–978.

182 See Bériou, *L'Avènement*, 1108; Louis-Jacques Bataillon, "Approaches to the Study of Medieval Sermons," in: *La prédication au XIII^e siècle en France et Italie* (Aldershot 1993), 21–22; Bataillon, "Sermons rédigés, sermons réportés (XIII^e siècle)," in: *La prédication au XIII^e siècle*, 75–77; see also Roberts, "Ars praedicandi," 59; Longère, *Prédication*, 164.

183 Prologues of sermon collections, for example, that by Odo of Chateauroux, occasionally underline that lack of time was an essential reason why one provided others with sermon material (see Nicole Bériou, "Les prologues de recueils de sermons latins, du XI^e au XV^e siècle," in: *Les prologues médiévaux*, ed. Jacqueline Hamesse (Turnhout 2000), 415).

184 See Buc, *Livre*, 40–49; Buc, *Holy War*, 74–78; Bériou, "Sermons Latins," 396.

Such accusations posed a serious personal threat (even just considering the instrument of excommunication), therefore it seems more likely than not that preachers stuck closely to model texts. The preaching efforts of the period were also a reaction to the growing threat of heretics, which required instructing believers in the foundations of faith.¹⁸⁵

Furthermore, it is deemed significant if a text is identified as a sermon (mostly *sermo*) in the evidence. These texts did not serve intra-clerical communication—this happened via other genres such as the biblical commentary.¹⁸⁶ The fact that a text was prepared as a sermon (and even more so an entire collection) indicates the desire to reach a broad audience that one could not address via the usual devices of intra-clerical disputation—in agreement with the goals of the reform movement.¹⁸⁷ This study supposes that sermons, a microcosm of Christian religion, were not empty rituals, but shaped spirituality, informed ideas, and stimulated action. It is evident that one cannot simply draw a line to lay mentality here; primarily, the sermons deliver insights into the preaching agenda and ideas of clerics. However, their skills in the matter, their rhetorical training, and their authoritative position as transmitters of the divine will suggest that sermons were a pivotal device of the crusade discourse.¹⁸⁸ And if lay people regarded their priests as authorities, when, if not in the moment of preaching, would this have had an impact? Nevertheless, I do not claim that sermons were the sole source informing crusade spirituality nor the sole mechanism that triggered mobilization, nor do I suppose a linear causality (i.e., a specific sermon motivated listeners to immediately join a crusade), but sermons are considered as essential and hitherto widely unnoticed pieces of the puzzle in the maze of mobilization. Even if one supposes that ideas or the decision to join a crusade antedated the sermon event, one can still expect that it fulfilled essential purposes, thus representing the communicative premise of a crusade:

185 See Cole, *Preaching*, 113–114, 117; Rouse, “Statim invenire,” 192, 218–219. On excommunication, see Nikolaus M. Häring, “Peter Cantor’s View on Ecclesiastical Excommunication and Its Practical Consequences,” *Mediaeval Studies* 11 (1949), 100–112. On *exempla* where a preacher got carried away (apparently since he did not stick to his model), and this generated a negative reaction by the audience, see Jacques Berlioz and Marie-Anne Polo de Beaulieu, “The Preacher Facing a Reluctant Audience according to the Testimony of *Exempla*,” *Medieval Sermon Studies* 57 (2013), 24, 28.

186 See the definition of sermon in: Kienzle, *The Sermon*, 151–158. See also Longère, *Prédication*, 11–17; Rouse, “Statim invenire,” 204–206.

187 On the issue of how much lay people were already preached to in the late 12th century, see in detail the chapter on historical context.

188 See Bird, “Theologians,” 1–19; Kienzle, “Performance,” 93; Bériou, *Communication*, 12.

- (a) It created an occasion for expressing one's intention to join a crusade, to transform thus a passive idea into action.
- (b) It created attention and sensibility towards the Holy Land, an entity that was actually invisible and unimportant for daily life in the West.
- (c) It created a coherent picture by suggesting a reading of the events in the East, submitting them to a providential scheme.
- (d) It prepared spiritually via instruments such as penance and confession, guided by the priest who granted justification and a prospect of success to the impending expedition.

3.4 *Revising Common Ideas among Scholars*

This study thus has the goal of revising the following common notions on the preaching of crusades:

- One must discard the myth that not many 'crusade sermons' have survived; first, substantial discussions about what a 'crusade sermon' is are required, and we must comb through the surviving sermon material extensively.
- 'Crusade sermon' is a modern category that should be discarded, since it obscures rather than illuminates our view of the phenomenon, just as the distinction of 'crusade preaching' and 'normal (liturgical) preaching' is a false modern antithesis.
- The logic that liturgical features and other practices (such as penance or the Eucharist) would interlock with crusade preaching is wrong; the process is contrariwise: these are intrinsically interwoven, and the crusade only distinguishes itself slowly as a category of its own (as the research on the terminology of crusading corroborates).
- Considering chronicles as representative sources is a highly unsuitable approach, since these artificial and narrative sources cannot provide us with any insights into a historical practice, and their perception of preaching activities is highly selective.
- Considering mobilization through the lens of military organization is misleading, as the well-known traits of crusading as a pilgrimage and penitential journey demonstrate—yet, some scholars still uphold such notions. This study will show that crusade-related sermons do not only address the fighting class, but reveal a pan-Christian agenda.
- The idea that the contents of sermons were perhaps of minor importance, pushing instead the spectacle of the event and the charisma of the preacher to the fore, is untenable. This idea developed by crusade studies reveals a poor understanding of the pivotal purpose of preaching in Christianity, as it was demonstrated by sermon studies.

- The opinion that extensive preaching (especially with lay audiences) only began with the friars must be discarded: all research concerned with the 12th century has underlined how many efforts preceded them. One must suppose a gradual increase in preaching activities, a process that started at least in mid-12th century Paris, perhaps already in the late 11th century. Therefore, one must consider the preaching of crusades with a broader horizon than it has been done so far: the idea that 12th-century expeditions were mobilized only via large preaching tours and a few popular preachers is neither empirically nor logically tenable.

4 Preliminaries: Crusade, Exegesis, and Space

“You don’t have to be in a place in order to know everything about it,” Abdul replied. “Otherwise sailors would be more learned than theologians.” This, Baudolino explained to Niketas, showed how, ever since their first years in Paris, when they were still almost beardless, our friends had begun to be gripped by this story, which so many years later would take them to the far ends of the earth.

UMBERTO ECO, *Baudolino*¹⁸⁹

Drawing on spatial theory, space represents a constructed entity informed by an observer’s culturally determined perception. Spaces and their meaning are reflections of memory, discourses, and social worlds.¹⁹⁰ Different spaces shape different modes of movement and options for action. The disposition of the crusades even reinforced this constructed nature: the Holy Land was a distant entity for the Latin West and sources of information were slim. The processes of making this region visible and pertinent in the West did not draw on empirical data, but on the Bible and its exegesis, whose ideas were disseminated via the liturgy, relics, sacral architecture, and sermons. These media repres-

189 Umberto Eco, *Baudolino*, tr. William Weaver (London 2003), 77.

190 For applying such approaches to the crusades, see Jaspert, “Attraktoren,” 69; Jaspert, “Füße,” 180; see also Andrea Worm, “Visuelle Vergegenwärtigungen Jerusalems und der Heiligen Stätten im Reichsgebiet. Überlegungen zu Kontexten und Übermittlungswegen,” in: *Die Kreuzzugsbewegung im römisch-deutschen Reich (11.–13. Jahrhundert)*, ed. Nikolas Jaspert and Stefan Tebruck (Ostfildern 2015), 316.

ented vehicles for creating closeness and relevance for something that was actually invisible and insignificant for Western daily life.¹⁹¹ It is telling that contemporary maps appear in the manuscripts alongside exegetical works such as Jerome's *Liber de situ locorum*.¹⁹² Similarly, theological principles informed cartographical depictions, in particular localizing Jerusalem as the world's center, but also several elements of mythological or exegetical origin.¹⁹³ Anna-Dorothee von den Brincken asserted, "Western cartography in the Middle Ages served for around a millennium, and until the thirteenth century, almost exclusively theological purposes and notably biblical exegesis."¹⁹⁴ An intriguing example is the identification of the prison of Gog and Magog, somewhere in the far East, for example, on the world map in the *Liber floridus* by Lambert of Saint-Omer (early 12th century).¹⁹⁵ The motif of the 'East' (*oriens*), not only as a geographical but a providential category, looms large in the pertinent corpus of sources. Peter the Chanter's *Distinctiones*, in the entry for *sepulcrum*, expressively depict the East as a human's cradle to which one would return, after having struggled lifelong in the West.¹⁹⁶ Mt. 24:27 locates Christ's Second Coming in the East, and just the fact that churches were orientated accordingly

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- 191 See Nikolas Jaspert, "The True Cross of Jerusalem in the Latin West: Mediterranean Connections and Institutional Agency," in: *Visual Constructs of Jerusalem*, ed. Bianca Kühnel and Galit Noga-Banai (Turnhout 2014), 214–216; Jaspert, "Vergegenwärtigungen Jerusalems in Architektur und Reliquienkult," in: *Jerusalem im Hoch- und Spätmittelalter*, ed. Dieter Bauer (Frankfurt am Main 2001), 219–297; Mette Birkedal Bruun, *Parables: Bernard of Clairvaux's Mapping of Spiritual Topography* (Leiden 2007), 32–33.
- 192 See Bruun, *Parables*, 26. For a combination with hagiographical texts, see Worm, "Vergegenwärtigungen," 292.
- 193 See Schein, *Gateway*, 141–143; Rubenstein, *Dream*, 50–54; Bianca Kühnel, "Geography and Geometry of Jerusalem," in: *City of the Great King*, ed. Nitzza Rosovsky (Cambridge, Mass. 1996), 31–316; Ingrid Baumgärtner, "Die Wahrnehmung Jerusalems auf mittelalterlichen Weltkarten," in: *Jerusalem im Hoch- und Spätmittelalter*, ed. Dieter Bauer (Frankfurt am Main 2001), 271–334.
- 194 Anna-Dorothee von den Brincken, *Fines terrae: Die Enden der Erde und der vierte Kontinent auf mittelalterlichen Weltkarten* (Hannover 1992), 182: "Die Kartographie des Abendlandes steht im Mittelalter durch rund ein Jahrtausend und bis ins 13. Jahrhundert fast ausschließlich im Dienste der Theologie, insbesondere der Bibelexegese." My translation.
- 195 See Jay Rubenstein, "Lambert of Saint-Omer and the Apocalyptic First Crusade," in: *Remembering the Crusades*, ed. Nicholas L. Paul and Suzanne M. Yeager (Baltimore 2012), 78. On Gog and Magog, see also Nicholas Morton, *Encountering Islam on the First Crusade* (Cambridge, UK 2016), 218–220.
- 196 "Cum homo nascitur venit de oriente ad occidentem et ibi laborat quamdiu vivit, cum vero transit ab hac vita, de occidente ad orientem redit" (Ms. BL Royal 10 A XVI, fol. 98^v; see also Ms. BNF lat. 10633, fol. 115^r).

is a clear indication of this aspect's significance.¹⁹⁷ The construction of a meaningful East thus generated a desire for travelling to this East.

The 12th century was certainly a time of sparse information and vague notions about the Holy Land: Christopher Tyerman calls it a 'virtual reality.'¹⁹⁸ This disposition—deriving from geographical distance, but also from the approach of an orthodox religion of the book—is highly pertinent to studying the crusades. In agreement with Edward Said, one can speak of an 'imaginative geography' that fills spatial categories with arbitrary meaning, by no means meant to display actual circumstances, but to confirm expectations.¹⁹⁹ However, in the contemporary perception, the distinction between Western biblical discourse and actual circumstances did not exist. This held significant potential for disillusionment, if it turned out that the two did not concur. Gerhoch of Reichersberg (c.1090–1169) provides an example of this: having arrived in Jerusalem, the Second Crusade's participants were surprised, since the city was not threatened—contrary to what Western preachers had claimed.²⁰⁰ The approach seems to have developed slightly in the 13th century: on the one hand, sources of information now conveyed a more tangible picture and increased knowledge in the West.²⁰¹ On the other, people began to realize the potential of empirical information, for example, Jacques de Vitry (c.1170–1240) collected information in the Holy Land for his works.²⁰² Yet, one must not overestimate

197 See Giles Constable, "The Cross of the Crusaders," in: *Crusaders and Crusading in the Twelfth Century* (Farnham 2008), 55–56. On the contemporary conception of East and West, see Elizabeth Lapina, *Warfare and the Miraculous in the Chronicles of the First Crusade* (University Park 2015), 122–142. On the Eastern paradise, see Reinhold R. Grimm, *Paradisus coelestis, paradisus terrestris: Zur Auslegungsgeschichte des Paradieses im Abendland bis um 1200* (Munich 1977), esp. 64, 77–78, 162–163.

198 Tyerman, *Plan*, 31.

199 Said, *Orientalism*, 54. See also Morton, *Islam*, 21, 226–233; Skottki, *Beschreibung*, 20–36; Sophia Menache, "Emotions in the Service of Politics. Another Perspective on the Experience of Crusading (1095–1187)," in: *Jerusalem the Golden*, ed. Susan B. Edgington (Turnhout 2014), 253–254.

200 Gerhoch of Reichersberg, *De investigatione*, ed. Scheibelberger, 144; discussed by Rubenstein, *Dream*, 148.

201 See Maier, *Friars*, 115; Tyerman, *Plan*, 280. The 13th century also seems to have initiated a new stage for knowledge about Islam, even though Tolan stresses that the vague image persisted until the 17th century (John Victor Tolan, *Saracens: Islam in the Medieval European Imagination* (New York 2002), xix). For the persistence throughout the 12th century, see Morton, "Turks," 53–56; Norman Daniel, *Islam and the West: The Making of an Image* (Oxford 1993), 255–276.

202 See Marie-Geneviève Grossel, "Justifier l'avenir par l'Histoire. Un Orient à redéfinir selon Jacques de Vitry et les écrits sur la cinquième croisade," in: *Les nouveaux mondes juridiques*, ed. Clotilde Jacqueland and Nicolas Lombart (Paris 2015), 57–82. See also Susanne

these developments: the basic disposition with the Bible as a metatext remains. Matthieu Rajohnson argued recently that the earthly Jerusalem became an even more elusive entity in the late Middle Ages due to the fact that it was lost to the West.²⁰³ The second part of Bernard of Clairvaux's *De laude novae militiae* (1130s) represents an expressive example of the dialectics between imagined biblical topography and real world. It describes several sites in the Holy Land as if Bernard had visited them, including the emotional reaction that this visit provoked.²⁰⁴ If we did not know the author, one could think that this is a pilgrim report. However, Bernard never went to the Holy Land, and his work relies heavily on biblical components: it imagines the distant Holy Land from the West, but pretends to be an authentic description—and for Bernard, it was. This represents an idiosyncratic approach to those spaces, orthodox and textual in nature, which is different from our rational and empirical approach.²⁰⁵ Actual information did not bother Bernard and his successors; it did not contribute to their arguments. However, their texts shaped the notions and expectations of numerous people in the West, critically if these were sermons addressed to broad audiences.²⁰⁶ The chapter on institutional context will discuss how this dynamic played out in the relevant historical context, specifically within the early University of Paris.

The distant Holy Land existed in the West as a screen of projection. The Bible revealed itself as the essential force in imagining it, but as soon as Chris-

Lehmann-Brauns, *Jerusalem sehen: Reiseberichte des 12. bis 15. Jahrhunderts als empirische Anleitung zur geistigen Pilgerfahrt* (Freiburg 2010), 191–244.

- 203 Rajohnson, *L'Occident*, esp. 870–871. See also Bernard Hamilton, “The Impact of the Crusades on Western Geographical Knowledge,” in: *Eastward Bound*, ed. Rosamund S. Allen (Manchester 2004), 29, who noted how little geographical knowledge the Hereford Map-pamundi contains (c.1300), despite its detailed depictions that suggest otherwise.
- 204 Bernard of Clairvaux, *De laude*, 286–320; see Purkis, *Spirituality*, 108–109; David Richard Carlson, “The Practical Theology of St. Bernard and the Date of the *De laude novae militiae*,” in: *Erudition at God's Service*, ed. John Robert Sommerfeldt (Kalamazoo 1987), 138–139; see also Lehmann-Brauns, *Jerusalem*, 69–75. Carlson noted that the order of places is informed by Christ's biography and not geographical principles.
- 205 I disagree, therefore, with Lehmann-Brauns. She did magisterial research establishing the importance of the physical places, including their purpose as a nexus to the heavenly realm. However, her conclusions follow a modern logic: she sees an empirical interest that is eager to increase knowledge and values accurate observation (see Lehmann-Brauns, *Jerusalem*, 11–16, 110–111, 331–334). She misjudges the dialectic that constructs meaning via the Bible: interest in the physical places is not tantamount to empiricism (more nuanced at: 167–168).
- 206 Symptomatic is that many were unfamiliar with Edessa on the eve of the Second Crusade, the central cause of the enterprise, until preachers broached the issue (see Cole, *Preaching*, 37–41; Rubenstein, *Dream*, 103–104, 211–212).

tians travelled there, these ideas turned suddenly real: one now moved in the spaces heard of lifelong in liturgy and preaching.²⁰⁷ The crusaders carried an enormous discursive mass that presented itself as the divine truth: a mental map of the way ahead, which they filled with providential meaning. In doing so, readings formerly of spiritual and allegorical nature were drawn into the physical sphere—a pivotal dynamic of the crusades, as the research of Philippe Buc, Jay Rubenstein, and Cecilia Gaposchkin has shown.²⁰⁸ One may speak of a dialectic in the perception of space that intended to transform spiritual into physical (or vice versa). Gaposchkin attributes a key role in this process to the liturgy: “[...] the allegorical bellicism of the liturgy was deallegorized—or actualized—for the purposes of warfare.”²⁰⁹ The existence of spiritual matters was due to the state of terrestrial existence, that is, as long as God and the heavenly world remained invisible, but the spiritual would become the more visible the closer one got to the Apocalypse and the heavenly world. The voyage to the Holy Land can be understood as an overcoming of this spiritual barrier: it thus bridged not only space but also time.²¹⁰ And such an understanding spread to other dimensions, including enemies peregrinating from the spiritual into the physical sphere. Gaposchkin characterizes this leap as dependent on context: “[...] meaning could slip easily between the two, or even encompass both at once.”²¹¹

The crusades confront us with a number of meaningful spaces, in particular Jerusalem and several of its components such as the Temple, the Holy Sepulcher, or Mount Zion. There are also meaningful spaces of evil, especially Babylon and Egypt. Furthermore, a number of spaces outside the holy city are important, for example, Tyre, Nazareth, or Mount Tabor. Together, they shape the Holy Land or the ‘landscape of salvation,’ as coined by Mette Birkedal Bruun, when discussing Bernard of Clairvaux.²¹² Topographical categories are

207 On the liturgy’s pivotal role for broad parts of society, see David d’Avray, “Popular and Elite Religion: Feastdays and Preaching,” in: *Elite and Popular Religion*, ed. Kate Mason Cooper (Woodbridge 2006), 167, 178–179.

208 Ekkehard of Aura, for example, declares that the First Crusade turned mystical prophecy into visible history (*versis in hystorias visibiles eatenus mysticis prophetiis*) (Ekkehard of Aura, *Chronica*, ed. Schmale, 160; discussed by Buc, *Holy War*, 283; Rubenstein, “Crusade and Apocalypse,” 184).

209 Gaposchkin, *Weapons*, 7.

210 See Bruun, *Parables*, 38, 88–92; Jaspert, “Füße,” 182–183. See the chapter on the Apocalypse.

211 See Gaposchkin, *Weapons*, 57, 61–62, cited 62; Gaposchkin, “Pilgrimage,” 65–66; Buc, *Holy War*, 78–79.

212 Mette Birkedal Bruun, “Bernard of Clairvaux and the Landscape of Salvation,” in: *A Companion to Bernard of Clairvaux*, ed. Brian Patrick McGuire (Leiden 2011), 249–278, esp. 255–256.

determined via their appearance in the Bible: these places will play a role in salvation history, and they may represent a nexus to the heavenly world. It is key that specific spaces are important to both the crusades and salvation history: a religious meta-structure informs the topography's meaning and thus shapes crusade spirituality. Nikolas Jaspert describes such spaces as incentives that stimulated journeys to the East.²¹³ One may distinguish two basic categories: (a) specific places, for example, Jerusalem, characterized by their uniqueness and geographical location; these cannot be replaced or relinquished; and (b) Christian theology draws on a number of topographical elements for discussing moral issues or religious ways of life.²¹⁴ The Bible determines both categories, for example, the Exodus deals with the evil space of Egypt, but likewise offers meaning for the desert via the 40 years wandering.²¹⁵ The chapter on the Cross relic addresses the central cause for the Third Crusade, an object whose meaning fundamentally constituted itself via its localization in Jerusalem. The chapter on Jerusalem examines the second critical event and its providential standing, whereas the city had been in Christian hands before: one may surmise that it had not loomed large in crusade preaching.²¹⁶ The chapter on the Holy Land investigates its meaning and terminology, unearthing the broader landscape of salvation as drafted by late 12th-century preachers. This will reveal providential itineraries that imagine the way back to heaven as an actual journey, as opposed to merely spiritual ones. There are further spaces that this study does not cover, since they do not loom large in the pertinent corpus, for instance, Tyre or Antioch. The example of Acre is remarkable, likewise lost in 1187 and playing an important military role for the Third Crusade with its siege and conquest in July 1191. However, I have not found a single reference to it in the sermon texts, likely because it does not play any role in the landscape

213 Jaspert, "Attraktoren," 68; Jaspert, "Eleventh-Century Pilgrimage from Catalonia to Jerusalem: New Sources on the Foundations of the First Crusade," *Crusades* 14 (2015), 13–16.

214 Bruun, *Parables*, esp. 30, who renders this a soteriological topography.

215 On the Exodus, see the chapter on the Holy Land. See also Dennis Howard Green, *The Millstätter Exodus: A Crusading Epic* (Cambridge, UK 1966). Ademar of LePuy was understood as a new Moses repeating the Exodus via the First Crusade (see Jaspert, "Füße," 179). On the motifs of desert and wilderness among the Cistercians, see Bruun, *Parables*, 70–80; and in Arnold of Lübeck's work: Beth C. Spacey, "'A Land of Horror and Vast Wilderness': Landscapes of Crusade and Jerusalem Pilgrimage in Arnold of Lübeck's *Chronica Slavorum*," *Journal of Medieval History* 47/3 (2021), 356–360.

216 Nevertheless, calls for its defense may have played a role, especially in the period of growing pressure leading up to 1187: this betrays the crusade call of 1185 (Peter of Blois, *Ep.* 98, 306–308). Investigating Jerusalem's role in sermon texts between 1099 and 1187 is still outstanding; this could well build on: Schein, *Gateway*.

of salvation.²¹⁷ This example perfectly demonstrates the distorted discourse in the West, which hardly drew on actual circumstances in the East.

The four senses of Scripture conceived of different guises of the same space, even though ultimately these all referred to the heavenly guise.²¹⁸ The others were its representations or images that only existed due to the Fall of Mankind. Honorius Augustodunensis, for example, declared in the early 12th century that Noah's son established the earthly Jerusalem *in figura* of the heavenly city.²¹⁹ The *Glossa ordinaria* represents an important testimony for how important the four senses were in the 12th century: already the prologue of the book of Genesis presents this scheme as a model, identifying the four with the four Jerusalems.²²⁰ Every use of these spaces—even if explicitly allegorical—referred, theologically speaking, to the heavenly guise, but it also betrayed an entanglement with the actual place, which delivered the foundation for the spatial concept.²²¹ Prevostin of Cremona, in his sketch of the four senses, explains the literal as the landmark on which the others build (*hystoria limen est, quod aliis substernitur*).²²² However, emphases could vary, oscillating between a preponderance of allegorical interpretations and a more prominent role for literal readings. Such varying emphases as well as connections between the different senses require close analysis in the following chapters. This pertains to the issue of identifying the crusade in sermon texts: to a certain degree, one can equate this quest with the identification of the literal sense. This sense and the actual places had significantly grown in importance, in particular after

217 An episode that will bring Acre into focus is Richard Lionheart's massacre of thousands of Muslims; see the chapter on the Apocalypse. On the events, see Tyerman, *God's War*, 402–460; John D. Hosler, *The Siege of Acre, 1189–1191: Saladin, Richard the Lionheart, and the Battle that Decided the Third Crusade* (New Haven 2018).

218 See Lubac, *Exégèse*, 1:643–648; Gaposchkin, *Weapons*, 32; Roberts, *Sermons*, 104–105; Philippe Buc, *L'empreinte du Moyen Age: la guerre sainte* (Avignon 2012), 33. See also the chapter on Jerusalem.

219 Honorius Augustodunensis, *Speculum ecclesiae*, 1094; discussed by Schein, *Gateway*, 115.

220 *Glossa ordinaria*, ed. Gibson, 1:6; discussed by Quinto, "Peter the Chanter," 50–52. For discussions of the four senses in the relevant corpus, see Peter of Blois, *Sermo 52*, 713; Garnerius of Clairvaux, *Sermo 11*, 639; *Sermo 17*, 686; *Sermo 34*, 790; Garnerius of Clairvaux, *Distinctiones*, 850; Ms. BL Royal 10 A XVI, fol. 48^r and Ms. BNF lat. 10633, fol. 53^r as well as Petrus Cantor, *Distinctiones*, 302–303.

221 See Bruun, *Parables*, 29; Jean Flori, *L'islam et la fin des temps: l'interprétation prophétique des invasions musulmanes dans la chrétienté médiévale* (Paris 2007), 300.

222 Ms. Arsenal 543, fol. 244^r. This approach derives from the Victorines (see Cotts, "Exegesis," 286; Lehmann-Brauns, *Jerusalem*, 89–93; Ineke van't Spijker, "The Literal and the Spiritual. Richard of Saint-Victor and the Multiple Meaning of Scripture," in: *The Multiple Meaning of Scripture*, ed. Spijker (Leiden 2008), 225–248).

the First Crusade—even though contemporary authors intertwined all four senses with the crusading arena.²²³

The scheme poses the challenge that one has to figure out the senses which are at play in a specific text, especially in between the extremes of a literal and an allegorical reading: sermons using a motif like Jerusalem do not always tell us with which sense they endow it. Whereas it is possible that an allegorical reading pertains solely to the Western sphere (for example, a monastic register), the literal sense obviously lends itself to the crusade—but it is essential not to understand the two poles as antithetical. Regarding lay audiences, one may suppose that matters lent themselves to a literal understanding: they likely associated specific keywords such as Jerusalem or Zion with the actual places—whether this was the preacher’s intention or not. This is exactly the situation which the preachers were eager to counter, as becomes manifest in the reform movement devoted to spiritually reform both the laity and the simple clergy. They intended to explain the invisible spiritual meanings behind the visible physical objects, hence sermons focus on spiritual matters.²²⁴ Such a focus, however, does not deliver a compelling argument for reading a sermon as being merely concerned with such. Rather, it is the case that physical objects do not require any description.²²⁵ Literal and spiritual readings cooperate and interact, just as medieval writers were eager to reach moral conclusions about historical events.²²⁶ One may imagine a sermon delivered during a cru-

223 See Smith, *Crusade Narrative*, 15–47; Jaspert, “Attraktoren,” 83; Lapina, *Warfare*, 133–135; André Vauchez, “Les composantes eschatologiques de l’idée de la croisade,” in: *Le concile de Clermont de 1095 et l’appel à la croisade de 1095* (Rome 1997), 237–241. The origins of this development lay already in the 11th century (see Flori, *L’islam*, 233–237; Jaspert, “Pilgrimage,” 14–15).

224 Purkis and Skottki discuss the fact that Bernard’s teachings for the Templars had this intention (Purkis, *Spirituality*, 108–109, 117; Kristin Skottki, “‘Until the Full Number of Gentiles Has Come in’: Exegesis and Prophecy in St Bernard’s Crusade-Related Writings,” in: *The Uses of the Bible in Crusader Sources*, ed. Elizabeth Lapina and Nicholas Morton (Leiden 2017), 249). A crucial passage states: “Dummodo sane spiritualibus non praeiudicet sensibus litteralis interpretatio [...]” (Bernard of Clairvaux, *De laude*, 280). The same happens in First Crusade chronicles, in particular relating to the massacre in Jerusalem (see Buc, “Crusade and Eschatology,” 321). The *Ordinacio de predicatione sancte crucis*, a manual for preaching the crusade, delivers further evidence for a spiritual focus (see Tyerman, *Plan*, 91–92; Cole, *Preaching*, 110–112, 117–126).

225 This agrees with Bériou’s assertion that a church’s architectural elements or artworks are hardly broached in sermons—with the major exception of the cross (Bériou, *Communication*, 119).

226 See Kletter, “Prophecy,” 102; Buc, *Holy War*, 90–105; Gaposchkin, *Weapons*, 9–10, 61–63, 79–81. Telling are portrayals such as that (allegedly) uttered by Bohemund of Taranto: the crusade is not a carnal but a spiritual war (*bellum carnale non est sed spirituale*) (*Gesta*

sade expedition that focuses on spiritual matters, while a physical object (such as a relic) was its context and occasion.

Similarly, explanations via *id est* and other spiritual readings in sermons do not deliver an argument for an exclusively spiritual purpose, starting with the fact that the four senses are inclusive: all point to the heavenly city, the one true Jerusalem. As long as an author does not state explicitly that he rejects the earthly guise (as some do), one must consider it every time Jerusalem is named, and the same pertains to other crusade elements. Cecilia Gaposchkin even argues that the liturgical Jerusalem and the earthly city were indistinguishable.²²⁷ This is notably true if we know that someone was involved in the crusades: an author's biography and attitudes—as the first chapter will discuss them—thus allow us to formulate an argument for reading a sermon text and specific keywords literally. Moreover, the specific interpretation via *id est* does not indicate a metaphorical understanding in the modern sense: it says something, but it means something else. The reformers rejected mere allegorical readings, emphasizing that the literal sense always required consideration. An explanation such as *Jerusalem id est ecclesia* does not degrade the city to a metaphor, but rather enhances its status. A compelling argument against the antithesis of literal and spiritual deliver the 13th-century sermons *ad cruce signatos*: these offer numerous typological and tropological readings.²²⁸

It is significant if preachers decided to discuss religious concepts via topographical categories. Christian theology offered a rich spectrum of imagery; discussing a concept such as salvation with the help of such spaces was thus a conscious decision that procured a spatialization and materialization of salvation, an essential dynamic of the crusade movement. This created a landscape of salvation in the listener's mind, which acted in unison with the topography of the East. Every use of such imagery and terms was crusade-related in the 12th century; it inhered in a significant crusade potential, as the chapters three to six will show on the basis of manifold materials. And such imagery may be a reflection of the material's past use—a sermon devoted to the dangers of the sea (even if proposing spiritual readings) may originally have been delivered

Francorum, ed. Hill, 37). Readings may also refer, for example, to heretics: thus, it is an allegorical reading but not only concerned with a spiritual matter (see, e.g., *Glossa ordinaria* (Deut. 20), ed. Feuarent, 1:1573–1576; discussed by Hofreiter, *Genocide*, 100–101).

227 Gaposchkin, *Weapons*, 32–33.

228 See, e.g., Odo of Chateauroux, *Sermo 1*, ed. Maier, 134; *Sermo 2*, ed. Maier, 148; Jacques de Vitry, *Sermo 1*, ed. Maier, 84. Jacques interprets Zion as the Church or Jerusalem as a Christian's soul, even though he deals with the crusade. See also Cole, *Preaching*, 133–136, 168–173.

during the passage to the Holy Land. Similarly, the contemporary discourse created a meaningful interplay between literal and spiritual via the omnipresent argument of explaining failure in the Holy Land with Christian sinfulness (*peccatis nostris exigentibus*). The physical signifies the spiritual; the spiritual serves as a preparation for the physical. These causalities created a fatal entanglement between East and West regardless of spatial distance—chapter seven will address these dynamics.

Lastly, it is an essential trait of Christian culture to conceive of the Christian community as a unity that consists in the Corpus Christi, the so-called Corpus Misticum or ‘Body Metaphor.’²²⁹ This community constitutes itself in the Eucharist: Christ appears as the head (*caput*) of his own body, while the Christians form its limbs (*membra*). This indicates an intrinsic relationship between individual and community that is nowadays unfamiliar in Western culture. All limbs of the Corpus Christi would share the same destiny; this fueled the desire to expose weak limbs. As we will see, contemporary authors blended the Corpus Christi with spaces in the East; this tied the Christian destiny to this region and made Eastern events suddenly close and relevant.²³⁰ The topography acquired an anthropological component about which Bruun argues the following: “The representation of soteriological topography gives rise to a topographically attuned anthropological vocabulary capable of denominating a spectre of relations between man and land, and thus signifying the situation of man in the topographical framework.”²³¹ The anthropological entanglement with a specific topography represented, therefore, an essential motor for triggering movement towards the same. However, there is another reason why the Christian community was joined to the Holy Land; it would be the venue of the End of Days: Jerusalem and the Temple are essential elements in John’s Revelation, likewise in Old Testament prophecies and the Gospels. The eschatological scenario bears on a spatial structure.²³² This raises the question of whether

229 See Buc, *Livre*, 333–336; Henri de Lubac, *Corpus mysticum: l’eucharistie et l’église au moyen âge* (Paris 1949); Ernst Kantorowicz, *The King’s Two Bodies: A Study in Medieval Political Theology* (Princeton 2016), 194–206. On the nexus between Eucharist and preaching, see Bériou, *Communication*, 217–262, esp. 233–247.

230 See, e.g., Peter of Blois, *Sermo* 39, 678; *Sermo* 43, 695; Martin of Leon, *Liber sermonum*, *Sermo* 4, 215–216; Hélinand of Froimont, *Sermo* 15, 607; Garnerius of Clairvaux, *Distinctiones*, 1065; Alan of Lille, *Ars praedicandi*, 188; *Sermo* 2, PL 210:202. Robert of Reims understood Jerusalem’s conquest in 1099 as a restoration of a *membrum* of the Corpus Christi (Robert of Reims, *Historia*, ed. Kempf, 13, 24; discussed by Morton, *Islam*, 231).

231 Bruun, *Parables*, 87.

232 See Schein, *Gateway*, 141–157, 190–192; Rubenstein, “Crusade and Apocalypse,” 175; Rubenstein, *Dream*, 49–63; Flori, *L’Islam*, 228–229, 235–237, 310–311, 316.

the Apocalypse would even happen everywhere (simultaneously)—it was not simply a question of Yes or No in the medieval period, but constituted itself in a complex relationship between earth (non-Apocalypse) and heaven (Apocalypse).²³³ The eighth chapter will examine these dimensions, whereas the textual analyses in chapters three to six focus on the four senses and the Corpus Christi, two concepts that deliver the foundation for understanding the entanglement of crusade, space, and eschatology.

233 For a critique of the Yes/No antithesis, see James T. Palmer, *The Apocalypse in the Early Middle Ages* (Cambridge, UK 2014), 227–235.

PART 1

Contexts (I)

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Immediate Context: Authors and Texts, a Network of Preachers

This chapter introduces the nine authors, their works, and the manuscript evidence. This will demonstrate that we are dealing with a network of exegetes and preachers, in particular the Cistercians and the Paris masters around Peter the Chanter, who share an educational background, primarily studying in Paris.¹ Save for a few exceptions, most of their texts are only published in the *Patrologia latina* or are still unpublished. The PL draws on six previous editions, mainly the *Bibliotheca Patrum Cisterciensium* (8 vols, 1660–1669) published by the Cistercian Bertrand Tissier (c.1600–1672), which contains the works of Henry of Albano, Garnerius of Clairvaux, Baldwin of Canterbury, and Hélinand of Froidmont. Peter of Blois' works have been edited in *Petri Blesensis opera omnia* (1667) by the priest Pierre de Goussainville (1620–1683) as well as in *Petri Blesensis Bathoniensis archidiaconi opera omnia* (4 vols, 1846–1847) by the historian John Allen Giles (1808–1884). Alan of Lille's works are found in *Opera moralia, paraenetica et polemica* (1654) edited by the Cistercian Carolus de Visch (1596–1666);² Ralph Ardens' sermons by Claude Frémy (1567);³ and Martin of León's by Francisco de Lorenzana (1782–1793). The PL seems to have simply reproduced these editions (random comparisons have revealed the exact same text). In many cases, we do not even know the manuscripts which were used, likely a locally available copy. It is remarkable that the sermon collections as presented in the PL do not coincide with any of the surviving manuscripts:⁴ either the edition stems from a now lost copy or it represents a composite of several codices. Since the PL holds texts that I have not found in any manuscript, the first pos-

1 See Jessalynn L. Bird, *Heresy, Crusade and Reform in the Circle of Peter the Chanter, c.1187–c.1240* (PhD thesis, University of Oxford 2001), 1–30; Nicole Bériou, *L'avènement des maîtres de la parole: la prédication à Paris au XIII^e siècle* (Paris 1998), 1:31, 46–48, 138; Beverly Mayne Kienzle, *Cistercians, Heresy and Crusade in Occitania, 1145–1229: Preaching in the Lord's Vineyard* (Woodbridge 2001), 34–35, 172–173.

2 See Nikolaus M. Häring, "Alan of Lille's *De fide catholica* or *contra haereticos*," *Analecta Cisterciensia* 32 (1976), 216–217.

3 See Ronald James Stansbury, *Preaching before the Friars: The Sermons of Ralph Ardent (c.1130–c.1215)* (PhD thesis, Ohio State University 2001), 119–120, 146–149.

4 Either sermons are in the PL that are not in the manuscript or vice versa. Similarly, composition and order are often different from the PL.

sibility seems to apply at least in parts. Therefore, these editions do not meet our academic requirements, but they are still valuable sources, preserving texts that are otherwise lost.

1 Gregory VIII

Albert of Morra (c.1100–1187), an Augustinian canon, was nominated cardinal in the 1150s. He held this position until October 1187 when, after the death of Urban III, he became pope as Gregory VIII. Although he would only be pope for two months, he was an essential figure for unleashing the Third Crusade, who provided a metatext via his encyclicals that remained pertinent for years, if not decades.⁵ Reacting to the Cross relic's loss, he issued *Audita tremendi* a few days after his nomination, calling all of Christendom (*omnes fideles*) to a new crusade.⁶ The letter was likely distributed throughout the West, as its survival in several German and English chronicles demonstrates. Four accounts cite it completely: the so-called Ansbert;⁷ Roger of Howden's *Gesta*; the same author's chronicle; and William of Newburgh.⁸ This is complemented by at least three manuscripts where the letter survived independently, that is, not as a quotation within a chronicle.⁹ Furthermore, both the *Continuatio Zwetlensis altera* and Celestine III's crusade call to Hubert Walter (1195) cite parts of it, and Arnold of Lübeck provides a summary.¹⁰ Gregory's successor Clement III reis-

5 See Bird, *Heresy*, 14, 28, 36–37; Sylvia Schein, *Gateway to the Heavenly City: Crusader Jerusalem and the Catholic West (1099–1187)* (Aldershot 2005), 177; Amnon Linder, *Raising Arms: Liturgy in the Struggle to Liberate Jerusalem in the Late Middle Ages* (Turnhout 2003), 2–3, 26.

6 See Thomas W. Smith, “*Audita tremendi* and the Call for the Third Crusade Reconsidered, 1187–1188,” *Viator* 49/3 (2018), 63–101; Penny J. Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades to the Holy Land, 1095–1270* (Cambridge, Mass. 1991), 63–65.

7 Ansbert, *Historia*, ed. Chroust, 6–10; henceforth cited as: Gregory VIII, *Audita tremendi*, ed. Chroust, 6–10. I cite alongside the other versions as recently edited in: Smith, “*Audita tremendi*,” 88–101.

8 Roger of Howden, *Gesta*, 2:15–19; *Chronica*, 2:326–329; William of Newburgh, *Historia*, 267–271. On its distribution, see also Schein, *Gateway*, 164; Christopher J. Tyerman, *How to Plan a Crusade: Reason and Religious War in the High Middle Ages* (London 2015), 115. A chronicle asserts that it was disseminated “throughout the world” (*transmisit in orbem*) (Burchard of Ursberg, *Chronik*, 361); similar in another: *in universum orbem Romanum* (Arnold of Lübeck, *Chronica*, 169).

9 Ms. BL Add 24145, fols. 76^v–77^r; Ms. Rouen 518, fol. 202^v; Ms. München, Clm 21528, fols. 120^v–121^r; discussed by Smith, “*Audita tremendi*,” 70–75.

10 *Continuatio Zwetlensis*, 543; Celestine III, *Ep.224*, 1107–1110; Arnold of Lübeck, *Chronica*, 169–170.

sued the encyclical in January 1188—this version has survived in at least two manuscripts.¹¹ Two further crusade calls addressed the archbishop of Toledo and his suffragans (May and June 1188); these refer likewise to *Audita tremendi*, while calling for crusading in Iberia, simultaneously with the Eastern expedition, and offering the same remission of sin.¹² Gregory's encyclical thus fulfilled the role of an authoritative metatext, which delivered guidance and biblical elements for preachers.

However, *Audita tremendi* was not the only letter concerned with preparing the crusade: The brief crusade call *Nunquam melius* was published on the same day and apparently complemented the elaborate encyclical—Roger of Howden cites it immediately after *Audita tremendi*. This second call focuses on moral reform; and it survived in at least one manuscript as an independent text.¹³ The first letter issued after Gregory's enthronement addressed the entire German clergy; it informed about the events in the East and called for preaching the crusade in the Holy Roman Empire (expressed with *rogare, monere, et exhortari*). Another letter was sent to Frederick Barbarossa, demanding intra-Christian peace to enable a new expedition.¹⁴ Lastly, two letters called on all of Christendom to reform its way of life, in the face of the sinfulness revealed via the events in the East (*peccatis nostris exigentibus*): one addressing *omnes fideles*, the other *omnes episcopos*. The latter represents a call to preach the crusade, tantamount to the letter to the German clergy: bishops were essential figures for distributing the preaching effort.¹⁵ In conclusion, Gregory set major incentives during his short reign, to generate the massive movement of the Third Crusade; his letters offered guidance in terms of content, but they also called on specific groups to preach. Yet, the pope was not alone; an armada of preachers began to assemble in the shadow of the events in the East, in order to inspire Christendom to a devastating journey.

11 Ms. München, Clm 28195, fols. 49^r–50^r; Ms. Erlangen 224, fols. 18^v–21^v; discussed by Smith, “*Audita tremendi*,” 71–72. Another letter (Feb. 1188) addressed Baldwin of Canterbury and his suffragans (cited in Gerald of Wales, *De principis instructione*, 236–239).

12 *Papsturkunden* (no.253), ed. Berger, 466–468; and (no.256), ed. Berger, 474–477. See also Damian J. Smith, “The Iberian Legations of Cardinal Hyacinth Bobone,” in: *Pope Celestine III, 1191–1198*, ed. Smith and John Doran (Aldershot 2008), 99–100; Joseph F. O’Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade in Medieval Spain* (Philadelphia 2003), 57–58.

13 Gregory VIII, *Nunquam melius*, 1539, cited in Roger of Howden, *Gesta*, 239; and *Chronica*, 2:329–330; see also Cecilia Gaposchkin, *Invisible Weapons. Liturgy and the Making of Crusade Ideology* (Ithaca, NY 2017), 194. It survived in Ms. Alençon 15, fol. 144^v. My thanks to Helen Birkett for pointing me to this manuscript.

14 Gregory VIII, *Ep.1*, 1537–1538; and *Ep.18*, 1558. See the chapter on historical context.

15 Gregory VIII, *Ep.22*, 1561; *Ep.23*, 1561. On these dynamics, see the chapter on the failure of crusades; and on the bishops, see the chapter on historical context and table 3.

2 The Circle of Clairvaux

2.1 *Garnerius of Clairvaux*

Garnerius (c.1140–1225), also called ‘of Rochefort’ or ‘of Langres,’ was the abbot of Clairvaux at the time of the Third Crusade (1186–1193), and thus a key authority in the Cistercian order. For example, he delivered three sermons at the Cistercian General Chapter (specific years unknown).¹⁶ It is noteworthy that other authors were writing in Clairvaux at the time, perhaps under his patronage: Geoffrey of Auxerre penned his sermons on John’s Revelation and Konrad of Eberbach the first four books of the *Exordium magnum ordinis Cisterciensis*. Furthermore, Henry of Albano’s treatise, completed at the time, addressed the monks of Clairvaux, perhaps at the invitation of the abbot (see below). The abbey represented, therefore, a vital center for textual production.¹⁷ Garnerius’ own writings also betray significant parallels with several Paris masters, in particular Alan of Lille and Ralph Ardens; one can thus align him with the circle of Gilbert of Poitiers (c.1080–1154). These parallels as well as Garnerius’ numerous erudite quotations in his sermon texts demonstrate that he was profoundly educated: he likely studied in Paris.¹⁸ He became the bishop of Langres in 1193, before retreating again to Clairvaux in 1199; Innocent III removed him from the episcopal office, apparently for failing to attend to his duties adequately.¹⁹ We do not know much about his remaining years—even though he remained productive.

Garnerius penned a liturgical collection of 40 sermons, published in PL 205 and surviving in two manuscripts from Clairvaux (today Troyes). With the exception of Nikolaus Häring, these sermons have not received attention

16 Garnerius of Clairvaux, *Sermo* 33–35, 779–798 and Ms. Troyes 1301, fols. 103^v–112^r; see Nikolaus M. Häring, “The Liberal Arts in the Sermons of Garnier of Rochefort,” *Mediaeval Studies* 30 (1968), 49. On his life, see Jean-Charles Didier, “Garnier de Rochefort. Sa vie et son œuvre,” *Collectanea Cisterciensia* 17 (1955), 146–149; see also Konrad of Eberbach, *Exordium*, PL 185:451.

17 On Garnerius as a patron of textual production, see the chapter on media context.

18 See Didier, “Garnier de Rochefort,” 157; Häring, “Liberal Arts,” 72–77; Clemens Baeumker, “Einleitung,” in: Garnerius of Clairvaux, *Contra Amaurianos* (Münster 1926), xliii–liv. On intertextualities with Peter the Chanter, see Jean-Pierre Rothschild, “Un ‘De contrarietatibus in sacra Scriptura’ attribué à Garnier de Rochefort, tiré du ‘De tropis loquendi’ de Pierre le Chantre,” in: *Amicorum societas*, ed. Jacques Elfassi and Cécile Lanéry (Florence 2013), 741–768.

19 Innocent III, *Ep.* 182, PL 214:163–164; *Ep.* 504, PL 214:464–466; *Ep.* 553, PL 214:505–506; see Didier, “Garnier de Rochefort,” 151–153; Häring, “Liberal Arts,” 47–48. He witnessed charters in Clairvaux between 1200 and 1226.

among scholars.²⁰ The copy of Ms. Troyes 1301 also contains eight unpublished sermons, among them one *Contra Iudaeos*;²¹ just as it contains Garnerius' anti-heretical treatise, which agitates against Amalric of Bena and his followers. This work evidences his relations with Paris (even after having returned to Clairvaux), where the efforts against Amalric were primarily pursued. As Paolo Lucentini demonstrated, it shows numerous intertextualities with Prevostin of Cremona's *Summa theologica* (see below).²² Furthermore, a collection of *distinctiones*, falsely attributed to Rabanus Maurus (PL 112), certainly dates to the 12th century and most likely comes from the abbot's pen.²³ Based on the manuscripts' date and location, one can safely determine that it originated in Clairvaux; two early Clairvaux manuscripts even name Garnerius as the author and identify him as the former bishop of Langres, a hint for dating the work after 1199 (in its final form).²⁴ Owing to his position, the abbot was an important figure for preaching the Third Crusade. He did not join the expedition, but was still busy supporting it: this is evidenced by a significant letter that Richard Lionheart addressed to him (sent from Acre, Oct. 1191). The king encouraged him to continue preaching, apparently considering him the prime addressee

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- 20 Ms. Troyes 970; Ms. Troyes 1301. Neither coincides with the PL's stock. See also Didier, "Garnier de Rochefort," 154, asserting that the bulk was penned while abbot of Clairvaux. Alberic praises them as *subtiles sermones* (Alberic of Trois-Fontaines, *Chronica*, 878); similar in Richard Lionheart's letter to Garnerius: *vestrae praedicationis sollertiam* (cited in Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, 3132).
- 21 Ms. Troyes 1301, fols. 30^r-34^r; 56^r-61^r; 57^r-61^v; 71^v-77^r; 135^v-138^r; 158^r-164^r; 166^r-v; 167^v-168^v. See also the list in: Baeumker, "Einleitung," xv-xvi. The manuscript contains 46 sermon texts altogether.
- 22 Ms. Troyes 1301, fols. 141^r-154^r; see Paolo Lucentini, "Introduzione," in: Garnerius of Clairvaux, *Contra Amavrianos*, CCCM 232 (Turnhout 2010), xviii-xxvi. It also exists in another edition (ed. Baeumker). On the Amalricians, see Bériou, *L'Avènement*, 1:48-58; Philippe Buc, *L'ambiguïté du livre: prince, pouvoir, et peuple dans les commentaires de la Bible au Moyen Age* (Paris 1994), 165-166.
- 23 See Bériou, *L'Avènement*, 1:138; Didier, "Garnier de Rochefort," 155-157; and Georges Lacombe, *La vie et les oeuvres de Prévostin* (Kain 1927), 118-119, who edited its prologue from Ms. BNF lat. 599.
- 24 Ms. Troyes 32, fol. 157^v; Ms. Troyes 392, fol. 169^r-v; see Rothschild, "Garnier de Rochefort," 744-745; Stephen A. Barney, "Introduction," in: *Petri Cantoris distinctiones Abel*, CCCM 288 (Turnhout 2020), 249-255. The second copy contains three attributions to Garnerius on the same page: one seems contemporary. Other copies from Clairvaux present the work in anonymous form: Ms. Troyes 539; 868; 1697; 1704. See the list of manuscripts in: Emmanuelle Kuhry, "Dictionnaires, distinctions, recueils de propriétés en milieu cistercien: outils pour la prédication, sources pour l'étude de la nature," in: *Les Cisterciens et la transmission des textes (XII^e-XVIII^e siècles)*, ed. Anne-Marie Turcan-Verkerk and Dominique Stutzmann (Turnhout 2018), 335-337.

for these efforts.²⁵ Garnerius reacted by forwarding the letter to the archbishop of Reims; this version survived as text in its own right—and we know that people still took the cross during as well as shortly after the Third Crusade.²⁶ In 1198, Garnerius himself took it at the General Chapter, together with Fulk of Neuilly, after Innocent III had called on the Cistercians to support the cause, but he does not seem to have joined the Fourth Crusade.²⁷ Evidence for his crusading interests at the time can also be seen in a letter to Innocent III devoted to promoting the order of Calatrava against the Iberian Muslims; this order was affiliated with the Cistercians since 1187.²⁸ As a result, there is the question of how one may date Garnerius' sermons—but this is only relevant if one is interested in examining differences between expeditions. The issue is negligible when analysing the general discourse about the events of 1187, especially if a sermon's liturgical nature suggests that it was used more than once anyway.

2.2 *Henry of Albano*

Henry (c.1135–1189), the cardinal bishop of Albano, is sometimes also designated as 'of Clairvaux,' where he was abbot (1176–1179), or 'of Marcy,' signifying his origins, and in rare cases 'of Hautecombe,' where he was abbot in 1160–1176.²⁹ He represents another essential protagonist related to Clairvaux, who already played an important role at the Third Lateran Council (1179). In 1178, he preached against heretics in southern France and, in 1181, he led a first crusade-

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- 25 Cited in Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, 3:130–133, esp. 132; see Didier, "Garnier de Rochefort," 148; Schein, *Gateway*, 164. He may have overtaken Henry of Albano's legatine duties (see Anne Lise Bysted, *The Crusade Indulgence: Spiritual Rewards and the Theology of the Crusades, c.1095–1216* (Leiden 2015), 247). For relations between Clairvaux and crusading princes, see Nicholas L. Paul, *To Follow in Their Footsteps: The Crusades and Family Memory in the High Middle Ages* (Ithaca, NY 2012), 148–149; and on the Cistercians in general: Stephen Bennett, *Elite Participation in the Third Crusade* (Woodbridge 2021), 50–51.
- 26 See Jean-Charles Didier, "Une lettre inédite de Garnier de Rochefort," *Collectanea Cisterciensia* 18 (1956), 190–198. On late cross takings, see Barbara Bombi, "Papal Legates and Their Preaching of the Crusades in England between the Twelfth and the Thirteenth Centuries," in: *Legati, delegati e l'impresa d'Oltremare (secoli XII–XIII)*, ed. Maria Pia Alberzoni and Pascal Montaubin (Turnhout 2014), 238–239, 259–260.
- 27 See *Statuta capitulorum*, ed. Canivez (1198), 221–224; and Didier, "Garnier de Rochefort," 151–152; Alfred J. Andrea, "Adam of Perseigne and the Fourth Crusade," *Cîteaux* 36 (1985), 26.
- 28 Garnerius of Clairvaux, *Pro militibus*, 283–286; see Christian Krötzel, "Die Cistercienser und die Mission 'ad paganos', ca. 1150–1250," *Analecta Cisterciensia* 61 (2011), 293–294.
- 29 See Yves Congar, "Henri de Marcy, abbé de Clairvaux, cardinal, évêque d'Albano et légat pontifical," *Analecta monastica* 5 (1958), 1–3.

like expedition against them.³⁰ He was also involved in the oft-forgotten crusade of 1179, in which Count Henry of Champagne participated: a letter to Alexander III dealt with the count's taking of the cross.³¹ In 1181–1182, he spent time in Paris, where he consecrated the altar of Notre-Dame, together with Maurice of Sully. Henry became the cardinal bishop of Albano in 1179 and papal legate in 1181, positions he continued to hold under Urban III and Gregory VIII.³² The latter sent him on a tour through Burgundy, Flanders, and the Ile-de-France, in order to mobilize for the Third Crusade. In the summer of 1188, he also preached in Paris. He died already in January 1189 and was buried in Clairvaux between Bernard of Clairvaux and Saint Malachy, a fact that reveals his importance.³³ The PL 204 includes a number of his letters, but this collection does not seem to exist in any manuscript—I have only encountered single letters, partly as a quotation within a chronicle. Two are especially pertinent: a letter to the entire Christian clergy, calling them to engage in moral reform and preaching, in order to promote the crusade (*Ep.31*); and a crusade call addressed to the German nobility, preceding the Council of Mainz (*Ep.32*).³⁴ Furthermore, an important letter is absent from the PL; it is found in a manuscript from Flanders (today London) and entices Frederick Barbarossa to join the crusade. Henry possibly sent it to the Council of Strasburg (Dec. 1187), before he himself arrived in the Empire.³⁵ The manuscript presents it in conjunction with his *Ep.32, Audita tremendi*, and a letter from the Templar Terricus that reports on Hattin.³⁶

30 See Kienzle, *Cistercians*, 109–134; Congar, “Henri de Marcy,” 12–41.

31 Henry of Albano, *Ep.1*, 215–216; see also Alberic of Trois-Fontaines, *Chronica*, 855; and Elizabeth Siberry, *Criticism of Crusading, 1095–1274* (Oxford 1985), 53. On this expedition, see Jonathan Phillips, *Defenders of the Holy Land: Relations between the Latin East and the West, 119–1187* (Oxford 1996), 240–241.

32 See Kienzle, *Cistercians*, 109; Congar, “Henri de Marcy,” 40–42. He frequently witnessed papal charters: 38 times with Lucius III (from mid-1182), 40 times with Urban III, twice with Gregory VIII (Lucius III, *Epistolae*, 1160–1374; Urban III, *Epistolae*, 1332–1523; Gregory VIII, *Epistolae*, 1545, 1548).

33 See *Chronicon Claravallensae*, 1252; and Congar, “Henri de Marcy,” 54–55. See also Cassandra Elizabeth Chideock, *Henry of Marcy, Heresy and the Crusade, 1177–1189* (PhD thesis, University of Cambridge 2001), 30–50, discussing Henry's relations with important contemporaries including the Parisian milieu. See also Konrad of Eberbach, *Exordium* (2.30–31), ed. Griesser, 123–129.

34 Henry of Albano, *Ep.31*, 247–249; and *Ep.32*, PL 204:249–252, cited in Ansbert, *Historia*, ed. Chroust, 11–13.

35 See Valmar Cramer, “Kreuzpredigt und Kreuzzugsgedanken von Bernhard von Clairvaux bis Humbert von Romans,” *Das Heilige Land* 1 (1939), 73; Helen Birkett, “News in the Middle Ages: News, Communications, and the Launch of the Third Crusade in 1187–1188,” *Viator* 49/3 (2018), 44–45.

36 Ms. BL Add 24145, fol. 77^v, already edited in: Henry of Albano, *Brief*, ed. Holtzmann, 412–

Moreover, there is Henry's monumental *De peregrinante civitate Dei* (About the travelling City of God), published in PL 204 and surviving in a manuscript from Clairvaux (13th cen.). These two versions very much overlap, but since they also deviate on some significant occasions, it is clear that the PL's version derives from another copy.³⁷ This study thus always cites both versions together. The work sketches Henry's vision of a Christian world, where, inspired by Augustine, the duality of *civitas peregrinans* and *civitas triumphans* plays a pivotal role—and significantly, he interlocks these concepts with the crusade.³⁸ Henry stands in a tradition of blending Augustine with the crusades, as visible in Otto of Freising's *Historia de duabus civitatibus*, but also with Bernard of Clairvaux (*De conflictu duorum regum*) and Hugh of Saint-Victor (*De duabus civitatibus et duobus populis et regibus*). Similarly, Peter the Venerable declared in the prologue of *Contra sectam Saracenorum* that Augustine's work was his model, since it had also agitated against *pagani*.³⁹ However, Henry's work is unique in form and structure; it does not comply with any genre; this raises the question of its purpose (see also the chapter on Jerusalem). Yves Congar labeled it a commentary on Ps. 87, but its composition does not resemble a biblical commentary.⁴⁰ It contains a prologue and 18 treatises: these bear titles in the PL that are absent from the manuscript;⁴¹ and these form three parts:

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413. Terricus' letter is also cited in: Roger of Howden, *Gesta*, 2:13–14; see also John H. Pryor, "Two *excitationes* for the Third Crusade: The Letters of Brother Thierry of the Temple," *Mediterranean Historical Review* 25/2 (2010), 147–168.
- 37 Ms. Troyes 509, fols. 93^v–177^v. For examples of such deviations, see Alexander Marx, "Jerusalem as the Travelling City of God. Henry of Albano and the Preaching of the Third Crusade," *Crusades* 20 (2021), 104–105. The title at the beginning of the text says *De peregrinante civitate Dei* (fol. 93^v), whereas at the outset of the first treatise: *De peregrinatione civitatis Dei* (fol. 95^r). On the work, see Cole, *Preaching*, 65–71; Tyerman, *Plan*, 114–118.
- 38 See Congar, "Henri de Marcy," 58–61; Congar, "Eglise et Cité de Dieu chez quelques auteurs cisterciens à l'époque des Croisades: en particulier dans le De Peregrinante Civitate Dei d'Henri d'Albano," in: *Mélanges offerts à Etienne Gilson de l'Académie française*, ed. Callistus Edie (Toronto 1959), 173–202; Thomas Renna, "The Idea of the City in Otto of Freising and Henry of Albano," *Cîteaux* 35 (1984), 63–72.
- 39 See Hugh of Saint-Victor, *De duabus civitatibus*, 496–497; Bernard of Clairvaux, *De conflictu*, 818–830; discussed by Hans-Werner Goetz, "Die Rezeption der augustiniischen civitas-Lehre in der Geschichtstheologie des 12. Jahrhunderts," in: *Vorstellungsgeschichte* (Bochum 2007), 103–104, 109–111. On Peter, see Mechthild Dreyer, "... rationabiliter infirmare et ... rationes quibus fides [innititur] in publicum deducere. Alain de Lille et le conflit avec les adversaires de la foi," in: *Alain de Lille, le docteur universel*, ed. Jean-Luc Solère (Turnhout 2005), 434.
- 40 See Congar, "Eglise," 182–183.
- 41 The manuscript shows blank space for a title at the outset of each treatise (1–15); treatises 16–18 offer a fluent text without any initials or paragraphs (Ms. Troyes 509, fols. 161^v–177^v).

(a) an extensive collection of material on Jerusalem (tr.1–12); (b) the so-called ‘crusade treatise,’ which expounds on the situation of 1187 (tr.13); and (c) liturgical instructions concerned with the Lenten season (tr.14–18). Scholars have often taken the crusade treatise out of context, while disregarding the other parts—but it undoubtedly represents one work: Henry intended to interlace his essay on the events of 1187 with theological and monastic concepts of Jerusalem.⁴² Congar asserted, “the prevalent image for Henry is that of the crusade, which he implements for explaining certain aspects of the City of God [...]”⁴³

Two parts, prologue and crusade treatise, offer valuable information on the work’s purpose: the prologue declares that it addresses the monks of Clairvaux (*charissimis ac spiritualibus filiis suis in Claravalle Domino servientibus*).⁴⁴ The crusade treatise, on the other hand, betrays its occasion: the situation after the losses of the Cross and of Jerusalem, or more specifically, after numerous people had taken the cross, but (as the year 1188 advanced) intra-Christian conflicts were delaying the departure, a fact that Henry criticized sharply. These parts can, therefore, be dated to the time.⁴⁵ This has two important implications: Henry had the work with him on his preaching tour, and the work’s composition as it stands originated at the time. Thus, there must have been a purpose behind this composition, related to the preaching tour and the crusade, while addressing the monks of Clairvaux. Similarly, its unpolished, perhaps even incomplete, nature reveals that Henry was still working on it.⁴⁶ The context of composition is most significant: many had taken the cross, but now conflicts were endangering the whole enterprise. Preachers now had the pivotal responsibility of directing attention towards the Holy Land by elaborating on Jerusalem’s providential and spiritual meaning. The work delivered a rich collection of material for precisely this purpose: this was a resource for

42 Henry of Albano, *De peregrinante civitate Dei* (XIII), 350–361 and Ms. Troyes 509, fols. 150^r–156^r. See the depiction of the work’s structure and contents in: Marx, “City of God,” 88–89, 112–120.

43 Congar, “Eglise,” 200: “*L’image dominante est tellement, pour Henri, celle de la croisade, qu’il s’en sert pour expliquer certaines exigences de la Cité de Dieu [...]*.” My translation. See also Chideock, *Henry of Marcy*, 19.

44 Henry of Albano, *De peregrinante civitate Dei* (prologue), 251 and Ms. Troyes 509, fol. 93^v. Both versions are identical. See also *Chronicon Clarevellense*, 1252.

45 Henry of Albano, *De peregrinante civitate Dei* (XIII), 360. Other parts may already have been penned in the autumn of 1187 (see Congar, “Henri de Marcy,” 53).

46 See Congar, “Eglise,” 183; Congar, “Henri de Marcy,” 57. See also *Chronicon Claraevallense*, 1251–1252, claiming that he composed the entire work during the preaching tour (no specification as to the crusade treatise).

the monks—comparable to other preaching materials developed at the time. Possible users included Henry himself, his companions on the preaching tour, and the monks of Clairvaux, the work's explicit addressees and its owners after Henry's death.⁴⁷ Since preaching aids were still very much under development in this period, it is highly plausible that the work was a conscious attempt to develop a new format for providing such material.⁴⁸

The work's third part corroborates these conclusions; it immediately follows the crusade treatise. Congar surmised that it represents a treatise *De officiis*.⁴⁹ Its contents, however, relate likewise to current crusade recruitment: all feasts under discussion belong to the Lenten season, and the opus ends with references to *Laetare Jerusalem*, the day Henry preached the crusade in Mainz, in front of thousands of listeners including Barbarossa.⁵⁰ This is certainly not a coincidence: the Lenten season directed attention towards Jerusalem, including feasts such as Palm Sunday; it was a preeminent occasion for crusade preaching, even more so in the face of Jerusalem's loss.⁵¹ These liturgical instructions likely provide a good picture of what Henry preached; but the text prepares this for other users, delivering material for crusade preaching in the Lent of subsequent years. The crusade treatise corroborates this prospective activity; it offers an imagined speech by the devil and his Muslim allies, held in front of the stolen Cross relic, and broaching the issue of how to destroy its power.⁵² The devil calls therein his servants to fan out throughout France, Ger-

47 Bysted characterized it as "a valuable source of material for sermons" (Bysted, *Indulgence*, 259). A possible user was also Henry's companion Joscius, archbishop of Tyre; see below.

48 See Marx, "City of God," 83–120, esp. 110–111. A mid-18th-century library catalogue offers an entry for a sermon collection by Henry's pen, delivered at Urban III's court (*sermones de diversis materiis, quos circa annum 1186 coram Urbano III pontifice habuit*). The codex was then in Clairvaux; this may refer to *De peregrinante civitate Dei* or parts of it (see André Vernet, *La bibliothèque de l'Abbaye de Clairvaux du XII^e au XVIII^e siècle. Manuscrits bibliques, patristiques et théologiques* (Paris 1979), 1:705, 737, 857).

49 Ms. Troyes 509, fols. 156^r–177^v; and Congar, "Henri de Marcy," 56–57.

50 See Henry of Albano, *De peregrinante civitate Dei* (xviii), 396, 400 and Ms. Troyes 509, fols. 175^v, 177^v.

51 See Jessalynn L. Bird, "Preaching the Crusades and the Liturgical Year: The Palm Sunday Sermons," *Essays in Medieval Studies* 30 (2014), 11–36; Bird, "Far Be It from Me to Glory Save in the Cross of Our Lord Jesus Christ (Gal. 6:14): Crusade Preaching and Sermons for Good Friday and Holy Week," in: *Crusading in Art, Thought, and Will*, ed. Matthew Parker and Ben Halliburton (Leiden 2018), 129–165.

52 Henry of Albano, *De peregrinante civitate Dei* (xiii), 359–360 and Ms. Troyes 509, fols. 154^v–155^r. The speech starts at "Sed ecce hac spe sua frustratus, et in contrarium cecisisse deplangens, nunquid non cum suis satellitibus stupendo tibi dicere videtur: [beginning speech]"

many, and England, in order to sow sin and generate conflicts—Henry proposes an explanation for the renewed intra-Christian conflicts in 1188. Immediately after the speech, he exhorts his audience to counter the devil's efforts: they shall fan out on a similar geographical scale, to procure the formation of the crusade army, of course, via preaching, the prime tool at their disposal. The patchy character of Henry's opus suggests that he put it together while pressed for time, that is, on the preaching tour, but that some parts already existed and were now adapted for a new purpose.⁵³ These parts may originally have been dedicated to the monastic Jerusalem, but they acquired new meaning by being pieced together with the crusade treatise. The opus presents now itself with a threefold purpose: (a) treatises 1–12, an extensive collection of materials on Jerusalem and related subjects (such as the gates to the heavenly Jerusalem); (b) treatise 13, the current situation that granted the work purpose and occasion; and (c) treatises 14–18, liturgical instructions for the Lenten season, which are causally related to Jerusalem.

2.3 *Hélinand of Froidmont*

Hélinand (c.1160–1237) initially pursued a career as a troubadour at the court of Philip Augustus, before he entered the Cistercian monastery of Froidmont (halfway between Paris and the north coast, in the diocese of Beauvais). He witnessed there a charter in 1190: a *terminus ante quem* for his entry.⁵⁴ He was thus already a monk at the time of the Third Crusade—but he remained involved in matters beyond the walls: in 1229, he still preached against heretics in southern France. Some sermon texts can be related to this activity, since they note the venue and occasion in their titles.⁵⁵ He had excellent relations with the royal

O crux fallens gaudia nostra, et parturiens damna nostra, cur te exhibuimus Pilato, cur tradidimus Salahadino?" It ends at "[...] circa quos corrumpendos amplius profecerunt. [end speech] Heu! heu! Talia ab inimicis crucis dicta, imo etiam facta, ipsis jam rerum experimentis edocemur."

- 53 The prologue delivers a *terminus post quem*: Henry discusses that he had left the monastery and made experiences in the world (see Congar, "Henri de Marcy," 57; Chideock, *Henry of Marcy*, 13–15).
- 54 See Kienzle, *Cistercians*, 178; William D. Paden, "Documents concernant Hélinand de Froidmont," *Romania* 105 (1984), 335–336.
- 55 See Kienzle, *Cistercians*, 174–175, 182–192; Kienzle, "Cistercian Preaching against the Cathars. Hélinand's Unedited Sermon for Rogation," *Cîteaux* 39 (1988), 297–313; Kienzle, "Mary Speaks against Heresy. An Unedited Sermon of Hélinand for the Purification," *Sacris Eru-diri* 32/2 (1991), 291–308. Kienzle edited therein two anti-heretical sermons from Ms. BNF lat. 14591.

family, in particular with Philip of Dreux, archbishop of Beauvais (1175–1217), cousin of Philip Augustus, and one of the leaders of both the expedition of 1179 and the Third Crusade. Hélinand describes their relationship as a good friendship.⁵⁶ Philip also participated in the Albigensian Crusade in 1210 and 1215, leading Beverly Kienzle to surmise that Hélinand wrote some of his sermons for his bishop.⁵⁷ As his writings betray, the Cistercian was highly educated; he also came from the Parisian milieu. His chronicle notes that he studied in the school of Beauvais, under a pupil of Peter Abelard (1079–1142), and also that he was in Paris (even though it remains unclear if this designates a visit for study). His works reveal, for example, the influence of John of Salisbury (c.1115–1180), a figure who was also close to Peter of Blois.⁵⁸

Hélinand penned a liturgical collection of 28 sermons, published in PL 212 and examined hitherto mainly by Kienzle, especially regarding his anti-heretical activities.⁵⁹ Based on his texts, Kienzle developed seminal approaches to the relevance of liturgical sermons for studying the crusades. The two Paris manuscripts in which the sermons are found hold 39 further sermons that are still unpublished.⁶⁰ Owing to his biography, it remains difficult to attach texts to specific expeditions—however, as already discussed for Garnerius, such issues are negligible. There is not any definite evidence that he was already active around the Third Crusade (he was the youngest of the nine authors), but his close relationship with Philip of Dreux suggests so, whereas Philip does not seem to have been active in the Fourth Crusade. Lastly, Hélinand wrote a chronicle that covers events between 634 and 1186, interestingly beginning with the

56 Hélinand of Froidmont, *Chronicon*, 730.

57 Kienzle, *Cistercians*, 179–180. On such practices, see the chapter on historical context.

58 Hélinand of Froidmont, *Chronicon*, 1035; see Kienzle, *Cistercians*, 176–179. One of his sermons also mentions that he was in Paris as a young man (Ms. Mazarine 1041, fol. 24^v; see Kienzle, “The Twelfth-Century Monastic Sermon,” in: *The Sermon*, ed. Kienzle (Turnhout 2000), 307). On Peter, see John D. Cotts, *The Clerical Dilemma: Peter of Blois and Literate Culture in the Twelfth Century* (Washington, D.C. 2009), 23, 28–29, 180–185.

59 See also Mette Birkedal Bruun, “Mapping the Monastery. Hélinand of Froidmont’s Second Sermon for Palm Sunday,” in: *Prédication et liturgie au Moyen Âge*, ed. Nicole Bériou and Franco Morenzoni (Turnhout 2008), 183–199; William D. Paden, “De monachis rithmos facientibus: Hélinand de Froidmont, Bertran de Born, and the Cistercian General Chapter of 1199,” *Speculum* 55/4 (1980), 669–685.

60 Ms. Paris, Mazarine 1041, fols. 2^r–96^v; Ms. BNF lat. 14591, fols. 12^r–35^v. The unpublished pieces consist of 37 sermons in the first and two sermons in the second codex. There does not seem to be any overlap between the two manuscripts. Taken together, they contain the PL’s sermons save for five texts which apparently have not survived (see Kienzle, *Cistercians*, 180; Kienzle, “Mary,” 291).

Byzantine emperor Heraclius (c.575–641), the Cross relic, and the Muslim conquest of Jerusalem in 637.⁶¹ At its conclusion, and attached to the main text, one finds short notes concerned with major crusade events between 1187 and 1204, closing with the capture of Constantinople.⁶² The work thus reveals a noteworthy break with the year 1187: something prevented Hélinand from continuing his chronicle project; his priorities had changed—probably since he was now busy with preaching the crusade.

3 The Circle of Canterbury

3.1 *Baldwin of Canterbury*

Baldwin (c.1125–1190), also ‘of Ford’ or ‘of Exeter,’ had a slightly different career: he did not study in Paris but in Bologna, supervised by the later Urban III.⁶³ His further career was informed by the monastic milieu (from c.1170), in particular as the abbot of the Cistercian monastery of Ford. He became the bishop of Worcester (1180) and then of Canterbury (1184–1190): in the latter position, he stood in contact with other important figures including Peter of Blois, Gerald of Wales, and Herbert of Bosham. The latter devoted his *Vita* of Thomas Becket to him.⁶⁴ Baldwin’s nephew, Joseph of Exeter, was also drawn to the court of Canterbury; he dedicated his *De bello Trojano* to his uncle.⁶⁵ The archbishop was one of the crusade’s key preachers and leaders: first, he conducted an extensive preaching tour through England and Wales (March–April 1188), on which Gerald of Wales reports.⁶⁶ Then, he departed for northern France (June 1188), together with Henry II and Peter of Blois, in order to establish lasting peace between the English king and Philip II, to procure either’s participation in the crusade. Preaching was certainly a vital occupation during this journey—although no elaborate narrative exists about these activities, unlike

61 Hélinand of Froidmont, *Chronicon*, 771–773. See the chapters on the Cross relic and on Jerusalem.

62 Hélinand of Froidmont, *Chronicon*, 1081–1082.

63 See Tyerman, *Plan*, 117. On the circle of students in Bologna, including Stephen of Tournai and Patriarch Heraclius, see Benjamin Z. Kedar, “The Patriarch Eraclius,” in: *Outremer*, ed. Kedar and Hans Eberhard Mayer (Jerusalem 1982), 184–185.

64 Herbert of Bosham, *Vita*, 155.

65 See Ludwig Gompf, “Einleitung,” in: Joseph of Exeter, *Werke und Briefe* (Leiden 1970), 20–21.

66 The work’s last chapter offers a biography of Baldwin, including his crusade activity (Gerald of Wales, *Itinerarium Cambriae*, 148–152).

for the Welsh tour.⁶⁷ Baldwin led one contingent to the Holy Land (departure March 1190); his entourage included Peter of Blois, Joseph of Exeter, and the later archbishop Hubert Walter; and he eventually died before Acre (Nov. 1190).⁶⁸ One of Peter's letters is devoted to his death, describing him as a blessed martyr.⁶⁹ His death also forms the end of the first redaction of the *Itinerarium peregrinorum*—the anonymous author may have returned home; he was likely close to Baldwin. Anyway, ending the chronicle with it makes it into a significant event.⁷⁰ Other authors likewise regarded him as a pious and ascetic man who thus fulfilled the spiritual requirements of crusading. Peter expressed his admiration in the prologue of his unpublished *De testimoniis fidei catholicae* (an anti-heretical treatise) by including Baldwin even among the great church fathers.⁷¹

Baldwin wrote a number of sermons, published in PL 204 as *Tractatus diversi* and more recently by David Bell—it was thus unnecessary to consult the manuscripts.⁷² These do not represent a collection following the liturgical calendar, but an unorganized amalgam, among them his sermon *De sancta cruce*, written in 1187–1189, and devoted to the specific Cross relic of Jerusalem.⁷³ He

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- 67 See *Epistolae Cantuariensis*, ed. Stubbs, 227, 256; and Cramer, "Kreuzpredigt," 66; Christopher Robert Cheney, *English Episcopal acts: Canterbury 1162–1190* (Oxford 1986), 2:282.
- 68 See Cole, *Preaching*, 71–79; Bennett, *Participation*, 53–56, 215, 303–304, 307. On Baldwin's role in the siege of Acre, see John D. Hosler, *The Siege of Acre, 1189–1191: Saladin, Richard the Lionheart, and the Battle that Decided the Third Crusade* (New Haven 2018), 89–94. Peter broaches Baldwin's transgressions between spiritual and physical warfare, as it expressed itself in his leadership on crusade (Peter of Blois, *Later Letters*, ed. Revell, 53; discussed by Giles Constable, "The Place of the Crusader in Medieval Society," *Viator* 29 (1998), 381–382).
- 69 Peter of Blois, *Ep.* 27, 92–96. For manuscripts identifying the event already in the title, see Ms. BL Cotton Vespasian E xi, fol. 79^v; Ms. Troyes 851, fol. 18^v. In the first codex: *Consolatio super mortem Balwini Cantuariensis archiepiscopi*. See also Gerald of Wales, *Itinerarium Cambriae*, 151–152; Haymarus, *Rithmus*, ed. Falk, 64. Haymarus, an eyewitness, also understands Baldwin as a martyr when rendering him as *sanctus*.
- 70 *Itinerarium peregrinorum*, ed. Mayer, 356–357. On the question of authorship, see Helen J. Nicholson, "The Construction of a Primary Source. The Creation of *Itinerarium peregrinorum* 1," *Cahiers de recherches médiévales et humanistes* 37 (2019), 143–165.
- 71 Ms. Oxford, Jesus College 38, fol. 84^v; its prologue is edited in: Peter of Blois, *Later Letters* 77, ed. Revell, 325. My thanks to Suzanne Coley for pointing me to this. See also Cotts, *Clerical Dilemma*, 237–240, asserting textual parallels between Peter and Baldwin (e.g., Baldwin of Canterbury, *De commendatione*, 581 and Ms. Oxford, Jesus College 38, fol. 90^r). On how other contemporaries viewed Baldwin, see David N. Bell, "The Ascetic Spirituality of Baldwin of Ford," *Cîteaux* 31 (1980), 227–228, 249.
- 72 On the manuscripts, see David N. Bell, "Introduction," in: *Baldvini de Forda Opera*, CCCM 99 (Turnhout 1991), vii–xii.
- 73 Baldwin of Canterbury, *Sermo* 8, 127–136. See Christopher Matthew Phillips, "The Typo-

also penned two theological works, *De commendatione fidei* and *De sacramento altaris*;⁷⁴ and an unpublished *Liber poenitentialis*, together with Bartholomew, bishop of Exeter. Lastly, there is a *Liber haereticorum* by his pen that this study will not consider—but it could shed further light on his crusade ideas.⁷⁵ During his five-year episcopate, he appears as an important patron for textual production in Canterbury: several works were dedicated to him; and Gerald notes that he asked people prior to the crusade to write a history about it afterwards (this may have included the author of the *Itinerarium peregrinorum*).⁷⁶ Baldwin thus shows an interest in assembling productive writers. As a result, Canterbury represented another important center for preaching the Third Crusade.⁷⁷

3.2 *Peter of Blois*

Peter (c.1135–1210) was a Paris master who also studied in Tours and Bologna.⁷⁸ As his monumental letter collection betrays, he had wide-reaching contacts throughout Europe, including figures such as Henry II or Innocent III.⁷⁹ He went to Sicily in 1166, where he taught the young William II, and where he may have met with Joachim of Fiore, given that the two expressed similar eschatological ideas.⁸⁰ In 1174, he moved to Canterbury where he remained until

logy of the Cross and Crusade Preaching,” in: *Crusading in Art, Thought, and Will*, ed. Matthew Parker and Ben Halliburton (Leiden 2018), 173; David N. Bell and Jane Patricia Freeland, “The Sermons on Obedience and the Cross by Baldwin of Forde,” *Cistercian Studies Quarterly* 29 (1994), 271–274. Bell dates the bulk of sermons to the 1170s (see Bell, “Spirituality,” 228), but I disagree with dating the *Sermo* 8 around 1180. This builds on a remark by Gerald saying that Baldwin delivered a sermon *De cruce* in that year (Gerald of Wales, *Speculum ecclesiae*, 105). However, this only means that Baldwin preached on the cross and does not necessarily indicate the existing text.

74 Bell dates these works to his time at Ford (Bell, “Spirituality,” 228; see also Bell, “The Corpus of the Works of Baldwin of Ford,” *Cîteaux* 35 (1984), 218).

75 On the first, see Ms. Lambeth Palace 235, fols. 63^v–102^v; Ms. BNF lat. 2909, fols. 229^r–246^v; Ms. Troyes 1348. On the second, see Baldwin of Canterbury, *Liber de sectis*, ed. Narvaja. On the manuscripts and the dissemination of Baldwin’s works, see Bell, “Corpus,” 227–234.

76 Gerald of Wales, *De rebus*, 79; see Tyerman, *Plan*, 81.

77 And it remained such a center: both Hubert Walter (1193–1205) and Stephen Langton (1207–1228) were crusade preachers. On Hubert, see Bombi, “Legates,” 236–241, 245–247. It still needs to be investigated whether these bishops assembled a similar circle of productive writers.

78 In Bologna, he was also a student of the later Urban III (see Tyerman, *Plan*, 117).

79 Cotts, *Clerical Dilemma*, 49–95; Stephen C. Ferruolo, *The Origins of the University: The Schools of Paris and their Critics, 1100–1215* (Stanford 1987), 157–168. The collection as presented in the PL does not exist in any manuscript; the PL added letters from other sources. On the collection’s development, see Michael Markowski, *Peter of Blois, Writer and Reformer* (PhD thesis, Syracuse University 1988), 337–361.

80 See John D. Cotts, “The Exegesis of Violence in the Crusade Writings of Ralph Niger and

c.1200, before moving to London as a deacon, where he died around 1210. In the 25 years in Canterbury, Peter penned the bulk of his works, met with other important figures, and preached the Third Crusade. He also shows a significant influence of Cistercian ideas at the time, likely not least due to Baldwin's patronage.⁸¹ He participated in the Third Lateran, and in 1187 Baldwin sent him to the papal Curia, to settle a conflict with the canons of Canterbury. He was there, together with Henry of Albano and Gregory VIII, when the news about Hattin arrived, news Peter immediately passed on in letters to Baldwin and Henry II respectively.⁸² Having returned to England in early 1188, he preached the crusade, participating in the tour through Wales;⁸³ and from June 1188 in northern France, before he joined his archbishop's crusade forces. When the latter died at Acre, he probably returned to England. The relative silence about the crusade for his remaining 20 years made some scholars doubt whether he went to the East.⁸⁴ His zeal prior to the venture and his silence afterwards are definitely in need of explanation—whether he went or not. Yet, his own writings are clear about the fact that he joined the voyage; two letters refer to it. John Cotts surmised that his silence may have had causes such as disappointment about the expedition's failure or his antipathy for Richard Lionheart.⁸⁵ Slight alterations in the *Passio Raginaldi* (see below) suggest that he collected information in the Holy Land: he speaks of encountering the brother of the king of Jerus-

Peter of Blois," in: *The Uses of the Bible in Crusader Sources*, ed. Elizabeth Lapina and Nicholas Morton (Leiden 2017), 292.

- 81 See Cotts, *Clerical Dilemma*, 241, 257–258; Markowski, *Reformer*, 176–177, 200, 286. For Peter the Chanter's influence, see Markowski, *Reformer*, 231–235.
- 82 Peter of Blois, *Ep.219*, 508–509; *Epistolae Cantuariensis*, ed. Stubbs, 107–108. Neither, however, were included in his letter collection. On his time at the Curia, see Cotts, *Clerical Dilemma*, 218; Michael Markowski, "Peter of Blois and the Conception of the Third Crusade," in: *The Horns of Hattin*, ed. Benjamin Z. Kedar (Jerusalem 1992), 269. On the conflict with the monks, see Gervase of Canterbury, *Opera*, 1:356, 368–369; and Gunnar Stollberg, *Die soziale Stellung der intellektuellen Oberschicht im England des 12. Jahrhunderts* (Lübeck 1973), 44–45.
- 83 Evidence for this is his presence as a witness in a charter, alongside Gerald of Wales (see Cotts, *Clerical Dilemma*, 37–38, 229). Hurlock surmises that Peter was even a driving force for the tour (Kathryn Hurlock, *Wales and the Crusades, c.1095–1291* (Cardiff 2011), 65).
- 84 See, e.g., Stollberg, *Stellung*, 45. Yet, his writings from the 1190s occasionally offer discussions of the crusade—but a contrast remains (e.g., Peter of Blois, *Ep.124*, 367–373; *Ep.143*, 428–432).
- 85 Peter of Blois, *Ep.87*, 273; *Ep.109*, 332; discussed by Cotts, *Clerical Dilemma*, 39, 230. See also Cotts, "Exegesis," 274; Tyerman, *Plan*, 81; Richard W. Southern, "Peter of Blois and the Third Crusade," in: *Studies in Medieval History Presented to R.H.C. Davis*, ed. Henry Mayr-Harting (London 1985), 216.

alem.⁸⁶ After the expedition and the death of Henry II, to whose party Peter belonged, he seems to have fallen out of favor, a fact that likely prevented him from acquiring higher offices.

Peter penned a liturgical collection with 65 sermons, among them some texts *ad status*; it has survived in three manuscripts and has not been treated in modern scholarship.⁸⁷ However, none of the copies has the collection as it appears in the PL (considering composition and stock). Ms. Sainte-Geneviève 2787 is noteworthy, a comprehensive collection of 155 sermons, mostly surviving in anonymous form, but in many cases identifiable thanks to other manuscripts. This yields a collection consisting of several Victorines and Paris masters, whereby Peter occupies the prime position with 28 sermons, followed by Alan of Lille with 22 texts—and the codex holds a number of sermons pertinent to the crusading purpose (see the chapter on media context). Furthermore, Peter wrote three idiosyncratic treatises on the eve of the crusade: the *Conquestio* was a general crusade call, penned after he became aware of Jerusalem's loss (after early 1188); the city plays a pivotal role therein. The text reproaches the blazing conflicts between Henry II and Philip II (summer/autumn 1188). This makes it likely that it was put to use for preaching in this period: Peter was travelling in northern France at the time.⁸⁸ The *Dialogus inter regem Henricum II et abbatem Bonaevallensem* is a fictitious dialogue addressed to Henry II and enticing him to join the crusade. It must date before January 1188, since Henry took the cross in Gisors, which made the text superfluous.⁸⁹ Finally, the *Passio Raginaldi* portrays Reynaud de Châtillon as a blessed martyr: he had been decapitated by Saladin himself after the Battle of Hattin. The text presents him as an example for potential crusaders.⁹⁰ Since Jerusalem

86 Peter of Blois, *Passio Raginaldi*, 40, 51; discussed by Robert B.C. Huygens, "Einleitung," in: *Petri Blesensis Tractatus Dvo*, CCCM 194 (Turnhout 2002), 20–21.

87 Ms. BL Royal 8 F XVII; Ms. BL Arundel 322; Ms. Paris, St. Geneviève 2787. The first codex also holds the *Conquestio*.

88 See Alexander Marx, "The *Passio Raginaldi* of Peter of Blois. Martyrdom and Eschatology in the Preaching of the Third Crusade," *Viator* 50/3 (2019), 204–205. On the date, see Peter of Blois, *Conquestio*, 86, 90, 94; and Congar, "Henri de Marcy," 53. He also composed a poem about the city's loss: Peter of Blois, *Carmina*, 257–262; discussed by Cotts, "Exegesis," 278.

89 I thus disagree with: Robert B.C. Huygens, "Introduction," in: *Serta Mediaevalia*, CCCM 171 (Turnhout 2000), 383–384, who dates it between early 1188 and July 1189. Markowski and Southern suggested that *Dialogus* and *Conquestio* originally formed an ensemble (Markowski, *Reformer*, 280; Southern, "Third Crusade," 208–209).

90 See Marx, *Passio Raginaldi*, 197–232. On Reynaud, see Pierre Aubé, *Un croisé contre Saladin: Renaud de Châtillon* (Paris 2007); Bernard Hamilton, "The Elephant of Christ: Reynald of Châtillon," in: *Religious Motivation*, ed. Derek Baker (Oxford 1978), 97–108. The title *Passio Raginaldi* is present in four of eight manuscripts (Huygens, "Einleitung," 6, 10–11).

is remarkably absent therein—whereas Hattin and the Cross loom large—it is obvious that Peter wrote it before news of its conquest arrived (between October 1187 and early 1188). This is corroborated by a reference to the ongoing siege of Tyre, which ended in January 1188.⁹¹ The *Passio* consists of three parts: a prologue reporting on the events of 1187, where Reynaud remains invisible (one quarter of the text); a main part devoted to Reynaud's martyrdom (the following two quarters); and an epilogue that embeds his martyrdom into a larger providential picture (last quarter).⁹² The epilogue appears as *Ep.232* in Peter's letter collection in the PL, but I am not aware of any manuscript where it would be part of the letters. Contrariwise, all codices that hold the *Passio* include it (it has its own title in some cases). Harmonizing so well with the rest of the text, it certainly belonged to the *Passio*.⁹³ Robert B.C. Huygens edited all three treatises; the edition of the *Conquestio*, however, confined itself to manuscripts that also contain the *Passio*. He justified this with its broad survival. Doing so, he excluded some early copies, therefore this study considers them, among them a codex from Canterbury, dating to c.1200.⁹⁴

Peter's letters are also of interest, especially a letter that describes Baldwin's death at Acre as a martyrdom; and a crusade call from 1185 issued upon the patriarch of Jerusalem's visit.⁹⁵ Further letters are concerned with crusade organization and preaching, partly also with heretics.⁹⁶ His later letters (ed.

Three contain different titles: *Contra principes qui differebant transfretare et de cruce eius* (Ms. BNF lat. 2954, fol. 183^v); *Accendit corda principum ad subveniendum terre sancte* (Ms. Den Haag 73 H 5, fol. 259^r); and *Monitio ad idem*, referring to the *Conquestio*, placed immediately before and entitled *De itinere Ierosolimitanorum* (Ms. Cambridge, Gonville 114/183, fol. 174^v). Finally, BL Arundel 227, fol. 131^r lacks a title.

- 91 Peter of Blois, *Passio Raginaldi*, 32; see Southern, "Third Crusade," 212–214; Huygens, "Einleitung," 16–17.
- 92 Peter of Blois, *Passio Raginaldi*, 31–39, 40–64, 64–73. See also Marx, "Passio Raginaldi," 202.
- 93 See Huygens, "Einleitung," 7–13; Southern, "Third Crusade," 207–208. There is one exception, a 15th-century copy, where the *Passio* survived only fragmentarily (first half).
- 94 Ms. Lambeth Palace 421, fols. 93^r–98^r. It also contains letters from Peter, including the crusade call of 1185. Other early copies: Ms. BL Royal 8 F XVII, fols. 83^v–88^v; Ms. BNF lat. 2605, fols. 55^v–61^r. One codex contains all three treatises: Ms. Oxford, Lat. misc. f.14; see the chapter on media context.
- 95 On the first, see Peter of Blois, *Ep.27*, 92–96; and Cotts, *Clerical Dilemma*, 185, 199; on the second, Peter of Blois, *Ep.98*, 306–308, which is written in Baldwin's name, but Peter must have been the author, as the letter's continuous appearance in the collection demonstrates (see Cotts, *Clerical Dilemma*, 35–36). On the patriarch's journey, see Phillips, *Defenders*, 251–263. Some departed for the Holy Land, even though the call seems to have had limited success overall.
- 96 Peter of Blois, *Ep.20*; 23; 64; 87; 106; 109; 112; 113; 121; 123; 124; 143; 148. These date to the 1180s–1190s.

Revell) sometimes deviate in their ideas, a phenomenon that Ethel Higonnet explained with a personal crisis in the face of looming death. This is confirmed by his other late writings, which also focus on personal spirituality and reform, among them *De amicitia Christiana* or the *Canon episcopalis*.⁹⁷ This study will pose the question of whether the crusade's failure played a role here, considering the remarkable divergence of Peter's priorities before and after the Third Crusade respectively. A last work worth mentioning is the *Compendium in Job*, a kind of biblical commentary for lay people (addressed to Henry II, late 1170s). It is evidence that Peter was involved in the reform movement and that this movement increasingly addressed lay audiences; and the work remained popular throughout the late Middle Ages, surviving in c.150 manuscripts.⁹⁸ One codex is of particular interest: Ms. Lambeth Palace 144 comes from Canterbury and likely offers an early version. Immediately after the *Compendium*, it contains an anonymous text entitled as *Certa relatio de situ Jerusalem* (A reliable report on the current situation of Jerusalem). Describing the holy sites, the text broaches the relic's loss (*in loco ubi sancta crux excidebatur honestissima et speciocissima, sed a paganis in desolatione posita*) and the fall of Jerusalem (expressed with *quorum fratrum maxima pars a saracenis perempta*). According to the database *In principio*, it survived only here, thus representing a contemporary production of the Canterbury circle.⁹⁹

3.3 *Ralph Ardens*

Ralph (c.1140–1200) was a Paris master, a pupil of Peter the Chanter and Gilbert of Poitiers, who represents another Angevin preacher with strong ties to Paris.¹⁰⁰ At the time of the Third Crusade, he held the office of a chaplain in the service of Richard Lionheart; and as the Pipe-rolls show, he accompanied his

97 Peter of Blois, *Later Letters*, ed. Revell; Ethel Cardwell Higonnet, "Spiritual Ideas in the Letters of Peter of Blois," *Speculum* 50 (1975), 229. On his late works, see Cotts, *Clerical Dilemma*, 205–213, 241–247.

98 See Joseph Gildea, "Extant Manuscripts of *Compendium in Job* by Peter of Blois," *Scriptorium* 30 (1976), 285–287. Its title deviates occasionally, for example, *Commentarium in Job* or *Moralitas Job* (Ms. öNB 3708, fol. 2^r; Ms. Lambeth Palace 144, fol. 108^r). On the work, see Markowski, *Reformer*, 173–181; Cotts, *Clerical Dilemma*, 219–220. Markowski discusses parallels with Bernard of Clairvaux, and the work is deeply influenced by Gregory the Great's *Moralia in Job*.

99 Ms. Lambeth Palace 144, fols. 117^r–119^v, cited 118^v. See the chapter on media context.

100 See Stansbury, *Before the Friars*, 81–118; Ferruolo, *Origins*, 193–194; John Wesley Baldwin, *Masters, Princes and Merchants: The Social Views of Peter the Chanter and his Circle* (Princeton 1970), 1:40–41; Jean Longère, *Œuvres oratoires de maîtres parisiens au 12^e siècle: étude historique et doctrinale* (Paris 1975), 1:30–31, 159–168. Stansbury dates his death with "prior to 1215."

king on crusade.¹⁰¹ Otherwise, we do not know too much about his biography. For some time, Ralph seems to have been located in Poitiers, where he joined a Premonstratensian monastery (date unclear). His sermon texts betray that he was also active against heretics—the occasion is unknown.¹⁰² Since there were two main phases of anti-heretical activities, one with Henry of Albano around 1180 and one in the 1190s (Alan of Lille and Prevostin of Cremona, see below), he can possibly be aligned with one of the two. In light of his sermon texts, his nickname ‘the enflamed’ was likely a tribute to his fiery preaching.¹⁰³

Ralph left an enormous collection, the second largest of the nine preachers (199 sermons), and the only one to distinguish between *De tempore* and *De sanctis*, just as it includes not only sermons for feast days but also for Sundays (*sermones dominicales*). The collection as presented in the PL is divided into four parts—this division will serve henceforth for citing it: it holds a Pars (I) and a Pars (II), whereby Pars (II) is divided into *De tempore* and *De sanctis* (44 and 33 sermons); and Pars (I) into two separate collections (73 and 49 sermons), organized according to the liturgical calendar.¹⁰⁴ This collection has barely received scholarly attention save for first approaches by Ronald Stansbury and Jean Longère: the first also examined two anti-heretical sermons in-depth. He compared Ralph’s collection with those of Alan of Lille and Maurice of Sully, deeming all these significant evidence for the growing amount of popular preaching at the time.¹⁰⁵ Ralph’s sermons survived in seven manuscripts, four of them from Oxford—but all copies belong to the late 14th to late 15th centuries. Only a Parisian manuscript dates to the 13th century.¹⁰⁶ The first part of Pars (I) is preceded by a prologue (absent from the PL), which delivers valu-

101 See Bennett, *Participation*, 307, 388; Stansbury, *Before the Friars*, 104–105. He was also present in Tours at Richard’s departure (likewise Pipe Rolls; these also identify him as his chaplain). Bird identified Ralph already as a preacher of the Third Crusade (Bird, *Heresy*, 5, 121, 128, 132; see also Christopher Matthew Phillips, *O magnum crucis misterium: Devotion to the Cross, Crusading, and the Imitation of the Crucified Christ in the High Middle Ages, c.1050–c.1215* (PhD thesis, Saint Louis University 2006), 61–62, 180–181).

102 See Stansbury, *Before the Friars*, 98–101, 222.

103 See Stansbury, *Before the Friars*, 114, naming Stephen Langton as an example: *Stephanus de lingua-tonante* (Stephen with the thundering tongue).

104 See also Stansbury, *Before the Friars*, 169–170. Some manuscripts contain three sermons *In dedicatione ecclesiae* absent from the PL and edited in: Stansbury, *Before the Friars*, 323–371.

105 Stansbury, *Before the Friars*, 175–177, 219–306.

106 Ms. St. Geneviève 2786. For a description of the manuscripts, see Stansbury, *Before the Friars*, 121–145; Stansbury, “A Preliminary Manuscript Catalogue of the Sermon Collection by Ralph Ardent,” *Studi Medievali* 42 (2001), 875–895. It is an unresolved question why so many copies of Ralph’s sermons survived in 15th-century Oxford.

able insights: Ralph notes that he penned the collection (or parts of it) on the way to an unnamed princely court—this possibly refers to Richard Lionheart whose chaplain Ralph was, making a date of composition around the Third Crusade plausible.¹⁰⁷ Moreover, a sermon expounds on the goals of preaching: one should not only preach in villages, but also while travelling (*non solum in villis, sed etiam in viis*). Similarly, one should target not only townspeople, but also pilgrims, peasants, and travelers (*non solum civibus, sed etiam peregrinis, agricolis et viatoribus*). His sermons addressed broad audiences, including those on pilgrimage; this certainly straddled crusaders.¹⁰⁸ Lastly, he also wrote the *Speculum ecclesiae* (1190s), a treatise on vices and virtues that reveals his involvement in the reform movement.¹⁰⁹

4 The Circle of Paris

4.1 Alan of Lille

Alan (c.1120–1203) was not only trained in exegesis, but as a pupil of Gilbert of Poitiers also familiar with ancient philosophy. However, the works resulting from this background such as the *Anticlaudianus* (early 1180s) will be of minor interest to this study.¹¹⁰ We do not know much about his biography; he seems to have spent some decades in Paris. He only became more visible when he started preaching the crusade, in particular when agitating against heretics in southern France (1190s); he witnessed a charter in Montpellier in July 1200. Thereafter, he retreated to Cîteaux, where he died in 1202/03.¹¹¹ During the sojourn in southern France, he penned a treatise *Contra haereticos*, devoting books (1) and (2) to heretics (Albigensians and Waldensians respectively), book (3) to the Jews, and book (4) to the Muslims. The first book occupies about half of the opus,

107 Ralph Ardens, *Prologus*, ed. Stansbury, 375; discussed by Stansbury, *Before the Friars*, 180. For the manuscripts, see Ms. Oxford, e. musaeo 5, fol. 1^r; Ms. Oxford, Lincoln Coll. 112, fol. 1^r; Lincoln Coll. 116, fol. 3^r.

108 Ralph Ardens, *Pars (11)*, *De sanctis*, *Sermo 8*, 1519; discussed by Stansbury, *Before the Friars*, 165, who asserts that Ralph's collection displays these different audiences and preaching occasions.

109 See Johannes Gründel, *Die Lehre des Radulfus Ardens von den Verstandestugenden auf dem Hintergrund seiner Seelenlehre* (Munich 1976).

110 See Häring, "De fide," 224–225; Gillian Rosemary Evans, *Alan of Lille: The Frontiers of Theology in the Later Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, UK 1983), esp. 5–10, 14–19; Marie-Thérèse d'Alverny, *Alain de Lille: Textes inédits* (Paris 1965), 17–21. See also several contributions in: *Alanus ab Insulis und das europäische Mittelalter*, ed. Frank Bezner and Beate Kellner (Paderborn 2022).

111 See Alberic of Trois-Fontaines, *Chronica*, 881.

a fact that betrays its original context and Alan's priorities at the time.¹¹² Such a work can be considered a textual manifestation of preaching activities. The entire treatise is only published in PL 210; Nikolaus Häring edited its prologue and Marie-Thérèse d'Alverny the fourth book, but both missed some early copies.¹¹³ An early 13th-century codex offers only the part against the Albigensians as well as a different prologue (besides further deviations); d'Alverny surmised that this was an early version. She also suggested that Alan was already involved in Henry of Albano's anti-heretical activities.¹¹⁴ And he may also have participated in the Third Lateran, which issued anti-heretical decrees that he cites more than once.¹¹⁵

Alan left a large number of sermons, around 220 pieces according to Schneyer's *Repertorium*, but no more than 30 have been published: some in PL 210; some in d'Alverny's groundbreaking study; and some in another edition (ed. Sandkühler).¹¹⁶ His sermons have not received much scholarly attention; among crusade scholars, only Matthew Phillips considered them.¹¹⁷ Building on d'Alverny's cataloguing of the evidence, they may be divided into three groups:¹¹⁸ the first represents the main group, consisting of c.80 sermons and surviving in a number of manuscripts, primarily from Paris, where he was active for many years. The texts hitherto published belong to this group.¹¹⁹ A second

112 See Häring, "De fide," 220–221, 228–229; Evans, *Alan of Lille*, 10–11, 116–132; John Victor Tolan, *Saracens: Islam in the Medieval European Imagination* (New York 2002), 165–166, the latter discusses the fact that Alan depicts the Muslims as a heretical sect. The work appears in a list of Alan's writings in a chronicle for the year 1194 (Otto of Saint-Blasien, *Chronica*, 64–65).

113 Alan of Lille, *Contra paganos*, ed. d'Alverny; Alan of Lille, *De fide*, ed. Häring, 222–224. Both missed: Ms. Cambridge, Trinity College R.3.29; Ms. Padua 193; Ms. Assisi 643; and Häring also missed: Ms. BL Add 19767. Häring lists 35 copies: Häring, "De fide," 229–237; see also Guy Raynaud de Lage, *Alain de Lille: Poète du XIII^e siècle* (Montréal 1951), 35, 176–177.

114 Ms. Oxford, Canon. Misc. Lat. 95, fols. 94^r–106^r; and d'Alverny, *Textes*, 15, 156–162. Having consulted the codex, I agree that it betrays a work-in-progress (glosses, corrections), plus chapters 63–76 from book (1) are missing. The deviating prologue reveals a philosophical focus concerned with dualistic ideas—this may betray an Alan who had just arrived in southern France, after having disputed philosophy in Paris for decades.

115 Alan of Lille, *Contra haereticos* (2.4), 382; *Liber poenitentialis*, ed. Longère, 2:144–145.

116 d'Alverny, *Textes*, 109–119, 125–127, 237–306; and Alan of Lille, *Predigten*, ed. Sandkühler, who provides a semi-scholarly edition stemming primarily from Munich manuscripts.

117 Phillips, "Typology," 166–185; Phillips, "The Thief's Cross: Crusade and Penance in Alan of Lille's 'Sermo de cruce domini,'" *Crusades* 5 (2006), 143–156; see also Tyerman, *Plan*, 175–176; Bysted, *Indulgence*, 262–264.

118 d'Alverny, *Textes*, 109–140, offering a description of the manuscripts and a list of the sermons.

119 See, e.g., Ms. BNF lat. 3555; BNF lat. 14859; Amiens 301; Dijon 219; BL Add 19767.

group consists of c.120 sermons, and survived in two manuscripts: these seem primarily concerned with vices and virtues, deriving from Alan's shorter treatise *De virtutibus et vitiis* (or vice versa).¹²⁰ Third, a manuscript from Toulouse contains ten sermons that exist only in this copy; these likely stem from his anti-heretical activities in the region and are thus datable to the 1190s.¹²¹ Sermons of the first group can be found in three different settings: (a) the *Liber sermonum* contains 27 pieces; it survived in several copies and always together with Alan's *Ars praedicandi* (see below);¹²² the sermons thus supplied practical material for the matters expounded in his *Ars*; (b) other monographic collections, yet diverse in composition and contents; and (c) polygraphic collections that blend Alan's sermons with those of other preachers.¹²³ The latter were produced in Paris and betray the milieu in which he was active (these contain, for example, sermons of Peter of Blois, Prevostin of Cremona, and Stephen Langton).

Alan penned an *Ars praedicandi* that offers insights into the goals and requirements of preaching (only published in PL 210), which is unique for the late 12th century and seems primarily concerned with popular preaching.¹²⁴ Whereas later *artes praedicandi* reflected theoretically on the techniques of preaching, his work primarily delivered contents for sermons.¹²⁵ To inspire preaching, he also added an appendix with eight short sermons *ad status*.

120 Ms. Graz 620; Ms. ÖNB 4036. For the treatise, see Ms. BL Royal 9 E XII, fols. 158^r–167^r; Ms. Laon 146, fols. 47^r–73^r; and d'Alverny, *Textes*, 61–62; Johannes Baptist Schneyer, *Reperitorium der lateinischen Sermones des Mittelalters: Für die Zeit von 1150–1350* (Münster 1973), 1:77–83. The treatise (*liber*) is also present in the list of his works in: Otto of Saint-Blasien, *Chronica*, 64–65.

121 Ms. Toulouse 195, fols. 93^v–103^v, 106^r–110^r, 119^v–122^v; see Longère, *Œuvres oratoires*, 1:26; Peter H. Tibber, *The Origins of the Scholastic Sermon, c.1130–c.1210* (PhD thesis, University of Oxford 1983), 52–53. The codex also contains his *Ars praedicandi*, *Liber poenitentialis*, and further sermons. See the chapter on media context.

122 Ms. BNF NAL 335; Dijon 211; München Clm 4616; BL Add 19767. The PL included the *Liber sermonum*'s first sermon as the last chapter in: Alan of Lille, *Ars praedicandi*, 195–198. Ms. Dijon 211 and BL Add 19767 both also contain *Contra haereticos*; the two thus betray the same composition.

123 For monographic collections, see Ms. Dijon 219; Amiens 301; BNF lat. 5505. For polygraphic ones, see Ms. BNF lat. 14859; BNF lat. 3818; BNF lat. 15965; St.Geneviève 2787. The section on Peter of Blois already addressed the last codex; see also the chapter on media context.

124 See Jean Longère, *La prédication médiévale* (Paris 1983), 88; Phyllis Barzillay Roberts, "The *ars praedicandi* and the Medieval Sermon," in: *Preacher, Sermon and Audience in the Middle Ages*, ed. Carolyn A. Muessig (Leiden 2002), 46–47. The work shows significant parallels with Peter the Chanter's *Verbum abbreviatum* (see d'Alverny, *Textes*, 109–110, 148–151). De Lage lists 89 copies, three from the 12th century. This list, however, is incomplete (de Lage, *Alain de Lille*, 35, 179–181).

125 See Tibber, *Sermon*, 159; Evans, *Alan of Lille*, 99.

However, this appendix deviates in some manuscripts: a copy from Oxford offers a completely different stock that shows thematic priorities (such as *De sancta cruce* or *De apostolo Petro*).¹²⁶ Such deviations may tell us something about the purpose of the specific manuscript. Similarly, Ms. BNF NAL 999 combines Alan's work with a large number of crusade-fit sermons and Bernard of Clairvaux's *De consideratione*. The *Ars* is apparently intended to serve here as a useful aid for crusade preaching.¹²⁷ As concerns exegetical works, the master penned some unpublished commentaries on several Old Testament books, including Exodus and Isaiah (Ms. Würzburg M.ch. q.158); a commentary on the Song of Songs (PL 210); and a poem on John's Revelation.¹²⁸ He also dedicated a *Liber poenitentialis* (ed. Longère) to the archbishop of Bourges (composed after 1191 according to Longère).¹²⁹ The Old Testament commentaries do not cover the entirety of these biblical books, but focus on specific traits, for example, the Red Sea in the Exodus. The localization in Würzburg is noteworthy because its bishop was a preacher of the Third Crusade (who also joined the expedition).¹³⁰ Lastly, Alan's collection of *Distinctiones* will be considered in this study: it offers valuable insights into the resources of meaning available to preachers, and its broad survival suggests that it was avidly used. It is dedicated to Abbot Ermengaudus of Saint-Giles (between Montpellier and Nîmes), therefore its final version can be dated to his time in southern France.¹³¹

126 Ms. Oxford, Bodley 409, fols. 148^v–156^v. This sermon *De sancta cruce* is not identical to others with the same title (Alan of Lille, *De sancta cruce* (r), 223–226; *De cruce domini*, ed. d'Alverny, 279–283). The chapter on the Cross relic compares the three. The appendix also deviates in Ms. Troyes 399, fols. 225^v–226^r, containing only three instead of eight sermons (*Ad milites*; *Ad advocatos*; *Ad Iudices*). The selection betrays a focus on lay audiences.

127 See Jessalynn L. Bird, "The Victorines, Peter the Chanter's Circle, and the Crusade: Two Unpublished Crusading Appeals in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. Latin 14470," *Medieval Sermon Studies* 48 (2004), 13. On this codex, see Bériou, *L'Avènement*, 1:58–70; 2:676, 681–682; Jessalynn L. Bird, "Crusade and Reform: The Sermons of Bibliothèque Nationale, MS nouv. acq. lat. 999," in: *The Fifth Crusade in Context*, ed. Elizabeth Jane Mylod and Guy Perry (London 2017), 92–113. On a sermon by John of Abbeville from this codex, see the chapter on the Cross relic.

128 On these works, see d'Alverny, *Textes*, 73–79, who dates the Old Testament commentaries to his late years; she also offers a transcription of the work's prologue. See the chapter on the Holy Land. For the poem, see Alan of Lille, *Carmen*, ed. Baeumker, 183–184.

129 Alan of Lille, *Liber poenitentialis*, ed. Longère, 1:206, 213–216, 234–237; 2:17. See also Cole, *Preaching*, 115–116.

130 See *Historia peregrinorum*, ed. Chroust, 125–126, 162–163; and Bysted, *Indulgence*, 261.

131 Alan of Lille, *Distinctiones*, 685; see d'Alverny, *Textes*, 13–14, 71–72; Evans, *Alan of Lille*, 21–22, 29–33. De Lage lists 41 copies—and his list is incomplete (de Lage, *Alain de Lille*, 35, 177–178).

4.2 *Prevostin of Cremona*

Prevostin (c.1135–1210) represents another preacher of the Third Crusade from the Parisian milieu. His sermon texts usually appear together with those of Peter Comestor, Maurice of Sully, and Alan of Lille, a fact that demonstrates both the milieu and the time he was active in Paris. Otto of Saint-Blasien even designates him as one of the great masters of his age (besides Alan and Peter the Chanter),¹³² Prevostin sojourned in Paris in the 1180s, possibly even before as a student; in the early 1190s, he went to northern Italy to agitate against heretics. Thereafter, he was present at the school of Mainz, before he returned to Paris, where he became the university's chancellor (1206–1210), and where he died around 1210.¹³³ His anti-heretical activities produced a treatise *Contra haereticos*, penned around the same time as Alan's work, and dealing with two groups: the Albigensians and the northern Italian *Pasagini*. The work's structure reveals significant parallels with Alan's: throughout, it presents first a heretical opinion, to refute it then with orthodox arguments and biblical references. As its editor demonstrated, it also cites from his colleague's treatise.¹³⁴ A codex exists that holds both the anti-heretical treatise and some of his sermons.¹³⁵ Both Alan and Prevostin thus left Paris after the Third Crusade's failure, to pursue action on the anti-heretical front—this interesting dynamic will concern us in the chapter on the failure of crusades.

Prevostin wrote a number of works, many still unpublished, including a commentary on the Psalms, which Georges Lacombe characterized as a collection of *distinctiones*;¹³⁶ and a number of theological works including a collection of *Quaestiones*, a treatise *De officiis*, and a *Summa theologica*.¹³⁷ My

132 Otto of Saint-Blasien, *Chronica*, 64.

133 See Lacombe, *Prevostin*, 8–11, 36–46; Longère, *Œuvres oratoires*, 1:23–24; Ferruolo, *Origins*, 192.

134 See Prevostin of Cremona, *Contra haereticos*, ed. Garvin, 289; and Alan of Lille, *Contra haereticos* (4.12), 427; on the work, see Lacombe, *Prevostin*, 11–12, 139–143; Joseph N. Garvin, "Introduction," in: Prevostin of Cremona, *The Summa contra haereticos* (Notre Dame, Ind. 1958), xiii–xv, xxix–xxxix. The Council of Verona (1184) already issued decrees against northern Italian heretics (see Lucius III, *Ep. 171*, 1298; and Martin Aurell, *Des chrétiens contre les croisades XII^e-XIII^e siècle* (Paris 2013), 151).

135 See Ms. Turin D.v.2, and the description in: Garvin, "Introduction," xxii–xxiv. It contains first *Contra haereticos* (fols. 65^r–77^r) and then the sermons (fols. 79^r–98^v); these include at least two actually from Alan's pen (see Ms. Toulouse 195, fol. 96^v; Ms. BNF lat. 3818, fol. 9^v). However, I did not consult the codex. It also offers sermons by the crusade preacher Bruno of Segni (fols. 1^r–52^r), which would be an intriguing subject of investigation.

136 Ms. BNF lat. 454, fols. 73^r–136^r; see Lacombe, *Prevostin*, 117–124. However, the text's layout and composition do not resemble *Distinctiones*; it is a treatise-like text, therefore I will not consider it.

137 On these works, see Lacombe, *Prevostin*, 49–66, 73–103, 153–182; Lucentini, "Introduzione,"

prime concern are his sermon texts: he did not compose a coherent collection, unlike other contemporaries, but a large number have survived nonetheless, mostly in polygraphic collections. Lacombe's magisterial study offers a list of 78 sermons; these are dispersed over several manuscripts, with two containing a larger number.¹³⁸ Three others contain only some of his sermons, but these include some that are pertinent to the crusade (all three also comprise sermons by Alan).¹³⁹ Ms. BL Add 18335 offers a prologue with valuable information, entitled *sermones Prepositini accessus ad populum*—these sermons were meant for lay audiences. The prologue instructs the material's users (that is, clerics) in the goals of preaching, stressing that one must preach against the evil of *idolatria*, idol worship, the imagined Muslim trait, just as it presents David, identified with the eschatological Christ, as a militant example of warfare against the impious (*contra impios*).¹⁴⁰ These two ideas indicate that crusade preaching was an essential purpose of this collection. Yet, crusade scholars have rarely noticed Prevostin.¹⁴¹

4.3 *Martin of León*

Martin (c.1130–1203) is the last figure that this study considers; he was an Augustinian canon in San Isidoro in León by the end of his life. This abbey held the prestigious remains of Isidore of Seville. As his *Vita* reports (likely 1220s), he travelled in Europe and the East for some years: he was in Italy at the time of Urban III (Nov. 1185 to Oct. 1187) and thereafter in Jerusalem for two years.¹⁴² This raises two possibilities: either he was in Italy early in Urban's reign and

xviii–xxvi; and the edition: Prevostin of Cremona, *De officiis*, ed. Corbett. As already noted, the *Summa* betrays textual parallels with Garnerius' *Contra Amaurianos*. On *Quaestiones*, see Buc, *Livre*, 147–161; David d'Avray, *Medieval Religious Rationalities: A Weberian Analysis* (Cambridge, UK 2010), 73–74.

- 138 Lacombe, *Prevostin*, 183–188. That is, 36 pieces (Ms. Arsenal 543, fols. 203^r–245^r) and 19 pieces (Ms. BL Add 18335, fols. 1^r–25^r). The London copy contains 14 further sermons (unconsidered by Lacombe) that may also stem from Prevostin's pen (fols. 66^r–88^v)—as far as I checked, no conflicting attribution seems to exist; see the chapter on media context. See also Alberic of Trois-Fontaines, *Chronica*, 891, rendering them as *optimi sermones*.
- 139 Ms. BNF lat. 14859; BNF lat. 3555; BNF lat. 18172. The last comes from Notre-Dame in Paris (early 13th cen.). See also Longère, *Prédication*, 73, who dates the sermons in Ms. BNF lat. 14859 to Prevostin's first sojourn in Paris, that is, around the Third Crusade.
- 140 Ms. BL Add 18335, fol. 2^v. He also relates this to *heretici*—either because he understands the Muslims as such or he intends to construct a causal link between the two groups.
- 141 See Schein, *Gateway*, 164; Bird, *Heresy*, 5, 14–15; Keagan Brewer, "God's Devils: Pragmatic Theodicy in Christian Responses to Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's Conquest of Jerusalem in 1187," *Medieval Encounters* 27 (2021), 135–136. Longère considered some sermons but not in terms of crusading (Longère, *Œuvres oratoires*, esp. 1:23–25, 416–420).
- 142 Lucas de Tuy, *Vita*, 13. The text does not explain the nature of Martin's voyage, only that

then in the Holy Land, in which case he would have been there during the events of 1187. Or it was late in Urban's pontificate, in which case he heard of the events in Italy, perhaps even at the Curia (like other preachers). In this case, it seems likely that he preached in the region and joined then some contingent of the expedition—a stay of two years would agree with other participants. Whichever is the case, Martin was close to the events of 1187 and the Third Crusade. On the way back, he made stopovers in Constantinople, Paris, and southern France, where he encountered heretics, before he returned to León and joined the abbey, where he died in 1203.¹⁴³ His oeuvre reveals ample influence by the Parisian milieu; he certainly studied there and was possibly even a master. It is a reasonable hypothesis that he was a student of Peter Lombard (c.1100–1160), since he used Peter's works more than any other contemporary oeuvre.¹⁴⁴

Martin's sermons consist of the monumental *Liber sermonum* as well as collections *De sanctis* and *De diversis*. All three works are published in PL 208 and 209, totaling 54 sermons altogether (including some of remarkable length): this constitutes the largest corpus among the pertinent collections. He also penned four biblical commentaries, including one on John's Revelation (PL 209). All of these works survived in only one manuscript from León (c.1200), the basis for the edition: it presents all of Martin's works as one opus magnum, without the divisions as they exist in the PL.¹⁴⁵ However, it is divided there into two volumes as well as into two distinct foliations within the first volume: this threefold

'he went to Jerusalem' (*Jerosolymam adiit*), but it mentions that he served the Knights Hospitaller in the two years. On Augustinian canons in the Holy Land, see Wolf Zöllner, *Regularkanoniker im Heiligen Land: Studien zur Kirchen-, Ordens- und Frömmigkeitsgeschichte der Kreuzfahrerstaaten* (Münster 2018).

143 Lucas de Tuy, *Vita*, 14–15.

144 See Amélie de las Heras, "Martin de León (†1203) et la culture scolaire ultra-pyrénéenne. Les Sentences de Pierre Lombard dans la Concordia," *Memini* 18 (2014), 1–25; de las Heras, "El Contra Judaeos de Isidoro de Sevilla en la predicación regular ibérica del final del siglo xii. Entre identidad confesional y estaturia," in: *Christian, Jewish, and Muslim Preaching in the Mediterranean and Europe*, ed. Linda Gale Jones and Adrienne Dupont-Hamy (Turnhout 2019), 159–160. On Peter Lombard's circle (without considering Martin), see Matthew Anthony Doyle, *Peter Lombard and His Students* (Toronto 2016).

145 Ms. León, San Isidoro 11. For a description, see Antonio Viñayo González, *Abecedario-Bestiaro de los Códices de Santo Martino* (León 1986), 27–34; Amélie de las Heras, "Le livre de l'Apocalypse chez Martin de León (m. 1203), entre commentaire et sermon. Une 'lectio divina' tournée vers l'action," *Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez* 49/1 (2019), 68–69, 84. For the Apocalypse commentary, see Martin of León, *Commentary on Rev.*, 299–420. On Martin's works, see de las Heras, "Contra Judaeos," 151–155; Raymond McCluskey, "The Genesis of the *Concordia* of Martin of León," in: *God and Man in Medieval Spain*, ed. Derek W. Lomax and David MacKenzie (Westminster 1989), 19–36.

division will serve henceforth for citing the manuscript.¹⁴⁶ Martin has not yet received any scholarly attention as a crusade preacher, even though the prologue of the *Liber sermonum* holds two important pieces of information: first, at its conclusion, a note says that he started composing the work in 1185. In light of its remarkable length (c.700 folios), he must have worked on it for some years, including the time of the Third Crusade. Second, the prologue outlines the material's goals; this includes naming four groups against which it shall be put to use: Jews, heretics, philosophers (i.e., scholastics), and 'pagans,' that is, the Muslims, whose superstition must be destroyed (*paganorum superstitio, id est idolorum servitus, deletur*).¹⁴⁷ Martin makes explicit that preaching against pagans (and heretics), that is, preaching the crusade, is an essential purpose of this monumental collection (a similar impetus was visible in Prevostin's prologue). Since he was active in the Iberian context (at least in his last years), various types of crusading and corresponding preaching are possible. This study, however, will not consider the idiosyncrasies of the Peninsula; it focuses on material related to the Holy Land crusade, especially that which reveals parallels with the other preachers.¹⁴⁸

5 The Other Preachers

Besides the nine preachers for whom we have sermon texts, there were others whose activities we only know from chronicles. These are still worth consider-

146 Ms. León, San Isidoro 11/1: the first foliation of the first volume; Ms. León, San Isidoro 11/2: its second foliation; and Ms. León, San Isidoro 11/3: the second volume.

147 Martin of León, *Liber sermonum, Prologus*, 31–32 and Ms. León, San Isidoro 11/1, fols. 1^r–2^r. See also Nicole Bériou, "Les prologues de recueils de sermons latins, du XI^e au XV^e siècle," in: *Les prologues médiévaux*, ed. Jacqueline Hamesse (Turnhout 2000), 402–403. On blending enemy groups, see the chapters on institutional context and on the failure of crusades.

148 See also Alexander Marx, "Divergent Voices in the Preaching of the Third Crusade: Martin of León's Reading of the Fall of Jerusalem," *Crusades* 23/1 (2024) 25–43. The opinion that Iberians did not care about the Eastern crusade is meanwhile well refuted: one detects numerous Iberian crusaders and a serious interest in the Holy Land (see esp. Nikolas Jaspert, "Eleventh-Century Pilgrimage from Catalonia to Jerusalem: New Sources on the Foundations of the First Crusade," *Crusades* 14 (2015), 1–47; Jaspert, "Vergegenwärtigungen Jerusalems in Architektur und Reliquienkult," in: *Jerusalem im Hoch- und Spätmittelalter*, ed. Dieter Bauer (Frankfurt am Main 2001), 219–297; see also Paul, *Footsteps*, 251–295; William J. Purkis, *Crusading Spirituality in the Holy Land and Iberia, c.1095–c.1187* (Woodbridge 2008), 165–176). On the religious nature of warfare within the Peninsula, see O'Callaghan, *Reconquest*; Patrick Marschner, *Das neue Volk Gottes in Hispanien: Die Bibel in der christlich-iberischen Historiographie vom 8. bis zum 12. Jahrhundert* (Vienna 2023).

ing in terms of a discourse analysis, in order to examine networks as well as the preaching effort's spatial and societal distribution.¹⁴⁹ This includes Gerald of Wales (1146–1223), a well-known figure: he preached the crusade in England and Wales, accompanying Baldwin of Canterbury and Peter of Blois, yet no sermons from his pen have survived.¹⁵⁰ He left other valuable writings, in particular his report on the tour of Wales, the *Itinerarium Cambriae*.¹⁵¹ He also offers a large chapter on Barbarossa's crusade in his *De principis instructione*, which contains a description of the events of 1187 as well as a 'biography' of Mohammed, which depicts Islam as a heresy. His *De expugnatio Hibernica* likewise offers a description of the events, even more pertinent, since this work dates to the eve of the Third Crusade.¹⁵² Gerald himself took the cross on the Welsh tour, but he did not participate.¹⁵³ He also studied in Paris (1160s–1170s) and belonged to the circle of Peter the Chanter.¹⁵⁴

Furthermore, Bishop Henry of Strasburg preached the crusade in front of Barbarossa and in cooperation with Henry of Albano, at least in Strasburg and Mainz. One of his sermons is quoted in the *Historia peregrinorum*.¹⁵⁵ He also joined the crusade, but turned back already from Greece. Bishop Godfrey of Würzburg seems to have played an important role for the Eastern regions of the Latin West; he also joined the venture and died in Antioch. He preached at the Council of Mainz,¹⁵⁶ and the *Historia peregrinorum* quotes one of his sermons, held soon after the German army had departed from Regensburg.¹⁵⁷ The Cistercian and archbishop Gerald of Ravenna preached in northern Italy; otherwise, we do not know much about this figure.¹⁵⁸ In cooperation with him

149 See esp. the chapter on historical context.

150 See Tyerman, *Plan*, 118–123; Robert J. Bartlett, *Gerald of Wales 1146–1223* (Oxford 1982), 68–73. He used perhaps available material; the most plausible candidate would be Peter of Blois' sermons and crusade treatises: he cites an entire passage verbatim from Peter's *Passio* (without naming him) (Gerald of Wales, *De principis instructione*, 235; and Peter of Blois, *Passio Raginaldi*, 39).

151 Gerald of Wales, *Itinerarium Cambriae*; see Cole, *Preaching*, 74–78.

152 Gerald of Wales, *Expugnatio Hibernica*, 365–366; *De principis instructione*, 68–71, 263–282; discussed by Tolan, *Saracens*, 168.

153 Gerald of Wales, *De rebus*, 73, 84–85; *Itinerarium Cambriae*, 14. He was released from his vow in 1189. The cause seems to have been Henry 11's death (see Hurlock, *Wales*, 83).

154 See Bartlett, *Gerald of Wales*, 12–14, 155–156; Ferruolo, *Origins*, 168–183.

155 *Historia peregrinorum*, ed. Chroust, 123–124; see Bysted, *Indulgence*, 259–260; Cramer, "Kreuzpredigt," 88–91. The sermon betrays parallels with Henry of Albano and *Audita tremendi*.

156 *Historia peregrinorum*, ed. Chroust, 125–126; Arnold of Lübeck, *Chronica*, 170; see Cramer, "Kreuzpredigt," 91.

157 *Historia peregrinorum*, ed. Chroust, 162–163; see Bysted, *Indulgence*, 261.

158 See Bysted, *Indulgence*, 247; Cramer, "Kreuzpredigt," 66. Constable mentions a Gerald of

preached archbishop Ubald of Pisa, who received the *vexillum Petri* from the pope, and the legate Adelard of Verona. These three successfully organized the Italian arm, and all three joined the expedition.¹⁵⁹ In England, Gilbert of Glanville, bishop of Rochester, preached the crusade together with Baldwin at the Council of Geddington, where many took the cross.¹⁶⁰ He was initially in Baldwin's service, before becoming bishop in 1185. William, bishop of Hereford (1186–1198), was an Augustinian canon, who was already in the Holy Land around 1180. Baldwin stopped twice in Hereford during the preaching tour in 1188—some cooperation seems to have existed. Gervase of Canterbury cites a sermon by William, held at Geddington, and devoted to settling the conflict between Baldwin and Canterbury's canons, which thus belongs to the context of preparing the crusade.¹⁶¹

In France, Bartholomew of Vendôme, archbishop of Tours (1174–1206), gave the cross to Richard Lionheart in November 1187, while Tours was also the venue of departure in spring 1190. He was also a pivotal figure at the Council of Gisors; both Henry II and Philip II took the cross from him.¹⁶² Philip of Dreux (c.1158–1217), archbishop of Beauvais and cousin of Philip Augustus, was an important military leader of the Third Crusade, who already arrived in Acre in September 1189, together with other French crusaders. He had already participated in the crusade of 1179 and would later take part in the Albigensian Crusade.¹⁶³ Another important protagonist was Maurice of Sully, bishop of Paris: due to his episcopal role, he must have had a coordinating function for preaching activities in Paris, and he was involved in defining the crusade's legal statutes. He also penned a sermon collection, which delivers significant evidence for a broad

Padua who preached in 1189. It is unclear if this designates the same person (Giles Constable, "The Language of Preaching in the Twelfth Century," *Viator* 25 (1994), 131).

159 Roger of Howden, *Gesta*, 2:180–181; *Chronica*, 3:122–123; Sicard of Cremona, *Chronicon*, 520–521; see Hosler, *Acre*, 184, 193; Hannes Möhring, *Saladin und der Dritte Kreuzzug: Aiyubidische Strategie und Diplomatie im Vergleich vornehmlich der arabischen mit den lateinischen Quellen* (Wiesbaden 1980), 67–68. Gerald of Ravenna died at the siege of Acre (see Haymarus, *Rithmus*, ed. Falk, 62). On the *vexillum Petri*, see Carl Erdmann, *Die Entstehung des Kreuzzugsgedankens* (Darmstadt 1980), 166–171.

160 See Roger of Howden, *Gesta*, 2:33; Gervase of Canterbury, *Opera*, 1:410; William of Newburgh, *Historia*, 275.

161 Gervase of Canterbury, *Opera*, 1:412–413. On the preaching tour, see Gerald of Wales, *Itinerarium Cambriae*, 9–11.

162 See Tyerman, *Plan*, 237–238; John B. Gillingham, *Richard I* (New Haven, Conn. 1999), 127–128.

163 See Bennett, *Participation*, 56–58, 221; Phillips, *Defenders*, 241; Christopher J. Tyerman, *God's War: A New History of the Crusades* (Cambridge, Mass. 2006), 412, 584. See also *Itinerarium peregrinorum*, ed. Mayer, 311.

approach to preaching before the friars: it represents a handbook for the priests of his diocese. However, since it dates to the 1160s, this study will not consider it.¹⁶⁴ Finally, Joscius, archbishop of Tyre, departed to the West in reaction to the events of 1187. His tour included stopovers in Sicily, the Curia, and the Council of Gisors. He went to Paris in March to assist Maurice of Sully in defining the crusade's canonical and legal statutes.¹⁶⁵ Afterwards, he traveled with Henry of Albano to help with recruitment.¹⁶⁶ This figure is noteworthy because he could have offered a source of information for circumstances in the East. As we will see, however, sermons and other texts receive remarkably little actual information.¹⁶⁷

All these figures intensify the network of preachers; one observes many connections with the authors of the sermon texts: Gerald belonged to the Canterbury circle; Henry of Strasburg and Godfrey of Würzburg cooperated with Henry of Albano; Philip of Dreux had intense contact with Hélinand. Those who remain misfits are the three Italian preachers, and this may be because we do not know much about them. However, they likely had good relations with the Curia (this may include Henry of Albano and Peter of Blois).¹⁶⁸ Most of the figures discussed in this section are bishops or archbishops, all in important dioceses: this indicates the bishops' role in mobilizing crusades, a dimension that will concern us in the chapter on historical context. Another possible preacher is the well-known Geoffrey of Auxerre (c.1115–after 1189), who had already been involved in the Second Crusade, accompanying Bernard of Clairvaux. Around the Third Crusade, he was based in Clairvaux. He left two sermon collections: 20 sermons specifically on John's Revelation, written in the 1180s

164 See Bériou, "Prologues," 408; Stansbury, *Before the Friars*, 176; Jean Longère, *Les sermons latins de Maurice de Sully, évêque de Paris: contribution à l'histoire de la tradition manuscrite* (Steenbrugis 1988).

165 See *Persecutio Saalardini*, ed. Richard, 176; *Itinerarium peregrinorum*, ed. Mayer, 271–272, 276–277; Roger of Howden, *Gesta*, 2:29–33, 58–59; see also Cole, *Preaching*, 66–67. Roger claims that the two kings took the cross from his hands.

166 See Giselbert, *Chronicon*, 555; and Congar, "Henri de Marcy," 44; Tyerman, *God's War*, 376–377.

167 See the chapter on institutional context as well as the poor amount of information in the sermons discussed in the chapters on Cross relic, Jerusalem, and Holy Land.

168 Relations may have existed with Prevostin of Cremona, active against heretics in northern Italy in the 1190s. Sicard of Cremona is another possible contact: he joined the Fourth Crusade in Peter of Capua's service (see Sicard of Cremona, *Chronica*, 535; and Jessalynn L. Bird, "Rogations, Litanies, and Crusade Preaching: The Liturgical Front in the Late Twelfth and Early Thirteenth Centuries," in: *Papacy, Crusade, and Christian-Muslim Relations*, ed. Bird (Amsterdam 2018), 156).

and referring to Henry of Albano's anti-heretical activities;¹⁶⁹ and an unpublished liturgical collection with 72 texts. It likely dates to earlier decades: the prime copy (Ms. Troyes 503) identifies him as the abbot of Clairvaux (1162–1165).¹⁷⁰ It is complemented by other manuscripts, which comprise c.220 sermons from his pen altogether.¹⁷¹ These remain unexploited and could shed light on preaching activities between the Second and the Third Crusades; but they are not considered here for two essential reasons: first, the bulk of them seem to predate the Third Crusade (by far); second, I have not found any hints that he was active—he had reached old age and had perhaps stopped preaching.

Due to the underdeveloped state of research and the sermon material's sparse publication, while surviving in vast numbers, it is more than likely that further preachers are waiting to be discovered. This may concern hitherto undetected crusade material in familiar collections (for example, by Stephen Langton), but also preachers or sermons that are entirely unknown (especially anonymous materials, surviving richly in Paris). This pertains to specific milieus that are not included in this book, especially the abbey of Saint-Victor, active in promoting the crusades at least from the early 13th century, but also material from Benedictines: an anonymous crusade treatise from the time will occasionally be considered in this study.¹⁷² It also pertains to geographical regions such as Scandinavia, northern Italy, or southern Germany; investigating these seems promising if many crusaders came from these areas.¹⁷³ In addition, there were undoubtedly numerous preachers who were active but did not find their way into surviving sermons or chronicles. One may surmise that we can only see the tip of the iceberg. An example from the late Middle Ages, when administrative sources deliver a clearer picture, may illustrate this: Hervé Martin dealt with preachers in northern France between 1350 and 1520, identifying 2500 figures altogether.¹⁷⁴ The number of active preachers may have

169 See, e.g., Geoffrey of Auxerre, *Sermo 14*, ed. Gastaldelli, 179; *Sermo 18*, ed. Gastaldelli, 210; discussed by Kienzle, *Cisterciens*, 133.

170 See Ferruccio Gastaldelli, "Ricerche per l'edizione dei 'Sermones' di Goffredo d'Auxerre: il manoscritto 'Troyes 503,'" *Salesianum* 35 (1973), 649–666. Possibly, they were still used after 1187, for example, Hélinand used *exempla* from Geoffrey's sermons (see Kienzle, *Cisterciens*, 182).

171 See Schneyer, *Repertorium*, 2:134–150. See, e.g., Ms. Clermont-Ferrand 33; Ms. BNF lat. 18178.

172 On the Victorines, see Bird, "Victorines," 5–28. The anonymous treatise is published in: Benedictinus anonymus, *De penitentia*, PL 213 and ed. Huygens.

173 See, e.g., on Denmark: Janus Møller Jensen, "Martyrs for the Faith: Denmark, the Third Crusade and the Fall of Acre in 1091," in: *Acre and Its Falls*, ed. John France (Leiden 2018), 49–68.

174 Hervé Martin, *Le métier de prédicateur en France septentrionale à la fin du moyen âge 1350–1520* (Paris 1988). For similar approaches, see Larissa Taylor, *Soldiers of Christ: Preaching in*

been higher at the time, due to the friars, and perhaps not all of them preached the crusade (although there seems to be a general tendency). Nevertheless, the richer source basis of the later period provides us with an impression of the dimensions at stake. This can help us develop a better sense for those preachers who may still be hiding in the archives or never entered the historical record.

Late Medieval and Reformation France (New York 1992), 23–25; Christoph T. Maier, *Preaching the Crusades: Mendicant Friars and the Cross in the Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge, UK 1994), 98–99, 164–165.

Institutional Context: The Early University of Paris Constructs the Holy Land

Knowledge forbidden?
Suspicious, reasonless. Why should their Lord
Envy them that? Can it be a sin to know?
Can it be death?

JOHN MILTON, *Paradise Lost*



This chapter illuminates the institutional conditions that informed the production of the pertinent texts, especially the early University of Paris. The dynamics and conflicts within this milieu had considerable consequences for how texts constructed a historical reality and, thus, their vision of the Holy Land. Scholasticism, based in Paris and other places in northern France, was characterized by a new focus on non-biblical texts, critically ancient philosophical works; this straddled the *artes liberales* and the development of innovative and speculative methods in theology.¹ These advances generated the opposition of another group that one can subsume under the label of the reform movement. It included not only monastic protagonists, but also many from the heart of the university, consisting primarily of the circle of Peter the Chanter and the Cistercians. This movement was eager to morally reform society as a whole, and as Jessalynn Bird has amply demonstrated, this included engaging in anti-heretical activities and crusading. This made preaching to the laity and the supply of preaching materials into pivotal activities. Martin Grabmann thus aptly characterized this movement as the biblical-moral school.² Its protagonists emphasized that all knowledge must build on the Bible, agitating against

1 See, e.g., Ian P. Wei, *Intellectual Culture in Medieval Paris: Theologians and the University, c.1100–1330* (Cambridge, UK 2012), 17–33; Stephen C. Ferruolo, *The Origins of the University: The Schools of Paris and their Critics, 1100–1215* (Stanford 1987), 11–44.

2 Jessalynn L. Bird, *Heresy, Crusade and Reform in the Circle of Peter the Chanter, c.1187–c.1240* (PhD thesis, University of Oxford 2001); Martin Grabmann, *Die Geschichte der scholastischen*

approaches that were not centered upon it as well as against theologians who remained cut off from society in their schools. In other words, they agitated against the scholastics.³ One observes in their texts an increasingly diffuse anti-heretical *Feindbild* that includes occasionally several Parisian intellectuals with unorthodox opinions.⁴ It thus becomes understandable why the reformers developed their vision of the Holy Land on the basis of the Bible—and not on empirical information. This chapter charts this dynamic within the university milieu, while the following chapters will demonstrate this rigid dependence upon the Bible via vast and manifold evidence.

The late 12th century thus knew divergent methods in dealing with texts, including the condemnation of other approaches. Nevertheless, an individual's association with one of the groups remained flexible, since this was still one social world. Where the borders between the parties were located, and how strongly one emphasized these, seems to have varied. Especially the association with the heretics was not a self-identification, but a verdict against others, by those who held the political power to make such judgments (like Bernard of Clairvaux against Peter Abelard).⁵ Yet, one observes a clear-cut line between the groups when considering the written production: scholasticism consisted of outstanding personalities such as Abelard, Gilbert of Poitiers, or Peter of Poitiers. Their oeuvre belonged to an intellectual discourse and is often devoted to speculative and philosophical matters, while paying increasingly less attention to the holy text. The reform movement, to which all of our nine preachers

Methode (Freiburg 1911), 2:467–468; see also Nicole Bériou, *L'avènement des maîtres de la Parole: la prédication à Paris au XIII^e siècle* (Paris 1998), 1:15–71.

3 See Giles Constable, *The Reformation of the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, UK 1996), 214–215; Yves Congar, “Eglise et Cité de Dieu chez quelques auteurs cisterciens à l'époque des Croisades: en particulier dans le De Peregrinante Civitate Dei d'Henri d'Albano,” in: *Mélanges offerts à Etienne Gilson de l'Académie française*, ed. Callistus Edie (Toronto 1959), 202; Nikolaus M. Häring, “The Liberal Arts in the Sermons of Garnier of Rochefort,” *Mediaeval Studies* 30 (1968), 77. Stories about such theologians who eventually converted to a monastic life are found in *exempla* (e.g., Caesarius of Heisterbach, *Dialogus miraculorum* (1.32), 290–298; discussed by Ferruolo, *Origins*, 67).

4 See Jessalynn L. Bird, “Paris Masters and the Justification of the Albigensian Crusade,” *Crusades* 6 (2007), 117–155; Charles W. Connell, *Popular Opinion in the Middle Ages: Channeling Public Ideas and Attitudes* (Berlin 2016), 125–127. Such a creative use of the label of heresy is already observable in the conflicts between Gregory VII and the emperor (see Gerd Althoff, “*Selig sind, die Verfolgung ausüben*”: *Päpste und Gewalt im Hochmittelalter* (Darmstadt 2013), 165–166, 217).

5 See Wei, *Paris*, 73–74; Heinrich Fichtenau, *Ketzer und Professoren: Häresie und Vernunftglaube im Hochmittelalter* (Munich 1992), 269–274; Matthew Anthony Doyle, *Peter Lombard and his Students* (Toronto 2016), 89–90. See also Bernard of Clairvaux, *Ep. 190*, 74–116. On the flexibility of accusations, see Constable, *Reformation*, 32–37.

belonged, also consisted of important figures such as Peter the Chanter, Bernard of Clairvaux, or Stephen Langton.⁶ However, considering their oeuvre, one finds predominantly biblical commentaries, sermons collections, and works devoted to reform efforts (for example, about the clergy or penitential practices). The confrontation with the whole of society, targeted via preaching, was key to these efforts, while Scripture represented the preeminent tool, the basis for ideas and knowledge. As a result, the oeuvre that particular individuals penned clearly betrays two groups with divergent interests and goals. Those who penned works in both fields were few:

Peter Comestor (c.1100–1178) seems to represent such an exception. On the one hand, he was involved in the scholastic milieu as the university's chancellor and as a possible pupil of Peter Lombard, whose *Sententiae* he wrote a commentary on.⁷ On the other, his works reveal an obvious interest indebted to the reform movement: he composed an extensive sermon collection that enjoyed wide distribution as well as the monumental *Historia scholastica*, which emphasizes the purpose of the Bible in interpreting one's own present, largely dependent on a literal and a typological exegesis.⁸ Owing to his position, he may even have been an essential figure for establishing an anti-scholastic movement in Paris. Alan of Lille represents a similar case—yet, one may argue on the basis of his oeuvre that this was not a general ambiguity, but that there were two phases in his life. First, he was an inherent part of the scholastic milieu, being a pupil of Gilbert of Poitiers and composing philosophical works: *De planctu naturae*, *Quoniam homines*, and the *Anticlaudianus* (1160s to mid-1180s).⁹ From the mid-1180s, he suddenly had other priorities: in his last 15 years, he penned numerous sermon texts, his *Ars praedicandi*, the *Liber poenitentialis*, and *Contra haereticos*.¹⁰ Alan thus reveals a development from scholastic to

6 See Bird, *Heresy*, 1–30; Ferruolo, *Origins*, 54–86, 185–186, 222–277.

7 See Doyle, *Peter Lombard*, 165–181.

8 See Sylvia Schein, *Gateway to the Heavenly City: Crusader Jerusalem and the Catholic West (1099–1187)* (Aldershot 2005), 153; Jean Flori, *L'Islam et la fin des temps: l'interprétation prophétique des invasions musulmanes dans la chrétienté médiévale* (Paris 2007), 301–302. See in general Mark J. Clark, *The Making of the "Historia scholastica," 1150–1200* (Toronto 2015). Peter also anchors the Apocalypse in Jerusalem (Peter Comestor, *Historia scholastica*, 1463–1466). On his sermons, see Peter H. Tibber, *The Origins of the Scholastic Sermon, c.1130–c.1210* (PhD thesis, University of Oxford 1983), 305–339, who offers a list of the sermons and their manuscripts.

9 See Nikolaus M. Häring, "Alan of Lille's *De fide catholica* or *contra haereticos*," *Analecta Cisterciensia* 32 (1976), 224–225; Gillian Rosemary Evans, *Alan of Lille: The Frontiers of Theology in the Later Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, UK 1983), 14–19. Yet, already *De planctu naturae* reproached bad scholastic methods (see Wei, *Paris*, 45–47).

10 Already d'Alverny observed that Alan had different priorities in his late years (Marie-

practical and reform-oriented works.¹¹ There was a watershed at some point in his life, and since we can date most of his works, this watershed was located in the mid-1180s. It may even have been the year 1187 that deeply changed his outlook and activities.

1 The Front of the Reformers

Our nine authors were part of the reform movement, whereas they were skeptical or even hostile towards scholastic methods. Hélinand of Froidmont betrays his point of view in a sermon delivered in 1229 upon the opening of the University of Toulouse:

Behold, most beloved brothers, the divine wisdom has created an art with which men can fly above birds, trample upon demons, dance on the clouds, and rise above the heavens. [...] This shadowy Lucifer who fell from heaven like lightning was unaware of this art despite being an artist. The haughty King Alexander who lost his power was unaware of it. The pestiferous Simon Magus, prince of the wicked, who crashed from the audacious flight was unaware of it. The philosophers who failed despite observing with scrutiny were unaware of it: seeking the celestial but falling back to the terrestrial, since they fell off the celestial. They set their mouth against heaven, whereas their tongues walked on the earth [Ps. 73:9] and licked the ground: while they were promulgating their names in their countries for the reason of being recognized as the students of Pythagoras, Plato, Epicurus, or the Stoics, and others of this kind.¹²

Thérèse d'Alverny, *Alain de Lille: textes inédits* (Paris 1965), 140; see also Jean Longère, *Œuvres oratoires de maîtres parisiens au 12^e siècle: étude historique et doctrinale* (Paris 1975), 1:25–26). His *Contra haereticos* indicates his intermediate position; he argues against several groups via both the Bible and *ratio* (Alan of Lille, *Contra haereticos* (prologue), 307; see Häring, “De fide,” 222–223; Mechthild Dreyer, “... rationabiliter infirmare et ... rationes quibus fides [innititur] in publicum deducere. Alain de Lille et le conflit avec les adversaires de la foi,” in: *Alain de Lille: le docteur universel*, ed. Jean-Luc Solère (Turnhout 2005), 436).

11 John of Salisbury seems to have undergone a similar development; see Julie Barrau, “La ‘conversio’ de Jean de Salisbury: la Bible au service de Thomas Becket?” *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 50 (2007), 229–244.

12 Hélinand of Froidmont, *Sermo* 15, 602. “Ecce, fratres charissimi, invenit artem divina Sapientia, per quam possint homines volare super volucres, calcare super daemones, saltare super nubes, super coelos ascendere [...] Hanc artem nescivit obscurus ille Lucifer, licet

Naming the four ancient schools, he equates the philosophers with the devil and thus with evil itself. Beverly Kienzle argued that he inherited here Bernard's skepticism towards philosophy, while she related the text to the war on heresy in southern France.¹³ Considering this context as well as the heretical prototype of Simon Magus (whom Hélinand mentions), it becomes clear that he proposes to equate popular heresy (Albigensians) with intellectual heresy (scholasticism).¹⁴ This is corroborated by the sermon's address to the *scholares clerici* (so its title), who were present at the university's opening. He did not want a university devoted to the study of ancient philosophy, but saw its mission in combatting heresy.

Peter of Blois is similarly sharp in the reform-oriented *Compendium in Iob*:

And what benefit had Aristotle and his students from the vain talkativeness of mundane philosophy? Due to their mundane knowledge, these lofty people did not know the God Sabaoth. They were from him but not with him; they lived thanks to him but not for him; they had knowledge through him but did not know him. My wisdom and my philosophy are thus the philosophy of brother Gerard who had nothing else in his mouth and heart than Jesus Christ. My philosophy is the philosophy of Paul who affirmed most vehemently that there is nothing to know except for Jesus Christ and him crucified [1 Cor. 2:2].¹⁵

sit ille artifex, qui tanquam fulgur de coelo cecidit. Nescivit Alexander ille superbus rex, qui de potestate sua occubuit. Nescivit ille maleficorum princeps Simon Magus pestifer, qui de praesumpto volatu corruit. Nescierunt philosophi, qui defecerunt scrutantes scrutinio: rimantes coelestia, relabentes ad terrena, quia relabentes ea; ponentes in coelum os suum, dum lingua eorum transiret in terra [Ps. 73:9], et ipsi terram lingerent: dum in terris suis nomina sua vocarent, ut ab eis notarentur discipuli Pythagorei, vel Platonici, Epicurei vel Stoici, et caetera hujusmodi."

- 13 Beverly Mayne Kienzle, *Cistercians, Heresy and Crusade in Occitania, 1145–1229: Preaching in the Lord's Vineyard* (Woodbridge 2001), 186–187. On his preaching in Toulouse, see Kienzle, "Deed and Word: Hélinand's Toulouse Sermons, 1," in: *Erudition at God's Service*, ed. John Robert Sommerfeldt (Kalamazoo 1987), 267–276; Kienzle, "Erudition at God's Service: Hélinand's Toulouse Sermons, 11," in: *Erudition at God's Service*, ed. Sommerfeldt, 277–290. See also Hélinand of Froidmont, *De cognitione*, 721, broaching right at the outset the *errores philosophorum*.
- 14 Baldwin's sermon *De sancta cruce* constructs the same causal link: the cross combats *dogmata philosophorum, figmenta hereticorum* (Baldwin of Canterbury, *Sermo* 8, 130; see also *De commendatione*, 433–434).
- 15 Peter of Blois, *Compendium in Iob*, 816. "Et quid profuit Aristoteli et sequacibus ejus mundanae philosophiae ventosa loquacitas? Inflati saeculari scientia Deum Sabaoth ignorabant. Ab ipso erant, sed non cum ipso; per ipsum vivebant, sed non ipsi; ex ipso sapiebant, sed non ipsum [Mazarine 677: + sapientia et phylosophya mansit]. Sapientia

He criticizes those who follow Aristotle, that is, those who study his works—again a clear reference to Parisian scholasticism. Aristotle cannot be the source of wisdom; such derives from Christ alone; Peter also speaks of a “philosophy of Paul.”¹⁶ He makes Scripture into the universal principle for generating knowledge: everything must build on it and on nothing else (*nihil aliud scire*), a quotation of 1 Cor. 2:2.¹⁷ It occupies the prime place in a hierarchy of texts, a fact that implies that other approaches are heretical or blasphemous in nature. Peter thus criticizes scholasticism’s increasingly speculative methods. The *Glossa ordinaria* agrees in denouncing false philosophers, whom one must combat with the help of the Bible.¹⁸ Bernard had already rendered knowledge for knowledge’s sake as the sins *curiositas* (curiosity) and *vanitas* (vanity); the same surfaces in the pertinent corpus, for example, with Ralph Ardens or Prevostin of Cremona.¹⁹ Ralph’s sermon devoted to the seven seals from John’s Revelation argues the following:

Thus speaks Isaiah to the Jews: And the vision of all the prophets will be for you like the words of a book that is sealed. After having handed it over to someone who can read, they will say: Read this! But he will respond: I cannot, for the book has been sealed [Is. 29:11]. This is a compelling argument against these mundane philosophers who believe that Holy Scrip-

ergo mea et philosophia sit philosophia fratris Gerardi, qui nihil habebat aliud in ore et in corde, nisi Jesum Christum. Philosophia mea sit philosophia Pauli, qui constantissime affirmabat se nihil aliud scire, nisi Jesum Christum, et hunc crucifixum [1 Cor. 2:2].”

- 16 The full corpus of Aristotle’s works seems to have circulated from the late 1150s (see Wei, *Paris*, 18). On the rejection of Aristotle among Cistercians and reformers, see Ferruolo, *Origins*, 69, 248, 253. The “philosophy of brother Gerard” designates a Carthusian monk, as Peter explains in the lines before, a monk who strove for death life-long: “[...] per septennium desideraverat mori, cupiens exire de carcere et de vinculis hujus carnis [...]” (*Compendium in Iob*, 815).
- 17 For this reference, see also Peter of Blois, *Sermo 19*, 615–616; Alan of Lille, *Sermo 5*, PL 210:212; Martin of Leon, *Liber sermonum*, *Sermo 23*, 869; *Sermo 32*, 1248; Geoffrey of Auxerre, *Sermo 9*, ed. Gastaldelli, 132; *Sermo 20*, ed. Gastaldelli, 242; Petrus Cantor, *Verbum abbreviatum*, 197; John of Abbeville, *Commentary on Cant.*, 57.
- 18 *Glossa ordinaria* (Deut. 20), ed. Feuarent, 1:1575–1576; discussed by Christian Hofreiter, *Making Sense of Old Testament Genocide: Christian Interpretations of Herem Passages* (Oxford 2018), 101.
- 19 Bernard of Clairvaux, *Sermo in Cant.* 36, 564; *De consideratione* (5.13), 820–822; see Wei, *Paris*, 61–62; Dreyer, “Alain de Lille,” 431–433; Richard Newhauser, “The Sin of Curiosity and the Cistercians,” in *Sin: Essays on the Moral Tradition in the Western Middle Ages* (Aldershot 2007), 71–95. On the pertinent preachers, see Ferruolo, *Origins*, 70–71, 231–235; see also Hélinand of Froidmont, *Sermo 25*, 688. For a rejection of empiricism, see Petrus Cantor, *Verbum abbreviatum*, 27–28.

ture is clear and plain. Therefore, they do not pay attention to this book, which holds outwardly simple and obvious words, whereas profound and useful depth is hidden beneath the words' simplicity. On the other hand, the books of mundane science do not betray any value beneath the variety and obscurity of words. Certainly, the Lord has sealed his mysteries in Holy Scripture for three reasons: the first is that he intended to disguise those matters towards his enemies, only revealing them to his friends and family members.²⁰

The passage emphasizes the Bible's seminal role, including the requisite hermeneutical dimension that presents itself as a divine encryption (i.e., *signatus est enim liber*). Ralph stresses the hierarchical order of texts: lofty formulations are not required, it is the sense behind the words that counts. The visible encloses the invisible, that is, the divine that exegesis must reveal. Scholasticism is once more reproached for studying mundane texts, while not paying sufficient attention to the biblical metatext, a fact that makes their ambitions worthless or even dangerous.²¹ Like Peter, Ralph proposes a textual hierarchy, in which the Bible is encrypted and not accessible to everybody.

Garnerius of Clairvaux is another member of this anti-scholastic movement, as Nikolaus Häring has shown: "In Garnier's world everything is orientated towards God. All learning must help man to discover the manifold manifestations of God on earth. Thus all knowledge and acquisition of learning is subordinate and subservient to theology."²² In Garnerius' own words: the *artes*

20 Ralph Ardens, *Pars (II), De sanctis, Sermo 7*, 1514. "Hinc et Isaias Judaeis dicit: Et erit vobis visio omnium prophetarum sicut verba libri signati, quem cum dederint scienti litteras, dicent: Lege; et respondebit: Non possum, signatus est enim liber [Is. 29:11]. Quod aperte est contra quosdam saeculares philosophos, qui putant sacram Scripturam planam esse et apertam, eo quod exterius simplicia habeat verba et plana, non attendentes quoniam in sacra Scriptura, sub simplicitate verborum, magna utilisque lateat profunditas. Sicut econtrario in scientiae saecularis libris sub multiplicitate et obscuritate verborum, nulla latet utilitas. Sane tribus de causis Dominus in Scripturis sua mysteria sigillavit. Prima est, quoniam ea voluit inimicis suis abscondi, et solis amicis et iis familiarioribus reserari."

21 Similar in another passage: "Quales (unde dolendum est) sunt hodie plerique magistri, qui de scientia sua inflati, legunt et disputant, non ut sibi vel aliis proficiant, sed ut se ostentent, et simplices confundant." (Ralph Ardens, *Pars (I), Section (2), Sermo 29*, 2045; see Ronald James Stansbury, *Preaching before the Friars: The Sermons of Ralph Ardent (c.1130–c.1215)* (PhD thesis, Ohio State University 2001), 174). See also Ralph Ardens, *Pars (II), De tempore, Sermo 30*, 1421: "In omnibus requiem quaesivi, et in haereditate Domini morabor etc. [Sir. 24:11]. Haec verba, fratres charissimi, verba sunt sapientiae, non mundanae quae inimica est Deo, sed sapientiae quae ex ore Altissimi prodiit, scilicet Domini nostri Jesu Christi, in quo et per quem Deus omnia fecit et refecit."

22 Häring, "Liberal Arts," 49.

liberales have been created to serve theological purposes alone (*ad hoc enim liberales artes inventae sunt, ut theologiae deserviant*).²³ The same sermon characterizes philosophy as a *meretrix* (harlot) and *concupina* (concubine), whereas theology represents the only true wife. He degrades philosophy by using pejorative categories and by aligning it with adultery—a motif that will concern us in the chapter on the Cross relic.²⁴ This is not simply an intellectual debate; the reformers formulate serious accusations against the scholastics. The abbot expounds with pleasure in further sermons on how useless he deems philosophy, betraying how polemical the front against scholasticism was.²⁵ Geoffrey of Auxerre's depiction of the Second Crusade's failure in the *Vita* of Bernard of Clairvaux (1160s) is also telling: he starts with a section on the crusade's preaching; then follows the crusade itself and its failure. This is succeeded by a section on Abelard and Gilbert of Poitiers, whom he calls heretics and schismatics, and eventually by a paragraph on Bernard's anti-heretical activities in southern France.²⁶ Geoffrey thus constructs a causal relationship between (1) the crusade's failure, (2) agitating against scholastic heresy, and (3) combatting heretics in southern France—after having formulated the argument of *peccatis nostris exigentibus* for the crusade's failure. This event initiated a new phase in the war on heresy, since these groups embodied the sins responsible for the disastrous expedition, an idea epitomized in the *Vita's* narrative structure. The chapter on the failure of crusades will address these dynamics elaborately.²⁷

As discussed, Alan of Lille was a figure between the fronts: the prologue of his *Contra haereticos* demonstrates that he knows to distinguish between different types of heretics, while he assigns a usefulness to *ratio*—if used properly. This stands in contrast to an entirely hostile attitude that one finds, for example,

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- 23 Garnerius of Clairvaux, *Sermo* 23, 723; discussed by Häring, “Liberal Arts,” 51–55.
- 24 Garnerius of Clairvaux, *Sermo* 23, 726. See also Henry of Albano, *De peregrinante civitate Dei* (v), 293: “Eloquium siquidem philosophorum, eloquium rhetorum, eloquium illorum, qui per sapientiam verbi crucem Christi velle evacuare videntur, minime castum reputans, sed adulteratum, sicut ait Apostolus: Non sumus sicut quidam adulterantes verbum Dei [2 Cor. 2:17] [...]”
- 25 For example: “Prima fuit philosophorum, qui cum Deum cognovissent, non sicut Deum glorificaverunt, aut gratias egerunt, sed evanuerunt in cogitationibus suis; et dicentes se esse sapientes, stulti facti sunt.” (Garnerius of Clairvaux, *Sermo* 12, 654). Or: “[...] verba philosophorum ampullosa, et ineptas eorum, qui magna loquuntur de minimis [...]” (*Sermo* 22, 710).
- 26 Geoffrey of Auxerre, *Vita* (3.3–6), 306–314; discussed by Kienzle, *Cistercians*, 33–34, 78–108. See also Fichtenau, *Ketzer*, 269–278.
- 27 See also Cecilia Gaposchkin, *Invisible Weapons. Liturgy and the Making of Crusade Ideology* (Ithaca, NY 2017), 193–194, 208–219; Elizabeth Siberry, *Criticism of Crusading, 1095–1274* (Oxford 1985), 69–95.

with Bernard.²⁸ On several occasions throughout the treatise, Alan builds on “the (ancient) philosophers” to support his arguments against the heretics.²⁹ However, it is remarkable that he hardly speaks explicitly of the Albigensians, but mostly in generic terms of *heretici*: as he betrays in several passages, he has a broad understanding of this term.³⁰ In an early manuscript (c.1200), he provides a table of contents at the outset, including a definition of the heretic that corroborates such a broad understanding: “A heretic is the one who, while upholding the badge of the Christian religion, creates and follows a false lore of human and terrestrial achievement as well as terrestrial pleasure, being armed with contempt, insult, and jealousy.”³¹ He reproaches people who designate themselves as Christians, but embody the contrary. The emphasis on human achievement may be a conscious hint at scholasticism’s mundane ambitions. Alan’s treatise does not use *heretici* anywhere as confining itself to a particular group; this is a conscious strategy.³² Scholasticism is likewise his target, just as he colors the Muslims as a heretical sect—as others did before him, notably Peter the Venerable (c.1090–1156).³³

2 The Holy Land as a Weapon against Scholasticism

As the subsequent chapters demonstrate, the spaces of the Holy Land loom large in contemporary preaching materials. The relevant corpus also contains

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- 28 Alan of Lille, *Contra haereticos* (prologue), 307; discussed by Häring, “De fide,” 222–223. Alan classifies scholasticism as “the newest heresy” (*novissimae haereses*) characterized by philosophical speculations (*philosophicis speculationibus deditos*). On Bernard, see Wei, *Paris*, 75; Dreyer, “Alain de Lille,” 438.
- 29 See, e.g., Alan of Lille, *Contra haereticos* (1.5), 311; and (1.29), 332.
- 30 The term *albigenses* does not appear even once; the term *cathari* is found three times, all within the same passage (Alan of Lille, *Contra haereticos* (1.63), 366).
- 31 Ms. Bern 335, fol. 65^r. “Hereticus est qui retento Christiane religionis caractere ex contemptu vel contumelia vel intuita favens humani vel terreni emolumenti vel terrene voluptatis falsam opinionem fingit vel sequitur.” The badge of Christian religion indicates the cross or even the specific Cross relic (see, e.g., Peter of Blois, *Sermo* 17, 610; Hélinand of Froidmont, *Sermo* 8, 546–547; Baldwin of Canterbury, *Sermo* 6, 95; Gilbert of Tournai, *Sermo* 1, ed. Maier, 178).
- 32 The same manuscript (perhaps the earliest copy) frequently deems the Muslims *heretici*, whereas other copies (and the PL) speak of *pagani* (Ms. Bern 335, fols. 106^v–109^v). The same is observable in another early copy (Ms. BL Add 19767, fols. 151^v–152^r). When addressing heretics, the latter also has a tendency to use generic terms such as *Christiane fidei inimici*, where the PL and other copies use *heretici* (e.g., fols. 129^r, 132^v).
- 33 See John Victor Tolan, *Saracens: Islam in the Medieval European Imagination* (New York 2002), 50–55, 155–166. See also Gerald of Wales, *De principis instructione*, 68–71.

two sermon texts that use these spaces for formulating an attack on scholasticism. One comes from Prevostin of Cremona's pen, surviving in a Parisian manuscript among other sermons of this master. The verse to which it is devoted, and with which it begins, is Ez. 44:1: "Bring me to the gate or to the way to the gate of the outward sanctuary, which looks towards East."³⁴ It broaches an Eastern gate (into the heavenly Jerusalem) or the way to this gate (*via porte*). As we will see in the chapter on Jerusalem, this motif may blend explicitly with the earthly city, which operates as such a gateway. Its use in Ezekiel is indebted to an eschatological vision: the gate would open in the Last Days. However, the main concern of this sermon is not the crusade, but an attack on scholasticism. Prevostin, himself part of the Parisian milieu, takes a stand in this conflict.³⁵

We devote ourselves to the reading and examination of Holy Scripture, since we have already largely passed over the lies of the poets, who are compared with talkative frogs. We circumnavigate the pale arguments of the scholastics, which God deems odious. We bristled vigorously at the ostentatious ideas of the philosophers, who, while they were still among us, made an effort to raise their eyes above heaven.³⁶

He stresses the orthodox purpose of the Bible and condemns every activity that does not stem from it: poets, scholastics, philosophers. These people even tried in their vanity to elevate themselves above heaven. Consequently, the sermon proceeds by emphasizing that knowledge for knowledge's sake is haughtiness (*velle scire ut sciamus, superbia est*).³⁷ In the same context, it understands the

34 Ms. Paris, Arsenal 543, fol. 243^r. "Converte me ad portam vel ad viam porte sanctuarii exterioris, que respicit ad orientem." The collection's prologue is found a few folios before (fol. 235^r); it reveals already the purpose of crusading; see the chapters on immediate and media context. The sermon at stake is published incompletely in: Petrus Comestor, *Sermo 2*, 1725–1728. See also Ms. BNF lat. 14932, fols. 168^r–169^v, where it appears anonymously. Lacombe attributed it to Prevostin due to its presence in Ms. Arsenal 543 (Georges Lacombe, *La vie et les oeuvres de Prévostin* (Kain 1927), 183–188). Prevostin possibly developed a longer sermon building on Peter's shorter text.

35 See Lacombe, *Prevostin*, 5, who asserted that he was skeptical of the new methods.

36 Ms. Paris, Arsenal 543, fol. 243^v. "[...] lectioni et studio scripture operam damus, nos enim iam ex maxima parte figmenta poetarum que ranis loquacibus comparantur, pretermisimus. Preternavigamus pallida sophistorum argumenta, que deo odibiles dicuntur. Valde fecimus ponposis phylosoforum opinionibus, qui dum adhuc essent inter nos, conati sunt oculos attollere super celum."

37 Ms. Paris, Arsenal 543, fol. 244^r. He continues with: "velle scire ut sciamur, inanis gloria est, velle scire ut lucremus, symonia est." Another of his sermons puts it thus: "Secundus

gate from Ezekiel inter alia as the Bible (*huius porta est sacra scriptura*), the tool for entering heaven. Prevostin intertwines his assault on scholasticism with the motif of the Eastern gate. He could discuss the subject in a number of ways or avoid such imagery altogether, but he decided that the Holy Land's spaces provide the proper language for this debate. The text also evokes the crusade on more than one occasion: it connects the gate with the Church that is looking East (*hec est sancta ecclesia, civitas regis magni, et hec respicit ad orientem*). The Church, that is, all of Christendom, peers at the Holy Land: this likely reflects the mood after 1187.³⁸ He also evokes the “navel of the world,” a motif that usually refers to the earthly Jerusalem: it is a place where they must be vigilant, lest they are scattered in all directions (*in umbilico terre stans, divertere potest ad orientem, ad occidentem, ad austrum, ad aquilonem*). This situation is apparently impending—again a reference to 1187. Thereafter, he discusses four pathways (*viae*): one leads to the North, a region identified as evil, and one leads to the East: “I show you the more eminent path; it leads to the East, since this is the narrow path that leads to life.”³⁹ This passage leads one to life, that is, salvation: it is a narrow path (*arta via*), a burdensome way; once again, Prevostin indicates the crusading enterprise.⁴⁰

At the sermon's conclusion, the master discusses the four senses of Scripture, declaring that the literal sense provides the foundation for the others (*hystoria limen est, quod aliis substernitur*). The anagogical is the “upper path” (*anagoge que superior limes est*) identified as the Eastern gate that leads to God (*porta hec, ad orientem respicit, scilicet ad deum*).⁴¹ The reference to these

oculus est vane sapientie, hoc oculo viderunt philosophi, hoc etiam oculo viderunt dialectici, nubes et inania captant” (Ms. BNF lat. 14859, fol. 287^v).

38 Ms. Paris, Arsenal 543, fol. 243^v.

39 Ms. Paris, Arsenal 543, fol. 244^r. “Excellentiorem viam vobis demonstro, hec vergit ad orientem, quia hec est arta via, que ducit ad vitam.” On the motif of the North, see the chapter on the Holy Land. For sources see, e.g., *Brevis ordinacio*, ed. Maier, 48; Ms. BL Sloane 1580, fol. 106^v.

40 See also Peter of Blois, *Dialogus*, 408, expressing himself almost identically when speaking of 1187 and reproaching the sinfulness responsible: “Sed peccatis nostris exigentibus derelicta est via domini que ducebat ad vitam” (similar in: Peter of Blois, *Conquestio*, 81).

41 Ms. Paris, Arsenal 543, fol. 244^{r-v}. See also Sigbjørn Sønnesyn, “Eternity in Time, Unity in Particularity: The Theological Basis of Typological Interpretations in Twelfth-Century Historiography,” in: *La typologie biblique comme forme de pensée dans l'historiographie médiévale*, ed. Marek Thue Kretschmer (Turnhout 2015), 82; Ineke van't Spijker, “The Literal and the Spiritual. Richard of Saint-Victor and the Multiple Meaning of Scripture,” in: *The Multiple Meaning of Scripture*, ed. Spijker (Leiden 2008), 231–232; Grover A. Zinn, “Hugh of St. Victor's *De scripturis et scriptoribus sacris* as an *accessus* Treatise for the Study of the Bible,” *Traditio* 52 (1997), 126.

two senses makes clear that Ezekiel's gate is not only a metaphor, but it designates an eschatological vision causally related to the way to the East, that is, the crusade—one encounters here a holistic program, one of the parameters for identifying the crusade (see the section on methodology). Prevostin does not only embed his attack on scholasticism into spatial imagery, but frequently includes allusions to the crusade and specifically the situation of 1187. The sermon's last sentence offers a crucial clue about its purpose: Christ appears as *magister noster*—this most likely designates a university audience.⁴² Prevostin brings the (likely still young and moldable) students into position against scholasticism; this happens in the shadow of the events of 1187, with an eye on the Holy Land. In agreement with *peccatis nostris exigentibus*, the common explanation for the events of 1187, he directs attention towards the heresy of scholasticism, in order to prepare an expedition to the East via moral reform and the combatting of internal enemies.⁴³

A similar objective is visible in a sermon from Alan of Lille's pen; it has survived in a manuscript from Toulouse that stems from his anti-heretical activities in the region (1190s).⁴⁴ The title addresses clerics, specifically those who do not devote themselves to theology: *Sermo de clericis ad theologiam non accedentibus*. Right at the outset, he clarifies his argument, formulating an attack on scholasticism: "God speaks to us, he speaks to the miserable clerics; he speaks about our vain and frivolous studies; we who abandon theology, we who defect to vain and transitory sciences, we who hold the heavenly science in contempt and defect to vain philosophy."⁴⁵ Alan criticizes that clerics are increasingly devoted to empty (*inanis*) studies, specifically identifying the discipline of philosophy, which represents an antagonistic pole to the "heavenly science" of theology (*celestis scientia*). In agreement with Prevostin, knowledge for knowledge's sake appears as haughtiness and thus as 'empty,' that is, useless

42 Ms. Paris, Arsenal 543, fol. 244^v; see also Ms. BNF lat. 14932, fol. 169^v. For such an address, see also Ralph Ardens, *Pars (1), Section (2), Sermo 48*, 2112–2113; Garnerius of Clairvaux, *Sermo 26*, 742; Martin of León, *Liber sermonum, Sermo 29*, 1074; Aelred of Rievaulx, *Sermo 175*, 587.

43 On these dynamics, see the chapter on the failure of crusades. Prevostin may have delivered this sermon either on the eve of the Third Crusade or in the 1190s, after one had failed again in the Holy Land.

44 Ms. Toulouse 195, fols. 101^v–103^v; edited in: Alan of Lille, *Sermo de clericis*, ed. d'Alverny, 274–278. This seems to be the only copy (see d'Alverny, *Textes*, 139).

45 Alan of Lille, *Sermo de clericis*, ed. d'Alverny, 274. "Deus loquitur, ad nos, miseros clericos, loquitur, de nostris inanibus et frivolis studiis loquitur, qui theologiam relinquimus, et ad inanes et transitorias scientias currimus, qui contempnimus celestem scientiam et currimus ad inanem philosophiam."

for the pursuit of salvation. Alan speaks constantly in the first person plural: this may be rhetorical, but considering his own past in Paris, it also indicates his personal change of heart. His devotion to the crusade and the war on heresy included combatting scholasticism, possibly an essential reason for why he relinquished his position in Paris. In the course of the text, he identifies grammarians and dialecticians (*grammatici et dialectici*) in particular as groups who pursue vain glory (*consequi vanam gloriam*).⁴⁶ Theology is a tree with numerous fertile branches, while “mundane philosophy” is a forest without branches (*terrestris philosophia est silva sine ramis*) that cannot produce the fruit of eternal beatitude (*fructum eterne beatitudinis non prebet*).⁴⁷

The focus of Alan’s sermon is obvious, yet he interlocks his discussion with a rich salvific topography: for example, he declares that the cleric devoted to empty studies has left the Promised Land (*reliquit terram promissionis*); he relinquished Israel and descended into Egypt (*Israhelem deserit, in Egiptum descendit*). He even relinquished the heavenly inheritance (*celestem reliquit hereditatem*). Egypt is also characterized as darkness, an emblem for the terrestrial world.⁴⁸ Furthermore, the master blames those who left “the heritage of Christ” to the sons of the Antichrist (*immo, quod peius est, patrimonium Christi relinquunt filiis Antichristi*)—a strong indication of the events of 1187. This may allude specifically to the Third Crusade’s failure, in accordance with dating the sermon to the 1190s.⁴⁹ At the text’s conclusion, he sketches three providential rivers: the Nile designates the terrestrial, the Euphrates penitence, and the Jordan justice. The Jordan is crossed with “holy feet” (*pedibus sanctis*); this evokes both Christ’s baptism in the river and the idea that Palestine had been sanctified by his feet (Ps. 131:7). He calls his audience to travel to the Jordan, in order to cross it into the Promised Land (*ad flumen Iordanis, et sic ad terram promissionis*).⁵⁰ We thus see that the sermon uses elements of sacred geography to attack scholasticism. In contrast to Prevostin, this remains in a predominantly metaphorical register. Yet, one may conclude that Alan consciously chose such language when he penned this piece in the 1190s: his language is informed by the events of 1187 and directs attention towards the Holy Land. It is his desire

46 Alan of Lille, *Sermo de clericis*, ed. d’Alverny, 274.

47 Alan of Lille, *Sermo de clericis*, ed. d’Alverny, 277. He expounds on theology: “Eleganter theologia arbori comparatur, quia sicut arbor frondet, floret, et fructum facit [...]”

48 Alan of Lille, *Sermo de clericis*, ed. d’Alverny, 274.

49 Alan of Lille, *Sermo de clericis*, ed. d’Alverny, 276; see also *De cruce domini*, ed. d’Alverny, 279, where he reproaches philosophy and mundane wisdom (*sapientia terrena*) in a sermon concerned with the events of 1187; see the chapter on the Cross relic.

50 Alan of Lille, *Sermo de clericis*, ed. d’Alverny, 278. On Ps. 131:7, see the chapter on the Holy Land.

to combat internal enemies—but probably always keeping the ultimate goal in mind, that is, retaking the Cross and Jerusalem.

3 Forbidden Knowledge and the Early University of Paris

The reform circle maintained a skeptical, often even hostile, attitude towards scholastic methods, even associating its leading lights with popular heresy. The *Feindbild* of philosophy played a seminal role in this. What relevance does this have for the preaching of crusades? After the disastrous Second Crusade, a growing interest in internal enemies can be observed, as a result of Bernard of Clairvaux's *peccatis nostris exigentibus*: moral reform of Christendom was requisite for preparing a new expedition.⁵¹ This included Parisian scholasticism with its divergent opinions and speculative methods. Following suit, the Third Lateran (1179) issued the condemnation of logic and dialectics, thus defining binding principles for church policies. Walter of Saint-Victor's *Contra quatuor labyrinthos Franciae*, composed around the time, was a significant expression of these developments; it agitated against four major scholastics (i.e., the four labyrinths).⁵² *Feindbilder* became diffuse; distinct groups were increasingly conflated. This sometimes included the Muslims, a strategy that created causalities beyond the European context. By rejecting scholasticism's innovative methods, the reformers engendered an intellectual regression. Richard Southern declared tellingly, "they wished to know nothing [about Islam]," emphasizing that the First Crusade did not bring an increase in knowledge: he speaks of an "age of ignorance."⁵³ The reformers discarded intellectual developments, since these did not do justice to their understanding of an orthodox religion of the book. These observations thwart notions of continuity, and one may date the activities of this movement between c.1130 and c.1230: it consisted of three generations dominated by Bernard of Clairvaux and the Cistercians as well as the reform circle with figures such as Peter the Chanter and Stephen

51 Bernard of Clairvaux, *De consideratione* (2.1), 660–666; see Siberry, *Criticism*, 77–78; Penny J. Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades to the Holy Land, 1095–1270* (Cambridge, Mass. 1991), 57–61. On the growing interest, see Kienzle, *Cistercians*, 109–134, esp. 110–111; Yves Congar, "Henri de Marcy, abbé de Clairvaux, cardinal, évêque d'Albano et légat pontifical," *Analecta monastica* 5 (1958), 6.

52 See Ferruolo, *Origins*, 43; Fichtenau, *Ketzer*, 121, 224, 261–262.

53 Richard W. Southern, *Western Views of Islam in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, Mass. 1962), 25–28, cited 25; see also Tolan, *Saracens*, 125, 167; Norman Daniel, *Islam and the West: The Making of an Image* (Oxford 1993), 255–276; Nicholas Morton, *Encountering Islam on the First Crusade* (Cambridge, UK 2016), 273–275.

Langton.⁵⁴ Significantly, this included eminent masters from the heart of Paris such as Alan of Lille and Prevostin of Cremona. This thus sheds new light on the nature of the early university, the institutional context of the texts under investigation here. Only the friars changed the rules again in a slightly different direction.⁵⁵ This 12th-century movement seems to have harmonized with a lay or crusade spirituality, finding support throughout society, considering, for example, the concurrence of written polemic and the growing lay interest in waging militant action against heretics (in other words, preachers successfully shaped such a mentality).

This intellectual regression was characterized by an unnegotiable emphasis on the holy text—as visible in the oeuvre of the pertinent figures (biblical commentaries, sermon collections, preaching aids). Arguments and ideas must build on it: it represented the top of a hierarchy of texts, determining or even devaluing other texts. The Bible, especially when put to use in sermons, was the preeminent tool for interpreting events, places, and groups. This generated a growing emphasis on the literal, anagogical, and typological senses of Scripture, rather than being limited to mere allegorical or spiritual readings (which had prevailed in earlier centuries). These developments strengthened the intertwinement of the different senses and, consequently, the role of the Holy Land and the crusade, in agreement with literal and anagogical exegesis. This favored typological readings, that is, multidimensional causalities, in contrast with a unidimensional allegorical exegesis; and typology adhered very much to (salvation) history by connecting events throughout the centuries.⁵⁶

54 The period concurred with the political and ecclesiastical heyday of the Cistercians, as visible in their activities as legates, bishops, and crusade preachers (see Christian Krötzel, “Die Cistercienser und die Mission ‘ad paganos’, ca. 1150–1250,” *Analecta Cisterciensia* 61 (2011), 278–298; Ludwig Schmugge, “Zisterzienser, Kreuzzug und Heidenkrieg,” in: *Die Zisterzienser*, ed. Kaspar Elm (Bonn 1980), 57–68).

55 See Wei, *Paris*, 3–4; Congar, “Eglise,” 202; Riccardo Quinto, “Peter the Chanter and the ‘Miscellanea del Codice del Tesoro’ (Etymology as a Way for Constructing a Sermon),” in: *Constructing the Medieval Sermon*, ed. Roger Andersson (Turnhout 2007), 68–69; Robin J. Vose, *Dominicans, Muslims, and Jews in the Medieval Crown of Aragon* (New York 2009), 99–100. Congar even explains the rise of the friars with the Cistercian rejection of scholasticism and dialectics. Quinto suggests a periodization of c.1160–c.1230, including also Saint-Victor.

56 See Sønnesyn, “Eternity,” 81–82; Marie-Dominique Chenu, “La décadence de l’allégorisation. Un témoin, Garnier de Rochefort,” in: *L’homme devant Dieu* (Paris 1964), 131–134. See in general Zinn, “De scripturis,” 133–134; Friedrich Ohly, “Typology as a Form of Historical Thought,” in: *Sensus spiritualis* (Chicago 2005), 31–67. Joachim of Fiore brought this concept to meticulous perfection (see Jay Rubenstein, *Nebuchadnezzar’s Dream: The Crusades, Apocalyptic Prophecy, and the End of History* (Oxford 2019), 183–193).

The new emphasis on these senses shaped the idea that the actual struggle in the Holy Land, embedded in an eschatological scenario, was the world's destiny, in which the Christians must participate if they wished for a favorable verdict at the Last Judgment.⁵⁷ Put in terms of a discourse analysis, the Bible represented the preeminent source via which texts constructed a historical reality: crusades were preached on its basis, ideas and calls for action derived from it (being filled with stories about the Holy Land), while actual information from the East was of minor interest or even consciously rejected.⁵⁸ As a consequence, texts that may seem reliable sources today (such as pilgrim reports) occupied an insignificant place in this hierarchy; they were not sources for preachers, since they could not compare to the holy text's authority.⁵⁹ Following Edward Said's theory of Orientalism, the Holy Land represented a 'textual universe' for the Latin West. The preachers' relationship with their subject was textual in nature. None of the nine figures had been in the Holy Land before the Third Crusade, and they imagined it with the help of texts, creating an 'imaginative geography.'⁶⁰

Finally, these results shed light on the nature of the early university. A scholastic group devoted to philosophical and theological problems was met by a movement that was also part of this institution. Whereas scholasticism consisted of outstanding individuals, the reform movement represented a geographically and socially well-connected network, from which it gained major impulses concerning preaching, crusading, and anti-heretical action.⁶¹ Considering their intense relations with popes and princes, one may deem the

57 See, e.g., Flori, *L'islam*, 231–237; Jay Rubenstein, "Crusade and Apocalypse: History and the Last Days," *Quaestiones mediæ aevi novae* 21 (2016), 175. On the blending of Holy Land and anagogical sense, see the chapters on Jerusalem and on the Apocalypse.

58 See Philippe Buc, *Holy War, Martyrdom, and Terror: Christianity, Violence, and the West, ca. 70 C.E. to the Iraq War* (Philadelphia 2015), 67–111; Matthieu Rajohnson, *L'Occident au regret de Jérusalem (1187–fin du XIV^e siècle)* (Paris 2021); Jessalynn L. Bird, "Preaching and Narrating the Fifth Crusade: Bible, Sermons and the History of a Campaign," in: *The Uses of the Bible in Crusader Sources*, ed. Elizabeth Lapina and Nicholas Morton (Leiden 2017), 340; Penny J. Cole, David d'Avray, and Jonathan Riley-Smith, "Application of Theology to Current Affairs: Memorial Sermons on the Dead of Mansurah and on Innocent IV," in: *Modern Questions about Medieval Sermons* (Spoleto 1994), 234–235, 244.

59 See also the chapter on media context. The same hierarchization was pertinent to the Christian approach to the Koran (see Tolan, *Saracens*, 165–166). As Tolan asserts, Alan of Lille does not seem to have read any of the authors who studied Islam in the course of the 12th century; instead, he ascribed passages from the Old Testament to the Muslims, as if they had spoken them. In agreement, Peter the Venerable's works were hardly received beyond Cluny (see Vose, *Dominicans*, 27).

60 See Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (London 2003), 52–54.

61 See Bird, *Heresy*, 1–30; Bird, "Paris Masters," 117–155.

reformers the much more important group for the fabric of society. Nowadays, one sees much continuity from the medieval universities up to their modern counterparts, understanding these medieval institutions as the root of many positive achievements of European culture.⁶² This tale is thwarted by the fact that a significant portion of Paris masters were involved in matters that do not fit with this positive image. These masters preached the crusade and against heretics; they supported violence and radical transformations of society; and they were radically misogynous and anti-Semitic.⁶³ This study illuminates this dark chapter of European history: the engagement of the contemporary intellectual elite in the preaching of the crusades.

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- 62 See, e.g., the contributions in: *Alanus ab Insulis und das europäische Mittelalter*, ed. Frank Bezner and Beate Kellner (Paderborn 2022), where dimensions of crusade, anti-Judaism, and preaching in Alan's work remain entirely unconsidered.
- 63 On their anti-Judaism, see, e.g., Peter of Blois, *Conquestio*, 85–86; Ms. BNF lat. 14859, fol. 215^v; Henry of Albano, *De peregrinante civitate Dei* (XIII), 354, 361; Ralph Ardens, *Pars (I), Section (2), Sermo 48*, 2112; Garnerius of Clairvaux, *Sermo 4*, 592. This is complemented by numerous treatises *Contra Iudaeos* (e.g., Peter of Blois, *Contra Iudaeos*; Alan of Lille, *Contra haereticos* (3), 399–421).

PART 2

Texts: Sermon Texts, Exegesis, and Crusading



Exemplary Descriptions of Sermon Texts

This chapter provides descriptions of four entire sermon texts, in order to illuminate such a sermon's structure as well as how crusade elements interact therein with less crusade-related elements. The first column cites the text: two come from the *Patrologia latina*; the other two are unpublished and supplied here via my own transcriptions. The second column describes the text's contents as to argument, biblical references, and the surfacing of the crusade. The third column notes crusade elements appearing therein. The two sermons quoted from the *Patrologia latina* are complemented by noting variants from their manuscript copies according to the principles outlined below. The two sermons published here as transcriptions do not represent scholarly editions, but follow the guidelines that David d'Avray has drafted for a so-called 'critical transcription' of sermon texts.¹ Thus, these may not be perfect, yet I tried to render them as accurate as possible.

[Gloss: ...]	A gloss appears here; its text is provided within the brackets; the brackets are placed in the main text's passage for which the gloss was apparently meant
//	Next page
/	Next column
(?)	Uncertain reading

Noting variants within passages:

[Ms. X: >< ...]	Variant—the word before the brackets deviates in this manuscript
[missing Ms. X]	Absence—the word before the brackets is missing in this manuscript
[Ms. X: + ...]	Addition—the manuscript holds here the following additional text

1 David d'Avray, *Death and the Prince: Memorial Preaching before 1350* (Oxford 1994), 7–11; d'Avray, *Medieval Marriage Sermons: Mass Communication in a Culture without Print* (Oxford 2001), 38–47. See also Christoph T. Maier, *Crusade Propaganda and Ideology: Model Sermons for the Preaching of the Cross* (Cambridge, UK 2000), 71–73.

In case a deviation spans more than one word, all relevant words are enclosed in quotations marks ('...'), and the brackets are placed after the last word.

Unpublished passages cited in the course of this book have been transcribed according to the guidelines presented here, including keeping the original orthography (save for obvious mistakes). Punctuation is kept simple in the transcription of the two unpublished texts below (mainly using commas). When citing unpublished passages in the chapters, elaborate punctuation has been applied in the service of making sense of the text; this means that it follows a modern logic.

The texts note biblical references in brackets. However, especially when it comes to the two unpublished pieces, I do not claim to have identified references exhaustively. Biblical elements are thus constitutive for such texts, and more often than not intrinsically interwoven with an author's own words, making it hardly possible to identify all of them.

1 Peter of Blois, *Sermo 39, In festo sancti Michaelis*

Peter of Blois, <i>Sermo 39, In festo sancti Michaelis</i> (PL 207, cols. 677–681)	Description of contents	Crusade-related elements
Benigne fac, Domine, in bona voluntate tua Sion, ut aedificetur muri Jerusalem [Ps. 51:20].	Quotation of Ps. 51:20 on the requisite rebuilding of Jerusalem	Zion Jerusalem
Si referamus [BL Arundel 322; BL Royal 8 F XVII: >> recolumus] tempora Nabuchodonosor, tempora Sennacherib, Titi quoque et Vespasiani, non dubitamus quia terrena Sion multoties capta et destructa et reaedificata est. Et ne ad veteres historias nos ire oporteat, in promptu est destructio illius civitatis facta tempore papae Urbani secundi, regnante rege Francorum Philippo. Sed nunc, culpīs nostris exigentibus, haec novissima captio et destructio facta est sub Urbano papa tertio, et sub alio Philippo rege Francorum. Sed est alia Jerusalem superna, et coelestis illa, quae est mater nostra [Gal. 4:26], cuius muri in ruina, et lapsu Luciferi atque complicum [Col. 0677D] ejus, ex parte non modica corruerunt. Erat consilium Altissimi, ut haec civitas reaedificaretur [BL Arundel 322; St. Geneviève 2787: >> restitueretur] ex hominibus tanquam ex rationabilibus et vivis lapidibus; et licet consilium illud absconditum fuisset a saeculis [cf. Col. 1:26], erat tamen prophetis in spiritu revelatum. Unde	On the several conquests of Jerusalem in the past (such as that by Titus and Vespasian); Jerusalem has often been destroyed but always been rebuilt; Peter contrasts the First Crusade and 1187's conquest: in both cases an Urban was pope and a Philip king of France—this suggests eschatological fulfillment; 1187's conquest was caused by sin (<i>culpīs nostris exigentibus</i>) Yet, there is another Jerusalem, the heavenly, which lies likewise in ruins and must be rebuilt out of living stones—	Jerusalem's conquest A.D. 70 First Crusade Jerusalem's conquest 1187 <i>peccatis nostris exigentibus</i> Heavenly Jerusalem Zion Fulfillment of prophecies Zion

(cont.)

Peter of Blois, <i>Sermo 39, In festo sancti Michaelis</i> (PL 207, cols. 677–681)	Description of contents	Crusade-related elements
<p>Daniel [missing BL Arundel 322; St.Geneviève 2787] et Amos dicebant: Non faciet Dominus quidquam, nisi prius revelaverit illud servis suis prophetis [Amos 3:7]. David ergo propheta secreti hujus conscius et intelligens, quod de viris contemplativis qui significatur per Sion reaedificanda esset [Col.0678A] Jerusalem, supplicii et devota oratione benignitatem summi iudicis interpellat. Tu, inquit, Domine, qui bene facere decrevisti, his quorum oculi interiores ad te sunt: sicut oculi servorum in manibus domini sui [Ps. 123:2]: tu benefac, Domine, in bona voluntate tua Sion [Ps. 51:20], his qui contemplationis et desiderii oculos ad te habent. Et exprimens beneficii modum, subjungit, ut aedificentur muri Jerusalem. Referamus, fratres, gratias Altissimo, quia beneplacitum est Domino super timentes eum, et in eis, etc [Ps. 147:11]. Placet ei quod de nobis qui inimiculi sumus reparatur ruina angelorum, ut in locum unde superbus cecidit humilis eleveatur, quia de angelis qui praevaricati sunt non possunt restaurari ruinae Jerusalem. Nam et ipsi restaurari non possunt, quoniam iniquitas [Col.0678B] eorum inventa est ad odium. Ibi enim ceciderunt qui operantur iniquitatem, expulsi sunt, nec potuerunt stare [Ps. 36:13]. Suscitet, quaeso, Dominus de inimiculis angelos, suscitet de terra inopem, de pulvere erigens pauperem, ut collocet eum cum principibus [Ps. 113:7–8], et solium gloriae teneat. Adveniat, Domine, regnum tuum [Mt. 6:10], impleantur nuptiae discumbentium, impleatur numerus fratrum nostrorum, fratres angelos voco, domesticos scilicet et concives nostros. Eleva, Domine, solium tuum in gloria, et de his qui sub te sunt templi tui ruinas implere digneris. Sic enim, Domine, locutus es per os sanctorum qui a saeculo sunt prophetarum [Lk. 1:70]: inter quos Isaias non solum dixit aut scripsit, sed vidit solium excelsum et elevatum [Is. 6:1]; excelsum in angelis qui steterunt; [Col.0678C] elevatum in hominibus [St.Geneviève 2787: >< omnibus], qui per scalam divinae miseracionis ascendunt. Cumque idem propheta de majestate Domini, quae totam terram impleverat loqueretur, adjunxit: Et ea quae sub ipso erant, replebant templum [Is. 6:1]. Terra siquidem corporis nostri [John 2:21] quae modo [St.Geneviève 2787: >< quomodo] data est in manus impii [Job 9:24], quandoque liberabitur a servitute peccati, et a debito mortis: cum Dominus</p>	<p>earthly Jerusalem's conquest signifies the heavenly city's conquest (cf. Prevostin of Cremona, <i>In adventu domini</i> (11); Martin of León, <i>Liber sermonum, Sermo</i> 22); Peter stresses that God lets nothing happen without revealing it first to prophets (Amos 3:7)—an exhortation to identify historical events in prophecies</p> <p>Repetition of Ps. 51:20; thereafter once more emphasis that heavenly Jerusalem lies in ruins; but there are some who are unfit to rebuild it (allusion to sinfulness)</p> <p>Invocation that the heavenly kingdom shall come; here is also imagery of the Song of Songs (<i>impleantur nuptiae discumbentium</i>); thereafter eschatological blending of angels and crusaders, referring to the number of martyrs that completes the Passion, a bold eschatological motif</p> <p>Quotation Is. 6:1 (the Temple is filled); then allusion to Job 9:24 and John 2:21: “the land of their body” has been given into the hands of the impious” (<i>terra siquidem corporis nostri quae modo data est in manus impii</i>)—a reference to the Corpus Christi, to which the Holy Land belongs; aligned with the</p>	<p>(Heavenly) Jerusalem lies in ruins</p> <p>Temple</p> <p>Martyrs Completion Passion</p> <p>Temple (Is. 6:1) <i>terra</i> in hands of impious (Job 9:24)</p>

(cont.)

Peter of Blois, <i>Sermo 39, In festo sancti Michaelis</i> (PL 207, cols. 677–681)	Description of contents	Crusade-related elements
<p>populum humilem salvum faciet, et oculos superborum humiliabit [Ps. 18:28]: cum excusserit jugum oneris, et virgam exactoris illius, quem interficiet Dominus virga [St.Geneviève 2787; Arundel 322: >< spiritu] oris sui [Rev. 19:15]: cum ille delebitur, et exsufflatur sicut pulvis quem projicit ventus a facie terrae [Soph. 1:3], tunc renovabit Dominus faciem terrae nostrae, quia mortale hoc induet immortalitatem [1 Cor. 15:54], et reformabit Dominus corpus humilitatis nostrae configuratum [Col.0678D] corpori claritatis suae [Phil. 3:21], et sic terra nostra divina replebitur majestate [Ps. 72:19], et tunc, sicut scriptum est, ea quae sub ipso erant, replebunt templum [Is. 6:1]. Nam illi qui Deo in humilitate subjecti sunt, assumentur in locum angelorum, atque ruinam templi coelestis implebunt. Noluit ille perditissimus sub Deo esse, sed volens divinae potentiae similitudinem usurpare, sibi cathedram pestilentiae in lateribus aquilonis erexit et cecidit; nec adjiciet ut resurgat. Coangustatum enim est stratum, ita ut alter decidat. Casus autem [Col.0679A] unius, factus est ruina multorum, nam et multos in eadem malitia secum traxit. Viderunt alii furem et currerunt cum eo, et portionem suam cum adultero posuerunt.</p>	<p>eschatological vision of the judging Christ from Rev. 19; he will destroy the Antichrist with the <i>virga</i> from his mouth and renew <i>terra nostra</i></p>	<p>Corpus Christi Rev. 19 Combatting Antichrist</p>
<p>Nonne fur erat qui dolose quod non suum erat, sed alterius, rapiebat? Ubi autem in superbiam se erexit, oblitus legem vitae et disciplinae adulteratus est. Sicut Apostolus dicit: Si sine disciplina estis, ergo adulteri estis [Hebr. 12:8]. Infelix si Domino subjectus fuisset, nunc esset inter domesticos Dei, inter potestates et thronos, inter principes paradisi. Nondum laboraverat, utquid ergo sedere parabat? Procul dubio illi sedebunt, qui pro Christo laboraverunt. Sedebitis, inquit, super sedes duodecim, etc [Mt. 19:28]. Et tunc miser judicandus astabit. Deditignabatur infelix [Col.0679B] ei ministrare, cui servire regnare est. Sane illi qui in veritate steterunt, gloriantur in ejus ministerio; cujus faciem semper vident, nam et teste Apostolo, qui tanquam supernorum spirituum familiaris illi supercoelesti curiae meruit interesse: omnes sunt administratorii spiritus missi, in ministerium propter eos, qui haereditatem capiunt salutis [Hebr. 1:14]. Millia millium assistebant ei, et decies centena millia ministrabant ei [Dan. 7:10]. Illi qui creavit angelos, et qui tanto</p>	<p>Is. 6:1 repeated; then North identified as evil: the <i>perditissimus</i> would rise there and drag many with him</p>	<p>Ruins of the heavenly Temple</p>
	<p>Some would see the ‘thief’ and join him; this is connected with adultery—the theft likely alludes to the loss of the Cross relic; thereafter once more the motif of adultery, together with Hebr. 12:8 (cf. Alan of Lille, <i>Contra haereticos</i>; Ralph Ardens, <i>Pars (11), De tempore, Sermo 18</i>)</p>	<p>Adultery on God Loss of elect status</p>
	<p>Quotation of Hebr. 1:14, but Peter deviates from the Vulgate: the future tense is turned into</p>	<p><i>haereditas</i> Hebr. 1:14 Fulfillment of prophecies</p>

(cont.)

Peter of Blois, <i>Sermo 39, In festo sancti Michaelis</i> (PL 207, cols. 677–681)	Description of contents	Crusade-related elements
<p>differentius nomen prae illis haereditavit [Hebr. 1:4], quanto major est angelo Dei creatura; creator non solum dignatus est minorari paulo minus ab angelis [Hebr. 2:9], sed etiam inter homines peccatores et pauperes sponte assumpsit officium ministrantis. Ille autem filius [Col.0679C] superbiae, qui cathedram pestilentiae in superbia et abusione appetiit, degradatus est [St.Geneviève 2787: >< degrassatus est], ut episcopatum ejus accipiat alter; et ad divitias gloriae, quas per divinam sententiam perdidit, assumatur mendicus et pauper. Nonne Deo subjecta erit anima mea, si forte humilitatem ancillae suae respiciat Deus; humiliabo oculos meos in oculis Domini, ponam in pulvere os meum, si forte sit spes [Lam. 3:29]. Scio quia novit Deus figmentum nostrum [Ps. 103:14], non possumus iniquitates nostras ab eo abscondere, qui explorat Jerusalem in lucernis [Soph. 1:12], qui scrutatur corda et renes, qui in ipsis angelis suis reperit pravitatem [Job 4:18]. O quam beati quorum remissae sunt iniquitates, et quorum tecta sunt peccata [Ps. 32:1]! Isti sunt, Domine, quos elegisti et assumpsisti, isti habitabunt in atriis tuis [Ps. 65:5]. [Col.0679D] Auferetur peccator ne videat gloriam Dei; isti autem habitabunt in multitudine pacis. O infelicissime lucifer, jam non lucifer sed noctifer; vide quomodo in tuam ignominiam creat Dominus, hodie de his qui sunt terra, cinis et vermium cibus, non solum angelos, sed seraphim; ut honoris incrementum in humili, tibi superbo cedat in cumulum confusionis et doloris augmentum. Nonne sunt seraphim qui, cum sint in terra, et cinis terrenae conversationis obliti divini amoris ardore medullitus [Col.0680A] incenduntur? Ignem, inquit Dominus, veni mittere in terram, et quid volo nisi ut ardeat [Lk. 12:49]? Vult Dominus ut ardeamus igne charitatis, et simus ardendo seraphim. Seraphim enim interpretatur ardentia; ille lucifer lucere tantum voluit, non ardere. Si lucendo arsisset, non fuisset frigidus; nec in regione frigida sibi cathedram erexisset. Adhuc plerique sunt, qui aliquid de malitia angeli depositi contraxerunt, appetentes lucere potius quam ardere. Lucet siquidem et non ardet, qui obtentu simulatae religionis aura famae popularis attollitur. Iste in modum lunae, cum fervorem non habeat, lumen suum aliunde mendicat. Ideoque testimonio Sapientis: Stultus ut luna</p>	<p>the present tense, a fact that drags the eschatology into the present, related to retaking the Holy Land (cf. Peter of Blois, <i>Ep.98</i>)</p> <p>Peter stresses that they cannot hide their sins from God (cf. Peter of Blois, <i>Conquestio</i>); argument of <i>peccatis nostris exigentibus</i> repeated</p> <p>Using fire imagery, he stresses zest for action as a virtue; several wordplays with Lucifer then follow</p>	<p>Searching sins in Jerusalem <i>peccatis nostris exigentibus</i></p>

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Peter of Blois, <i>Sermo 39, In festo sancti Michaelis</i> (PL 207, cols. 677–681)	Description of contents	Crusade-related elements
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mutatur, sapiens autem permanet ut sol [Sir. 27:12]. Vita siquidem praesens ardoris est, non fulgoris; hinc accendi [Col.0680B] et foveri debet ignis, sicut in Levitico legitur, in altario cordis. Ibi vero fulgebunt justii sicut sol in conspectu Patris sui [Mt. 13:43]. Melius est hic ardere quam lucere; lucebat Lucifer et cecidit, ardebat seraphim et stetit, quia charitas nunquam excidit [1 Cor. 13:8].

Scitis, fratres, quod angeli multa familiaritate Deo conjuncti sunt, et tamen per gratiam illius, qui nos et illos fecit, facti sunt consortes et concives nostri. Verumtamen, cum sint de schola illius, qui pacem et veritatem diligit; cum sint angeli pacis, cum sint filii pacis, cum sint cives et principes illius Jerusalem, cujus participatio ejus in id ipsum [Ps. 122:3], pacem et concordiam in nobis exigunt super omnia [Col.0680C] et mutuam charitatem. Pacem angelicae societatis sibi Petrus apostolus desiderans, et in nobis suadens: Ante omnia, inquit, mutuam charitatem continuam habentes, etc [1 Pet. 4:8]. Et item: Diligite invicem non verbo, nec lingua; sed opere et veritate [1 John 3:18]. Expediit nobis, fratres, ut sicut inter angelos est mutuus amor et prompta ad Deum reverentia, sic erga nos sit mutuo cor unum et anima una, et erga pastorem devota obedientia, et humilis obsequela. Tunica Domini inconsutilis [John 19:23], et indivisa est. Ea induti sunt angeli, et induendi sunt angelici viri. Noveritis autem quod tunicam Domini scindit quisque se signo, aut verbo, aut opere a fraternae charitatis unione disjungit. Id ipsum, Apostolus dicit, sentiatis, et non sint in vobis schismata [1 Cor. 1:10]. Cum in sacrificio [Col.0680D] Abrahae per aves designati sunt spirituales viri, et per animalia saeculares, Abraham, praecipiente Domino, vaccam et arietem divisit, et partes divisas altrinsecus ponens, columbam et turturem non divisit.

Different imagery with regard to *civitas Dei* (Christians as *consortes et concives*); the Christians shall be citizens of Jerusalem just like the angels, related to Ps. 122 (*cives et principes illius Jerusalem, cujus participatio ejus in id ipsum*) (cf. Henry of Albano, *De peregrinante civitate Dei*)

Jerusalem
Ps. 122

Once more blending of angels and crusaders; Peter speaks of *angelici viri* and *spirituales viri*²

2 This possibly draws on Joachim of Fiore who envisioned a millenaristic age when such spiritual men reign; he identified these with the Cistercians for some time (see Jay Rubenstein, *Nebuchadnezzar's Dream: The Crusades, Apocalyptic Prophecy, and the End of History* (Oxford 2019), 184).

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Peter of Blois, <i>Sermo 39, In festo sancti Michaelis</i> (PL 207, cols. 677–681)	Description of contents	Crusade-related elements
<p>De superbia non loquor. Rogo autem, imo quantum mihi licet excommunico et detestor ne superbia vel etiam nominetur in vobis. Superbiae malitia inventa est ad odium sempiternum. Civitas illa coelestis semel turbata est hac peste, et ex parte [Col.0681A] destructa est. Cives illius abominabiliter abhorrent superbiam; nec societatem sortitur angelicam, qui non humiliaverit se sicut parvulus. Sed nec Dominus requiescit nisi super humilem et mansuetum, et trementem ad verba sua. Sane Angelus nihil operatus est; sed tantum cogitavit superbiam, et in momento, in ictu oculi dejectus est [1 Cor. 15:52]. Superbia Angelum in diabolium commutavit, principem lucis in principem tenebrarum. Noli ergo superbire, homo, cum sis terra, et cinis, et pulvis vilissimus, flatu modico in nihilum disperendus. Si volumus fieri socii angelorum, humiliemur sub potenti Dei manu: quanto erimus humiliores, tanto erimus angelis gratiores; humilitas eis cognata est; nam aliis in superbia sua cadentibus, isti in humilitate [Col.0681B] sua steterunt. Angeli quidem sicut de reaedificatione civitatis suae sunt solliciti, ita circa nostrae salutis studium sunt attenti; nam reaedificatio illa salus nostra. Placent ergo his lacrymae nostrae, compunctiones ignitae, anxii gemitus, arcanae jubilationes, orationes devotae, custodia castitatis, observantia obedientiae, contemptus temporalium, et perseverantia voluntariae paupertatis, haec sunt sacrificia, haec sunt incensa quae pro nobis Domino offerunt. Quia enim ad eminentiam divinae majestatis sicut angeli familiarem non habemus accessum, ipsi fideliter orationes nostras Domino repraesentant. Unde cum Scriptura dixisset: Data sunt ei incensa multa, subjunxit: Et ascendit fumus aromatum de [Col.0681C] manu Angeli in conspectu Domini [Rev. 8:3–4].</p>	<p>Discussion of <i>superbia</i>: it once destroyed half of Jerusalem, the reference is to the story of Lucifer</p> <p>Exhortation to subordinate oneself to God's hand—this indicates God as their warlord; the rebuilding of Jerusalem is formulated as a goal (<i>nam reaedificatio illa salus nostra</i>)</p> <p>Entangling of different Jerusalems, especially heavenly Jerusalem and Corpus Christi</p>	<p>Temple Heavenly Jerusalem Corpus Christi</p>
<p>Angelos Domini, fratres charissimi, tanquam amicos et domesticos Dei modis omnibus honoremus; ut et ipsi nos honorent et nos recipiant in aeterna tabernacula, in restaurationem supernae Jerusalem, in repletionem templi coelestis, in aedificationem corporis Christi. Quod nobis per merita angelorum praestare dignetur Dominus angelorum; cui est honor et gloria in saecula saeculorum. Amen.</p>		

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Peter of Blois, <i>Sermo 39, In festo sancti Michaelis</i> (PL 207, cols. 677–681)	Description of contents	Crusade-related elements
Conclusion	<p data-bbox="618 345 812 370">Essential arguments</p> <p data-bbox="618 375 1039 513">Explicit broaching of 1187's events, related to bold eschatological dimensions (fulfilment of prophecies, heavenly Jerusalem has fallen); the Holy Land is intertwined with the Corpus Christi.</p> <p data-bbox="618 548 785 573">Essential themes:</p> <ul data-bbox="618 578 1027 749" style="list-style-type: none"> <li data-bbox="618 578 800 603">– Jerusalem / Zion <li data-bbox="618 608 718 633">– Temple <li data-bbox="618 638 842 663">– Eschatological battle <li data-bbox="618 668 753 693">– Prophecies <li data-bbox="618 698 894 723">– <i>peccatis nostris exigentibus</i> <li data-bbox="618 728 1027 753">– Loss of the status as God's chosen people 	

2 Garnerius of Clairvaux, *Sermo 4, In adventu domini*

Garnerius of Clairvaux, <i>Sermo 4, In adventu domini</i> (PL 205, cols. 591–599)	Description of contents	Crusade-related elements
<p data-bbox="65 1079 612 1555">Elevare, consurge. sede, Jerusalem; solve vincula colli tui, captiva filia Sion [Is. 52:2]. Hora enim est jam nos de somno surgere [Rom. 13:11]. De illo inquam somno, in quo qui dormit, nec aliquid videt, nec sentit; vel si videt, quod videt non intelligit; [Col.0591D] vel certe si intelligit, obliviscitur et negligit. Cum enim diceret Dominus: Lazarus amicus noster dormit [John 11:11], de dormitione illa dictum est, in qua nihil videtur aut sentitur. De hoc somno surgere nos hortatur Apostolus, cum ait: Exsurge, qui dormis, et exsurge a mortuis, et illuminabit te Christus [Eph. 5:14]. Secundum vero somni genus in somno Nabuchodonosor figuratur; qui cum statuum viderit, nec recordatus est, nec intellexit [Dan. 2]. Tertium autem figuratur in somno, quo aggravati erant discipuli, cum Dominus appropinquans passioni diceret eis: Non potuistis una hora vigilare mecum [Mt. 26:40]? Videbant quod praedixerat eis Jesus</p>	<p data-bbox="627 1079 883 1148">Quotation Is. 52:2 and Rom. 13:11</p> <p data-bbox="627 1166 910 1324">Garnerius distinguishes three types of sleep (among them Nebuchadnezzar's dream), he reproaches inactivity (cf. Peter of Blois, <i>Passio Raginaldi</i>)</p>	<p data-bbox="924 1079 1018 1148">Jerusalem Zion</p> <p data-bbox="924 1201 1053 1263">Accusation of inactivity</p>

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Garnerius of Clairvaux, <i>Sermo 4, In adventu domini</i> (PL 205, cols. 591–599)	Description of contents	Crusade-related elements
<p>dicens: Ecce ascendimus Jerosolymam, et Filius hominis [Col.0592A] tradetur [Mt. 20:18], et intellexerant: Unde et Petrus respondit: Absit a te, Domine, non fiat istud [Mt. 16:22]. Sed imminente passione non sunt recordati verbi ejus, somno ignaviae depressi. Unde cum in ipsa passione Dominus Petro dixisset: Priusquam gallus cantet, ter me negabis [Mt. 26:34], et Petrus verbum intelligens respondisset: Et si oportuerit me commori tibi, non te negabo [Mt. 26:35], requiritur, negat, et gallus cantat. Tunc Dominus Petrum respexit; et recordatus est Petrus verbi quod dixerat ei Jesus [Lk. 22:61]. Si non intellexisset, non respondisset; et si oblitus non esset, recordatus non fuisset. Primo ergo somno torpet paganus, secundo Judaeus, tertio falsus Christianus. Paganus enim nec legendo videt, nec intelligit, nec [Col.0592B] reminiscitur verbi Dei virtutem [Troyes 970; Troyes 1301: >< veritatem]; Judaeus vero legendo videt, sed non intelligit, nec reminiscitur; falsus vero Christianus, videt, intelligit; sed obliviscitur et negligit. Primo somno torpet, qui nec Deo, nec Deum, nec in Deum credit; secundo, qui Deum credit, sed nec Deo, nec in Deum credit; tertio autem, qui et Deo et Deum credit, sed in Deum non credit. Primus igitur somnus ignorantiae est, secundus perfidiae, tertius torporis et ignaviae. Si ergo in visione pacis habitare vis, quoniam Jerusalem visio pacis interpretatur [Ez. 13:16], et dies videre bonos [Ps. 34:13; 1Pet. 3:10], elevare a somno ignorantiae, tu pagane, elevare a somno perfidiae, tu Judaeae; consurge a somno torporis et ignaviae, tu false Christiane. Qui enim jacet, et in imo prostratus est, non potest [Col.0592C] intueri ea quae de longe sunt, sed ea [Troyes 970: >< omnia] tantummodo quae de prope sunt intuetur. Unde et illi qui in medio Jerusalem faciebant abominationes [Ez. 9:4], quando statuebant ad ostium tabernaculi idolum zeli [Troyes 970: >< doli] ad provocandum aemulationem [Ez. 8:3], quando adorabant picturas, plangebant Adonidem, et dorsum contra templum habentes adorabant ad ortum solis [Ez. 8:16], jacere dicuntur unusquisque in abscondito cubilis sui [Ez. 8:12]. Unde Dominus ad prophetam: Certe vidisti, fili hominis, quid isti faciunt in tenebris, unusquisque in abscondito cubiculi sui.</p>	<p>Christ goes to Jerusalem with his disciples; Garnerius evokes Palm Sunday (Mt. 16), thereafter discusses Peter's denying of Christ</p> <p>Identification of three types of sleep as pagans, Jews, and false Christians respectively; these have different approaches to the Bible and divine truth</p> <p>Who wants access to heavenly Jerusalem must abstain from these false approaches (here also identified as <i>visio pacis</i>), otherwise one will not consider "the matters in the distance" (<i>ea quae de longe sunt</i>) (cf. Peter of Blois, <i>Passio Raginaldi</i>); a description of abominations in Jerusalem follows, the pollution of the Temple and idol worship are underlined in particular—he tackles the Muslims and 1187's events (cf. Ez. 9; Ps. 79; Hélinand of Froimont, <i>Sermo 10</i>)</p>	<p>Jerusalem Palm Sunday</p> <p>Pagans Jews False Christians</p> <p>Heavenly Jerusalem</p> <p>Pollution and idol worship in Jerusalem Ez. 9</p> <p>Temple</p>
<p>Quia ergo jacebant, ad ea quae de prope erant oculos aperiebant. Quid enim magis de praesenti, et, ut ita dicam, de</p>	<p>A critique of the matters "that are close" follows (<i>de prope</i></p>	

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Garnerius of Clairvaux, <i>Sermo 4, In adventu domini</i> (PL 205, cols. 591–599)	Description of contents	Crusade-related elements
<p>prope potest esse, quam favor [Col.0592D] populi, amor mundi, dilectio carnalis desiderii, contemptus Dei, initium infidelitatis? Ad ostium siquidem tabernaculi statuit idolum zeli, qui foris in conspectu hominum fervoris similitudinem demonstrat, quae utique similitudo Deum ad iracundiam provocat. In ostio enim tabernaculi conspectus populi, in idolo zeli fervoris similitudo figuratur. Picturas adorat, qui ea quae in mundo sunt desiderat: ea enim quae in mundo sunt, quasi picturae sunt, quia videntur aliquid esse, cum nihil sint. Sunt enim quaedam quae videntur esse, et non sunt, ut praesentia. Unde Paulus quasi a majori probans, ait: Si quis se putat aliquid esse, cum nihil sit, ipse se seducit [Gal. 6:3]. Ubi enim hominem nihil esse dixit, de aliis rebus quae pro homine factae sunt, [Col.0593A] quod nihil sint, aperte demonstravit. Unde et Isaias: Omnia, ait, quasi non sint, sic sunt coram eo [Is. 40:17]. Quaedam autem sunt, et non videntur esse, ut aeterna. Adonidem vero plangunt, qui ideo dolent, quia desideria carnis perficere non possunt. Sunt enim quidam, qui cum crucifixi sint mundo, mundum tamen sibi crucifigi nolunt. Isti delectationes mundi quaerunt, sed cum eas habere nequeunt, dolent et gemunt; et tunc quasi Adonidem plangunt. Per Adonidem enim qui fuit amasius Veneris, et fomes delectationis, et delectatio figuratur. Dorsum autem contra templum habent, qui contempto Creatore honorem indebitum exhibent creaturae. Quia igitur haec sunt quae illi faciebant, qui in abscondito cubilis sui jacebant, tu qui in imo [Col.0593B] jaces, elevare. Quando enim animalia submittunt alas, oportet submitti et rotas: quia quando motus animi flectuntur ad terrena, oportet ut submittatur cogitatio, et in imo circumspectio revolvatur. Motus quidem animi animalibus, cogitationem rotis non incongrue comparamus.</p>	<p><i>sunt</i>), generally rendered as terrestrial matters (e.g., <i>amor mundi</i>); this results in an equation of longing for terrestrial matters and idol worship (generally understood as the typical trait of the Muslims; but this also blends with Christian sinfulness)</p>	<p>Temple Idol worship God's rage</p>
<p>Sicut enim quatuor animalia, quorum primum simile erat homini, secundum bovi, tertium leoni, quartum aquilae [Ez. 1:10], ita et in animo quatuor motus in enies, quae quatuor animalium speciem praefigurat. Primus est rationis motus, qui homini jure attribuitur; quia soli homini ratio solet competere. Secundus motus est sensualitatis, quem bene bovi comparamus. Nam sicut inter illa quatuor animalia bos pigrior, sic inter motus animi [Col.0593C] sensualitas ad considerandum tardior invenitur. Per alios siquidem motus,</p>	<p>Once more emphasis that a rejection of the Temple equals a rejection of God</p>	<p>Temple</p>
	<p>The symbols of the four Evangelists are equated with four <i>motus animae</i></p>	

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Garnerius of Clairvaux, <i>Sermo 4, In adventu domini</i> (PL 205, cols. 591–599)	Description of contents	Crusade-related elements
<p>tam ea quae non sunt praesentia, quam quae praesentia sunt, videntur. Sensualitas autem ea tantum considerat, quae oculis subjacent carnalibus. Tertius animi motus aviditas est, quem bene leoni comparamus, quia leo animal avidum est; quartus vero animi motus cordis est devotio, quem bene assignamus aquilae, quia sicut aquila caeteris animalibus velocior invenitur, et altius potest incedere, ita caeteris motibus animi devotio potest altius volare: et sicut aquila caeteris animalibus limpidiores habet oculos, ita per devotionem ea quae volumus limpidius invenimus.</p>		
<p>Et revera ubicunque intenditur ratio, infigitur [Col.0593D] sensualitas, rapit aviditas mentem, volat devotio, ibi oportet, ut intendat circumspectio, cogitatio revolvatur. Quia enim cogitatio sive circumspectio nunquam stabilis est, sed semper volvitur, bene rotae volubili comparatur. Unde et illae rotae volubiles vocatae sunt, dicente propheta: Et vocavit illas volubiles, audiente me [Ez. 10:13]. Si ergo ratio vel sensualitas, sive aviditas, sive etiam devotio elevetur in altum, oportet ut in altum elevetur et cogitatio, quia cum elevantur animalia de terra, elevantur pariter et rotae; et quando submittunt alas, submittuntur et rotae sequentes ea. Tunc enim submittunt, quando in terrenis intendunt. Tu igitur qui jaces, et in imo positus es, elevare. Elevare circumspectione, elevare cogitatione; elevare per [Col.0594A] exercitium activae vitae; elevare etiam per altitudinem contemplativae. Vere enim in imo est, qui infra seipsum positus est. Alii enim jacent infra seipsos, alii juxta seipsos, alii etiam elevati sunt supra seipsos. Infra seipsos sunt qui in omnibus carni et mundo et cogitationi cuilibet obediunt; juxta seipsos sunt qui quidem voluptates et quaeque superflua rescindunt, sed de his quae necessaria sunt, rescindere nulla volunt. Supra seipsos sunt qui non tantum voluptates, sed et ipsas plerumque necessitates pro Deo dimittunt. Elevare igitur juxta te, qui positus es infra te, dimittendo saltem voluptates, etsi nondum vis dimittere necessitates. Elevare et supra te, ut ipsis necessitatibus omissis, ad illum qui de longe venit ad te, et est supra te, [Col.0594B] respicias cogitatione et aviditate. Qui enim a longe respexit, Dei potentiam vidit, sicut ait: Aspiciens a longe, ecce video Dei potentiam venientem. Nomen enim Domini venit de longinquo, et merito. Sic Abraham de terra et de cognatione sua</p>	<p>An exhortation to rise (<i>elevare</i>) follows (cf. Is. 52): Garnerius stresses that this is both active and contemplative, thus encompassing more than a spiritual exegesis</p>	<p>Exhortation to activity</p>

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Garnerius of Clairvaux, <i>Sermo 4, In adventu domini</i> (PL 205, cols. 591–599)	Description of contents	Crusade-related elements
<p>egressus est, ut inter Chananaeos dives efficiatur. Sic Elias egressus est, ut a vidua utcunque sustentetur. Sic Jacob de domo patris sui egressus est, ut patrimonio filiarum Laban perfruatur. Sic Tobias filium peregrinari misit, ut filiae Raguelis copuletur. Sic et ipse Jesus egressus est, quia a summo coelo egressio ejus [Ps. 19:7], ut captiva filia Sion in libertatem gloriae filiorum Dei revocetur. Solve ergo vincula colli tui, captiva filia Sion [Is. 52:2]. Si enim vinculum colli non solvatur; nec manus in sinum mitti, [Col.0594C] nec foris verba possunt extrahi. Sed cum tempus redemptionis filiorum Israel appropinquasset, ut de captivitate Aegypti, de servitute Pharaonis in libertatem et ubertatem terrae fluentis lacte et mello vocarentur, locutus est Dominus ad Moysen, dicens: Loquere Pharaoni, ut dimittat populum meum [Ex. 6:11]. In hoc autem signo loqueris: Mitte manum tuam in sinum tuum [Ex. 4:7]. Signum est nostrae redemptionis. Nisi enim manum in sinum mittamus, de sub jugo principis tenebrarum collum excutere non valemus. Nam manum in sinum mittit, qui in operibus suis ad conscientiam recurrit. Per manum siquidem opera, per sinum vero figuratur conscientia. Liberari autem non potest de servitute [Col.0594D] diaboli, qui in omnibus operibus suis conscientiam suam non scrutatur. Ubera etiam foris extrahi necesse est, si in promissis haec filia Sion fidelis inveniatur. Quid enim est filia Sion? Ecclesia. Quid autem loquitur et promittit Ecclesia sponso suo? Egrediamur, ait, in agrum, commoremur in villis; et ibi dabo tibi ubera mea [Cant. 7:12].</p>	<p>Several Old Testament <i>exempla</i> for a departure (<i>egredi</i>) are presented; he also calls for the release of the captive daughter Zion (cf. Peter of Blois, <i>Conquestio</i>)</p>	<p><i>exempla</i> for departure (<i>egredi</i>) Exhortation to activity</p>
<p>Ecce sponsus in agrum egressus est. Sed ad quid? Ad meditando et vivificandum. Ad meditando cum Isaac; ad meditando, inquam, cogitationes pacis et non afflictionis [Jer. 29:11]: ut ibi de camelo suo coram eo descendat Rebecca; vel de captivitate peccatorum eruat captiva filia Sion. Per Isaac enim Christus, per agrum mundus figuratur. In hunc enim agrum egressus est Dominus, [Col.0595A] ad cogitandum nobis bona, et ad vivificandum ossa mortua. Ossa, inquam, illa de quibus Dominus in descriptione Leviathan dicit beato Job: Ossa ejus ut fistulae aeris [Job 40:18]. Ossa ut fistulae sunt sapientes hujus saeculi; qui cum sensum bene dicendi habeant, sensum tamen bene vivendi non habent. Vel certe ossa mortua sunt illa de</p>	<p>Finally, the Exodus from Egypt is presented as a (typological) example; the cross is the precondition for this departure (<i>signum nostre redemptionis</i>) (cf. Garnerius of Clairvaux, <i>Sermo 28</i>; Baldwin of Canterbury, <i>Sermo 8</i>)</p>	<p>Zion Israel Exodus Cross as <i>signum</i></p>
	<p>Typological exegesis of <i>filia Zion</i> as <i>ecclesia</i> (yet, it remains unclear what exactly Zion means or what it includes)</p>	<p><i>ecclesia</i> Zion</p>
	<p>Longer discussion about Christ having come to resurrect the</p>	

(cont.)

Garnerius of Clairvaux, <i>Sermo 4, In adventu domini</i> (PL 205, cols. 591–599)	Description of contents	Crusade-related elements
<p>quibus Dominus ait, cum divitem describit: Ossa, inquit, ejus plena sunt adipe [Job 21:24]. Divites enim quasi ossa adipe plena sunt, quando divitiis impinguati fortitudine sua pauperes opprimunt. Haec erant ossa mortua, quando non erat in eis illa vita, de qua dictum est: Ego sum via, veritas et vita [John 14:6]. Et ad haec ossa vivificanda venit Dominus in [Col.0595B] mundum, cum divites et sapientes per exemplum operum et doctrinam verborum ad vitam vocavit aeternam, infundendo eis in tentatione patientiam, in moribus concordiam, veram in doctrina scientiam, in religione restrictionem, in corde devotionem. Nam tentatio in commotione, concordia in juncturarum connexione, scientia in pellis extensione, restrictionis sententia in nervorum conjunctione, devotio cordis figuratur in carne. Sic enim in Ezechiele scriptum est, quod Dominus duxit eum in campum plenum ossibus mortuorum; et dictum est ei: Putas, fili hominis, revisiscent ossa ista [Ez. 37:3]? Et ecce commotio. Postea autem redire coepit unumquodque ad juncturam suam. Deinde vero nervos et carnem et pellem habere coeperunt; [Col.0595C] et tunc spiritu a quatuor ventis vocato vixerunt [Ez. 37:9]. Bene enim per nervos sententia restrictionis accipitur. Nam in tali nervo Job pedem posuerat, cum diceret: Posuisti in nervo pedem meum [Job 13:27]. Pedem Job Dominus in nervo posuit, cum eum distractionis suae sententia ligavit. Per carnem autem cordis devotio figuratur, ut ibi: Auferam a vobis cor lapideum, et dabo vobis cor carneum [Ez. 11:19]. Cor enim carneum pro lapideo dat Deus, quando pro obstinatione infert cordis devotionem. Pellis vero nomine sacrae lectionis intentio designatur, ut ibi: Extendens coelum sicut pellem [Ps. 104:2].</p>	<p>bones (using, for example, Ez. 37)—this relates to the subject of activity which permeates the sermon; it may also refer to the eschatological resurrection</p>	<p>Exhortation for activity General resurrection</p>
<p>Ad vivificandum ergo ossa mortua egressus est [Col.0595D] in agrum Dominus, cum in mundum venit, ut sapientes hujus mundi vel divites ad paupertatem spiritus provocaret. Commorari similiter in villis venit, cum in latitudinem hujus mundi descendit. Mundus enim et ager et villa erat, quando Dominus venit: ager propter laborem; villa, in eo quod nullam in eo poterat homo contra hostem suum defensionis iuvenire munitionem. Sed venit Dominus, et se murum posuit in domo Israel, et tunc facta est urbs fortitudinis nostrae Sion, quia Salvator noster positus est in ea murus [Is. 26:1]. Solve ergo vincula colli tui, captiva filia</p>	<p>Christ fortified Zion (as distinct from the motif of 'daughter Zion'); he refers to the physical Mount Zion, that is, the earthly Jerusalem</p>	<p>Israel Fortifying and defending Zion</p>

(cont.)

Garnerius of Clairvaux, <i>Sermo 4, In adventu domini</i> (PL 205, cols. 591–599)	Description of contents	Crusade-related elements
<p>Sion [Is. 52:2], ut juxta promissum ubera tua des ei. Sic enim dixeras: Egrediamur in agrum, commoremur in villis, et ibi dabo tibi ubera mea [Cant. 7:12]. Quae sunt [Col.0596A] ubera? Judaea simul et gentilitas ad fidem vocata. Haec enim sunt ubera, de quibus dicit sponsus: Duo ubera tua quasi duo hinnuli capreae gemelli, qui pascuntur in liliis [Cant. 4:5]. Judaei siquidem et gentiles, quando sacrae doctrinae lac et propinant aliis, et sibi sugunt, ubera sponsae dici possunt. Qui bene hinnuli sunt per humilitatem, capreae per devotionis altitudinem, gemelli per charitatem. Pascuntur autem in liliis per vitae candorem. Ut igitur haec ubera foris possint extrahi, id est ut Judaea et gentilitas ad verae fidei confessionem possit converti, solve vincula colli tui, captiva filia Sion [Is. 52:2]. Si enim per filiam Sion Ecclesiam figurari dicimus, recte per collum Ecclesiae praelatos figuramus. Collum enim pars illa corporis est, per quam [Col.0596B] cibus a capite derivatur in corpus. Cibus autem animae verbum est vitae, caput Christus, Ecclesia corpus. Quia vero per praelatos verbum praedicationis, prout divinitus sunt inspirati, in corpus Ecclesiae diffunditur, bene per collum filiae Sion praelati Ecclesiae figurantur. Vincula autem colli impedimenta illa possumus appellare, quibus impediti praelati, nec sibi, nec aliis proficiunt, quantum volunt, scilicet amaritudo tentationis, fragilitas carnis, persecutio temporalis, occupatio saecularis. Amaritudo tentationis in vinculis illis aperte figuratur, quibus Joseph fratres suos ligandos esse comminatus est, cum ait: Per salutem Pharaonis non egrediemini; sed mittite unum ex vobis: vos autem [Col.0596C] remanete in vinculis, donec veniat Benjamin frater vester minimus; et probemus si vera sint, quae dicitis [Gen. 42:16]. Joseph enim fratres suos tentare volebat, non persequi. Bene autem Joseph in expectatione Benjamin vinculis tentationis ligare dicitur fratres suos. Nam fideles, qui per filios Jacob figurantur, doloris amaritudine per augmentum virtutum ligantur in expectatione verae spei, et adventus gloriae magni Dei [Tit. 2:13]. Quanto magis enim fideles proficiunt, tanto magis dolent, quod cum Christo nondum esse possunt. Per Joseph autem virtutum profectus; per Benjamin figuratur Christus, quia ipse filius dexteræ est, eo quod filius sit substantivus; nos autem quasi sinistrae, quia filii adoptivi sumus. Ipse est filius dexteræ, quia [Col.0596D] sedet ad dexteram</p>	<p>Christianity has been offered to Jews and pagans; they can convert (<i>possit converti</i>): Garnerius apparently sees this as a possibility</p> <p>Priests are identified as the neck (<i>collum</i>) of the Corpus Christi, a connection to the <i>caput</i> (i.e., Christ); the priests disseminate salvation into the rest of the body, including preaching as a duty; but he also formulates a critique of bad priests</p> <p>Two Old Testament analogies (Benjamin as Christ, David as Christ)—both are militant <i>exempla</i> indicating the eschatological Christ</p>	<p>Jews Pagans Zion Corpus Christi <i>ecclesia</i> Preaching activity Militant <i>exempla</i></p>

(cont.)

Garnerius of Clairvaux, <i>Sermo 4, In adventu domini</i> (PL 205, cols. 591–599)	Description of contents	Crusade-related elements
<p>Patris, cui Pater dixit: Sede a dextris meis [Ps. 110:1]. Qui cum noster sit Pater per humanae naturae donum, frater tamen factus est per ejus naturae consortium. Et bene minimus, eo quod per carnis assumptionem paulo minus ab Angelis sit minoratus. Bene minimus, in typo cujus minimum filiorum Isai, id est David, de cujus genere ipse Dominus nasci voluit, Deus in regem sublimavit. Bene minimus, qui cum magnus esset, pro nobis factus est parvulus, ut scriptum est: Parvulus natus est nobis [Is. 9:5]. Et cum Verbum Patris esset, factus est infans, ut scriptum est: Invenietis infantem [Lk. 2:12], etc. Et cum primus esset omnium, factus est omnium novissimus. Unde Isaias: Et nos putavimus eum novissimum virorum, [Col.0597A] virum dolorum [Is. 53:3]. Et Psalmista similiter in persona ejus: Ego autem sum vermis et non homo [Ps. 22:7].</p>		
<p>Fragilitas vero carnis satis aperte figuratur in nervicis illis funibus, quibus Dalila voluit ligare Samsonem [Jud. 16]. Nervus enim ex carne est, et ideo impedimenta carnis significat, quibus quasi vinculis ligatur, ut non proficiat quantum possit, velit, vel debeat. Persecutio vero temporalis in vinculis illis figuratur, quibus Ezechielem ligari jubet Dominus, cum ait: Et tu fili hominis, ecce ego posui vincula super te, et ligabunt te in eis [Ez. 3:25]. Prophetarum siquidem verba, similiter et opera, plerumque proponebantur in exemplum populo Israel. Nam in signum persecutionis, qua in Babylone [Col.0597B] ligari debebant et captivari, ligatus est propheta coram eis, sicut dictum est: Signum est domui Israel. Occupatio autem in litio illo designatur, quod et illa Dalila capillis Samsonis innexuit, ut infigeret terrae. Per capillos enim capitis cogitationes mentis, per litium quod capillis in nexuit, occupationes cogitationum: quae tunc litio terrae infiguntur, cum per aliquam occupationem in terrenis cogitationes involvuntur. Vel certe occupatio, ut ait beatus Gregorius in <i>Moralibus</i> figurari potest in mola asinaria, quae alligari debet collo ejus, qui unum de pusillis Dei scandalizat. Dicatur ergo Ecclesiae de praelatis: Solve vincula colli tui. Nam ut sequi Christum valeat Ecclesia, oportet ut praelati ejus et amaritudinem tentationis, et fragilitatem [Col.0597C] carnis, et persecutionem insuper parvipendant, et occupationem temporalem interdum dimittant, ut orationi vacent, sicut scriptum est: Vacate et</p>	<p>Garnerius speaks of a <i>persecutio temporalis</i> and <i>occupatio</i>—it remains unclear what he means, but both have been prefigured in the Old Testament; he likely refers to 1187's events (cf. Lam. 4:19; Martin of León, <i>Liber sermonum</i>, <i>Sermo</i> 22)</p> <p>Priests must fulfill their duty so that the Church can follow Christ (<i>ut sequi Christum valeat ecclesia</i>)—the idea that the Church follows him collectively is noteworthy, since the Church is already the Corpus Christi—this thus</p>	<p>Motif of persecution Conquest</p> <p>Israel</p>

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Garnerius of Clairvaux, <i>Sermo 4, In adventu domini</i> (PL 205, cols. 591–599)	Description of contents	Crusade-related elements
<p>videte [Ps. 46:11]. Vel certe per collum sacrum designatur eloquium, ut ibi: Collum tuum sicut turris David [Cant. 4:4]. Sacrum enim eloquium sicut turris David est, cum in eo propugnacula munitionum contra ignita tentationum tela reperiuntur. Hujus ergo colli vincula impedimenta illa possumus appellare, quae praedicatorem sacri eloquii in verbis impediunt, quod plerumque facit obscuritas verborum, infidelitas auditorum, timor et prohibitio potentium. Obscuritas enim verborum in vinculis illis designatur, de quibus Baltassar loquitur [Col.0597D] Danieli, dicens: Scio quia potestatem habes obscura interpretari, et ligata dissolvere [Dan. 5:16]. Repetitio enim est, quia quod prius dixerat obscura, repetit cum dixit ligata: et quod prius dixerat interpretari, repetiit cum dixit dissolvere. Infidelitas auditorum designatur in vinculo, quo ligabatur os Zachariae, qui cum verbum angeli de nativitate Joannis credere nollet, audivit: Eris tacens, et non poteris loqui [Lk. 1:20]. Postea vero nato Joanne credidit; et statim solutum est vinculum oris ejus, et prophetavit dicens: Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel etc [Lk. 1:68]. Prohibitio vero designatur in vinculo, de quo scriptum est: Non alligabis os bovi trituranti [1 Cor. 9:9], id est non prohibebis verbum hominis bene operantis. Dicatur [Col.0598A] ergo praedicatoribus Ecclesiae: Solve vincula colli tui. Ac si aperte dicatur: Quia jam nuda et aperta sunt, quae dicta sunt de Filio hominis, tollatur offuscatio, removeatur infidelitas a corde, non terreat potentium prohibitio; sed quasi tuba exalta vocem tuam [Is. 58:1], et dic civitatibus Judae: Ecce Deus vester. Vel quia per collum elationis altitudo designatur, unde filiae Sion reprobatae sunt a Deo, pro eo quod ambulaverunt extento collo, non immerito colli vincula possumus appellare, ea quae cordi elationem innectunt, ne possint dissolvi.</p>	<p>indicates a specific occasion such as the crusade</p> <p>The preachers call for something that princes prohibit and fear (<i>timor et prohibitio potentium</i>): it is something extraordinary, non-daily; again, a reference to the crusade, as the subsequent text corroborates</p>	<p><i>ecclesia</i></p> <p>Preaching activity</p> <p>Israel</p> <p>Preaching activity <i>ecclesia</i></p>
<p>Tria ergo sunt, quae elationem cordi astringunt, ignorantia scilicet veritatis, affectus peccandi, et obstinatio mentis. Tunc enim homo superbus efficitur, cum nec Deum, nec seipsum cognoscit, cum [Col.0598B] peccare diligit, et cum vocem monentis negligit. Ignorantia siquidem veritatis designatur in vinculo, quo ligata erat asina in templo; de qua Dominus discipulis praecepit dicens: Ite in castellum, quod contra vos est, et statim invenietis asinam et pullum</p>	<p>Reference to Judea's cities</p> <p>Quotation of Mt. 21:1 including reference to Palm Sunday and the exemplary entry of Christ into Jerusalem; thereafter, the <i>asinus</i> (donkey) from Palm</p>	<p>Holy Land Palm Sunday Zion Pagans</p>

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Garnerius of Clairvaux, <i>Sermo 4, In adventu domini</i> (PL 205, cols. 591–599)	Description of contents	Crusade-related elements
<p>cum ea. Solvite, et adducite mihi [Mt. 21:1]. Quid enim per asinam, nisi gentilitatem intelligimus, de qua per Isaiam dicitur: Cognovit bos possessorem suum, et asinus praesepe Domini sui [Is. 1:3]? In bove Judaeos, in asino gentiles significavit. Haec igitur ignorantiae vinculis astricta jugo Dei supponi nolebat, donec per praedicationem apostolorum ab ignorantiae vinculo soluta, jugo est mancipata divino. Affectu vero peccandi satis aperte illis in vinculis figuratur, quibus in monumento ligatus Lazarus [Col.0598C] tenebatur. De quo et Dominus ait: Solvite eum, et sinite abire [John 11:44]. Si enim per Lazarum peccator designatur, non immerito vinculum peccatoris affectum peccandi designat. Per affectum siquidem peccandi peccator peccato ligatur. Obstationem vero mentis figurari dicimus in vinculis illis, quibus ligati leguntur quatuor angeli in flumine magno Euphrate, prout audivit Joannes unam vocem de cornibus altaris. Ait enim: Et audivi unam vocem de cornibus altaris clamantem: Solve quatuor Angelos, qui alligati sunt in flumine magno Euphrate [Rev. 9:14]. Quid enim per quatuor angelos, nisi quatuor tentationum genera intelligimus? Et bene per angelos tentationes designari dicimus, [Col.0598D] quia sicut sunt administratorii spiritus missi in orbem, ad annuntiandam Domini voluntatem: ita a diabolo mittitur tentatio, ut per eam diaboli voluntas insinuetur. Quatuor ergo sunt genera tentationum. Alia enim levis est et occulta, ut timor nocturnus, alia levis et aperta, ut sagitta volans in die, alia gravis et occulta, ut negotium perambulans in tenebris, alia gravis et aperta, ut daemonium meridianum [cf. Ps. 91:6]. Sicut ergo illi dicuntur angeli, qui bona nuntiant, ita et tentationes angeli dici possunt, quia mala nobis nuntiant. Angelus enim nuntius interpretatur. Sed illi qui bona nuntiant, calodaemones; qui autem mala, cacodaemones nuncupantur. Isti ergo angeli ligati sunt in flumine magno Euphrate, quando in fluxa [Col.0599A] mente per obstinationem et mentis duritiam astringantur. Dicatur ergo: Solve vincula colli tui, captiva filia Sion [Is. 52:2], quia si contemplationis culmen velis attingere (nam Sion speculatio dicitur), oportet, ut primo Deum cognoscas, et postea te ipsum; ut peccandi voluntatem dimittas, et ad coeleste desiderium cor tuum emollias. Sic enim absque omni impedimento occurrere poteris illi cum illa quae clamat: Curremus in odore unguentorum tuorum</p>	<p>Sunday is identified twice as the pagan (the donkey is usually identified as the sinner; the specific identification indicates the crusading arena)</p> <p>He discusses four <i>tentationes</i>, describing one as grave and obvious (<i>gravis et aperta</i>); this is identified with “the demons of the South” (<i>daemones meridianes</i>) and likely indicates the Muslims</p> <p>At the end, once more the <i>captiva filia Sion</i> from Is. 52, while Zion is rendered as <i>speculatio</i> and related to <i>contemplatio</i>; the goal is the <i>visio Dei</i> ‘in Zion’ (<i>donec videamus deum deorum in Sion</i>); he thus constructs a causal link between <i>filia Sion</i> (i.e., Church) and Zion (i.e., at least the heavenly</p>	<p>Temple</p> <p>Jews Pagans Preaching activity</p> <p>Euphrates Rev. 9</p> <p>“Demons of the South”</p> <p>Zion</p>

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Garnerius of Clairvaux, <i>Sermo 4, In adventu domini</i> (PL 205, cols. 591–599)	Description of contents	Crusade-related elements
[cf. Cant. 1:3]: ascendendo videlicet de virtute in virtutem, donec videamus Deum deorum in Sion [Ps. 84:8], id est in altitudine contemplationis, adjuvi gratia Salvatoris nostri Jesu Christi, qui cum Patre et Spiritu sancto vivit et regnat Deus per omnia saecula saeculorum. Amen.	realm, but likely also Zion in the Holy Land)	
Conclusion	<p>Essential arguments: Strong allusions to 1187's events (pollution, idol worship in Jerusalem), developing an elaborate <i>Feindbild</i> of pagans; reproaching the audience with inactivity and vehement calls for activity and departure (for example, as to releasing Zion or using the Exodus).</p> <p>Essential themes:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Jerusalem / Zion – Temple – Pagans / idol worship – Exhortations to activity 	

3 Alan of Lille, *Feria 11 intrante ieiunio*

Alan of Lille, <i>Feria 11 intrante ieiunio</i> (Ms. BL Add 19767, fols. 72 ^r –76 ^r)	Description of contents	Crusade-related elements
Manete in Ihericho donec crescat barba vestra et post revertimini [2 Reg. 10:5], verbum quod audistis viri fratres per os meum consilium est David qui mandavit servis suis quibus Amon rex Amonitarum pravorum consilio dimidiam partem barbe raserat, et vestes usque ad nates preciderat, illis inquam turpiter valde confusis, dixit David per nuncium, manete in Ihericho donec crescat barba vestra et post revertimini [2 Reg. 10:5], sed quis est David, qui sunt servi eius ignominiose tractati, quis est Amon rex Amonitarum, qui sunt pravi eius consiliarii, David est Christus, servi eius ignominiose tractati,	<p>Quotation 2 Reg. 10:5, interpreted typologically with reference to the present (without direct reference to the crusade here)</p> <p>Alan discusses the duties of clerics, especially that they must withstand the blandishments of demons who insinuate</p>	Jericho Demons

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Alan of Lille, <i>Feria II intrante ieiunio</i> (Ms. BL Add 19767, fols. 72 ^r -76 ^r)	Description of contents	Crusade-related elements
<p>nos miseri clerici, Amon rex Amonitarum potentes mundi [gloss, same hand: eius pravi consiliiarii spiritus inmundi], David siquidem est Christus, ille scilicet manu forte, qui manibus fixis cruce, aeras potestates debellavit, David misit servos suos ad montem ut faceret misericordiam cum illis [4 Ezra 2:31], quia pater suus fecerat misericordiam cum David, et noster manu forte ad hoc nos clericos instituit, et misit ad mundi potentes et alios, ut nobis annunciantibus eis eorum iniquitatem et dei veritatem, misericordiam cum illis faceret [4 Ezra 2:31], quia pater, id est creator illorum misericordiam cum illis faceret, quia pater, id est creator illorum misericordiam fecit cum Christo suo David et semine eius usque in seculum, sed quid pravi consiliiarii David dixerunt, non hos misit David ut misericordiam secum faceret, sed ut terre sue infirma considerarent, hoc idem mundi potentibus //</p> <p>et aliis demones suggerunt, mentiti sunt illi, mentiuntur et demones, nam dominus nos misit ad hoc ut nobis median-tibus ut dictum est cum illis misericordiam ageret [4 Ezra 2:31], quo ad nos tamen verum dicunt demones, si enim dominus nos pro salute eorum misit, pro salute tamen illorum non venimus, nos salutem illorum non curamus, sed eorum infirma exploramus, quia hec temporalia que vere infirma sunt, quia transeunt velut umbra [Job 14:2], ab eis tamen exigimus, nos non querimus ovem sed lanam, nos pravo exemplo et silentio alios gehenne mancipamus, dummodo res ipsorum habeamus, sed quid ipsi, ipsi dimidiam partem barbe nobis adradunt, et iam pro dolor usque ad pudenda preciderunt, in barba intelligitur fortitudo, in vestibis quibus pudenda teguntur operatio caritatis, quia caritas operit multitudinem peccatorum [1 Pet. 4:8], abrasio igitur barbe est ablatio fortitudinis, precisio vestium usque ad pudenda, est revelatio nostre turpitudinis, in barba siquidem fortitudo intelligitur, nam in barba tria attenduntur, a calore habet initium, virilitatis est indicium, viri est ornamentum, ita et fortitudo a calore sancti spiritus habet initium, indicium est virilitatis, quia inter viros et effeminatos distinguit, viri est ornamentum, quia qui barba caret nec viri nomen habere meretur, hec enim inter prospera et adversa manet illesa, hec est quasi columpna cui tota virtutum innititur fabrica, unde ipsa inter septem dona sancti spiritus, medium habet locum, precedunt enim tria, scilicet spiritus sapientie et intellectus et consilii, sequuntur tria,</p>	<p>bad things about clerics to lay people</p> <p>He returns to interpreting 2 Reg. 10:5; Alan understands the <i>barba</i> as <i>fortitudo</i> (that is, strength, bravery, violence)</p>	<p>Cross</p> <p>Virtue <i>fortitudo</i></p>

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Alan of Lille, <i>Feria 11 intrante ieiunio</i> (Ms. BL Add 19767, fols. 72 ^r –76 ^r)	Description of contents	Crusade-related elements
<p>spiritus scientie, pietatis, et timoris, et ipsa est media tamquam aliarum sustentamentum, sed heu heu abrasa est nobis barba, ablata est nobis fortitudo, precise sunt nobis vestes usque ad pudenda, revelata est nostra turpitudine, per nos enim nomen dei blasphematur inter gentes [Rom. 2:24], omnibus siquidem notum est quam irreverenter contra ea que nobis statuta sunt veniamus, sed qui abraserunt nobis barbam, qui preciderunt nobis vestes usque ad pudenda, mundi potentes, barbam nobis abradunt, //</p>	<p>Turning point with allusion to 1187's events (<i>per nos enim nomen dei blasphematur inter gentes</i>); the audience has been shaved off their beards (symbolically)—this insinuates <i>peccatis nostris exigentibus</i></p>	<p>Blasphemy pagans</p>
<p>cum eorum timore vel amore, ac ramito (?) veritatis recedimus, vestes usque ad pudenda precipidunt cum eorum timore vel amore manifeste turpia operamur, verbi gratia, sit modo quod debeamus nobis eligere pastorem, numquid laborabimus ut ydoneum nobis eligamus, non utique sed vel timore vel amore potentum, eligemus nobis inutilem et pervitiosum, et ecce qualiter nobis abrasa est barba, sed forte queres, quare dimidium barbe nobis abrasisse dicuntur, respondeo, quia nobis quedam fortitudinis vestigia remanserunt, ut rasura capitis, et tonsura circularis, et ut maior nostra notetur ignominia, apud aliquos barbam nutrire, et apud alios ex toto deponere deputatur honori, sed ab una parte deponere et ab alia nutrire apud omnes nutrire ignominiosum est, abrasa est nobis barba, unde sumus turpiter confusi, quomodo non sumus confusi, cum omnia sint in nobis confusa, verbi gratia, dominus dicit, ego sum deus zelotes qui visito peccata patrum in tertiam et quartam generationem [Ex. 20:5], quod exponens Iheronimus dicit, prima generatio est primus motus, secunda generatio, delectatio sensualitatis, tertia consensus, quarta opus, sed heu heu video quiddam monstruosum in nobis contingere, videlicet quod nepos ante avum nititur prodire ad ortum, nam sepe male operari satagimus, antequam caro titillet, quid dicam, confusi sumus, nos enim sumus falsi fratres salvatoris [cf. Gal. 2:4], qui eius patrimonium male cum eo dividimus, immo nec dividimus quia totum dissipamus, parum vel nichil ei in pauperibus suis largientes, heu quam ex opposito respondet falsitas veritati, ipse namque patrimonium suum adquisivit gloriose, nos consumimus gulose, ipse acquisivit multiplicibus pressuris, nos consumimus in preciosis indumentis et equitatis, ipse acquisivit obprobriis et tribulationibus, nos consumimus in commercationibus et ebrietatibus, ipse adquisivit morte crucis, nos consumimus luxu carnis, ecce quomodo respondet falsitas veritati, sed</p>	<p>Accusing audience of being <i>falsi fratres</i> (first person plural)</p> <p>Alan says that they have managed their <i>patrimonium</i> badly (that is, the Holy Land)</p> <p>Accusatory contrast between what Christ did and what they</p>	<p><i>patrimonium</i></p> <p>False Christians</p>

(cont.)

Alan of Lille, <i>Feria 11 intrante ieiunio</i> (Ms. BL Add 19767, fols. 72 ^r -76 ^r)	Description of contents	Crusade-related elements
<p>verendum est ne in futuro similiter ex obposito nobis respondeat retributio, verbi gratia, Petrus cuius imitatores esse debemus dixit, ecce nos reliquimus omnia et secuti sumus te, quid ergo erit nobis, responsum est ei, sedebitis // super sedes duodecim iudicantes duodecim tribus Israel [Mt. 19:27-28], et nos quid dicere poterimus, hec scilicet, domine omnia habuimus nec his contenti sumus, nec secuti sumus te, quid ergo erit nobis, respondere poterit, iudicium sine misericordia quia denuo non fecistis michi misericordiam [Jac. 2:13], cum pauper ad ostia vestra clamavit, confusi sumus quia nobis barba rasa est et vestes abscise sunt usque ad inguina, fecimus hoc nos nobis, quia nemo sine nostro consensu hoc nobis facere potuisset, et quid nobis magis mirum est non tantum faciunt nobis mali laici, sed et boni, sed mali hoc faciunt dyabolica suggestione, boni divina inspiratione, mali per efficientem causam, boni per melioris facti comparationem, ipsorum enim comparatione apparet quod nulla vel modica sit in nobis fortitudo, et nostra pre omnibus innotescit turpitudine, verbi gratia, scimus quod terra illa quam dominus propriis calcavit pedibus [cf. Ps. 131:7], et in qua misteria nostre redemptionis exhibuit ab allophilis possidetur, scimus quod crux illa cui dicitur 'o crux ave spes unica' ab eis ostentui habetur, scimus quod illud sepulcrum de quo dicit Ysaia 'et erit sepulcrum eius gloriosum' [Is. 11:10] ignominiose tractatur, sed numquid aliquo modo nos clerici moti sumus, numquid aliquo modo penitentia emendati, ut deus quod pro peccatis nostris fecit, in irritum revocaret, non utique moti sunt laici zelo fidei salvatoris accensi, qui tamen maioribus quam nos impedimentis ad hoc revocari poterant, non eos tenuit amor filiorum non lacrimae uxorum, non sollicitudo rei familiaris, non timor periculi corporis, quin immo morti se obiecerunt, ut iniuriam salvatoris vindicarent, quid dicam, illi qui erant raptores adulteri [Lk. 18:11], alisque criminibus irretiti, dicere possent cum Apostolo, scimus quod neque mors neque vita separabit nos a caritate Christi [Rom. 8:38-39], nos vero sicut lapides duri et gelidi, permanemus in motu in malicia nostra perdurantes, nobis ergo dici potest quod dictum est phariseis, publicani et peccatores precedent vos in regno dei [Mt. 21:31], in nobis impletum Ysaie, erubescite Sydon ait mare [Is. 23:4], mare sunt laici, Sydon nos clerici, Sydon enim interpretatur venatio, nos enim sumus qui alios domino venari debemus,</p>	<p>do, complemented by Peter as an <i>exemplum</i></p> <p>They lack <i>fortitudo</i>; thereafter on the events of 1187 (<i>terra illa</i> as spatial category with Ps. 131:7 as well as the Cross relic and the Holy Sepulcher with Is. 11:10); he also includes the argument of sinfulness (<i>deus pro peccatis nostris fecit</i>); but God could revoke the events (<i>in irritum revocare</i>); he calls here for penance and <i>zelus</i></p> <p>He speaks of past crusaders who willingly sacrificed themselves by receiving martyrdom (likely a reference to the First Crusade); then accusation that they are inactive, including accusation of 'adultery' (cf. Peter of Blois, <i>Passio Raginaldi</i>; Garnerius of Clairvaux, <i>Sermo 4</i>)</p>	<p>Cross <i>imitatio Christi</i></p> <p>Israel</p> <p>Holy Land Ps. 131:7 Is. 11:10 Christ's Sepulcher <i>peccatis nostris existentibus</i> Cross Penance Earlier crusaders Martyrs Accusation of inactivity</p>

(cont.)

Alan of Lille, *Feria II intrante ieiunio*
(Ms. BL Add 19767, fols. 72^r–76^r)

Description of contents

Crusade-related elements

nos sumus qui ad consilium Rebecce, convivium vero Ysaac deferre debemus //

Once more on the duties of clerics, especially concerning their role as guiding and teaching figures for the laity

Adultery on God
Loss of elect status

quid convivium, carnes hedinas, id est lamenta penitentium, conversio enim peccatoris, refectio est salvatoris, sed prius colla nuda, id est cervicem superbie, et manus, id est perversas operationes, protegere debemus, hedina pelle, id est pelle humilis penitentiae, ne hec in presentia nostra Ysaac nos accusent, et ita maledictionem pro benedictione recipiamus [cf. Gen. 27:12], nobis ergo dicere possunt laici, erubescite, quare, quia eorum comparatione constat quod nobis ignominiose rasa est barba, et vestibus precisis revelata sunt nostra pudenda, nobis ergo dat consilium noster David dicens, manete in Ihericho, donec crescat barba vestra etc [2 Reg. 10:5], Ihericho interpretatur anathema vel luna, ex hoc quod interpretatur anathema, significat anathema penitentiae, ex hoc quod luna, figurat nostre mortalitatis defectum et mundi, de quolibet nobis dicitur, manete in Ihericho, maneamus igitur in Ihericho fratres mei, id est in anathemate penitentiae, consideremus defectum nostre mortalitatis et mundi ruinam, quia hec deo anathema penitentiae operantur, ingrediamur Ihericho per cordis contritionem et oris confessionem, maneamus ibi per satisfactionem, et maneamus donec crescat barba nostra, per boni operis assiduitatem, ingrediamur per contritionem, in qua sunt tria, scilicet pudor, timor et dolor, sit in nobis pudor, quia turpiter egimus, sit in nobis dolor quia creatorem offendimus, sit in nobis timor, quia non remanebit inpunitum quod turpiter commisimus, ingrediamur Ihericho per oris satisfactionem, que qualis esse debeat, propheta docet dicens, effundite coram illo corda vestra [Ps. 62:9], non sit munita quod sit cum omnia dicimus quasi dicat, non sit confessio dimidiata, quod est cum quedam dicimus et quedam tacemus, quia hoc non est effundere corda, non sit diminuta, quod est cum omnia dicimus, sed tacemus circumstantias, que forte magis oculos ipsius iudicis offenderunt quam ipsum peccatum, quia nec hoc est effundere, non sit superbia, quod est cum irreverenter et sine verecundia et quasi in malicia gloriantes confitemur, quia hoc non est effundere corda coram deo, sed longe ab illo et contra illum, deus enim humilia respicit [Ps. 113:6] et alta a longe cognoscit, ingrediamur igitur viri fratres in Ihericho, per cordis contritionem et oris confessionem //

Return to 2 Reg. 10:5; interpretation of Jericho as *anathema*, related to penance (emphasized several times in this passage)

Holy Land
Penance

Jericho
Penance

They have enraged God and caused him shame (*pudor*)

God's rage
Jericho
Loss of elect status

(cont.)

Alan of Lille, <i>Feria II intrante ieiunio</i> (Ms. BL Add 19767, fols. 72 ^r -76 ^r)	Description of contents	Crusade-related elements
<p>et maneamus ibi per operis satisfactionem, que qualis esse debeat, ea que fiunt hoc tempore quadragesime, manifeste docent, ex quibus sex enumerasse sufficiat, que sunt, cineris impositio, velorum suspensio, ante altare capitis inclinatio, ieiuniorum afflictio, crebra officii mutatio, frequentior solita processio, duo prima pertinent ad defectum nostre mortalitatis, duo media ad anathema penitentiae, duo postrema ad considerandam eternorum stabilitatem, et mundi ruinam vitant, cineris capiti imposito, nos monet ut principium et medium et finem attendamus, imponitur enim o tu homo cinis capiti tuo, et dicitur tibi, cinis es et in cinerem reverteris [Gen. 3:19; Job 34:15], quod enim capiti tuo cinis imponitur, idem est ac si dicatur, attende principium tuum, scilicet materiam de qua factus es, quod dicitur tibi, cinis es, et in cinerem reverteris [Gen. 3:19; Job 34:15] idem es ac si dicatur tibi, attende quod modo es, quod subiungitur, et in cinerem reverteris, idem est ac si dicatur, attende quid futurus es, imponitur ergo cinis et dicitur, cinis es et in cinerem reverteris, ac si dicatur tibi breviter, attende principii tui vilitatem, medii tui fragilitatem, finis abiectioem, considera o tu homo quod mane sicut herba transis, mane flores et transis [Ps. 90:6], vespere decidis, induraris et arescis, duplex est tuum mane, mane puericie, et mane iuventutis, deinde vespere senectutis, si autem illud venis quod perpauca datur, necessario tandem decidis in mortem, induraris ut cadaver arescis resolutus in cinerem, hec sunt novissima nostra viri fratres de quibus dicit Salomon, fili recordare novissima tua et in eternum non peccabis [Sir. 7:40], hec iugiter attendere est in Ihericho manere, id est in defectu nostre mortalitatis, horum iugis meditatio generat barbe incrementum, nam virtus in infirmitate perficitur, id est in consideratione proprie infirmitatis, manete igitur in Ihericho, donec crescat barba vestra [2 Reg. 10:5], ut autem hoc possitis secundum suffragium, scilicet velorum suspensionem, que tripartita est, suspenduntur enim quedam ad tegenda sacra, quedam que dividunt inter clerum et populum, que magis in primitiva ecclesia apparebant, quando paries chori adeo erat humilis, quod psallentes ab humeris et supra, ab exterioribus // videbantur, sed hoc tempore suspendebantur vela ut mutuus negaretur aspectus, ea quibus sacra teguntur notant legalium obscuritatem, ex quorum detectione accendimur ad dei caritatem, velum quod dividit inter clerum et sanctuarium,</p>	<p>Discussion of liturgical space including curtains / jubes that structure this space and that are opened on feast days (cf. Hélinand of Froimont, <i>Sermo 10</i>)</p> <p>The transience of humans is underlined and repeated several times</p>	<p>Penance</p> <p><i>ecclesia</i></p>

(cont.)

Alan of Lille, *Feria 11 intrante ieiunio*
(Ms. BL Add 19767, fols. 72^r–76^r)

Description of contents

Crusade-related elements

nostram insinuat indignationem, ea que sunt inter clerum et populum, suspensa sunt ad tollendam oculorum vanitatem, in primis legalium attenditur obscuritas, et dei caritas, attendimur enim ad dei caritatem cum attendimus quod misteria a seculis abscondita [Col. 1:26], eius passione nobis sunt revelata, quod notat detectio sacrorum in die passionis, velum quod suspenditur inter clerum et sanctuarium, notat nostram indignationem, quasi dicamus, peccavimus super numerum harene maris [Jer. 15:8], nec sumus digni videre altitudinem celi pre multitudine iniquitatumstrarum, retrahitur tamen vel elevatur hoc velum in diebus sollempnibus, ut spes de misericordia dei nobis insinuetur, vela que distinguunt clerum a populo, sunt ad tollendam oculorum vanitatem quasi dicatur nobis, avertite oculos vestros ne videant vanitatem [Ps. 119:37], quia mors intrat per fenestras oculorum [Jer. 9:21], hoc attendite viri fratres, hoc est manere in Ihericho, et per hoc barba inchoatur, nutritur, et custoditur, manete igitur in Ihericho donec crescat barba vestra [2 Reg. 10:5], et ut hoc possitis, attendite tertium superius connumeratum, scilicet corporalem ante altare inclinationem, que in officio misse tripartita est, ante epistolam enim vel prophetiam de admonitione sacerdotis vel ministri, genua flectimus, inter silentium super bancum prosternimur, circa finem misse ad orationem super populum, caput inclinamus, in primo iram iudicis frangimus, secundo avaritiam nostram confitemur, tertio superbiam que post bona nostra subrepere potest superamus, primum facimus ut frangamus iudicis iram, quasi dicat ille cineris (?) precepto genua flectimus, isti sunt domine qui te offendisse recognoscunt, sed tu domine secundum multitudinem miserationumtuarum dele iniquitatem ipsorum [Ps. 51:3], parce domine populo tuo et ne des hereditatem tuam in perditionem [Ps. 94:14], secundum facimus ut nostram avaritiam confiteamur, quasi dicamus, adhesit in terra venter noster [Ps. 44:26], id est terrenis sensualitas nostra, exsurge domine adiuva nos, et libera nos propter nomen tuum, tertium facimus ut superbiam vitemus, quasi dicatur nobis, humiliamini sub potenti manu dei ut exaltet vos in die visitationis [1 Pet. 5:6], nos // quoque cum omnia fecerimus dicamus, servi inutiles sumus tibi domine [Lk. 17:10], fecimus quod debuimus, hec attendere est manere in Ihericho, id est in anathemate penitentie, istorum meditatio facit crescere barbam, verum quia gula

Once more on liturgical space with several jubes as well as on the nature of the liturgy, including the fact that the curtains are opened on feast days

Eventually, even more detailed on the process of the liturgy: it counteracts sins (he names *avaritia* and *superbia*); it also appeases God's rage (an allusion to 1187's events); then quotation of Ps. 94:14 in adapted form: the elect status is endangered (*parce domino populo tuo et ne des hereditatem tuam in perditionem*) (cf. Peter of Blois, *Conquestio*)

God's rage

Ps. 94:14
hereditas
Loss of elect status

(cont.)

Alan of Lille, <i>Feria II intrante ieiunio</i> (Ms. BL Add 19767, fols. 72 ^r -76 ^r)	Description of contents	Crusade-related elements
<p>et luxuria sepe fortitudinem omnem dissolvit, adiciendum est quartum superius connumeratum, scilicet ieiunii afflictio, quod tunc valet ad nutriendam barbam et conservandam, quoniam habet duos comites, quos docet dominus habendos, quoniam habet duos comites, quos docet dominus ait enim dominus, tu cum ieiunas unge caput tuum et faciem tuam lava [Mt. 6:17], capitis unctio est dei dilectio, faciei ablutio est non solum lacrimarum effusio, sed et elemosinarum largitio, unctio capitis est electio dei, ungit enim cautus agonista caput suum, ut si forte cum adversario veniat ad crines, teneri ab eo non possit, quid crines significant nisi temporalia, non habet adversarius noster dyabolus quo nos teneat nisi per temporalia, et amorem temporalium, si ergo caput mentis nostre ungente divini amoris unxerimus, per hec temporalia quasi per crines dyabolus nos tenere non poterit, ubi enim est divinus amor, ibi amor temporalium modicus est vel nullus, adicienda est ieiunio, faciei ablutio, que est hylaris ut diximus elemosinarum largitio, elemosinarum enim hilaris largitio faciem mentis lavat, quia sicut aqua extinguit ignem ita elemosina extinguit peccatum, sine hac ieiunium parum valet, pietas vero ad omnia habens promissionem vite que nunc est et future, his duobus comitibus ieiunium comitatum facit hominem manere in Ihericho, et barbam crescere, de unctio enim dilectionis barba oritur, ieiunio conservatur, elemosinarum largitione si que adherent sordes tolluntur, manete igitur in Ihericho donec crescat barba vestra [2 Reg. 10:5], verum quia per accidiam que bonorum fastidium generat, sepe barba tollitur quartum predictorum adicitur, scilicet crebra officii mutatio, sicut enim [1 word unclear] mater est fastidii, ita varietas pellit accidiam, excitat pigritiam nostram, virtutem reperat fessam, sit igitur crebra officii mutatio ut accidia tollatur, et pigricia nostra exercetur, quasi dicamus, dormitavit anima nostra pre tedio, sed tu domine confirma // nos in verbis tuis, reparatur virtus nostra fessa per varietatem, quasi dicamus, domine cum defecerit virtus nostra ne derelinquas nos, valet igitur hoc ad crementum barbe, si diligenter attendatur, sed predictis adiciendum est sextum, scilicet frequentior solita processio, que non tantum sit ad excitandum nostram pigritiam, sed ad notandum quam diligenter debeamus attendere mundi ruinam, unde est quod hodierna die statim post cineres sit processio, quasi dicatur nobis, non tantum attendatis cineres vestros, sed mente perambu-</p>	<p>He returns to the <i>barba</i> from 2 Reg. 10:5: Alan speaks of two <i>comites</i>; the audience is called to counter sin with <i>amor</i> and virtues</p> <p><i>Accidia</i> as a sin (repeated several times)—the antipode to crusading activities (cf. Peter of Blois, <i>Passio Raginaldi</i>; Garnerius of Clairvaux, <i>Sermo 4</i>)</p> <p>Necessity of processions underlined; such would also take place “today” (<i>hodierna die</i>)</p>	<p>Penance</p> <p>Accusation of inactivity</p>

(cont.)

Alan of Lille, <i>Feria 11 intrante ieiunio</i> (Ms. BL Add 19767, fols. 72 ^r –76 ^r)	Description of contents	Crusade-related elements
<p>late Ihericho, quia eius cineres consideratis, attendite quia quidquid sub sole est vanitas est [Koh. 1:14], et id quod supra solem veritas est, manete igitur in Ihericho et cernite eius ruinas et perambulate, sed cavendum est vobis cum ibi manetis ne Ihericho edificens, ne incurratis maledictionem nostri Ihesu, ille edificat in mente sua Ihericho, cui mundus placere incipit, et in his que mundi sunt supervacue delectatur, sed maledictionem Ihesu incurrit qui ait: maledictus qui edificaverit Ihericho, in primogenito eius iaciet fundamenta eius, et in ultimo filio eius ponet portas eius [Jos. 6:26], fundamenta Ihericho sunt presumptiones superbie de quibus dictum est, fundamenta montium conturbata sunt [2 Reg. 22:8; Ps. 18:8], porte Ihericho sunt timor perdendi hec temporalia, et amor acquirendi ea, de quibus dicitur, tollite portas principes vestras, filii nostri sunt quatuor, timor de pena, dolor de culpa, spes de venia, gaudium de gloria, sed qui iacit fundamenta Ihericho, moritur ei primogenitus, quia qui per superbiam de se presumit, timorem domini perdit, qui portas Ihericho ponit ultimus ei moritur filius, quia qui hec temporalia perdere metuit, vel in eis gaudere cupit, gaudium eterne beatitudinis amittit, perambulemus igitur fratres Ihericho et ibi maneamus eius attendendo ruinas, non maneamus ibi ad momentum, sed donec crescat barba nostra [2 Reg. 10:5], quo est omni tempore vite, ne in decori post reditum ante nostrum David appareamus, sed potius inter speciosos coram specioso pre filiis hominum speciosi videamur, quod ipse nobis prestare dignetur.</p>	<p>after the sermon; here also reproach of <i>pigritia</i>, an equivalent of <i>accidia</i> (this is thus concerned with the crusade's spiritual support)</p> <p>"Building Jericho" is broached with a negative coloring, related to <i>superbia</i>, lack of fear of God, and love for terrestrial matters</p> <p>At the conclusion, assertion that one waits for Jericho's destruction as long as the <i>barba</i> grows (that is, the <i>fortitudo</i> according to Alan's reading)—<i>fortitudo</i> is thus presented as a requisite virtue for crusading and for destroying Jericho</p>	<p>Accusation of inactivity</p>
<p>Conclusion</p>	<p>Essential arguments: Explicit broaching of 1187's events, embedded into a discussion about the crusade's spiritual support (the audience are clerics; elaborate discussion of the liturgy); complemented by the accusation of inactivity, presenting <i>fortitudo</i> as a remedy.</p> <p>Essential themes:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Jericho – Penance – <i>peccatis nostris exigentibus</i> – Exhortations to activity – Loss of the status as God's chosen people 	

4 Prevestin of Cremona, *In adventu domini* (1)

Prevestin of Cremona, <i>In adventu domini</i> (1) (Ms. BNF lat. 14859, fol. 215 ^{r-v})	Description of contents	Crusade-related elements
<p>In die illa est radix Iesse qui stat in signum populorum, ipsum gentes deprecabuntur, et erit sepulchrum eius gloriosum [Is. 11:10], verbum dulce multiplicat amicos, et lingua eucharis in bono homine habundabit [Sir. 6:5], hoc verbum pretulit ysaïas, qui non minus certe loquebatur de domino quam si oculis materialibus eum videret, Christus in mente prophete fuit radix Iesse patris, David regis, radix omnium arborum paradysi radix et arboris pomi vertit, antequam eam eradicaret Eva pessima, plantavit Christus ponens radicem sychomori pro radice balsami, o quam infelix ortolana que plantavit viticam (?) urentem, pro rosa mulcente, lolium pro lilio, raunum pro oliva, exstirpans omnem arborem paradysi, et plantans omnem in fructu, et hec plantabat et Adam rigabat, et uterque in coementum peccati dabat, et crevit haec plantatio proferens fructus varios, hec fuit aliquis preter Christum nec hodie est nec erit usque ad iudicium, in cuius orto non crescat vel pullulet aliquis ramusculus de plantatione Eve et Adam, Christus pirus peccati vel vinea ebrietatis, vel ficus satuitatis, unde dictum est filius Sirach (?), non cessaret haec plantatio nisi prius agricola preter plantasset radicem Iesse, unde Christum, qui stat in signum populorum [Is. 11:10], radix illa eradicavit omne inutilem plantationem, et emisit ase arborem cancelatam, que stat in signum omnium populorum, et vocatur lignum viginte plantarum in utero virginis, in terra fructifera, in terra dulcedinis, in terra laboris, quia hec nascitur ad laborem et avis ad volandum, archa ista stat tam cellata in signum populorum, hoc est signum ponitum in pomerio Christianorum, quod videntes aves celi, id est demones fugiunt, sic prudens ortolanus signum facit in orto, ut volucres celi tale signum respicientes fructus arborum non audent invadere, volitant circumquam sed non residens in arboribus timentes illaqueari, sic diabolus signum crucis dum aspicit fugit, nil oculis eius horribilius est sicut latroni nil asperius quam pena patibiliter contra faciem eius obiecta, hoc fuit signum quod scripsit angelus in domibus ierosolimorum, et interfecti sunt omnes in quarum domibus tale signum non inveniebatur [cf. Ex. 12:7], hoc est signum quod predicant / omnes sancti, hoc est signum principis futuri, hoc est signum quod predicant nobis omnes sancti, ut habeamus in liminaribus domorum nostrorum [Ex. 12:7], id est in corporibus</p>	<p>Quotation of Is. 11:10</p> <p>Threefold causality between (a) Tree of Paradise, Fall of Mankind; (b) <i>radix Jesse</i>, Isaiah's prophecy; and (c) fulfilment of prophecy with Christ and the cross</p> <p>Comparing the cross and the Ark of the Covenant (but without explicit reference to loss); the cross is aligned with the borders of Christendom (<i>in pomerio christianorum</i>); also tackles crosses <i>in domibus ierosolimorum</i> (Ex. 12)—thus, the cross is located in the Holy Land; the perspective generally indicates the crusade</p> <p>Prevestin discusses the question of what the cross is, related to (a) preaching activ-</p>	<p>Is. 11:10</p> <p>Christ's</p> <p>Sepulcher</p> <p>Cross</p> <p>Pagans</p> <p>Fulfillment of proph-ecies</p> <p>Compar-ison Cross and Ark of Covenant</p> <p>Cross as <i>signum</i> Jerusalem</p>

(cont.)

Prevostin of Cremona, <i>In adventu domini</i> (1) (Ms. BNF lat. 14859, fol. 215 ^{r-v})	Description of contents	Crusade-related elements
<p>nostris, que sunt domus lutee sancte de luto damasceno, formate admodum teste de terra sanna, unde Ysaia, vhe qui contradicit factori suo testa de sannis terre [Is. 45:9], hec est olla Ieremie succensa ab aquilone [Jer. 1:13], signum ergo principis futuri in quatuor partibus domus nostre signari debet, in summo immo a dextris et a sinistris, contra quatuor demones qui circa nos pugnant incessanter, ut subvertant domum nostrum, contra demonem superbie scilicet Leviathan, qui impugnat frontem domus nostre, circa Vehemoth luxurie qui vult dormire in locis humeribus, circa pudenda nostra que Mamnon avaricie qui peccatiam numerat a sinistris, si posset emere animam nostram a parte sinistra, contra Asmodeum dextera, qui sacramenta ecclesiastica vult subvertere, ut Asmodeus matrimonium in Thobia patris [Tob. 3:8], non contra demonem superbie, non filii contra demonem luxurie, non spiritus scilicet contra demonem avaritie, non sanctitas contra publicanorum fictam sanctitatem, pater potens contra superbiam, filius sapiens contra insipiditatem luxurie quam distemperat in mortariolo mortis diabolice mors altera, spiritus spirans contra suspiratum avaritie, avarus enim super suspirat ad cumulum peccatie, siccitas contra superficialempocisim incredulorum, sic stat in signum populorum radix Iesse Christus, deus noster, qui hoc signum non habuerit in hoc adventu, ad eum non declinabit ad manendum, ipsum gentes deprecabuntur [Is. 11:10], tres virgines nuntias ad tantum principem oportet premittere, confessionem filiam Iude patriarche, orationem filiam Daniel prophete, Elam filiam primitive ecclesie, prima accusavit dominam suam dicens, domina mea peccavit tribus peccatis Ierusalem, scilicet peccato cogitationis, peccato operis, peccato consuetudinis, verum est dicet secunda sed miserere eius deus secundum misericordiam tuam et secundum multitudinem miserationum tuarum dele in eius [Ps. 51:3], si iniquitates observaveris domine domine quis sustinebit [Ps. 130:3], subinfert tercia, domine in habitaculo tuo scriptum est quod quidam dives in conspectu tuo dixit, domine quid faciendo vitam eternam possidebo [Lk. 10:25], deus noster misericordia data est ille hec omnia feci a iuventute mea, ait illi Ihesus //</p> <p>adhuc unum tibi deest, vende omnia que habes et da pauperibus et veni et sequere me [Mt. 19:21; Mk. 10:21; Lk. 18:22], domine da gloriam domine mee et in hac festivitate in domo eius volo manere, ego pater et filius spiritus sanctus ad eam</p>	<p>ities, (b) Christ from Rev. 19 (<i>princeps futurus</i>), and (c) carrying the cross, including Ex. 12 (<i>habeamus in linin- aribus domorum nostrorum, id est in corporibus nostris</i>) (cf. Henry of Albano, <i>De peregrinante civitate Dei</i>; Baldwin of Canterbury, <i>Sermo</i> 8)</p> <p>Prevostin warns of sins (naming demons, Leviathan, Behemoth); he warns of people who wear the cross only superficially (expressed with: <i>ficta sanctitas</i>) (cf. Peter of Blois, <i>Conquestio</i>)</p> <p>Once more hypocrisy emphasized, related to unbelievers (<i>increduli</i>)</p> <p>Turning point of sermon: he calls the audience to follow Christ and to abstain from</p>	<p>Rev. 19 Preaching activity Wearing the cross Ex. 12 Corpus Christi</p> <p>Demons False Christians</p> <p>False Christians Cross Pagans</p> <p><i>ecclesia</i></p> <p>Jerusalem</p>

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Prevostin of Cremona, <i>In adventu domini</i> (I) (Ms. BNF lat. 14859, fol. 215 ^{r-v})	Description of contents	Crusade-related elements
<p>veniemus et mansiones apud eum faciemus [John 14:23] sic debetis premittere ad has tres virgines, primam actus actionem, secundam orationem sine qua inhermis est omnis homo in ullo contra diabolium, Elam ut possimus redimere animas nostras, Elam voluit facere Cahym sed modum nescivit, sic omnis Chaynita qui de deterioribus facit Elam, sequitur, omne erit sepulchrum eius gloriosum [Is. 11:10], considerate viam, primo venit cum paupertate sed in letitia hominum et angelorum, in passione recessit, cum letitia rediit in resurrectione, pauper venit in mundum, audite omnes viri divitiarum quid dicat deus divitibus Christianis, veni in mundum nudus, tu venis purpuratus, ego reclinatus in presepio, tu in palatio, ego illusus ab herode, tu honoratus a rege, ego dampnatus a pilato, tu dictatus a prelato, ego mori voluit in patibulo, tu deliciaris in lecto eburneo, in quo ergo me imitaris, sicut dicit princeps alicui, in quo servis mihi, ita de Christiano in hoc tempore nonne dixi, qui mihi ministrat, me sequatur, dubitas esse pauper, cum ego pauperior quolibet vivente, dubitas esse sine domo, cum ego non habuerim ubi caput meum reclinarem, dubitas nudus esse, nonne ego nudus ligatus ad stipitem, dubitas pro me flagellari, nonne veni pro te mori, sic loquitur dominus nobis, sed non possumus reddere unum pro mille sicut dicit Iob [Job 9:3], hereditatem suam posuit inter manus nostras [Ps. 135:12], et nos peccatis nostris exigentibus amisimus illam, quondam fuit sepulchrum eius gloriosum [Is. 11:10], sed peccata nostra fecerunt id deforme, dominus pro nobis positus fuit in sepulchro stricto, et nos largas querimus, habemus habenas, saltant demonia circa sepulchrum, coros ducentia et dicentia et dicentia, ubi est deus Christianorum, sarraceni non amiserunt deum suum, deus Iudeorum dormit, deus Christianorum omnino mortuus est, unde nobis ergo superbia est, quia si consideraremus statum nostrum non est gens que a deo viriliter facta est sicut nos, quia pudor Iudeorum iam preterit, sed pudor noster recens est, unde proverbialiter dicitur, cum irrisus est cui irrisus illudit, illusus Iudeus illudit Christiano, superbia est que iecit nos in hanc derisionem, dicamus cum Apostolo, domine aufer a nobis spiritum iactantie, hoc lignum proveniens de radice quod reliquit Christus pauper tribus filiis suis, habeamus spem pre oculis / nostris, sicut pauper moriens reliquit tribus filiis unam pirum, radicem et sumnum (?), viride et siccum rectum et obliquum,</p>	<p>earthly matters; they shall be in Christ's <i>domus</i> (the argument moves towards the arena of crusading, related to the cleansing of sin)</p> <p>Christ speaks in the first person: calling them to <i>imitatio Christi</i></p> <p>Second turning point: Prevostin broaches 1187's events as a consequence of their sins (twice), naming <i>haereditas</i> and <i>sepulchrum</i> (with Is. 11:10); demons dance around Christ's Sepulcher (obviously referring to the Muslims); he cites what the Muslims allegedly say: the Christian God has perished for good (<i>omnino</i>) (cf. Garnerius of Clairvaux, <i>Sermo 4</i>; Alan of Lille, <i>De cruce domini</i>)</p> <p>Last point: he compares the current disgrace (<i>pudor</i>) with that of the Jews, thereby suggesting that the elect status and Christ's grace (here <i>fructus</i>) are jeopardized (cf. Alan of Lille, <i>Feria 11 intrante ieiunio</i>); he also speaks of the cross as an archaeological artefact</p>	<p><i>imitatio Christi</i></p> <p>Is. 11:10 Christ's Sepulcher</p> <p><i>haereditas peccatis nostris exigentibus</i></p> <p>Christ's Sepulcher Demons Pollution holy places</p> <p>Loss of elect status</p> <p>Jews Cross</p> <p><i>haereditas</i></p>

(cont.)

Prevostin of Cremona, <i>In adventu domini</i> (1) (Ms. BNF lat. 14859, fol. 215 ^{r-v})	Description of contents	Crusade-related elements
sicut cuilibet totum, sic Christus pauper nobis reliquit ut heredes ipsius simus, fructum huius arboris venit querere a nobis, si fructum non invenit et fructum nobiscum non erit.		
Conclusion	<p data-bbox="611 458 934 485">Essential arguments:</p> <p data-bbox="611 485 934 608">Explicit broaching of 1187's events; these caused a disruption of the fulfilled prophecy of Is. 11:10; this is related to the sign of the cross, which the audience must wear.</p> <p data-bbox="611 635 934 661">Essential elements:</p> <ul data-bbox="611 661 934 823" style="list-style-type: none"> <li data-bbox="611 661 934 687">– Christ's Sepulcher <li data-bbox="611 687 934 714">– Fulfilment of prophecies <li data-bbox="611 714 934 740">– Demons / pagans <li data-bbox="611 740 934 767">– Cross <li data-bbox="611 767 934 823">– Loss of status as God's chosen people 	

5 Conclusion

A number of traits surfaced in the course of describing these four sermons, elucidating why these texts should be considered pertinent to the crusade endeavor. First and foremost, in none of the four cases does the crusade surface in the text's title; all four bear liturgical titles: the feast of the Archangel Michael, Advent, the first Monday in Lent, and Advent once more. Similarly, all four are embedded in the course of the liturgical calendar in their manuscripts, surrounded by other sermons that precede or succeed them in the liturgical year. Considering their incipits, the crusade does not surface too clearly either, even though three of the four suggest such a purpose: Peter talks about building the walls of Jerusalem; Garnerius is concerned with the captive daughter Zion and calls Jerusalem to rise; and Prevostin deals with the Holy Sepulcher, which will be venerated by 'the gentiles.' Yet, the bottom line is that one would easily overlook a text's pertinence when only considering its superficial markers. One needs to read such a sermon in its entirety—and probably more than once. How does the crusade surface in these texts? The section on methodology introduced a number of markers that help with determining crusade potential. It also distinguished different ways a text may relate to the crusade endeavor:

thematically, causally, and chronologically. These tools serve now to categorize the four sermons, while this categorization can be found for every pertinent sermon in tables 9, 10, and 11. All four texts tackle the events of 1187: it is thus clear that they are reacting to these historical events; they are concerned with teaching their audiences something about them. All four thus contain a marker that points to crusade mobilization in a specific historical context. Moreover, Prevostin's sermon calls on the audience to take the cross, a significant indicator for the purpose of mobilization, whereas the other three try to entice their audiences to action—in reaction to the events of 1187, a meaningful causality. This surfaces most significantly in Garnerius' text, which calls specifically for a journey to the East, in typological repetition of the Exodus, and for the release of the captive daughter Zion (the fallen Jerusalem). As a result, each of the four sermons holds two markers that indicate the purpose of crusade mobilization.

As for determining crusade potential, first, all four explicitly broach their own present, that is, the events of 1187; it is thus clear that these are not exegetical texts existing in a vacuum—and three of them use the argument of *peccatis nostris exigentibus* to explain the events. Second, by broaching the events, they likewise discuss physical manifestations, that is, the literal sense of Scripture, and not just a spiritual or monastic Jerusalem. Third, all four betray a large number and variety of crusade elements, in particular Garnerius' and Alan's sermons. Fourth, all four texts draft crusade-related identities, for example, Peter includes the eschatological Christ who rides into the last battle, and Garnerius presents Benjamin and David as militant examples (in analogy to Christ), thereby proposing them as models for his audience. Fifth, all four offer a combination of significant motifs such as in Garnerius' case with the combination of Jerusalem and pagans: these currently pollute the holy city with their idol worship. And sixth, Peter's and Garnerius' sermons also adhere to a holistic program by discussing the different senses of Scripture or the different manifestations of Jerusalem. As a result, each of the four sermons comprises at least four or five markers, so these are certainly sermons with high crusade potential. In all four cases, one can determine not only a thematic but a causal relationship, that is, the crusade is the text's prime purpose—and also a chronological nexus with the Third Crusade via their tackling of the events of 1187 (corroborated by biographical indications). These are highly pertinent texts for studying both crusade mobilization and spirituality. Examining them in their entirety shows that the events in the East do not remain an isolated note, but the sermons are devoted to explaining and reacting to these events, connecting them with manifold other concerns: this generates meaningful causalities between East and West as well as between the different senses. This pertains

notably to the moral virtues that the audience should embody, the precondition for God's support and a successful expedition, just as it includes expressive calls for action which more often than not indicate crusading.

The Loss of the Cross Relic: The Tragedy of an Elect People

May our Lord's second cross
 And Christ's fresh wounds
 Crucify us all!
 Lost is the Tree that brings salvation!
 A foreign people
 Has violently overthrown his tomb.
 The city, once full of people,
 Sits abandoned.

Carmina Burana, no. 47 (1187–1189)¹



The loss of the Cross relic in the Battle of Hattin was the crucial event that triggered the preaching of the Third Crusade, as well as Gregory VIII's call for a new expedition. Efforts were already well under way before news of Jerusalem's loss arrived, and as such one must pay close attention to this central cause. The relic of Jerusalem had a preeminent position in the Latin West despite its numerous competitors. The anonymous contemporaneous *Relatio de situ Ierusalem* describes it as *honestissima et speciocissima* (most distinguished and impressive) when dealing with its loss.² Such relics represented parts of the cross on which Christ had been crucified: they were archaeological artefacts of the promise of redemption, an embodiment of the (New) Covenant between God and Christendom, and a symbol of the possibility of returning to

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- 1 Cited from *Carmina Burana*, ed. Traill, 1:160–161, which also contains the Latin version. On the poem, see David A. Traill, “Philip the Chancellor and the Third Crusade,” in: *Auctor et auctoritas in Latinis Medii Aevi litteris*, ed. Edoardo d'Angelo and Jan M. Ziolkowski (Florence 2014), 1135–1146, arguing that the (later) crusade preacher Philip the Chancellor was its author. On Philip, see also Miikka Tamminen, *Crusade Preaching and the Ideal Crusader* (Turnhout 2018), 52–53, 68–69, 292–293.
 - 2 Ms. Lambeth 144, fol. 118^v. On this text, see the section on Peter of Blois in the chapter on immediate context as well as the chapter on media context.

heaven. Yet, two aspects granted the relic of Jerusalem an extraordinary status: first, it was the common story at the time that Helena, mother of Emperor Constantine, had found it on Golgotha and broke it into two pieces: one was taken to Constantinople, the other left in Jerusalem.³ The West overall believed that the relic uncovered in 1099, after the city's conquest, was the part left behind by Helena. The fact of still being in its original place seems to have been a fundamental part of this.⁴ Second, this relic acquired a reputation in the course of the 12th century: it preceded many Christian armies into battle (carried by the patriarch of Jerusalem or an episcopal deputy), and coincidentally most of these ended in victory, starting with the Battle of Ascalon in 1099. It had thus proven its authenticity and effectiveness.⁵ The double dimension—spatial anchoring and effective war banner—made it superior to all its competitors. The relic represented more than any other God's protective hand, whereas the fact that it was only a fragment seems to have disappeared in the Western perception: in Matthew Paris' chronicle, for example, the depiction of its capture at Hattin shows a complete wooden cross. The same appears in a pericope book (c.1140) and a martyrology (c.1160), both depicting Emperor Heraclius recovering the Cross.⁶

3 See, e.g., Hélinand of Froidmont, *Sermo 10*, 566; *Chronicon*, 995; Henry of Albano, *De peregrinante civitate Dei* (XIII), 359; Ralph Ardens, *Pars (II)*, *De tempore, Sermo 19*, 1375; Alan of Lille, *De cruce domini*, ed. d'Alverny, 280; Ms. Lambeth 144, fol. 117^r; John of Würzburg, *Descriptio*, 88, 123; Ms. Trier 232, fol. 58^{r-v}; Sicard of Cremona, *De officiis*, 413. Contemporary reliquaries also depict the cross' finding; see Gia Toussaint, "Die Kreuzzüge und die Erfindung des Wahren Kreuzes," in: *Hybride Kulturen im mittelalterlichen Europa*, ed. Michael Borgolte and Bernd Schneidmüller (Berlin 2009), 161–162, 168.

4 See Alan Murray, "Mighty against the Enemies of Christ: The Relic of the True Cross in the Armies of the Kingdom of Jerusalem," in: *The Crusades and Their Sources*, ed. John France (Aldershot 1998), 221; Giles Constable, "The Cross of the Crusaders," in: *Crusaders and Crusading in the Twelfth Century* (Farnham 2008), 82. A telling dynamic unfolded during the Fourth Crusade, when the crusaders intended to seize the half that Helena had taken to Constantinople. The result of this pillaging was a flood of cross relics overwhelming the West (see Gia Toussaint, *Kreuz und Knochen: Reliquien zur Zeit der Kreuzzüge* (Berlin 2011), 162–166; Jessalynn L. Bird, *Heresy, Crusade and Reform in the Circle of Peter the Chanter, c.1187–c.1240* (PhD thesis, University of Oxford 2001), 141–142).

5 See Murray, "True Cross," 217–238, esp. 232–238; Anatole Frolow, *La relique de la Vraie Croix: recherches sur le développement d'un culte* (Paris 1961), 68–69, 287–290; Cecilia Gaposchkin, *Invisible Weapons: Liturgy and the Making of Crusade Ideology* (Ithaca, NY 2017), 56–59, 81, 101–105. A chronicle puts it thus: "[crux] cuius presidio nostri semper in bellis exstitero victores" (*Itinerarium peregrinorum*, ed. Mayer, 258).

6 See Barbara Baert, *A Heritage of Holy Wood: The Legend of the True Cross in Text and Image* (Leiden 2004), 165, 179.

The goal of this chapter is to examine the meaning that preachers tied to the Cross relic, thereby broaching the meaning that inhered in its loss. The exorbitant reaction of 1187 shows that this object was not replaceable, since it was of the greatest theological and symbolic significance: it embodied providential meaning, so its loss expressed something about the progress of salvation history. This will lead to a discussion of a crucial element of Christian culture: the idea that the Christians were God's elect people, after the Jews had been deprived of this status. Contemporaries were now seriously concerned that the same might happen to the Christians—given that the relic had embodied this very same status. As we will see, a specific reaction seems to have followed that would mold the very concept of crusading. However, its loss remained a dominant element of Western discourses, since the Third Crusade was unable to recover it.⁷ It was still a subject of negotiation during the Fifth Crusade (c.30 years later), and Matthew Paris still put it at center stage (c.60 years later).⁸ Another intriguing piece of evidence reports that participants in the Children's Crusade (1212) chanted: God shall return the relic.⁹ Examining the Third Crusade's preaching can help with explaining why it remained so pertinent despite numerous alternative pieces.

The cross appears primarily as *crux*, sometimes also, especially when referring to the specific relic, as *crux Christi*, *sancta crux*, or *crux dominica*.¹⁰ The evidence around the Third Crusade identifying the specific relic with these

7 Richard Lionheart and Saladin negotiated over returning it; eventually, however, Saladin was no longer able to find it (see *Itinerarium peregrinorum*, ed. Stubbs, 232–233, 240–243; *La Continuation*, ed. Morgan, 47, 107).

8 See Toussaint, *Knochen*, 74; Christoph T. Maier, *Preaching the Crusades: Mendicant Friars and the Cross in the Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge, UK 1994), 14. See also Megan Cassidy-Welch, “Before Trauma: The Crusades, Medieval Memory and Violence,” *Continuum* 31/5 (2017), 624.

9 *Annalium Rotomagensium continuationes*, 501–506; Matthew Paris, *Chronica maiora*, 558; discussed by Nikolas Jaspert, “The True Cross of Jerusalem in the Latin West: Mediterranean Connections and Institutional Agency,” in: *Visual Constructs of Jerusalem*, ed. Bianca Kühnel and Galit Noga-Banai (Turnhout 2014), 212. See also Jessalynn L. Bird, “Preaching the Crusades and the Liturgical Year: The Palm Sunday Sermons,” *Essays in Medieval Studies* 30 (2014), 20–21; Jean Flori, *L’islam et la fin des temps: l’interprétation prophétique des invasions musulmanes dans la chrétienté médiévale* (Paris 2007), 331–335. Evidence for the relic's enduring relevance in the mid-13th century are the stained-glass windows in the Sainte-Chapelle in Paris and the cathedral of Braunschweig, whose depictions include Helena, Heraclius, and the Cross relic (see Baert, *Heritage*, 185–191).

10 See Ms. BL Royal 10 A XVI, fols. 23^v–25^r and Ms. BNF lat. 10633, fols. 24^r–26^v as well as Petrus Cantor, *Distinctiones*, 150–159, who offers an elaborate entry for *crux* consisting of several subentries. On terminology and its ambiguities, see Gaposchkin, *Weapons*, 102.

terms is copious (even though this is not necessarily a general rule).¹¹ On the other hand, the term *vera crux*, the True Cross, is a very rare occurrence despite being today's standard term: it does not appear in the relevant corpus of sources, and searching full text databases only yields sporadic hits.¹² Furthermore, one finds *signum crucis* (partly combined with *Christi* or *sanctae*) or *lignum crucis*, sometimes referring to the specific relic or its representations. The term points to both the relic's materiality ('the wood of the cross') and the tree of Paradise—to which one may return thanks to the cross.¹³ The emphasis on *signum* or *lignum* seems to have been a Cistercian preference, who understood the cross as a *signum vitae*, alluding to the return to heaven it facilitated.¹⁴ One also finds *arbor crucis*, likewise referring both to its materiality and the tree of Paradise. Garnerius' *Distinctiones* equate *arbor* with both Christ and the

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- 11 See, e.g., Ms. Lambeth 144, fols. 117^r, 118^v; Gregory VIII, *Audita tremendi*, ed. Chroust, 7; Peter of Blois, *Passio Raginaldi*, 50; Ralph Ardens, *Pars (II), De tempore, Sermo 19*, 1375; Ms. Arsenal 543, fol. 219^v; Alan of Lille, *De cruce domini*, ed. d'Alverny, 279–280; Hélinand of Froimont, *Sermo 10*, 566, 568–569; Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, 2:322; 3:130–131; *Itinerarium peregrinorum*, ed. Mayer, 259; Rigord, *Gesta*, ed. Delaborde, 81–83, 117; Guillaume le Breton, *Philippidos*, ed. Delaborde, 104; *Historia peregrinorum*, ed. Chroust, 119–120; *Chronica Andrensis*, 718–719; Benedictinus anonymus, *De penitentia*, PL 213:894; Heraclius, *Hilferuf (I)*, ed. Jaspert, 509; *Chronica Reinhardsbrunnensis*, 543; John of Abbeville, *Ad cruce signatos*, ed. Cole, 222.
- 12 For two exceptions, see Rigord, *Gesta*, ed. Delaborde, 115; *Libellus*, ed. Brewer and Kane, 198. Another case is found in an anonymous late 12th-century sermon (Ms. BNF lat. 3811, fol. 115^v). On the term, see Toussaint, "Erfindung," 153–156; Toussaint, *Knochen*, 57–59, 73, claiming that it originated in the 12th century, but only appeared more frequently from the 14th century.
- 13 For cases referring to the specific relic, see Baldwin of Canterbury, *Sermo 8*, 135–136; Heraclius, *Hilferuf (II)*, ed. Jaspert, 515; *Itinerarium peregrinorum*, ed. Mayer, 258; *Libellus*, ed. Brewer and Kane, 156; Konrad of Eberbach, *Exordium (3.28)*, ed. Griesser, 225; Ralph of Diceto, *Ymagines*, 133; Bernard of Clairvaux, *Ep. 363*, 654; Berter of Orleans, *Iuxta threnos*, ed. Raby, 298; Arnold of Lübeck, *Chronica*, 170; Gunther of Pairis, *Hystoria*, ed. Orth, 112. On the conjunction of cross and paradise tree, see David N. Bell and Jane Patricia Freeland, "The Sermons on Obedience and the Cross by Baldwin of Forde," *Cistercian Studies Quarterly* 29 (1994), 241–290; Jessalynn L. Bird, "Far Be It from Me to Glory Save in the Cross of Our Lord Jesus Christ (Gal. 6.14): Crusade Preaching and Sermons for Good Friday and Holy Week," in: *Crusading in Art, Thought, and Will*, ed. Matthew Parker and Ben Halliburton (Leiden 2018), 138–139.
- 14 See William J. Purkis, *Crusading Spirituality in the Holy Land and Iberia, c.1095–c.1187* (Woodbridge 2008), 92, 105. One switched easily between *signum* and *lignum*, likely confusing them in manuscript reproduction: 's' in the common minuscule looks similar to 'l' (see Cecilia Gaposchkin, "From Pilgrimage to Crusade: The Liturgy of Departure, 1095–1300," *Speculum* 88 (2013), 66). See also Garnerius of Clairvaux, *Distinctiones*, 985; Ms. BL Royal 10 A XVI, fol. 57^r and Ms. BNF lat. 10633, fol. 64^r as well as Petrus Cantor, *Distinctiones*, 363.

cross.¹⁵ Alan's collection sketches another meaningful image: "Tree: this is what one calls a human in particular; thus, one calls him Anthropos in Greek, that is, the inverted tree—because a tree's head is anchored in the earth and its limbs are on high, whereas a human holds the head on high and the limbs to the ground."¹⁶ He aligns the tree with the Corpus Christi, yet it is an inverted tree, whose branches (the Christians) point down to earth: this signifies the defective state of terrestrial existence.

A noteworthy expression appears in the works of Peter of Blois: *facies testamenti*—a term that I could not find in any other author.¹⁷ *Facies* means 'face' or 'representation'; in the medieval period, it may also refer to heraldry or a banner. Thus, *facies testamenti* can be read as 'the banner of the (New) Covenant,' that is, the cross. This agrees with the entries for *facies* in the *Distinctiones*: Alan and Petrus Cantor identify it as *manifestatio* and *praesentia*; Garnerius as *praesentia Dei* and *protectio Dei*, eventually also as *ecclesia* and *vetus lex*, a reference to the Ark of the Covenant.¹⁸ This reading is corroborated by the fact that Peter of Blois uses the term in four texts concerned with crusading: the *Conquestio*; the crusade call of 1185 (*Ep.98*); the letter about Baldwin's martyrdom before Acre (*Ep.27*); and another letter (*Ep.106*) penned after the Third Crusade. In 1185's call, he formulates in the future tense: the Lord will consider or care for the banner of his Covenant (*respiciet Dominus in faciem testamenti sui*)—the Cross is not lost yet. The *Conquestio*, on the eve of the venture, switches into the imperative (*respice in faciem testamenti tui*)—reacting to the loss.¹⁹ In both letters after the expedition, he formulates in the present tense sub-

15 Garnerius of Clairvaux, *Distinctiones*, 865. See also Ms. BNF lat. 18172, fol. 28^v.

16 Alan of Lille, *Distinctiones*, 707. "Arbor, proprie, dicitur homo, unde Graece anthropos dicitur, id est arbor conversa; quia, sicut caput arboris terrae adhaeret, et membra superius, ita per contrarium homo habet caput superius et membra inferius [...]."

17 Peter of Blois, *Conquestio*, 77; *Sermo* 60, 738; *Ep.10*, 28; *Ep.27*, 95; *Ep.48*, 141; *Ep.98*, 307; *Ep.106*, 330; *Ep.155*, 450. I found the term only in one other text: Baldwin of Canterbury, *Epistola*, 1534, a letter to Urban III (1185). In agreement with his duties, Peter may have written it as well.

18 Alan of Lille, *Distinctiones*, 784; Garnerius of Clairvaux, *Distinctiones*, 920; Ms. BL Royal 10 A XVI, fol. 40^v and Ms. BNF lat. 10633, fol. 44^r as well as Petrus Cantor, *Distinctiones*, 254. See also the entries for *facies* in *Mediae latinitatis lexicon minus*, ed. Jan Frederik Niermeyer (Leiden 1997); Karl Ernst Georges, *Ausführliches lateinisch-deutsches Handwörterbuch* (Darmstadt 2010).

19 This is complemented with: "[...] respice in hereditatem quam acquisivisti in sanguine tuo, et ne repellas in finem." (Peter of Blois, *Conquestio*, 77). Cross relic and Holy Land are juxtaposed—God may not reject these "in the end." This evokes the threat of losing the elect status; see the chapter's subsequent discussion. On the motif of inheritance, see the chapter on the Holy Land.

junctive (*respiciat Dominus in faciem testamenti sui*), reducing the imperative's immediacy, since he is not preaching here. Yet, he also warns of the Muslims, rendering them as "Amalekites."²⁰ We see that Peter always adapts his formulation to the circumstances. His *Passio Raginaldi* offers another example: "Hear also Zacharias: he says, all my peoples will come and announce: Let us depart; we shall appease the [angry] face of the Lord, and we shall seek the banner of the Lord of hosts [Zach. 8:21]."²¹ He alters here the second part of Zach. 8:21: in the Vulgate, they seek the Lord of hosts (*dominum exercituum*); here, they seek "the banner" of the Lord of hosts (*faciem domini exercituum*), formulated as an exhortation in the present tense subjunctive—a reference to the relic's loss. This conveys the common reading of the events of 1187: God is angry and punishes his chosen people; *facies* here implies his angry face.²² Consequently, the passage's second *facies* may comprise a double meaning: searching for the lost relic (i.e., *queramus faciem domini exercituum*) represents a way back to God for seeing his face in the *visio Dei*.²³ As the manifold evidence demonstrates, Peter tried to establish *facies testamenti* as a new term for the Cross relic—this happened in reaction to its loss.

Henry of Albano undertook a similar attempt. His crusade treatise contains three instances of the expression *vexilliferi crucis*, the standard-bearers of the cross. The notion of a single standard-bearer would be common (referring to the relic), but formulating this in the plural is a noteworthy phenomenon. The relic's loss plays a key role in his treatise, and he relates his standard-bearers to the fact that many are signing themselves with the cross: they wear the cross like a banner into battle. This represents an immediate reaction to its loss; the practice of wearing a cross may take on a new quality here—we will return to this.²⁴ Henry's involvement in several recruitment events suggests

20 Peter of Blois, *Ep. 106*, 330.

21 Peter of Blois, *Passio Raginaldi*, 56. "Audi et Zachariam: Venient, inquit, populi mei dicentes: eamus et deprecemur faciem domini et queramus faciem domini exercituum [Zach. 8:21] [...]."

22 He twice explains the events of 1187 with *peccatis nostris exigentibus* (Peter of Blois, *Passio Raginaldi*, 50, 54). See also Martin of León, *Liber sermonum*, *Sermo 29*, 1075; Rupert of Deutz, *Commentary on Zach.*, 761. Rupert states: "[...] in illam, inquam, Hierusalem terrenam, ubi est sepulcrum ejus gloriosum [Is. 11:10], vadunt populi multi ad quaerendum Dominum, ad deprecandum faciem Domini." On Is. 11:10 see the chapter on Jerusalem.

23 See also *Glossa ordinaria* (Zach. 8), ed. Feuardent, 4:2129–2130, relating *faciem domini* to Christ: through him, one sees the Father (*qui videt me, videt et patrem*), a purpose of meditation just like via the cross.

24 See also Ms. BNF lat. 2954, fol. 153^v; in this variant of Peter's crusade call to the bishop of Orleans, Peter demands that the bishop shall depart with the *vexilla fidei* on crusade: "Tu vero diligentiam adhibe studiosam, ut consanguineus tuus tanquam primipiliarius

that this reflects an actual practice among crusaders.²⁵ This is apparent in his use of *vexilliferi*: he says that only a very few remained who had not become standard-bearers, that is, crusaders, of the celestial king (*paucissimi relictis sunt, qui non coelestis regis vexilliferi sunt effecti*).²⁶ Importantly, the image of following Christ into battle alludes to Rev. 19. A few lines later, he criticizes the renewed conflicts between Philip II and Henry II, before he uses *vexilliferi crucis* once again, identifying them as *Christi martyres* and *milites Christi*. The term epitomizes a counter-model for the intra-Christian conflicts, which Henry renders as a war of “cross against cross” (*crux adversus crucem*), alluding to the fact that many have already been signed with it.²⁷ Even though he does not seem to have been successful in establishing this term, the idea behind it became very successful, that is, each individual signing himself with the cross, concurrent with the development of the term *crucesignati*.²⁸

Ralph Ardens delivers another terminological attempt in a sermon on *In inventione sanctae crucis* concerned with the relic's loss and the impending Second Coming:

Second, the Lord shows us whom he will assemble, in order to hold judgment with him when he adds: Wherever the body [of Christ] will be, there the standard-bearers will assemble [Mt. 24:28]. And when he says it even more clearly: Just as the standard-bearers even feel the bodies beyond the sea and assemble there, so will the celestial forces and the saints assemble at the place where the flesh of the Son of Man will be, in order to hold judgment over the world with him. This is corroborated by the following:

Ecclesiae vexilla fidei ferat ante reges et principes terrae, ut sicut vigilantior fuit in bellicis actibus, modo non sit in Christianae fidei defensione retrogradus.” The PL has *vexillum fidei* in the singular: Peter of Blois, *Ep.* 112, 337.

- 25 Similar expressions are found in: Ansbert, *Historia*, ed. Chroust, 14, regarding the Council of Mainz, it identifies those who take the cross as *fideles* [sunt] *membra signatorum* and Barbarossa, their leader, as a *gloriosus signifer*. The crusaders being *membra* indicates the Corpus Christi.
- 26 Henry of Albano, *De peregrinante civitate Dei* (XIII), 357. Immediately after follows the second use describing the *vexilliferi* as acutely arduous and praiseworthy (*tam arduum, tam laudabile*).
- 27 Henry of Albano, *De peregrinante civitate Dei* (XIII), 360; this passage is examined below.
- 28 A dependence upon Henry is found in: Jacques de Vitry, *Sermo 2*, ed. Maier, 106, speaking of *signiferi crucis*. A contemporary chronicle speaks of Richard Lionheart and his princes arming themselves with “the banner of the cross” (*vexillo se crucis armant*) (Guillaume le Breton, *Philippidos*, ed. Delaborde, 66). Similarly also Martin: “ipsius vivificae crucis vexillum in frontibus nostris gestamus” (Martin of León, *Liber sermonum, Sermo 22*, 864).

And he will call the heaven from above and separate his people from the earth [Ps. 50:4].²⁹

Ralph deviates from Mt. 24:28, granting it new meaning with the help of the terms it offers: it actually speaks of eagles (*aquilae*) surrounding a corpse (*corpus*). The master, however, understands the *corpus* as the Corpus Christi (shortly after the passage cited, he also discusses the Eucharist), equating it with Christ's flesh (*caro Filii hominis*). The *aquilae* shall assemble in every place where it will be—and the place where he turned into flesh is of course the Holy Land. The term *aquila* originally designated the standard-bearer of a Roman legion, and Ralph uses it accordingly, yet in the plural, a parallel with Henry. These *aquilae* assemble with Christ to assist him in the Judgment: they are his eschatological helpers. This idea permeates the sermon; one passage relates the eschatological Christ to both the Cross relic and those signed with the cross (see the discussion below).³⁰ Other contemporaries use *aquilae* with the same meaning, including Barbarossa's letter to Saladin, penned on the eve of the Third Crusade, where the emperor threatens the sultan with what *nostrae victrices aquilae* are capable.³¹ Christ himself appears in contemporaneous sermon texts as an *aquila* who goads his fledglings to escape "the hunter."³² Ralph's expression that the *aquilae* can feel the *cadavera transmarina* refers most likely to the events of 1187: the martyrs of these events are entangled with the Western Christians, since they are all part of the Corpus Christi.³³ He may be referring to

29 Ralph Ardens, *Pars (II), De tempore, Sermo 19*, 1373. "Secundo, demonstrat Dominus quos ad iudicandum secum sit congregaturus, cum subdit: Ubiunque fuerit corpus, illic congregabuntur et aquilae [Mt. 24:28]. Ac si apertius dicat: Sicut aquilae cadavera etiam transmarina sentiunt, et ibi congregantur, ita coelestes potestates et sancti congregabuntur ubi erit caro Filii hominis, ut iudicent mundum cum eo, iuxta illud: Et vocabit coelum desursum, et terram discernere populum suum [Ps. 50:4]."

30 Ralph Ardens, *Pars (II), De tempore, Sermo 19*, 1374. On the eschatological roles proposed to sermons' audiences, see the chapter on the Apocalypse.

31 Frederick I, *Epistola*, 498. That this letter may have been a (contemporary) forgery does not matter when examining its ideas. On this issue, see Hannes Möhring, *Saladin und der Dritte Kreuzzug: Aiyubidische Strategie und Diplomatie im Vergleich vornehmlich der arabischen mit den lateinischen Quellen* (Wiesbaden 1980), 98–125. For other examples, see Peter of Blois, *Sermo 41*, 685; Hélinand of Froidmont, *Sermo 5*, 527; Martin of León, *Liber sermonum, Sermo 22*, 854; Alan of Lille, *Distinctiones*, 706, 753; Garnerius of Clairvaux, *Distinctiones*, 862.

32 See Bird, "Good Friday," 142. See, e.g., Jacques de Vitry, *Sermo 2*, ed. Maier, 110. Similar to Ralph, Odo of Chateauroux later formulates: "Ipsi [crucesignati] enim velut aves nobiles ad vocationem Domini veniunt, faciunt ei exercituum [...]" (Odo of Chateauroux, *Sermo 2*, ed. Maier, 146).

33 The nexus between martyrdom and Mt. 24:28 is also present in: "O Domine, ad te ergo,

the liturgical prayer *Congregati sunt* (the verbs concur, repeated three times by Ralph), which laments that the enemies have assembled and calls on God for help. It is already found in early crusade chronicles, preceding the march into battle.³⁴ *Aquilae* thus represents another terminological attempt to make sense of the relic's loss, just as it aligns the event with the practice of signing oneself with a cross. All three cases—Peter, Henry, and Ralph—have in common that they seek this causality; they emphasize the image of a war banner as well as the cross' semiotic purpose.

The cross was present in the West in the form of relics, images, liturgical feasts, and sermons. As Anatole Frolow's monumental opus made clear, a dense network of such relics existed in the 12th century, objects that all claimed to be parts of the one True Cross.³⁵ These were part of frequent religious practices and delivered a direct connection with the Holy Land: numerous monasteries involved in crusade preaching possessed or received such from returning crusaders.³⁶ Specific liturgical feasts made the Cross present in a recurring ritual framework, often integrating cross relics or symbols, as visible in the liturgical texts for the departure of crusaders.³⁷ Easter obviously betrays a strong entan-

velut ad corpus, aquilae congregabuntur, ut compleatur holocaustum." (Martin of León, *Liber sermonum*, *Sermo* 7, 598). On Templars as martyrs in the events of 1187, see Helen J. Nicholson, "Martyrum collegio sociandus haberet': Depictions of the Military Orders' Martyrs in the Holy Land, 1187–1291," in: *Crusading and Warfare in the Middle Ages*, ed. Simon John and Nicholas Morton (Farnham 2014), 105–112; Joachim Rother, *Das Martyrium im Templerorden: Eine Studie zur historisch-theologischen Relevanz des Opfertodes im geistlichen Ritterorden der Templer* (Bamberg 2017), 407–420. For *transmarina* referring to the Holy Land, see, e.g., Siegbert of Gembloux, *Chronica*, 363, 374, 377; *Chronica Andrensis*, 718; Ansbert, *Historia*, ed. Chroust, 13; Benedictinus anonymus, *De penitentia*, ed. Huygens, 101–102; Gerald of Wales, *De principis instructione*, 239; Sicard of Cremona, *Chronicon*, 520; *Annales Marbacenses*, MGH SS 17:163; *Carmina Burana*, ed. Traill, 1:176; Alexander III, *Ep.1429*, 1244; Celestine III, *Ep.238*, 1135; Humbert of Romans, *Short Version*, ed. Portnykh, 77.

34 *Gesta Francorum*, ed. Hill, 58; Tudebode, *Historia*, ed. Hill, 100; see Gaposchkin, *Weapons*, 112–113.

35 Frolow, *Vraie Croix*, esp. 340–360, 380–414; see also Jaspert, "True Cross," 213–215; Jaspert, "Vergegenwärtigungen Jerusalems in Architektur und Reliquienkult," in: *Jerusalem im Hoch- und Spätmittelalter*, ed. Dieter Bauer (Frankfurt am Main 2001), 245–267. Jaspert asserted that it would be worthwhile to investigate a network of the Holy Land on the basis of Frolow's work.

36 See Bird, *Heresy*, 142; Frolow, *Vraie Croix*, 399–404; and Caesarius of Heisterbach, *Dialogus* (4.30), 748; (8.25), 1560.

37 On the liturgy of the cross, see Gaposchkin, *Weapons*, 53–64, 78. Pennington and Brundage have edited five such texts, three from the late 12th century; Gaposchkin added two more; such also survived from late 12th-century Canterbury (Gaposchkin, "Pilgrimage," 88–91; Ken Pennington, "The Rite for Taking the Cross in the Twelfth Century," *Traditio* 30 (1974),

gement with it: the relevant corpus offers in particular three pertinent Easter sermons by Garnerius of Clairvaux. The feast delivers an excellent occasion for preaching the crusade on account of its spatial reference to Jerusalem as well as its preeminent providential standing.³⁸ Two other feasts are specifically devoted to the relic of Jerusalem: *In inventione sanctae crucis* (3 May) is concerned with Helena's finding of the cross (in 325); and *In exaltatione sanctae crucis* (14 Sept.) deals with its loss and recovery under the Byzantine emperor Heraclius (614 and 628).³⁹ After taking it to Constantinople for a triumphal procession, he returned it to Jerusalem, which was conquered by Islamic troops in 637, and thus it was lost until its recovery in 1099.⁴⁰ These two feasts, celebrated in the West since the 7th century, commemorated the turbulent career of the specific relic. This is visible in the chronicles of Hélinand of Froidmont and William of Tyre, where the Heraclius episode even forms the beginning of their accounts.⁴¹ However, such sermons are not common in the relevant corpus: only Ralph Ardens' collection offers two texts on *In inventione* and one on *In exaltatione*. Furthermore, scholars related one of Alan of Lille's sermons to *In exaltatione*—but this is only one possibility; it is entitled *De cruce domini*.⁴²

431–435; James A. Brundage, “Crucesignari: The Rite for Taking the Cross in England,” *Traditio* 22 (1966), 303–310.

- 38 Garnerius of Clairvaux, *Sermo* 17–19, 681–700. See in general Bird, “Good Friday,” 129–130, 134–136; Jürgen Bärsch, “Jerusalem im Spiegel der abendländischen Liturgie des Mittelalters. Anamnetisches Zitat—szenische Darstellung—visuell-haptische Inkorporation,” in: *Die Kreuzzugsbewegung im römisch-deutschen Reich (11.–13. Jahrhundert)*, ed. Nikolas Jaspert and Stefan Tebruck (Ostfildern 2015), 354–355.
- 39 On the latter feast in Latin Jerusalem, see Baert, *Heritage*, 164, 175; Sylvia Schein, *Gateway to the Heavenly City: Crusader Jerusalem and the Catholic West (1099–1187)* (Aldershot 2005), 102. On the West, see Andrea Sommerlechner, “Kaiser Herakleios und die Rückkehr des Heiligen Kreuzes nach Jerusalem. Überlegungen zu Stoff- und Motivgeschichte,” *Römische Historische Mitteilungen* 45 (2003), 326–341. For sources see, e.g., Alan of Lille, *De cruce domini*, ed. d’Alverny, 280–281; Sicard of Cremona, *Chronicon*, 518; *Itinerarium peregrinorum*, ed. Mayer, 259; Theodericus, *Libellus*, 153.
- 40 This was the Western story, at least after 1099. In fact, the relic seems to have been taken to Constantinople before the conquest of 637 (see Toussaint, “Erfindung,” 151).
- 41 Hélinand of Froidmont, *Chronicon*, 771–773; William of Tyre, *Chronica* (1.1), 105. See also Gaposchkin, *Weapons*, 55–58, arguing that the two feasts were preeminent occasions for crusade preaching in the 13th century. See also Maier, *Friars*, 108, 112–113; and Baert, *Heritage*, 193, who aligns *In inventione* with pilgrimage (represented in Helena) and *In exaltatione* with crusade (represented in Heraclius).
- 42 Ralph Ardens, *Pars* (11), *De tempore*, *Sermo* 18, 1368–1372; *Sermo* 19, 1372–1375; *Sermo* 36, 1447–1450. On Alan's sermon, see Christopher Matthew Phillips, “The Thief's Cross: Crusade and Penance in Alan of Lille's ‘Sermo de cruce domini,’” *Crusades* 5 (2006), 145; Marie-Thérèse d’Alverny, *Alain de Lille: textes inédits* (Paris 1965), 143. Expanding the horizon, one finds sermons on both feasts by Caesarius of Heisterbach (Ms. Trier 232, fols. 53^v,

Yet, another genre exists beyond the established feasts: the pertinent corpus offers several sermons bearing the title *De sancta cruce*, that is, generic sermons on the cross, including three such texts by Alan of Lille and one each by Baldwin of Canterbury, Prevostin of Cremona, and Martin of León.⁴³ These sermons represent a reaction to the relic's loss, just as the term *sancta crux* tends to refer to the specific relic. This is corroborated by database searches: only one such sermon turned up for the period prior to 1187, whereas the succeeding period knows further such cases.⁴⁴ The absence of a definite feast suggests the intention of providing flexible model texts, not least for crusade preaching. The evidence indicates that these authors were eager to establish a new genre, and we know that Jerusalem's loss caused the establishment of a new liturgical feast already in 1188.⁴⁵ Further sermon texts are occasionally devoted to the cross, in particular those for Palm Sunday, the feast that celebrated Christ's entry into the holy city (see the chapter on Jerusalem), including two pertinent texts by Hélinand of Froidmont.⁴⁶ The common reference to Cant. 7:9 (*ascendam in palmam, et comprehendam fructus ejus*) provides a clue here; it opens, for example, one of Alan's sermons *De sancta cruce*. The palm branch is usually aligned with the cross (including Alan's case): one takes the cross, that is, one

96^r). For a crusade-related sermon *In exaltatione* in the 14th century, see Constantinos Georgiou, *Preaching the Crusades to the Eastern Mediterranean: Propaganda, Liturgy, and Diplomacy, 1305–1352* (New York 2018), 141–146.

- 43 Alan of Lille, *De sancta cruce* (1), 223–226; *De cruce domini*, ed. d'Alverny, 279–283; Ms. Oxford, Bodley 409, fols. 148^v–149^v; Martin of León, *De sanctis, Sermo 5*, 29–38; Baldwin of Canterbury, *Sermo 8*, 127–136; Ms. BL Add 18335, fols. 24^r–25^r. Another candidate is a sermon *De cruce* by William de Montibus; see Joseph Ward Goering, *William de Montibus (c.1140–1213): The Schools and the Literature of Pastoral Care* (Toronto 1992), 547.
- 44 Before 1187, see Odilo of Cluny, *Sermo 15*, 1031. After 1187, see, e.g., Odo of Chateauroux, *Sermo 2*, ed. Maier, 144. Georgiou identified another such sermon in the early 14th century (Georgiou, *Preaching*, 193); he also discusses the relevance of generic sermons *De cruce* (141–146).
- 45 See Gaposchkin, *Weapons*, 195, 198, 290–302; Amnon Linder, “‘Deus Venerunt Gentes’: Psalm 78 (79) in the Liturgical Commemoration of the Destruction of Latin Jerusalem,” in: *Medieval Studies in Honour of Avrom Saltmann*, ed. Bat-Sheva Albert and Yvonne Friedman (Ramat-Gan 1995), 145–171. See also Linder, *Raising Arms: Liturgy in the Struggle to liberate Jerusalem in the Late Middle Ages* (Turnhout 2003), 2–3, 8–11, 26, 98; Jessalynn L. Bird, “Rogations, Litanies, and Crusade Preaching: The Liturgical Front in the Late Twelfth and Early Thirteenth Centuries,” in: *Papacy, Crusade, and Christian-Muslim Relations*, ed. Bird (Amsterdam 2018), 182–185.
- 46 Hélinand of Froidmont, *Sermo 8*, 544–554; *Sermo 10*, 561–572. A crusade-related Palm Sunday sermon by Stephen Langton follows one of Alan of Lille's sermons *De sancta cruce* in its manuscript (Ms. BNF lat. 14859, fols. 231^r–232^v; discussed by Bird, “Palm Sunday,” 23; Phyllis Barzillay Roberts, *Studies in the Sermons of Stephen Langton* (Toronto 1968), 182). On this cluster of crusade material, see the chapter on media context.

picks its fruits.⁴⁷ Baldwin of Canterbury makes the same equation in his sermon *De sancta cruce*, identifying the cross as a victorious sign (*crux victoriosa*) that brings its enemies punishment (*supplicium*) and extinction (*vite exterminium*).⁴⁸ The palm branch was also the common souvenir of pilgrims and crusaders for having completed the journey to Jerusalem. Sicard of Cremona's *De officiis* intertwines it with the crusade and an eschatological dimension; the latter is exemplified in Rev. 7:9 (*stantes ante thronum et in conspectu Agni, amicti stolis albis, et palmae in manibus eorum*), a reference found repeatedly in the contemporary evidence (see below).⁴⁹ The signing with the cross and the symbolic meaning of the branch were thus entangled.

This chapter will proceed by: (1) discussing *Audita tremendi*, the metatext for the relic's loss; (2) analysing a Palm Sunday sermon by Hélinand of Froidmont that assembles several elements around the cross, especially Ez. 9, a vital reference found in numerous texts; (3) examining the comparison of losing the Cross relic and the Ark of the Covenant respectively, a comparison that suggests that the Christians may lose their elect status like once the Jews; (4) examining the important reference to Mt. 16:24; and (5) the chapter's conclusion will lead to a broader discussion regarding how the relic's loss shaped the very concept of crusading.

1 *Audita tremendi*

Gregory VIII's *Audita tremendi* was likely the earliest text, issued a few days after the news had arrived; and it occupied a supreme place in the textual hierarchy. Its name designates its program: hear the terrible (judgment)—something happened in the East, something that concerns us and requires a swift reaction.⁵⁰ It broaches the relic's loss right at the outset:

47 Alan of Lille, *De sancta cruce* (1), 223. See also Ms. BNF lat. 3811, fol. 115^v; William of Newburgh, *Explanatio*, ed. Gorman, 318. William says: "Ascendi in palmam, sed manibus militum, qui divine dignationi mee nescientes militabant. Ex eorum ergo manibus scalam michi feci." The blending of palm branch and cross is also present in the Chanter's *Distinctiones* (Ms. BL Royal 10 A XVI, fol. 24^r). See also Bird, "Palm Sunday," 18–19.

48 Baldwin of Canterbury, *Sermo* 8, 127.

49 Sicard of Cremona, *De officiis*, 82: "Hinc est, quod hi qui de Hierosolymis veniunt, palmas in manibus gerunt, in signum quod illi regi militaverunt qui Hierosolymis cum diabolo pugnant, et victor exstitit, et coeli palatium cum angelis triumphans introit, ubi iusti sicut palmae florebant et sicut stellae fulgebunt." On the branch as a souvenir, see Constable, "Cross," 6; Jonathan Riley-Smith, "An Army on Pilgrimage," in: *Jerusalem the Golden*, ed. Susan B. Edgington (Turnhout 2014), 112.

50 See Thomas W. Smith, "*Audita tremendi* and the Call for the Third Crusade Reconsidered,

Obviously due to the state of dissension, which the malice of mankind, induced by the devil's blandishments, has recently brought over the land of the Lord, Saladin invaded with a multitude of forces the same regions. The king, the bishops, the Templars, the Hospitallers, and the princes offered them a resistance, together with the soldiers and the people of the [Holy] Land as well as with the Lord's Cross, which usually provided a reliable protection and a desirable defense against the assaults of the pagans, thanks to the commemoration of and faith for the Passion of Christ, who hung on that Cross and redeemed mankind with it. But eventually, chaos struck them, our forces were defeated, the Lord's Cross was captured, the bishops were slaughtered, the king captured, and almost everybody was either put to the sword or abducted by inimical hands, wherefore it is reported that only a very few could escape.⁵¹

Gregory provides therein crucial arguments: the cross stands out as a pivotal element of the events, an archaeological artefact of the promise of redemption and a *lieu de mémoire* that recalls the Passion (*ex memoria passionis Christi*), a dimension significantly informing its powers.⁵² He also highlights its career in the course of the 12th century: it offered a defense against the assaults of the pagans, a visible sign of God's protection. The pope delivers an explanation for how this could have happened despite God's omnipotence and the Christians' elect status: malice and dissension (*occasio dissensionis*) induced by

1187–1188," *Viator* 49/3 (2018), 68–69, 88. The adjective 'terrible, dreadful' relates to God's verdict (*tremendum iudicium*), a common rendering of the Last Judgment (see, e.g., Baldwin of Canterbury, *Sermo* 18, 296; Peter of Blois, *Sermo* 22, 627; *Ep.* 87, 274; Henry of Albano, *Ep.* 32, PL 204:249).

- 51 Gregory VIII, *Audita tremendi*, ed. Chroust, 7; see also Ms. BL Add 24145, fol. 76^v and Smith, "Audita tremendi," 89–90. "Ex occasione quippe dissensionis quae malitia hominum ex suggestione diaboli facta est nuper in terra domini, accessit Saladinus cum multitudine armatorum ad partes illas et occurrente sibi [BL Add 24145: >> occurrentibus eis] rege episcopis templariis hospitalariis et baronibus cum militibus et populo terrae et cruce Dominica, per quam ex memoria et fide passionis Christi qui pendit in ea et genus humanum in ea redemit, certum solebat esse tutamen et contra paganorum incursus desiderata defensio, facta est congressio contra [BL Add 24145: >> inter] eos et superata parte nostrorum, capta est crux Dominica, trucidati episcopi, captus est rex et universi fere aut occisi gladio aut hostilibus manibus deprehensi, ita ut paucissimi per fugam dicantur elapsi."
- 52 Textual parallels are found in Patriarch Heraclius' call for help (Sept. 1187): "qui in cruce pendit, ut humanum genus a morte eterna liberaret" (Heraclius, *Hilferuf* (11), ed. Jaspert, 515). And in: "ecce lignum in quo pendit et redemit nos filius dei" (Peter of Blois, *Passio Raginaldi*, 50; see below).

the devil (*ex suggestione diaboli*) engendered the situation. This resumes Bernard's argument after the Second Crusade's failure: Christian sinfulness caused the events.⁵³ The relic's loss is symptomatic of something going fundamentally wrong, something that enrages God; and the argument holds the West accountable for what happened.

Some lines later, Gregory expresses the desire to regain the relic via a proper reaction: "Exert yourselves in retaking his land, where the truth [i.e., Christ] emerged from the earth for the sake of our salvation; and he did not despise to carry the yoke of the cross for us. You shall not strive still for riches and earthly glory but for the will of God."⁵⁴ The cross signifies salvation and truth; the latter has emerged from the Holy Land's soil (*de terra orta est*), an allusion to erecting the cross at Christ's crucifixion (Ps. 85:12).⁵⁵ Thus, a present and upright cross—as it was carried into battle—operates as a surety of salvation, whereas its absence jeopardizes the promise of redemption. Gregory stresses the rootedness in the Holy Land, which is designated via a generic *terra* (on this, see the chapter on the Holy Land). Christ sanctified it (in the previous passage present as the *terra domini*): geographical categories are colored in providential terms. The image of the Cross relic channels all these dimensions: firmly rooted in Palestine's soil, it binds Christian destiny to this region. This spatial anchoring mirrors the practice between 1099 and 1187: the relic as a war banner was almost exclusively employed on the territory of the kingdom of Jerusalem—and not in inimical lands (such as the expeditions into Egypt in the 1160s).⁵⁶ The pope puts

53 Bernard of Clairvaux, *De consideratione* (2.1), 662; see Hans-Dietrich Kahl, "Crusade Eschatology as Seen by St. Bernard in the Years 1146 to 1148," in: *The Second Crusade and the Cistercians*, ed. Michael Gervers (New York 1992), 39–40; Penny J. Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades to the Holy Land, 1095–1270* (Cambridge, Mass. 1991), 57. Bernard likewise stresses dissension. See also Gregory VIII, *Nunquam melius*, 1539.

54 Gregory VIII, *Audita tremendi*, ed. Chroust, 9; see also Ms. BL Add 24145, fol. 77^r and Smith, "Audita tremendi," 96. "[...] laborantes ad recuperationem terrae illius, in qua pro salute nostra veritas de terra orta est [Ps. 85:12] et sustinere pro nobis crucis patibulum non despexit. Et nolite adhuc ad lucrum vel ad gloriam temporalem attendere, sed ad voluntatem Dei [...]"

55 On Ps. 85:12 see also Alan of Lille, *Distinctiones*, 745; Peter of Blois, *Contra Iudeos*, 857; *Sermo* 6, 581; Ralph Ardens, *Pars* (1), *Section* (1), *Sermo* 9, 1696; Hélinand of Froidmont, *Sermo* 2, 486–498; Ms. Toulouse 195, fol. 98^r. The *Glossa* entangles the verse with confession and penance (*Glossa ordinaria* (Ps. 85), ed. Feuarent, 31089–1090). Database searches do not yield many hits: even though Gregory provided this element, it was not well received—even though other motifs express the same (see the discussion on Christ's blood in the chapter on Jerusalem).

56 Fulcher expressed concerns when some considered deploying the relic in the principality of Antioch (Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia* (3.9), ed. Hagenmeyer, 639; discussed by Murray, "True Cross," 224–227).

suffering and renunciation center stage; earthly matters are condemned: this is the path of those who intend to follow Christ. This is once more underlined towards the letter's end through the use of Rom. 8:18, before it proceeds to call for crusading, rendering the act of taking the cross (*cruce[m] accipere* and *susceptio crucis*) as a letter of intent that one will depart.⁵⁷ Gregory began with the relic's loss, emphasizing its salvific purpose; he ends by calling his addressees, in reaction to the same event, to sign themselves with the cross. As concerns terminology, no distinction exists between the cross that is lost and the one to be taken. So much for the papal encyclical that got the ball rolling—Gregory's comrades may tell us how exactly crusaders were supposed to align themselves with a relic lost somewhere in the East.

2 Hélinand of Froidmont, *In ramis palmarum III: Ez. 9, Cross Signings, and the Landscape of Salvation*

One of Hélinand's sermons delivers a powerful symbiosis of liturgy, exegesis, and crusade call. It is evident that this text dates after 1187, since it alludes to the relic's loss (see below), but when exactly between the Third Crusade and the early 13th century remains unclear due to Hélinand's biography. However, an attribution to the Third Crusade seems most likely, since he had significant relations with key protagonists (Philip Augustus, Philip of Dreux).⁵⁸ In its surviving form, the text presents itself as a liturgical sermon *In ramis palmarum* (Palm Sunday), a feast concerned with Christ's arrival in Jerusalem.⁵⁹ It also devotes some lines to discussing liturgical space, describing a twofold jube that signifies the sinful state of earthly flesh: one jube separates clergy and laity, the other the clergy from the altar. It also mentions a cross relic carried in a procession on the day of the sermon (expressed with *hodie*).⁶⁰ The text oscillates

57 Gregory VIII, *Audita tremendi*, ed. Chroust, 10; see also Ms. BL Add 24145, fol. 77^r and Smith, "Audita tremendi," 99–100. Rom. 8:18 is also present in: Peter of Blois, *Passio Raginaldi*, 58; *Compendium in Iob*, 825; Baldwin of Canterbury, *Sermo* 8, 131; Ralph Ardens, *Pars (1), Section (1)*, *Sermo* 27, 1764; *Section (2)*, *Sermo* 10, 1979–1980; Ms. Troyes 1301, fol. 60^v; Prevostin of Cremona, *Contra haereticos*, ed. Garvin, 195, 281; Ms. BL Add 19767, fol. 76^r; Gilbert of Tournai, *Sermo* 3, ed. Maier, 200.

58 See the chapter on immediate context.

59 So says the title in the PL and in: Ms. Mazarine 1041, fol. 36^r, here as a later gloss; the main text has *De passione domini*. This is one of five Palm Sunday sermons by Hélinand; four of which appear in the manuscript cited.

60 Hélinand of Froidmont, *Sermo* 10, 565. On these passages, see the chapter on the Apocalypse. Frolow does not note a cross relic for Froidmont but one for Beauvais, which

between cross symbolism and partaking in the cross, especially via harnessing the idea of the Corpus Christi. This partaking is manifested in the reference to Ez. 9:4, Hélinand's opening verse (repeated multiple times throughout the sermon): "Go through the midst of the city into the center of Jerusalem; put the Tau on the foreheads of the men who grieve and lament over all the abominations that are committed in the midst of Jerusalem."⁶¹ Both the reference and the liturgical feast deliver an entanglement of the two vital goals after 1187: Jerusalem and Cross; he has thus clearly outlined his prime concern.⁶² Shortly after the opening verse, he explicates:

First, it was necessary that Christ suffered, before he could enter into his glory [Lk. 24:26]: but I say, Christ entirely, that is, the head with the body, Christ with the Church, since head and body are one in Christ. This is explained by the Apostle when saying: It is necessary that we enter into the kingdom of God through many tribulations [Acts 14:22]. The same is said in Revelation: the Lamb of God is slain since the foundation of the world [Rev. 13:8]; because he began back then to perish in his limbs. One can assert with the same rationale: he must be slain until the end of the world, a fact about which he bore witness in himself, that is, in Peter going to Rome for being crucified again. Finally, Paul also says that he completes his body with those parts that are absent from his Passion [Col. 1:24]: this evidently shows that Christ has not yet suffered completely, but he will keep suffering in his limbs until the end of the world. Because all those who desire to live faithfully in Christ endure the persecution [2 Tim. 3:12].⁶³

Philip of Dreux buried with a saint in 1205 (Frolow, *Vraie Croix*, 385). On cross relics in crusade-specific processions, see Bird, "Rogations," 160–161; Christoph T. Maier, "Ritual, What Else? Papal Letters, Sermons and the Making of Crusaders," *Journal of Medieval History* 44 (2018), 341; on the liturgy in general, see Nicole Bériou, *Religion et communication: un autre regard sur la prédication au Moyen Age* (Paris 2018), 97–102.

61 Hélinand of Froidmont, *Sermo 10*, 561 and Ms. Mazarine 1041, fol. 36^r. "Transi per mediam [Mazarine 1041: >> pudicam] civitatem in medio Jerusalem; et signa Tau super frontes virorum gementium [Mazarine 1041: >> gaudentium] et dolentium super cunctis abominationibus quae fiunt in medio eius."

62 On the identification of cross and Tau, see Constable, "Cross," 45; Bird, "Good Friday," 141; Baert, *Heritage*, 20, 108, 305. As Paul discusses, the Tau also relates to Jud. 7:4–7, where an outnumbered army is victorious thanks to God's support (Nicholas L. Paul, *To Follow in Their Footsteps: The Crusades and Family Memory in the High Middle Ages* (Ithaca, NY 2012), 127–128). See also Deut. 32:30; see below on this verse.

63 Hélinand of Froidmont, *Sermo 10*, 561. "[...] prius oportuit Christum pati, quam intraret in gloriam suam [Lk. 24:26]: Christum autem dico totaliter, id est caput cum corpore, Christum cum Ecclesia. Nam caput et corpus unus est Christus. Sic enim exponit

The Cistercian emphasizes that Christ's Passion was only the beginning or foundation: Christ has not suffered yet completely (*Christus nondum totus passus est*), but he must suffer in his parts or limbs (*in membris suis*) until the End of Days (*ad finem saeculi passurus*). Whoever wants to live in him, that is, within the Corpus Christi, must endure the persecution (Mt. 5:10 and 2 Tim. 3:12).⁶⁴ Hélinand connects this with both the Apocalypse, citing Rev. 13, and a specific example, that is, Peter who was crucified in Rome, a prototype for the *imitatio Christi* and a still incomplete Passion.⁶⁵ Every limb, that is, every Christian, must bear its part in the Passion, in order to acquire redemption.

Commenting on Ez. 9, Hélinand expounds thereafter on the meaning of the Cross relic:

And put the Tau on the foreheads of the men who grieve etc. [Ez. 9:4]. It is royal custom that the royal banners precede every king going to war, banners from which the enemies flee terrified, whereas their own soldiers withstand bravely. Thus God sends his son to war: he commands his own sign to be worn, and to put or to imprint it on each of his [soldiers]: thanks to this sign, he would be able to recognize those who are his [soldiers].⁶⁶

The cross appears as a war banner that kings carried into battle; this evokes the common practice in the kingdom of Jerusalem since 1100. It is an extraordinary banner: terrified enemies flee before it; its own soldiers withstand bravely—

Apostolus, cum dicit: Per multas tribulationes oportet nos intrare in regnum Dei [Acts 14:22]. Hinc quod in Apocalypsi idem Agnus Dei dicitur esse occisus ab origine mundi [Rev. 13:8]; quia in membris suis ex tunc occidi coepit. Eadem quoque ratione potest dici occidendus [Mazarine 1041: + esse] usque ad finem mundi, qua in seipso in Petro confessus est venire Romam, iterum crucifigi. Denique et Paulus dicit se supplere in corpore suo ea quae desunt passionibus Christi [Col. 1:24]: per quod manifeste ostendit, quod Christus nondum totus passus est, sed usque ad finem saeculi passurus est in membris suis. Omnes enim qui pie volunt vivere in Christo, persecutionem patiuntur [2 Tim. 3:12].”

64 These verses are also present in: Hélinand of Froidmont, *Sermo* 8, 552; Peter of Blois, *Sermo* 42, 692; Garnerius of Clairvaux, *Sermo* 19, 697; Henry of Albano, *De peregrinante civitate Dei* (xiv), 366; Ralph Ardens, *Pars* (II), *De tempore*, *Sermo* 1, 1305; *Sermo* 4, 1317.

65 See also Peter of Blois, *Sermo* 4, 572–575; Ms. BL Add 19767, fol. 73^r; *Sermo de crucis commendacione* (I), ed. Bird, 24. On the idea of a not yet complete Passion, see Candida R. Moss, *The Other Christs: Imitating Jesus in Ancient Christian Ideologies of Martyrdom* (Oxford 2010), 33, 100.

66 Hélinand of Froidmont, *Sermo* 10, 565–566. “Et signa Tau super frontes virorum gementium, etc. [Ez. 9:4]. Regiae consuetudinis est, regalia signa reges singulos procedentes ad bellum praecedere; a quibus hostes territi fugiant, securi milites non recedant. Sic Pater Filium mittens ad bellum, signum proprium jubet conferre [Mazarine 1041: >> eum ferre], et suorum singulis illud imponere, vel imprimere: per quod agnosci valeat, qui sint eius.”

this is reminiscent of Pope Gregory's characterization; the two authors share an understanding of the relic's military powers. Hélinand states that God has sent his son to war equipped with the cross. His soldiers wear the same cross (*suorum singulis illud imponere*); this allows Christ to recognize them (*per quod agnoscere valeat, qui sint eius*). This argument delivers an exegesis of Ez. 9 regarding the questions of who the men are and why they wear the Tau, that is, the cross.⁶⁷ It may remain ambiguous here whether this concerns physical warfare, that is, the crusade, or spiritual warfare; it may encompass both: one should not consider the two to be antithetical.⁶⁸ Yet, the Cistercian proceeds by presenting an *exemplum* for such a cross-bearer, embedded in an allusion to the relic's loss:

Thus, one reads about [emperor] Constantine's standard-bearer that he carried the golden sign of the cross into battle out of duty for the lawful authority: and this cross never suffered any damage; it has never been captured in battle nor abducted into captivity nor did it endure any other kind of misfortune—because the sign of victory cannot be carried around by anyone without the heralding of blessedness. And it had once been announced to King Constantine about this sign: in this sign, you shall triumph. To that day, the sign of the holy cross was hidden quite dishonorably in the earth, and yet, its powers were already emanating from heaven most marvelously: when the sign of the cross appeared before Constantine with very beautiful letters like a ray of the sun, only the following inscription was imprinted on it: *Ἐν τούτῳ νίκα*, that is, in this sign, you shall triumph.⁶⁹

67 The same idea is expressed by Gilbert of Tournai in the mid-13th century (see Cole, *Preaching*, 196–197). Jacques de Vitry understood the cross as a nexus within the Corpus Christi (see Bird, “Palm Sunday,” 26).

68 See Gaposchkin, *Weapons*, 43; Gerard E. Caspary, *Politics and Exegesis: Origen and the Two Swords* (Berkeley 1979), 128–129; Philippe Buc, *Holy War, Martyrdom, and Terror: Christianity, Violence, and the West, ca. 70 C.E. to the Iraq War* (Philadelphia 2015), 79.

69 Hélinand of Froidmont, *Sermo 10*, 566. “Unde legitur de signifero Constantini, qui ex legitimae dignitatis officio signum crucis aureum praeferebat in bello, quod nunquam vulneratus sit, nunquam in bello captus, vel in captivitatem ductus, nec ullum infortunii genus pertulerit. Neque enim signum victoriae sine felicitatis auspicio potest ab aliquo circumferri. Ac de hoc signo dictum fuerat prius regi Constantino: In hoc vince. Adhuc signum [Mazarine 1041: > lignum] sanctae crucis nimis ignobiliter latebat in terra, et jam virtus ejusdem signi valde mirabiliter coruscabat e coelo: quando signum crucis velut in radio solis Constantino apparuit litteris pulcherrimis, in se tantum continens hanc scripturam, Ἐν τούτῳ νίκα: id est, In hoc vince.”

Already Emperor Constantine wore the cross in the same way as the crusaders, and thanks to his pious conduct, he could count on its effectiveness.⁷⁰ Hélinand follows here the legend of Helena finding the Cross in Jerusalem. The famous credo stemming from Eusebius of Caesarea (c.265–339) delivers the program for the crusaders' relic: in this sign, you shall triumph (*in hoc vince*).⁷¹ With the Constantinian episode, it becomes clear that the sermon is concerned with the specific relic and the crusade: its exegesis of Ez. 9 offers more than a spiritual reading. Subtly, Hélinand alludes to the relic's loss, reproaching his audience with the fact that it was never captured in battle under Constantine (*nunquam vulneratus sit, nunquam in bello captus, vel in captivitate ductus*). It is plausible that Ez. 9 refers to an actual cross signing, that is, attaching it to clothes or armor. Also possible is a direct mark on the body, for example, via burning or tattoo; several sources report on such practices.⁷²

Some lines below, the Cistercian relates the cross to geographical points of reference:

Six types of linear movement are comprised in the four axes of the cross: because the longitude contains what lies ahead and what lies behind; the latitude what is right and what left; and the depth and height what is on high and what below. Eternity lies far ahead, since it lacks an end; it lies far behind, since it lacks a beginning: these two are designated in John's Revelation via Alpha and Omega [Rev. 1:8]. This longitude of the cross comprises two regions of the earth: the East and the West—because the East lies ahead and the West behind us.⁷³

70 On blending Constantine and Cross, see Gaposchkin, *Weapons*, 57–58; Bird, "Rogations," 161; Jay Rubenstein, *Nebuchadnezzar's Dream: The Crusades, Apocalyptic Prophecy, and the End of History* (Oxford 2019), 62–63. Constantine's victory at the Milvian Bridge (312) was recited on *In exaltatione sanctae crucis*.

71 For the Constantinian episode, see also Ekkehard of Aura, *Chronicon*, MGH SS 6:213; *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi*, ed. Stubbs, clxxiv; Gilbert of Tournai, *Sermo 1*, ed. Maier, 182; see also Paul, *Footsteps*, 84. The famous saying was also inscribed on cross reliquaries (see Toussaint, "Erfindung," 168; Baert, *Heritage*, 84).

72 See Constable, "Cross," 67–68; Tamminen, *Crusader*, 82–83, 133–143.

73 Hélinand of Froidmont, *Sermo 10*, 568. "In his quatuor demensionibus [crucis] continentur sex species linearis motus. Nam in longitudine sunt ante et retro, in latitudine dextrorsum et sinistrorsum, in profunditate et altitudine sursum et deorsum. Aeternitas longa est ante, quia caret fine; longa retro, quia caret principio; quae duo notantur in Apocalypsi per α et ω [Rev. 1:8]. Haec longitudo crucis duo climata continet orbis, orientem et occidentem. Oriens enim ante nos est, occidens retro."

He blends past (*retro*) and future (*ante*) with the apocalyptic credo that Christ is Alpha and Omega,⁷⁴ but the passage also delivers a spatial classification: the West lies behind (*occidens retro*); the East before them (*oriens enim ante nos est*), that is, the Holy Land and the crusade—the progress of salvation history is aligned with a spatial orientation.⁷⁵ By moving East, they follow the sign God sent via the relic's loss. Hélinand's formulation suggests that he was (originally) preaching this when participating in an expedition—when the West already lay behind them—but the sermon's liturgical discussions demonstrate that it was designed for a stable sacred space, likely a church. Yet, the text intends to enflame the audience's imagination, in order to induce them to action. Relinquishing the West points to the overarching idea that terrestrial existence represents a state of exile, in which one should strive to return to heaven. Hélinand grants this journey a specific direction in space and, as the following chapters will show, contemporaries generally anchored this providential itinerary in actual topography. Some lines after the passage cited, he interlocks his providential sketch with sin and a call for penance (*paenitentiam agite*, a quotation of Mt. 3:2), that is, a combination of significant motifs. He concludes that those who keep sinning must fall into the hands of the enemies of the Cross (*in manus inimicorum crucis Christi*)—this indicates crusading martyrdom. He broaches two anonymous crusaders: the one a miserable man from Avranches (*miser homo apud Abrincatensem civitatem*), the other a most righteous German count (*comes Teutonicus iustissimus*).⁷⁶ He seemingly criticizes behavior during a venture or its preparation, likely referring to one that ended in failure. As for the German count, one may consider Henry VI's crusade in 1197.⁷⁷

74 See also Baldwin of Canterbury, *Sermo* 8, 129, classifying the cross as a *tribunal iudicis*. On the cross' four dimensions, see Ms. Arsenal 543, fol. 219^v; Henry of Albano, *De peregrinante civitate Dei* (XIII), 354; Bernard of Clairvaux, *De consideratione* (5.13), 818–822.

75 On the cross' eschatological nature, largely informed by the liturgy, see Gaposchkin, *Weapons*, 53–64; Baert, *Heritage*, 19–20; Constable, “Cross,” 55–56; Johannes Fried, “Endzeiterwartung um die Jahrtausendwende,” *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 45 (1989), 449–461. Constable speaks of a natural causal link between cross, eschatology, and the East, as expressed in the eastern orientation of churches. The Chanter's *Distinctiones* (at the entry for *cruce*) offer a nexus of cross, Corpus Christi, and East: “In ligno oblongo quod erat longitudo, erat corpus domini, habens faciem ad orientem, et pedes ad occidentem, ut significet quod de quattuor climatibus ad se traheret [John 12:32]” (Ms. BL Royal 10 A XVI, fol. 24^v; see also Ms. BNF lat. 10633, fol. 25^v and Petrus Cantor, *Distinctiones*, 156). For a similar idea, see Alan of Lille, *Distinctiones*, 751.

76 Hélinand of Froidmont, *Sermo* 10, 570.

77 See Peter W. Edbury, “Celestine III, the Crusade and the Latin East,” in: *Law and History in the Latin East* (Aldershot 2014), 131–136; Graham A. Loud, “The German Crusade of

In conclusion, Hélinand's sermon yielded the following results: he penned it after 1187, granting providential meaning to the relic's loss, including a spatial structuring of salvation history and the idea of the relic as an archaeological artefact of Christ's grace. The spatial component calls for journeying east, that is, the crusade; and he outlines a still incomplete Passion, drawing on the concept of the Corpus Christi, to be completed until the End of Days by every Christian partaking in it. This happens by visibly signing themselves with the cross as suggested by Ez. 9, the proper reaction to the relic's loss. The sermon's conclusion once more emphasizes this dimension:

Certainly, those who tasted the sweetness of the cross do not shy away from wearing the cross on their fronts, that is, fighting for justice till death. This is the unique sign of the servants of the crucified, as is corroborated by the following: you shall not do any harm to the earth, the sea, or the trees until we have signed the servants of God on their foreheads [Rev. 7:3]. God and our Lord Jesus Christ deem us all worthy of being marked with this sign, he who lives and reigns in eternity with the Father and the Holy Ghost. Amen.⁷⁸

They shall wear the cross on their fronts (*in fronte portare crucem*) to mark themselves out as God's servants, a reference to Rev. 7:3. This betrays once more the eschatological dimension that Hélinand attributes to the events: signing the elect is an omnipresent motif in Revelation, an act that separates them from the wicked (Rev. 9:4; 13:16; 14:1; 14:9; 19:20).⁷⁹ The sermon represents a reaction to the events of 1187; it understands them as divine signs that call the crusaders to imprint the cross on their bodies. Partaking in the Passion picks up ideas of

1197–1198," *Crusades* 13 (2014), 149–150, 156–157. Another possibility is Leopold v who proceeded to the Holy Land after Barbarossa's death.

78 Hélinand of Froidmont, *Sermo* 10, 572. "Sane qui gustavit istam dulcedinem [crucis], non erubescit in fronte sua portare crucem, id est certare pro justitia usque ad mortem. Quod est signum praecipuum servorum Crucifixi, juxta illud: Nolite nocere terrae et mari neque arboribus: quoadusque signemus servos Dei [Mazarine 1041: + nostri] in frontibus eorum [Rev. 7:3]. Quo nos omnes signare dignetur Deus et Dominus noster Jesus Christus, qui cum Patre et Spiritu sancto vivit et regnat per omnia saecula saeculorum. Amen."

79 See Cole, *Preaching*, 195–200; Tamminen, *Crusader*, 77–83. For sources, see Baldwin of Canterbury, *Sermo* 8, 128–129; Ralph Ardens, *Pars* (II), *De tempore*, *Sermo* 41, 1470–1472, 1474; Alan of Lille, *Distinctiones*, 889; Garnerius of Clairvaux, *Distinctiones*, 1017; Martin of León, *Commentary on Rev.* (7.9), 343; *Collectaneum exemplorum*, ed. Legendre, 35; Odo of Chateauroux, *Sermo* 5, ed. Maier, 166; Gilbert of Tournai, *Sermo* 3, ed. Maier, 198–200.

imitatio Christi and martyrdom, common since the days of the First Crusade.⁸⁰ These ideas, however, were now significantly informed by the loss of the relic of Jerusalem.⁸¹

3 Putting Ez. 9 to Use: Crusade and Eschatology

Hélinand's sermon united a number of elements in reaction to the historical events and entwined these with the liturgy. Subsequently, further texts will be examined that use Ez. 9 to make sense of the relic's loss. This happens, for example, in Peter of Blois' *Conquestio*:

This sign had been established and displayed for both the decay and the resurrection of numerous people, since it procures the rejection of the Jews and the subjugation of the pagans. Thus, after the prophet had foreseen the damnation of the Jewish people, he added later about the purpose of the pagans: Raise the sign among the nations [Is. 11:12]. Some have been signed but not in the light of your image, oh Lord: as I observe, this sign has been given to the unbelievers and not to the faithful. Because if they would have strengthened the foundation of their vow with the rock of help, no siege engines of desires would have destroyed the stability of the divine plan. Just as Paul writes to Timothy: God's firm foundation stands, bearing this sign [2 Tim. 2:19]. [...] I still say: they have been signed but not by the one who signed and sent his son Jesus. Because if they would have been signed by him, they would have grieved and lamented over their sins: he is the one who commands to imprint the Tau on the foreheads of those who grieve and lament [Ez. 9:4]. It is clear that the sign does not have any effect—save for those who grieve and lament over their sins. It is remarkable about most people that, despite taking the sign of this pilgrimage from the hand of men, they are never signed with the

80 See Purkis, *Spirituality*, 30–47; Jean Flori, "Mort et martyre des guerriers vers 1100. L'exemple de la première croisade," *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 34/134 (1991), 121–139; Herbert E.J. Cowdrey, "Martyrdom and the First Crusade," in: *Crusade and Settlement*, ed. Peter W. Edbury (Cardiff 1985), 47–56; Martin Völkl, *Muslimen—Märtyrer—Militia Christi: Identität, Feindbild und Fremderfahrung während der ersten Kreuzzüge* (Stuttgart 2011), 68–77. On crusade-related sermons in the 13th century, see Tamminen, *Crusader*, 108–201, 283. Sermon texts also offer the idea of *Christus peregrinus*, an example for pilgrims; this certainly encompassed crusaders (see Bériou, *Communication*, 149–192).

81 See Alexander Marx, "The *Passio Raginaldi* of Peter of Blois. Martyrdom and Eschatology in the Preaching of the Third Crusade," *Viator* 50/3 (2019), 207, 211–212, 216–217.

Tau; this only happens thanks to the will of divine command and the service of angels. Make thus with me a good sign, oh Lord Jesus, whom the Father has signed.⁸²

The Cross has been given into the hands of “the infidels” (*datum est infidelibus*), a term that designates here primarily passive Christians: Peter criticizes the lack of support for the crusade endeavor as well as a mere superficial wearing of the cross. The formulation, however, expresses an ambiguity that evokes the Muslims, at the time in possession of the Cross—he refers to them immediately before (as pagans), in conjunction with the Jews.⁸³ Both pagans and false Christians hold the cross, instead of the believers, who ought to according to the divine plan (*sanctum propositum*). A few lines before the passage cited, he also speaks of the enemies of Christ’s cross who were supposed to be his children (*inimici crucis Christi, qui debuerant esse filii*).⁸⁴ The entire passage plays with the argument of *peccatis nostris exigentibus*, a defective state that one may redeem via a convincing cross taking. Peter’s ideas are similar to Hélinand’s: the conscious and visible affiliation with the lost relic represents the first necessary step. Similarly, both say that God signed his son with it, and now the crusaders

82 Peter of Blois, *Conquestio*, 85–86. “Hoc signum positum et propositum fuit in ruinam et in resurrectionem multorum, nam ex eo sequitur Iudeorum deiectio et subiectio nationum. Unde cum propheta premisset de reprobatione Iudaici populi, postea de gentium vocatione subiungit: Levate signum in nationes [Is. 11:12]. Quidam signati sunt, sed non est signatum super eos in lumen vultus tui, Domine: signum hoc, sicut video, datum est infidelibus, non fidelibus, nam si in lapide adiutorii fundamentum voti sui firmassent, stabilitatem sancti propositi nulle cupiditatum machine concussissent. Sic enim Paulus ad Timotheum scribens firmum, inquit, Dei fundamentum stat, habens hoc signaculum [2 Tim. 2:19] [...]. Adhuc dico ‘signati sunt’, sed non ab eo, qui filium suum Iesum signavit et misit, nam si ab eo signati essent, super peccatis suis dolerent et gement. Ipse namque est qui precipit signari thau super frontes dolentium et gementium [Ez. 9:4], in quo signanter [BL Royal 8 F xvii: >< signatum] ostenditur quod hoc signum non nisi in gementibus et dolentibus pro peccatis suum sortitur effectum. Illudque plurimum notabile est quod, licet plurimi signum huius peregrinationis accipiant de manu hominum, nunquam tamen signatur [PL: >< signantur] thau nisi divine iussionis arbitrio et ministerio angelorum. Tu igitur, Domine Jesu quem signavit Pater, fac mecum signum in bonum [...]”

83 On the Muslims as ‘infidels’ and ‘pagans,’ see Völkl, *Märtyrer*, 189–214; John Victor Tolan, *Saracens: Islam in the Medieval European Imagination* (New York 2002), 105–134; Katherine Allen Smith, *The Bible and Crusade Narrative in the Twelfth Century* (Woodbridge 2020), 128–136; Kristin Skottki, “‘Until the Full Number of Gentiles Has Come in’: Exegesis and Prophecy in St Bernard’s Crusade-Related Writings,” in: *The Uses of the Bible in Crusader Sources*, ed. Elizabeth Lapina and Nicholas Morton (Leiden 2017), 267–270.

84 Peter of Blois, *Conquestio*, 84.

shall be signed in the same manner. The passage also contains two eschatological implications: the quotation of Is. 11:12—here in the imperative, whereas the Vulgate has the future tense—and the rendering of the cross as both demise and resurrection (*in ruinam et in resurrectionem*), depending on the verdict at the Last Judgment.

Peter's *Passio Raginaldi* pursues similar avenues by connecting the relic with martyrdom and the Corpus Christi. This text is devoted to Reynaud de Châtillon, who was decapitated by Saladin himself after Hattin; it presents this figure as an exemplary martyr meant to entice the audience to the crusade. In the following imagined scene, Reynaud is speaking to his co-captives after the Battle of Hattin:⁸⁵

Behold the wood [of the cross] on which the son of God hung and redeemed us, on which he endured death for our sake, thereby opening heaven for us. Having crushed death, he handed us over to eternal blessedness. The Cross has now been captured with us, in order to release us from eternal captivity. And since we have left our homelands for the cross, it will lead us back to our [heavenly] homeland. Rejoice, brothers, the Lord has looked upon us! He deliberately allowed his Cross to be captured on our watch so that our co-captivity results in our redemption, and that he may give us comfort under the present threat of death. I know that death has been prepared for us, and I consider it the highest glory to die here, where I see the glory of Christendom and the banner of human salvation. Let us follow the bearer and Lord of this banner, who gave his life for us and asks now that we give our lives for him [1 John 3:16]. [...] Show in your deeds, if you love Christ, for whom you have suffered for so long. See the reward of our labors! For his love let us love death and let us disdain this present hard and wretched life, since the Lord will place us today in his glorious kingdom among holy martyrs.⁸⁶

85 See Marx, "Passio Raginaldi," 207. The Cross relic is also present in this imagined scene: Saladin placed it in front of the captives, as a subtitle in a manuscript underlines: *De ostensione crucis et verbis dolosis Saladini et responsis principis* (Ms. Oxford, Lat. misc. f.14, fol. 41^v).

86 Peter of Blois, *Passio Raginaldi*, 50–51. "[...] ecce lignum in quo pendit et redemit nos filius dei, in hac pro nobis mortem patiens celum nobis apparuit, et morte destructa in hac eternam beatitudinem nobis dedit. Nobiscum capta est [crux], ut ab eterna captivitate nos liberet; et quia nostras patrias reliquimus propter istam, hec in nostram patriam nos reducet. Gaudete, fratres, quia nos respexit dominus, crucem suam ex industria nobiscum sustinuit capi, ut redemptio nostra concaptiva nostra fieret essetque nobiscum in presenti morte solatium. Scio enim quod nobis mors parata est summamque gloriam reputo ibi

God permitted the relic's loss (*ex industria sustinuit*): the event fulfills a purpose; it offers the captive Christians an occasion for martyrdom—an opportunity that Reynaud seizes most willingly according to Peter's depiction. The partaking in the Passion is a recurring topic: since Christ gave his life, they shall give now theirs (*vitam nostram pro ipso ponamus*), in order to receive rewards. As with Hélinand, the idea of terrestrial exile is present: martyrdom is the return to the fatherland (*in nostram patriam nos reducet*)—importantly, this journey leads through the Holy Land. The passage renders the cross as a war banner of human salvation (*salutis humane vexillum*) and Christ as their warlord whom they shall follow into battle (*sequamur ducem ac principem hujus vexilli*), further significant parallels with Hélinand. Numerous other contemporaries describe the cross as such a war banner.⁸⁷ Cecilia Gaposchkin, with regard to the liturgy, deems it a militant sign that stands for the extermination of its enemies.⁸⁸ The cross is thus pushed towards both the arena of crusading and the final eschatological battle. Another passage from the *Passio Raginaldi* describes it as a triumphant sign (*victoriosum insigne vel titulus triumphalis*) that exemplifies Christ's power (*in exemplum virtutis*). It also includes an idea already known from Hélinand: Christ recognizes his soldiers thanks to this sign (*recognosce in ea, domine, signa milicie tue*).⁸⁹ The crusaders thus publicly declare their membership in the Corpus Christi, their partaking in the Passion,

mori, ubi video gloriam Christianitatis et salutis humane vexillum. Sequamur ducem ac principem hujus vexilli, qui vitam suam pro nobis posuit et ut vitam nostram pro ipso ponamus exposcit [1.John 3:16]. [...] Exhibete operibus si Christum diligitis, pro quo tanto tempore laborastis. Ecce merces laborum nostrorum, pro amore ipsius diligamus mortem et hanc presentem laboriosam et miseram vitam habeamus contemptui, quia nos hodie dominus in regno glorie sue inter sanctos martyres collocabit."

87 See, e.g., Baldwin of Canterbury, *Sermo* 8, 127; Bernard of Clairvaux, *Ep.* 322, 540; Henry of Albano, *Ep.* 32, PL 204:249; *De peregrinante civitate Dei* (XIII), 360; Benedictinus anonymus, *De penitentia*, ed. Huygens, 105; Peter of Blois, *Sermo* 17, 610; *Ep.* 112, 337; *Ep.* 124, 371; Alan of Lille, *De cruce domini*, ed. d'Alverny, 280; Ralph Ardens, *Pars* (II), *De tempore*, *Sermo* 19, 1374; Garnerius of Clairvaux, *Distinctiones*, 1080–1081; Martin of León, *Liber sermonum*, *Sermo* 22, 864; Gilbert of Tournai, *Sermo* 1, ed. Maier, 178, 182.

88 Gaposchkin, *Weapons*, 56–57, 61, cited 53: "The cross was militant, in that it was the power that crushed the enemy (the devil), but it was also a sign of service and passion, ultimately the mechanism of individual salvation. The symbol encompassed a dialectical synthesis of the opposites—victory and defeat, conquest and humiliation—that was at the heart of Christianity." See also Jaspert, "True Cross," 213; Bird, "Good Friday," 149–150; Völkl, *Martyrer*, 95–97. On the liturgy concerned with the cross as a war banner, see Gaposchkin, *Weapons*, 101–105; and on the *vexillum* in the ritual of taking the cross: Gaposchkin, "Pilgrimage," 53–55, 68.

89 Peter of Blois, *Passio Raginaldi*, 34–35.

and their intent to fulfill the Third Crusade's goals. Tellingly, in line with this, the *Glossa ordinaria* adds to Ez. 9 that this act shall take place *publice*.⁹⁰

Significantly, a sermon on Maundy Thursday shows that these ideas transcended Peter's idiosyncratic treatises and, thus, blended with the liturgy:

Christ's death was a deed without example, a charity without borders, a gift without price, a grace without merit. The pagan boasts about the desires of his soul; the Christian shall boast about the cross of his Lord: Far be it from me to boast save in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ [Gal. 6:14]! Paul, the most apt judge of all matters, came to the conclusion that there is nothing to know except for Jesus Christ and him crucified [1 Cor. 2:2]. [...] There are perhaps others who wear Christ's cross on their clothes but neither in their hearts nor on their bodies: they gloat about the Lord's cross, but neither do they have the Tau on their foreheads [Ez. 9:4] nor do they carry the crowns on their bodies. However, those who belong to Christ have crucified their flesh with its vices and desires [Gal. 5:24]; those do not fear the advent of the striking angel.⁹¹

Using Gal. 6:14, the master emphasizes that the cross is a marker of identity; this is complemented by 1 Cor. 2:2, a verse we encountered already in the chapter on institutional context. Gal. 6:14 is present in other crusade-related sermons, for example, it opens one of Alan of Lille's pieces *De sancta cruce*, which will concern us below.⁹² Alan also lists it in his *Distinctiones* at the entry for *crux*, and it is part of the liturgy for both *In inventione* and *In exaltatione sanctae cru-*

90 *Glossa ordinaria* (Ez. 9), ed. Feuardent, 4:1147. For the role of publicity in taking the cross, see Christopher J. Tyerman, *How to Plan a Crusade: Reason and Religious War in the High Middle Ages* (London 2015), 63–86, 107–113; see also Cole, *Preaching*, 116; Maier, "Papal Letters," 345.

91 Peter of Blois, *Sermo 19*, 615–616. "Mors Christi opus sine exemplo, charitas sine modo, donum sine pretio, gratia sine merito. Gloriatur gentilis in desiderio animae suae, gloriatur Christianus in Domini sui cruce. Absit mihi gloriari, nisi in cruce Domini nostri Jesu Christi! [Gal. 6:14] Paulus rerum optimus aestimator se nihil existimat scire, nisi Jesum Christum et hunc crucifixum [1 Cor. 2:2]. [...] Aliqui sunt forte qui crucem Christi in habitu bajulant, sed eam in corde, vel in corpore non portant. Isti sunt qui luxuriantur in cruce Domini, et isti non habent Thau in frontibus suis [Ez. 9:4], nec circumferunt stemmata in corporibus suis. Qui autem sunt Christi, crucifixerunt carnem suam cum vitiis et concupiscentiis [Gal. 5:24]. Isti non timent adventum angeli percussoris."

92 Alan of Lille, *De cruce domini*, ed. d'Alverny, 279, where he criticizes those who boast about terrestrial wisdom in alliance with 'the philosopher' (*alii in sapientia terrena cum philosopho*), a reference to scholasticism. Bernard uses Gal. 6:14 in his letter to Innocent II that agitates against Abelard (Bernard of Clairvaux, *Ep. 190*, 114).

cis.⁹³ That Peter is concerned with the crusade in the passage cited becomes clear when he contrasts the Christian boasting about the cross with the pagan boasting about his desires.⁹⁴ The use of Ez. 9 expresses once more a causal link with one's personal attitude: those who gloat about the cross do not wear the Tau (*isti non habent Thau in frontibus suis*), neither in their hearts nor on their bodies (*eam in corde, vel in corpore non portant*).⁹⁵

The double dimension of internal and external imprint, stemming from Ezekiel, is also present in Henry of Albano's letter that addresses the entire clergy on the eve of the crusade: "It is thus not only necessary, most beloved [brethren], to imprint the sign of the Tau, the sign of Christ's Passion, via letters on the fronts, but in these days it is especially necessary to imprint it in the hearts."⁹⁶ This spiritual support, that is, the internal signing, is essential for preparing crusaders and a pivotal clerical duty. Henry penned the letter in conjunction with the Council of Liège (Feb. 1188), where he prepared the assembled clerics for the venture's preaching.⁹⁷ The identification of Tau and Cross, which we have already encountered in several texts, is present in numerous contemporary works and can be considered as self-evident.⁹⁸ This relates the cross to certain motifs, including the visible imprint and the spatial anchoring in Jeru-

93 Alan of Lille, *Distinctiones*, 755; and Bird, "Good Friday," 134, 137–138, 152–153; Phillips, "Thief's Cross," 146. For sources, see Peter of Blois, *Passio Raginaldi*, 42, 59–60; Baldwin of Canterbury, *Sermo* 8, 133; Ralph Ardens, *Pars* (11), *De tempore*, *Sermo* 18, 1371; Martin of León, *De sanctis*, *Sermo* 5, 31; Petrus Cantor, *Verbum abbreviatum*, 309; Celestine III, *Ep.* 224, 1108; Jacques de Vitry, *Sermo* 2, ed. Maier, 112; *Sermo de crucis commendacione* (1), ed. Bird, 24; Humbert of Romans, *De predicatione*, 117; Ms. BL Royal 10 A xvi, fols. 24^r, 89^r and Ms. BNF lat. 10633, fols. 25^v, 103^v; Innocent III, *De diversis*, *Sermo* 6, 677. Innocent also combines Ez. 9 and Gal. 6:14.

94 Subsequently (not cited), one reads: "sanguis Abel clamat ultionem, sanguis Christi clamat redemptionem." This is mirrored in Peter of Blois, *Conquestio*, 83: "clamavit sanguis Abel ultionem de terra, et invenit ultorem. Clamat sanguis Christi auxilium, et non invenit adiutorem."

95 On the internal and external dimension of wearing the cross, see Phillips, "Thief's Cross," 150–153.

96 Henry of Albano, *Ep.* 31, 247. "Litteris itaque, dilectissimi, non modo inscribi frontibus signum Thau, signum Dominicæ passionis, sed et cordibus inprimi his praesertim diebus oportet."

97 See, e.g., Giselbert, *Chonicon*, 555; *Chronicon Clarevellense*, 1251.

98 See, e.g., Baldwin of Canterbury, *Sermo* 8, 134; Alan of Lille, *De sancta cruce* (1), 223; Martin of León, *De diversis*, *Sermo* 11, 144; Benedictinus anonymus, *De penitentia*, PL 213:882; and Bird, "Rogations," 179; Tamminen, *Crusader*, 82–83. On Ez. 9 and other Old Testament typologies, see Christopher Matthew Phillips, "The Typology of the Cross and Crusade Preaching," in: *Crusading in Art, Thought, and Will*, ed. Matthew Parker and Ben Halliburton (Leiden 2018), 166–185.

salem, where those signed would be active—the use of Ez. 9 thus pushes the cross unmistakably towards the purpose of crusading. A broader chronological perspective supports this hypothesis: Ez. 9:4 remains absent from the three relevant collections of *distinctiones*.⁹⁹ Searching full text databases, one does not get too many hits either; the reference appears primarily among the Third Crusade’s preachers and their successors in the following decades, prominently in Humbert of Romans’ *Ars praedicandi* for the crusades.¹⁰⁰ A pattern emerges: the signing with the Tau was predominantly put to use after 1187; it represented a pivotal reference for making sense of the relic’s loss. This result helps with methodological issues: one biblical element has thus been identified that betrays a strong entanglement with crusading.¹⁰¹

Yet, there remains a possible variety as to how one may deploy the reference, including diverse liturgical feasts: Ralph Ardens, for example, discusses the signing with the cross in a strongly eschatological sermon on All Saints, departing from the equivalent verses in John’s Revelation:

We shall mark ourselves [Rev. 7:3], so he says [i.e., Christ], that is, we shall distinguish, arm, and strengthen ourselves; I myself internally and my servants externally. I myself internally with the faith in the cross and also my servants externally with the sign of the cross. [...] Certainly, Christ’s servants, being externally signed with the visible cross and the visible oil, demonstrate thereby that they are internally distinguished, armed, and strengthened. [...] The sign has well been prefigured: the Lord commanded in Ezekiel to put the letter Tau on the foreheads of those who grieve and lament over the iniquities of others [Ez. 9:4], thus distinguishing and arming them, lest they are annihilated with the sinners. And I have heard, he says, the number of those who are signed—144,000 have been signed from the tribe of the sons of Israel [Rev. 7:4].¹⁰²

99 Garnerius of Clairvaux, *Distinctiones*; Alan of Lille, *Distinctiones*; Ms. BL Royal 10 A XVI and Ms. BNF lat. 10633. It is also absent from the edition’s index (Petrus Cantor, *Distinctiones*, 428).

100 Humbert of Romans, *De predicatione*, 26, 65, 112; see also *Short Version*, ed. Portnykh, 80; Gilbert of Tournai, *Sermo 1*, ed. Maier, 180; Ms. Oxford, Magd. Coll. 168, fol. 72^v.

101 Whereas cross signings also took place, for example, when entering a monastery (see Constable, “Cross,” 89), the reference of Ez. 9 does indeed seem to indicate the purpose of crusading.

102 Ralph Ardens, *Pars (11), De tempore, Sermo 41*, 1472. “Signemus [Rev. 7:3], inquit, id est discernamus, muniamus et confirmemus, ego interius, et mei ministri exterius. Ego interius, fide crucis, et etiam ministri mei exterius, signo crucis. [...] Ministri vero Christi, eos visibili cruce et oleo visibili exterius signantes, eos interius discerni, muniri et confirmari demon-

Christ's servants shall mark themselves with the sign of the cross (*signum crucis*), comments Ralph on Rev. 7:3, in order to distinguish themselves from others (*discernamus*), but also to arm and to strengthen themselves (*muniamus et confirmemus*). The visible cross (*visibili cruce*) shall display one's proper attitude. He concludes by citing Ez. 9: those signed constitute God's elect people, the sons of Israel. Noting the specific number—even though it is symbolic in nature and stems from Rev. 7:4—may indicate the Third Crusade's rich mobilization. Some estimations assume a comparable size, although actual numbers may have been lower.¹⁰³ The cross is a symbol of election, lest they are wiped out with the sinners at the Last Judgment: two manuscripts have *prevaricatores* here instead of *peccatores*, those who transgress God's mandates.¹⁰⁴ The visible imprint as practiced by crusaders appears thus as a preparation for the eschatological battle.

That the cross will play a crucial role in the final battle corroborates another of Ralph's sermons devoted to *In inventione sanctae crucis*, which reacts to the relic's loss:¹⁰⁵

Fourth, the Lord also revealed the emblems with which he will come to the Judgment when he adds: And then shall appear the sign of the Son of Man in heaven [Mt. 24:30]. Just as banners do usually precede an earthly king when riding into battle, so it will happen, my brethren, when the Lord comes to hold Judgment—because the banner of the holy cross will precede him. And this for three reasons: first, to demonstrate how the sign of his victory looks, a sign that seemed at first as if it were meant for shame

strant. [...] Quod bene significatur, per hoc quod Dominus praecepit in Ezechiele signari litteram Thau in frontibus dolentium et gementium de iniquitatibus aliorum [Ez. 9:4], ut sic discernentur et praemunirentur, nec cum peccatoribus [Lincoln 112; Lincoln 116: >< prevaricatoribus] perderentur. Et audivi, inquit, numerum signatorum, centum quadraginta quatuor millia signati ex tribu filiorum Israel [Rev. 7:4].”

103 On its size, see Rudolf Hiestand, “Precipua tocius christianismi columpna.’ Barbarossa und der Kreuzzug,” in: *Friedrich Barbarossa*, ed. Alfred Haverkamp (Sigmaringen 1992), 69–70. See also Ralph Ardens, *Pars (II), De tempore, Sermo 18*, 1372; Alan of Lille, *De cruce domini*, ed. d’Alverny, 281–282. Noteworthy parallels with Ralph’s sermon are found with Jacques de Vitry, who uses Rev. 7:3 as a starting point for a crusade-specific sermon (including Ez. 9). Jacques possibly harvested Ralph’s sermons—both belonged to the Parisian circles (Jacques de Vitry, *Sermo 1*, ed. Maier, 82–86). Similar in: Odo of Chateauroux, *Sermo 5*, ed. Maier, 166–174.

104 Ms. Oxford, Lincoln Coll. 112, fol. 113^r and Lincoln Coll. 116, fol. 203^r. Dan. 9:24 declares for the End of Days the goal of *consummetur praevaricatio*. See the chapter on the Apocalypse.

105 A passage from the sermon has already been discussed at the chapter’s outset regarding Ralph’s concept of *aquilae* (Ralph Ardens, *Pars (II), De tempore, Sermo 19*, 1373).

and vilification; second, to create joy in his lovers, the bearers of his cross; third, to cause chaos and fear in those who crucified him and those who despise his cross.¹⁰⁶

The banner of the holy cross (*vexillum sanctae crucis*), with which Christ will march into battle, a reference to Rev. 19, clearly indicates the specific relic.¹⁰⁷ This is substantiated when Ralph renders it a sign of victory (in agreement with its purpose before 1187) and a device for causing chaos and fear in its enemies—a significant parallel with the texts of *Audita tremendi*, Hélinand of Froidmont, and Peter of Blois.¹⁰⁸ These enemies are Christ's tormentors (*crucifixores*); this refers usually to the Jews, but increasingly to the Muslims in the 12th century.¹⁰⁹ Christ will march into battle with the cross because he intends to create joy (*jucunditas*) among those who wear it (*suae crucis bajulatores*), terminology that strongly indicates crusaders. These also appear as Christ's lovers (*dilectores*), an idea inspired by the Song of Songs.¹¹⁰ The causality between

106 Ralph Ardens, *Pars (11), De tempore, Sermo 19*, 1374. "Quarto quoque ostendit [Lincoln 112: >< ostendet] Dominus cum quibus insignibus ad iudicium sit venturus, cum subdit: Et tunc apparebit signum Filii hominis in coelo [Mt. 24:30]. Sicut rege saeculari cum equitatu suo veniente solent vexilla ejus praecedere, sic, fratres mei, fiet Domino ad iudicium veniente. Praecedet enim vexillum sanctae crucis. Et hoc ob tres causas. Prima est, ut ostendat quale [Lincoln 112: >< quante] sit signum victoriae suae, quod prius videbatur opprobrii esse et dejectionis; secunda est, ut dilectoribus suis suae crucis bajulatoribus inspiret jucunditatem; tertia est, ut [Lincoln 116: + suis] crucifixoribus suaeque crucis contemptoribus incutiat confusionem et timorem [Lincoln 112: >< tremorem]."

107 See also Gilbert of Tournai, *Sermo 1*, ed. Maier, 178: "Hoc enim signum habuit Christus ut signet milites suos, qui prior signari voluit, ut alios precederet cum vexillo crucis." See also Baldwin of Canterbury, *Sermo 8*, 127; Henry of Albano, *Ep.32*, PL 204:249; Peter of Blois, *Passio Raginaldi*, 34, 51; *Ep.112*, 337; Alan of Lille, *De cruce domini*, ed. d'Alverny, 280; Martin of León, *Liber sermonum, Sermo 22*, 864; *Chronica Andrensis*, 719.

108 Gregory VIII, *Audita tremendi*, ed. Chroust, 7; Hélinand of Froidmont, *Sermo 10*, 565–566; Peter of Blois, *Conquestio*, 85–86. The specific relic also surfaces at the end of Ralph's sermon, where he delineates Helena's finding of the Cross (Ralph Ardens, *Pars (11), De tempore, Sermo 19*, 1375).

109 See Tolan, *Saracens*, 121; Jeremy Cohen, *Living Letters of the Law: Ideas of the Jew in Medieval Christianity* (Berkeley 1999), 156–165.

110 On such renderings of crusaders, see Peter of Blois, *Sermo 39*, 678; *Passio Raginaldi*, 48; Garnerius of Clairvaux, *Sermo 28*, 753. See also Christoph T. Maier, "Gendermetaphorik in der Kreuzzugspropaganda des 13. Jahrhunderts," in: *Kreuzzug und Gender*, ed. Ingrid Baumgärtner and Melanie Panse (Berlin 2016), 145–158; Hendrik Breuer, "'Quia salus ex iudeis est' (Joh 4,22). Ein Textzeugnis der rheinischen Kreuzzugspredigt des Heiligen Bernhard von Clairvaux in der Glossa ordinaria des Codex 23 der Kölner Dombibliothek," *Mittelalterliche Handschriften der Kölner Dombibliothek 4* (2012), 128–129; Suzanne La Vere, *Out of the Cloister: Scholastic Exegesis of the Song of Songs, 1100–1250* (Leiden 2016).

the Cross relic and signing oneself with it surfaces here once again, while Ralph entwines the entire scene with the final battle from Rev. 19, thus suggesting expectations for the upcoming crusade to his audience. The impending Second Coming recurs multiple times in the sermon, especially at its outset: Christ's advent will be sudden (*subito et repente*) and "like a thief in the night" (1 Thes. 5:2).¹¹¹

Lastly, Martin of León agrees in entangling the cross with crusading and the eschatological battle, in a sermon entitled *De actibus Apostolorum* (On the Acts of the Apostles):

If anyone wants to come after me, let him deny himself, take his cross, and follow me [Mt. 16:24]. Those who follow Christ take his cross all the more truthfully, the more severely they tame themselves and the more they crucify their neighbors with the compassion of charity. Thus, one says via the prophet Ezekiel: Sign the Tau on the foreheads of their men who grieve and lament [Ez. 9:4]. And certainly, in the number three hundred, which is comprised in the letter Tau, it is expressed that one shall overcome the iron of the enemies thanks to the wood of the cross. [...] Under the command of Christ, those depart for the battle against the enemies of faith. They march thus with trumpets and vessels, since this was the order of battle, as we have mentioned. They thundered the trumpets, and they have put torches under the vessels. After the vessels had been destroyed, they used the torches: dazzling with light, they put the terrified enemies to flight. Therefore, the trumpets designate the battle cry of preaching efforts, that is, the preaching of apostles, evangelists, and holy martyrs. The torches designate the brightness of miracles and the vessels the fragility of human bodies. Our commander Jesus Christ has obviously led such soldiers into battle: despising their bodily well-being, they crushed their enemies in the moment of death; they overcame their swords, not with weapons, but with endurance—because our martyrs have marched into battle under the command of their judge and armed with trumpets, vessels, and torches.¹¹²

111 Ralph Ardens, *Pars (II), De tempore, Sermo 19*, 1373. On the conjunction of crusade and Rev. 19, see also Humbert of Romans, *De predicatione*, 14, 119; and Buc, *Holy War*, 75, 88, 101–102, 264.

112 Martin of León, *De diversis, Sermo 11*, 144 and Ms. León, San Isidoro 11/3, fol. 23^{r-v}. "Si quis vult post me venire, abneget semetipsum, et tollat crucem suam, et sequatur me [Mt. 16:24]. Qui sequentes Christum tanto verius crucem tollunt, quanto acrius sese domant, et erga proximos suos charitatis compassione cruciantur. Unde per Ezechielem prophetam dicitur: signa tau super frontes virorum eorum, gementium videlicet et dolentium [Ez.

They would triumph over the iron of their enemies thanks to the “wood of the cross” (*crucis ligno*): Martin alludes to the relic’s effectiveness before 1187, using Ez. 9, but also Mt. 16:24 (see below). They thus follow Christ into battle (*Christo duce contra hostes fidei ad praelium pergunt*), who already assembled on the battlefield (*dux noster Jesus Christus secum milites ad praelium duxit*)—the eschatological battle from Rev. 19 suggests itself. The perfect tense of the second utterance may indicate the state since the Passion but also the First Crusade. The warriors are martyrs: whoever perishes on crusade can count on a place in heaven. The rendering as “the enemies of faith” (*hostes fidei*) demonstrates that this concerns human protagonists, likely the Muslims. The end of the passage points likewise to physical warfare: having relinquished their bodily well-being, the martyrs vanquished their enemies in the moment of death.¹¹³ Yet, Martin integrates spiritual warfare into the picture, especially via the motif of the trumpets, another element from Revelation: these designate the roar of preachers (*designatur in tubis clamor praedicationum*). Preaching prepares for the final battle; this idea reverberates throughout the text, and further contemporaries color it in such a light (often via the expression of *tuba praedicationis*).¹¹⁴ The trumpets, as Martin stresses twice, would accompany them in war; this suggests the activity of preachers during a crusade. His audience would not triumph over its enemies via the use of arms, but via the virtue of *patientia*. This inheres in an idea often expressed through Deut. 32:30: not the size of an army, but only God’s support would bring victory.¹¹⁵ A virtuous way of life represents the precondition for this support.

9:4]. Vel certe in his trecentis, qui in tau littera continentur, hoc exprimitur, quod ferrum hostium crucis ligno superetur. [...] hi, Christo duce, contra hostes fidei ad praelium pergunt. Vadunt ergo cum tubis et lagenis; quia iste, ut diximus, fuit ordo praeliandi. Cecinerunt tubis, intra lagenas missae sunt lampades, confractis vero lagenis, ostensae sunt lampades, quarum coruscante luce, territi hostes fugam dederunt. Designatur itaque in tubis clamor praedicationum, apostolorum scilicet, evangelistarum, et sanctorum martyrum; in lampadibus claritas miraculorum, in lagenis vero fragilitas corporum. Tales quippe dux noster Jesus Christus secum milites ad praelium duxit; qui, despecta corporum salute, hostes suos moriendo prosternerent, eorumque gladios non armis, sed patientia superarent. Armati enim venerunt sub iudice suo ad praelium martyres nostri tubis, lagenis, et lampadibus.”

- 113 In another passage, he betrays that the sermon pursues a holistic program that encompasses all spiritual and physical enemies (*De diversis, Sermo 11*, 161).
- 114 See, e.g., Garnerius of Clairvaux, *Sermo 21*, 709; Peter of Blois, *Passio Raginaldi*, 68; Ms. ÖNB 1558, fol. 5^r; Ms. BNF NAL 999, fol. 188^r; John of Abbeville, *Commentary on Cant.*, 94, 532; Ansbert, *Historia*, ed. Chroust, 13.
- 115 See, e.g., Gregory VIII, *Audita tremendi*, ed. Chroust, 8; Peter of Blois, *Conquestio*, 92–93; *Ep. 112*, 339; William of Newburgh, *Historia*, 380; Bernard of Clairvaux, *De laude*, 284;

The readings established by the Third Crusade's preachers surface most significantly in the sermon which Innocent III delivered at the opening of the Fourth Lateran Council (1215):

Henceforth, it is mandatory to go through the midst of the city and to put the Tau on the foreheads of those who grieve and lament [Ez. 9:4]. The 'T' is the last letter of the Hebrew alphabet; it expresses the form of the cross, a form that existed already before Pilate placed the inscription at the Lord's crucifixion [John 19:19]. The blood of the lamb that was put on both doorposts and the lintels of the houses designated it likewise in a remarkable manner [Ex. 12:7]. Whoever demonstrates the power of the cross in his works wears this sign on his forehead. [...] Therefore, in order to distinguish and separate these from those, one must sign the Tau on the foreheads of the men who lament, thereby demonstrating that those who grieve and lament over the abominations committed in the midst of the Church are signed with the Tau on their fronts.¹¹⁶

This sermon represents the outcome of a tradition that originated at the time of the Third Crusade. By 1215, the reading of Ez. 9 had become part of the standard repertoire, even serving the pope's opening address at one of the most important church councils of the Middle Ages. Following his predecessors, he emphasizes that the sign must not remain an empty promise, but must be embodied in deeds. It distinguishes them from those who will be damned, an argument exemplified here via Ex. 12, which relates the cross to blood.¹¹⁷ The

Geoffrey of Auxerre, *Vita* (5.3), 368; the latter uses the verse in conjunction with the Second Crusade.

116 Innocent III, *De diversis, Sermo 6*, 677. "Hinc transire praecipitur per mediam civitatem, et signare Thau super frontes virorum gementium et dolentium [Ez. 9:4], T est ultima littera Hebraici alphabeti, exprimens formam crucis, qualis erat antequam Domino crucifixo Pilatus titulum superponeret [John 19:19]: quam et sanguis agni positus super utrumque postem, et in superliminaribus domorum mirifice designabat [Ex. 12:7]. Hoc signum gerit in fronte, qui virtutem crucis ostendit in opere. [...] Et ideo, ut distinguat et discernat inter illos et istos debet signare Thau super frontes virorum et dolentium, quatenus ostendat eos, qui dolent et gemunt super abominationibus quae in medio Ecclesiae perpetrantur, signatos esse Thau in frontibus suis."

117 On this sermon, see also Phillips, "Typology," 177–178; Georg Strack, "Autorität und 'Imitatio Christi'. Die Konzilspredigten Innozenz' III. (1215), Innozenz' IV. (1245) und Gregors X. (1274)," in: *Autorità e consenso*, ed. Maria Pia Alberzoni and Roberto Lambertini (Milan 2017), 182–187. On Ex. 12 see the chapter on the Holy Land. On the motif of blood, see the chapter on Jerusalem.

sermon shows that the Third Crusade's preachers had a significant impact far beyond mobilizing their own venture.

4 Paradise Lost Again: A Deity and Its Chosen People

The relic represented an embodiment of the New Covenant; its loss, therefore, jeopardized the Covenant. The Old Testament offered a precedent for this situation with the Jews losing the Ark (*arca* or *archa*).¹¹⁸ Numerous contemporaries compared this episode with the current loss, a strategy that generated meaningful dynamics. This includes Henry of Albano's crusade treatise, Peter's *Passio Raginaldi*, and a letter penned in 1195, in which Peter exhorts the bishop of Rouen to preach a new crusade:¹¹⁹

Behold the Ark of the Lord's Covenant, the Ark of the New Testament, obviously the Cross of Christ, the glory of the Christian people, the medicine for the sinners, the healing of the wounded, the restoration of the sane has been robbed and abducted to Damascus. Our Ark, I say, that not only unites the rod [of Moses], the tablets of the Covenant, and the manna in one place, sealing them in a confined space, but it straddles the four parts of the earth with its four arms, thus offering a rod of correction to its worshippers in the entire world [...] It is not only the Ark of secrets but also the common ladder for all sinners via which Christ, the king of the heavens, has drawn all people unto him [John 12:32].¹²⁰

118 The term *arca* or *archa* may indicate both the Ark of the Covenant or Noah's Ark; with both, it is the microcosm of Christendom, thus it is identified with the Church (see Alan of Lille, *Distinctiones*, 707; Garnerius of Clairvaux, *Distinctiones*, 865; Ms. BL Add 18335, fol. 18^v; Ms. BL Royal 10 A XVI, fols. 8^v–9^r and Ms. BNF lat. 10633, fols. 7^v–8^r as well as Petrus Cantor, *Distinctiones*, 47–49). On reading the Ark typologically, see Jean Daniélou, *Sacramentum futuri: études sur les origines de la typologie biblique* (Paris 1950), 55–94. A relic in the Lateran was understood as the Ark itself; see Rubenstein, *Dream*, 62–63; Eivor Andersen Oftestad, *The Lateran Church in Rome and the Ark of the Covenant: Housing the Holy Relics of Jerusalem* (Suffolk 2019).

119 See also Peter of Blois, *Ep.* 20, 73; *Ep.* 23, 85. Both letters were penned on the eve of the Third Crusade and use the same comparison (on the date, see Michael Markowski, *Peter of Blois, Writer and Reformer* (PhD thesis, Syracuse University 1988), 349).

120 Henry of Albano, *De peregrinante civitate Dei* (XII), 353 and Ms. Troyes 509, fol. 151^v. "Ecce arca foederis Domini, arca testamenti novi, crux scilicet Christi, gloria populi Christiani, medicina peccatorum, curatio vulnerum, restitutio sanitatum captiva ducta est in Damascum. Arca, inquam, nostra, quae non solum virgam, tabulas testamenti, et manna uno in loco contineat spatique brevi concludat: sed quae quatuor brachiis quatuor terrarum

The fact that you permitted, oh Lord, that the Ark of the Old Covenant was captured by foreigners was a severe wound, a serious verdict, and a sign of your savage rage, but you have poured out your rage, oh Lord, even more heavily and unbearably in the loss of your cross, just as the cross was dearer to you than the Ark, the New Covenant more than the Old, the light than the shadow, the truth than the type.¹²¹

The Ark of the Covenant, having once been captured by foreigners and offered to Dagon, did not cease from working miracles, but it has eventually been returned to Jerusalem with great joy. I ask you thus that the state of your noble conscience does not expire but that you take your heart with you on your journey.¹²²

Both Henry and Peter equate the loss of the two objects: the Ark embodied the Old Covenant, just like the Cross relic the New Covenant, with all the resulting consequences; and both losses were an expression of God's rage.¹²³ Peter, however, underlines that the relic's deprivation is much worse by reason of the New Covenant's heightened meaning, while he equates the Old Covenant with the shadow (*umbra*) and the type (*figura*).¹²⁴ Much more is at stake now; speak-

partes comprehendens, toto orbe terrarum suis cultoribus virga sit ad correctionem [...] Nec solum arca secretorum, sed et communis omnium est scala peccatorum: per quam Christus rex coelorum ad se traxit omnia [John 12:32]."

- 121 Peter of Blois, *Passio Raginaldi*, 34. "Quod archam veteris testamenti permisisti, domine, ab allophylis capi, dura plaga, gravis animadversio et seve indignationis indicium fuit, sed in captione tue crucis iram tuam, domine, tanto gravius et intolerabilius effudisti, quanto tibi erat acceptior crux quam archa, novum testamentum quam vetus, lux quam umbra, veritas quam figura."
- 122 Peter of Blois, *Ep.124*, 373. "Arca foederis quandoque ab allophylis capta et posita juxta Dagon a virtutibus non cessavit, tandemque in Jerusalem cum multa exultatione reducta est. Rogo igitur, ut non deficiat nobilis conscientiae vestrae status, sed ponite cor vestrum super vias vestras." This letter first appears in the collection's version (7) that dates to the mid-1190s (see Markowski, *Reformer*, 392). The comparison is also present in a letter devoted to the same purpose and addressed to the bishop of Orleans (Peter of Blois, *Ep.112*, 336).
- 123 See also Peter of Blois, *Passio Raginaldi*, 45–46; and Jaspert, "True Cross," 211. The equation is likewise proposed when designating the Cross relic as *archa domini* (see, e.g., Peter of Blois, *Ep.20*, 73; *Ep.112*, 336; Ms. BNF lat. 2954, fol. 90^r).
- 124 On the dialectics between the two testaments, see Tamminen, *Crusader*, 49; Caspary, *Exegesis*, 113–115; Buc, *Holy War*, 74–84. Concerning violence, see Gerd Althoff, "Selig sind, die Verfolgung ausüben": Päpste und Gewalt im Hochmittelalter (Darmstadt 2013), 153–158; and specifically for the *Glossa*: Lesley Janette Smith, *The "Glossa ordinaria": The Making of a Medieval Bible Commentary* (Leiden 2009), 85. The liturgy established a nexus between

ing in providential terms, one is already much closer to the Last Judgment. In agreement, Henry agitates against the alleged materialism of Judaism: the components of the Cross are not only found in one place but in the entire world; its four arms span the four parts of the earth (Eph. 3:18). As already visible in other texts, he entangles cross and topography, in particular through the reference of John 12:32: salvation history converges in Jerusalem.¹²⁵ As Peter's letter makes apparent, there is also hope: the Old Testament precedent evidences that God ultimately allowed the Ark's recovery; its powers also remained (*a virtutibus non cessavit*). This addressed a bishop who was likely unmotivated after the failure of the Third Crusade, since he had been an important leader of that expedition.¹²⁶

Just like with Ez. 9, here too one finds evidence that these ideas transcended the idiosyncratic treatises. In the prologue of his anti-heretical treatise, Peter blames heretics for the relic's loss, likewise operating with the comparison to the Ark (*isti ponant archam domini iuxta Dagon*), since this group enrages God in particular.¹²⁷ And one of his sermons offers a comprehensive list about the cross' nature:

These are the mysteries; these are the benefits of the cross: this is what has led the sons of Israel out of Egypt, what has released us from eternal captivity. This is the rod that consumed the pharaoh's soldiers [cf. Ex. 7:12]. This is what has led the waters out of the rock [Ps. 78:16], what makes the penitential tears flow forth from the stony heart: this is what has sweetened the waters of Marat, since the commemoration of the Lord's Passion makes every pain most sweet. The Cross is truly the Ark of the Covenant for us: it is for us the atonement of prayer, the banner of salvation, the entitlement of sanctity. It is the hope for victory, the Covenant

Old and New Testament (see Gaposchkin, *Weapons*, 32). On the hermeneutical challenges resulting from these dialectics, see Christian Hofreiter, *Making Sense of Old Testament Genocide: Christian Interpretations of Herem Passages* (Oxford 2018), esp. 9, 109, 135, 247–251.

125 On John 12:31–32 see the chapter on the Holy Land. On Eph. 3:18 see Bird, “Good Friday,” 139; Beverly Mayne Kienzle, “Preaching the Cross: Liturgy and Crusade Propaganda,” in: *Preaching and Political Society*, ed. Franco Morenzoni (Turnhout 2013), 15–16.

126 See Stephen Bennett, *Elite Participation in the Third Crusade* (Woodbridge 2021), 350. In both texts, *Passio* and letter, Peter says that the Cross has been captured by foreigners (*ab allophilis*). The same rendering is used by Alan in a sermon concerned with the events of 1187 (Ms. BL Add 19767, fol. 73^v); and similar by Celestine III in his call to preach the crusade: *arcam suam de manibus Philistinorum eripiat* (*Urkundenbuch*, ed. Janicke, 1:485).

127 Peter of Blois, *Later Letters* 77, ed. Revell, 327 and Ms. Oxford, Jesus Coll. 38, fol. 85^r.

and Ark of the divine Grace, the badge of the Christian soldiers, the foundation of faith, the ruin of the enemy, the depriving of hell, the ladder to heaven, the gate to paradise, the elevation of the fallen, the release of the captives, the solace of the afflicted, the protection of the bodies, the armor of the spirits, the salvation of the living, the life of the dead, the rescue of the prisoners, the solace of the humiliated, and the humiliation of the haughty, the tower of David, the watchtower of Zion, the joint salvation of all, the among all things unique and common refuge.¹²⁸

The cross, a physical artefact and not only a symbol, is once again identified with the Ark. The numerous references to the Old Testament (such as the Exodus from Egypt) evoke the Jews as a negative precedent and encourage their *Feindbild*. Peter also equates the cross with Moses' *virga*, which was stored in the Ark.¹²⁹ Moreover, he offers a number of militant notes that establish a causal link with crusading such as the banner of salvation (*vexillum salutis*) or the badge of the Christian army (*character Christianae militiae*), that is, carrying the cross into battle and signing oneself with it.¹³⁰ Eventually, he anchors it—and hence the entirety of Christian salvation—in the Holy Land by equating it with David's Tower and the watchtower of Zion. This is complemented by imagery of leaving the terrestrial world such as the cross forming a ladder to

128 Peter of Blois, *Sermo 17*, 609–610. “Haec sunt mysteria: haec sunt beneficia crucis; haec est quae eduxit filios Israel de Aegypto, quae nos ab aeterna captivitate redemit. Haec est virga quae devoravit dracones Pharaonis [cf. Ex. 7:12]: haec est quae aquas de petra eduxit [Ps. 78:16], quae [St. Geneviève 2787: >< produxit, quia] de corde lapideo poenitentiales lacrymas effluere facit: haec est quae dulcoravit aquas Marath, quia omnem dolorem suavissimum facit Domini memoria passionis. Crux equidem nobis est arca testamenti. Haec est nobis propitiatorium exauditionis, vexillum salutis, titulus sanctitatis. Spes victoriae foedus et arca divinae gratiae, character Christianae militiae, fundamentum fidei, subversio inimici, spoliatio inferni, scala coeli, janua paradisi, relevatio lapsorum, clausorum apertio, consolatio afflictorum, tutela corporum, armatura spirituum, salus viventium, vita mortuorum, liberatio captivorum, humilium consolatio et dejectio superbiorum, turris David, specula Sion, generalis omnium salus, unicum omnium et commune refugium.”

129 On the motifs of *virga* and Exodus, see the chapter on the Holy Land. On the term *arca testamenti*, see Num. 14:44; Jer. 3:16; Hebr. 9:4; Rev. 11:19. This term is tantamount to Peter's creation of *facies testamenti* (e.g., Peter of Blois, *Conquestio*, 77; *Ep. 98*, 307).

130 On the cross as a *character*, see Innocent III, *Ep. 87*, PL 216:98; *Ep. 450*, PL 214:425; Baldwin of Canterbury, *Sermo 6*, 95; Alan of Lille, *Contra haereticos* (2.20), 395; (2.22), 396; Peter of Blois, *Sermo 17*, 610; William of Newburgh, *Historia*, 1:51, 251, 272; 2:97, 144. Baldwin speaks of *character militiae Christi*; Innocent of *vivificae crucis characterem assumere* and *peccatoribus crucis characterem imponentes*; and William of *character dominicus*, for example, as to Richard Lionheart's cross taking.

heaven: this derives from Gen. 28:12, where Jacob sees such a ladder, on which the angels ascend and descend.¹³¹

A sermon by John of Abbeville (c.1210–1215) delivers an open display of the looming threat, which probably needs to be placed in the context of preparations for the Fifth Crusade. It demonstrates how the issue remained pertinent for decades, since several expeditions had failed:¹³²

Our inheritance is the Promised Land and our home is the place where Christ suffered and where he has been entombed: And this inheritance has been placed in the hands of the pagans [Job 9:24]. Yet, we do not grieve as Eli did, who still managed to remain on his seat upon hearing about the massacre of his people and his sons, but, having heard that the Ark had been captured, he was struck by such pain that he could no longer withstand. He fell [from his seat] and devastated he took his last breath [1 Reg. 4:11–18]. And now our holy inheritance has been taken, the holy places have been defiled, the holy cross has been captured.¹³³

John still reproaches his listeners with the events of 1187, opposing their lack of activity with the Old Testament Eli: one must outdo this example, in agreement with the New Covenant's heightened meaning, a parallel with Peter.¹³⁴ He contrasts the massacre of Eli's sons with the Ark's loss: they are martyrs, their death

131 The motif is present in numerous sources, for example, right at the outset in: Alan of Lille, *Ars praedicandi*, 111. See also Peter of Blois, *Conquestio*, 87; Baldwin of Canterbury, *Sermo* 8, 127–129, both delivering similar lists; Baldwin also expounds on the Exodus' typological nature. See also Ferdinand R. Gahbauer, "Die Jakobsleiter, ein aussagenreiches Motiv der Väterliteratur," *Zeitschrift für antikes Christentum* 9 (2005), 247–278.

132 On date and manuscript, see Cole, *Preaching*, 150–151; Jessalynn L. Bird, "Crusade and Reform: The Sermons of Bibliothèque Nationale, MS nouv. acq. lat. 999," in: *The Fifth Crusade in Context*, ed. Elizabeth Jane Mylod and Guy Perry (London 2017), 92–113. The motif appears in further crusade-related sermons at the time (e.g., Jacques de Vitry, *Sermo* 2, ed. Maier, 106; discussed by Bird, "Palm Sunday," 18).

133 John of Abbeville, *Ad cruce signatos*, ed. Cole, 222. "Hereditas nostra est terra promissionis et domus nostra locus est ubi Christus sepultus est et passus. Et hec hereditas data est in manus gentilium [Job 9:24] nec dolemus sicut doluit Hely qui audita strage populi et filiorum suorum sedere potuit adhuc super sellam suam, sed audita quod capta esset archa tanto dolore percussus est quod seipsum non sustinens cecidit et confractus exspiravit [1 Reg. 4:11–18]. Et nunc capta est sancta nostra hereditas; prophanata sunt loca sancta; sancta crux captivata."

134 On Eli as an *exemplum*, see Peter of Blois, *Ep.* 23, 85; Martin of León, *Liber sermonum*, *Sermo* 23, 918; Ms. Oxford, Rawlinson C 427, fol. 5^r; Baldwin of Canterbury, *Sermo* 8, 135; Jacques de Vitry, *Sermo* 1, ed. Maier, 92. See also Bird, *Heresy*, 36–37, 152; Beryl Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages* (Oxford 1984), 181.

is no loss—but the Ark hints at a much greater calamity. Many further texts use the meaningful comparison between Cross and Ark, for example, a number of poems written on the eve of the Third Crusade. One appears in a Clairvaux manuscript, where it precedes Geoffrey of Auxerre's sermons on the Apocalypse, a meaningful conjunction.¹³⁵ It is likewise present in the chronicles that report on the expedition.¹³⁶ Stephen Langton applies it when commenting on the corresponding passage in the Books of Kings, and the *Bibles moralisées* depict it visually (early 13th century).¹³⁷ It was thus an important reading of the events of 1187.

Garnerius' *Distinctiones* display the outstanding meaning inherent in this comparison in the entry for *arca*: "The Ark is the Body of Christ, just like in the Exodus: build the Ark out of the trees of Chettim [Ex. 25:10], that is, have faith in the fact that the Body of Christ consists of incorruptible limbs. The Ark is the Church, just like in the Psalms."¹³⁸ He equates the Ark with both the Corpus Christi and the Church whose emblem and effigy it is. The abbot offers another clue in the entry for *signaculum*, a term that may refer to the cross: "The sign, the once chosen people, like in Job: it will be turned back into a sign just like clay [Job 38:14], since this people, once elected through faith, are now rejected and condemned by reason of their faithlessness."¹³⁹ The *signaculum* designates the chosen people now rejected and condemned

135 Ms. Troyes 990, fols. 63^v–64^r; see André Vernet, *La bibliothèque de l'Abbaye de Clairvaux du XII^e au XVIII^e siècle: manuscrits bibliques, patristiques et théologiques* (Paris 1997), 2:461–464. For other poems, see Berter of Orleans, *Iuxta threnos*, ed. Raby, 298–299, cited in Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, 2:331; *Analecta hymnica* 21, no. 236; *Analecta hymnica* 33, no. 26 and no. 267. See also Linda Paterson, *Singing the Crusades: French and Occitan Lyric Responses to the Crusading Movements, 1137–1336* (Cambridge, UK 2018), 47–75; Ingrid Hartl, *Das Feindbild der Kreuzzugslyrik: das Aufeinandertreffen von Christen und Muslimen* (Bern 2009), 107–160.

136 See, e.g., *Historia peregrinorum*, ed. Chroust, 119; Sicard of Cremona, *Chronicon*, 517; *Itinerarium peregrinorum*, ed. Mayer, 259. See also Ms. Lincoln Cathedral 25, fol. 21^r, where Ralph Niger applies the same comparison (*eorum exigentibus peccatis, archa dei capta est*).

137 On the first, see Ms. Oxford, Rawlinson C 427, fol. 5^r. On the *Bibles moralisées*, see Bird, "Rogations," 177, 186. See also Ms. BNF lat. 14859, fol. 215^r; this is a crusade-specific sermon by Prevostin of Cremona focusing on Is. 11:10 and declaring on the Cross: "Archa ista stat tam cellata in signum populorum, hoc est signum ponitum in pomerio christianorum [...]." See the chapter on exemplary descriptions for the full text.

138 Garnerius of Clairvaux, *Distinctiones*, 864. "Arca est corpus Christi, ut in Exodo: Arcam de lignis Chettim compingite [Ex. 25:10], id est, corpus Christi ex membris esse incorruptibilibus credite. Arca Ecclesia [est] ut in Psalmis [...]."

139 Garnerius of Clairvaux, *Distinctiones*, 1054. "Signaculum, populus quondam electus, ut in Job: Restituetur ut lutum signaculum [Job 38:14], quod populus ille quondam per fidem electus nunc propter incredulitatem reprobatur et contemnitur."

due to their disbelief—he seems to speak of the Jews, but the absence of a specific group may be a conscious strategy. Since this is a collection of *distinctiones*, Garnerius offers building blocks for sermons that many others may have used and endowed with a specific target group. Precisely this happens in one of his own Easter sermons, where he calls the struggle for recovering the Ark an *exemplum* that shall serve his audience in bravely withstanding their enemies (*exemplo nostris hostibus viriliter resistamus*). This evokes the relic's loss, and it encompasses both crusade and spiritual warfare: world, flesh, and devil fight against them, that is, a holistic program (*pugnat contra nos mundus, pugnat caro, pugnat diabolus*).¹⁴⁰ The idea that the Christian status as elect is endangered seems to have guided interpretations early on; it is present in the *Libellus de expugnatione terre sancte*, an anonymous eyewitness report of the siege of Jerusalem. The account characterizes the city's surrender as an act of betrayal and cowardice: those responsible are false Christians identified with Judas Iscariot and the Old Testament Jews. Surrendering Jerusalem is thus tantamount to betraying Christ; the text thereby suggests the same consequences: a loss of the elect status.¹⁴¹ The author seems to relate this primarily to Jerusalem's Christian inhabitants, whom he endowed with the argument of *peccatis nostris exigentibus* some lines before.¹⁴² The preachers in the West expanded this betrayal to all of Christendom; this collective responsibility is inherent in the comparison of Cross and Ark.

Subsequently, two further motifs formulating the same threat require consideration: Christ being crucified anew and committing adultery on God. Henry of Albano's letter enticing the German nobility to join the crusade survived in a manuscript from Flanders, together with three further crusade letters, among them *Audita tremendi*.¹⁴³ It discusses the events of 1187, explaining them through *peccatis nostris exigentibus* and concluding with why the Cross has been lost: "How could God permit that the wood of the cross was abducted by pagans if not to be crucified anew at their hands?"¹⁴⁴ The legate offers a

140 Garnerius of Clairvaux, *Sermo 19*, 697. See the section on methodology.

141 *Libellus*, ed. Brewer and Kane, 210; discussed by Schein, *Gateway*, 172; Penny J. Cole, "Christian Perceptions of the Battle of Hattin (583/1187)," *Al-Masaq* 6 (1993), 21–22.

142 *Libellus*, ed. Brewer and Kane, 206. See also Keagan Brewer, "God's Devils: Pragmatic Theodicy in Christian Responses to Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's Conquest of Jerusalem in 1187," *Medieval Encounters* 27 (2021), 152–158.

143 See the chapter on immediate context.

144 Ms. BL Add 24145, fol. 78^r and Henry of Albano, *Ep. 32*, PL 204:250. "Quomodo namque asportari permetteret [deus] lignum crucis ab ethnicis, nisi iterum crucifigendus ab eis?" See Alexander Marx, "Constructing and Denying the Enemy: Cistercian Approaches to Preaching the Third Crusade (1187–1192)," *Cîteaux* 70 (2019), 58, 66–67.

plain reading: God permitted its loss; it has not been the Muslims' achievement; and the loss signifies a new crucifixion. This evokes the end of the Old Covenant—now, the New Covenant is jeopardized. Noteworthy are the protagonists: whereas he explains the cause with Christian sinfulness, he leaves the deed itself in pagan hands (*ab ethnicis*). The same idea is present in both his letter urging Barbarossa to participate in the crusade (preserved in the same manuscript) and his crusade treatise:

Christ, who suffered once on the cross for our salvation, suffers nonetheless today and daily in the disgrace of the same cross induced by the pagans. We ask and admonish the imperial piety in the Lord, as much as he may kindly receive the harbinger of this news, to take thus vengeance for the injustice done to the creator—just as it befits that the most Christian emperor shall bravely gird himself, and just as the divine plan has elevated your majesty above all other heads of earthly power.¹⁴⁵

Does it not seem in these days as if Christ has come to be crucified again? He has obviously come to be crucified anew by the pagans, who had once been crucified by the Jews. And this second crucifixion had perhaps been prefigured in his first Passion, since one reads that he has been crucified in the third hour by the tongues of the Jews, but in the sixth hour by the hands of the pagans [cf. Mk. 15:25–33]. It seems therefore that the sixth hour of our day has already begun, the hour in which the Lord's Passion shall be completed. [...] The tombs shall be opened up, the rocks shall be split, and many of those who had fallen asleep in a sinful state shall be awakened [Mt. 27:51–52].¹⁴⁶

145 Ms. BL Add 24145, fol. 77^v. “[Christus] qui semel in cruce pro salute nostra passus est, hodie et cotidie nichilominus ab ethnicis in ipsius crucis ignominia patiat. Imperialem exoramus et monemus in domino pietatem, quatinus latorem presentium benigne recipiat, et ita ad vindicandam iniuriam conditoris, sicut decet imperatorem christianissimum magnanimiter accingatur quod sicut providentia divina maiestatem vestram super colla cuiuslibet terrene potestatis extulit.”

146 Henry of Albano, *De peregrinante civitate Dei* (XIII), 354 and Ms. Troyes 509, fol. 152^r. “Nunquid non in his [diebus] videtur venisse Christus iterum crucifigi? Venit plane denuo crucifigendus ab ethnicis, qui semel crucifixus fuerat a Judaeis. Et hoc forte in prima praesignatum fuerat passione. Sibi [Troyes 509: >< si] enim hora tertia crucifixus legitur linguis Judaeorum, hora sexta manibus ethnicorum [cf. Mk. 15:25–33]. Videtur igitur nostrae diei sexta jam incoepa hora, in qua sit passio Domini consummanda [...] aperiantur monumenta, scindantur lapides, et multi eorum qui in peccato obdormierant, suscitentur [Mt. 27:51–52].”

In both cases, the pagans (*ethnici*) are responsible, while the letter underlines the act's daily or current nature (*cotidie*). This shall animate the emperor's piety, resulting in vengeance for the injustices committed. Such appears as his imperial duty (expressed with *decet*), an office that has elevated him above all other princes thanks to divine providence (*providentia divina*)—this insinuates his identification with the Last World Emperor.¹⁴⁷ The crusade treatise, on the other hand, elaborates on the argument by comparing the current re-crucifixion with that by the Jews, who had crucified Christ in the “third hour.”¹⁴⁸ The pagans crucify him now in the “sixth hour” identified as the time when the Lord's Passion shall be completed (*in qua sit passio Domini consummanda*)—we have already encountered this idea; it represents a strong apocalyptic marker.¹⁴⁹ At the outset, Henry asks rhetorically whether Christ has come a second time to be crucified again (*venisse Christus iterum crucifigi*). This is a pointed remark to his audience: Christ is supposed to hold Judgment at his Second Coming. The expression suggests that Christ already came a second time—as Henry confirms in the following sentence (*venit plane denuo*), a bold apocalyptic element. The passage's conclusion underlines the apocalyptic dimension, referring to the verses of Mt. 27, which talk about the dead rising from their tombs and marching to Jerusalem.¹⁵⁰ The motif of a recurring crucifixion bears on a significant providential dimension: it breaks with the expected course of salvation history. It suggests that the past may repeat itself, if the Christians fail as chosen people just like the Jews once did—yet, there is now a last chance to turn the tables.

A few pages later, Henry identifies the current hour as the one which Christ had predicted on the cross (*hora illa de qua crucifixus praedixit*), that is, the hour of war between Christians and Muslims in a final eschatological battle.¹⁵¹ Some lines below, he reproaches the rampant intra-Christian conflicts of the year 1188 that obstructed plans for the crusade, after having called on his audi-

147 On the Last Emperor, see the chapter on the Apocalypse. The expression that the emperor shall gird himself (*accingatur*) alludes to 1 Macc. 3:58–59 (also present in: Baldric of Dol, *Historia*, ed. Biddlecombe, 9; Humbert of Romans, *De predicatione*, 113, 169).

148 The passage cited is found a few lines after his comparison between Cross and Ark, discussed above.

149 See Hélinand of Froidmont, *Sermo 10*, 561; Peter of Blois, *Passio Raginaldi*, 38.

150 See also Henry of Albano, *Ep. 32*, PL 204:249; see the chapter on Jerusalem.

151 Christ made a similar prediction according to the *Chanson d'Antioche*; it concerned Jerusalem's conquest in 1099, which would avenge his crucifixion (*Chanson d'Antioche*, ed. Duparc-Quioç, 1:25–28; discussed by Buc, *Holy War*, 280–281; Sophia Menache, “Emotions in the Service of Politics. Another Perspective on the Experience of Crusading (1095–1187),” in: *Jerusalem the Golden*, ed. Susan B. Edgington (Turnhout 2014), 248–249).

ence, the monks of Clairvaux, to counter the devil's servants, who have sown these conflicts all over the West, specifically in Germany (*Germania*), France (*Gallia*), and England (*Anglia*).¹⁵² Then, he utters the following verdict:

We observe now that the servants of the cross have returned to their vomit [2 Pet. 2:22], after they had dedicated themselves to the cross, after they had vowed that they will not fight except for Christ. We lament the fact that they have taken up arms against this so recent vow. Now cross fights against cross; crucifix wages war against crucifix. Those who seemed to taste the celestial soils already, behold how insatiable they prove themselves now in coveting terrestrial matters. [...] Oh, what a pain! We have lamented the fact that Christ suffered recently in his limbs in the East, but now, even more detestable, he suffers from his own limbs in the West. It is against the order of nature that limb arms itself against limb; that they fight each other; that they clash. Heu, heu, heu!¹⁵³

The passage illustrates the nexus between Cross, elect status, and Corpus Christi: the Christians had already vowed to wage war for Christ, they have taken the cross already, but now cross fights cross, crucifix against crucifix (*crux adversus crucem dimicat, crucifixus crucifixum impugnat*).¹⁵⁴ The entanglement within the Corpus Christi is key: their recent cross takings even let them appear as 'crucified' in terms of an *imitatio Christi*. Christ suffered recently in his limbs in the East (*Christum nuper in Oriente passum in membris suis*), but

152 Henry of Albano, *De peregrinante civitate Dei* (XIII), 359–360 and Ms. Troyes 509, fol. 155^r. This passage is part of the imagined speech of the devil; see the chapter on immediate context.

153 Henry of Albano, *De peregrinante civitate Dei* (XIII), 360 and Ms. Troyes 509, fol. 155^{r-v}. "Jam enim servos crucis, qui se cruci dedicaverant, qui se non nisi Christo militaturos devoverant, ad vomitum redisse videmus [2 Pet. 2:22], et contra tam recens votum arma corripuisse dolemus. Jam crux adversus crucem dimicat, crucifixus crucifixum impugnat. Qui sola jam coelestia sapere videbantur, ecce insatiabiliter terrenis inhiare probantur. [...] Proh dolor, plangebamus Christum nuper in Oriente passum in membris suis; sed nunc in Occidente detestabilius patitur a membris suis. Contra naturae ordinem armantur membra adversus membra, impugnant se invicem, se collidunt. Heu, heu, heu!"

154 The expression that they have returned to their vomit (2 Pet. 2:22) is often used in a crusade context; see, e.g., Caesarius of Heisterbach, *Dialogus* (1.6), 226; Garnerius of Clairvaux, *Sermo* 17, 685; Peter of Blois, *Sermo* 65, 774; *Compendium in Iob*, 817; *Dialogus*, 407; *Conquestio*, 82; Alan of Lille, *Distinctiones*, 729, 1010; Hélinand of Froidmont, *Sermo* 9, 559; *Sermo* 10, 570; Ralph Ardens, *Pars* (I), Section (2), *Sermo* 31, 2055; *Pars* (II), *De sanctis*, *Sermo* 25, 1590. See also Ms. BL Royal 10 A XVI, fols. 24^r, 84^r and Ms. BNF lat. 10633, fols. 25^r, 98^r.

he now suffers from his own limbs in the West (*nunc in Occidente patitur a membris suis*). War rampages within the Corpus Christi—a powerful explanation for the political conflicts within Latin Christendom.

Henry thus proposes the idea of a new crucifixion to different addressees (German nobility, Barbarossa, monks of Clairvaux), while he always leaves the deed itself in Muslim hands.¹⁵⁵ His contemporaries, however, reinforced the argument by using the motif with different attributions of responsibility. Adam of Perseigne, active in the mobilization of the Fourth Crusade, excoriates in a letter those who wear the cross only superficially; this makes them into accomplices of the Jews (*Judaeorum facti participes*) and they thus re-crucify Christ (*Christum iterum crucifigunt*). They even turn into “partakers” (*participes*); this suggests a union in a *corpus diaboli*, the antipode to the Corpus Christi.¹⁵⁶ Stephen of Tournai, abbot of Sainte-Geneviève (1177–1192), writes in a letter that the “new monsters” re-crucify Christ in these days (*nova monstra diebus nostris Christum iterum crucifigunt*)—this may indicate heretics, since he accompanied Henry of Albano to southern France in 1181.¹⁵⁷ In a letter to all Cistercian abbots on the eve of the Fourth Crusade (1199), Innocent III likewise admonishes that if his addressees remain inactive, Christ is crucified anew in his limbs (*qui rursus in membris suis crucifigitur*).¹⁵⁸ The *Continuatio Zwetlensis* declares tellingly that Jerusalem’s conquest in 1187 is tantamount to a new crucifixion: a most significant watershed in salvation history.¹⁵⁹ It transpires that Henry’s idea was reinforced, the more time passed after 1187. Agency was transferred from the Muslims (with Christian sinfulness as the cause) to the Christians—a strategy that explained the protraction of a state that was never meant to exist according to the providential plan. The manifold evidence shows once again how a preacher of the Third Crusade developed an idea that went on to have a wide-ranging impact beyond mobilizing for that particular expedition.

155 The *Libellus* formulates the idea of a new crucifixion regarding the relic’s loss, yet the delinquency remains unclear (*Libellus*, ed. Brewer and Kane, 156).

156 Adam of Perseigne, *Ep.*21, 654. On Adam’s involvement in the Fourth Crusade, see Alfred J. Andrea, “Adam of Perseigne and the Fourth Crusade,” *Cîteaux* 36 (1985), 21–37.

157 Stephen of Tournai, *Ep.*95, 387. This may likewise indicate the Muslims whom Alan identifies as monsters: “Cujus Mahometi monstruosa vita, monstruosior secta, monstruosissimus finis, in gestis ejus manifeste reperitur” (Alan of Lille, *Contra haereticos* (4.1), 421).

158 Innocent III, *Ep.*268, PL 214:827; see also *Ep.*76, PL 215:358. Similar in: Humbert of Romans, *Short Version*, ed. Portnykh, 77.

159 *Continuatio Zwetlensis*, 543; discussed by Schein, *Gateway*, 162–163. On Jerusalem’s loss as a providential watershed, see the chapters on Jerusalem and on the Apocalypse.

The wide reception is also evidenced by John of Abbeville's sermon *Ad crucesignatos* (already examined above with regard to the comparison with the Ark):

And Jerome says: Great is the Lord's fury in punishing this adulteress; or Ezekiel in the Lord's parable to Jerusalem: I will judge you with the verdict for adulterers and for the shedding of blood [Ez. 16:38]. Heavy is the verdict for adulterers and heavy is the verdict for shedding the blood of Jesus Christ, just as the Apostle says: They crucify the Lord again and put him publicly to shame [Hebr. 6:6].¹⁶⁰

He also accuses the Christians directly of re-crucifying Christ, given that the relic had now been lost for c.25 years. He aligns this with another meaningful motif: the relationship between God and his people appears as conjugal, stemming from the exegesis of the Song of Songs. God considers the (overflowing) Christian sinfulness as an act of adultery.¹⁶¹ This motif also expresses the peril that they may follow the Jewish precedent. Adultery (*adulterium*) represents a common motif in Christianity's moral teachings, present in diverse contexts, and more or less a synonym for sin. For example, the Whore of Babylon, emblematic of sin itself, is often labeled as the *mulier adultera*.¹⁶² Alan of Lille's *Contra haereticos* says that it is a king's duty to punish adulterers (*adulteros punire*);¹⁶³ just as he excoriates the Muslim habit of polygamy, rendering it as adultery.¹⁶⁴ Peter of Blois portrays the Muslims in general as adulterers: this indicates its result, that is, the idea that they are the illegitimate sons of

160 John of Abbeville, *Ad crucesignatos*, ed. Cole, 223. "[...] et Ieronimus: Magnus est furor Domini vindicantis in hanc adulteram, aut Ezechiel, in parabola Domini ad Ierusalem: Iudicabo te iudicio adulterarum et effundentium sanguinem [Ez. 16:38]. Grave est iudicium adulterarum, et grave est iudicium effundentium sanguinem Ihesu Christi quia sicut dicit Apostolus: Rursus crucifigunt Dominum et ostentatui habeunt [Hebr. 6:6]."

161 John also uses the argument of *peccatis nostris exigentibus* (John of Abbeville, *Ad crucesignatos*, ed. Cole, 222; Ms. Oxford, Magd. Coll. 168, fol. 70^v). In the first text: *irascitur dominus peccatis christianorum*. In the second: *propter nostra peccata*. The second is a Palm Sunday sermon devoted to the events of 1187. The new crucifixion appears in further 13th-century sermons, for example, with Jacques de Vitry (see Bird, "Palm Sunday," 17, 32; Bird, "Good Friday," 144, 152, 160; Cole, *Preaching*, 199–200).

162 See, e.g., Martin of León, *Commentary on Rev.* (2.5), 310; Ralph Ardens, *Pars (1), Section (2), Sermo 38*, 2075; Peter of Blois, *Passio Raginaldi*, 54–55. See also Marx, "Passio Raginaldi," 219–220.

163 Alan of Lille, *Contra haereticos* (2.23), 399. Eradicating the unbelievers from the earth is the next duty on the list (*impios de terra perdere*).

164 Alan of Lille, *Contra haereticos* (4.8), 425.

Hagar.¹⁶⁵ Ralph Ardens equates adulterers with heretics who must be excommunicated and wiped out (*excommunicare et eliminare*). As we have seen in the chapter on institutional context, Garnerius of Clairvaux and Henry of Albano label the philosophers as adulterers; Henry asserts that these intend to erode Christ's cross through their vain words (*crucem Christi velle evacuare*).¹⁶⁶ One of Alan's sermons, after having dealt with the events of 1187, describes the philosophers as adulterous robbers (*raptores adulteri*) who do not strive to avenge the injustice done to the Savior (*iniuriam salvatoris vindicarent*).¹⁶⁷ And, predictably, the Jews are understood as adulterers, hence providing a precedent.¹⁶⁸

A specific biblical reference (Hos. 4:1–2) epitomizes this idea, thus already in *Audita tremendi* we read:

Furthermore, regarding such a devastation of this land, we must consider and fear not only the sins of its inhabitants but also ours and those of the entire Christian people, lest what is left of this land is lost, and lest the power of the sins rages even in further regions, since we hear from all parts of the world of dissensions and conflicts between kings and princes, between those and these cities. Therefore, we are capable of mourning with the prophet: There is no truth; there is no knowledge of God in this land: theft and lies, murder and adultery have overflowed, and blood has been piled upon blood [Hos. 4:1–2].¹⁶⁹

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- 165 Peter of Blois, *Passio Raginaldi*, 56: "Erant de populo barbaro et de generatione illa per-versa atque adultera [...]" See also Peter of Blois, *Sermo* 39, 679, where he discusses the events of 1187, identifying one main aggressor (obviously Saladin) who seduces others to 'adultery': On the Muslims as the sons of Hagar, see Ralph Ardens, *Pars (I), Section (I)*, *Sermo* 41, 1812; *Chronica Andrensis*, 719; Peter of Blois, *Ep.* 98, 307; Martin of León, *Liber sermonum*, *Sermo* 23, 866; *Papsturkunden* (no.265), ed. Berger, 489. See also Buc, *Holy War*, 281; Richard W. Southern, *Western Views of Islam in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, Mass. 1962), 16–17; Nicholas Morton, *Encountering Islam on the First Crusade* (Cambridge, UK 2016), 15–16.
- 166 Ralph Ardens, *Pars (II), De tempore*, *Sermo* 18, 1370–1371; Garnerius of Clairvaux, *Sermo* 23, 726; Henry of Albano, *De peregrinante civitate Dei* (v), 293.
- 167 Ms. BL Add 19767, fol. 73^v. See the chapter on exemplary descriptions for the full text.
- 168 See, e.g., Martin of León, *Liber sermonum*, *Sermo* 4, 386; Baldwin of Canterbury, *De commendatione*, 637.
- 169 Gregory VIII, *Audita tremendi*, ed. Chroust, 8; see also Ms. BL Add 24145, fol. 76^v and Smith, *Audita tremendi*, 94–95. "Porro nos qui in tanta illius terre contritione non solum peccatum habitatorum eius sed et nostrum et totius populi christiani debemus attendere ac vereri, ne, quod reliquum est terre illius, depereat [Add 24145: >> deparat] et in alias etiam potestas eorum deseuiat regiones, cum ex omnibus mundi partibus inter reges et principes, civitates et civitates dissensiones audiamus et scandala, ut lugere cum propheta et dicere valeamus: non est veritas, non est scientia dei in terra: furtum et mendacium,

Gregory formulates the argument of *peccatis nostris exigentibus*, distinguishing that not only the sins of the Holy Land's inhabitants, but their own and those of entire Christendom are responsible.¹⁷⁰ They must center their attention upon these sins, lest the remainder of the Holy Land is lost (*ne quod reliquum est illius terrae depereat*)—such was the West's perspective in October 1187 when Jerusalem was still believed to be in Christian hands. Thereafter, he refers to intra-Christian conflicts, choosing Hos. 4:1–2 to describe these, including adultery as one of the prevailing sins, which reinforces the logic of *peccatis nostris exigentibus*. The encyclical proceeds accordingly, after the passage cited, with an urgent call for self-reform and penance, the mandatory foundations of a successful crusade.¹⁷¹ Appearing already in the encyclical, the motif delivers a metatext for the events on which preachers could draw. This is visible right at the beginning of Peter's *Conquestio*: in a rich potpourri of biblical quotations that serve the events' description and interpretation, he first cites Ps. 105:6, which comprises their own sinfulness (*peccavimus*). Then follows Hos. 4:1–2, including the element of *furtum* (theft), an allusion to the relic's capture (present some lines below as the *facies testamenti*).¹⁷² Decisive is the request that follows: God shall not repel the Holy Land in the end (*ne repellas in finem*), just as he shall not repel the Church (*non repelles ecclesiam tuam*)—the master addresses the potential loss of the elect status, while hoping that matters would still turn out better.

Ralph Ardens also makes use of the reference in a sermon generally concerned with the peril of losing the elect status:

Blow a trumpet in Zion etc. [Joel 2:1]. My brethren, a general plague demands a general medicine—because if only one had sinned, he could have been healed by a single medicine. However, as it has once been in the age of the Jews, so it is also now in the age of the Christians [...] There is hardly a limb within the entire body of the Church that is sane, because we priests and savants of the Church, who were supposed to be the light of the world (something I cannot utter without groan), do rather smoke

homicidium et adulterium inundaverunt, sanguis sanguinem tetigit [PL: >< contigit] [Hos. 4:1–2].”

170 See also Gregory VIII, *Nunquam melius*, 1539.

171 On this passage and the causalities between reform and crusade, see the chapter on the failure of crusades. See also *Itinerarium peregrinorum*, ed. Mayer, 247; Ms. Oxford, Magd. Coll. 168, fol. 70^v.

172 Peter of Blois, *Conquestio*, 77. See also Alan of Lille, *De sancta cruce* (1), 224; Ms. Würzburg M.ch.q.158, fol. 79^f; Benedictinus anonymus, *De penitentia*, ed. Huygens, 100.

than burn. And when the light which is in the Church turns into darkness, then, he says, there will be so much darkness [Mt. 6:23]. How do the princes of the earth and the judges behave? As the prophet says, they are robbers in the service of the Western unbelievers and their tribute and spoils: they eat up the people just as they eat bread [Ps. 14:4]. And how do the people behave? They all lie in wait for blood and a man hunts his brother to death [Mich. 7:2]. There is no truth; there is no mercy; there is no knowledge of God in this land: insults, lies, murder, theft, and adultery have overflowed, and blood has been piled upon blood [Hos. 4:1–2]. Since we have all gone astray, the prophet exhorts us all to penance so that the general edict may assemble us all as the Church, just as the prophet says: Blow a trumpet in Zion [Joel 2:1].¹⁷³

Ralph notes a trumpet sounding in Zion (Joel 2:1), which he identifies as a general plague (*plaga generalis*) that once rampaged in the age of the Jews, but now in the age of the Christians—a meaningful comparison. As a result, hardly a limb remains within the Corpus Christi that is sane (*ferè nullum in toto corpore Ecclesiae membrum est quod sit sanum*): clergy and nobility as well as the entire people are affected. He endows the latter with Hos. 4:1–2, accusing them of adultery. Ralph concludes with a call for penance, which a general edict has promulgated (*cum generali edicto*), that is, a papal decree *Ad omnes fideles*. This is not an ordinary harangue: the whole of Christian society is called into question here. A dramatic event must have occurred that generated this state of emergency—the events of 1187 suggest themselves. This is corroborated by Joel 2:1 locating the event in Zion.¹⁷⁴ The passage, therefore, seems to display

173 Ralph Ardens, *Pars (I), Section (1), Sermo 32*, 1780–1781. “Canite tuba in Sion, etc. [Joel 2:1] Fratres mei, plaga generalis generali indiget medicina. Si enim unus peccasset, singulari remedio curari potuisset. Sed sicut olim in tempore Judaeorum, ita et nunc in tempore Christianorum [...] Fere nullum in toto corpore Ecclesiae membrum est quod sit sanum. Nos enim sacerdotes et doctores Ecclesiae, qui deberemus esse lux mundi (quod sine gemitu nequeo dicere), potius sumus fumantes quam flammantes. Et si lumen quod in Ecclesia est, tenebrae sunt, ipsae, inquit, tenebrae quantaerunt [Mt. 6:23]. Quales sunt principes terrarum et iudices? Raptores sunt, ut ait Propheta, impiis vespertinis et tributis, et exactionibus devorant plebem sicut escam panis [Ps. 14:4]. Et qualis est populus? Omnes in sanguine insidiantur, et vir fratrem suum venatur ad mortem [Mich. 7:2]. Non est veritas, non est misericordia, non est scientia Dei, in terra. Maledictum, mendacium, homicidium, furtum, adulterium inundaverunt, et sanguis sanguinem tetigit [Hos. 4:1–2]. Quia ergo omnes declinaverunt, omnes hortatur propheta ad poenitentiam, ut cum generali edicto omnes ad [Lincoln 112: + gloriam et] Ecclesiam convocentur, cum ait: Canite tuba in Sion [Joel 2:1].”

174 Zion, while having a spiritual guise, tends to indicate the actual Mount Zion and the Holy

a reaction to the events of 1187; it agrees in its causality with *Audita tremendi* and the *Conquestio* (sin—adultery—loss of the elect status). Ralph argues that one may mitigate this state of emergency via a general medicine; this implies the crusade's remission of sin, since many authors rendered the Cross as such a medicine (for the Fall of Mankind).¹⁷⁵ The papal decree he refers to is most likely *Audita tremendi*, because it (a) operates with the same causality, (b) also applies the reference of Hos. 4:1–2, and (c) it also calls for penance (*omnes hortatur ad poenitentiam*).¹⁷⁶ Yet, it is worth noting that Ralph's entire sermon does not speak of the Cross or Jerusalem (even though Zion is a synonym). It may represent a subsequent sermon building on another which already dealt with the events, so he could assume a horizon of knowledge. It is plausible that *Audita tremendi* itself fulfilled this role, since it was likely read aloud to audiences in a fashion comparable to a sermon.¹⁷⁷ Supposing that encyclical and sermon were delivered in sequence, one suddenly looks on a coherent and powerful ensemble that emphasizes the urgency of the crusade.

The trumpets from Joel 2:1 appear in further contemporary texts, for example, in Sicard of Cremona's *De officiis*, where they blend with an imminent *adventus Christi*—they announce the Second Coming.¹⁷⁸ In a sermon addressed to priests (*ad sacerdotes*) and devoted to protecting the Church from heretics, Alan of Lille likewise connects the reference with the impending Second Coming, preceded by a quotation of Is. 62:6 (*super muros tuos, Jerusalem, constitui custodes*).¹⁷⁹ This seems to designate a spiritual Jerusalem, but he may have penned this under the impression that the earthly city was still in Muslim hands, given that he was primarily active against heretics in the 1190s. Martin of León also deploys Joel 2:1 and concludes thereafter: “The divine sermon encourages the preachers and prophets in this place to preach penance before the inimical sword strikes or before any other plague destroys the

Land. See, e.g., Garnerius of Clairvaux, *Sermo 4*, 599; *Sermo 28*, 753; Peter of Blois, *Passio Raginaldi*, 43. See the chapter on Jerusalem.

175 See Henry of Albano, *De peregrinante civitate Dei* (XIII), 353; Peter of Blois, *Sermo 17*, 609; *Conquestio*, 87.

176 A copy adds that it called them to glory (*ut cum generali edicto omnes ad gloriam et Ecclesiam convocentur*), that is, salvation and the remission of sin (Ms. Oxford, Lincoln Coll. 112, fol. 22^r).

177 See Maier, “Papal Letters,” 335–337; Anne Lise Bysted, *The Crusade Indulgence: Spiritual Rewards and the Theology of the Crusades, c.1095–1216* (Leiden 2015), 257–258.

178 Sicard of Cremona, *De officiis*, 214. See also Alan of Lille, *Distinctiones*, 981; Garnerius of Clairvaux, *Distinctiones*, 1069; the latter, in the entry for *tuba*, relates the verse to preaching activity.

179 Alan of Lille, *Sermo 5*, PL 210:212. On Is. 62:6 see the chapter on Jerusalem.

fruits.”¹⁸⁰ The passage unites several elements in agreement with other authors: Joel 2:1, preaching activity, penance, and warfare, a combination of significant motifs, one approach for identifying the crusade. One shall do penance before encountering the inimical sword (*antequam veniat hostilis gladius*)—*Audita tremendi* proposes the same sequence for preparing the venture. Although it is not entirely clear what type of enemy Martin is speaking of, he also alludes to the cross when saying that ‘the fruits’ may be destroyed, that is, salvation. This stems from Cant. 7:9, a motif we have already encountered, and to which Alan devotes an entire sermon (see below).

In conclusion, three motifs express the idea that the status as God’s chosen people is jeopardized: the comparison with the loss of the Ark, a new crucifixion, and committing adultery on God. Some sermons become even more explicit in reproaching their audiences. For example, a crusade-related piece by Alan of Lille adapts Ps. 94:14 in such a way that, instead of a statement, it directs a beseeching imperative towards God: he shall spare his people, and he shall not hand his heritage over into perdition (*parce domine populo tuo et ne des hereditatem tuam in perditionem*).¹⁸¹ In another sermon, after having discussed the fate of the Cross relic, he reaches the conclusion: “What could be a stronger sign for Christ having abandoned us than the fact that we lost the sign of the Lord’s Passion?”¹⁸² He answers his own question at the end of the text: “Christ has left us already with his [salvific] instruments.”¹⁸³ Christ relinquished them “already” (*iam*), including his salvific instruments, a reference to the relic. Salvation history truly hangs in the balance. Prevostin of Cremona agrees in a sermon for Advent, after having considered the events of 1187:¹⁸⁴

If we would consider our standing, then [we would realize that] there are not any people who have been endowed with more vigor by God than we have, because the shame of the Jews belongs to the past, but our shame

180 Martin of León, *Liber sermonum*, *Sermo 10*, 635. “Praedicatores et prophetas in hoc loco hortatur sermo divinus, ut praedicent poenitentiam antequam veniat hostilis gladius, sive alia quaelibet pestis demoliens fructus.”

181 Ms. BL Add 19767, fol. 75^r. The Vulgate formulates a statement: “Quia non repellet Dominus plebem suam et hereditatem suam non derelinquet.” On Ps. 94:14 see also the chapter on the failure of crusades.

182 Alan of Lille, *De cruce domini*, ed. d’Alverny, 281. “Per quid magis significatur recessus Christi a nobis, quam per id quod amisimus signum Dominice passionis?”

183 Alan of Lille, *De cruce domini*, ed. d’Alverny, 282–283. “Iam Christus cum suis instrumentis recessit a nobis.”

184 See the chapter on exemplary descriptions for the full text; and the chapter on the failure of crusades.

is fresh. Thus, one says proverbially: for the one is mocked who is mocked by the ridiculed: the ridiculed Jew mocks the Christian. Haughtiness has put us into this mockery. We shall say with the Apostle: oh Lord, remove the spirit of vainglory from us! This wood [of the cross] comes forth from the root.¹⁸⁵

He even speaks of “our status” (*statum nostrum*), which he deems extraordinary, and about which his audience apparently forgot. He associates the Christians with the Jews, comparing their respective shame (*pudor*): the Christians shall await the same fate, just as he does not shy away from fueling anti-Jewish sentiments by evoking Jews who ridicule Christians. Prevostin chose the same language in his sermon *De sancta cruce*: it tells of a cross in the Holy Land that is ridiculed (*illudere*), damaged, and defiled by Jews. Reading such passages, one is not surprised that the eve of the Third Crusade saw several anti-Jewish pogroms.¹⁸⁶ At the end of the passage, all of this converges in the Cross, underlined in its materiality by the use of *lignum*.

Similarly, at the conclusion of his crusade treatise Henry of Albano says:

Judas sinned more, when he handed his Lord over, than Pilate, when he killed him. In the same way, you will be incomparably worse than Saladin is now, if the Lord, whom Saladin persecutes as an enemy, shall find you, who loved him like a friend, not only to be liars but also traitors. Do not delude yourselves by saying: It is safer to protect one's own patrimony than to seek another. You should rather expect the same end as Judas, if you choose his fate.¹⁸⁷

185 Ms. BNF lat. 14859, fol. 215^v. “Si consideraremus statum nostrum, non est gens que a deo viriliter facta est sicut nos, quia pudor Iudeorum iam preterit, sed pudor noster recens est. Unde proverbialiter dicitur: cum irrisus est, cui irrisus illudit; illusus Iudeus illudit Christiano. Superbia est que iecit nos in hanc derisionem. Dicamus cum Apostolo: domine aufer a nobis spiritum iactantie. Hoc lignum proveniens de radice [...]”

186 Ms. BL Add 18335, fol. 24^v. On pogroms, see Sylvia Schein, “Die Kreuzzüge als volkstümlich-messianische Bewegungen,” *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 47 (1991), 130; Christopher J. Tyerman, *God's War: A New History of the Crusades* (Cambridge, Mass. 2006), 282–284; Robert Chazan, “Emperor Frederick I, the Third Crusade, and the Jews,” *Viator* 8 (1977), 83–93.

187 Henry of Albano, *De peregrinante civitate Dei* (XIII), 361 and Ms. Troyes 509, fols. 155^v–156^r. “Plus enim peccavit Judas Dominum suum tradendo, quam Pilatus occidendo. Ita et incomparabiliter nunc Salahadino eritis deteriores, si ejus, quem Salahadinus ut hostem persequitur, vos qui pro amico spondestis, non solum mendaces inventi fueritis, sed etiam proditores. Nec blandimini vobis dicentes: Tutius est proprium tueri patrimonium quam quaerere alienum. Judae potius expectetis finem, si Judae eligitis sortem.”

He equates the Christians with Judas as well as Saladin and the Muslims with Pilate: the first are much worse—the legate tells his audience. As with Prevostin, the uncomfortable comparison with the Jews surfaces, represented in the phonetic resemblance of Judas. The legate does not leave any doubt about what awaits those who do not enthusiastically depart on crusade, that is, seeking their *patrimonium*: if they behave like Judas, they will share in his fate (*Judae exspectetis finem*).¹⁸⁸ Thus, he ends the crusade treatise with the warning that those who do not fulfill their crusade vow will be damned (*quisquis ab hoc voto suo apostataverit, datus in opprobrium sempiternum, sit anathema*).¹⁸⁹ The spotlight on the negative Jewish precedent bears on another dimension concerned with the purpose that God granted to them after their fall. In his encyclical for the Second Crusade (*Ep.363*), Bernard of Clairvaux conceives of this purpose in a twofold manner: on the one hand, God permits the Jews to live among Christians, to serve the latter as a vivid admonition (exemplified by Ps. 59:12 and its exegesis). They appear as living testimonies of epochal misbehavior, which is on the verge of repeating itself with 1187. On the other, their diaspora is a punishment for the crucifixion of Christ.¹⁹⁰ God kills two birds with one stone. Baldwin of Canterbury expresses the same sentiment: the Jews have been subdued by pagans (*deiecti sunt in nationibus*), dispersed in exile (*dispersi sunt in regionibus*), and they lost Holy Land and Jerusalem (*perdiderunt terram sanctam et civitatem sanctam Jerusalem*), while he exhorts his audience to learn from their negative example (*sciamus per eos*).¹⁹¹ In contrast with the Christian exile, a united community in the Latin Church, the Jews were also struck with dispersal and political impotence, a fate that was also impending for the Christians after 1187. The logical reaction for overcoming the exile was the crusade, that is, the return to the ancestral inheritance.

188 See Marx, “Enemy,” 56. On the term *patrimonium*, see the chapter on the Holy Land. See also *Historia peregrinorum*, ed. Chroust, 123; this is Henry of Strasburg’s sermon; it likewise evokes the idea of disinheritance with regard to 1187: “Et quid erit, si vestrum quispiam dominum suum terrenum videat exterminii sive exheredationis iniuria molestari?” (see Valentin Portnykh, “‘L’argument vassalique’ au service de la prédication des croisades en Terre Sainte (fin XI^e–XIII^e siècles),” *Medieval Sermon Studies* 61 (2017), 63).

189 Henry of Albano, *De peregrinante civitate Dei* (xiii), 361 and Ms. Troyes 509, fol. 156^r.

190 Bernard of Clairvaux, *Ep.363*, 658; discussed by Skottki, “Number,” 254. See also Cohen, *Letters*, 23–71, 219–270. On Ps. 59:12 see Karen M. Kletter, “Politics, Prophecy and Jews: The Destruction of Jerusalem in Anglo-Norman Historiography,” in: *Jews in Medieval Christendom: Slay Them Not*, ed. Kristine T. Utterback and Merrall Llewelyn Price (Leiden 2013), 114; Linda Margaret Anne Stone, “*Slay Them Not*: Twelfth-Century Christian-Jewish Relations and the Glossed Psalms (Leiden 2019).

191 Baldwin of Canterbury, *De commendatione*, 455.

5 Mt. 16:24: One Shall Take up One's Cross and Follow Him

Mt. 16:24 is already found in the chronicles of the First Crusade; the *Gesta Francorum* and Peter Tudebode even begin their reports with this reference.¹⁹² One shall take up one's cross and follow him—these words seem created for the purpose of crusading (similar are Mk. 8:34 and Lk. 9:23). Four sermon texts use it as the opening verse: one each by Alan of Lille, Ralph Ardens, Martin of León, and Hélinand of Froidmont.¹⁹³ And numerous further sermons cite it within the texts.¹⁹⁴ It is likewise present in the *distinctiones*: both Alan and Peter the Chanter list it at their entries for *crux*.¹⁹⁵ Hélinand's sermon opening with Mt. 16:24 is devoted to Palm Sunday. He thus offers two Palm Sunday sermons with high crusade potential that set similar priorities, the one through Mt. 16:24, the other through Ez. 9, but they move into different areas of discussion. The two texts operate, therefore, within the boundaries of the same grand ideas, yet without being repetitive—we will keep encountering such clusters of complementing sermon material.¹⁹⁶ Palm Sunday delivers a natural causal link with the earthly Jerusalem.¹⁹⁷ Aligning it with Mt. 16:24 generates an entangle-

192 *Gesta Francorum*, ed. Hagenmeyer, 101; Peter Tudebode, *Historia*, ed. Hill, 31. See also Jay Rubenstein, "Crusade and Apocalypse: History and the Last Days," *Quaestiones mediæ aevi novae* 21 (2016), 159–160, arguing for the verse's apocalyptic nature, indebted to its context in the Bible. On Mt. 16:24 in the context of taking the cross, see Gaposchkin, *Weapons*, 66; Gaposchkin, "Pilgrimage," 47, 56, 76; Paul, *Footsteps*, 77–78. On Mt. 16:24 and *imitatio Christi*, see Purkis, *Spirituality*, 30–47, 89–93, noting that the verse is not present in Bernard's crusade writings.

193 Ms. Oxford, Bodley 409, fol. 150^v; Ralph Ardens, *Pars (II), De sanctis, Sermo 12*, 1533–1534; Martin of León, *De sanctis, Sermo 5*, 29–30; Hélinand of Froidmont, *Sermo 8*, 544. A sermon by Stephen Langton also opens with the verse (Ms. BNF lat. 14859, fol. 281^r; see Roberts, *Sermons*, 187; see also Innocent III, *De sanctis, Sermo 4*, 609; Humbert of Romans, *De predicatione*, 24, 30, 116).

194 See, e.g., Henry of Albano, *De peregrinante civitate Dei* (XIII), 357; Peter of Blois, *Sermo 37*, 670; Ralph Ardens, *Pars (II), De sanctis, Sermo 14*, 1542; Ms. Arsenal 543, fol. 219^v; Baldwin of Canterbury, *Sermo 3*, 47; Martin of León, *Liber sermonum, Sermo 32*, 1220; *De diversis, Sermo 11*, 144; Ms. Trier 232, fol. 139^r; Roger of Salisbury, *Sermo*, ed. Cole, 230; Odo of Chateauroux, *Sermo 5*, ed. Maier, 170; Gilbert of Tournai, *Sermo 1*, ed. Maier, 180. For other sources see, e.g., Otto of Freising, *Chronica*, ed. Lammers, 397; Gerhoch of Reichersberg, *In Psalmum*, 475, 477, 495; William of Tyre, *Chronique* (1.16), 138; Innocent III, *Quia maior*, 817; Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, 4165–166; and *Gestorum Treverorum continuatio*, 388, attributing the verse to one of Henry of Albano's sermons.

195 Alan of Lille, *Distinctiones*, 755; Ms. BL Royal 10 A XVI, fol. 25^r and Ms. BNF lat. 10633, fol. 26^r as well as Petrus Cantor, *Distinctiones*, 159. The verse is not present in Garnerius' collection.

196 See esp. the chapter on media context, which examines such clusters in several manuscripts.

197 See the chapter on Jerusalem. Hélinand also cites Mt. 23:37, a common denomination of

ment of cross, Jerusalem, and *imitatio Christi*, an ensemble that points strongly towards the crusade—a combination of significant motifs.

Hélinand's sermon aims at formulating an exegesis for Mt. 16:24. Right at the outset, he reproaches idleness (in contrast to following Christ): one must confront the world and evil; this delivers a compelling argument against an internal monastic application of the text.¹⁹⁸ He then broaches the Antichrist and an impending Apocalypse, reaching the following conclusion:

For the day of the Lord will come like a thief in the night [1 Thes. 5:2]. Thus, just as fish are caught with a hook and birds with a trap, so will humankind be trapped in dark times when it will encounter the Antichrist coming from the Temple. One must not follow this standard-bearer nor take up his sign. Rather, let us follow Christ to his Father who is in heaven—marching and wearing the sign of the cross or even the Cross itself, and saying: if someone wants etc. [Mt. 16:24]. He is indeed our standard-bearer; having been sent out like the good shepherd, he marches ahead of his sheep. And his sign is the cross.¹⁹⁹

One must not follow the Antichrist (*non est sequendus antesignanus iste*) nor wear his sign (*nec character eius sumendus*).²⁰⁰ Instead, one must follow Christ to his father who awaits in heaven, formulated as an exhortation. As Hélinand distinguishes, Christ wears either a sign or “the Cross itself,” a reference to the

the earthly city (Hélinand of Froidmont, *Sermo* 8, 547). The copy in Ms. BNF lat. 14591, fol. 48^v identifies it with the same feast. It represents the codex's last sermon and ends abruptly halfway (the last words are: *Judaei nescierunt: Ideo in divisionis*).

198 Hélinand of Froidmont, *Sermo* 8, 544 and Ms. BNF lat. 14591, fol. 48^v.

199 Hélinand of Froidmont, *Sermo* 8, 546–547 and Ms. BNF lat. 14591, fol. 49^v. “Dies enim Domini tanquam fur in nocte, ita veniet [1 Thes. 5:2]: et ideo sicut pisces capiuntur hamo, et aves laqueo, sic homines capientur in tempore malo, cum eis ex templo [Antichristus] superveniet [BNF lat. 14591: >> supervenerit]. Non est ergo sequendus antesignanus iste, nec character eius sumendus. Magis sequamur Christum ad Patrem suum, qui in coelis est, euntem, et signum crucis portantem, imo crucem ipsam [BNF lat. 14591: + sibi] baiulantem, et dicentem: Si quis vult, etc. [Mt. 16:24] Hic est autem signifer [BNF lat. 14591: >> antesignanus] noster, qui tanquam pastor bonus cum oves suas emiseric, ante eas vadit. Signum eius crux est.”

200 See Rev. 13:16; 14:9; 16:2; here with regard to the Antichrist's servants: *accipere characterem* (Hélinand also quotes Rev. 16:2). Relating the Antichrist to the Temple is common. Eschatological is also the thief in the night from 1 Thes. 5:2 and Rev. 3:3. On the *character Antichristi*, see also Alan of Lille, *Distinctiones*, 737–738, 993–994; Konrad of Eberbach, *Exordium* (5.10), ed. Griesser, 330; Martin of León, *Commentary on Rev.* (13.16), 371; (14.9), 374; (16.2), 379–380; (19.20), 399. Martin identifies the Antichrist's servants (inter alia) with the Jews.

relic (*signum crucis portantem, imo crucem ipsam baiulantem*). This (for Christ odd) distinction implies the situation of the crusaders, who either wear a sign or are armed with the relic itself.²⁰¹ Christ is their warlord who carries the cross (*signifer* and *antesignanus*): this evokes both the vision of Rev. 19 and the relic's purpose before 1187. Tellingly, a chronicle renders Barbarossa as a *signifer* regarding his leadership on crusade: this suggests his identity as the Last World Emperor.²⁰² Some lines below, the Cistercian continues:

Our standard-bearer showed us the sign of eternal blessedness, and he invites us thus to war: If anyone wants to come after me, let him deny himself, take his cross, and follow me [Mt. 16:24]. He does not force anybody, but leaves it to one's will whether or not one wants to follow him—because God does not permit forced allegiance; the liberty of human free will is thus furnished that nobody can be evil or good against one's will.²⁰³

Christ appears again as a standard-bearer who invited them to war via his example (*nos invitat ad bellum*); following him is pushed into a militant light: the relic's loss demands that Christians wage war in the Holy Land. Yet, Hélinand stresses the endeavor's voluntary nature; God will not force anybody to salvation.²⁰⁴ In the remainder of the sermon, he discusses that taking the cross means enduring all the insults, injustices, and hardships for Christ (*crucem ergo post Christum tollere, est omnes contumelias, injurias et molestias pro Christo tollerare*). The formulation of *crucem tollere* alludes to crusading.²⁰⁵ However, not all wear the cross of Christ (*non omnes qui cruciantur crucem suam ferunt*), an idea familiar from deploying Ez. 9: some fail in embodying it in deeds

²⁰¹ Martin, discussing the Tau, makes the same distinction (Martin of León, *De diversis, Sermo 11*, 144).

²⁰² See Ansbert, *Historia*, ed. Chroust, 14. *Signifer* referred originally to the standard-bearer of a Roman legion. See the entries in *Handwörterbuch*, ed. Georges; *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources*, ed. Richard Asdowne, David R. Howlett, and R.E. Latham, 2 vols (Oxford 1997–2013).

²⁰³ Hélinand of Froimont, *Sermo 8*, 548. “Hoc igitur signum felicitatis aeternae factus ante nos antesignanus noster, sic nos invitat ad bellum: Si quis vult venire post me, abneget semetipsum; et tollat crucem suam, et sequatur me [Mt. 16:24]. Neminem cogit, sed in voluntate cuiuslibet dimittit, utrum se sequi velit. Deus enim coacta non admittit obsequia, tanta est libertas humani arbitrii, ut nemo invitus malus esse possit vel bonus.”

²⁰⁴ See Tamminen, *Crusader*, 95–96; Buc, *Holy War*, 260–261; Bysted, *Indulgence*, 238–239, 242.

²⁰⁵ See also Ms. BNF lat. 14859, fols. 231^r–232^v, where Stephen Langton blends enduring suffering for Christ with the cross signing, while presenting the Templars as *exempla*. Indebted to Palm Sunday, this interlocks with Christ who arrives in Jerusalem (see Bird, “Palm Sunday,” 23).

and attitudes.²⁰⁶ Thereafter, he underlines his counter-model: following Christ means *imitatio Christi* and martyrdom; they must endure the persecution with him, a quotation from Mt. 5:10 and 2 Tim. 3:12 (*cum Christo persecutionem patiendo*).

Similarly, Peter of Blois connects Mt. 16:24 with (crusading) warfare, in a sermon on the feast of the martyr Lawrence, a potential *exemplum* for crusaders:²⁰⁷

And what is a more preeminent sign than the sign of the martyrs, the sign of the cross? Isaiah says about it: Raise the sign among the nations [Is. 11:12]. And Christ: if anyone wants to come after me, let him deny himself, take his cross, and follow me [Mt. 16:24]. The pile of testimony calls for Galahad: since he keeps a lookout for the totality of the martyrs. Because a martyr is the same as a witness. He belongs to the tribe of Gad: this tribe is interpreted as well-girded. And who is more girded than the one who has girded his loins with bravery, the one whom the Lord has endowed with the power to wage war?²⁰⁸

The martyr wears the cross, and this cross shall be raised among the pagans (*nationes*), a quotation from Is. 11:12—strong indicators for the purpose of crusading. Is. 11:12 agrees with the overall pattern: after the relic's loss, one must strive for its recovery, to reestablish it as a sign of God's elect people. The reference was also part of the liturgy which celebrated 1099's conquest of Jerusalem.²⁰⁹ A causal link with crusading is likewise suggested at the passage's end: the cross endows them with the virtue or power of waging war (*virtute ad bellum*)—note the parallel with Hélinand.²¹⁰ Peter stresses the original mean-

206 Hélinand of Froidmont, *Sermo* 8, 551. Some authors delineate thus a *crux Christi* and a false *crux diaboli* (e.g., John of Abbeville, *Commentary on Cant.*, 682).

207 See Bird, "Good Friday," 147.

208 Peter of Blois, *Sermo* 32, 656. "Et quod signum excelsius, quam signum martyrum, signum crucis? De quo Isaias dicit: Levate signum in nationibus [Is. 11:12]. Et Christus: Qui vult, inquit, venire post me, abneget semetipsum, et tollat crucem suam, et sequatur me [Mt. 16:24]. Galaad sonat acervus testimonii: quod ad universitatem martyrum spectat. Martyr enim idem est quod testis. Est de tribu Gad: quod interpretatur accinctus. Et quid accinctus est, quam qui accinxit fortitudine lumbos suos, a Domino praecinctus virtute ad bellum?"

209 See Gaposchkin, *Weapons*, 153, 264, 275; see also Bird, "Good Friday," 140. The same liturgy praised the First Crusade's martyrs: "Ierusalem civitas sancta, ornamentis martyrum decorata" (Gaposchkin, *Weapons*, 269).

210 On Gad as an *exemplum*, see also Garnerius of Clairvaux, *Sermo* 37, 809, here blended with *militia Christiana* and the Last Judgment. On this sermon, see the chapter on Jerusalem.

ing of martyr deriving from Ancient Greek: he witnesses Christ's Passion, thereby contributing to its completion.

Martin of León's sermon *De sancta cruce* delivers a significant emphasis on martyrdom. Mt. 16:24 is its program; he attempts to comment on it systematically, dealing first with the question of what "denying oneself" means (*sed quid est semetipsum abnegare?*).²¹¹ The second paragraph broaches the issue of what carrying the cross entails:

But what does it mean to carry the cross? It means of course to hand oneself over to death. It is the pretense of hypocrites to carry the cross but not to die. However, to carry the cross and to die is the devotion of the servants of God. Thus—whoever enters into God's service—if he has not yet faded away from sins and vices, he appears to be carrying the cross, yet he does not follow Christ. As a result, the one carries truly the cross and follows Christ who rejects the world and abandons sins and vices.²¹²

As with Hélinand, the idea surfaces that some wear the cross only superficially: who carries the cross, but does not face death, is a hypocrite (*crucem ferre, et non mori, simulatio est hypocritarum*). This indicates the willingness to endure martyrdom, occasions for which were plentiful given the dangers of crusading. Thus, one displays one's attitude—whether martyrdom eventually struck or not. The passage blends this with self-reform, the precondition for crusading. In the course of the sermon, Martin argues that there is no salvation unless one wears the cross on the front (*revera nulla salus est in domo, id est in corpore, quod est habitatio animae, nisi sanctae crucis signaculum portaverit in fronte*).²¹³ It remains unclear what ways of wearing it there are—different audiences may have received this call differently. However, the crusade surfaces as the strongest layer of meaning; this is substantiated when considering terminology: Martin repeatedly uses terms that plausibly indicate the specific relic. He speaks four times of the *lignum sanctae crucis*, three times of *sancta crux*, and once of the most holy cross (*hanc sanctissimam crucem*) which the princes worship (*flexis genibus adorant*)—especially the last case strongly sug-

211 Martin of León, *De sanctis, Sermo 5*, 30–31 and Ms. León, San Isidoro 11/2, fol. 172^r.

212 Martin of León, *De sanctis, Sermo 5*, 31 and Ms. León, San Isidoro 11/2, fol. 172^r. "Sed quid est crucem ferre? semetipsum videlicet mortificare. Crucem ferre, et non mori, simulatio est hypocritarum; crucem autem ferre, et mori, studium est Dei servorum. Quicumque ergo ad servitatem Dei accedit, si nondum a peccatis et vitiis moritur, crucem videtur ferre, sed tamen Christum non sequitur. Ille ergo veraciter crucem portat, et Christum sequitur, qui saeculo renuntians, a peccatis et vitiis recedit [...]."

213 Martin of León, *De sanctis, Sermo 5*, 35 and Ms. León, San Isidoro 11/2, fol. 174^r.

gests the relic of Jerusalem.²¹⁴ The argument that only carrying the “sign of the holy cross” (*sanctae crucis signaculum*) procures salvation grants the crusade a preeminent place in the fabric of salvation. In the face of 1187, it surpasses other options, especially for lay people.

Ralph Ardens develops similar ideas, but with a different purpose:

Furthermore, those are the enemies of Christ’s cross who deem his cross a disgrace, like the Jews, or a stupidity, like the pagans—and also those can be called the enemies of Christ’s cross who, despite believing in his cross, refuse to carry it. Thus, one must grieve over the fact of how we are today Christians in name only; we who preach the cross; we who desire to be saved via the cross. Yet, neither do we want to carry the cross nor do we crucify our flesh with its vices and desires [Gal. 5:24] nor do we endure the bitter things in the present circumstances, but we seek those that are sweet. We do not grieve but prosper. We do not bear the inflicted injuries patiently, but we repay evil with evil, invective with invective—even though our master says: If anyone wants to come after me, let him deny himself, take his cross, and follow me [Mt. 16:24].²¹⁵

He expounds that both Jews and pagans are enemies of Christ’s cross, but its enemies also include those who, despite believing in it, refuse to wear it (*tamen eam ferre recusant*), that is, Christians who refuse to go on crusade. There are two clues as to whom he is addressing with this accusation: Ralph deems them such who preach the cross (*qui crucem praedicamus*), and he calls Christ “our master” (*Magister noster*), before citing Mt. 16:24. This indicates a university audience, likely in Paris: they preach the cross already, a plausible synonym for

214 For the last reference, see Martin of León, *De sanctis, Sermo 5*, 34 and Ms. León, San Isidoro 11/2, fol. 173^v. Rigord also uses the superlative: *sacratissima crux* (Rigord, *Gesta*, ed. Delaborde, 85; see also Heraclius, *Hilferuf* (111), ed. Kedar, 120; Heraclius, *Hilferuf* (11), ed. Jaspert, 512).

215 Ralph Ardens, *Pars* (1), *Section* (2), *Sermo 48*, 2112–2113. “Porro inimici crucis Christi sunt, qui crucem Christi scandalum, ut Judaei, vel stultitiam ut gentiles opinantur. Inimici etiam crucis Christi dici possunt qui etsi credunt Christi crucem, tamen eam ferre recusant. Quales (unde dolendum est) sumus hodie nos, solo nomine Christiani, qui crucem praedicamus, et per crucem salvari volumus, et tamen crucem ferre nolumus, carnem nostram [Lincoln 112: + saltim] cum vitiis et concupiscentiis non crucifigimus [Gal. 5:24] non hic amara pati, sed dulcia quaerimus, non tristari, sed prosperari; injurias illatas [Lincoln 112: >< illicitas] patienter non ferimus, sed potius malum pro malo, maledictum pro maledicto reddimus, cum Magister noster dicat: Qui vult venire post me, abneget semetipsum, et tollat crucem suam et sequatur me [Mt. 16:24] [...]”

preaching the crusade, but they refuse to take it.²¹⁶ The cause concerns them just like the rest of Christendom, including Ralph himself: he uses the first person plural throughout.²¹⁷ This may have been rhetorical, but would have appeared inauthentic if he did not intend to participate—as he did in the service of Richard Lionheart.

As noted, there is also a sermon by Ralph opening with Mt. 16:24, yet it does not seem concerned with crusading. This agrees with the fact that it does not use any specific terms that would indicate the relic (such as *lignum crucis* or *sancta crux*)—it only speaks generically of *crux*. It is a martyr sermon that uses the verse to call for virtuousness and *imitatio Christi*, but even here, we find him criticizing those who do not embody the cross properly.²¹⁸ A similar use, not concerned with crusading, can be found in one of Baldwin's sermons, apparently addressing a monastic audience. The reference is quite isolated here; no elaborate discussion unfolds, as it pointed us towards the crusade in the sermons examined above.²¹⁹ More ambiguous remains another piece devoted to the crucifixion of the 'old man' (Rom. 6:6), where Mt. 16:24 appears at the outset.²²⁰ Baldwin relates the achievement of overcoming the *vetus homo*, an emblem of the Old Covenant, to following Christ. Markers pointing towards the crusade are absent, but it is easy to imagine such a sermon with its focus on the cross being put to use on the eve of an expedition. Considering the common exegesis of Rom. 6:6 with its anti-Jewish impulse, such a sermon allows us to see how anti-Jewish pogroms were incited, for example, at Richard Lionheart's coronation (Sept. 1189), conducted by none other than Baldwin himself.²²¹ This text thus adheres to a possible crusade potential: one can determine a thematic

216 See also Ms. Arsenal 543, fol. 244^v, where Prevostin of Cremona calls Christ *magister noster*. On this sermon, see the chapter on institutional context.

217 See also Ralph Ardens, *Pars (I), Section (I), Sermo 31*, 1775. The same impetus is present in one of Alan of Lille's sermons devoted to Job 7:1 and addressed *Ad scolares* (Ms. BNF lat. 14859, fols. 235^r–236^r; see also Alan of Lille, *Sermo de clericis*, ed. d'Alverny, 274–278).

218 Ralph Ardens, *Pars (II), De sanctis, Sermo 12*, 1536. The same critique is formulated by Ralph Niger (likewise alluding to Mt. 16:24): a journey to the East may be without benefit in such circumstances: "Corporalem enim peregrinationem sine spirituali certum est prodesse non posse. Qui enim baiulat crucem et non sequitur crucifixum, frustra pedes vel eques peregrinatur [...]" (Ralph Niger, *De re militari*, ed. Schmutge, 179).

219 Baldwin of Canterbury, *Sermo 2*, 30; it likewise lacks specific terms that would indicate the relic.

220 Baldwin of Canterbury, *Sermo 3*, 47; once more, terms referring to the relic are lacking. On the sermon, see also Phillips, "Thief's Cross," 149.

221 For Rom. 6:6 see also Henry of Albano, *De peregrinante civitate Dei* (XIII), 355; *Ep. 31*, 247; Peter of Blois, *Sermo 19*, 615; *Sermo 37*, 671; Ralph Ardens, *Pars (I), Section (I), Sermo 45*, 1828; *Section (2), Sermo 14*, 1995; Ms. Würzburg M.ch.q.158, fol. 79^r; Ms. BNF lat. 14859, fol. 233^v; Alan of Lille, *Distinctiones*, 812, 1000; Garnerius of Clairvaux, *Sermo 17*, 686; *Distinctiones*,

but not a directly causal relationship with the crusade—in contrast to the other sermons discussed in this section that clearly betrayed a causal relationship.

6 Alan of Lille's Three Sermons *De sancta cruce* in Comparison

Alan's sermon on Mt. 16:24 is only a short piece that appears in an Oxford manuscript as an illustrative model sermon for his *Ars praedicandi*. He emphasizes that one must follow and imitate Christ, in order to regain the society of angels (*recuperet societatem angelorum*).²²² He develops more elaborate ideas, likewise operating with Mt. 16:24, in one of his sermons *De sancta cruce*, which is found in the same manuscript. It represents an unpublished text, complementing the other two sermons *De sancta cruce* from his pen.²²³ Towards its conclusion, he states:

He will resurrect us after two days, that is, on the third day, since this is how it must be done in us, just as our head exhibited it: on the first day, he hung on the cross; on the second, he was in the Sepulcher; and on the third, he was glorified. The same shall happen to us: if we are truly his limbs, we must follow our head, in order to persist in the cross of our penance on the first day, that is, as long as we are caught in the flesh [cf. 2 Cor. 5:6]. Christ says about this cross: If anyone wants to come after me, take his cross, and follow me [Mt. 16:24].²²⁴

The master blends Mt. 16:24 with the Corpus Christi: one must imitate Christ.²²⁵ Consequently, they would rise from the dead just like him and gain glory. The cross merges with penance; this could relate to both the crusade or general

926. Garnerius writes in the latter text: "Filius alieni sunt Iudaei, qui inveterati sunt, dum in veteri homine remanserunt."

222 Ms. Oxford, Bodley 409, fol. 150^v.

223 See Alan of Lille, *De cruce domini*, ed. d'Alverny, 279–283; *De sancta cruce* (1), 223–226.

224 Ms. Oxford, Bodley 409, fol. 149^{r-v}. "Vivificabit nos post duos dies in tertia die suscitabit nos, sic enim in nobis debet fieri sicut in capite nostro precessit, una die in cruce fuit, altera in sepulchro, tertia glorificatus est, sic et nos si vere membra eius sumus, caput nostrum sequi debemus, ut prima die, id est dum sumus in carne ista [cf. 2 Cor. 5:6], perseveremus in cruce penitentiae nostrae, de qua ipse ait, qui vult venire post me tollat crucem suam et sequatur me [Mt. 16:24]."

225 In this context, Alan formulates a call to truly be limbs of his body (*si vere membra eius sumus*). The same is formulated in: Henry of Albano, *De peregrinante civitate Dei* (XIII), 351–352, broaching Jerusalem's loss.

reform agendas. Supposing that Alan penned this sermon after 1187, one may read such as formulating a premise for the Cross relic's recovery.²²⁶ The cross is omnipresent in this sermon *De sancta cruce*, a genre that represents a reaction to the events of 1187, as discussed. Although there is no explicit reference to its loss, the specific relic may perhaps be detected: he asserts that the devil also holds a cross (*habet quippe crucem et diabolus*), whose nature consists inter alia in *superbia*: it aims at deluding Christians. He opposes this devilish cross with the *sancta crux*; this is the only occasion in the entire sermon where he speaks of *sancta crux* instead of only *crux* (save for the title). This term, as discussed, tends to refer to the specific relic, and it presents itself here as the sermon's climax.²²⁷ Another clue about its crusade potential is offered by the discussion at its outset concerned with the two thieves who were crucified with Christ (Lk. 23:32–43).²²⁸ One of Alan's other two sermons *De sancta cruce* delivers the same discussion, specifically the one that elaborates on the events of 1187. Matthew Phillips argued that the two thieves propose two possible reactions to the audience: receiving or rejecting the offer of Christ's grace.²²⁹ The second sermon also connects the crusader cross with penance, *imitatio Christi*, and the Corpus Christi (departing here from Gal. 6:14).²³⁰ The two sermons thus show significant parallels in ideas and imagery. The one from the Oxford manuscript is more compact, and the crusade does not surface explicitly, while its counterpart elaborates on the events of 1187. Two avenues of interpretation are possible for the first: either it represents a text penned before 1187, or Alan drafted it in

226 Phillips already showed that Alan focuses on the cross and penance: Phillips, "Thief's Cross," 143–156; see also Jean Longère, *Œuvres oratoires de maîtres parisiens au 12^e siècle: étude historique et doctrinale* (Paris 1975), 1:265–266. On the causality of crusade, Cross relic, and penance, see Henry of Albano, *De peregrinante civitate Dei* (XIII), 357; Benedictinus anonymus, *De penitentia*, ed. Huygens, 101; Ms. BL Add 19767, fol. 73^v. See also Cole, *Preaching*, 142–176; Bysted, *Indulgence*, 109–128.

227 Ms. Oxford, Bodley 409, fol. 149^r. For the term see, e.g., Ms. Lambeth 144, fol. 118^v; Hélinand of Froidmont, *Sermo 10*, 566; John of Abbeville, *Ad crucesignatos*, ed. Cole, 222; Gernerius of Clairvaux, *Distinctiones*, 1017.

228 Ms. Oxford, Bodley 409, fols. 148^v–149^r.

229 Alan of Lille, *De cruce domini*, ed. d'Alverny, 279; discussed by Phillips, "Thief's Cross," 146; Phillips, "Typology," 175–176. See also Baldwin of Canterbury, *Sermo 3*, 47; *Sermo 8*, 133; Ms. Arsenal 543, fol. 204^v; Ralph Ardens, *Pars (I)*, *Section (I)*, *Sermo 56*, 1872; *Pars (II)*, *De tempore*, *Sermo 18*, 1371–1372; Henry of Albano, *De peregrinante civitate Dei* (V), 293; Peter of Blois, *Sermo 17*, 609; *Passio Raginaldi*, 67; Hélinand of Froidmont, *Sermo 8*, 551.

230 Alan of Lille, *De cruce domini*, ed. d'Alverny, 281–282; see Christopher Matthew Phillips, "Crucified with Christ: The Imitation of the Crucified Christ and Crusading Spirituality," in: *Crusades: Medieval Worlds in Conflict*, ed. Thomas F. Madden (Ashgate 2010), 25–33. See also Tamminen, *Crusader*, 108–112, 133–143.

the 1900s as a broader model—as which it appears in the manuscript, attached to the *Ars praedicandi*; this agrees with the dating of the latter work.

The second sermon offers an expressive passage on the relic's loss and the reaction it should elicit:

This is the badge of our religion, the banner of Christian faith: once hidden in the earth but found by Helena; once seized by Khosrow but released by Heraclius. But now, it is entirely lost by reason of the dangerous increase in sin, since nothing is left that would restore its cure [i.e., Christ's grace]. What is the cause for its loss if not our own fault? [...] Behold thus how the Christian soldiers shall mark themselves with the sign of the cross on both their bodies and hearts. They shall mark themselves externally via the visible imprint and internally via penance. They shall carry the cross, not with Simon in distress, but with Christ in endurance; with the right thief in penance, not with the left thief in transgression [cf. Lk. 23:32–43]. The Christians shall mark themselves with the cross and go on pilgrimage to the land of the crucified: they shall reach this place; they shall seek the Sepulcher with Magdalene; they shall hurry with Peter and find it with John. They shall grieve over the capture of the cross; they shall exert themselves for its recovery. They shall avenge the injuries done to Christ and mourn the insults. They shall liberate the land of our inheritance, the heritage of Christ, the dowry of the Virgin.²³¹

Alan sketches the history of the specific relic, a seesaw between loss and recovery, concluding that it is now entirely lost (*nunc omnino amissum*). This is explained with *peccatis nostris exigentibus*: it is “our fault” (*nostra culpa*), he says to his audience. The assertion of a ‘definite’ loss reveals that the event represents a providential watershed: the pattern of the past is thwarted; col-

231 Alan of Lille, *De cruce domini*, ed. d'Alverny, 280–281. “Hoc est sigillum religionis nostre, vexillum fidei christiane, olim in terra absconditum, sed ab Helena inventum; olim a Chosroë raptum, sed ab Heraclio liberatum; sed nunc omnino amissum, nec aliquod manet recuperandi remedium, propter ingruentiam peccatorum. Que est amissionis causa, nisi nostra culpa? [...] Eia, ergo, milites Christi signent se signo crucis in corpore, signent in corde, signent exterius per figuram, signent interius per penitentiam; ferant crucem Christi, non cum Symone in angaria, sed cum Christo in patientia; cum dextro latrone in penitentia non cum sinistro in violentia [cf. Lk. 23:32–43]. Signent se cruce christiani, peregrinent in terra crucifixi, accedant ad locum, querant cum Magdalena sepulcrum, currant cum Petro, invenient cum Iohanne. Fleant crucis raptum, laborent ad recuperandum; vindicent Christi iniurias, doleant contumelias; liberent terram nostre hereditatis, Christi hereditatem, Virginis dotem.”

lective salvific progress is uncertain. This suggests once more the idea that the Christians may lose their elect status. Thus, Alan speaks of a dangerous increase or even critical transgression of the amount of sin (*propter ingruentiam peccatorum*).²³² Yet, he betrays hope, outlining the reaction that must follow, a well-known pattern: Christ's soldiers must sign themselves with the cross (*ergo milites Christi signent se signo crucis*), externally via the sign and internally via penance (*signent exterius per figuram, signent interius per penitentiam*).²³³ The double dimension indicates the importance of spiritual readings in the crusading context—and how quickly one switches between literal and spiritual. Signing oneself with the cross, in reaction to its loss, would confirm one's belonging to the Corpus Christi just like in the Eucharist. This idea is already summed up a few lines earlier: the “sign of the cross” represents the “cross of Christ” (*fit etiam signum crucis ad crucem Christi representandum*)—we encountered such a distinction already in Hélinand's *Sermo* 8.²³⁴ Immediately after the passage cited, the master elaborates on the crusader cross:

It does not lack the rationale of the mystery that the pilgrims to Jerusalem attach the cross to the shoulder; on the way back, they place it on the chest. Because this indicates that God's yoke presents itself at first as burdensome and heavy for its bearers, but thanks to the experience and the love of Christ, it turns into sweetness.²³⁵

On the way to the Holy Land, the cross signifies the yoke to be carried (echoing Mt. 16:24); on the way back, Christ's love successfully acquired.²³⁶ His love after the crusade is diametrically opposed to God's rage prior to the expedition—assuming it succeeds.

232 On such providential watersheds, see the chapter on the Apocalypse. The *Relatio de situ Ierusalem* says, with an eye on Jerusalem's loss in 1187, that some churches have been *omnino* destroyed (Ms. Lambeth 144, fol. 118^v).

233 See Gaposchkin, *Weapons*, 72–75; Phillips, “Thief's Cross,” 150–151. See also Henry of Albano, *De peregrinante civitate Dei* (xv), 372.

234 Alan of Lille, *De cruce domini*, ed. d'Alverny, 280. See also Rigord, *Gesta*, ed. Delaborde, 85, speaking of *sacratissima cruce signati sunt*—they have been signed with the relic itself.

235 Alan of Lille, *De cruce domini*, ed. d'Alverny, 281. “Nec vacat a ratione misterii quod peregrinantes in Ierusalem crucem humeris affigunt; revertentes, pectus cruce insigniunt. Per hoc enim significatur quod iugum Dei primo suscipientibus videtur onerosum et grave, sed per consuetudinem et Christi caritatem fit suave.”

236 Martin of Pairis, in his sermon cited by Gunther, distinguishes different ways of wearing the cross: whoever has it on the front does not intend to return from the Holy Land (Gunter of Pairis, *Hystoria*, ed. Orth, 115).

Finally, a third sermon by Alan's pen bears the title *De sancta cruce*.²³⁷ It also seems concerned with the specific relic because at its outset it uses the designation of *crux dominica* five times, another term that tends to refer to it, for example, in *Audita tremendi*.²³⁸ It is remarkable that this cluster appears at the beginning of the text, whereas the rest speaks only of *crux*: Alan starts with the specific relic, discussing the general meaning of the cross thereafter. For example, he identifies it as a ladder leading from earth to heaven (*crux Christi scala est a terra in coelum attingens*). One can ascend it by imitating the Passion (*per imitationem passionis*), that is, returning from exile to the fatherland (*redit homo de exsilio ad patriam*). The angels using it (from Gen. 28:12) are identified as Christ's preachers (*praedicatores Christi*): they guide the lay people towards "the ladders."²³⁹ He also discusses the cross of penance (*crux poenitentiae*), a parallel with the other two sermons; it will release them from sin (*liberemur a peccato*), possibly an indication of the crusade's remission of sin. Another parallel between all three sermons consists in examining the cross' four dimensions (Eph. 3:18).²⁴⁰ The beginning of the third text deserves closer attention:

I will climb the palm tree and take hold of its fruits [Cant. 7:9]. These are the words of the spouse in the Song of Songs, most beloved brothers. Thanks to the palm tree, we recognize the cross of the Lord in a threefold manner: by its nature, by its condition, and by its effectiveness. By its nature, since one reads in the Gloss on the Song of Songs that the palm tree provided the material for the Lord's cross.²⁴¹

237 Alan of Lille, *De sancta cruce* (I), 223–226. The title deviates in some manuscripts, for example, *In parasceve* (Ms. Paris, St.Geneviève 2787, fol. 147^r) or *In resurrectione dominica* (Ms. BNF lat. 14859, fol. 230^r). See also the chapter on media context.

238 Alan of Lille, *De sancta cruce* (I), 223; for the term, see, e.g., Gregory VIII, *Audita tremendi*, ed. Chroust, 7; Ms. Lambeth 144, fol. 117^r; Ralph Ardens, *Pars* (II), *De tempore*, *Sermo* 19, 1375; Heraclius, *Hilferuf* (I), ed. Jaspert, 509.

239 Alan of Lille, *De sancta cruce* (I), 224. Some copies elaborate on the motif of the ladder more than the PL's version (see Ms. BNF lat. 14859, fol. 230^r; Ms. Dijon 219, fol. 86^v; Ms. Paris, St.Geneviève 2787, fol. 147^r). See also Alan of Lille, *Ars praedicandi*, 111; Baldwin of Canterbury, *Sermo* 8, 127–128; Peter of Blois, *Sermo* 38, 676; *Sermo* 39, 678; William of Newburgh, *Explanatio*, ed. Gorman, 318.

240 Alan of Lille, *De sancta cruce* (I), 225–226; *De cruce Domini*, ed. d'Alverny, 281–282; Ms. Oxford, Bodley 409, fol. 149^r. On the remission of sin, see Bysted, *Indulgence*; Jessalynn L. Bird, "Innocent III, Peter the Chanters Circle, and the Crusade Indulgence: Theory, Implementation, and Aftermath," in: *Innocenzo III: Urbs et orbis*, ed. Andrea Sommerlechner (Rome 2003), 1:504–524; Valentin Portnykh, "Plenary Indulgence for the Personal Participation in Crusades to the Holy Land as Presented by Crusade Preachers," *History* 106 (2021), 170–199.

241 Alan of Lille, *De sancta cruce* (I), 223. "Ascendam in palmam, et comprehendam fructus

It is apparent that he is concerned with the Cross relic, since he emphasizes its materiality: one recognizes the Lord's cross in the palm tree (*per palmam intelligimus crucem Dominicam*). This insinuates the palm branch as a souvenir of pilgrims and crusaders, but likewise the practice of signing oneself with the cross. Alan implemented here what he developed in his own *Distinctiones*, whose entry for *palma* looks very similar to the sermon's beginning.²⁴² Comparing this sermon with the previous one, the events of 1187 are not made explicit here, yet the Cross relic is present. It is possible that he penned this text before 1187, but scrutiny suggests a date after this year, since it shares certain ideas with the second sermon, ideas that stem from the specific discourse after 1187. It is therefore likely that it assumed the events of 1187 were familiar, while being consciously put together as a generic model. Crusade-specific details may plausibly have been added while it was being delivered—but the text as it stands also lends itself to this purpose, being concerned with explaining the meaning of the cross on their clothes.

To conclude, I only found the first sermon in the Oxford manuscript, attached to the *Ars praedicandi* (contrary to other copies of the *Ars*). The second sermon exists in two Parisian manuscripts, one of them dating later and apparently dependent on the other.²⁴³ The third sermon, however, survived in at least five manuscripts, mostly in polygraphical collections, together with other Paris masters.²⁴⁴ These findings suggest that the specific sermon (II) survived sparsely, since it relied on the particular historical context of 1187. The generic sermon (III) is applicable to different occasions, for example, the liturgical feasts on the cross, thus including occasions beyond mobilization for a current crusade venture.²⁴⁵ Nevertheless, the Cross relic looms large in this text

ejus [Cant. 7:9]. Verba Sponsi in Canticis, fratres charissimi, per palmam intelligimus crucem Dominicam triplici ratione: Ratione substantiae, ratione circumstantiae, ratione efficientiae. Ratione substantiae, quia legitur in glossa super Cantica amoris, quod palma fuerit Dominicae crucis materia."

242 Alan of Lille, *Distinctiones*, 888. The sermon refers explicitly to: *Glossa ordinaria* (Cant. 7), ed. Feuardent, 3:1873–1874. See also Ms. BNF lat. 3811, fol. 115^v; this anonymous contemporary sermon says on the Cross relic: "est vera crux cuius ad litteram quedam pars fuit de palma." For Cant. 7:8, see also Garnerius of Clairvaux, *Distinctiones*, 1017; Baldwin of Canterbury, *Sermo* 8, 127; Ms. BL Royal 10 A XVI, fol. 24^r; William of Newburgh, *Explanatio*, ed. Gorman, 318.

243 Ms. BNF lat. 3818, fols. 41^v–42^r; Ms. BNF lat. 15965, fol. 8^{r-v}.

244 Ms. Dijon 219, fols. 86^r–87^r; Ms. Amiens 301, fols. 93^r–95^v; Ms. Paris, St. Geneviève 2787, fol. 147^{r-v}; Ms. BNF lat. 3818, fols. 53^r–55^r; Ms. BNF lat. 14859, fols. 230^r–231^r. Thus, Ms. BNF lat. 3818 contains two of the three sermons. On this codex, see the chapter on media context.

245 This flexibility is substantiated by the divergent titles in the different copies that attrib-

and remains thus present in the minds of the audience: the sermon explains its preeminent meaning, thus indicating why its recovery is requisite. The comparison of Alan's three sermons *De sancta cruce* reveals how such texts may discuss the crusade explicitly to a greater or lesser extent, even while all were molded by the same discourse, the events of 1187. Emphases can vary depending on different priorities (this may include switching between literal and spiritual), different purposes (a generic model or specific occasion), and the fact that we must not expect such a sermon to discuss issues in a way that is comprehensible to us today. At some point, the events of 1187 were known throughout the West; it was no longer necessary to address them explicitly in every sermon, whereas it is entirely plausible that a sermon assumed a horizon of knowledge, pointing to the events in a more oblique manner. This necessitates that we apply an open methodological approach that avoids narrowing down the selection of sources a priori. It requires the analysis of an entire corpus with a close eye on details, terminology, and exegetical dimensions.

7 *Crucesignati*: 1187 and the Impact on the Concept of Crusading

The preachers of the Third Crusade established a nexus between the loss of the relic and the individual signing themselves with the cross: crusaders thus declared publicly their belonging to the Corpus Christi. Cross signings already existed before 1187. However, the sporadic evidence does not permit us to assert an established and widespread practice—as opposed to what numerous crusade historians have assumed.²⁴⁶ The Third Crusade's evidence suggests that it only

ute the text to different feasts. Baldwin's *De sancta cruce* represents a similar case, a text that reacts to 1187 and hence only survived in one copy (Ms. BNF lat. 2601, fols. 30^v–34^r), whereas it is missing from other copies of Baldwin's collection (see David N. Bell, "Introduction," in: *Baldvini de Forda Opera*, CCCM 99 (Turnhout 1991), xii–xiii, xxvi). On this sermon, see esp. the chapter on the Holy Land.

246 See, e.g., Constable, "Cross," 63; Michael Markowski, "Crucesignatus: Its Origins and Early Usage," *Journal of Medieval History* 10/3 (1984), 158; Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading* (Philadelphia 1986), 24–25, 113–114; Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders, 1095–1131* (Cambridge, UK 1997), 11, 40, 62–63. For a nuanced discussion, see Christopher J. Tyerman, "Were There Any Crusades in the Twelfth Century?" *The English Historical Review* 110 (1995), 568–570; Tyerman, *The Invention of the Crusades* (Basingstoke 1998), 76–83. On pictorial sources, see Anne Derbes, "Crusading Ideology and the Frescoes of S. Maria in Cosmedin," *The Art Bulletin* 77/3 (1995), 465–466; Fanny Caroff, "La croix prêchée et la croix du croisé. Le moment de la prise de croix dans les manuscrits enluminés du XIII^e au XV^e siècle," *Revue Mabillon* 12 (2001), 65–96.

became an established practice around 1200, including its own rites, and this happened not coincidentally after the relic's loss.²⁴⁷ Even though it remains difficult to formulate any quantitative assessment about the dissemination of this practice, it is evident that 1187 brought a qualitative shift informed by the relic's loss and several biblical subtexts, in particular Ez. 9.²⁴⁸ The introduction to this chapter discussed several attempts to establish new terms for making sense of the situation. This includes Peter of Blois with *facies testamenti* (the Covenant's banner), Henry of Albano with *vexilliferi sanctae crucis* (the standard-bearers of the cross), and Ralph Ardens with *aquilae* (the standard-bearers). Henry's term clearly resembles the later common *crucesignati*.²⁴⁹ Further terms are found at the time such as *cruciferi* or *crucigeri* (both "the cross-bearers").²⁵⁰ The so-called Ansbert frequently uses *exercitus sanctae crucis* (the army of the holy cross) or *exercitus vivificae crucis* (the army of the life-giving cross) for Barbarossa's forces. A poem of the anonymous Benedictine concerned with the same expedition puts it concisely: *Lignum crucis, signum ducis, via pacis, spes salutis / Hoc sequatur exercitus eius signo insignitus* (wood of the cross, sign of the commander, path of peace, hope of salvation / the army follows it, marked with its sign).²⁵¹ Nikolas Jaspert thus aptly characterized the Third Crusade as a 'Heiligkreuzkreuzzug,' a crusade for the Holy Cross.²⁵² The term that finally emerged from these developments was *crucesignati*, more common since c.1200, as Michael Markowski has shown.²⁵³ Before the end of the century, the term is found occasionally, but not very often; it may be telling that it appears primarily in two separate words: *cruce signati* ("those signed with

247 On the rite's development, see Gaposchkin, *Weapons*, 67–81.

248 See Phillips, "Typology," 174–181; Gaposchkin, *Weapons*, 77–78.

249 See also Henry of Albano, *Ep.31*, 247, 249, where he uses two alternatives: *signati Christi* and *militia Dei signatorum*. The fact that he used such terms in his letter to the clergy as well as in *De peregrinante civitate Dei*, but not in his letters to lay people, suggests that he was still uncertain about the terminology.

250 See Urban III, *Ep.125*, 1507; Orderic Vitalis, *Historia* (8.14), ed. Chibnall, 218; and (10.8), 230. See also Constable, "Cross," 69. The term *crucigeri* is also found in an early 13th-century account on Damietta's conquest (*Gesta crucigerorum*, ed. Röhrich, 29; see Bird, *Heresy*, 123–124). Caesarius speaks of *cruces gerentes* (Caesarius of Heisterbach, *Dialogus* (8.66), 1660).

251 Ansbert, *Historia*, ed. Chroust, 38, 40, 55, 64, 78, 88–89, 93; Benedictinus anonymus, *De penitentia*, ed. Huygens, 105; see also *Gestorum Treverorum continuatio*, 389.

252 Jaspert, "True Cross," 211; Jaspert, "Das Heilige Grab, das Wahre Kreuz, Jerusalem und das Heilige Land. Wirkung, Wandel und Vermittler hochmittelalterlicher Attraktoren," in: *Konflikt und Bewältigung*, ed. Thomas Pratsch (Berlin 2011), 88–89.

253 Markowski, "Crucesignatus," 157–165; see also Völkl, *Märtyrer*, 42–43.

the cross”), representing a description and not yet displaying a specified identity.²⁵⁴ The fact that this term rose to previously unknown prominence around 1200 certainly needs to be explained with the trauma that the West was enduring since 1187.²⁵⁵

However, it is remarkable that *crucesignati* (whether in one or two words) does not yet play a role around the Third Crusade: in the entire corpus of sources investigated here, it appears only once in Peter’s *Conquestio* when designating those who had already taken the cross as *nostrī cruce signati*.²⁵⁶ The term may have been developed in the Canterbury circle: it appears several times in Gerald of Wales’ works, and this soon after the Third Crusade. Besides *crucesignati*, he also offers formulations such as “serviat ergo cruce cruce vir signatus” or “cruce signaculo sunt insigniti” (the latter concerns the cross takings of Henry II and Philip II).²⁵⁷ Furthermore, the term is present in the English Pipe-rolls of 1191 as well as in two lists of 1196 created by Hubert Walter, then archbishop of Canterbury: these record those who took the cross, but did not depart; they are called *cruce signati* (in two words).²⁵⁸ Stephen Langton, in his commentary on the Books of Kings, describes the Holy Sepulcher as the venue where the *cruce signati* assemble (*hoc convenit illis, qui cruce signati sunt*)—again, written in two words.²⁵⁹ The hypothesis exists that Gerald’s works exerted an influence on Innocent III: the pope used the term more frequently and developed its meaning.²⁶⁰ Having been educated in the Parisian milieu, he built

254 This is the consensus in the editions—one may still scrutinize the manuscripts about it. However, Tamminen made the same observation about the early 13th-century evidence (Tamminen, *Crusader*, 241).

255 On 1187 as a long-lasting and collective trauma, see Cassidy-Welch, “Trauma,” 619–627.

256 Peter of Blois, *Conquestio*, PL 207:1063, still penned in two words. However, Huygens’ edition and some manuscripts have here only *nostrī signati* (Peter of Blois, *Conquestio*, 84; Ms. Lambeth 421, fol. 95^v; Ms. BNF lat. 2605, fol. 58^r; Ms. BL Royal 8 F xvii, fol. 85^v).

257 Gerald of Wales, *Symbolum electorum*, 333, 361; *Expugnatio Hibernica*, 366, 369; *De principis instructione*, 240; *Itinerarium Cambriae*, 151. There may have been a competition between Gerald (*crucesignati*) and Peter of Blois (*facies testamenti*)—their relationship seems to have been competitive (see John D. Cotts, *The Clerical Dilemma: Peter of Blois and Literate Culture in the Twelfth Century* (Washington, D.C. 2009), 229).

258 For the pipe rolls, see Tyerman, *Invention*, 27, 55–62, who discusses how crusaders and pilgrims were increasingly distinguished in legal terms, a distinction that did not previously exist. For the lists, see Barbara Bombi, “Papal Legates and their Preaching of the Crusades in England between the Twelfth and the Thirteenth Centuries,” in: *Legati, delegati e l’impresa d’Oltremare (secoli XII–XIII)*, ed. Maria Pia Alberzoni and Pascal Montaubin (Turnhout 2014), 238–239, 258–259.

259 Ms. Oxford, Rawlinson C 427, fol. 15^r.

260 See Markowski, “Crucesignatus,” 160–161; Tyerman, *Invention*, 28, 35–36; Tamminen, *Crusader*, 242–243. Jacques de Vitry even identified Christ as *cruce signatus* (two words); this

on readings established by the preachers investigated here—as discussed for Ez. 9.²⁶¹ A better-defined term seems a next logical step for institutionalizing the practice of crusading. Consequently, it is not a coincidence that the first sermons *ad cruce signatos* appeared with his advancing papacy (John of Abbeville, Stephen Langton, Peter of Capua, and Jacques de Vitry).²⁶² As Walker Reid Cosgrove underlined, however, the term seems to have remained rare overall in the early 13th century.²⁶³ As a result, one must still remain open to other terms that may designate crusaders.

Moreover, it seems that the phrase *crucem praedicare* (preaching the cross) only sharpened its meaning with 1187. Before that year, the phrase only appeared occasionally—its absence from several important crusade sources such as Bernard of Clairvaux's writings, several chronicles of the First Crusade, or the important chronicle of William of Tyre is significant. After 1187, it is found more frequently, including in several sermon texts with high crusade potential (yet, it cannot claim any exclusivity for verbalizing the crusading purpose).²⁶⁴ A generation later, considering Caesarius of Heisterbach, it appears almost standardized.²⁶⁵ Corroborated by database searches, 1187 also designates a watershed here. One can read the formulation of *crucem praedicare* as referring to the

demonstrates that the term designated a pan-Christian identity (Jacques de Vitry, *Sermo 1*, ed. Maier, 86).

- 261 On his Parisian background, see Cole, *Preaching*, 80–110; Christoph T. Maier, “Crisis, Liturgy and the Crusade in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries,” *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 48 (1997), 633–638.
- 262 See Maier, *Friars*, 112, 170. The earliest text may come from Petrus of Capua's pen, legate for the Fourth Crusade (Ms. BNF NAL 999, fols. 199^r–200^r). On Langton's sermon (which only exists as an entry in a table of contents), see Ms. Oxford, Magd. Coll. 168, fol. 51^v, here as *Ad crucissignatos*.
- 263 Walker Reid Cosgrove, “*Crucesignatus*: A Refinement or Merely One More Term among Many?” in: *Crusades: Medieval Worlds in Conflict*, ed. Thomas F. Madden (Ashgate 2010), 95–110. It only appears once in: Caesarius of Heisterbach, *Dialogus* (8.66), 1658—while, according to the edition, he uses it multiple times penned in two words (see (4.15), 706; (7.6), 1296; (7.56), 1490; (8.21), 1556; (8.54), 1632; (10.11), 1918; (10.32), 1962).
- 264 See, e.g., Martin of León, *Commentary on Rev.* (7.3), 341; Ralph Ardens, *Pars (1), Section (2), Sermo 48*, 2112; *Pars (11), De tempore, Sermo 18*, 1370; Peter of Blois, *Ep. 219*, 508; Ms. BL Royal 10 A XVIII, fol. 14^v; Gerald of Wales, *Itinerarium Cambriae*, 142; Garnerius of Clairvaux, *Distinctiones*, 959, 1081.
- 265 See, e.g., Caesarius of Heisterbach, *Dialogus* (1.5), 224; (4.10), 696; (4.79), 872–874. See also Ms. Trier 232, fol. 139^r. The phrase appears as established in Humbert's treatise; his introduction says: *incipit tractatus de modo predicandi crucem* (Humbert of Romans, *Short Version*, ed. Portnykh, 67). This is mirrored in his model sermon that bears the title *In predicatione crucis* (Humbert of Romans, *Sermo 4*, ed. Maier, 228).

specific relic: one recalls its providential meaning, while exhorting the audience to sign themselves with it, as especially the sermons *De sancta cruce* demonstrate. This shows how enormously important this object was for mobilizing the Third Crusade as well as how the desire to regain it subsequently shaped the very concept of crusading.

The Loss of Jerusalem: Jeopardizing the Kingdom of Heaven

From the last hill that looks on thy once holy dome,
 I beheld thee, oh Sion! when rendered to Rome:
 'Twas thy last sun went down, and the flames of thy fall
 Flashed back on the last glance I gave to thy wall.

LORD BYRON, *On the Day of the Destruction of Jerusalem by Titus*



Jerusalem, the holy city, *civitas Dei*, center of the world was seminal for Christendom's origins, identity, and politics. Its relevance for the Latin West increased significantly due to the conquest of 1099 and the now open pilgrim routes. For the first time in history, it was in Western hands, the fulfillment of a prophecy.¹ Nikolas Jaspert asserts for the 12th century a remarkable 'Jerusalemsehnsucht' in the West, a collective yearning for the holy city.² However, its relevance for the Third Crusade was of course very much due to its conquest in October 1187—an event that was not supposed to happen. Sylvia Schein asserted, "The fall of Jerusalem presented a theological problem [...]."³ As with the Cross relic, this chapter examines how preachers explained and classified the event in exegetical and providential terms. Two aspects deserve particular attention: the four senses of Scripture, explained with the example of Jerusalem

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- 1 See Jean Flori, *L'islam et la fin des temps: l'interprétation prophétique des invasions musulmanes dans la chrétienté médiévale* (Paris 2007), 269–272, 316; Jay Rubenstein, "Lambert of Saint-Omer and the Apocalyptic First Crusade," in: *Remembering the Crusades*, ed. Nicholas L. Paul and Suzanne M. Yeager (Baltimore 2012), 70–71, 85–87; Philippe Buc, *Holy War, Martyrdom, and Terror: Christianity, Violence, and the West, ca. 70 C.E. to the Iraq War* (Philadelphia 2015), 74–77, 280–286.
 - 2 Nikolas Jaspert, "'Wo seine Füße standen' (Ubi steterunt pedes eius). Jerusalemsehnsucht und andere Motivationen mittelalterlicher Kreuzfahrer," in: *Die Kreuzzüge: Kein Krieg ist heilig*, ed. Hans-Jürgen Kotzur (Mainz 2004), 177.
 - 3 Sylvia Schein, *Gateway to the Heavenly City: Crusader Jerusalem and the Catholic West (1099–1187)* (Aldershot 2005), 170.

since early Christianity, and the Corpus Christi, an entity that authors entwined with the city and other spaces in the East.

Nonetheless, one must keep in mind that the city only played a role from a certain point, after the West had received news of its loss (early 1188, exact date unknown).⁴ The period before included the cross takings of Henry II and Philip II in Gisors (late Jan. 1188), where Baldwin of Canterbury also took the cross, together with Philip of Dreux and numerous other bishops and princes, as recorded in a list in Rigord's chronicle.⁵ A first preaching period thus focused on the Cross: specific texts where it is dominant, and Jerusalem remarkably absent, may be dated to this period—as already argued for Peter's *Passio Raginaldi* (see the chapter on immediate context). The same seems to apply to his *Dialogus*, which mentions Jerusalem no more than three times (none of the cases speaks of a conquest); the text depicts a fictitious abbot enticing Henry II to depart on crusade. Since Henry had promised to do so for decades, it is plausible that Peter penned this while still at the Curia.⁶ Certainly, further preachers started penning sermons with October 1187, for example, Henry of Albano's crusade treatise offers several passages where the cross is dominant and Jerusalem absent.⁷ In other passages, Jerusalem is central and the cross remarkably absent, in particular at the treatise's outset; these passages date, therefore, after early 1188.⁸ It is noteworthy that Henry was already traveling at the time; these passages provide intriguing evidence for a text taking shape while preaching a crusade. Some of the numerous sermons on the cross may also date to the early period, for example, Alan's *De cruce domini*, which reveals the same pattern: cross dominant and Jerusalem absent.⁹ Yet, this is not a compelling argument, since, as demonstrated in the previous chapter, preaching on the cross doubtlessly remained important after early 1188.

Anyway, from a certain point onwards, Jerusalem played a role; considering the delayed departures, this was still a substantial period: more than a year for the German crusade (May 1189) and more than two years for the English and

4 See Helen Birkett, "News in the Middle Ages: News, Communications, and the Launch of the Third Crusade in 1187–1188," *Viator* 49/3 (2018), 39, 49–58. As argued, an encyclical from Feb. 1188 suggests that the loss was still unknown (cited in Gerald of Wales, *De principis instructione*, 236–239).

5 Rigord, *Gesta*, ed. Delaborde, 83.

6 Peter of Blois, *Dialogus*. Henry's cross taking substantiates this; it made the *Dialogus* superfluous. For Henry's crusade plans in previous decades, see Christopher J. Tyerman, *England and the Crusades, 1095–1588* (Chicago 1988), 39–54.

7 See esp. Henry of Albano, *De peregrinante civitate Dei* (XIII), 353–354.

8 Henry of Albano, *De peregrinante civitate Dei* (XIII), 351–352. See the chapter on immediate context.

9 Alan of Lille, *De cruce domini*, ed. d'Alverny, 279–283.

French contingents (March and July 1190). The news of its loss must have been an immense shock. However, the fact that we cannot grasp this moment—in contrast to news of the loss of the relic—is most puzzling, and I cannot explain it either. One may perhaps suppose a state of shock paralysing the production of historical records for the moment. For example, it is told that Henry II did not speak a word for four days.¹⁰ As the sermon texts or several poems demonstrate, it must have had a powerful impact, since the city was such a vital subject of Latin culture.¹¹ Whereas one could read the conquest of 1099 as providential progress, the loss of 1187 must have appeared as a regression, whose providential classification thus posed a challenge to exegetes and preachers.

The city was omnipresent in the West despite its geographical distance. This generated a mass of notions and meanings tied to this single object, and in spite of a certain rejection of the physical places in early Christianity, Jerusalem remained a pertinent subject throughout the centuries.¹² By the central Middle Ages, due to the First Crusade, but already with the numerous Holy Land pilgrimages of the 11th century, the earthly city regained a steadily growing significance. This expressed itself, for example, in relics brought from the East or architectural embodiments of the city.¹³ However, these developments were not tantamount to an increase in knowledge. Its actual circumstances remained distant and were overall of no interest, since the West had rich resources from the liturgy and Bible for endowing it with meaning—and these were the meanings it bore in the West. This encompassed liturgy and preaching, where its presence shaped lay spirituality, being imprinted in minds since

10 Gervase of Canterbury, *Opera*, 1:389.

11 Such a poem is also found in: Peter of Blois, *Carmina*, 257–262. On poems, see Linda Pateron, *Singing the Crusades: French and Occitan Lyric Responses to the Crusading Movements, 1137–1336* (Cambridge, UK 2018), 47–75; Ingrid Hartl, *Das Feindbild der Kreuzzugslyrik: Das Aufeinandertreffen von Christen und Muslimen* (Bern 2009), 107–160; Alan Murray, “The Poet Friedrich von Hausen in the Third Crusade and the Performance of Middle High German Crusading Songs,” in: *Crusading and Warfare in the Middle Ages*, ed. Simon John and Nicholas Morton (Farnham 2014), 119–128.

12 See Nikolas Jaspert, “Das Heilige Grab, das Wahre Kreuz, Jerusalem und das Heilige Land. Wirkung, Wandel und Vermittler hochmittelalterlicher Attraktoren,” in: *Konflikt und Bewältigung*, ed. Thomas Pratsch (Berlin 2011), 72; Sylvia Schein, “Die Kreuzzüge als volkstümlich-messianische Bewegungen,” *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 47 (1991), 123.

13 See Schein, *Gateway*, 109–112, 139, 190; Nikolas Jaspert, “Vergegenwärtigungen Jerusalems in Architektur und Reliquienkult,” in: *Jerusalem im Hoch- und Spätmittelalter*, ed. Dieter Bauer (Frankfurt am Main 2001), 219–297. For pilgrimages before the crusades, see Jean Flori, *Prêcher la croisade: XI^e–XIII^e siècle; communication et propagande* (Paris 2012), 19–27.

early childhood—a life without Jerusalem (in whatever guise) must have been inconceivable.¹⁴ Several liturgical feasts put it at center stage, therefore it is difficult or even unreasonable to limit oneself to small samples, especially because sermons' contents like to diverge from their nominal feasts—perhaps due to a current occasion such as the crusade.¹⁵ Crucial feasts belong to the Lenten and Easter season:

The fourth Sunday of Lent (*Laetare Jerusalem*) expressed joy at approaching Jerusalem, at least in a spiritual or monastic sense, stemming from Is. 66:10—but it may likewise have expressed the joy of approaching the earthly city. This shows the *Curia Jesu Christi*, held on that very day (27 March 1188), where Henry of Albano and others preached the crusade, enticing Barbarossa and numerous others to take the cross. As Henry noted in a letter, the date was a conscious choice. The French king held a crusade council on the same day in Paris; and the feast was also meaningful because medieval people dated Christ's resurrection to 27 March.¹⁶ Intertwining this feast with crusade preaching represents a reaction to the news of the city's loss.¹⁷ Just as the Sunday's original meaning pointed to the fulfilling purpose of Christ's Passion, the Sunday in 1188 pointed to the crusade's fulfilling eschatological purpose (see also the chapter on the Apocalypse).

14 See Jaspert, "Attraktoren," 72; Cecilia Gaposchkin, *Invisible Weapons: Liturgy and the Making of Crusade Ideology* (Ithaca, NY 2017), 31–35; Jürgen Bärsch, "Jerusalem im Spiegel der abendländischen Liturgie des Mittelalters. Anamnetisches Zitat—szenische Darstellung—visuell-haptische Inkorporation," in: *Die Kreuzzugsbewegung im römisch-deutschen Reich (11.–13. Jahrhundert)*, ed. Nikolas Jaspert and Stefan Tebruck (Ostfildern 2015), 347–360. On the formative role of the liturgy, see David d'Avray, "Popular and Elite Religion: Feastdays and Preaching," in: *Elite and Popular Religion*, ed. Kate Mason Cooper (Woodbridge 2006), 162–179.

15 On this phenomenon in 13th-century sermon texts, see David d'Avray, *The Preaching of the Friars: Sermons Diffused from Paris before 1300* (Oxford 1985), 245–246.

16 Henry of Albano, *Ep. 32*, PL 204:250; see also Gerald of Wales, *Expugnatio Hibernica*, 366; Rigord, *Gesta*, ed. Delaborde, 84. The same date had motivated the large eschatological pilgrimage of 1064–1065 (see Schein, *Gateway*, 147). On the feast's pertinence to the crusades, see Schein, *Gateway*, 115–116; Constantinos Georgiou, *Preaching the Crusades to the Eastern Mediterranean: Propaganda, Liturgy, and Diplomacy, 1305–1352* (New York 2018), 135–139. Is. 66:10 was also part of the liturgy which celebrated the conquest of 1099 (see Gaposchkin, *Weapons*, 150–152, 265, 272, 282).

17 See Jessalynn L. Bird, *Heresy, Crusade and Reform in the Circle of Peter the Chanter, c.1187–c.1240* (PhD thesis, University of Oxford 2001), 146; contrary to Birkett, "News," 56–57, who surmises that the news was still unknown at the time (however, I do not see how this is substantiated). The feast is also discussed in: Henry of Albano, *De peregrinante civitate Dei* (XVII), 396–402. Fulk of Neuilly preached the Fourth Crusade on the same day (see Renier of Liège, *Annales*, 655).

Palm Sunday (*In ramis palmarum*), the sixth Sunday of Lent, celebrated Christ's arrival in Jerusalem, where the inhabitants received him with palm branches. This feast was concerned with traveling to and entering the city: a most expressive example for crusaders. It thus offered an excellent occasion for preaching the crusade, as Jessalynn Bird demonstrated for early 13th-century material.¹⁸ A popular opening verse in sermon texts sketches the moment when Christ approaches the walls (Mt. 21:1 or Lk. 19:41).¹⁹ Considering emotional reactions upon arriving in Jerusalem, as presented in chronicles and pilgrim reports, this example seems to have been effective, just as authors understood Christ's arrival as a prefiguration of 1099's conquest.²⁰ The succeeding verse Mt. 21:2 also appears in many Palm Sunday sermons, and the feast contains another reference to crusading, since the palm branch was a pilgrim's trophy for having completed the journey to Jerusalem.²¹ The relevant corpus holds numerous Palm Sunday sermons with high crusade potential such as those by Hélinand of Froidmont (discussed in the previous chapter).

Maundy Thursday (*In coena domini*) celebrated the Last Supper, which had taken place on Mount Zion. Key therein was the Eucharist and the Corpus

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- 18 Jessalynn L. Bird, "Preaching the Crusades and the Liturgical Year: The Palm Sunday Sermons," *Essays in Medieval Studies* 30 (2014), 11–36, esp. 19–20. See also Ms. BL Royal 10 A xvi, fols. 87^v, 88^v–89^r and Ms. BNF lat. 10633, fols. 102^r, 103^v–104^r; Oliver of Paderborn, *Ep.5*, ed. Hoogeweg, 302–305; Ms. Lambeth 144, fol. 118^r. On the liturgy in Latin Jerusalem, see Barbara Baert, *A Heritage of Holy Wood: The Legend of the True Cross in Text and Image* (Leiden 2004), 175–176; Iris Shagrir, "Adventus in Jerusalem: The Palm Sunday Celebration in Latin Jerusalem," *Journal of Medieval History* 41/1 (2015), 1–20. The corresponding procession was concurrent with that for *In exaltatione sancte crucis*, because both, Heraclius and Christ, had entered Jerusalem via the Eastern gate, the *porta aurea*.
- 19 See, e.g., Ralph Ardens, *Pars (1), Section (1), Sermo 46*, 1830; Martin of León, *Liber sermonum, Sermo 20*, 832; Ms. Clermont-Ferrand 33, fol. 144^r; Ms. Oxford, Magd. Coll. 168, fols. 70^v–72^r; Ms. Arsenal 543, fol. 204^v. See also Jean Longère, *Les sermons latins de Maurice de Sully, évêque de Paris: contribution à l'histoire de la tradition manuscrite* (Steenbrugis 1988), 337, 354–355.
- 20 See Baert, *Heritage*, 167; Schein, *Gateway*, 103; Andrea Sommerlechner, "Kaiser Herakleios und die Rückkehr des Heiligen Kreuzes nach Jerusalem. Überlegungen zu Stoff- und Motivgeschichte," *Römische Historische Mitteilungen* 45 (2003), 351–352. Preachers in the 13th century likewise stressed the exemplary nature, including John of Abbeville; see Jussi Hanska, "Videns Iesus civitatem fleuit super illam: The 'lachrymae Christi' Topos in Thirteenth-Century Sermon Literature," in: *Constructing the Medieval Sermon*, ed. Roger Andersson (Turnhout 2007), 249.
- 21 See, e.g., Jonathan Riley-Smith, "An Army on Pilgrimage," in: *Jerusalem the Golden*, ed. Susan B. Edgington (Turnhout 2014), 112. Alan of Lille penned two sermons on Mt. 21:2 (Ms. BL Add 19767, fols. 82^r–83^v; Ms. BNF lat. 14589, fols. 57^v–59^r). On the reference, see Bird, "Palm Sunday," 24–26.

Christi: drinking the wine procured a union with the blood of Christ. The biblical stories of the Last Supper and Passion thus created a threefold nexus held together by Christ's blood, consisting of the Christian community, Christ himself, and the Holy Land. This nexus is exemplified in the relevant corpus: it offers three texts for Maundy Thursday that all focus on the cross and have high crusade potential.²² Henry of Albano promulgated in his letter to the entire clergy (early 1188) that one should preach and liturgically support the crusade on the feast day—we may take his mandate as a template for reading the sermons.²³ Eventually, Easter shows a significant spatial anchoring: Christ had been crucified on Golgotha and buried at the place where the Church of the Holy Sepulcher would be built, while architectural elements made these venues present within Western churches. With such present, the Easter liturgy related directly to the Holy Land and hence the crusade.²⁴ The feast's vital role granted, therefore, the crusade heightened meaning if one chose it as a preaching occasion, as Bird argued for 13th-century texts.²⁵ The relevant corpus offers in particular the Easter sermons of Garnerius of Clairvaux that all focus on the cross. Henry of Albano names Good Friday as a feast for preaching the crusade—he delivers once more a template for reading the sermons.²⁶ Bernard of Clairvaux's crusade sermon in Vézelay took place on Easter (1146); and the

22 Martin of León, *Liber sermonum*, *Sermo 22*; *Sermo 23*; Peter of Blois, *Sermo 19*. On Peter's sermon, see the chapter on the Cross relic.

23 Henry of Albano, *Ep. 31*, 248.

24 See Schein, *Gateway*, 179; Jessalynn L. Bird, "The Victorines, Peter the Chanter's Circle, and the Crusade: Two Unpublished Crusading Appeals in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. Latin 14470," *Medieval Sermon Studies* 48 (2004), 5–6; Andrea Worm, "Visuelle Vergegenwärtigungen Jerusalems und der Heiligen Stätten im Reichsgebiet. Überlegungen zu Kontexten und Übermittlungswegen," in: *Die Kreuzzugsbewegung im römisch-deutschen Reich (11.–13. Jahrhundert)*, ed. Nikolas Jaspert and Stefan Tebruck (Ostfildern 2015), 316.

25 Jessalynn L. Bird, "'Far Be It from Me to Glory Save in the Cross of Our Lord Jesus Christ (Gal. 6:14)': Crusade Preaching and Sermons for Good Friday and Holy Week," in: *Crusading in Art, Thought, and Will*, ed. Matthew Parker and Ben Halliburton (Leiden 2018), 129–165; see also Christoph T. Maier, *Preaching the Crusades: Mendicant Friars and the Cross in the Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge, UK 1994), 108, 113. Henry VI took the cross on Good Friday in 1195 and called publicly for the crusade on Easter Sunday (*Annales Marbancenses*, MGH *Her. Germ.* 9:65–66; see Graham A. Loud, "The German Crusade of 1197–1198," *Crusades* 13 (2014), 148).

26 Henry of Albano, *Ep. 31*, 248; and esp. Garnerius of Clairvaux, *Sermo 17*, 686, distinguishing Easter according to the four senses. Innocent III's Fourth Lateran sermon also aligns Easter with crusade preaching: Innocent III, *De diversis*, *Sermo 6*, 675. See also Alan of Lille, *De sancta cruce* (I), 223–226, and its attribution to Easter in: Ms. BNF lat. 3818, fol. 53^r and Ms. Paris, St. Geneviève 2787, fol. 147^r; see the chapter on the Cross relic.

same goes for Baldwin preaching in Wales in 1188.²⁷ In conclusion, a number of feasts blended with the earthly Jerusalem, often including the meaningful conjunction of city and cross; this derives already from the biblical stories, but generated new meaning thanks to the events of 1187.

Another pertinent genre are sermons *In dedicatione ecclesiae* (On dedicating a church); these sometimes deliver crusade-related texts, as the relevant corpus demonstrates.²⁸ This is not surprising because the church typologically embodied Jerusalem or the Temple. This conjunction, established at a church's dedication, delivered the foundation for creating a nexus to Jerusalem (in whatever guise) in subsequent liturgy and preaching taking place in the same church.²⁹ It is also possible that a crusade-related sermon was only ascribed to *In dedicatione* when a collection was set up: this seems likely if the church space, the actual subject, is not dealt with in a text. Lastly, the liturgical commemoration of the conquest of 1099 prompted the establishment of its own feast in Latin Jerusalem that would play an important role for the city's (perpetually renewed) identity. It incorporated elements from *In dedicatione* on account of its references to Jerusalem and Temple, and it expressed an eschatological understanding of the earthly city that will be a major subject of investigation in the following pages.³⁰ In the West, the development of a dedicated liturgy does not seem to have been that sharp or uniform, yet one finds many "echoes of victory," as Cecilia Gaposchkin put it (such as marking the 15 July, the day of conquest, in liturgical calendars).³¹ The relevant corpus does not contain any corresponding sermons, and the evidence is generally slim: only one text has been identified for the West and one for Latin Jerusalem (ascribed to Fulcher of Chartres). Others may await discovery, but not from after 1187, since celebrating the victory would have been absurd in this situation.³² It is also possible that generic sermons on Jerusalem were used for the feast day.

27 See Tyerman, *England*, 159; Penny J. Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades to the Holy Land, 1095–1270* (Cambridge, Mass. 1991), 42.

28 Garnerius of Clairvaux, *Sermo* 37, 806–813; Martin of León, *De diversis*, *Sermo* 1, 61–66; Peter of Blois, *Sermo* 52, 713–715. See also Jessalynn L. Bird, "Damietta the Whore, the Purification of the Virgin Mary, and the Crusade Movement," *Medieval Sermon Studies* 65 (2021), 6–7. Since a bishop dedicated a church, these show that the authors wrote sermons for their superiors.

29 On the corresponding liturgy, see Gaposchkin, *Weapons*, 26, 33, 175.

30 See Gaposchkin, *Weapons*, 130–164, esp. 148–156. See also the chapter on the Apocalypse.

31 Gaposchkin, *Weapons*, 165–191; Gaposchkin, "The Echoes of Victory: Liturgical and Paraliturgical Commemorations of the Capture of Jerusalem in the West," *Journal of Medieval History* 40/3 (2014), 237–259.

32 See Gaposchkin, *Weapons*, 150–151, 162–164, 181–183. On Jerusalem in the late medieval liturgy, see Amnon Linder, *Raising Arms: Liturgy in the Struggle to Liberate Jerusalem in the Late Middle Ages* (Turnhout 2003).

Importantly, the four senses of Scripture had been explained with the example of Jerusalem since early Christianity (especially by John Cassian, c.400). This scheme was well received in the 12th century, prominently in the *Glossa ordinaria*, in the prologue to the book of Genesis.³³ It identified (a) the earthly Jerusalem with the literal sense, (b) the heavenly Jerusalem with the anagogical or eschatological sense, (c) the typological Jerusalem with the Church, and (d) the tropological or moral Jerusalem with a Christian's soul.³⁴ The last two were often combined, shaping together the spiritual Jerusalem, indebted to the intrinsic conjunction of individual and community in the Corpus Christi. Peter the Chanter's *Distinctiones* list the four senses in the same classification, betraying that this scheme was an essential instrument for his circle.³⁵ And John Beleth delivered an update of Cassian's scheme (1160s), describing the historical Jerusalem as the city where the soldiers and pilgrims go (*historia, quemadmodum de ea civitate ad quam pergunt hospites et peregrini*). Gaposchkin thus underlines that the Jerusalem of the liturgy encompasses the earthly city.³⁶ A scholar's challenge now consists in the curious finding that many sermon texts do not explicitly state which Jerusalem they are talking about: several cases exist where more than one sense seems applicable. This may reflect an author's intention, since sermon collections have often been set up in a way to be adaptable for different occasions and audiences.³⁷ If one succeeds in identifying the earthly guise, one can safely speak of a sermon with high crusade potential; this represents a discussion of a physical manifestation, one approach for identifying the crusade (see the section on methodology). In cases where it cannot be established beyond doubt, but it is plausible that a text was used for this purpose, one can speak of a sermon with possible crusade poten-

33 John Cassian, *Collationes* (14.8), 964; *Glossa ordinaria*, ed. Gibson, 1:6; discussed by Riccardo Quinto, "Peter the Chanter and the 'Miscellanea del Codice del Tesoro' (Etymology as a Way for Constructing a Sermon)," in: *Constructing the Medieval Sermon*, ed. Roger Andersson (Turnhout 2007), 50–52, who asserts an influence of the *Glossa* on Peter the Chanter and Stephen Langton. See also Yves Congar, "Eglise et Cité de Dieu chez quelques auteurs cisterciens à l'époque des Croisades: en particulier dans le De Peregrinante Civitate Dei d'Henri d'Albano," in: *Mélanges offerts à Etienne Gilson de l'Académie française*, ed. Callistus Edie (Toronto 1959), 180.

34 See Roberts, *Sermons*, 104–105; Henri de Lubac, *Exégèse médiévale: les quatre sens de l'écriture* (Paris 1959), 1:643–648; Hans-Werner Goetz, "Die Rezeption der augustinischen civitas-Lehre in der Geschichtstheologie des 12. Jahrhunderts," in: *Vorstellungsgeschichte* (Bochum 2007), 98.

35 Ms. BL Royal 10 A XVI, fol. 48^r and Ms. BNF lat. 10633, fol. 53^r as well as Petrus Cantor, *Distinctiones*, 302–303.

36 John Beleth, *De ecclesiasticis officiis*, 212–213; discussed by Gaposchkin, *Weapons*, 32–33.

37 See Cole, *Preaching*, 113–114; d'Avray, *Friars*, 7, 104–131.

tial. This chapter will keep an eye on this essential methodological issue, which confronts us with the crucial question of how we select sources and determine their relevance.

Beyond this basic disposition, there is the question of whether we should even distinguish the senses in such a clear-cut way, as we tend to with our rational approach trained to think in sharp categories.³⁸ The blurry lines between the senses in many sermon texts may be symptomatic of the medieval understanding. There was ultimately only one Jerusalem, the celestial, while all others existed due to the Fall of Mankind and would no longer exist after the Apocalypse. The senses were categorically interactive and inclusive—and not antithetical. One may suppose for the 12th century that the earthly city was always comprised; the concurrence of terminology—all are called ‘Jerusalem’—corroborates this argument. Jean Flori asserted: “Certainly, it is not the city itself that lures them, but the unique resonance, both spiritual and emotional, of the word Jerusalem in the contemporary mind.”³⁹ Nevertheless, this chapter will keep a lookout for clues that permit identifying the earthly guise and hence the crusade, paying close attention to those passages that explicitly entwine the different senses. A phrase that appears frequently in sermons is *id est*, for example, *Jerusalem id est ecclesia*.⁴⁰ It serves the purpose of connecting different elements, but it raises the question of their hermeneutical relationship. It may designate an allegorical nexus: it says Jerusalem, but it means the Church and not Jerusalem.⁴¹ It may be a symbolic nexus: Jerusalem points to the Church—the city is not devalued but elevated in its meaning, since it also stands for something else.⁴² The last possibility is that it designates a de facto equation: with the cultural premises of Corpus Christi and four senses, this seems possible. Jerusalem is able to appear in different places and

38 See, e.g., Flori’s discussion of Gerhoch of Reichersberg (Flori, *L’islam*, 299–300).

39 Jean Flori, “Jérusalem terrestre, céleste et spirituelle. Trois facteurs de sacralisation de la première croisade,” in: *Jerusalem the Golden*, ed. Susan B. Edgington (Turnhout 2014), 26: “Certes, ce n’est pas la ville en elle-même qui les attire, mais uniquement la résonance, spirituelle et émotionnelle, du mot Jérusalem dans les mentalités contemporaines.” My translation.

40 See, e.g., Martin of León, *Liber sermonum*, *Sermo* 26, 960; Baldwin of Canterbury, *Sermo* 8, 134.

41 See Guibert of Nogent, *Sermo fieri debeat*, 25: “allegoria, in qua ex alio aliud intelligitur.”

42 See, e.g., Garnerius of Clairvaux, *Sermo* 28, 753, where he explains, related to the Cross relic, that the actual Mount Zion signifies the Church (*mons enim Sion Ecclesiam Dei significat*); see the chapter on the Holy Land. See also Benedictinus anonymus, *De penitentia*, ed. Huygens, 101–102, where the Benedictine explains, in the shadow of 1187, the spiritual meaning of several holy sites.

guises (such as the Church).⁴³ As a result, elements are related in a network of knowledge and meaning, while all point to the one true guise, the heavenly city.

The city appears as *Jerusalem* or *Hierosolymum*, partly feminine as *Hierosolyma*. Orthography is flexible: *J* and *I* are interchangeable, just as *H* can drop out or be added. Moreover, a number of terms are more or less synonymous such as *Zion*, *civitas*, kingdom of the heavens (*regnum coelorum*), or *visio pacis*—although they may express nuances. These terms may refer to specific senses; however, one will find enough examples where the same term refers to another sense or constructs causalities between the senses. *Regnum coelorum* and *visio pacis* tend to refer to the heavenly Jerusalem, yet it was common in the 12th century to render the earthly city as such, for example, Hugh of Folieto in his depiction of the four senses (mid-12th century).⁴⁴ Guibert of Nogent (early 12th century) said that the earthly city had been re-established as the *visio pacis* thanks to the conquest of 1099, whereas Celestine III deemed it “the former vision of peace” (*quondam visio pacis*)—referring to the disrupted order since 1187.⁴⁵ There was also the opposite phenomenon: one portrayed the heavenly guise via biblical verses that actually described the earthly counterpart.⁴⁶ The motif of *Zion* seems to have lent itself primarily to the earthly embodiment, but spiritual and monastic counterparts do likewise exist. An important reference here is Ps. 131:13 (*quoniam elegit Dominus Sion, desideravit eam in habitationem sibi*).⁴⁷ One of Peter of Blois’ sermons speaks of *terrena Sion*, apparently to underline that the earthly Jerusalem is at stake—even though this is obvious, since he broaches both the conquest of 1187 and the First Crusade (see the discussion below).⁴⁸ The situation becomes even more complex with *civitas*

43 Telling is when Innocent identifies the Jerusalem from Ez. 9 as the Church, while being simultaneously concerned with the crusade (Innocent III, *De diversis*, *Sermo* 6, 677).

44 Hugh of Folieto, *De claustro*, 1131; discussed by Goetz, “Rezeption,” 98.

45 Guibert of Nogent, *Gesta*, ed. Huygens, 305; Celestine III, *Ep.224*, 1108; see Gaposchkin, *Weapons*, 34–35.

46 See Schein, *Gateway*, 136, 191.

47 See Yves Congar, “Henri de Marcy, abbé de Clairvaux, cardinal, évêque d’Albano et légat pontifical,” *Analecta monastica* 5 (1958), 60; Samuel Krauss, “Zion and Jerusalem: A Linguistic and Historical Study,” *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* 77 (1945), 15–33. See also Wolf Zöllner, *Regularkanoniker im Heiligen Land: Studien zur Kirchen-, Ordens- und Frömmigkeitsgeschichte der Kreuzfahrerstaaten* (Münster 2018), 162–185.

48 Peter of Blois, *Sermo* 39, 677; see also *Passio Raginaldi*, 43. For *Zion* referring to the earthly city, see, e.g., Garnerius of Clairvaux, *Sermo* 4, 599; *Sermo* 28, 753; Peter of Blois, *Ep.98*, 307; *Conquestio*, 79–80; Ralph Ardens, *Pars (II)*, *De tempore*, *Sermo* 19, 1373; Bernard of Clairvaux, *Ep.289*, 452; Berter of Orleans, *Iuxta threnos*, ed. Raby, 297; Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, 2:330; William of Tyre, *Chronique* (8.2), 383. See also for the First Crusade: Raymond of

and *ecclesia*, terms that authors distinguish into different aspects. This derives from Augustine's theology: the *ecclesia peregrinans* (the community of believers in exile), the *ecclesia militans* (a synonym, but with a militant note), and the *ecclesia triumphans*, the heavenly Jerusalem (equivalent are *civitas peregrinans*, *civitas militans*, and *civitas triumphans*).⁴⁹ The motif of *civitas* potentially held a strong connection with the earthly Jerusalem, since the latter was a *civitas*. The *civitas Dei* designates the heavenly entity, but may also refer to its terrestrial embodiment: for example, Richard Lionheart, in his letter to Garnerius of Clairvaux (autumn 1191), describes the city they are currently preparing to recapture as the *civitas Dei*.⁵⁰ In conclusion, there is much flexibility in the use of all these terms, a fact that impedes a scholar's approach to these texts and the identification of the crusade in them.

The last point of introduction concerns Jerusalem's topography; there were a number of important places within its walls: the Temple Mount district, where Western observers read the two existing buildings (Dome of the Rock and al-Aqsa Mosque) as two different Temples;⁵¹ the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, the venue of Christ's tomb; and Golgotha, place of Christ's crucifixion, whose location is unknown today. The medieval West equated the latter with the Sepulcher, believing that the Cross had been found by Helena and then recovered by the crusaders in 1099 in the very same spot.⁵² According to Pseudo-Methodius, Golgotha would be the place where the Last World Emperor lays down his crown.⁵³ Furthermore, the Mount of Olives hosted three essential events: Christ's arrival in Jerusalem (Palm Sunday), his incarceration before the crucifixion, and the Ascension after his resurrection. His Second

Aguilers, *Liber*, ed. Hill, 138–139; Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia* (1.26), ed. Hagenmeyer, 282; and (1.27), 297.

49 See Thomas Renna, *Jerusalem in Medieval Thought: 400–1300* (Lewiston 2002), 193; Robert Austin Markus, *Saeculum: History and Society in the Theology of Saint Augustine* (Cambridge, UK 1970), 154–186.

50 Cited in Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, 3:130.

51 See Baert, *Heritage*, 168, 172–175; Jaspert, "Attraktoren," 92; Heribert Busse, "Vom Felsen-dom zum Templum Domini," in: *Das Heilige Land im Mittelalter*, ed. Wolfdietrich Fischer and Jürgen Schneider (Neustadt a. d. Aisch 1982), 19–32. Hélinand identifies the Temple Mount as Zion when speaking of the conquest of 1099 (Hélinand of Froidmont, *Chronicon*, 995).

52 See Anastasia Keshman Wasserman, "The Cross and the Tomb: The Crusader Contribution to Crucifixion Iconography," in: *Between Jerusalem and Europe*, ed. Renana Bartal and Bianca Kühnel (Leiden 2015), 18–28.

53 See Schein, *Gateway*, 147. Adso of Montier-en-Der, however, located the event on the Mount of Olives (Adso of Montier-en-Der, *De ortu*, 26; see Rubenstein, "Saint-Omer," 79).

Coming was likewise supposed to happen here.⁵⁴ David's Tower, part of Jerusalem's fortifications, was another element endowed with exegetical meaning in the West.⁵⁵ Lastly, the different gates into the city were an essential element in Western texts, since it was a believer's goal to enter Jerusalem (both the earthly and other guises). As we will see, readings referred to its actual seven gates. One also encountered significant places beyond its walls: to the south lies Mount Zion, location of the Last Supper; to the east the Valley of Josaphat, venue of the Last Judgment, for which reason many Christians chose it as a burial place.⁵⁶ Jericho lies c.30 km east, a stopover for a pilgrim route to the holy city, and a motif that played a role in Western discourses;⁵⁷ and the River Jordan c.40 km east, place of Christ's baptism and often understood as the Holy Land's eastern border (see the chapter on the Holy Land).

Eventually, it was an essential notion that Jerusalem represented the center of the world, notably on medieval world maps.⁵⁸ Already Jerome had developed this idea by combining Ps. 74:12 and Ez. 5:5; the first reference speaks of God performing salvation in the center of the world (*operatus est salutes in medio terrae*).⁵⁹ It seems like it was made for preaching the crusades, since it entwines receiving salvation with the localization in Jerusalem, thus suggesting the crusade's remission of sin and martyrdom. It is cited in numerous sources, among

54 See Ms. BL Royal 10 A XVI, fol. 87^v and Ms. BNF lat. 10633, fol. 102^r. On the Second Coming, see Zach. 14:3–4; and Schein, *Gateway*, 145. A chronicle grants the Mount of Olives a prominent role in the conquest of 1187 (*Libellus*, ed. Brewer and Kane, 196). The Ascension was occasionally located at the Dome of the Rock (see Baert, *Heritage*, 173). See also Zöllner, *Regularkanoniker*, 199–205.

55 See, e.g., Garnerius of Clairvaux, *Sermo 4*, 597; Ms. Lambeth 144, fols. 117^r, 118^v.

56 See Joel 4:2–12; Garnerius of Clairvaux, *Sermo 31*, 770; Martin of León, *Liber sermonum*, *Sermo 2*, 55; Benedictinus anonymus, *De penitentia*, ed. Huygens, 102; Bernard of Clairvaux, *De laude*, 296; Otto of Freising, *Chronik*, ed. Lammers, 622; John of Würzburg, *Descriptio*, 109–110; William of Tyre, *Chronique* (8.2), 384; Theodericus, *Libellus*, 145. See also Riley-Smith, "Army on Pilgrimage," 105; Ora Limor, "Placing an Idea: The Valley of Jehoshaphat in Religious Imagination," in: *Between Jerusalem and Europe*, ed. Renana Bartal and Bianca Kühnel (Leiden 2015), 280–300.

57 See esp. Ms. BL Add 19767, fols. 72^r–76^r. See the chapter on exemplary descriptions for the entire text. On Jericho in crusade-related sermons of the 13th century, see Miikka Tamminen, *Crusade Preaching and the Ideal Crusader* (Turnhout 2018), 50–59.

58 See, e.g., Bianca Kühnel, "Geography and Geometry of Jerusalem," in: *City of the Great King: Jerusalem from David to the Present*, ed. Nitza Rosovsky (Cambridge, Mass. 1996), 311–316; Ingrid Baumgärtner, "Die Wahrnehmung Jerusalems auf mittelalterlichen Weltkarten," in: *Jerusalem im Hoch- und Spätmittelalter*, ed. Dieter Bauer (Frankfurt am Main 2001), 271–334.

59 See Mette Birkedal Bruun, *Parables: Bernard of Clairvaux's Mapping of Spiritual Topography* (Leiden 2007), 27.

them *Audita tremendi* or Innocent III's Fourth Lateran sermon. The first concludes that it had been God's conscious decision to make this region into the spatial center of salvation history (*salutem nostram ibi voluit operari*).⁶⁰ Jerusalem was a center in two senses: on the one hand, the city itself appeared as the pivot of salvation history. Everything of providential significance happened or will happen there; it was both a topographical and a temporal center. Barbara Baert classified it accordingly: "The centre of the world is the place where heaven, hell and earth coincide in one timeless point."⁶¹ On the other, the center within the city received particular attention, as we have seen with Ez. 9 in the previous chapter: this refers to the Temple and suggests a spatially determined grading of sanctity that signifies the approach to heaven. Jerusalem was thus not only the center of the terrestrial world but of the entire cosmos, a fact that indicates the entanglement of earthly and heavenly city.

The chapter will proceed: (1) with those passages that more or less offer descriptions of the conquest of 1187; (2) followed by an examination of how the holy city is entangled with its other guises, for example, via the motif of the gates, in order to shed light on the maze of the four senses; (3) typological readings of the conquest are then addressed, especially as concerns the fulfillment of prophecies; (4) this leads to a reflection on the four senses concerning the localization of the earthly city within this scheme; (5) and finally, some passages from Henry of Albano's work that fuse monastery, theology, and crusade deserve attention.

1 The Heathen Have Come into the Sanctuary (Ps. 79): Describing the Conquest

Some passages are descriptive overall, but even these use biblical elements for suggesting a reading. One such element is Ps. 79:1: "the heathen have come into the Lord's inheritance, they have defiled the Temple, and laid Jerusalem

60 Gregory VIII, *Audita tremendi*, ed. Chroust, 8; Innocent III, *De diversis*, *Sermo* 6, 676. This is also present in Urban II's sermon in: William of Tyre, *Chronique* (1.15), 131. For further sources, see Ralph Ardens, *Pars (I), Section (1), Sermo* 68, 1920; Baldwin of Canterbury, *Sermo* 14, 212; Garnerius of Clairvaux, *Sermo* 15, 671; *Historia peregrinorum*, ed. Chroust, 124; Ms. Arsenal 543, fol. 244^r; Henry of Albano, *De peregrinante civitate Dei* (XIII), 357; Ms. BL Add 24145, fol. 77^v; Peter of Blois, *Sermo* 19, 616; *Sermo* 23, 627; *Passio Raginaldi*, 33; Ms. Lambeth 144, fol. 117^v; Alan of Lille, *Distinctiones*, 751; Martin of León, *Liber sermonum*, *Sermo* 2, 52; Aelred of Rievaulx, *Sermo* 119, 199–201; Petrus Venerabilis, *Sermo de laude*, ed. Constable, 238–239; *Continuatio Zwetlensis*, 543.

61 Baert, *Heritage*, 172. On this aspect, see the chapter on the Apocalypse.

in ruins" (*venerunt gentes in hereditatem tuam, polluerunt templum sanctum tuum, posuerunt Ierusalem in ruinas*). It is virtually a perfect verse for describing the events of 1187, already put to use at the outset of *Audita tremendi*:⁶²

After we have heard about the severity of the dreadful judgment that the divine hand has brought over the land of Jerusalem, we and our brothers are struck by such horror and affected by such pain, wherefore it is not obvious to us what we shall do or say, a fact that even the Psalmist deplores: God, the heathen have come into thy inheritance, they have defiled your holy Temple. They placed Jerusalem in the custody of apple trees; they left the flesh of your saints to the beasts of the earth and for food to the birds of the sky [Ps. 79:1–2].⁶³

It is important to note that the encyclical does not yet describe the conquest, albeit the use of Ps. 79:1 may suggest this; rather, its use evokes a threat for the city—this seems to have been an important strategy in the early period. Today's Vulgate says that Jerusalem was laid in ruins (*posuerunt Ierusalem in ruinas*), but Gregory deviates from it, stating that it has been placed "in the custody of apple trees" (*posuerunt Ierusalem in pomorum custodiam*). Even though this represents the verse's common form at the time,⁶⁴ the expression develops

62 In the Greek Bible, this is Ps. 78, but I follow the numbering of the Nova Vulgata. On Ps. 79 and the crusades, see Gerd Althoff, "*Selig sind, die Verfolgung ausüben*": Päpste und Gewalt im Hochmittelalter (Darmstadt 2013), 130–132, 140–144; Penny J. Cole, "'O God, the Heathen Have Come into Your Inheritance' (Ps. 78.1). The Theme of Religious Pollution in Crusade Documents, 1095–1188," in: *Crusaders and Muslims in Twelfth-Century Syria*, ed. Maya Shatzmiller (Leiden 1993), 84–111. Linder asserts that it contains an apocalyptic component (Linder, *Arms*, 91–92). Ps. 79:2 was also used to illustrate the unburied dead of Barbarossa's crusade (see Nicholas L. Paul, *To Follow in Their Footsteps: The Crusades and Family Memory in the High Middle Ages* (Ithaca, NY 2012), 138).

63 Gregory VIII, *Audita tremendi*, ed. Chroust, 6; see also Ms. BL Add 24145, fol. 76^v and Thomas W. Smith, "*Audita tremendi* and the Call for the Third Crusade Reconsidered, 1187–1188," *Viator* 49/3 (2018), 88–89. "*Audita tremendi* severitate iudicii, quod [Add 24145: >< quam] super terram Jerusalem [BL Add 24145: >< Iherosolimitanos] divina manus exercuit, tanto sumus nos et fratres nostri horrore confusi tantisque affecti doloribus, ut non facile nobis occurreret, quid agere aut quid dicere debeamus [PL: >< facere deberemus; Add 24145: >< dicere deberemus], quod etiam Psalmista deplorat et dicit: Deus, venerunt gentes in haereditatem tuam, coinquinaverunt templum sanctum tuum: posuerunt Ierusalem in pomorum custodiam: carnes sanctorum tuorum bestiis terrae, et escas volatilibus coeli [Ps. 79:1–2]."

64 See, e.g., *Glossa ordinaria* (Ps. 79), ed. Feuarent, 3:1041–1042. See also Henry of Albano, *De peregrinante civitate Dei* (xiii), 354: "haec omnia nobis tecum sunt o bona crux [...] quae cum fieri soleant in pomorum custodiam." See also Ms. BNF lat. 14426, fol. 62^r, where Peter the Chanter aligns "the custody of apple trees" with the conquest of 1187.

an uncomfortable reference to the current events: Jerusalem is exposed—only guarded by apple trees—since the bulk of its army has been crushed at Hattin. Telling for the moment at which the text was penned is the rendering as “the land of Jerusalem” (*terra Jerusalem*); this indicates the Holy Land and alludes to the large territorial losses in the events surrounding Hattin. *Haereditas*, which is present in Ps. 79:1, expresses the same idea.⁶⁵ The pope delivers a significant example for how biblical language informed the event’s perception and commemoration, whereas actual information remained slim.

However, it is remarkable that Ps. 79:1 is hardly present in the relevant corpus of sources. The reference appears more often in chronicles, serving descriptive purposes, but even there it is not as frequent as usually assumed, and the scholarly opinion that it represents a key verse for reading the events of 1187 needs to be revised.⁶⁶ It remains absent in important works such as Henry’s *De peregrinante civitate Dei* or Peter of Blois’ crusade treatises.⁶⁷ Peter uses it, however, in his crusade call from 1185:

Jerusalem, our mother [Gal. 4:26], thus cries for you: she exposes her difficulties to us and, for healing her pain, she demands the love of her children. Since you are indeed her children, receive the sorrows of your mother and, as Isaiah puts it, all those who love her must mourn and suffer with Jerusalem [cf. Is. 66:10]. Because the heathen come into the Lord’s inheritance for defiling his Temple [Ps. 79:1]. Those who hate the Lord have raised their heads; those who hate Zion have prided themselves.⁶⁸

65 On both motifs, see the chapter on the Holy Land. See also Matthieu Rajohnson, *L’Occident au regret de Jérusalem (1187-fin du XIV^e siècle)* (Paris 2021), 514–515.

66 For this opinion, see Schein, *Gateway*, 163–164; Cole, “Heathen,” 106–107; Gaposchkin, *Weapons*, 196–197. For chronicles see Ansbert, *Historia*, ed. Chroust, 14; *Gestorum Treverorum continuatio*, 388; Roger of Howden, *Gesta*, 2:20; Arnold of Lübeck, *Chronica*, 170.

67 Henry once uses 1 Macc. 2:12, which betrays some similarity (Henry of Albano, *De peregrinante civitate Dei* (X111), 352). Ps. 79 only became important later: the Cistercians introduced it to the liturgy in 1194 (*Statuta capitulorum*, ed. Canivez (1194), 172), and Innocent III made it into a daily component of mass (Innocent III, *Quia maior*, 821; discussed by Gaposchkin, *Weapons*, 311–312; see also Humbert of Romans, *De predicatione*, 10, 18, 109, 167; and Amnon Linder, “‘Deus Venerunt Gentes’: Psalm 78 (79) in the Liturgical Commemoration of the Destruction of Latin Jerusalem,” in: *Medieval Studies in Honour of Avrom Saltmann*, ed. Bat-Sheva Albert and Yvonne Friedman (Ramat-Gan 1995), 145–171, esp. 151–152; Jessalynn L. Bird, “Rogations, Litanies, and Crusade Preaching: The Liturgical Front in the Late Twelfth and Early Thirteenth Centuries,” in: *Papacy, Crusade, and Christian-Muslim Relations*, ed. Bird (Amsterdam 2018), 182–185).

68 Peter of Blois, *Ep.98*, 307. “Clamat itaque ad vos Jerusalem mater nostra [Gal. 4:26]: suas nobis exponit angustias, et in remedium sui doloris postulat filiales affectus. Quia ergo

As in *Audita tremendi*, the reference suggests a threat to Jerusalem. Significantly, Peter deviates from the Vulgate, formulating in the present tense (*veniunt*)—the heathen pressured the city, but had not yet conquered it. Jerusalem is portrayed as “our mother” (*mater nostra*); the Christians, specifically Peter’s audience, as its children (*fili estis*), motifs that create a sense of responsibility despite geographical distance.⁶⁹ The quotation from Isaiah that he turns on its head deserves attention: the Vulgate says *laetamini cum Ierusalem et exsultate in ea* (rejoice with Jerusalem and be glad in it). Peter, however, states that one must mourn and suffer with it (*tristamini cum Jerusalem, et dolete cum ea*), indicating a disrupted order which is not supposed to exist. This suggests to his audience that they must contribute to fulfilling the actual meaning of Isaiah’s prophecy (see the discussion below). The fact that it was instead lost in 1187 must have posed a providential enigma. The inversion of Is. 66:10 seems to have been Peter’s creation; database searches do not yield any further hits. Yet, John of Abbeville later expresses a similar idea: broaching the city’s loss, he argues about Palm Sunday (the sermon’s feast) that the liturgy has turned into an act of grief and mockery (*dies festi versi sunt in luctum et sabbatum in obprobrium*).⁷⁰

Celestine III uses Ps. 79:1 in his letter to Hubert Walter (1195), former participant in the Third Crusade and then archbishop of Canterbury, calling him to a new crusade:

For in these days, the malice of present-day people has certainly grown so much that we are rebuked by neither the warnings of Sacred Scripture nor the whips of our weakness. God willed to lay heavily his hand upon us that much, and, what we cannot explicate without bitterness of the heart, to give the land of his birth into the hands of the pagans [Job 9:24]. Consequently, as we mourn deservedly with the prophet: God, the heathen have come into the inheritance etc. [Ps. 79:1].⁷¹

fili estis, dolores maternos excipite, et, sicut dicit Isaias, tristamini cum Jerusalem, et dolete cum ea omnes qui diligitis eam [cf. Is. 66:10]. Veniunt enim gentes in haereditatem Domini, ut polluant templum ejus [Ps. 79:1]. Qui oderunt Dominum, extulerunt caput, et gloriati sunt omnes, qui oderunt Sion.”

69 See David Morris, “The Servile Mother: Jerusalem as Woman in the Era of the Crusades,” in: *Remembering the Crusades*, ed. Nicholas L. Paul and Suzanne M. Yeager (Baltimore 2012), 184–185; Steven Biddlecombe, “Baldric of Bourgueil and the *Familia Christi*,” in: *Writing the Early Crusades*, ed. Damien Kempf and Marcus Bull (Woodbridge 2014), 12, 16–19.

70 Ms. Oxford, Magd. Coll. 168, fol. 70^v. Similar in: Martin of León, *Liber sermonum*, *Sermo 23*, 895; *Sermo 29*, 1050–1051; the first sermon refers to the state after the conquest of A.D. 70.

71 Celestine III, *Ep. 224*, 1107, cited in Ralph of Diceto, *Ymagines*, 132. “Verum cum diebus nostris in tantum excreverit malitia modernorum, ut nec sacrae Scripturae monitis nec

The reference has here the purpose of describing a state: the land has been given into the hands of the pagans (*in manibus tradere paganorum*)—God gave it to them, to punish the Christians.⁷² A few lines before the passage cited, Celestine also uses *peccatis nostris exigentibus*. However, as he expounds, they are rebuked neither by the Bible (which would offer a tool and predictions for the future) nor by the “whips of their weakness” (obviously failure in the Holy Land). It transpires that the allegedly popular Ps. 79:1 appears only sporadically in the contemporary evidence; the sermon texts make no use of it at all. When appearing, it serves two purposes: on the one hand, it sketches a threat for Jerusalem (1185’s crusade call; *Audita tremendi*); on the other, it stresses the persistent state of conquest (Celestine’s letter; chronicles).

How do other sources describe the events? Peter outlines a threat to the city when reporting on Hattin to Henry II (Oct. 1187): “We have heard how Jerusalem has been destroyed and how the Cross with which Christ redeemed us has been captured. The king of Jerusalem has been abducted to Babylon. All cities and fortresses save for Ascalon and Tripoli have fallen, and one is uncertain whether Jerusalem will still resist the filthy dogs.”⁷³ He doubts whether Jerusalem can still resist “the filthy dogs,” a pejorative designation for the Muslims. Remarkably, he says he has heard “how the city has been destroyed”; one could believe that he is already talking about the conquest. This may be a marker *pars pro toto* for the Holy Land (like in *Audita tremendi* using *terra Jerusalem*). This curious example betrays how enigmatically authors can express themselves when anchored in biblical language, and how little they are concerned with delivering accurate descriptions. This is even more significant in this case, since we might suppose that the purpose of this letter was to transmit actual news.

Henry offers two significant descriptions, in his crusade call to the German nobility, likely drafted in March 1188 and already referring to Jerusalem’s fall, and in his letter to Barbarossa, probably written a few weeks before:

infirmittatis nostrae corripimur flagellis, manum suam super nos in tantum voluit aggravare, ac terram nativitatis suae, quod sine cordis amaritudine non possumus explicare, in manibus tradere paganorum [Job 9:24], ut cum propheta merito deplorantes, Deus, venerunt gentes in haereditatem etc. [Ps. 79:1] [...].”

72 See Alexander Marx, “Constructing and Denying the Enemy: Cistercian Approaches to Preaching the Third Crusade (1187–1192),” *Cîteaux* 70 (2019), 62–63. See the chapter on the failure of crusades.

73 Peter of Blois, *Ep.* 219, 508, cited in Roger of Howden, *Gesta*, 2:15. “Audivimus quomodo Jerusalem destructa est, et quomodo crux, in qua Christus nos redemit, capta est. Rex Jerusalem in Babylonem ductus est. Omnes civitates et munitiones, praeter Ascalonem et Tripolim, captae sunt, et adhuc utrum Jerusalem poterit canibus immundis resistere dubitatur.”

Who would not mourn that this Holy Land, which the Lord's own feet have dedicated to our redemption [cf. Ps. 131:7], is exposed to the filthiness of the pagans? Who would not lament that the salvific Cross has been captured and trampled upon by the pagans, just as the Lord's sanctuary has been defiled? Heu, heu! We believe similar things were heard when the same Cross endured the hammering of the nails: the earth trembled, the sun faded, rocks were split, and the tombs opened up [Mt. 27:51–52].⁷⁴

Oh, how lamentable, this sad loss and unexpected event, when the Lord's sanctuary has been given into the hands of the gentiles [Job 9:24], and the Holy Land, in which the Lord's feet stood [Ps. 131:7], lies now open to the filthiness of the wicked and to the pillages of the pagans, still upsets not only the mind of our Father and Lord, but also truly the hearts of our brethren and incites them to grief.⁷⁵

In agreement with Ps. 79, both letters outline a pollution of the holy places (with *spurcitia*), contrasting it with Ps. 131:7: the feet of the Lord have sanctified the Holy Land (*terram illam sanctam*).⁷⁶ The term *spurcitia*, designating filthiness, also holds the layers of pagan superstition and illegitimate birth (compare the adjective *spurius*). This indicates the Abrahamic genealogy, which deems the Muslims to be the sons of Hagar.⁷⁷ In the second letter, two further elements serve descriptive purposes: the rendering as unexpected (*inopinatus eventus*)

74 Henry of Albano, *Ep.* 32, PL 204:249 and ed. Chroust, 11; see also Ms. BL Add 24145, fol. 78r. "Quis terram illam sanctam quam redemptionis nostrae ipsi dedicaverunt pedes Domini [cf. Ps. 131:7], spurcitiis paganorum exponi non doleat? Quis Crucem salvificam captam non deploret, et conculcatam ab ethnicis et sanctuarium Domini profanatum? Heu, heu! ad auditum quendam similem, cum fixuras clavorum crux ipsa susciperet, terra tremuit, sol expavit, petrae scissae sunt, et aperta credimus monumenta [Mt. 27:51–52]."

75 Ms. BL Add 24145, fol. 77r. "Flebiliter heu casus ille tristis et inopinatus eventus, quo sanctuarium domini datum est in manus gentium [Job 9:24], et terra illa sancta in qua steterunt pedes domini [Ps. 131:7] nefandorum spurcitiis patet et direptionibus paganorum, non solum patris et domini nostri mentem, verum etiam fratrum nostrorum corda movet eatenus et excitat ad dolorem."

76 On this reference, see the chapter on the Holy Land.

77 See also William of Newburgh, *Historia*, 249, where he speaks of *spurcissimus Saladinus*. See also Lucius III, *Ep.* 182, 1312; *Urkundenbuch*, ed. Janicke, 1:484. On the sons of Hagar, see Buc, *Holy War*, 281; Richard W. Southern, *Western Views of Islam in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, Mass. 1962), 16–17. See also Ralph Ardens, *Pars (I), Section (1), Sermo 41*, 1811–1815, where he discusses the different sons of Abraham and why Hagar's sons have been rejected. Already Urban II (allegedly) used the terms *spurius* and *spurcitia* in a similar way (see Baldric of Dol, *Historia*, ed. Biddlecombe, 7).

and Job 9:24 (here: *sanctuarium domini datum est in manus gentium*), a parallel with Celestine's letter.⁷⁸ The first text also includes a powerful eschatological coloring, comparing the events with the crucifixion (i.e., *ad auditum quemdam similem*), and using the apocalyptic passages from Mt. 27:51–52: the earth trembled (a parallel with *Audita tremendi*), the sun faded, and the tombs of the dead opened up (*aperta monumenta*). According to Matthew, the dead would march to Jerusalem, to participate in the Last Judgment.⁷⁹ For Henry, the conquest initiates the Apocalypse; it represents a fulfillment of prophecy, a pivotal watershed tantamount even to the crucifixion.

Concluding this section, two examples from chronicles shall suffice; first, the *Itinerarium peregrinorum* delineates:

Jerusalem, the glorious City of God [Ps. 87:3], where the Lord suffered, where he has been entombed, and where he revealed the glory of his resurrection, is exposed to the pollution by the bastard enemy. There is no pain like this [cf. Lam. 1:12], since those who persecute the entombed hold his Sepulcher; those who despise the crucified hold his Cross. [...] After the city had surrendered, he [i.e., Saladin] climbed the eminent rock of Golgotha with the curse of the Mahometian law, where he proclaimed the spurious law, on the same spot where Christ, hanging on the Cross, has crushed the law of death.⁸⁰

The author stresses the city's providential meaning, designating it as the *civitas Dei* and evoking several stations of Christ's work. The "bastard enemy" (*hostis spurius*) has promulgated "a false law" (*lex spuria*)—note the parallel with Henry.⁸¹ The Muslims, the sons of Hagar, have unjustly occupied the inheritance of the true sons of Abraham. Even worse, they have reestablished "the law of death," the law of the Old Covenant, which Christ's Passion had already

78 See also Marx, "Enemy," 58; Marx, "Jerusalem as the Travelling City of God. Henry of Albano and the Preaching of the Third Crusade," *Crusades* 20 (2021), 92.

79 See also Henry of Albano, *De peregrinante civitate Dei* (XIII), 354, where he delineates the same vision; see the chapter on the Cross relic. See also *Continuatio Zwetlensis*, 543.

80 *Itinerarium peregrinorum*, ed. Mayer, 265. "Gloriosa civitas dei Ierusalem [Ps. 87:3], ubi dominus passus, ubi sepultus, ubi gloriam resurrectionis ostendit, hosti spurio subicitur polluenta. Nec est dolor sicut dolor iste [cf. Lam. 1:12], cum hii sepulchrum possideant, qui sepultum persequuntur, crucem teneant, qui crucifixum contempnunt. [...] Urbe redita preco legis Mahumeticæ eminentem Calvarie rupem conscendit et ibi lex spuria declamata personuit, ubi legem mortis Christus in cruce consumpsit."

81 See also Schein, *Gateway*, 164–165. On the fulfillment of Ps. 87 in Henry's work, see Marx, "City of God," 99–101, 105.

shattered—this entwines the Muslims with the Jews. Second, the extensive eyewitness report of the *Libellus de expugnatione terre sancte* is an especially rich source:

Who could ever imagine that such an impious act is committed by Christians? That the Sepulcher of Christ's resurrection, the eminent Temple, the most holy Mount Zion, and other places of the holy city are voluntarily surrendered to the hands of the pagans [Job 9:24]? What a pain! There is no pain that would be similar [cf. Lam. 1:12]. We do not read anywhere that the Jews abandoned their inner sanctuary without the shedding of blood and a tenacious battle, and yet, they did not surrender it voluntarily.⁸²

Alluding to Job 9:24, the author names several of Jerusalem's components (Sepulcher, Temple, Zion) that have been given into the hands of the pagans (*in manibus gentium tradere*).⁸³ He criticizes the city's surrender, contrasting it with the Old Testament Jews, who never surrendered it without resistance: the Christians are thus worse than the Jews—this suggests once more that the Covenant with God may belong to the past (see the previous chapter). In conclusion, two important elements have surfaced in the sources: locating the event's cause in Christian sinfulness (*peccatis nostris exigentibus*) and a rendering through Job 9:24 (*terra data est in manus impii*). Due to their quantitative dominance, these two may even be characterized as the most important elements for reading the events of 1187. The two will concern us in the chapter on the failure of crusades, since they represent fundamental strategies for dealing with the paradox of misfortune in the Holy Land.

82 *Libellus*, ed. Brewer and Kane, 210. "Quis unquam poterat cogitare tale nefas a Christianis perpetrari, sepulcrum resurrectionis Christi et nobile templum et sanctissimum montem Syon et cetera loca sancte civitatis, sponte in manibus gentium tradere? [Job 9:24] Proh dolor! Non est dolor similis dolori isti [cf. Lam. 1:12]. Nusquam legimus iudaeos sancta sanctorum absque effusione sanguinis et duro certamine deseruisse, nec tamen sponte tradidisse." My translation above, but the edition offers a similar one.

83 On spatial conceptions in the *Libellus*, see also James 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), 366–380.

2 Garnerius of Clairvaux, *In adventu domini IV: Pagans and the Captive Daughter Zion*

Sermon texts occasionally offer descriptive passages on the events of 1187, yet such descriptions were not their purpose, just as it was not necessary to explicitly deal with the events as soon as the news had spread. Consequently, the events may be present in a more oblique manner, being assumed as a horizon of knowledge—we have already seen examples of this in the previous chapter with Hélinand of Froidmont and Ralph Ardens.⁸⁴ Garnerius offers another significant case with a sermon on Advent that certainly holds high crusade potential; he likely answered therein Henry of Albano's call for the crusade to be preached on Advent.⁸⁵ The sermon's argument oscillates between sloth and activity: the first is understood as the typical trait of pagans (that is, Muslims), Jews, and false Christians, whereas the latter operates as the text's omnipresent exhortation, including its two opening verses: Is. 52:2 and Rom. 13:11.⁸⁶ As this section will demonstrate, this prospective activity is identical with the crusade. After an introduction, Garnerius discusses three groups that lapsed into permanent sloth:

The pagan has frozen into numbness in the first sleep, the Jew in the second, and the false Christian in the third. Because the pagan neither sees when reading nor does he understand nor does he remember the virtue of God's word. However, the Jew sees when reading, yet he does neither understand nor remember. And the false Christian sees and understands, but he forgets and neglects.⁸⁷

84 See Hélinand of Froidmont, *Sermo 8*, 546–547; *Sermo 10*, 566; Ralph Ardens, *Pars (I), Section (I)*, *Sermo 32*, 1780–1781; *Pars (II), De tempore, Sermo 19*, 1373.

85 Henry of Albano, *Ep. 31*, 248. The sermon survived in: Ms. Troyes 970, fol. 8^v and Troyes 1301, fol. 11^v.

86 Garnerius of Clairvaux, *Sermo 4*, 591: “Elevare, consurge, sede, Jerusalem; solve vincula colli tui, captiva filia Sion [Is. 52:2]. Hora enim est jam nos de somno surgere [Rom. 13:11].” These motifs were often used in conjunction with the crusade (see, e.g., Peter of Blois, *Passio Raginaldi*, 31; *Conquestio*, 79–80; Alan of Lille, *Distinctiones*, 812, 949; *Ars praedicatorum*, 195; Ms. BNF lat. 14859, fols. 233^r–234^r; Ralph Ardens, *Pars (I), Section (I), Sermo 1*, 1667; *Pars (II), De sanctis, Sermo 26*, 1592).

87 Garnerius of Clairvaux, *Sermo 4*, 592. “Primo ergo somno torpet paganus, secundo Judaeus, tertio falsus Christianus. Paganus enim nec legendo videt, nec intelligit, nec reminiscitur verbi Dei virtutem [Troyes 970; Troyes 1301: >< veritatem]; Judaeus vero legendo videt, sed non intelligit, nec reminiscitur; falsus vero Christianus, videt, intelligit; sed obliviscitur et negligit.”

He distinguishes three groups in terms of their approach to the Bible: false Christians, Jews, and pagans (*pagani*).⁸⁸ The pagan is furthest from Christian belief, since he does not even “understand when reading” (*nec legendo videt*), a skill which the Jews possess; this alludes to their use of the Old Testament.⁸⁹ The pagans are thus least contaminated; they simply do not know any better. The false Christians, however, are closest to the true believers, since they see and understand (*videt, intelligit*), yet they forget and neglect (*obliviscitur et negligit*). They thus pose the greatest threat to the Corpus Christi. The passage raises the question of when other groups were considered a threat; this depended primarily on how one defined the Christian community. If it was a religious and social entity, then all those who contaminated the Church via their sins, that is, false Christians and bad clerics, posed a threat. If one understood it in spatial terms, then the Jews came into focus, who lived among Christians (even if in their own quarters). If one entwined the Christian community with the Holy Land via the Corpus Christi—as we have already seen in several cases—then every alien element there posed a serious threat; this brought the Muslims into focus, even more so after 1187. As a result, priorities seem significantly dependent upon historical circumstances, and the priorities a sermon demonstrates may, therefore, point us to specific historical phenomena.

Garnerius elaborates on a requisite act of adjustment, the cleansing of a defective state, in order to preserve the Corpus Christi’s integrity:

The first sleep is that of ignorance, the second that of betrayal, and the third that of numbness and sloth. If you thus want to dwell in the vision of peace, given that Jerusalem is understood as the vision of peace [Ez. 13:16], and if you want to see good days [Ps. 34:13; 1Pet. 3:10], then rise from the sleep of ignorance, you pagan, rise from the sleep of betrayal, you Jew, and rise from the sleep of numbness and sloth, you false Christian. Because whoever sleeps or is even knocked out is incapable of considering the matters in the distance, but he only considers those that are close. Therefore, those cried for their God and prayed towards the rising sun with their backs turned to the Temple [Ez. 8:16] who committed abomin-

88 False Christians was an umbrella term encompassing heretics, scholastics, and generally sinful Christians, especially bad clerics (see Buc, *Holy War*, 91, 246–247; Buc, “Crusade and Eschatology: Holy War Fostered and Inhibited,” *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 125 (2017), 317, 336–337).

89 His sermon *Contra Iudeos* formulates something similar: it describes the Jews as “blind dogs” (Ms. Troyes 1301, fol. 158^v).

able acts in the midst of Jerusalem [Ez. 9:4], when they erected the idol of jealousy at the tabernacle's entrance, in order to provoke strife [Ez. 8:3], when they worshipped their pagan idols.⁹⁰

The abbot formulates a call addressed to the different groups, to renounce their mistakes, aligning each with the element of sleep (*somnum*), a synonym for sloth. The background establishes the eschatological vision of peace in Jerusalem, a popular motif.⁹¹ He thus entangles earthly and heavenly city, specifically by asking his audience whether they want to dwell in the vision of peace (*si in visione pacis habitare vis*). This indicates both the earthly city's recapture and gaining salvation, that is, entering the heavenly guise: the first appears as the latter's preparation or precondition. The vision of peace remains, therefore, a vision for the future to whose fulfillment Garnerius calls his audience. Yet, only those who are vigilant will be capable of considering the matters in the distance (*potest intueri ea quae de longe sunt*). Since he speaks thereafter of Jerusalem and the Temple, both currently defiled by pagan practices and idols, it is clear that he is concerned with the situation of 1187.⁹² The textual elements at play stem from Ezekiel; they sketch out the pollution of sacred space that requires cleansing. The portrayal of the invaders indicates the Muslims who pray towards the rising sun (*ad ortum solis*), that is, towards

90 Garnerius of Clairvaux, *Sermo 4*, 592. "Primus igitur somnus ignorantiae est, secundus perfidiae, tertius torporis et ignaviae. Si ergo in visione pacis habitare vis, quoniam Jerusalem visio pacis interpretatur [Ez. 13:16], et dies videre bonos [Ps. 34:13; 1Pet. 3:10], elevare 'a somno' [missing Troyes 970] ignorantiae, tu pagane, elevare a somno perfidiae, tu Judaeae; conurge a somno torporis et ignaviae, tu false Christiane. Qui enim iacet, et in imo prostratus est, non potest intueri ea quae de longe sunt, sed ea [Troyes 970: >< omnia] tantummodo quae de prope sunt intuetur. Unde et illi qui in medio Jerusalem faciebant abominationes [Ez. 9:4], quando statuebant ad ostium tabernaculi idolum zeli [Troyes 970: >< doli] ad provocandum aemulationem [Ez. 8:3], quando adorabant picturas, plangebant Adonidem, et dorsum contra templum habentes adorabant ad ortum solis [Ez. 8:16]."

91 See Gaposchkin, *Weapons*, 34–35; Christoph Auffarth, *Irdische Wege und himmlischer Lohn: Kreuzzug, Jerusalem und Fegefeuer in religionswissenschaftlicher Perspektive* (Göttingen 2002), 110. See, e.g., Garnerius of Clairvaux, *Sermo 37*, 807; Henry of Albano, *De peregrinante civitate Dei* (VI), 299; Peter of Blois, *Sermo 41*, 686–687; Ms. BL Add 19767, fol. 80^r; Ms. BNF lat. 14859, fol. 233^r; Ms. Arsenal 543, fol. 205^r; Ms. BL Add 18335, fol. 10^r.

92 On the Muslims as idolaters, see Martin Völkl, *Muslimen—Märtyrer—Militia Christi: Identität, Feindbild und Fremderfahrung während der ersten Kreuzzüge* (Stuttgart 2011), 194–196; John Victor Tolan, *Saracens: Islam in the Medieval European Imagination* (New York 2002), 105–134; Katherine Allen Smith, *The Bible and Crusade Narrative in the Twelfth Century* (Woodbridge 2020), 128–136. For similar renderings, see Peter of Blois, *Ep.* 23, 85; Henry of Albano, *De peregrinante civitate Dei* (XIII), 359; Celestine III, *Ep.* 224, 1108.

Mecca, with their backs turned to the Temple. This evokes its rejection in religious terms—again a reference to the Muslims (contrary to the Jews). The idea of a statue erected in the Temple indicates the same; many contemporary texts believed that the Muslims had placed a statue of Mohammad there.⁹³ Garnerius' sermon is thus concerned with the occupation of the holy sites in 1187.

The sermon's second part delineates the counter-model of activity, an exhortation that reverberates throughout. Garnerius presents several Old Testament *exempla* for a "departure" (*egredi*) and formulates the goal of releasing the captive daughter Zion, the reference is to Is. 52:2: Jerusalem has been captured. He presents the Exodus as a grand example for departing to the Holy Land, which is facilitated by the cross (an allusion to the meaning of the cross on their clothes).⁹⁴ Some lines later, he emphasizes that Christ has fortified Zion and the Holy Land—obviously to assure his listeners that they could count on divine support.⁹⁵ Towards the conclusion of the text, he refers to Christ's exemplary arrival in Jerusalem, as celebrated on Palm Sunday (quoting Mt. 21:1), while identifying the donkey on which he rides as the pagan (repeated twice). The donkey usually refers to the sinner; the specific identification as the pagan once again demonstrates the context of the crusade.⁹⁶ The text ends by referring once more to the captive daughter Zion, who must be released, blending it with the desirable *visio Dei* located in Zion (*donec videamus deum deorum in Sion*), the goal of their labors. As the sermon betrays throughout, Zion is referring to the actual hill before the gates of Jerusalem.⁹⁷ In conclusion, this sermon obviously deals with the situation of 1187, outlining Jerusalem's pollution by pagans, while vehemently calling on the audience to be active and depart for the Holy Land. It holds high crusade potential and stands in causal and chronological relationship with the Third Crusade.

93 See Tolan, *Saracens*, 131–133. The expressions derive from Ez. 8:16; this, however, does not contradict an application to current affairs (compare, for example, the use of Ps. 79); see also the section on methodology.

94 Garnerius of Clairvaux, *Sermo 4*, 594. On the Exodus, see the chapter on the Holy Land.

95 Garnerius of Clairvaux, *Sermo 4*, 595: "Sed venit Dominus, et se murum posuit in domo Israel, et tunc facta est urbs fortitudinis nostrae Sion, quia Salvator noster positus est in ea murus [Is. 26:1]." Very similar in: Peter of Blois, *Passio Raginaldi*, 46–47.

96 Garnerius of Clairvaux, *Sermo 4*, 598. On reading the donkey as sinner in sermon texts, see Bird, "Palm Sunday," 21–24.

97 Garnerius of Clairvaux, *Sermo 4*, 599. The reference is to Ps. 84:8.

3 The Conquest: A Signifier for the Spiritual Jerusalem

The remainder of the chapter is primarily devoted to the earthly city's entanglement with its other guises, in order to disentangle the maze of the senses of Scripture. This aims at elucidating the issue of which sermon texts may be classified as crusade-related. Two directions are possible: either the earthly Jerusalem connects with its spiritual counterpart, creating a causal link with the Christian community, often expressed in an explicit blending of Corpus Christi and Holy Land. Or it connects with the heavenly guise, appearing as the latter's effigy or even as a literal gateway to it. Jay Rubenstein characterizes the holy city after 1099 accordingly: "[...] a new kingdom, established at the intersection between heaven and earth [...]." ⁹⁸ Sylvia Schein agrees: "Warfare for Jerusalem as the gateway to the Heavenly Kingdom, described in terms of Heavenly Jerusalem, became the central theme in the preaching of the Third Crusade." ⁹⁹ The monastic path presents itself as complementary, a direct connection between spiritual and heavenly city. This conception is conveyed, for example, by Bernard of Clairvaux when he reproached a monk who intended to join a crusade, but finally wound up in Clairvaux. Agreeing with the abbot's authority, the General Chapter of 1157 prohibited monks from crusading. ¹⁰⁰ They did not need the earthly city as an intermediary; all others were dependent on it to reach the celestial world. ¹⁰¹

The beginning of Henry of Albano's crusade treatise delivers a meaningful passage: after having identified the *civitas Dei* with both the biblical Jerusalem and the contemporary city, he reaches the following conclusion about the latter:

First, one shall grieve over the ruin of the terrestrial Jerusalem, although the ruin of the spiritual Jerusalem preceded it. No earthly adversity would have harmed the terrestrial city, if iniquity had not already ruled the spir-

98 Rubenstein, "Saint-Omer," 87; see also Gaposchkin, *Weapons*, 154–155.

99 Schein, *Gateway*, 123. On another page, she asserts that the gate is only open if Jerusalem is in Christian hands (139).

100 Bernard of Clairvaux, *Ep. 64*, 554–556; *Statuta capitulorum*, ed. Canivez (1157), 66. See also Bernard of Clairvaux, *Ep. 399*, 784; *Ep. 544*, 1038; discussed by Giles Constable, "The Place of the Crusader in Medieval Society," *Viator* 29 (1998), 382–383. On the Cistercian vision of Jerusalem, see Congar, "Eglise," 175–178; Renna, *Jerusalem*, 192–198.

101 See Bruun, *Parables*, 106: "[The monk] has skipped the tabernaculum and moved directly to the atrium. Just as he has skipped the terrestrial, literal version of Jerusalem for the celestial." See also Schein, *Gateway*, 126–128, 190–191; William J. Purkis, *Crusading Spirituality in the Holy Land and Iberia, c.1095–c.1187* (Woodbridge 2008), 100.

itual Jerusalem [...] Therefore, speaking as the Church, we shall mourn the temporal fall of the visible Jerusalem, since we used to be worthy limbs of the Church. And we shall share in suffering and grieving with every afflicted limb of the Church. We must even feel the very strength of the pain no less than the one limb who suffers, if we are true limbs.¹⁰²

The conquest of 1187 signifies a conquest of the spiritual Jerusalem—no enemy would have harmed the earthly guise if iniquity had not already ruled the spiritual counterpart. The event reveals the sinful state of the Christian community; it serves communicative purposes between God and Christians.¹⁰³ We saw similar notions with the Cross relic: both objects represent providential markers, a semiotic nexus between terrestrial and celestial sphere. Henry fuses thus the literal and the typological-tropological senses in his use of the Corpus Christi: all *membra* shall share in suffering with the afflicted limbs (*compati et condolere*); this would make them into true limbs (*vera sumus membra*)—an idea that holds every Christian accountable.¹⁰⁴ Extending the chronological frame, one finds John of Abbeville constructing the same causality:

It would be necessary that we do not only remember, but that we are conscious in the act of commemoration, in order to commemorate not only history but also allegory, just as it is said: Who hears, shall hear [Ez. 3:27]. Who hears the literal sense, shall also hear the mystical. Just as when the people had forgotten the law of nature, the Lord reminded them via penning it on tablets, so has the Lord permitted today the conquest of earthly

102 Henry of Albano, *De peregrinante civitate Dei* (x111), 351–352 and Ms. Troyes 509, fol. 150^v. “Primo igitur terrenae Jerusalem ruinam deploret, licet eam spiritualis Jerusalem ruina praecesserit; nec terrenae ulla nocuisset adversitas, nisi prius dominata fuisset iniquitas Jerusalem spirituali. [...] Temporalem igitur visibilis Jerusalem casum in persona Ecclesiae deploremus qui membra Ecclesiae digni habitus sumus; et patienti uni Ecclesiae membro compati et condolere, imo ipsam vim doloris non minus quam ipsum quod patitur membrum, sentire, si vera sumus membra, debemus.”

103 He offers a very similar discussion in: *De peregrinante civitate Dei* (1), 259. See also Garnerius of Clairvaux, *Sermo* 22, 712; discussed by Nikolaus M. Häring, “The Liberal Arts in the Sermons of Garnier of Rochefort,” *Mediaeval Studies* 30 (1968), 53. Garnerius argues that a good theologian must not only recognize the contents of words but also of things (*significatio rerum*). Behind the external *forma* (such as that of the earthly Jerusalem) lies an internal *natura*.

104 See Marx, “City of God,” 93–94. See also Ms. Oxford, Bodley 409, fol. 149^f; Martin of León, *Liber sermonum*, *Sermo* 23, 921–922.

Jerusalem, in order to refer us to the conquest of the spiritual Jerusalem, which is of course the Church.¹⁰⁵

Possibly influenced by Henry, John broaches the senses more elaborately, highlighting that both the literal and the allegorical senses must be considered. The hint about the hidden meaning behind the literal sense is a classic exegetical motif.¹⁰⁶ He speaks throughout of commemoration (*memoria*); a generation later, it seemed essential to characterize the events as current (*via hodie*), since the issue had still not been resolved. One thus sees how preachers relate the actual city to its spiritual counterpart, that is, the Christian community and the Corpus Christi. Jerusalem's fall is a divine sign that reveals something about their collective spiritual state: this is an essential strategy for rationalizing the conquest.

The idea of building (*aedificare*) or rebuilding (*reaedificare*) likewise expresses an entanglement with the spiritual city; it can tell us much about the causalities between the senses. A passage from Arnold of Lübeck's chronicle, reporting on the events of 1187, is a promising starting point: "The priests that the Lord had once cast out of the Temple have destroyed the walls of Jerusalem, because the city would not have been made into a mockery for the pagans if such priests had not polluted it already with their evil habits."¹⁰⁷ The pagans have turned Jerusalem into a mockery, but the actual cause is located in the evil habits of clerics. He equates these with the priesthood that Christ cast out of the Temple, concluding that they have destroyed Jerusalem's walls (*destruxerunt muros Iherusalem*): they are responsible for the city's actual destruction.¹⁰⁸ The consequence is its rebuilding—in whatever guise. It is a commonplace

105 John of Abbeville, *Ad cruce signatos*, ed. Cole, 224. "[...] deceret ut nos non solum memores sed memoria memores essemus, memorantes non solum hystoriam sed allegoriam, sicut dicitur: Qui audit audiat [Ez. 3:27]. Qui audit sensum litteralem audiat et mysticum. Sicut enim cum populus oblitus esset legis nature Dominus ut eam revocaret ad memoriam legem scripsit in tabulis, sic hodie Dominus captiri permisit terrenam Ierusalem ut nobis insinuaret captivitatem Ierusalem spiritualis, scilicet, ecclesie [...]."

106 See Buc, *Holy War*, 103; here discussed regarding Urban II. For the motif, see Ez. 3:27; Rev. 2:17; 2:29; 13:9. See also Garnerius of Clairvaux, *Sermo 34*, 790; discussed by Häring, "Liberal Arts," 52.

107 Arnold of Lübeck, *Chronica*, 164. "[...] sacerdotes, quos olim de templo dominus eiecerat, destruxerunt muros Iherusalem, quia nisi tales perversis eam moribus maculassent, nequaquam gentibus ludibrio habita fuisset."

108 On spatial conceptions in Arnold of Lübeck's work, see also Beth C. Spacey, "'A Land of Horror and Vast Wilderness': Landscapes of Crusade and Jerusalem Pilgrimage in Arnold of Lübeck's *Chronica Slavorum*," *Journal of Medieval History* 47/3 (2021), 350–365.

that Jerusalem is built out of living stones (*vivi lapides*).¹⁰⁹ This refers to its spiritual entity, in agreement with the Corpus Christi, but it may also indicate the heavenly guise, which would consist of the living stones (the believers) in future, and whose construction must be initiated in the present. The hymn *visio pacis*, common since the 10th century and used inter alia for the dedication of churches, declares: “Urbs Jerusalem beata, dicta pacis visio, Quae construitur in coelis, vivis ex lapidibus” (the blessed city of Jerusalem, which is called the vision of peace, and which is built in heaven, out of living stones).¹¹⁰

These spiritual concepts, however, may blend with the crusade; the *Passio Raginaldi* drafts a meaningful connection between spiritual building and physical Holy Land: “Certainly, they had been obliged to go, not lukewarm but fervent and with the entire joy of the heart, to the place where Mount Zion is erected out of living stones for the joy of the entire land.”¹¹¹ Literal and allegorical exegesis merge: Peter asserts that the actual Mount Zion consists of “living stones.” Sacred topography and Christian community present themselves as indistinguishable; the Holy Land is a literal part of the Corpus Christi—just as the Eucharist literally offers Christ’s flesh and blood. Thereafter, he warns his audience of sloth (a parallel with Garnerius): “How shall the Lord spare the itinerant cities, he who did not spare his own city [Jerusalem]? The Lord began at his sanctuary [Ez. 9:6] and, if his rage is not diverted, he will give the chalice of his wrath [cf. Is. 51:17] to those who are far away [from Jerusalem].”¹¹² How could Christ spare the Christians, if he does not spare his own city, that is, Jerusalem? The master uses the image of the “itinerant cities” (*peregrinae civitates*), a parallel with Henry of Albano and likely influenced by his monumental opus. The crusaders are such *civitates* on pilgrimage, foreigners in exile (according to the second meaning of *peregrinus*), who are supposed to reunite with the Holy Land, the nucleus of the Corpus Christi. The title of

109 See, e.g., *Glossa ordinaria* (Ps. 122), ed. Feuardent, 3:1429–1430; Martin of León, *Liber sermonum, De diversis, Sermo 1*, 65; Henry of Albano, *De peregrinante civitate Dei* (1), 258; Garnerius of Clairvaux, *Sermo 16*, 679; *Sermo 38*, 814; Ms. BNF lat. 14859, fol. 233^v; Ms. BL Add 18335, fol. 5^v.

110 See Auffarth, *Irdische Wege*, 110; Hartmut Kugler, *Die Vorstellung der Stadt in der Literatur des deutschen Mittelalters* (Munich 1986), 90–96.

111 Peter of Blois, *Passio Raginaldi*, 66. “Sane non tepide sed ferventer et cum omni cordis exultatione illuc ire debuerant, ubi de lapidibus vivis fundatur mons Syon in exultatione universe terre.” See also the very similar passage at the beginning of the text (31–32), a noteworthy rhetorical strategy that he begins and ends the text with this significant conjunction.

112 Peter of Blois, *Passio Raginaldi*, 66. “Quomodo parcat [dominus] peregrinis civitatibus qui proprie non pepercit? A sanctuario suo inceptit Dominus [Ez. 9:6], et nisi aversus fuerit furor ejus, calicem ire sue [cf. Is. 51:17] propinabit hiis qui longe sunt [...].”

Henry's opus epitomizes this: *De peregrinante civitate Dei* (About the itinerant City of God). Yet, Peter asserts in the passage cited that God's rage will strike them if they remain faraway (*qui longe sunt*)—we have already encountered this argument of distance in Garnerius' Advent sermon. Peter demands deeds, in order to avert God's anger away from the Christians, his own sanctuary (Ez. 9:6). In another passage, however, he constructs a nexus in the other direction: the crusaders must rebuild the walls of earthly Jerusalem, in order to build the heavenly guise.¹¹³ In another sermon, he rebukes with regard to 1187 that even the celestial city lies in ruins; one must now rebuild it out of living stones (*civitas reaedificaretur ex vivis lapidibus*).¹¹⁴

It would be possible to conceive of the celestial world as a spaceless eternity, yet 12th-century Christianity imagined it as spatially organized. Both the spiritual and the celestial Jerusalem were informed by imagery of edificial structures; this provided an intensified bond with the actual edificial unit of the holy city.¹¹⁵ As Christoph Auffarth has discussed, one must recall that medieval people lived in an environment that was little cultivated. Built structures such as churches or monasteries, especially firm stone buildings, were an exception: something extraordinary, orderly, and celestial. This was in keeping with imagining the heavenly city as an *urbs quadrata*: the antithesis of the terrestrial world.¹¹⁶ Significantly, both earthly and heavenly Jerusalem were depicted accordingly in the 12th century—such a depiction is found in a copy of Garnerius' sermon collection.¹¹⁷ Such built structures must have made an impression on Latin Christians, notably in the Holy Land, where they were found in far higher numbers than in the West. It thus becomes understandable that they believed this region closer to heaven than the rest of the (known) world. This is corroborated by the fact that Jerusalem still had the ancient

113 Peter of Blois, *Passio Raginaldi*, 48; see the next section. On Ez. 9:6 in crusade texts, see Buc, *Holy War*, 171–172. See also Ansbert, *Historia*, ed. Chroust, 6.

114 Peter of Blois, *Sermo* 39, 677; see the section below on 'Typology and Prophecy.' See also Peter of Blois, *Sermo* 40, 684; *Sermo* 41, 688.

115 See Goetz, "Rezeption," 109, 112. A copy of one of Bernard's crusade letters offers an intriguing variant: Christ "built" the Holy Land via his own blood (*aedificavit sanguine proprio*) (Bernard of Clairvaux, *Ep.* 363, 650).

116 Auffarth, *Irdische Wege*, 103–104; see also Bruun, *Parables*, 52–80; Bianca Kühnel, *From the Earthly to the Heavenly Jerusalem: Representations of the Holy City in Christian Art of the First Millennium* (Rome 1987), 141–165.

117 Ms. Troyes 1301, fol. 56^v. Such were not only ornaments but also exegetical instruments; see Andrea Worm, " 'Ista est Jerusalem'. Intertextuality and Visual Exegesis in Peter of Poitiers' *Compendium historiae in genealogia Christi* and Werner Rolevinck's *Fasciculus temporum*," in: *Imagining Jerusalem in the Medieval West*, ed. Lucy Donkin and Hanna Vorholt (Oxford 2012), 129–133.

Roman layout of two crossing main streets forming a square: an *urbs quadrata*, effigy of the heavenly guise. These historical conditions seem essential for understanding the omnipresent notion of building in the sermon texts.

The reference to Ps. 122:2–3 epitomizes these notions: “Our feet are already standing within your gates, Jerusalem. Jerusalem, which has been built as a city that is solid in itself.”¹¹⁸ Numerous contemporaries put it to use and thus evoke earthly Jerusalem’s edificial nature, but also the community of which it consists, as this is inherent in the term *civitas*. Guibert of Nogent betrays this understanding in his exposition of the four senses: the historical Jerusalem is the *civitas*, as opposed to the other senses (*Hierusalem, secundum historiam, civitas est quaedam*). Peter of Blois uses Ps. 122 in a sermon *In dedicatione ecclesiae*, which creates via the church building an explicit connection with earthly Jerusalem’s edificial nature.¹¹⁹ The verse is also present in the pertinent collections of *distinctiones*.¹²⁰ Furthermore, Alan of Lille implements it in a sermon on *Laetare Jerusalem* (part of the *Liber sermonum*), which calls repeatedly for unity, the foundation for building Jerusalem, that is, the precondition for the Corpus Christi’s well-being and the progress of salvation history. Whoever disrupts it, impedes the fulfillment of Is. 66:10, the theme of the sermon.¹²¹ Overall, this text is designed as a generic model, yet considering the significance of *Laetare Jerusalem* for the Third Crusade (assemblies in Mainz and Paris) as well as the necessary peace-making between the princes, its multiple references to unity make it a perfect piece for these occasions.

Another pertinent reference is Is. 62:6: “Super muros tuos, Ierusalem, constitui custodes” (I have set watchmen on your walls, Jerusalem). According to medieval understanding, the *custodes* may refer to every spiritual guard-

118 “Stantes iam sunt pedes nostri in portis tuis, Ierusalem. Ierusalem, quae aedificata est ut civitas, sibi compacta in idipsum.” Its contemporary form often deviated from today’s Vulgate with *in atriis* (instead of *in portis*) as well as *cuius participatio in idipsum* (instead of *sibi compacta in idipsum*). See, e.g., *Glossa ordinaria* (Ps. 122), ed. Feuarent, 3:1429–1432.

119 Guibert of Nogent, *Sermo fieri debeat*, 26; and Peter of Blois, *Sermo* 52, 713; see below on this sermon. See also Garnerius of Clairvaux, *Sermo* 37, 808; Geoffrey of Auxerre, *Sermo* 5, ed. Gastaldelli, 94; Ralph Ardens, *In dedicatione ecclesiae* (I), ed. Stansbury, 335; Baldwin of Canterbury, *Sermo* 10, 164; Ms. BNF lat. 3818, fol. 4^v; Ms. Oxford, Magd. Coll. 168, fol. 71^r; Bernard of Clairvaux, *Ep.* 64, 554.

120 Garnerius of Clairvaux, *Distinctiones*, 897, 966 (on *civitas* and *ecclesia*); Alan of Lille, *Distinctiones*, 742, 823 (on *civitas* and *Jerusalem*); Ms. BL Royal 10 A XVI, fol. 48^r and Ms. BNF lat. 10633, fol. 53^r (on *Jerusalem*). Peter the Chanter, however, aligns Ps. 122 with the celestial city.

121 Ms. BL Add 19767, fol. 80^r. This is a parallel with Peter who inverted Is. 66:10’s wording, to underline its outstanding fulfillment with reference to the Holy Land (Peter of Blois, *Ep.* 98, 307).

ian of the Church; this is corroborated by the *distinctiones*: Garnerius' entry on Jerusalem speaks of an allegorical interpretation (*allegoria*), identifying the *custodes* as *praelatos*. Alan understands the *custodes* as angels and saints; and the *Glossa* as angels and preachers.¹²² One of Alan's sermons relates the verse to the *ecclesia* needing to be defended against heretics.¹²³ Garnerius' liturgical collection offers a sermon *In dedicatione ecclesiae* that starts with Is. 62:6; it also focuses on the institution of the Church, blended with the walls of the church building. However, it straddles several senses of Scripture, tying the matter to both Solomon's Temple and (the heavenly) Jerusalem as the *visio pacis*. It asserts inter alia: "Because just as the Church is referred to via the Tabernacle and the Temple, so it is via the house [of God] and Jerusalem, yet from different angles."¹²⁴ The *diversi respectus* can be understood as the various senses; the abbot names different manifestations, among them the Temple and Jerusalem, all pointing to the Church.¹²⁵ Thereafter, he identifies the *tabernaculum* as the soldiers' resting place (*requies est militantium et pugnatorum*): this concerns actual warfare, since he distinguishes them from those devoted to contemplative matters (*contemplativi*). Some lines below, he presents Moses as an *exemplum*, underlining that especially 'the East' needs protection: Moses and Aaron shall guard the sanctuary from the East (*ergo custodiant Moyses et Aaron sanctuarium ab oriente*)—note the present tense subjunctive; he is not spinning exegesis in a vacuum.¹²⁶ The argument presents itself embedded in a rich salvific topography that highlights Jerusalem and the East, while the sermon betrays throughout that this includes all possible readings or senses: a

122 Garnerius of Clairvaux, *Distinctiones*, 966; Alan of Lille, *Distinctiones*, 758, 868; *Glossa ordinaria* (Is. 62), ed. Feuardent, 4:497–498. See also Peter of Blois, *Sermo* 61, 740; Ms. BL Add 19767, fol. 82^r; Ms. BL Sloane 1580, fol. 108^r. Ralph alludes to the verse in a crusade-related sermon: "[...] predicatorum circumeunt vigilando Ecclesiam, ipsos vero predicatorum et ipsam simul Ecclesiam circumeunt angeli et custodiunt." (Ralph Ardens, *Pars* (II), *De tempore*, *Sermo* 41, 1475).

123 Alan of Lille, *Sermo* 5, PL 210:212, where he also cites Joel 2:1. See also Ms. BNF lat. 14859, fol. 233^v; in this anti-heretical sermon held in southern France (as the title tells us), Alan writes: "[...] invitavit nos propheta dicens: Canite tuba in Sion [Joel 2:1] vocate cecum congregare populum. Surgamus ergo ad vocandum cecum ad congregandum populum." Alan calls for preaching which makes the blind see, that is, it reveals sin, in reaction to the trumpets (or events) in Zion. On Joel 2:1 see the chapter on the Cross relic.

124 Garnerius of Clairvaux, *Sermo* 37, 807. "Nam sicut per tabernaculum et templum, sic et per domum et Jerusalem, Ecclesia figuratur, diversis tamen respectibus." The text survived in: Ms. Troyes 970, fols. 34^v–36^r and Ms. Troyes 1301, fols. 116^r–119^v.

125 Some lines later, he delineates that the different senses are mutually dependent (see Marie-Dominique Chenu, "La décadence de l'allégorisation. Un témoin, Garnier de Rochefort," in: *L'homme devant Dieu* (Paris 1964), 130).

126 Garnerius of Clairvaux, *Sermo* 37, 809–811, cited 811.

holistic program. The audience's attention is thus drawn towards the East—even though the use of Is. 62:6 is generally concerned with the Church, while phenomena such as the events of 1187 or heretics demonstrate that its walls are attacked.

Other sources align the reference even more explicitly with the crusading purpose, for example, the Latin liturgy that celebrated the conquest of 1099.¹²⁷ Significant evidence is provided by the crusade encyclical issued by Clement III in February 1188:

Thus, since the watchmen guard the city in vain—unless the Lord himself was its watchman—the human attentiveness rather withers than develops. Having been deprived of divine aid, you shall call upon God's grace through prayers, persistently and before all other things, and you shall preach henceforth in all the churches the invocation of his grace so that he does not pay heed to the iniquities of the people, but protects his sanctuary and the holy city of Jerusalem from above with pity alone, lest he permits that the city is defiled by the ungodly hands of the unbelievers.¹²⁸

Christ, Jerusalem's supreme watchman, complains that the other *custodes* do not guard it—as Is. 62:6 demands: the city is only protected by God's (still extant) pity, who does not permit its pollution by “the impious” (*impii*).¹²⁹ The encyclical, addressed to Baldwin of Canterbury and his suffragans, exhorts them to fulfill Isaiah's prophecy by furnishing its walls with defenders, in both literal and spiritual terms.¹³⁰ It calls for spiritual support (*precibus invocare*) and continuing crusade preaching in all churches (*per ecclesias praedicare*

127 See Gaposchkin, *Weapons*, 270. It is also found in a crusade-specific sermon of the early 14th century (see Georgiou, *Preaching*, 209).

128 Cited in Gerald of Wales, *De principis instructione*, 238. “Unde, quia, nisi Dominus custos fuerit civitatis, frustra vigilant custodes illius, nec proficit, immo deficit, humana solertia, si divino fuerit suffragio destituta, misericordiam Dei sedulo ante omnia precibus invocare et per ecclesias praedicare jugiter invocandam, ut non attendat iniquitates populi, sed sola miseratione sanctuarium suum et ex alto sanctam civitatem Jerusalem tueatur, nec eam nefandis manibus impiorum contaminari permittat.”

129 As argued, this delivers a new *terminus post quem* for the news' arrival (see Birkett, “News,” 53).

130 The *Passio* admonishes that Baldwin must fulfill his duty as a *custos* of the vineyard, referring to the impending crusade (Peter of Blois, *Passio Raginaldi*, 70). For the use of a similar verse (Ez. 13:5) in crusade texts, likewise blending spiritual and literal dimensions, see Nicholas Morton, “Walls of Defence for the House of Israel: Ezekiel 13:5 and the Crusading Movement,” in: *The Uses of the Bible in Crusader Sources*, ed. Elizabeth Lapina and Nicholas Morton (Leiden 2017), 403–420.

jugiter). The fact that news of its loss arrived instead, probably only a few days later, must have had a devastating impact.¹³¹ We have seen in numerous examples that the conjunction with the spiritual Jerusalem often uses prophecies, especially that of Isaiah, to assert that their fulfillment is outstanding. By directly addressing the audience (that is, the spiritual Jerusalem) in the form of a sermon, preachers call their listeners to fulfill them, whereby the goals and modes of action that the prophecies provide strongly indicate the Holy Land and the purpose of crusading.

4 The Conquest: A Signifier for the Heavenly Jerusalem

The omnipresent notion of building, spanning all guises of Jerusalem, underlines the idea that the actual city is holy; this includes its walls, towers, and gates, elements that are specifically broached in Western texts. As a result, it must have posed a moral issue to Christians to attack its walls in a way that would damage them. The First Crusade chronicles may suggest this: the Christian siege advanced primarily with the help of siege towers, and these were eventually successful.¹³² The cultural conception may have influenced the military strategy here.¹³³ Even more devastating must have been the news that Saladin had broken through the walls with the help of catapults—not for nothing did preachers speak of (heavenly) Jerusalem lying in ruins.¹³⁴ The

131 This is visible in Clement's encyclicals from May and June 1188, both addressing the archbishop of Toledo and his suffragans (see *Papsturkunden* (no.253), ed. Berger, 466; and (no.256), ed. Berger, 474–475).

132 See John France, *Victory in the East: A Military History of the First Crusade* (Cambridge, UK 1994), 346–354. Yet, corresponding texts refer to Jos. 6, that is, the crumbling of Jericho's walls (see Christian Hofreiter, *Making Sense of Old Testament Genocide: Christian Interpretations of Herem Passages* (Oxford 2018), 174–176, 181). This is also present in 13th-century sermon texts (see Bird, "Good Friday," 149; Bird, "Preaching and Narrating the Fifth Crusade: Bible, Sermons and the History of a Campaign," in: *The Uses of the Bible in Crusader Sources*, ed. Elizabeth Lapina and Nicholas Morton (Leiden 2017), 328–333). Interestingly, the *Glossa* interprets Jericho's walls as idolatry and paganism (*Glossa ordinaria* (Jos. 6), ed. Feuarent, 2:45–46; discussed by Hofreiter, *Genocide*, 102).

133 For such cases on the Fifth Crusade, see James Matthew Powell, *Anatomy of a Crusade 1213–1221* (Philadelphia 1986), 18, 178–179. See also Kristin Skottki, "Until the Full Number of Gentiles Has Come in: Exegesis and Prophecy in St Bernard's Crusade-Related Writings," in: *The Uses of the Bible in Crusader Sources*, ed. Elizabeth Lapina and Nicholas Morton (Leiden 2017), 257–258.

134 See Alexander Marx, "Divergent Voices in the Preaching of the Third Crusade: Martin of León's Reading of the Fall of Jerusalem," *Crusades* 23/1 (2024), 25–43. A chronicle tellingly declares on the conquest: "Arcus, baliste, petrarie inutiliter tractantur; sicque tam arma

beginning of Peter's *Conquestio* emphasizes that its gates (*portae*) and fortifications (*munitiones*) have been destroyed. In a later part, it uses edificial imagery to explain the conquest, asserting that "the siege engines of desires" have shattered the foundations of the divine plan.¹³⁵ The nexus with the heavenly city also finds a powerful expression at the outset of the *Passio Raginaldi*:

The Lord had offered us the kingdom of heaven in return for releasing the kingdom of Jerusalem [i.e., the First Crusade], but now, since he finds us less worthy by reason of this one's sacrifice [i.e., Reynaud de Châtillon's martyrdom], having willed it with grace or rather with his rage, the Lord himself, rejecting human help, will annihilate the power of the pagans.¹³⁶

God gave them the heavenly kingdom for liberating the earthly city, a reference to the First Crusade and its eschatological dimension. Peter's words engender concurrence between earthly and celestial spheres: both are *regna*.¹³⁷ Reynaud's extraordinary deed—the subject of the text—left the other Christians in a bad light (*minus dignos invenit*); God now intends to wipe out the pagans all by himself. This suggests a devaluation of the spiritual reward established with the First Crusade; and this rhetorical apex is meant to entice the audience to imitate Reynaud even more enthusiastically. The master understands the crusade as an opportunity to enter the celestial city. This adheres not only to martyrdom but also to a collective eschatological dimension, as the vision of annihilating the pagans demonstrates (*fortitudinem gentium dissipabit*).¹³⁸ The idea that God may henceforth reject the Christians as providential agents shows that hitherto they had indeed been such agents; and it indicates that salvation history hangs in the balance.

Peter elaborates on earthly Jerusalem as a heavenly gateway in the middle part of the *Passio*:

quam machine iram domini manifeste nunciant et urbis excidium preloquantur." (*Itinerarium peregrinorum*, ed. Mayer, 264; see also *Libellus*, ed. Brewer and Kane, 202).

135 Peter of Blois, *Conquestio*, 75, 85: "[...] si in lapide adiutorii fundamentum voti sui firmasset, stabilitatem sancti propositi nulle cupiditatum machine concussissent" (cited 85). See the chapter on the Cross relic.

136 Peter of Blois, *Passio Raginaldi*, 33. "Pro liberatione regni Ierusalem nobis obtulerat dominus regnum celi, nunc autem, quia nos eius oblatione minus dignos invenit, ipse, humanum dedignatus auxilium, ex quo voluerit dignatione aut potius indignatione sua fortitudinem gentium dissipabit."

137 The use of *regnum* indicates the early period when the city's conquest was still unknown.

138 On these questions, see the chapter on the Apocalypse.

It is thus proven in a most obvious way that there is another Promised Land, in which the heavenly Jerusalem is located, whose image is the earthly Jerusalem. Therefore, when David reigned in it, he said that it seems as if he travels to another Jerusalem: I am a stranger and a pilgrim as all my fathers were [Ps. 39:13]. O vey, because my exile has been prolonged; waiting for the Lord's beatitude, I believe, he said, to see his good works in the land of the living [Ps. 27:13]. It certainly gives the Lord pleasure, who created every human heart, to transfer his beloved from the earthly Jerusalem to the heavenly counterpart. Thus, in the earthly city, through which we received the foundations of our faith, an unimpeded path leading to heaven is prepared and provided to us. As a result, the earthly Jerusalem suffers destruction in ongoing hostilities, a fact permitting that, with the words of the prophet [Isaiah], the sons of the pilgrims may rebuild it [Is. 60:10], to build thus the city in heaven which is not made with hands [2 Cor. 5:1].¹³⁹

The earthly city is a prefiguration (*figura*) of the heavenly counterpart.¹⁴⁰ Remarkably, he also speaks of a celestial Holy Land (*aliam terram promissionis*), thus granting the overarching spatial category an anagogical guise. Such an idea, however, is rare.¹⁴¹ God likes to transfer "his beloved" from the earthly to the heavenly city (*de terrestri Ierusalem dilectos suos transferre in celestem*).¹⁴² It appears as a gateway to another dimension, an outstanding bridge between earth and heaven, for which reason, as Peter concludes, it had to suffer destruc-

139 Peter of Blois, *Passio Raginaldi*, 48. "Ex his apertissime liquet aliam esse terram promissionis, in qua est celestis Ierusalem, cuius hec figura est. Unde et cum David regnaret in ea, dicebat quasi ad altera peregrinans: advena ego sum et peregrinus sicut omnes patres mei [Ps. 39:13], et Heu mihi, quia incolatus meus prolongatus est, et beatitudinem illius expectans, credo, inquit, videre bona domini in terra viventium [Ps. 27:13]. Placet nimirum ei, qui finxit singillatim corda hominum, de terrestri Ierusalem dilectos suos transferre in celestem, unde et in ea, per quam recepimus nostre fidei fundamentum, paratur nobis et offertur via libera et progressus in celum. Eapropter terrena Ierusalem frequenti hostilitate destruitur, ut iuxta verbum prophete filii peregrinorum reedificent eam [Is. 60:10] et ita non manufactam in celis sibi edificent civitatem [2 Cor. 5:1]."

140 See also Ansbert, *Historia*, ed. Chroust, 59; Benedictinus anonymus, *De penitentia*, ed. Huygens, 106; Honorius Augustodiniensis, *Speculum ecclesiae*, 1094; and Susanne Lehmann-Brauns, *Jerusalem sehen: Reiseberichte des 12. bis 15. Jahrhunderts als empirische Anleitung zur geistigen Pilgerfahrt* (Freiburg 2010), 73–74.

141 An exception: Rupert of Deutz, *Commentary on Hos.*, 185. See also the chapter on the Holy Land.

142 On such renderings inspired by the Song of Songs, see Peter of Blois, *Sermo* 39, 678; Ralph Ardens, *Pars (11), De tempore, Sermo* 19, 1374; Garnerius of Clairvaux, *Sermo* 28, 753.

tion frequently. This provided “the sons of the pilgrims” with the opportunity to rebuild it (*fili peregrinorum reedificent eam*); and this encompasses both the literal and spiritual city—to erect ultimately the celestial version. The *Glossa* agrees with this inclusive reading (*haec ad literam et spiritualiter*), naming Constantine, since he built churches throughout the world.¹⁴³ The expression of *fili peregrinorum* is biblical (Is. 60:10), but Peter endows it with specific meaning: Jerusalem’s fall provided an opportunity for salvation; God created a situation similar to the eve of the First Crusade. The classification as sons of pilgrims makes them into descendants of the first crusaders, at least spiritually, sometimes even in a literal sense.¹⁴⁴ The reference is meaningful because Is. 60:4 and 60:9 declare that Jerusalem’s children would come from afar (*de longe*)—as if he had predicted it.¹⁴⁵ Note the significant parallel with Garnerius’ *Sermo 4*, which exhorted its audience to consider the matters in the distance, delineating the pagan pollution of the holy city.¹⁴⁶

Henry of Albano’s crusade treatise understands the holy sites in general as such a heavenly nexus:

The divine will’s impenetrable sublimity intended to give some visible holy places to the Christians, with which those who strive for visible things, who have not been able to progress to the invisible Holies of Holies, seeing them openly, would build for themselves a ladder to the invisible ones. [...] One comprehends these holies, if one comprehends the Lord’s Cross and the Sepulcher for one’s own sake. These were not only

143 *Glossa ordinaria* (Is. 60), ed. Feuardent, 4:487–488. Peter’s expression resembles Hebr. 13:14: “non enim habemus hic manentem civitatem, sed futuram inquirimus.” See also Benedictinus anonymus, *De penitentia*, ed. Huygens, 101; Humbert of Romans, *Sermo 1*, ed. Maier, 214.

144 On family traditions of crusading, see Paul, *Footsteps*; Stephen Bennett, *Elite Participation in the Third Crusade* (Woodbridge 2021), 90–120. Bernard of Clairvaux and Alexander III underlined the first crusaders’ exemplarity (see Purkis, *Spirituality*, 90–91, 115–116). However, I disagree with Purkis who thinks that these *exempla* replaced the *imitatio Christi*—his limited samples (esp. papal letters) do not permit such conclusions. See also the critique in: Tamminen, *Crusader*, 109–110.

145 See Buc, “Crusade and Eschatology,” 318; André Vauchez, “Les composantes eschatologiques de l’idée de la croisade,” in: *Le concile de Clermont de 1095 et l’appel à la croisade de 1095* (Rome 1997), 236. See also Nicole Bériou, *Religion et communication: un autre regard sur la prédication au Moyen Age* (Paris 2018), 168, 196, examining a sermon by Philip the Chancellor; it uses Is. 60:10 to call for an imitation of *Christus peregrinus*. See also Bird, “Good Friday,” 155, who discusses an Easter sermon by Odo of Cheriton using the same motif. See also Peter of Blois, *Contra Iudeos*, 865, relating the verse to the Church, in distinction from the Jews.

146 Garnerius of Clairvaux, *Sermo 4*, 592.

presented to the Christians in this last age, but have been foreseen and prophesized many times and in many ways in previous ages by the patriarchs and the prophets. Among these, Isaiah says: His Sepulcher will be glorious [Is. 11:10]. And elsewhere: I will glorify the place of my feet [Is. 60:13].¹⁴⁷

God instituted the holy places as signposts or springboards towards the celestial sphere. This addresses a particular group: those who strive for visible things (*visibilium sectatores*), those who could only build a ladder to the invisible things through the contemplation of physical objects (*intuentes, scalam sibi ad invisibilia facerent*). Henry highlights the act of watching, inspired by the monastic concept of *contemplatio*—we will return to this below. The argument obviously addresses lay people; in contrast to monks, they require the help of ‘ladders’; and such are found in the Holy Land (here Sepulcher and Cross). The passage instructs the monks, the work’s addressees, on the differences between them and their lay audiences. This interlocks with two quotations from Isaiah; one is reminiscent of Ps. 131:7: Christ’s presence sanctified Palestine.¹⁴⁸ Preachers thus entwine the earthly city with its heavenly counterpart; the first is the ladder that one must climb; it offers a collective opportunity to step over to heaven, that is, salvation. Such ideas endow the crusade with a bold eschatological component.

The idea that one can proceed from the earthly to the heavenly city was already prevalent at the time of the First Crusade, as is apparent in the expedition’s eschatological outlook: for example, Urban II preached that the earthly city is an effigy (*instar*) of its celestial counterpart (according to Baldric of Dol).¹⁴⁹ Albert of Aachen renders it a gateway to heaven, and a letter sent by

147 Henry of Albano, *De peregrinante civitate Dei* (XIII), 353 and Ms. Troyes 509, fol. 151^{r-v}. “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. [...] Sancta haec intelligit, quisquis se intelligit crucem Domini et sepulcrum. Haec non solum ultima hac aetate sunt Christianis exhibita, sed praecedentibus aetatibus multifarie multisque modis a patriarchis [Troyes 509: + et prophetis] praevisa sunt et prophetata. E quibus unus Isaias sic ait: Erit sepulcrum ejus gloriosum [Is. 11:10]. Et alibi: Locum, ait, pedum meorum glorificabo [Is. 60:13].”

148 See Marx, “City of God,” 94–95; Flori, *Prêcher*, 159. On Is. 11:10 see below. On Ps. 131:7, see the chapter on the Holy Land. See also *Glossa ordinaria* (Is. 11), ed. Feuarent, 4145–146; Alan of Lille, *Contra haereticos* (1.70), 372; *Ars praedicandi*, 111; and on Bernard: Skottki, “Number,” 248–251.

149 Baldric of Dol, *Historia*, ed. Biddlecombe, 8; discussed by Buc, *Holy War*, 102–104. As Buc notes, the motif recurs in the sermon which the chronicle cites immediately before the storming of Jerusalem. It renders Jerusalem as a *forma* that *praefigurare* and *praetendere* the celestial city. See also Bernard of Clairvaux, *De laude*, 288–290.

the expedition's leaders (1098) demands that the pope opens the gates of "both Jerusalems"—implying the earthly and the heavenly guise.¹⁵⁰ The gates (mostly *portae*) were a common element in Western texts, a vehicle for discussing ways of approaching God and heaven, for example, baptism is characterized as such. Garnerius of Clairvaux offers a list of gates; he absorbed the seven gates of the actual city into the discourse of Western exegesis, emphasizing the ideal of *visio Dei*, while classifying Jerusalem as the *visio pacis*. The aspect of contemplation plays an important role, a parallel with Henry. The different gates stand for different ways into the heavenly city, including the crusade: this is evident when Garnerius deems the Valley of Josaphat, located before Jerusalem's walls, as one of the seven gates.¹⁵¹ Prevostin of Cremona offers a similar list, which identifies the seven gates as the seven rows of saints (*hee VII porte sunt VII ordines sanctorum*). He notes that one gate has literally been located in (earthly) Jerusalem (*ad literam in Ierusalem fuit quidem porta*)—the perfect tense likely refers to the disrupted state since 1187. Other sermons in the manuscript corroborate this date.¹⁵²

The book of Ezekiel speaks on several occasions of a *porta orientalis*, an Eastern gate (Ez. 10:19; 11:1; 40:23) that would open at the End of Days (Ez. 44:1–3), whereas Rev. 21:25 asserts that the gates stand open—Ezekiel's prophecy has been fulfilled.¹⁵³ Chronicles of the First Crusade speaking of the gates standing open thus deliver an unmistakably apocalyptic reference. If such ideas are still found in texts penned years after the event (as visible in the examples above), then these authors propose that the Apocalypse is still ongoing: the allegedly

150 Albert of Aachen, *Historia*, ed. Edgington, 438; discussed by Gaposchkin, *Weapons*, 35; and *Kreuzzugsbriefe* (xvi), ed. Hagenmeyer, 161–165; discussed by Flori, "Jérusalem terrestre," 26; Tamminen, *Crusader*, 75. See also Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia* (1.24), ed. Hagenmeyer, 264.

151 Garnerius of Clairvaux, *Sermo* 31, 766; see also *Sermo* 4, 592; *Sermo* 37, 807.

152 Ms. BL Add 18335, fol. 5^v. On another sermon from the codex concerned with Jerusalem's fall, see the section below on the four senses of Scripture. See also Ms. BL Royal 10 A xvi, fol. 82^{r-v} and Ms. BNF lat. 10633, fols. 95^v–96^r as well as Petrus Cantor, *Distinctiones*, 529–534, delivering almost the same list at the entry *porte nonne sunt in utraque Ierusalem*. The list of gates stems from Neh. 2:13–14; 3:1–15; 12:37–39; discussed by Worm, "Intertextuality," 131–138.

153 On Ez. 44 and the Third Crusade, see Marx, "City of God," 98–99. See also the chapter on institutional context on one of Prevostin of Cremona's sermons (Ms. Paris, Arsenal 543, fols. 243^r–244^v). Richard of Saint-Victor's *In visionem Ezechielis* is devoted to Ez. 44, almost exclusively interpreting it via the literal sense (see Lehmann-Brauns, *Jerusalem*, 89–93; Catherine Delano Smith, "Maps and Plans in Medieval Exegesis: Richard of St Victor's *In visionem Ezechielis*," in: *From Knowledge to Beatitude*, ed. E. Ann Matter and Lesley Janette Smith (Notre Dame, Ind. 2013), 1–45).

earthly city represents a kind of apocalyptic state—a concept developed by Jay Rubenstein. The liturgy of Latin Jerusalem substantiates this; it grants the gates and Rev. 21:25 a prominent role.¹⁵⁴ This raises the question of whether this idea persisted up to the time of the Third Crusade. The evidence already examined, constructing close ties between earthly and heavenly sphere, suggests so; and Martin of León corroborates this in a sermon *In dedicatione ecclesiae*:

The holy Church has only three gates through which one enters happily into the heavenly Jerusalem, a city that is built daily in its limbs out of the living stones [cf. Ps. 122:3]. The first gate refers of course to the East, the second to the North, and the third to the South. The gate in the East is obviously the faith, for the true light [i.e., Christ] is born into the human mind with the help of this gate. [...] Thus, my most beloved brethren, you shall strive now for entering through these three gates, and for earning citizenship in this sublime city, you shall exert yourselves with the utmost effort. Whoever among you has not fallen into the abyss of vices thanks to faith and the sacrament of baptism should thank God and enter the kingdom of the heavens through the Eastern gate.¹⁵⁵

There are three gates into the heavenly kingdom, and he highlights the one located in the East, because—so the conclusion—it (also) permits entry, an anagogical exegesis. The Eastern gate, taken literally, is the earthly Jerusalem.¹⁵⁶ Despite the existence of two other entries, Martin portrays it as an extraordin-

154 See Rubenstein, “Saint-Omer,” 73–75, 85–88; Rubenstein, *Armies of Heaven: The First Crusade and the Quest for Apocalypse* (New York 2011), 310–311, 319. On the liturgy, see Gaposchkin, *Weapons*, 154–155, 267, 280–281. See in detail the chapter on the Apocalypse.

155 Martin of León, *De diversis, Sermo 1*, 66 and Ms. León, San Isidoro 11/2, fol. 185^v. “Tres solummodo portas habet sancta Ecclesia per quas coelestem Jerusalem, quae ut civitas ex lapidibus vivis aedificatur quotidie in suis membris [cf. Ps. 122:3], feliciter ingreditur. Prima videlicet ad orientem, secunda ad aquilonem, tertia vero ad meridiem. Porta quippe in oriente est fides, quia per ipsam lux vera nascitur in mente hominis. [...] Nunc ergo, fratres charissimi, per has tres portas intrare contendite, et ut in illa superna civitate cives esse mereamini, summopere elaborate. Quicumque vestrum post fidem et baptismi sacramentum non ceciderunt in profundum vitiorum, Deo gratias referant, et per orientalem portam ingrediantur regnum coelorum.”

156 On the Eastern gate, see also Alan of Lille, *Sermo 2*, PL 210:200; Hélinand of Froidmont, *Chronicon*, 1037; the latter is concerned with the Second Crusade’s preparations. Joachim of Fiore also considered the earthly city as a celestial gateway (Joachim of Fiore, *Expositio*, fol. 175^r; discussed by Jay Rubenstein, *Nebuchadnezzar’s Dream: The Crusades, Apocalyptic Prophecy, and the End of History* (Oxford 2019), 189–190). Such ideas also fused into art historical sources (see Worm, “Vergegenwärtigungen,” 305–314).

ary opportunity that surpasses the sacraments; he evokes the remission of sin granted via crusading.¹⁵⁷ Yet, the entire sermon does not deliver specific hints about the crusade; the Eastern gate may perhaps be monastic or spiritual. This makes an application in the service of the crusade possible but not unequivocal—though Martin certainly draws attention towards the Holy Land by broaching Christ’s incarnation (via *lux vera nascitur*). It transpires that using the motif of the Eastern gate implies both literal and anagogical exegesis, precisely because it connects earthly and heavenly city. A Palm Sunday sermon by Odo of Cheriton (early 13th century) delivers another expressive example: it tells of a crusader who prayed on the Mount of Olives to be taken up to heaven, whereupon his wish was granted.¹⁵⁸

Henry of Albano’s monumental opus includes elaborate discussions of the gates, in particular in treatise five; it bears the title *De portis civitatis Dei* (On the gates of the City of God) and expounds inter alia:

The gate from the East is thus the sacrament of baptism, through which one enters the city, whose citizen—whoever enters righteously—is received. It is rightly called the Eastern gate, since the East first visited this world through this gate from above [Lk. 1:78], at the time when the heavens were opened, after the Lord whose name is East [Zach. 6:12] had been baptized in the River Jordan [...].¹⁵⁹

The legate fuses several senses: he identifies the Eastern gate as the sacrament of baptism via which one enters ‘Jerusalem’ (typological and tropological senses).¹⁶⁰ At the same time, he aligns his examination with the Holy Land as the place where Christ came down to earth through the very same gate (*per hanc visitavit mundum Oriens ex alto*)—note the parallel with Martin. His baptism in the Jordan “opened the heavens” (*aperti sunt coeli*): a breach revealed itself in the wall separating heaven and earth, that is, the initiation of

157 See also Martin of León, *Liber sermonum*, *Sermo 22*, 862; this sermon concerned with Jerusalem’s loss in 1187 speaks of *plena indulgentia* achievable through penance—just as promised in the crusade encyclical (Gregory VIII, *Audita tremendi*, ed. Chroust, 10 and Smith, “*Audita tremendi*,” 99).

158 See Bird, “Palm Sunday,” 23.

159 Henry of Albano, *De peregrinante civitate Dei* (v), 296 and Ms. Troyes 509, fol. 117^v. “Porta igitur ab oriente sacramentum est baptismatis, per quod in civitatem intratur, et ipsius civis, quisquis recte intrat, ascribitur. Bene autem porta haec dicitur orientalis, vel quia primo per hanc visitavit mundum Oriens ex alto [Lk. 1:78], cum baptizato in Jordane Domino, cui nomen est Oriens [Zach. 6:12] aperti sunt coeli [...].”

160 See Thomas Renna, “The Idea of the City in Otto of Freising and Henry of Albano,” *Cîteaux* 35 (1984), 66–67.

an apocalyptic state, here already with Christ's incarnation—we will return to this. Henry thus merges baptism with both the literal sense (Holy Land) and the anagogical sense (celestial realm), fusing therein two 'Eastern gates': the city itself may represent such, but also its own Eastern entry had a particular meaning, the Lions' Gate or Saint Stephen's Gate. Located next to the Mount of Olives, Christ used it to enter the city, as celebrated annually on Palm Sunday, and it connects the city with the Valley of Josaphat, the venue of the Last Judgment—a bold anagogical component.¹⁶¹ Henry also alludes to the fact that the Jordan lies east and thus represents a path to the city (*porta igitur ab oriente sacramentum est baptismatis, per quod in civitatem intratur*). The two 'Eastern gates' tend to intermingle in the Western perception; this intertwines baptism, the Mount of Olives, and Palm Sunday with the idea that the city represents a gateway to heaven.

The very first lines of the crusade treatise fuse these ideas most tellingly with the situation of 1187:

Although we observe those glorious things already the clearer the more we come near to them, including the 12 gates touching the [heavenly] thresholds, we still strive to enter via the city of the Lord. As we have learned, these glorious things have been gloriously foreseen by David and many kings as well as predicted by the prophets about his city. [...] what one sees is incomparably more powerful than the rumor that one hears. Does it not suffice anymore to say with the Prophet: Just as we have heard, so we shall see [Ps. 48:9], but what we already see is much greater than what we have heard about the Lord's city. [...] We learn now that the gates of glory are not so much closed as barricaded. This gate of light, whose glory we saw so delightfully until recently, this Eastern gate, I say, through which the East had used to illuminate his city from above [i.e., Christ's incarnation; cf. Lk. 1:78], has eventually hidden the rays of its light.¹⁶²

161 See Baert, *Heritage*, 175–176; Sylvia Schein, "Between Mount Moriah and the Holy Sepulchre: The Changing Traditions of the Temple Mount in the Central Middle Ages," *Traditio* 40 (1984), 189. See also Alan of Lille, *Distinctiones*, 906–907, identifying the gate as the Last Judgment's venue (*dicitur iudicium, quia iudices solebant sedere in portis*), aligning it with preaching activity and proclaiming the Church's collective goal of "advancing to the gate" (*sancta enim Ecclesia ad civitatis portam procedit*). The Benedictine gives the valley a daunting impression: "Josaphat ultra mare qui semel viderit sufficit, timorem vero iudicii futuri semper pre oculis habere [...]" (Benedictinus anonymus, *De penitentia*, ed. Huygens, 102).

162 Henry of Albano, *De peregrinante civitate Dei* (XIII), 350–351 and Ms. Troyes 509, fol. 150^{r-v}. "Cum gloriosa quae gloriose de civitate Domini a David praevisa et a multis regibus et

Henry identifies the earthly Jerusalem specifically as the Eastern gate, before he moves on to explaining its loss (not cited here).¹⁶³ The gates stand open—since the First Crusade according to the general understanding. He underlines that Old Testament prophecies have been fulfilled, whose predictions about the glorious city have already been “the more visible the closer” they came (*tanto jam clarius, quanto vicinius*). This approach can be understood as both temporal (salvation history) and spatial (voyage to the East)—thus the state “until recently” (*paulo ante*), a reference to the conquest and the disrupted providential order. The version in the surviving manuscript adds that it has “already” (*iam iamque*) been possible to enter the celestial kingdom. This expression is already known from First Crusade accounts: it betrays an impending Apocalypse, and it is an eschatological detail which the version presented in the PL preferred to erase.¹⁶⁴ Using Ez. 44, the legate asserts that the gates are now not so much closed as barricaded: the Muslims prevent the Christians from entering the heavenly kingdom.¹⁶⁵ He stresses the act of watching, which is much more powerful than just hearing about a matter; he thus fuels the audience’s desire, not only to hear about Jerusalem in liturgy and preaching, but also to depart on the actual journey, in order to experience it with their own eyes. The city, on the brink of heaven and earth, would offer a glimpse of heaven itself—note the significant unison in formulation with the passage from treatise five (via Lk. 1:78). The Cistercian transmits the monastic idea of *contemplatio* to the

prophetis praedicta et praefigurata noscuntur, tanto jam clarius, quanto vicinius speculamur; et duodecimae portae limina attingentes per eam [Troyes 509: + iam iamque] intrare contendimus [...] incomparabiliter majus est quod videtur quam rumor qui auditur, nec jam cum Propheta dicere sufficit: Sicut audivimus, sic vidimus [Ps. 48:9]; sed longe ampliora quam audivimus de civitate Domini jam videmus. [...] Portae gloriae non tam clausae, quam obstructae reperiuntur. Ipsa denique porta lucis, cujus gloriam paulo ante tam delectabiliter speculabamur; illa, inquam, orientalis porta, per quam civitatem suam illustrare consueverat oriens ex alto [cf. Lk. 1:78], radios suae lucis abscondit.”

163 This passage has been examined above as to the entanglement of the earthly and spiritual city.

164 See Marx, “City of God,” 96–102, 104–105; Buc, “Crusade and Eschatology,” 310–311, 334. On such cleansings as well as on the causality of temporal and spatial, see the chapter on the Apocalypse.

165 Some lines below, he says that the loss is only temporal or temporary (*temporalem casum*). As discussed, Peter deviates in claiming that the gates have been destroyed (*omnes portae eius destructae*), referring to Lam. 1:4 (Peter of Blois, *Conquestio*, 75). Yet, the consequence remains the same: access to the celestial kingdom is possible if the crusaders are virtuous. The *Glossa* juxtaposes Lam. 1:4 with all four senses, evoking the gates’ purpose as a nexus between the different Jerusalems (*Glossa ordinaria* (Lam. 1), ed. Feuardent, 4:929–930; see also Martin of León, *Liber sermonum*, *Sermo* 29, 1062–1064).

Holy Land, creating an arena where lay people can devote themselves to the same pious practice.¹⁶⁶ He sketches an apocalyptic state that had existed in Jerusalem since 1099, but this state is now disrupted. For Henry, a powerful guardian of interpretive authority, the earthly city embodies a gateway to heaven standing open.

5 Typology and Prophecy

The providential meaning of Jerusalem's fall also unfolded itself via references to its earlier conquests such as that by Nebuchadnezzar (597 B.C.), which initiated the Babylonian exile, or that by Titus and Vespasian (A.D. 70), often considered as a divine vengeance on the Jews for the crucifixion of Christ. Furthermore, there was the Persian conquest of 614, when the Cross relic was lost (subsequently recovered by Emperor Heraclius), and the Arab conquest of 634, when it was lost again (until 1099). Precedents thus existed for the holy city's (pagan) occupation, which are cited in many contemporaneous sources, and which served as a resource of meaning for explaining the current conquest.¹⁶⁷ The common idea that Titus and Vespasian exacted vengeance is found, for example, in Martin of León's or Ralph Ardens' sermons.¹⁶⁸ Ralph emphasizes a liturgical or typological concurrence, claiming that the sack took place at Easter, thus mirroring the crucifixion, whereas in fact it happened in the sum-

166 See Lehmann-Brauns, *Jerusalem*, esp. 71–74. The transfer of monastic concepts to the arena of crusading happened at least since the three Benedictines penned their chronicles around ten years after the First Crusade (see Gaposchkin, *Weapons*, 34–35; Purkis, *Spirituality*, 12–58, 118). Purkis discusses the transfer of *imitatio Christi* and *vita apostolica*.

167 See Schein, *Gateway*, 192; Buc, *Holy War*, 21–22, 76–77, 264; Buc, “La vengeance de Dieu: De l'exégèse patristique à la Réforme ecclésiastique et la Première Croisade,” in: *La vengeance, 400–1200*, ed. Dominique Barthélemy, François Bougard, and Régine Le Jan (Rome 2006), 459–460; Hubert Glaser, “Das Scheitern des zweiten Kreuzzuges als heilsgeschichtliches Ereignis,” in: *Festschrift für Max Spindler*, ed. Dieter Albrecht and Andreas Kraus (Munich 1969), 140–142; and Karen M. Kletter, “Politics, Prophecy and Jews: The Destruction of Jerusalem in Anglo-Norman Historiography,” in: *Jews in Medieval Christendom: Slay Them Not*, ed. Kristine T. Utterback and Merrill Llewelyn Price (Leiden 2013), 91–116, who examines William of Newburgh as to the Third Crusade.

168 Martin of León, *Liber sermonum*, *Sermo 18*, 822; *Sermo 22*, 858; *Sermo 23*, 877, 890; Ralph Ardens, *Pars (I)*, *Section (2)*, *Sermo 23*, 2024; *Pars (II)*, *De tempore*, *Sermo 4*, 1316; see also Peter of Blois, *Passio Raginaldi*, 49; Benedictinus anonymus, *De penitentia*, ed. Huygens, 99.

mer.¹⁶⁹ An anonymous and contemporaneous description of the Holy Land's sites, belonging to the Canterbury circle, declares:

The church [of the Holy Sepulcher] is located on the slope of Mount Zion just like the city, but only after the Roman emperors Titus and Vespasian had fully demolished the entire city for the sake of avenging the Lord, thus fulfilling the prophecy that the Lord had uttered when approaching Jerusalem, seeing the city and weeping over it [Lk. 19:41].¹⁷⁰

Jerusalem's destruction fulfilled a prophecy, specifically the one uttered by Christ himself in Lk. 19:41–44, on his arrival in the city, as celebrated on Palm Sunday.¹⁷¹ Walter Map, also around the Third Crusade, makes an intriguing remark: God used Titus to exact vengeance, but the emperor was not aware of his purpose.¹⁷² The Carolingian exegete Haymo of Auxerre, well received in the 12th century, asserted that Christ would be avenged twice, via the Roman emperors and in the End of Days.¹⁷³ Sermons' frequent references to the first vengeance thus suggest to their audiences that they should devote themselves to the second and final vengeance. However, another reading is possible when texts construct parallels between 70 and 1187: just as God used the emperors to deprive the Jews of their elect status, he may now use the Muslims for the same end with the Christians. Martin elaborates on this idea in a sermon on Maundy Thursday that reacts to Jerusalem's loss: broaching the Roman conquest several times and repeatedly calling his (definitely Christian) audience "Jews" (*iudaei*),

169 Ralph Ardens, *Pars (1), Section (2), Sermo 23*, 2024; discussed by Jussi Hanska, "Preachers as Historians. The Case of the Destruction of Jerusalem in 70 AD," *Anuario de estudios medievales* 42/1 (2012), 36. On anti-Jewish violence on the eve of the Second Crusade, triggered by Easter, see Buc, "Crusade and Eschatology," 329–330.

170 Ms. Lambeth 144, fol. 117r. "Ista ecclesia [sancti Sepulchri] sita est in declivo montis Syon, sicut civitas, set postquam romani principes Titus et Vespasianus in ultione domini totam civitatem Ierusalem funditus destruxissent, ut prophetatio dominica impleretur, quam dum appropinquaret dominus Ierusalem, videns civitatem flens super illam, dixit [Lk. 19:41]." Thereafter, the text contains the belief that Emperor Hadrian rebuilt Jerusalem and the Temple.

171 See Hanska, "Videns Iesus," 237–251, examining Lk. 19:41–44 in 13th-century sermon texts.

172 Walter Map, *De nugis curialium*, ed. James, 22: "ultor iniuriarum Domini, licet inscius." Contrariwise, Pope Sergius IV (1009–1012) had declared that Titus and Vespasian consciously took vengeance, and now the Christians must take vengeance for the Sepulcher's destruction (see Flori, *L'islam*, 232). The *Chanson d'Antioche* agrees, even stating that the two emperors were Christians (*Chanson d'Antioche*, ed. Duparc-Quoi, 28–29; see Tolan, *Saracens*, 317).

173 Haymo of Auxerre, *In Isaiam*, 1054; discussed by Buc, "Crusade and Eschatology," 317. Buc sees here a logic that unfolded in the events of the First Crusade.

he suggests to his listeners that what had happened to the Jews in A.D. 70 has now happened to them.¹⁷⁴ This adds to the motifs discussed in the chapter on the Cross relic (a new crucifixion, adultery, and comparison with the Ark of the Covenant), but Martin is rhetorically sharper, calling his audience Jews—as if they had lost their elect status already.

Beyond historical precedents, the Bible offers further material, for example, Lk. 21:24 speaks of Jerusalem's occupation by *gentes* that would last until the Apocalypse, or Rev. 11:2 narrates it being captured by the *gentes* for 42 months. Joachim of Fiore believed that this would be the duration of Saladin's reign over Jerusalem, such was his prognosis to Richard Lionheart.¹⁷⁵ A number of prophecies color the city's pagan conquest in apocalyptic terms, making it part of the eschatological scenario or an important element to initiating it: such a conquest thus always represented an event of preeminent providential standing.¹⁷⁶ These ideas were also disseminated via popular prophecies such as Pseudo-Methodius, as their rich manuscript evidence demonstrates.¹⁷⁷ The preachers drew on the eschatological dimension as an established premise; Sylvia Schein asserted, "The Third Crusade, Europe's response to the fall of Jerusalem on 2 October 1187, unfolded in an atmosphere of exceptional eschatological tension. The calamity just as its cure, the retaking of Jerusalem, were integrated into already available popular prophecies such as that about the Last Emperor."¹⁷⁸

A highly pertinent sermon by Peter of Blois creates significant causalities right at the outset:

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- 174 Martin of León, *Liber sermonum*, *Sermo* 22, 856–862 and Ms. León, San Isidoro 11/2, fols. 118^r–120^r; discussed elaborately by Marx, "Divergent Voices," 38–41.
- 175 See Roger of Howden, *Gesta*, 2:154. Elsewhere, he converts the 42 months into 1260 days, which are then understood as years: the Apocalypse comes in the year 1260, yet already initiated with first events around 1200 (Joachim of Fiore, *Expositio*, fols. 5^r–6^r, 131^v; Ralph of Coggeshall, *Chronicon*, 68; discussed by Flori, *L'islam*, 323).
- 176 This pertains to the general struggle against paganism; Orosius' *Historia adversum paganos*, the most widely disseminated historical work of the Middle Ages, made this struggle into the main objective of world history (see Rubenstein, *Dream*, 26).
- 177 See Rubenstein, *Dream*; Rubenstein, "Crusade and Apocalypse: History and the Last Days," *Quaestiones mediū aevi novae* 21 (2016), 172–175; Jessalynn L. Bird, "Prophecy, Eschatology, Global Networks, and the Crusades, from Hattin to Frederick II," *Traditio* 77 (2022), 31–106. The same happened after Jerusalem's loss in 1244, informing several illustrated codices of John's Revelation (see Renna, *Jerusalem*, 230).
- 178 Schein, "Bewegungen," 130–131: "*Der Dritte Kreuzzug, Europas Antwort auf den Fall Jerusalems am 2. Oktober 1187, spielte sich in einer Atmosphäre außerordentlicher eschatologischer Spannung ab. Das Unglück ebenso wie sein Gegenmittel, die Rückeroberung Jerusalems, wurden in die bereits umlaufenden populären Prophezeiungen, z.B. diejenige des Endkaisers, eingearbeitet.*" My translation.

Act kindly towards Zion, oh Lord, with your good will so that Jerusalem's walls may be rebuilt [Ps. 51:20]. If we consider the times of Nebuchadnezzar, Sennacherib, as well as of Titus and Vespasian, we do not doubt that the earthly Zion has been conquered, demolished, and rebuilt multiple times. And it may not be necessary to return to these old stories, since the destruction of this city has been in the public's eye at the time of Urban II, when a Philip was king of the Franks. But now, engendered by our faults, this most recent capture and destruction occurred under Urban III and another Philip, king of the Franks. However, there is another, a sublime Jerusalem, this celestial city which is our mother [Gal. 4:26], whose walls have entirely collapsed into ruins and decay with the help of Lucifer and his accomplices. It was the plan of its highness to rebuild the city out of humans as if out of suitable and living stones.¹⁷⁹

He begins with references to Jerusalem's past conquests and rebuildings; the list is reminiscent of the idea found in the *Passio Raginaldi* that God permitted such events, in order to offer opportunities for salvation.¹⁸⁰ The First Crusade blends therein with 1187: Peter seems to see a form of eschatological fulfillment in the fact that at both times an Urban was pope and a Philip king of France. This idea is found in several contemporary texts: Peter's sermon was likely the earliest; it may have been the model for the others.¹⁸¹ Hinting at the

179 Peter of Blois, *Sermo 39*, 677. "Benigne fac, Domine, in bona voluntate tua Sion, ut aedificentur muri Jerusalem [Ps. 51:20]. Si referamus [BL Arundel 322; BL Royal 8 F XVII: >< recolamus] tempora Nabuchodonosor, tempora Sennacherib, Titi quoque et Vespasiani, non dubitamus quia terrena Sion multoties capta et destructa et reaedificata est. Et ne ad veteres historias nos ire oporteat, in promptu est destructio illius civitatis facta tempore papae Urbani secundi, regnante rege Francorum Philippo. Sed nunc, culpis nostris exigentibus, haec novissima captio et destructio facta est sub Urbano papa tertio, et sub alio Philippo rege Francorum. Sed est alia Jerusalem superna, et coelestis illa, quae est mater nostra [Gal. 4:26], cujus muri in ruina, et lapsu Luciferi atque complicum ejus, ex parte non modica corruerunt. Erat consilium Altissimi, ut haec civitas reaedificaretur [BL Arundel 322; St. Geneviève 2787: >< restitueretur] ex hominibus tanquam ex rationabilibus et vivis lapidibus."

180 Peter of Blois, *Passio Raginaldi*, 48; see also Henry of Albano, *De peregrinante civitate Dei* (1), 259. For Alan, the past conquests indicate that Christ already came and that the Jews are thus wrong; he explains the conquest of A.D. 70 with *peccatis exigentibus* (Alan of Lille, *Contra haereticos* (3.12), 412).

181 See William of Newburgh, *Historia*, 254: "[Jerusalem] a Christianis recepta est sub papatu Urbani Secundi, et recidit in manus Agarenorum sub pontificatu Urbani Tertii." See also *L'Estoire d'Eracles*, 116; Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, 2:323; Robert of Auxerre, *Chronicon*, 252. Such typologies also played a role as to the name Heraclius, the Byzantine emperor and the contemporary patriarch of Jerusalem, and was used for blaming the latter for the

spiritual guise, the loss of 1187 was “prompted by our faults” (*culpīs nostris exigentibus*), a synonym for *peccatis nostris exigentibus*.¹⁸² Yet, he also entwines the event with the heavenly city (*est alia Jerusalem superna et coelestis illa*), whose walls now likewise lie in ruins (*cujus muri in ruina*), caused by Lucifer and “his accomplices”—a reference to the Muslims.¹⁸³ We have seen so far that the earthly Jerusalem signifies the state of its spiritual counterpart, and it offers an opportunity to enter the heavenly city. Here, however, the earthly city reveals the state of the heavenly guise, which must thus be rebuilt out of living stones.

Immediately after the passage cited, the master continues:

And even though his plan had been hidden from the world [cf. Col. 1:26], yet it has been revealed to the prophets in spirit. Daniel and Amos spoke thus: The Lord will not do anything without having revealed it beforehand to his servants, the prophets [Amos 3:7]. Therefore, David asks through dedicated and pious prayer for the benevolence of the highest judge. David is a conscious and understanding prophet of this secret, which granted the duty of rebuilding Jerusalem to the contemplative men, whom Zion designates.¹⁸⁴

The conquest fulfills a prophecy; using Amos 3:7, Peter even declares that nothing happens without having been revealed beforehand to the prophets. This is a momentous invitation to understand historical events as the fulfillment of prophetic texts.¹⁸⁵ He extends the coincidental concurrence between history

Cross relic's loss (see *La Continuation*, ed. Morgan, 49–50; *Chronique d'Ernoul*, ed. Mas Latrie, 82–84; *L'Estoire d'Eracles*, 46, 57–58; Sicard of Cremona, *Chronica*, 518; discussed by M.R. Morgan, *The Chronicle of Ernoul and the Continuations of William of Tyre* (Oxford 1973), 115, 119, 192–193; Peter W. Edbury and John Gordon Rowe, “William of Tyre and the Patriarchal Election of 1180,” *The English Historical Review* 93 (1978), 4–7).

182 For such alternative formulations, see the chapter on the failure of crusades.

183 See Marx, “Divergent Voices,” 29.

184 Peter of Blois, *Sermo* 39, 677–678. “Et licet consilium illud absconditum fuisset a saeculis [cf. Col. 1:26], erat tamen prophetis in spiritu revelatum. Unde Daniel [missing BL Arundel 322; St. Geneviève 2787] et Amos dicebant: Non faciet Dominus quidquam, nisi prius revelaverit illud servis suis prophetis [Amos 3:7]. David ergo propheta secreti hujus conscius et intelligens, quod de viris contemplativis qui significantur per Sion reaedificanda esset Jerusalem, supplicii et devota oratione benignitatem summi iudicis interpellat.”

185 Searching databases demonstrates that Amos 3:7 is a very rare reference; only one further hit turned up in the relevant corpus (Peter of Blois, *Sermo* 38, 674). The sermon's eschatological nature is substantiated by its attribution to *In festo sancti Michaelis* (29 Sept.). On 13th-century sermons, see Bériou, *Communication*, 417–433, discussing that Michael was the guardian of the Covenant with God, embodying the rejection of the Old Coven-

and prophecy to a call to consciously relate the two (as he himself does with the city's past conquests). This blends with a call for action: "the contemplative men" must rebuilt Jerusalem. Stemming from *peccatis nostris exigentibus*, present at the sermon's outset, this is a call to spiritually support the crusade. The beginning of Peter's *Conquestio* agrees in prophetically reading the conquest: "I am convinced that the reliable and expressive prophecy of Ezekiel has anticipated this most wretched day: Son of Man, write down the date of this day, this very day when the king of Babylon was encouraged against Jerusalem [Ez. 24:2]. Just as we have heard it, so it has happened in the city of the Lord of virtues."¹⁸⁶ One could hardly be more explicit: it is certain and obvious (*certum et expressum*) that the prophecy has now materialized (*sic accidit*). The reference is different from the previous sermon, but both texts agree on the fulfillment of Old Testament predictions. Significantly, Peter adapts Ez. 24:2 to underline this: the Vulgate says that the Babylonian king attacked Jerusalem (*aggressus est rex Babylonis*); here, he is already confirmed or encouraged (*confirmatus est*). This passage is embedded in an elaborate discussion that emphasizes multiple times the fulfillment of prophecies with regard to the events of 1187 (for example, via Jer. 9:1 or Lam. 1:4).¹⁸⁷

The anonymous Benedictine blends these ideas with a noteworthy vision of violence:

You are mistaken: indeed, the Jerusalem on which you focus your attention had never or rarely peace; it has always been engaged in wars and it is still, as one can see nowadays. Thus, you cannot find peace there, for neither the body nor the heart. The name's interpretation that you mention—Jerusalem is the vision of peace [Ez. 13:16]—cannot refer to the earthly city, but it refers to the heavenly Jerusalem, whose effigy is the earthly Jerusalem, and within whose borders the Lord granted peace. Which is thus the Jerusalem that is warlike and that carries peace only in its name? It belongs to God's people; this means, it signifies God's people; these are away from the Lord as long as they dwell here in the

ant. Humbert also underlines his role as the leader of the apocalyptic (crusade) armies, referring to Rev. 12:7–8 (Humbert of Romans, *De predicatione*, 7).

186 Peter of Blois, *Conquestio*, 75. "De hac damnatissima die credo certum et expressum Ezechielis oraculum praecessisse: Fili hominis, scribe tibi nomen diei huius, in qua confirmatus est rex Babilonis adversus Ierusalem hodie [Ez. 24:2]. Sicut audivimus, sic accidit in civitate Domini virtutum [...]."

187 Peter says inter alia: "Quicquid adversus Ierusalem et regnum eius multis seculorum curculis prophete comminando predixerant, dies una lugubris et infelix, dies caliginosa et tenebrosior omni nocte complevit" (*Conquestio*, 75).

flesh [2 Cor. 5:6]; they have to endure the wars against the temptations induced by the enemies, the devil, the neighbor, and one's own flesh.¹⁸⁸

Broaching the liturgical hymn *visio pacis*, the author describes Jerusalem as a refuge of peace: this, however, refers only to the heavenly city, which would offer such at the End of Days (*cuius fines dominus pacem posuit*). Until then, war rages, as is visible in his own day (*semper in bellis fuit et adhuc est, sicut hodie videre est*).¹⁸⁹ The earthly city, an effigy of its celestial counterpart (*cuius ista significativa est*), represents the arena for this warfare, just as Bernard of Clairvaux had asserted that the heavenly city creates the obligation of defending the earthly guise with violence.¹⁹⁰ The Benedictine also states that it belongs to God's people, a fact that makes an inimical occupation an unlawful disruption, though divinely ordained to advance salvation history. Warfare thus becomes the premise for making the way to the heavenly city.

Henry of Albano agrees that the conquest fulfilled a prophecy, yet he puts these words into the devil's mouth, whose speech he quotes.¹⁹¹ The devil first outlines the history of the Cross relic (including Helena and Heraclius), before proceeding to the multiple conquests of Jerusalem:

Thanks to our cooperation, our pagan people have once occupied this entire land, which we always hated. But then came Charlemagne from the West and liberated it from its enemies with a strong hand and a stretched-out arm. However, after the Christians had been cast out again, our people were once more defeated and expelled by some Westerners, even though they were much smaller in numbers and much weaker than our people

188 Benedictinus anonymus, *De penitentia*, ed. Huygens, 106. "Erras, ymmo Jerusalem, de qua tu intendis, nunquam vel raro pacem habuit, semper in bellis fuit et adhuc est, sicut hodie videre est. Non ergo pacem ibi habere poteris, non pacem corporis nec cordis: non ergo interpretatio nominis, quam tu dicis quia Ierusalem 'visio pacis' est [Ez. 13:16], huic Ierusalem terrene convenire poterit, sed illi celesti Ierusalem, cuius ista significativa est, cuius fines dominus pacem posuit. Que est ergo ista Ierusalem, que et bellicosa est et pacem tantum habet in nomine? Ipsa est populi dei, hoc est significat populum dei, qui quam diu hic in carne peregrinatur a domino [2 Cor. 5:6], bella temptationum ab hostibus, a dyabolo, a proximo, a propria carne tollerare habet."

189 The term *fines* may be either temporal or spatial, yet the two are related; see the chapter on the Apocalypse.

190 See Thomas Renna, "Bernard of Clairvaux and the Temple of Solomon," in: *Law, Custom, and the Social Fabric in Medieval Europe*, ed. Bernard Bachrach and David Nicholas (Kalamazoo 1990), 75.

191 See the chapter on immediate context. On further fulfillments in Henry's work, especially as to Ps. 48:9, Ps. 87:3, and Ez. 44:1-3, see Marx, "City of God," 98-101, 106.

[i.e., the First Crusade]. What shall we now hope for? What shall we do? One must certainly expect similar things now—save for the fact that we apparently had our time already. Now, I say, the time has come that the crucified had predicted: there will be such an untold act of punishment as has never occurred since the pagans came into being [cf. Dan. 12:1]—whereby even Daniel’s prophecy suggests: When you will see the abomination of desolation in the holy place. Whoever reads this, shall understand it [Mt. 24:15]. We understand it thus: we shall maintain the desolation, which we perpetrated in the holy place, a while longer. And as soon as the Christians assemble courageously to come to their people’s aid in the desolation, we shall prepare a resistance, we shall erect fortifications, and we shall set snares for them.¹⁹²

The devil broaches the city’s tumultuous history that ended in the Christians being expelled once more, described as prophetic fulfillment via Mt. 24:15 (ascribed to Daniel), a verse perfectly suitable for imagining the devastated city.¹⁹³ While exhorting his servants to assemble, to offer resistance to the Christians who will soon arrive (the Third Crusaders), he becomes aware that this time is different: the seesaw of the past is thwarted in favor of a unique providential watershed—we have already encountered such a notion with Alan of Lille and the Cross relic.¹⁹⁴ The devil and his servants had their time (*jam advenisse hora nostra*), but now the time predicted by Christ has come (*de qua crucifixus praedixit*), which would know an untold act of punishment of the pagans (*tantam futuram esse tribulationem, quanta non fuit*). Jerusalem’s fall represents the fulfillment of an apocalyptic prophecy; the End of Days

192 Henry of Albano, *De peregrinante civitate Dei* (XII), 359 and Ms. Troyes 509, fols. 154^v–155^r. “[Diabolus dicit:] Gentilis noster populus totam terram illam nobis semper exosam aliquando nobis cooperantibus occupavit; sed Carolus ab Occidente veniens in manu forti et brachio extento eam ab hostibus liberavit; sed expulsus iterum Christianis, denuo per quosdam Occidentales, multo nostris pauciores multoque inferiores, nostri victi sunt et expulsi. Quid igitur nunc nobis sperandum est, quid agendum? Similia plane expectanda nunc essent, nisi quod jam advenisse hora nostra videtur. Hora, inquam, illa, de qua crucifixus praedixit, tantam futuram esse tribulationem, quanta non fuit, ex quo gentes esse coeperunt [cf. Dan. 12:1]. Ubi etiam prophetiam Danielis inducens: Cum videritis, inquit, abominationem desolationis [Troyes 509: >< desolationem] stantem in loco sancto, qui legit intelligat [Mt. 24:15]. Nos igitur hoc intelligentes, desolationem istam, quam in loco sancto esse fecimus, stare ibidem diutius faciamus; et si forte convenerint Christiani, ut suorum subveniant desolationi, paremus eis offendicula, struamus impedimenta, laqueos eis tendamus.”

193 See also Peter of Blois, *Ep.*23, 85; Celestine III, *Ep.*224, 1108.

194 Alan of Lille, *De cruce Domini*, ed. d’Alverny, 280–281; see the chapter on the Cross relic.

has arrived—Henry formulates in the perfect tense. The passage has parallels with both Joachim of Fiore and the *Chanson d'Antioche* (later 12th century). Joachim predicted to Richard Lionheart, when the latter passed through Sicily on the way to the East, that there would be a massacre among the Muslims such as the world had never seen before (*erit illorum strages maxima, qualis non fuit ab initio mundi*). The latter depicted Christ prophesizing on the cross the punishment of 'the pagans' in the course of the First Crusade.¹⁹⁵

Importantly, the idea that Jerusalem's conquest fulfilled a prophecy extended beyond the sermon texts; it is also present in the Third Crusade's chronicles, in particular those of English origin.¹⁹⁶ It can also be found in a poem by Count Henry of Champagne, likely penned prior to the venture: Henry was a participant; his poem may shed light on his motivation.¹⁹⁷ The idea of a prophecy being fulfilled was thus broadly received; it represents an essential element for explaining the event. Yet, it is astonishing that the chronicles do not revise this reading despite having been written after the expedition's failure. The concurrence between prophecy and event was apparently powerful enough that this reading persisted, whereas other (imminent) eschatological expectations were likely disappointed. Noteworthy are the two versions of the exchange between Joachim of Fiore and Richard Lionheart on the eve of the Third Crusade, recorded by Roger of Howden, in his *Gesta* and chronicle respectively. In the *Gesta*, Joachim predicts that Saladin is the sixth head of seven of the beast from Revelation, whom Richard would defeat and then reconquer Jerusalem. The subtext is Rev. 11:2, which speaks of pagans ruling the holy city for three and a half

195 Roger of Howden, *Gesta*, 2:152; *Chanson d'Antioche*, ed. Duparc-Quioç, 125–28.

196 See *Itinerarium peregrinorum*, ed. Mayer, 247; Walter Map, *De nugis curialium*, ed. James, 22; Roger of Howden, *Gesta*, 2:20; William of Newburgh, *Historia*, 249; Alberic of Trois-Fontaines, *Chronica*, 748; Arnold of Lübeck, *Chronica*, 170; see also Schein, *Gateway*, 167–170; Rajohnson, *L'Occident*, 213–217. Already Hugh of Folieto (mid-12th cen.) declared at his exposition of the four senses that the earthly Jerusalem would be destroyed some day (*aliquando destruetur*) (Hugh of Folieto, *De claustro*, 1131).

197 *Analecta hymnica* 21, no. 234. On his participation, see Bennett, *Participation*, 242–243. One may ascribe such poems a sermon-like character considering how they were delivered at the time (see Murray, "Poet," 119, 127–128). Caesarius speaks of a prophecy from Heisterbach that predicted Jerusalem's fall (Caesarius of Heisterbach, *Dialogus* (2.30), 476). In 1204, the idea existed that Constantinople's conquest fulfilled a prophecy, so the first Latin emperor claimed to Innocent III (Baldwin of Constantinople, *Epistola*, 451; see also Gunther of Pairis, *Hystoria*, ed. Orth, 135–138). This blended with the idea of the Last World Emperor; see Flori, *L'Islam*, 306–307, 330; see also Beth C. Spacey, *The Miraculous and the Writing of Crusade Narrative* (Woodbridge 2020), 146–151.

years.¹⁹⁸ The later chronicle (completed c.1201) revises the prediction, since the Third Crusade had failed, now announcing the recapture for the year 1194.¹⁹⁹ The prophecy thus remained pertinent, while its events were postponed to a near future, to enable its fulfillment. Hélinand of Froidmont's chronicle elucidates another meaningful dimension: he begins this work with the Emperor Heraclius, the Cross relic, and the first Muslim occupation of the city (actually 637, but dated to 638).²⁰⁰ This ensemble suggests an expressive providential cycle: the conquest of 637 typologically repeated itself with 1187. This is demonstrated by two facts: first, despite beginning his chronicle with Heraclius and the Cross relic, Hélinand does not mention the Persian conquest of 624. This event would have thwarted his providential sketch, which is eager to relate the two Islamic conquests. Second, the chronicle ends abruptly with 1186: continuing it was no longer his priority. This is even more remarkable considering that he lived until c.1235. With the year 1187, he deemed it mandatory to act according to the prophecy's appeal and engaged in the preaching of the crusade.²⁰¹

6 The Holy Sepulcher

This short section deals with Christ's tomb located at the same site as the crucifixion, that is, Golgotha, where the Church of the Holy Sepulcher had been

198 Martin reveals the same reading when commenting on the verse, relating this to the crusade and the Last Emperor (Martin of León, *Commentary on Rev.* (11.2), 358). See the chapter on the Apocalypse.

199 Roger of Howden, *Gesta*, 2153; *Chronica*, 3:77–78; see Rubenstein, *Dream*, 200–202; Flori, *L'islam*, 309–312, 316. These parts of the chronicle were hence penned before 1194. Interestingly, Roger did not revise the chronicle again, even though it narrated up to 1201. The *Gesta* is likely close to what Joachim told Richard, given that Roger was part of the English army and close to Richard (see John D. Hosler, "Embedded Reporters? Ambroise, Richard de Templo, and Roger of Howden on the Third Crusade," in: *Military Cultures and Martial Enterprises in the Middle Ages*, ed. Hosler and Steven Isaac (Martlesham 2020), 177–191; John B. Gillingham, "Roger of Howden on Crusade," in: *Medieval Historical Writing in the Christian and Islamic Worlds*, ed. David Morgan (London 1982), 60–75).

200 Hélinand of Froidmont, *Chronicon*, 771–773.

201 Hélinand of Froidmont, *Chronicon*, 1081. See the chapter on immediate context. The same may have been true for William of Newburgh whose chronicle ends in 1197—a few months before Innocent III called for the Fourth Crusade (see Andrew Brock Kraebel, "Introduction," in: *The Sermons of William of Newburgh* (Toronto 2010), 6–7). Kraebel suggests that William died at the time, but since we do not know much about him, the break-off immediately before the start of crusade preparations is worth noting.

erected. It is short because the Sepulcher plays a remarkably minor role in the Third Crusade's preaching, despite being an essential site. This was even the case in periods when Western authors tended to reject the earthly Jerusalem, and even more so since the Sepulcher's destruction in the early 11th century, while the number of Western pilgrims also expanded drastically due to the apocalyptic year 1000.²⁰² As Nikolas Jaspert discussed, the period up to the First Crusade was characterized by a particular emphasis on it; one speaks, for example, of 'the city of the Sepulcher' or 'the rescue of the Sepulcher.'²⁰³ This continued into the early 12th century, but, as Jaspert demonstrated, a shift occurred over the course of the century, transferring the focus from the Sepulcher to the Temple. The first meaningful evidence is provided by Bernard's *De laude novae militiae*, a treatise that extols the Templars, thus elevating their headquarters, the *templum Salomonis* (al-Aqsa-Mosque), to unprecedented fame.²⁰⁴ The work's second part describes an imagined journey to several holy sites, granting the Sepulcher a respectable paragraph and classifying it as the most eminent of the holy sites (*sepulcrum tenet principatum*).²⁰⁵ However, the work clearly sets other priorities: the Temple, defended by Christendom's new elite, had become the new inner sanctum. Further significant evidence is provided by the *Ludus de Antichristo* (c.1160), which aligns the idea of the Last World Emperor (allegedly) with Barbarossa. It narrates that the Last Emperor will not lay down his crown on Golgotha or the Mount of Olives (as previously common), but in the Temple, while the common nexus of Temple and Antichrist disappears. The *Ludus* provides us with a taste of the ideas that informed

202 See Rubenstein, *Armies*, 4–7; Colin Morris, *The Sepulchre of Christ and the Medieval West: From the Beginning to 1600* (Oxford 2005), 134–139, 269–270. Morris already noted that the Sepulcher is hardly put to use after 1187.

203 Nikolas Jaspert, "The True Cross of Jerusalem in the Latin West: Mediterranean Connections and Institutional Agency," in: *Visual Constructs of Jerusalem*, ed. Bianca Kühnel and Galit Noga-Banai (Turnhout 2014), 208; Jaspert, "Eleventh-Century Pilgrimage from Catalonia to Jerusalem: New Sources on the Foundations of the First Crusade," *Crusades* 14 (2015), 14–15.

204 See Jaspert, "Attraktoren," 84–85, 91–92; Schein, *Gateway*, 90, 96–98, 106, 144–145; see also Morris, *Sepulchre*, 209–218, 254–260. At the time, Peter the Venerable still elevated the Sepulcher to being the world's center (Petrus Venerabilis, *Sermo de laude*, ed. Constable, 238–239). He likely delivered this sermon in Paris in 1146, in preparation for the Second Crusade; it locates a 'Temple' of their own within the Sepulcher, referring to Christ casting out the merchants (see Cole, *Preaching*, 49–52; Jennifer Harris, "The Body as Temple in the High Middle Ages," in: *Sacrifice in Religious Experience*, ed. Albert Baumgarten (Leiden 2002), 252).

205 Bernard of Clairvaux, *De laude*, 300. See also Purkis, *Spirituality*, 96–97.

the Third Crusade, given that this text originated close to Barbarossa's court (in the monastery of Tegernsee).²⁰⁶

Numerous sources around the Third Crusade do not refer even once to the Sepulcher, for example, Henry of Albano's letters or Peter of Blois' crusade treatises (with one exception in the *Dialogus*). It is also entirely absent from Gregory VIII's and Clement III's encyclicals.²⁰⁷ These model-like texts do not grant any attention to it, but move the spotlight to Cross, Jerusalem, and Temple. The few references that exist in the Third Crusade's corpus evolve around Is. 11:10: "erit sepulcrum eius gloriosum" (his Sepulcher will be glorious). According to Sylvia Schein, this verse possesses an eschatological coloring already present in the First Crusade's chronicles, just as it was cited in Latin Jerusalem's eschatological liturgy that celebrated 1099's conquest.²⁰⁸ As Matthew Gabriele discussed, Robert of Reims adapted its verb tense (from the future into the perfect), to express that the Sepulcher *is* now glorious thanks to the conquest of 1099—the prophecy has been fulfilled.²⁰⁹ This adaptation was not unique but represented an established reading throughout the 12th century (until 1187). The fact that authors repeated it for decades suggests that Jerusalem constituted an eschatological state, an idea still present in Konrad of Eberbach's work (1180s).²¹⁰ It is also noteworthy that several copies of Robert's

206 *Ludus de Antichristo*, ed. Engelsing, 20; discussed by Schein, *Gateway*, 154. See also the chapter on the Apocalypse; and Hans-Dietrich Kahl, "Der sog. Ludus de Antichristo (De finibus saeculorum) als Zeugnis frühstaufferlicher Gegenwarts kritik. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Humanität im abendländischen Mittelalter," *Mediaevistik* 4 (1991), 53–148. The nexus with the Antichrist is still present in: Hélinand of Froidmont, *Sermo* 8, 546–547; see also *Glossa ordinaria* (2 Thes. 2), ed. Feuardent, 6:671–672; and Kevin L. Hughes, *Constructing Antichrist: Paul, Biblical Commentary, and the Development of Doctrine in the Early Middle Ages* (Washington, D.C. 2005), 217–218.

207 Peter of Blois, *Dialogus*, 408. It only appears with Celestine III, in a crusade encyclical of 1193 (Celestine III, *Ep. 102*, 971, cited in Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, 3:200; see Schein, *Gateway*, 186).

208 Schein, *Gateway*, 11–13, 147–148. On the liturgy, see Gaposchkin, *Weapons*, 142–143, 153. Sergius IV had used it when broaching the Sepulcher's destruction, an event that contradicted Isaiah's prophecy (see Flori, *L'islam*, 231). See also Petrus Venerabilis, *Sermo de laude*, ed. Constable, 244.

209 Robert of Reims, *Historia*, ed. Bull, 100; see Matthew Gabriele, "From Prophecy to Apocalypse: The Verb Tenses of Jerusalem in Robert the Monk's *Historia* of the First Crusade," *Journal of Medieval History* 42 (2016), 308; see also Guibert of Nogent, *Gesta*, ed. Huygens, 112.

210 Konrad of Eberbach, *Exordium* (3.28), ed. Griesser, 225; see also, e.g., Rupert of Deutz, *Commentary on Zach.*, 761; Hervé de Bourge-Dieu, *In Isaiam*, 144–145; Richard of Saint-Victor, *Christus ponitur*, 523. See also the chapter on the Apocalypse. Bernard voiced a counterargument in a letter to Petrus Venerabilis, after the Second Crusade's failure; he adapted the

chronicle from the late 12th century still rendered this adaptation faithfully, among them codices from Clairvaux and Cîteaux.²¹¹ Henry of Albano uses Is. 11:10 in his crusade treatise when examining the purpose of the holy places as a nexus to heaven (in the original future tense). Some lines below, he returns once more to it, to describe Jerusalem's loss: pagans have defiled the glorious Sepulcher (*ab ethnicis blasphematur gloriosum sepulcrum ejus*).²¹² Moreover, it appears in two sermon texts with high crusade potential, by Alan of Lille and Prevostin of Cremona respectively, both using Is. 11:10 to make sense of the events of 1187.²¹³ Prevostin even implements it as the opening verse and repeats it several times, a fact that makes this sermon unique within the Third Crusade's corpus. Towards its conclusion, after having cited the verse according to the Vulgate, he cites it again, but adapts it: having explained the events of 1187 with *peccatis nostris exigentibus*, he asserts that the Sepulcher had been glorious for such a long time (*quandiu fuit sepulchrum eius gloriosum*), alluding to the former kingdom of Jerusalem, but now "our sins" have deformed it (*sed peccata nostra fecerunt id deforme*). Prevostin extends the fulfillment that Robert of Reims envisioned around ten years after 1099 up to 1187—but then, the glorious state was shattered.²¹⁴ The conquest of 1187 seems to have generated confusion, since Is. 11:10 had been fulfilled in 1099. Did God revoke the fulfillment?—the chapter on the Apocalypse will return to this issue. This puzzling situation was likely essential for why authors avoided the Sepulcher as a motif after 1187.

The Temple, on the other hand, appears in numerous Third Crusade texts; it constituted an important element in Western discourses (preaching, liturgy, exegesis), which was distinguished according to the senses of Scripture (for example, the Church or Mary appear as the Temple). Its prominent position predestined it to supersede the Sepulcher.²¹⁵ Temple and Sepulcher had ori-

verse into the present tense but negated it: the Sepulcher is now not glorious (Bernard of Clairvaux, *Ep. 521*, 984).

211 See Ms. Troyes 470 ter, fol. 84^v; Ms. Dijon 85, fol. 114^{r-v}.

212 Henry of Albano, *De peregrinante civitate Dei* (XIII), 353, cited 355.

213 Ms. BNF lat. 14859, fol. 215^{r-v}; Ms. BL Add 19767, fol. 73^v. For both texts, see the chapter on exemplary descriptions. See also Ms. Oxford, Rawlinson C 427, fol. 15^r; Bernard of Clairvaux, *De laude*, 316; Innocent III, *De diversis*, *Sermo 6*, 675; Jacques de Vitry, *Sermo 1*, ed. Maier, 86; Gilbert of Tournai, *Sermo 1*, ed. Maier, 180.

214 Ms. BNF lat. 14859, fol. 215^v; see the chapter on the failure of crusades. See also Martin of León, *Liber sermonum*, *Sermo 23*, 894, another example where the verse appears in crusade-specific preaching material. See also Garnerius of Clairvaux, *Sermo 26*, 746, blending Sepulcher and Corpus Christi; this also seems to refer to the crusading arena.

215 On the exegesis of the Temple, see Harris, "Body," 233–256. The Sepulcher was only occasionally present in the form of architecture or relics (see Morris, *Sepulchre*; Jaspert, "Vergegenwärtigungen," 219–297).

ginally designated a parallel structure: the first was the emblem of the Old Covenant, holding its banner, the Ark; the latter was the emblem of the New Covenant, holding its respective banner, the Cross relic: where it had been found by Helena and then recovered in 1099.²¹⁶ However, when the literal sense acquired new prominence in the 12th century, comprising the understanding of being Judaism's literal heirs, the Temple also rose to new fame in the Latin West's identity. Jaspert characterized this as a shift from the places of Christ's death (Sepulcher) to the places of his work (Temple).²¹⁷ The year 1187 represented another meaningful step in these developments: as already discussed, numerous texts compared the loss of the Cross with that of the Ark, an idea that encouraged the literal exegesis of possessing the Holy Land, just as it facilitated a valorization of the Temple. As a result, the original parallel structure (Temple with Ark and Sepulcher with Cross) was thwarted in favor of a new connection: Temple and Cross.²¹⁸ This displayed the bond between God and his people. The break made obvious in 1187 by separating the two suggested its disruption or even its end.

The Temple also became important in Latin liturgy in Jerusalem itself, for example, on Palm Sunday, whose procession now led from the *porta aurea* to the Temple (instead of from the Mount of Olives to the Sepulcher). This stemmed from Mt. 21:1–17, where the Temple's cleansing succeeds Christ's entry into the city.²¹⁹ Whereas the Sepulcher indicated Christ's sacrifice, initiating the Age of Grace, the Temple signified the eschatological guise holding judgment. This included the powerful motif of Christ cleansing the Temple: Bernard presented this scene as an example, understanding the Temple as an emblem of victory over the pagans.²²⁰ The coronation ritual is similarly expressive: the

216 See Schein, *Gateway*, 141–142; Gia Toussaint, *Kreuz und Knochen: Reliquien zur Zeit der Kreuzzüge* (Berlin 2011), 74–75.

217 Jaspert, "Attraktoren," 84–85. See also Schein, *Gateway*, 109–112, 190; Dieter R. Bauer, "Heiligkeit des Landes: Ein Beispiel für die Prägekraft der Volksreligiosität," in: *Volksreligion im hohen und späten Mittelalter*, ed. Bauer and Peter Dinzelsbacher (Paderborn 1990), 45–50.

218 The focus reversed again in the 14th century when the Franciscans became the guardians of the Sepulcher (see Baert, *Heritage*, 183–185; Schein, "Mount Moriah," 192). This agreed with the political circumstances, since the Muslims had occupied the Temple Mount since 1187—this remained the case after Frederick II's regaining of Jerusalem in 1229 (see Busse, "Felsendom," 32).

219 See Busse, "Felsendom," 31. On the Sepulcher's place in Latin Jerusalem, see Gaposchkin, *Weapons*, 156–162; Zöller, *Regularkanoniker*.

220 Bernard of Clairvaux, *De laude*, 286; see Katherine Allen Smith, "The Crusader Conquest of Jerusalem and Christ's Cleansing of the Temple," in: *The Uses of the Bible in Crusader Sources*, ed. Elizabeth Lapina and Nicholas Morton (Leiden 2017), 19–41. See Mt. 21:12–17; Mk. 11:15–19; Lk. 19:45–48; John 2:13–16. For sources see, e.g., Ms. BNF lat. 14859, fols. 231^r–

future king of Jerusalem was crowned in the Church of the Sepulcher and went thereafter into the Temple (*templum domini*) to symbolically surrender his crown. This was obviously informed by the idea of the Last World Emperor, who would do the same according to some texts (such as the *Ludus de Antichristo*), to initiate the Second Coming and the Apocalypse.²²¹ The shift from the Sepulcher to the Temple therefore indicates progress in salvation history. As Ezekiel and Revelation betray, the Temple is a deeply eschatological element; the West's increasing emphasis on it hints at eschatological expectations piling up since the First Crusade and waiting for the right moment. This moment seems to have arrived in 1187.²²²

7 The Four Senses of Scripture: Where Does the Earthly Jerusalem Belong?

It has become clear that the earthly city does not exist in isolation, but is intrinsically interwoven with the other guises, including an idiosyncratic connection with the celestial realm. This raises a question that has not yet been asked as far as I can see: To which sense of Scripture does the holy city belong? Peter of Blois offers material on this question, right at the beginning of a sermon *In dedicatione ecclesiae*:

Jerusalem is built as a city that consists of its partakers [Ps. 122:3]. One receives Jerusalem in a threefold manner: first, the bloodthirsty city that killed the prophets [Mt. 23:37], about which one says: one does not find a prophet that perishes outside of Jerusalem [Lk. 13:33]. The Lord established this city as a signpost and portent for all the other cities, as a manifestation of his wrath and rage, a rock of burden [Zach. 12:3], and a rock of resistance against the pagans [Is. 8:14; Rom. 9:33]. Furthermore, there is Jerusalem as the militant Church, which has its tent under the sun and battles on earth. One says about it: Rise and shine, Jerusalem [Is. 51:17]. Finally, there is Jerusalem as the triumphant Church assembled of angels

232^v; Ms. Lambeth 144, fols. 117^v–118^r; Hélinand of Froidmont, *Sermo 10*, 571; Peter of Blois, *Passio Raginaldi*, 66.

221 See Baert, *Heritage*, 174–176; Schein, *Gateway*, 101. In other versions, he also surrenders his crown but, before the mid-12th century, on Golgotha or the Mount of Olives.

222 See, e.g., Rev. 11:19: “Et apertum est templum Dei in caelo, et visa est arca testamenti eius in templo eius.” The Ark, that is, the Cross, reveals itself in the Temple at the End of Days. Significant is that this verse appears in the same chapter as the pagan conquest of Jerusalem (Rev. 11:2).

and the spirits of the blessed. One says about it: the Jerusalem which is above is free; it is our mother [Gal. 4:26].²²³

The master distinguishes Jerusalem according to three senses, starting with the earthly city which one should “receive” (*accipere*) just like the others—he puts the literal sense on a par.²²⁴ He renders it as the bloodthirsty city that killed the prophets (Mt. 23:37), a common portrayal of the Old Testament city.²²⁵ God instituted it as a signpost and portent (*signum et portentum*), offering a manifest display of his rage (*argumentum irae et indignationis suae*). It is also a rock of resistance against the pagans (*lapidem offensionis in gentibus*): this stems from two significant sources—Zach. 12:3 and Is. 8:14—where Jerusalem’s purpose is outlined accordingly, but Peter added *in gentibus* to the original.²²⁶ These are all familiar ideas: God uses the city as a communicative tool and punishes the Christians with its loss. The other two senses are the *ecclesia militans* waging war on earth and the *ecclesia triumphans*, the anagogical guise.

Following these initial words, Peter succeeds to a fourth Jerusalem:

There is also a fourth Jerusalem, moderate and small, which is like a city despite being no city. Thus, I also recognize it when reading: Jerusalem which is built as a city [Ps. 122:3]. Because it is neither actually a city, despite being like a city, nor the battle-line of the forces, despite being

223 Peter of Blois, *Sermo* 52, 713. “Jerusalem quae aedificatur ut civitas, cujus participatio ejus in idipsum [Ps. 122:3]. Tripliciter accipitur Jerusalem, civitas illa sanguinaria, quae occidit prophetas [Mt. 23:37], de qua dicitur: Non capit perire prophetam extra Jerusalem [Lk. 13:33]; quam posuit Dominus in signum et portentum omnibus civitatibus, in argumentum irae et indignationis suae, ‘lapidem oneris [Zach. 12:3], lapidem offensionis in gentibus’ [Is. 8:14; Rom. 9:33] [Arundel 322: >< lapidem omnis offensionis in gentibus]. Est et Jerusalem Ecclesia militans, quae habet tabernaculum suum sub sole, et militat in terris. De ista dicitur: Surge, illuminare, Jerusalem [Is. 51:17]. Est et Jerusalem triumphans Ecclesia congregata ex angelis et spiritibus beatorum. De ista dicit: Jerusalem quae sursum est, libera est, quae est mater nostra [Gal. 4:26].”

224 Note that he uses a verb common for the act of taking the cross. See also Renna, *Jerusalem*, 192.

225 See Ms. BL Royal 10 A XVI, fol. 48^r and Ms. BNF lat. 10633, fol. 53^r as well as Petrus Cantor, *Distinctiones*, 302; Garnerius of Clairvaux, *Distinctiones*, 966; Alan of Lille, *Distinctiones*, 822; *Contra haereticos* (1.71), 373; Hélinand of Froidmont, *Sermo* 8, 547; Ralph Ardens, *Pars* (11), *De tempore*, *Sermo* 4, 1314; Martin of León, *De sanctis*, *Sermo* 4, 26; Arnold of Lübeck, *Chronica*, 164.

226 This seems to have been his creation (no further hits in databases). He uses the same words in the *Passio*, likewise examining Jerusalem’s providential purpose and referring to its earlier conquests: *posuit eam dominus lapidem oneris universis gentibus* (Peter of Blois, *Passio Raginaldi*, 48).

arranged like the battle-line of the forces [Cant. 6:4]. It is rather a house than a city, and it is truly a house, for it is the house of God and the gateway to heaven [Gen. 28:17]. However, if it is the house of God, take care that those who are impure or filthy do not walk in it. The sanctity befits your house, oh Lord: This house, this place, has been sanctified and dedicated to God so that one can offer God appeasing sacrifices in it.²²⁷

Which Jerusalem is at stake here? We have already encountered the historical, the typological, and the heavenly guise. The text's structure is noteworthy: he does not simply speak of four senses but of three, adding the fourth as a bonus (*est etiam et Jerusalem quarta*): this Jerusalem entangles the others. The depiction reveals that he is dealing with the church building, in agreement with the sermon's feast.²²⁸ It appears as a gateway to heaven (*porta coeli*)—the eschatology is also manifested in spatial terms in the form of a church, a microcosm of Jerusalem. Significantly, he understands it as entangled with all the other guises. Therefore, every appearance of Jerusalem in liturgy and preaching (also) refers to the earthly city.²²⁹

Remarkably, Peter the Chanter offers an almost identical text in his *Distinctiones*; one copied from the other: Peter of Blois likely used his colleague's collection in agreement with its purpose.²³⁰ However, the Chanter aligns the passage with another sense: the analogical. He distinguishes the historical, mystical (*ecclesia militans*), moral, and analogical sense—his categories differ from Peter of Blois'; they follow the classic scheme. He writes on the analogical:

227 Peter of Blois, *Sermo 52*, 713–714. “Est etiam et Jerusalem quarta, modica et exilis, quae, licet non sit civitas, tamen est ut civitas. Ideoque et illam intelligo, quando scriptum est: Jerusalem, quae aedificatur ut civitas [Ps. 122:3]. Nec enim vere est civitas, quae est ut civitas, nec vero castrorum acies, quae est ut castrorum acies ordinata [Cant. 6:4]. Potius est domus quam civitas, et vere domus, quia domus Dei et porta coeli [Gen. 28:17]. Si autem domus Dei est, videte ne per eam transeat incircumciscus et immundus. Domum tuam, Domine, decet sanctitudo. Domus ista, locus iste ad hoc Deo dedicatus et sanctificatus est, ut in ipsa placabiles hostiae [BL Royal 8 F XVII: >< oblationes] offerantur Deo.”

228 Peter adds that his audience are to take care that “the impure” and “the filthy” do not enter it.

229 See Gaposchkin, *Weapons*, 33, 154–155; Bärsch, “Jerusalem,” 347–348. Guibert emphasized this already in his crusade chronicle (Guibert of Nogent, *Gesta*, ed. Huygens, 113). See also the chapter on the Apocalypse regarding how the church building formed an eschatological window.

230 Database searches show that the text belongs to these two authors. On further parallels between the two, see Michael Markowski, *Peter of Blois, Writer and Reformer* (PhD thesis, Syracuse University 1988), 231–235.

Anagogically: the triumphant Church assembled of angels and the spirits of the virtuous. One says about it: the Jerusalem that is above; it is our mother [Gal. 4:26]. There is also a fourth Jerusalem, moderate and small, which is like a city despite being no city. Thus, I understand what has been written about it: Jerusalem which is built as a city [Ps. 122:3]. Because it is not actually like a city, but it is like a house, and truly is it a house, since it is the house of God and the gateway to heaven [Gen. 28:17]. This house, that is, this place has been sanctified and dedicated to God so that one can offer God appeasing prayers in it.²³¹

The two manuscripts cited do not offer a clear separation between the passage aligned with the anagogical sense in Peter of Blois' sermon (until *mater nostra*) and the passage devoted to a fourth Jerusalem—the Chanter presents these lines as one coherent entry.²³² Nevertheless, one of the two copies holds the variant that there is not a fourth but a fifth Jerusalem (*est et Ierusalem quinta*).²³³ It inheres in an eschatological coloring, a *civitas* and a *domus* where they worship God; this may also indicate the church building. But, in agreement with the purpose of *distinctiones*, the Chanter leaves this undetermined, offering building blocks that allow a preacher different applications. Peter of Blois cast this template into a specific reading determined by *In dedicatione* and molded via his peculiar categorization of the senses.

The passages under discussion raise the question of where to locate the contemporary city in the scheme of the four senses, since, as Beryl Smalley emphas-

231 Ms. BL Royal 10 A XVI, fol. 48^r; see also Ms. BNF lat. 10633, fol. 53^r as well as Petrus Cantor, *Distinctiones*, 303. "Anagogice, triumphans ecclesia, congregata ex angelis et spiritibus bonorum, de ista dicitur, Ierusalem que sursum est, que est mater nostra [Gal. 4:26], est et Ierusalem quarta [BNF 10633: > quinta], modica et exilis, que licet non sit civitas, tamen est ut civitas, ideoque de illa intelligo scriptum est, Ierusalem que edificatur ut civitas [Ps. 122:3], 'nec enim vere est ut civitas' [missing BNF 10633], sed potius est domus, et vere domus, quia domus dei et porta celi [Gen. 28:17], domus ista, scilicet locus ad hoc deo dedicatus et sanctificatus est, ut in ipso placabiles orationes offerantur deo."

232 Aiononen noted that copying *Distinctiones* was a challenging task, since one had to copy not only a text but also layout and graphical elements—and perhaps transfer these to another format (Tuija Aiononen, "Making New from Old: Distinction Collections and Textual Communities at the Turn of the Thirteenth Century," in: *From Learning to Love*, ed. Tristan Sharp (Toronto 2017), 48–69, esp. 49).

233 Ms. BNF lat. 10633, fol. 53^r. The English copy's depiction, on the other hand, is odd, since the Chanter describes four Jerusalems and adds thereafter: *est et Ierusalem quarta*—a fifth Jerusalem makes thus more sense. Garnerius also goes beyond the four senses, concluding on six dimensions (Garnerius of Clairvaux, *Sermo 37*, 807–808; discussed by Chenu, "Décadence," 130–131).

ized, the attribution of senses was a much-discussed issue at the time.²³⁴ Modern observers seem to assume that it belongs to the literal sense. However, considering that the literal is also called the historical (present in Peter the Chanter), strictly speaking, this designates the Jerusalem of the biblical stories. One already needs a step of interpretation to reach the contemporary city. This step may simply have consisted in seeing a continuum between past and present, yet this is not necessarily the case. Another possibility is a typological exegesis, which relates a biblical element to a matter in the present.²³⁵ The common rendering as *ecclesia militans*, present in both Peters, would fit: God willed that this Jerusalem battles its way up to the celestial sphere.²³⁶ The many eschatological notes that surround the city (fulfillment of prophecies, nexus to the heavenly guise) provide yet another possibility. Ekkehard of Aura (early 12th century) explicitly tied the earthly Jerusalem (*historialiter*) into an anagogical exegesis (*per anagogen*).²³⁷ It is another possibility that it stands in between the senses, acting as their pivotal hub (just like the church). Its exegetical localization is such a relevant issue because texts align meaning, biblical references, and ideas with particular senses: to investigate the city's meaning in the West, the scholar must clarify the issue of which material is pertinent. One must navigate through the maze of exegetical categories, which may not concur with our modern ideas, and which reveal flexibility, as visible in the comparison of Peter of Blois and Peter the Chanter. As a result, one must ask each text about where it locates the holy city within the scheme of the senses.

Peter the Chanter's commentary on the Psalms, when interpreting Ps. 79, corroborates the separation of earthly Jerusalem and the literal sense: he distinguishes the verse according to three senses, explaining first its historical meaning, related to the city's earlier conquests (*triplex legitur fuisse captivitas Iudeorum, sub nabugodonosor, sub antioquo epiphanie, sub romanis*). This is

234 Beryl Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages* (Oxford 1984), 231–234.

235 See, e.g., Friedrich Ohly, "Typology as a Form of Historical Thought," in: *Sensus spiritualis* (Chicago 2005), 31–67; Sigbjørn Sønnesyn, "Eternity in Time, Unity in Particularity: The Theological Basis of Typological Interpretations in Twelfth-Century Historiography," in: *La typologie biblique comme forme de pensée dans l'historiographie médiévale*, ed. Marek Thue Kretschmer (Turnhout 2015), 77–96.

236 Peter of Blois here cites Is. 51:17 (*surge, illuminare Ierusalem*), a verse that was also part of the liturgy that celebrated the conquest of 1099, and it appears in First Crusade chronicles (see Gaposchkin, *Weapons*, 150, 267, 272). Peter renders the *ecclesia militans* as fighting under the sun (*sub sole*); this is also already present in: Bernard of Clairvaux, *Ep.* 288, 446, writing his uncle, a Templar in the Holy Land, and reflecting on the Second Crusade.

237 Ekkehard of Aura, *Chronicon*, MGH SS 6:266; discussed by Rubenstein, "Crusade and Apocalypse," 184–185. See also Buc, *Holy War*, 283.

followed by an indictment of the sinful state of Christian society (including naming heretics), that is, the spiritual guise, and eventually he reaches the conclusion that all this has literally happened “at the time of Saladin” (*hec omnia ad litteram trahi possunt ad tempus salaadini, et multa specialia que operatus est dominus in illa terra*).²³⁸ The clause’s second part incorporates Ps. 74:12 in order to locate the possibility of salvation in the Holy Land. Peter thus offers the following three senses: the historical, the tropological, and the contemporary Jerusalem—but which sense corresponds to the latter, which is ontologically separated from the historical sense? One is missing: the anagogical, the heavenly Jerusalem.

Further significant material is provided by an Advent sermon by Prevostin of Cremona.²³⁹ He intertwines this text with Palm Sunday, citing Lk. 19:41 as the opening reference (Christ approaches Jerusalem), while admitting that the verse is usually read on that feast (*hec et in ramis palmarum legatur*)—but he uses it now “for recalling the history” (*sed tunc legitur ad memorandum istoriam*), that is, Christ’s arrival at the historical Jerusalem. The master blends a specific episode of the earthly city with Advent’s eschatological perspective, that is, the literal and the anagogical senses.²⁴⁰ Immediately afterwards, he explicates the four senses:

Jesus approached Jerusalem temporally [cf. Lk. 19:41]. I do not speak about the bloodthirsty Jerusalem that killed the prophets [Mt. 23:37]. I do not speak about the sacramental or the virtuous Jerusalem, that is, the Church or the faithful soul respectively—even though one could easily expound on them, since the Lord acts kindly within its walls. But I speak about the heavenly Jerusalem, because Jesus approached this Jerusalem temporally.²⁴¹

²³⁸ Ms. BNF lat. 14426, fol. 62^v; discussed by Bird, “Rogations,” 185.

²³⁹ Ms. BL Add 18335, fols. 11^r–12^v. Henry promulgated in his letter to the entire clergy (early 1188)—likely including addressees in Paris—that one should preach the crusade on this feast (Henry of Albano, *Ep. 31*, 248).

²⁴⁰ See also Jussi Hanska, “Catastrophe Sermons and Apocalyptic Expectations: Eudes de Châteauroux and the Earthquake of 1269 in Viterbo,” in: *The Last Judgement in Medieval Preaching*, ed. Thom Mertens (Turnhout 2011), 117–118.

²⁴¹ Ms. BL Add 18335, fol. 11^r. “Temporaliter appropinquavit Ihesus Ierosolimis [cf. Lk. 19:41]. Non dico Ierosalem sanguinariam, que occidisti prophetas [Mt. 23:37]. Non dico de sacramentali, vel de virtuali, id est, ecclesia vel fidelis anima, licet de ea convenienter posset exponi, quia benigne facit dominus in edificio murorum eius. Sed dico de celesti, hec enim temporaliter appropinquavit Ihesus Ierosolimis.”

Prevostin twice asserts that Christ approached Jerusalem “temporally” (*temporaliter*), that is, bound to his human body, dependent on time in the terrestrial world. He emphasizes the historical event located at the earthly city. However, he explains that he is concerned with neither (a) Jerusalem that killed the prophets (Mt. 23:37), that is, the Old Testament city, nor (b) Jerusalem as the Church, nor (c) Jerusalem as a Christian’s soul. Consequently, he excludes the historical, the typological, and the tropological senses, because he focuses on the heavenly guise (*sed dico de celesti*): Christ approached this guise “temporally.” Thus, while aligning the literal sense with a verse that indicates the Old Testament city, Prevostin stresses twice that Christ “actually” (*temporaliter*) approached the heavenly city.²⁴² He understands his arrival not only as an approach to the earthly but also to the heavenly Jerusalem—since this event was essential for salvation history’s progress. The New Testament and contemporary Jerusalem merge with the celestial realm, as if Christ’s journey had left traces that now form a bridge. This suggests a permanent eschatology bound to the earthly city, a state established with the New Covenant and existing up to the author’s own days.²⁴³ The master underlines therein Christ’s exemplary nature: his audience, the potential crusaders, may reach the heavenly city *temporaliter* by approaching the (allegedly) earthly Jerusalem.

The sermon’s crusading purpose is substantiated in the remainder of the text: shortly after the passage cited, Prevostin declares that Jerusalem has now been destroyed in large parts (*ex magna parte corruit*)—he most likely refers to 1187—but its foundations are still standing: his audience should be ready to rebuild the walls (*super fundamenta et diruptam paratis parietem restaurare*). As discussed, Peter of Blois developed the same argument for the conquest of 1187. Prevostin also refers to Nebuchadnezzar’s dream about the four kingdoms (Chaldean, Persian, Greek, and Roman), a cardinal pointer to the earthly city, as Jay Rubenstein demonstrated.²⁴⁴ Furthermore, Christ “has turned into the Mount of Olives” via his death (*Christus pro humano genere mortuus est, factus*

242 See Jean Longère, *Œuvres oratoires de maîtres parisiens au 12^e siècle: étude historique et doctrinale* (Paris 1975), 2138, who already asserted this about this sermon, yet without considering the implications for the crusade. On this aspect in Bernard, see Lehmann-Brauns, *Jerusalem*, 69.

243 As discussed, Henry also formulates such an idea: Christ has opened the heavens (*aperti sunt coeli*) through his baptism in the Jordan (Henry of Albano, *De peregrinante civitate Dei* (v), 296). Peter voices a similar idea at the end of the *Conquestio*: Christ made the Holy Land into *quasi alterum coelum* by his presence; he emphasizes therein the purpose of Christ’s blood (*suo sanguine rubricavit*) (Peter of Blois, *Conquestio*, 94).

244 Ms. BL Add 18335, fol. 11^v; Peter of Blois, *Sermo* 39, 677; and Rubenstein, *Dream*.

igitur dominus mons oliveti).²⁴⁵ He fused with the Holy Land, making it into a literal part of the Christian community.²⁴⁶ The fact that Christ turned into it (and not into another space) stems from its crucial meaning: it was here that he entered the city on Palm Sunday; here that he was incarcerated; and here that the Ascension to heaven happened. The sermon's end presents the example of martyrs, relating them to the palm branches at Christ's arrival: martyrs who received their palm branches in Jerusalem, so ends Prevostin's vision for an eschatological crusade.

8 Henry of Albano: Jerusalem between Monastery, Theology, and Crusade

A chapter from Henry's work embeds the crusade theologically. In the first treatise, having examined the different *adventus Christi* and their entanglement with the liturgy, he writes:

The advents of Christ will be completed when the matters [of salvation history] progress thanks to all the descending signs: when faith will turn into sight and shadow into truth. In the meantime, while the shadow persists, Christ knows that signs are necessary for preparing in these matters, and he willed to emit such signs, which are also embodiments of the coming signs as well as signs of future things.²⁴⁷

245 Ms. BL Add 18335, fol. 12^r. He aligns this with citing anew Lk. 19:41. See also Benedictinus anonymus, *De penitentia*, ed. Huygens, 102, where the physical Mount of Olives blends with spiritual concepts such as *misericordia*. See also Ms. Oxford, Magd. Coll. 168, fol. 71^r, where John of Abbeville pens: "[...] sed notandum est quia bephage sita est in monte oliveti, qui mons sicut deus ab olivis que ibi crescunt, ex olivis sit oleum, per quod misericordia designatur."

246 The pilgrim Theodericus also considered the Holy Land to be part of the Corpus Christi (Theodericus, *Libellus*, 144, 174; discussed by Lehmann-Brauns, *Jerusalem*, 74). See also Alan of Lille, *Distinctiones*, 751: "Dicitur etiam cor Jerusalem, unde in Evangelio: Sicut fuit Jonas in ventre ceti, sic erit Filius hominis in corde terrae, id est intra Jerusalem sepultus, quae dicitur cor terrae, quia est in medio terrae, scilicet inter occidentem et orientem, non inter plagam septentrionalem et australem." Alan stresses Christ's entombment in Jerusalem: it is located between East and West, but not between North and South. While he evokes the idea of Jerusalem as the center of the world, he explicitly relates this to an East–West axis that indicates the voyage of the crusade.

247 Henry of Albano, *De peregrinante civitate Dei* (1), 261 and Ms. Troyes 509, fol. 98^r. "Complebuntur autem [adventus Christi], cum signis omnibus decedentibus res succedent, fides

With Christ's last advent faith would turn into sight (*fides transibit in speciem*). Matters that had been invisible or spiritual (thus, one had to believe in them) would become visible, being henceforth the subject of conscious contemplation: the ideal of *visio Dei* and Jerusalem as the *visio pacis*.²⁴⁸ Allegorical turns into literal exegesis: on the brink of the Apocalypse, the walls separating heaven and earth crumble and so do the boundaries between the senses—leaps are much closer to hand. This manifests in the Holy Land, where one finally sees the places that had been present life-long only as an invisible notion. The signs (*signa necessaria*) preparing for the transcendental world (*praeparatoria*) may specifically allude to the Holy Land's purpose, a prefiguration of the celestial *contemplatio*.²⁴⁹

When one continues reading, it becomes apparent that the contemplation of the Holy Land is at play:

Since the pilgrims and soldiers are in particular used to wearing the signs, the same signs are dedicated properly to the itinerant and fighting city. Because, as long as we are in our body, we are away from the Lord [2 Cor. 5:6] and, as long as a human's military service is on earth [Job 7:1], we must climb the ladder of visible signs to the invisible matters, in agreement with the Apostle's words: The invisible things of God are perceived since the creation of this world via the things that have been created in a perceivable form [Rom. 1:20]. The creation of this world, he says, not heaven—because the throne who already holds the ladder does not need it. But the children of Chore, who are signed with the Tau on their foreheads [Ez. 9:4], believe that they are appointed to ruin and baldness. They realize that the matters, which appear first on the forehead, the visible matters, are terrestrial in nature, and they long for the eternal and presaging matters, just as the blessed Augustine says: Such baldheads, pilgrims, foreigners on earth, and citizens of the itinerant city, I say, recognize the signs of their soldiers, and they will chant the song of their city.

transibit in speciem, umbra in veritatem. Interim, dum durat umbra, sciens Christus signa esse necessaria, et ad res ipsas praeparatoria, talia agere voluit, quae et res essent praecedentium signorum, et signa rerum futurarum."

248 Henry distinguishes three *adventus*, as he discusses in the preceding lines. Between the usual two, he inserts Christ's daily (*quotidie*) presence in the Age of Grace (*De peregrinante civitate Dei* (1), 259).

249 See also Henry of Albano, *De peregrinante civitate Dei* (xiii), 353, where he launches a similar argument with regard to Cross and Sepulcher; see above on this passage.

They receive thus the Psalter of an active life, in order to strive continuously to transition to a contemplative life.²⁵⁰

Two traits characterize Henry's work: it implements Augustine's concept of the *civitas Dei*, and it is essentially concerned with the entanglement of the different Jerusalems, spanning monastery and crusade—the first is the work's audience, the second its ultimate goal.²⁵¹ Both spheres are displayed in the passage cited: the pilgrims and soldiers are especially used to wearing “the signs” (*signis peregrinantes et militantes praecipue uti solent*), which signify the itinerant and fighting city, that is, Jerusalem (*peregrinanti et militanti civitati signa dantur*). The terminology designates the two groups of travelers to the Holy Land, pilgrims and crusaders, while evoking the practice of wearing a cross on this journey, here identified with the Tau (Ez. 9), the common portrayal for signing people with the cross, in reaction to the relic's loss. All members of the *civitas* would ‘recognize’ or ‘examine’ the signs of their soldiers (*signa suae militiae recognoscunt*), since they are all wearing the same sign, a noteworthy parallel with Hélinand of Froidmont and Peter of Blois. The crusaders are their soldiers—Henry tells his monastic audience.²⁵² This is a call to participate in the enterprise's preparation, mirroring his *Ep.*³¹ (addressed to the entire clergy). He uses common crusade elements such as Job 7:1 and 2 Cor. 5:6.²⁵³ Both sketch the state of terrestrial existence that makes visible signs necessary for

250 Henry of Albano, *De peregrinante civitate Dei* (1), 261–262 and Ms. Troyes 509, fol. 98^{r-v}. “Et quia signis peregrinantes et militantes praecipue uti solent, recte peregrinanti et militanti civitati signa dantur. Quia quandiu sumus in corpore, peregrinamur a Domino [2 Cor. 5:6], et quandiu militia est hominis super terram [Job 7:1], visibilibus signorum scala ad invisibilia necesse habemus uti, secundum quod Apostolus ait: Invisibilia Dei per ea quae facta sunt intellecta conspiciuntur a creatura mundi [Rom. 1:20]. Creatura, ait, mundi, non coeli; illa enim scala non indiget solium jam tenens. Filii autem Chore, qui Thau signatum habent in frontibus suis [Ez. 9:4], qui vocatos se reputant ad cinerem et ad calvitium, qui ea quae prima fronte apparent, visibilia scilicet, temporalia esse cognoscunt, et ad aeterna et anteriora se extendunt, ut ait beatus Augustinus; tales, inquam, calvi et peregrini et advenae super terram et peregrinantis civitatis cives signa suae militiae recognoscunt [Troyes 509: >> recognoscant], et suae civitatis cantaturi canticum; sic activae vitae psalterium assumunt, ut semper ad contemplativam transire contendant.”

251 See Marx, “City of God,” 83–120.

252 Hélinand of Froidmont, *Sermo* 10, 565–566; Peter of Blois, *Passio Raginaldi*, 34–35. See the chapter on the Cross relic. See also Giles Constable, “The Cross of the Crusaders,” in: *Crusaders and Crusading in the Twelfth Century* (Farnham 2008), 62–64. The *calvi* (the bald-headed) designate the monks (see Congar, “Eglise,” 197; Renna, “City,” 65).

253 See also Peter of Blois, *Passio Raginaldi*, 53; *Sermo* 53, 717; Garnerius of Clairvaux, *Sermo* 2, 570; Ralph Ardens, *Pars* (11), *De sanctis*, *Sermo* 22, 1574; Geoffrey of Auxerre, *Sermo* 2, ed. Gastaldelli, 71; *Sermo* 10, ed. Gastaldelli, 139; *Sermo* 20, ed. Gastaldelli, 243; Alan of Lille, *Ars praedicandi*, 186; Hélinand of Froidmont, *Sermo* 25, 685; Humbert of Romans, *Sermo* 1, ed. Maier, 210; Bernard of Clairvaux, *Ep.*³⁹², 748; *Sermo in Cant.* 26, 388.

approaching invisible matters, while Job 7:1 underlines the crusade's militant note.²⁵⁴ He concludes that they must adopt an active life to achieve a contemplative one. Between these lies the Holy Land, a *contemplatio* not possible in the West, at least not for lay people.

Subsequently, the legate identifies three celestial testimonies that God left on earth:

There are three things that bear witness on earth: the spirit, the water, and the blood—and those three are one [1John 5:8]. We have learned that indeed three came out of the Lord's body when he was hanging on the wood [of the cross], just as the blessed Augustine says: first, the spirit, as is corroborated by the following: After he had bowed his head, he gave up his spirit [John 19:30]; thereafter, when his side was pierced with a spear, blood and water were following [John 19:34].²⁵⁵

All three testimonies, Holy Ghost, water, and blood, stem from Christ's Passion. Since this argument is embedded in the larger discussion about the *civitas Dei* and the crusade, it seems that these designate three senses of Scripture: the water indicates the Church; one becomes its member through baptism. The Holy Ghost designates the spiritual city, since it binds them together as a community. And the earthly city is destined to bathe in blood until the Last Judgment—the same place where Christ's blood soaked Palestine's soil. Some lines after the passage cited, Henry identifies the blood with the Eucharist, the Corpus Christi, and penitence, all important concepts in the crusade arena.²⁵⁶

²⁵⁴ On Job 7:1 see Bériou, *Communication*, 430; Bird, "Good Friday," 147. Alan of Lille devotes an entire sermon to Job 7:1 (present, e.g., in Ms. BNF lat. 14859, fols. 235^r–236^r). Ralph Niger's treatise begins with it, likely because it was popular in preaching; he utilizes the common wordplay with *militia* and *malitia* to criticize the crusade (Ralph Niger, *De re militari*, ed. Schmutge, 98; for this wordplay, see Bernard of Clairvaux, *De laude*, 274; *Ep.* 363, 656; Henry of Albano, *Ep.* 32, PL 204:250; Peter of Blois, *Passio Raginaldi*, 3; Baldric of Dol, *Historia*, ed. Biddlecombe, 8; discussed by Cole, *Preaching*, 68; Purkis, *Spirituality*, 103).

²⁵⁵ Henry of Albano, *De peregrinante civitate Dei* (1), 262 and Ms. Troyes 509, fol. 98^v. "Tres sunt qui testimonium dant in terris; spiritus, aqua et sanguis: et hi tres unum sunt [1John 5:8]. Tria siquidem, ut ait beatus Augustinus, novimus de corpore Domini exisse, cum penderet in ligno: primum spiritum, juxta illud: Inclinato capite, emisit spiritum [John 19:30]; deinde, quando latus ejus lancea perforatum est, sanguinem et aquam [John 19:34]."

²⁵⁶ See, e.g., Cole, *Preaching*, 142–176; Anne Lise Bysted, *The Crusade Indulgence: Spiritual Rewards and the Theology of the Crusades, c.1095–1216* (Leiden 2015), 109–128. Innocent III's Fourth Lateran sermon contains a similar threefold distinction (see Georg Strack, "Autorität und 'Imitatio Christi'. Die Konzilspredigten Innozenz' III. (1215), Innozenz' IV. (1245) und Gregors X. (1274)," in: *Autorità e consenso*, ed. Maria Pia Alberzoni and Roberto Lambertini (Milan 2017), 183–184).

We have already encountered some examples where earthly Jerusalem is portrayed as a bloodthirsty city (Mt. 23:37). Numerous authors emphasize that Christ's blood granted this land its eminent standing, for example, Gerald of Wales or Richard Lionheart in his letter to Garnerius of Clairvaux.²⁵⁷ Other texts underline his sanctifying blood with regard to the Cross relic.²⁵⁸ Instead of speaking of his presence or work more generally, these texts place particular emphasis on the shedding of blood. An especially disturbing testimony is offered by John of Würzburg, who traveled to the East in the 1170s. Having reached the Holy Sepulcher, he describes it as the place which had been sanctified by Christ's blood—and once again by the bloodshed of “venerable men,” that is, the conquest of 1099 (*facta est a viris venerabilibus consecratio*). He also cites an inscription placed in the church that emphasizes the same idea; and he connects this with *Laetare Jerusalem*, which is meant to commemorate the events, hinting at its pertinence for crusade preaching.²⁵⁹ The violent deeds thus acquire a providential purpose that points back to Christ's Passion and the First Crusade but also forward to the Last Judgment.

Scholars argued in the past that preachers such as Bernard of Clairvaux adapted their message to their audience, thus preaching different concepts of

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- 257 Gerald of Wales, *Expugnatio Hibernica*, 371; Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, 3132; see also Arnold of Lübeck, *Chronica*, 164; Peter of Blois, *Ep.*98, 307; *Conquestio*, 77–78, 83, 94; Garnerius of Clairvaux, *Distinctiones*, 1045; Guillaume le Breton, *Philippidos*, ed. Delaborde, 66; Lucius III, *Ep.*182, 1312; Bernard of Clairvaux, *Ep.*288, 446; *Ep.*363, 650; *Ep.*458, 896; *Ep.*521, 984; Innocent III, *Quia maior*, 821; Jacques de Vitry, *Sermo* 2, ed. Maier, 102; Roger of Howden, *Gesta*, 2:38. The last reference cites a letter by Henry II to the patriarch of Antioch, penned on the eve of the Third Crusade. Gerhoch used Mt. 23:37 for sketching the sinful state of earthly Jerusalem that caused the Second Crusade's failure (Gerhoch of Reichersberg, *De investigatione*, ed. Sackur, 377; see Rubenstein, *Dream*, 148–149).
- 258 See, e.g., Peter of Blois, *Conquestio*, 84; *Passio Raginaldi*, 35, 60; Hélinand of Froidmont, *Sermo* 10, 571–572; Gunther of Pairis, *Hystoria*, ed. Orth, 112; Jacques de Vitry, *Sermo* 2, ed. Maier, 108; Gilbert of Tournai, *Sermo* 1, ed. Maier, 182. See also Urbans II's sermon: Christ's body and shadow (*corpus vel umbra Salvatoris*) as well as the blood of martyrs (*martyrum ebibendus sanguis effusus*) sanctified this land (Baldric of Dol, *Historia*, ed. Biddlecombe, 8).
- 259 John of Würzburg, *Descriptio*, 123–124; discussed by Toussaint, *Knochen*, 63. On John, see Lehmann-Brauns, *Jerusalem*, 121–151. For a focus on the first crusaders' bloodshed, see also Alexander III, *Ep.*1505, 1296–1297; discussed by Purkis, *Spirituality*, 115–116; and Raymond of Aguilers, *Liber*, ed. Hill, 150–151; discussed by Benjamin Z. Kedar, “The Jerusalem Massacre of 1099 in the Historiography of the Crusades,” *Crusades* 3 (2004), 18. In his letter to the crusaders (1100) after they had reported on the massacre, Pascal II wrote: “[...] quod coepit adimpleat [deus] et manus vestras, quas hostium suorum sanguine consecravit, immaculatas usque in finem adfluentissima pietate custodiat.” (*Kreuzzugsbriefe* (XXII), ed. Hagenmeyer, 178; discussed by Althoff, *Verfolgung*, 139–140).

Jerusalem, in particular to lay compared to monastic audiences.²⁶⁰ Yet, already Sylvia Schein stressed that Bernard did not chose his arguments for propagandistic reasons, but because he was seriously concerned about the earthly city.²⁶¹ This chapter substantiates that Jerusalem—in particular in the moment of its loss—operated as a visible sign for the entire Christian community: after 1187 preachers saw the worlds of monks and laity as related. Monastic responsibility consisted both of instructing crusaders (preaching, liturgy, sacraments) and spiritually supporting them (for example, through prayer). The Corpus Christi's different limbs thus contributed to resolving the issue. Henry's unique work epitomized and exemplified these ideas: its first treatise already establishes significant causalities between the senses; and these observations make it possible to reach some conclusions about the nature of his oeuvre. While monks are its addressees as potential preachers, the crusade—as the crusade treatise explains—represents its purpose and occasion. The opus is located at the intersection of monastery, theology, and crusade. It offers an enormously rich collection of materials on Jerusalem, combining the crusade treatise (no. 13) with more theological examinations (treatises 1–12) and liturgical instructions for the Lenten season (treatises 14–18).²⁶² The last part concurs perfectly with the season when Henry himself preached the crusade in 1188. A comprehensive analysis shows that the crusade treatise applies many motifs to the situation of 1187, whereas the same are elucidated in the other treatises with regard to their exegetical and providential meaning.²⁶³ For example, the crusade treatise identifies the Cross relic with Moses' *virga*, mentioning some lines later God's vengeful *virga* as well, whereas treatise (12) offers elaborate materials on the motif of *virga*.²⁶⁴ A recipient of Henry's work, searching for material to preach the crusade, encounters the motif's relevance for the crusade, while being equipped with manifold materials for expanding on it in preaching. The same correlation is found with the motif of the gates: it plays a pivotal role right at the outset of the crusade treatise, while it is elaborately explained in treatise (5).²⁶⁵ Henry's work seems to have been one of the attempts in the late 12th century to find new formats for supplying others with preaching material (another such attempt

260 See, e.g., Peter Raedts, "St. Bernard of Clairvaux and Jerusalem," in: *Prophecy and Eschatology*, ed. Michael J. Wilks (Oxford 1994), 171–174.

261 See Schein, *Gateway*, 129–130. See also Constable, "Place," 382–383.

262 See the chapter on immediate context; and Marx, "City of God," 88–89, 112–120.

263 See Marx, "City of God," 96, 102, 109–111.

264 Henry of Albano, *De peregrinante civitate Dei* (xii), 339–342; and (xiii), 353, 355. On the motif of *virga*, see the chapter on the Holy Land.

265 Henry of Albano, *De peregrinante civitate Dei* (v), 291–298; and (xiii), 350–351.

were the *distinctiones*). His effort produced a work that betrays much creativity, sophistication, and preaching experience—even though its complex nature did not permit the establishment of a genre (a fact corroborating the idea that it was tailored to a specific context, the Third Crusade). His work exemplifies that one cannot separate crusading from other phenomena in the West—this has vital consequences for the selection and analysis of sermon material, as the chapters on Jerusalem and the Cross relic have abundantly shown.

The Holy Land: Terminology, Borders, and Providential Itineraries

We have always been armed for defending the house of the Lord.

PETRUS CANTOR, *Distinctiones*, entry for *porte nonne sunt in utraque Ierusalem*¹



This chapter addresses the overarching category of the Holy Land, investigating essential questions: How strongly does such a category surface in the sermons? Which terms express it, and what meaning does it have? Which places and spaces does it encompass, and where are its borders? Finally, another pivotal space requires consideration, that is, the sea presenting itself as an obstacle on the way to the Holy Land. This chapter thus spawns the larger salvific landscape, that is, a mental map with which the Latin Christians imagined the way ahead. Milestones appear, in particular arrival in both the Holy Land and Jerusalem. Whereas the city's borders seem clearly defined, there is the question of whether the Holy Land's borders were perceived as explicit. For example, whether Syria or Antioch belonged to it is an unresolved question.² In terms of the journey by sea, the border was obvious: to set foot on land once more was to set foot on the Holy Land. Since the sea route increased in importance in the course of the 12th century, one may surmise that the Holy Land's borders also became manifest (in the Western perception). As a reminder, this study investigates a specific corpus of sources: the ideas it holds may not have been present

1 Ms. BL Royal 10 A XVI, fol. 82^v. “Nos semper armati pro defensione domus domini fuimus.” See also Ms. BNF lat. 10633, fol. 96^v, where one reads *sumimus* instead of *fuimus*. See also Petrus Cantor, *Distinctiones*, 531: “[...] erant armati domum regiam custodituri.”

2 These places do not play any role in the relevant sources, save perhaps for the *Passio Raginaldi*, which is devoted to Reynaud de Châtillon, the former prince of Antioch—but Antioch still does not loom large in the text. An exception are the *Chanson de geste*, in which Antioch plays an important role, in commemoration of the First Crusade and especially in the *Chanson d'Antioche* (ed. Duparc-Quioc). This seems to be a crucial difference between clerical discourse and lay commemoration.

in the minds of all crusaders. Yet, it is plausible that these ideas, disseminated by the Third Crusade's successful organizers, generated considerable impact. This is evident in Baldwin of Canterbury's case, an essential military leader of the expedition, who likely issued decisions and perceived spaces in terms of the same ideas. This is visible, for example, in his sermon *De sancta cruce*, and how it blends the crusade and the cross with the Old Testament Exodus (see below).³ It is therefore reasonable to suppose that the direct involvement of preachers, partly even on the battlefield, guided other participants.

The Holy Land is surrounded by 'spaces of evil,' primarily Babylon and Egypt; the first (identified with Cairo) appears as the latter's capital in the Western perception, analogous to the relationship between Jerusalem and Holy Land. Two principles are placed in opposition to each other here: good and evil, *civitas Dei* and *civitas terrena*, derived from the Augustinian vision, as present in Henry of Albano's opus, but also, for example, in an elaborate sermon by Martin of León.⁴ The two cities, emblem of the heavenly and terrestrial world respectively, are anchored in actual space, where they are engaged in eternal combat, as Bernard of Clairvaux formulated it, until this battle is decided at the End of Days.⁵ Such topographical categories do not appear as spaces of everyday life, but they are deeply colored in providential and eschatological terms. The idea of a uniform earth does not seem to apply here; Jerusalem and Babylon are removed from the ordinary world, a nexus between this world and the next. A journey to the Holy Land was thus capable of overcoming the space that separated the two worlds, space that would usually not be conquerable. As a result, one approached the *civitas Dei* manifested in earthly Jerusalem, but also Babylon, capital of the *civitas terrena*.⁶

3 Baldwin of Canterbury, *Sermo* 8, 127–136. Another intriguing case is the fact that the Latin Christians left the (previously inhabited) town of Capernaum unsettled after the First Crusade, because, according to Pseudo-Methodius, this would be the place where the Antichrist appears (see Nicholas Morton, *Encountering Islam on the First Crusade* (Cambridge, UK 2016), 216–217).

4 Martin of León, *Liber sermonum*, *Sermo* 27, 977–1008 and Ms. León, San Isidoro 11/3, fols. 38^r–50^v.

5 Bernard of Clairvaux, *De conflictu*, 818. On Augustine's reception, see Hans-Werner Goetz, "Die Rezeption der augustianischen civitas-Lehre in der Geschichtstheologie des 12. Jahrhunderts," in: *Vorstellungsgeschichte* (Bochum 2007), 89–116; Yves Congar, "Eglise et Cité de Dieu chez quelques auteurs cisterciens à l'époque des Croisades: en particulier dans le De Peregrinante Civitate Dei d'Henri d'Albano," in: *Mélanges offerts à Etienne Gilson de l'Académie française*, ed. Callistus Edie (Toronto 1959), 173–202. On the providential connection of Babylon and Egypt, see Mette Birkedal Bruun, *Parables: Bernard of Clairvaux's Mapping of Spiritual Topography* (Leiden 2007), 259–260.

6 See Barbara Baert, *A Heritage of Holy Wood: The Legend of the True Cross in Text and Image*

Indebted to the biblical narratives, the ‘spaces of evil’ may also blend with the idea of terrestrial exile, since the terrestrial world represents the realm of evil. The West is thus part of the Babylonian dominion, as heretics and Jews would demonstrate, but the presence of God’s people, eager to envision Jerusalem and the heavenly world, creates enclaves of resistance. Nevertheless, there is a difference between the West and evil’s homelands, which is displayed historically in the different religious groups. In the West, God’s people prepare to depart from exile in the form of the crusade, whereas the spaces of evil offer a home to the Muslims, a group which authors often align with demons and devilish forces.⁷ The spaces of evil—which in the Bible correspond with the exile—are increasingly separated from it by reason of the historical situation, but Babylon may still reach out in a spiritual manifestation, combatting its counterpart, the Corpus Christi.⁸ As we have seen on more than one occasion, the Corpus Christi blends with the Holy Land; this makes the region into a literal part of the Christian community.⁹ What the Holy Land seems to lack, in contrast to Jerusalem and the Temple, is an exegetical distinction into different guises. It is a terrestrial region (*terra*); it provides the framework for those sites entangled with heaven, but it does not seem to be such itself—with one exception in the *Passio Raginaldi* speaking of a heavenly Holy Land. The rarity of the idea may perhaps be explained by the terrestrial taste of *terra*. Peter’s creation may be explained by the fact that he penned this before he heard of Jerusalem’s loss: with large parts of the Holy Land lost in the events surrounding Hattin, it may have made sense to him to construct such an equivalent for

(Leiden 2004), 172; Katherine Allen Smith, *The Bible and Crusade Narrative in the Twelfth Century* (Woodbridge 2020), 155–188.

7 See, e.g., Alexander Marx, “The *Passio Raginaldi* of Peter of Blois. Martyrdom and Eschatology in the Preaching of the Third Crusade,” *Viator* 50/3 (2019), 221; Cecilia Gaposchkin, *Invisible Weapons: Liturgy and the Making of Crusade Ideology* (Ithaca, NY 2017), 57, 61–62; Philippe Buc, *Holy War, Martyrdom, and Terror: Christianity, Violence, and the West, ca. 70 C.E. to the Iraq War* (Philadelphia 2015), 78–79. On the idea of departing from exile, see Elizabeth Lapina, *Warfare and the Miraculous in the Chronicles of the First Crusade* (University Park 2015), 133–137, 141.

8 See, e.g., Buc, *Holy War*, 258, 291; John D. Cotts, *The Clerical Dilemma: Peter of Blois and Literate Culture in the Twelfth Century* (Washington, D.C. 2009), 102–107.

9 See, e.g., Peter of Blois, *Sermo* 39, 678; Martin of León, *Liber sermonum, Sermo* 4, 215–216; Garnerius of Clairvaux, *Distinctiones*, 1065; Alan of Lille, *Ars praedicandi*, 188. The last reference cites Alan’s model sermon *Ad principes et iudices* which distinguishes a threefold *terra*. The one in the middle, designating the Holy Land and the Corpus Christi, is the *terra corporis nostri*. This generates a threefold journey: (a) terrestrial world / Europe / exile; (b) Holy Land / Corpus Christi; (c) the heavenly fatherland. The Chanter betrays the same idea (see Ms. BL Royal 10 A XVI, fol. 105^r and Ms. BNF lat. 10633, fol. 123^v as well as Petrus Cantor, *Distinctiones*, 633–634).

stressing the crusade's eschatological dimension.¹⁰ Other authors occasionally create a nexus between Holy Land and celestial realm, for example, Martin of León proposing a typological reading (*figuraliter*) for the Exodus (expressed with: *ad terram promissionis, id est ad coelestem patriam pervenire*).¹¹ The *id est* may indicate here an allegorical causality, a heavenly Holy Land, but it is also possible that this designates the Palestinian region. This would mean: one travels to the Holy Land and ascends to the heavenly fatherland there—an idea that certainly existed among contemporaries, but which is usually expressed through the city of Jerusalem.

1 The Holy Land: Terminology and Meaning

There is the question of whether contemporaries even conceived of an overarching category of 'the Holy Land'—modern scholarship seems to assume that this was only established in the 13th century.¹² Three terms express such in particular: *terra sancta*; *terra promissionis*; and *loca sancta*. While the first two designate a concept for the entire region, the last hints at the sum of holy sites. This term appears occasionally in the 12th century, including several crusade chronicles; it represents a descriptive category.¹³ However, searching databases, one does not get too many hits—and a remarkable absence around the Third Crusade (comprising both chronicles and sermon texts).¹⁴ On the other hand, *terra sancta* appears copiously in the Third Crusade's corpus: one needs to revise the opinion that it only became common in the 13th century.¹⁵ Although Jerusalem

10 Peter of Blois, *Passio Raginaldi*, 48. See the chapter on Jerusalem.

11 Martin of León, *De sanctis, Sermo 4*, 25. With the same expression, see *Liber sermonum, Sermo 4*, 279. See also Ms. ÖNB 1558, fol. 25^r; and John D. Cotts, "Earthly Kings, Heavenly Jerusalem: Ralph Niger's Political Exegesis and the Third Crusade," *The Haskins Society Journal* 30 (2018), 164–165.

12 See, e.g., Nikolas Jaspert, "Das Heilige Grab, das Wahre Kreuz, Jerusalem und das Heilige Land. Wirkung, Wandel und Vermittler hochmittelalterlicher Attraktoren," in: *Konflikt und Bewältigung*, ed. Thomas Pratsch (Berlin 2011), 89–90.

13 See, e.g., Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia* (1.33), ed. Hagenmeyer, 332; Robert of Reims, *Historia*, ed. Bull, 6; William of Tyre, *Chronique* (1.10), 123; (1.15), 132; (12.2), 548; Bernard of Clairvaux, *De laude*, 294; *Ep.363*, 650; *Ep.458*, 896. See also Dieter R. Bauer, "Heiligkeit des Landes: Ein Beispiel für die Prägekraft der Volksreligiosität," in: *Volksreligion im hohen und späten Mittelalter*, ed. Bauer and Peter Dinzelbacher (Paderborn 1990), 50.

14 Exceptions are: Alan of Lille, *Commentary on Cant.*, 73; Hélinand of Froidmont, *Chronicon*, 986; Benedictinus anonymus, *De penitentia*, PL 213:891; Ralph Niger, *De re militari*, ed. Schmugge, 96.

15 See, e.g., Peter of Blois, *Passio Raginaldi*, 70; Ms. BL Add 19767, fol. 73^v; *Itinerarium pere-*

was undoubtedly essential, the fact that large territories were lost in 1187 was likely the reason why the category of *terra sancta* loomed large in the expedition's preaching.¹⁶ This context seems to designate a watershed for establishing the concept, with the preachers as key protagonists—even though the term is already present in earlier sources.¹⁷ The *distinctiones* demonstrate that *terra* may be ambivalent in nature: Alan of Lille and Garnerius of Clairvaux include readings that may grant it both positive and negative meaning, yet the positive ones prevail. Garnerius equates it with Christ and *regnum celorum*, but also with *terrena sapientes*.¹⁸ In the entry for *sanguis*, he evokes the notion that the *terra* is holy because Christ saturated it with his blood: he speaks about the Holy Land.¹⁹ Considering these sources also explains why many texts speak only of *terra* or *terra illa*, while the context betrays that they are concerned with the Holy Land. A frequent reference that displays this usage is Ps. 131:7 (see below), but it also knows other biblical sources (Jer. 1:14; Ps. 36:9; Mt. 27:45).²⁰ The vague usage suggests that the Holy Land featured prominently in the minds of contemporaries—otherwise, they would not have understood the reference.

grinorum, ed. Mayer, 248, 271, 276; Henry of Albano, *Ep.32*, PL 204:249; Baldwin of Canterbury, *De commendatione*, 638; Garnerius of Clairvaux, *Sermo 13*, 662; Martin of León, *Liber sermonum*, *Sermo 32*, 219; Roger of Howden, *Gesta*, 2:39; *Libellus*, ed. Brewer and Kane, 210, 238; Clement III, *Ep.99*, 1408; *Urkundenbuch*, ed. Janicke, 1:484; Gunther of Pairis, *Hystoria*, ed. Orth, 112, 131, 138, 167.

- 16 Caesarius' depiction of the events of 1187 suggests the same, where he frequently uses *terra sancta* (Caesarius of Heisterbach, *Dialogus* (2.30), 476; (4.15), 708; (10.47), 1988). See also Valentin Portnykh, "L'argument vassalique' au service de la prédication des croisades en Terre Sainte (fin XI^e–XIII^e siècles)," *Medieval Sermon Studies* 61 (2017), 62, who proposed the same argument for the term *haereditas*; see the discussion below.
- 17 See Bauer, "Heiligkeit," 50–55; Sylvia Schein, *Gateway to the Heavenly City: Crusader Jerusalem and the Catholic West (1099–1187)* (Aldershot 2005), 15, both examining chronicles of the First Crusade. Yet, Bauer aptly asserts that the term was not widespread by the mid-12th century, for example, it does not appear once in Otto of Freising's work and was only rarely used by Bernard of Clairvaux.
- 18 Garnerius of Clairvaux, *Distinctiones*, 1065–1066; Alan of Lille, *Distinctiones*, 969–970. Peter relates *terrena sapientes* to the Jews who did not understand that the Holy Land was only an effigy of the heavenly world (Peter of Blois, *Passio Raginaldi*, 48).
- 19 Garnerius of Clairvaux, *Distinctiones*, 1045. See the chapter on Jerusalem.
- 20 See Joseph Kremer, "Zur Geschichte des Begriffs 'Terra Sancta,'" in: *Das Heilige Land in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart*, ed. Valmar Cramer and Gustav Meinertz (Cologne 1941), 56. See, e.g., Gregory VIII, *Audita tremendi*, ed. Chroust, 7–8; Hélinand of Froidmont, *Sermo 10*, 566; Peter of Blois, *Passio Raginaldi*, 49; *Conquestio*, 78, 93; Henry of Albano, *De peregrinante civitate Dei* (XIII), 359; Ms. BNF lat. 14426, fol. 62^v; Lucius III, *Ep.182*, 1312–1313; Innocent III, *De diversis*, *Sermo 6*, 676; Ms. BNF lat. 18172, fol. 5^r; Gunther of Pairis, *Hystoria*, ed. Orth, 114.

Another term that appears frequently is *terra promissionis*, especially with regard to the Old Testament stories of exile and Exodus, but texts also use it to discuss the New Covenant and the Holy Land's current situation: they thus drag the concept into their own day with all its implications.²¹ The dialectic unleashed by implementing the Old Testament references hopes for a typological repetition of its events. The term *terra promissionis*, which evokes Christ's grace, ties salvation history and notably its grand finale to this specific region. This makes it requisite that God's people travel there, just as Moses led the Israelites to the same land.²² Similarly, authors designate the crusader army as the *exercitus domini Sabaoth* (the army of the Lord Sabaoth). As Nikolas Jaspert argued, this is a plain reference to crusading; the Christians wage war in league with God, in imitation of the Old Testament; and this is present in several sources around the Third Crusade.²³ The motif expresses that the Christians have inherited the Holy Land from the Old Covenant, an idea visible in elements already examined such as the comparison between the Cross and the Ark or the growing emphasis on the Temple.²⁴

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- 21 See, e.g., Martin of León, *De sanctis, Sermo 4*, 25; Peter of Blois, *Passio Raginaldi*, 32, 47; Ms. BNF lat. 18172, fol. 27^r; *Chronica Andrensis*, 718; Arnold of Lübeck, *Chronica*, 147. A chronicle speaks of *sancta terra promissionis* when delineating Jerusalem's loss (see *Libellus*, ed. Brewer and Kane, 210).
- 22 See Gerard E. Caspary, *Politics and Exegesis: Origen and the Two Swords* (Berkeley 1979), 113–115; Dennis Howard Green, *The Millstätter Exodus: A Crusading Epic* (Cambridge, UK 1966), 188–227. For use of the Exodus, see, e.g., Baldwin of Canterbury, *Sermo 8*, 130–131; Garnerius of Clairvaux, *Sermo 14*, 666; *Sermo 28*, 750; Peter of Blois, *Sermo 17*, 609; *Ep. 112*, 337; Martin of León, *Liber sermonum, Sermo 4*, 256; Ms. BL Add 18335, fol. 2^v. See also Bernard of Clairvaux, *De consideratione* (2.1), 662; discussed by Hubert Glaser, “Das Scheitern des zweiten Kreuzzuges als heilsgeschichtliches Ereignis,” in: *Festschrift für Max Spindler*, ed. Dieter Albrecht and Andreas Kraus (Munich 1969), 120–121. Bird examines the motif's presence during the Fifth Crusade: Jessalynn L. Bird, “Rogations, Litanies, and Crusade Preaching: The Liturgical Front in the Late Twelfth and Early Thirteenth Centuries,” in: *Papacy, Crusade, and Christian-Muslim Relations*, ed. Bird (Amsterdam 2018), 170.
- 23 Nikolas Jaspert, “Eleventh-Century Pilgrimage from Catalonia to Jerusalem: New Sources on the Foundations of the First Crusade,” *Crusades* 14 (2015), 24. See, e.g., Hélinand of Froidmont, *Chronicon* (on 1099), 995; *Sermo 25*, 685; Henry of Albano, *Ep. 11*, 224; *De peregrinante civitate Dei* (xv), 375; Garnerius of Clairvaux, *Sermo 33*, 781; *Sermo 36*, 799; Peter of Blois, *Ep. 27*, 94; *Ep. 113*, 341; *Sermo 23*, 599–600; *Sermo 65*, 763; *Passio Raginaldi*, 61, 70; *Compendium in Iob*, 799, 816; Martin of León, *Liber sermonum, Sermo 17*, 800–801; *Sermo 23*, 896; Konrad of Eberbach, *Exordium* (5.10), ed. Griesser, 330; Bernard of Clairvaux, *De laude*, 284; William of Tyre, *Chronique* (1.15), 131.
- 24 See the chapter on the Cross relic and the section on the Sepulcher in the chapter on Jerusalem. On Christian self-perception, see also Morton, *Islam*, 226–233; Smith, *Crusade Narrative*, 112–128; Christian Hofreiter, *Making Sense of Old Testament Genocide: Christian Interpretations of Herem Passages* (Oxford 2018), 169–170.

Yet, 12th-century texts offer further terms for the Holy Land, for example, *terra benedicta*. Even though the full text databases show that it is a rare occurrence, one gets a comparatively high number of hits among the Cistercians: one of Bernard's crusade letters equates *terra benedicta* with *terra promissionis*. Aelred of Rievaulx (c.1110–1167) uses the term in a sermon text, while equating *terra sancta* with *medium terrae*, that is, Jerusalem. A sermon by Hélinand starts with the already examined Ps. 85:12 (*veritas de terra orta est*); it uses *terra benedicta* four times (inter alia in opposition to a *terra maledicta*).²⁵ It transpires that the Cistercians tried to establish two specific terms, *terra sancta* and *terra benedicta*, for designating the Holy Land; they pursued these ambitions at a time when its ontological concept was still developing, thus implementing major impulses.²⁶ Preachers promoted a similar attempt with *terra bona*, which is used in numerous texts. It may inhere in a spiritual meaning, but authors also apply it to the Holy Land, for example, Sicard of Cremona asserts that the king (Christ) led them from Egypt, through the desert, into the *terra bona* (*rex eorum eduxit eos de Aegypto et deduxit eos per desertum, et introduxit in terram bonam*).²⁷ The term's use in contemporary sources encompasses several senses; it represents a quintessence of all that is desirable, embodying the homeland to which one wants to return, a heavenly Holy Land.²⁸ The return to heaven could be described in many different ways, but authors place an emphasis on topography—certainly with a purpose in mind. Telling for the term's fusion of several senses is a sermon by Martin:

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- 25 Bernard of Clairvaux, *Ep.* 363, 650; Aelred of Rievaulx, *Sermo* 119, 201; Hélinand of Froidmont, *Sermo* 2, 486–498. On Ps. 85:12 see the chapter on the Cross relic. On Jerusalem as the center of the world, see the chapter on Jerusalem. On *terra maledicta*, see also Lapina, *Warfare*, 133–134.
- 26 See also Roger of Howden, *Gesta*, 2:12, speaking of *terra beatissima* when reporting on the events of 1187. See also Humbert of Romans, *Short Version*, ed. Portnykh, 76. *Terra beata* refers to the idea of a terrestrial paradise; see Reinhold R. Grimm, *Paradisus coelestis, paradisus terrestris: Zur Auslegungsgeschichte des Paradieses im Abendland bis um 1200* (Munich 1977), 17.
- 27 Sicard of Cremona, *De officiiis*, 318; this is part of liturgical discussions regarding Good Friday and hence typological in nature. See also Henry of Albano, *De peregrinante civitate Dei* (11), 274; (XI), 335; Garnerius of Clairvaux, *Sermo* 19, 696; Ralph Ardens, *Pars* (1), *Section* (1), *Sermo* 29, 1769–1770; Baldwin of Canterbury, *De commendatione*, 608; Ms. BNF lat. 14859, fol. 217^v; *Carmina Burana*, ed. Traill, 1:182; Bernard of Clairvaux, *De laude*, 290; *Historia peregrinorum*, ed. Chroust, 125.
- 28 The source is Ex. 3:8 speaking of the *terra bona* where milk and honey flow—the term's origin already points to the Holy Land (see Bauer, “Heiligkeit,” 45; Hendrik Breuer, “‘Quia salus ex iudeis est’ (Joh 4,22). Ein Textzeugnis der rheinischen Kreuzzugspredigt des Heiligen Bernhard von Clairvaux in der Glossa ordinaria des Codex 23 der Kölner Dombibliothek,” *Mittelalterliche Handschriften der Kölner Dombibliothek* 4 (2012), 126–128).

There is no labor in this good and best land, that is, in the celestial fatherland, and yet nobody can reach it without enduring labor. Thus, it is said: Only great labors can bring you great rewards. And once more: One will not be crowned, unless one has fought the good fight [2 Tim. 2:5]. The kingdom of the heavens will not be granted to those who are lazy, idle, and roaming, but to those who are zealous in God's service, those who battle bravely against vices and temptations. Raise thus your mind's eyes to this good and best land, and despise all goods of this world in exchange for his love. In order to acquire this land as your inheritance, you must bear the burden of the order voluntarily on your shoulders.²⁹

The passage's conclusion suggests that the sermon's audience is monastic. Nevertheless, the imagery as well as the nexus to the heavenly fatherland (here *terra bona*) indicate the crusade. The imagery is one of warfare, of a hard-fought inheritance, and of advancing to the celestial kingdom—the *terra bona* is here predominantly informed by the anagogical sense. The evidence reveals, therefore, that *terra bona* can be spiritual, geographical, or transcendent; it represents a hub between the senses.

Lastly, a term still used today is Palestine. It already existed in the central Middle Ages, but database searches yield only a limited number of hits, including the Third Crusade's corpus. Yet, one contemporary text uses it frequently: Ralph Niger's *De re militari*.³⁰ Judging from the work's purpose, the term may designate a negative connotation; this is apparent in specific passages: Ralph says, for example, that Palestine's sins were the cause of the events of 1187 (*peccatis enim Palestine exigentibus*).³¹ He also speaks of its just punishment

29 Martin of León, *De diversis, Sermo 7*, 119 and Ms. León, San Isidoro 11/2, fol. 154^r. "In illa terra bona et optima, hoc est in coelesti patria, nullus labor est, sed tamen ad illam sine labore nemo pervenire potest. Unde est illud: Ad magna praemia perveniri non potest nisi per magnos labores. Et iterum: Non coronabitur, nisi qui legitime certaverit [2 Tim. 2:5]. Regnum coelorum non dabitur tepidis, otiosis et vagantibus; sed in Dei servitio exercitatis, et studiose contra vitia et tentationes certantibus. Ad illam ergo terram bonam et optimam oculos mentis erigite, et pro amore illius omnia quae in hoc mundo sunt, despiciate; et ut eam vobis in haereditatem possitis acquirere, libenter humerum ad portandum onus ordinis supponite."

30 See, e.g., Ralph Niger, *De re militari*, ed. Schmugge, 92, 96, 188, 220. On Ralph, see the chapter on the failure of crusades. For other uses, see Hélinand of Froidmont, *Chronicon*, 998; Martin of León, *De diversis, Sermo 2*, 72; Peter of Blois, *Contra Iudeos*, 862; *Ep. 113*, 340; Gerald of Wales, *Expugnatio Hibernica*, 304, 365; *Itinerarium Cambriae*, 14; Ms. Troyes 1301, fol. 158^v.

31 Ralph Niger, *De re militari*, ed. Schmugge, 186.

(*de iusta pena Palestine*).³² On the other hand, it is notable that he does not use *terra sancta* even once (the same goes for *terra bona* and *terra benedicta*). The negative coloring is corroborated by a contemporaneous collection of *exempla* from Clairvaux: it renders Palestine as the province of the Old Testament Jews, while classifying the same as *inimici crucis Christi*.³³ Palestine inhered in a negative meaning, therefore it was avoided by the Third Crusade's preachers. It has become clear that, besides well-known terms such as *terra sancta*, one can detect further efforts to define the Holy Land's ontological concept. The late 12th century knew a variety of expressions; these were still a matter of negotiation. The terminological quest for the Holy Land presents itself as tantamount to the quest for designating 'crusaders,' where one can likewise observe such efforts, as the chapter on the Cross relic discussed. Preachers were busy creating categories that were informed by the events of 1187, categories which, however, encompassed several senses and bridged diverse registers.

The preachers understood the Christians as the literal heirs of the Old Covenant and hence of the Holy Land—the result of an increasing emphasis on literal exegesis. Two synonyms for the Holy Land express this: *haereditas* and *patrimonium*. Especially *haereditas* enjoys great popularity in the relevant corpus; it is sometimes complemented with *domini* or *crucifixi*, sometimes with a possessive pronoun.³⁴ The chronicles also deploy both.³⁵ A pertinent reference is Ps. 127:3 (*ecce haereditas domini*): it is often used in connection with the crusade, and its rhetorical form supports its implementation in sermons.³⁶

32 Ralph Niger, *De re militari*, ed. Schmugge, 193.

33 *Collectaneum exemplorum*, ed. Legendre, 170.

34 On *haereditas* see, e.g., Hélinand of Froimont, *Sermo 14*, 593; Peter of Blois, *Conquestio*, 85–86; *Passio Raginaldi*, 40; *Dialogus*, 399; Alan of Lille, *De cruce Domini*, ed. d'Alverny, 281; Henry of Albano, *De peregrinante civitate Dei* (v), 294; Ms. BNF lat. 14859, fol. 215^v; Ms. BL Add 19767, fol. 75^r; Ms. Würzburg M.ch. q.158, fol. 80^r; Ms. BL Add 18335, fol. 82^r; Ms. BNF lat. 18172, fol. 7^v; Heraclius, *Hilferuf (II)*, ed. Jaspert, 515; Heraclius, *Hilferuf (III)*, ed. Kedar, 121; Bernard of Clairvaux, *Ep.363*, 652; *Ep.521*, 984; John of Abbeville, *Ad crucesignatos*, ed. Cole, 222. On *patrimonium* see, e.g., Peter of Blois, *Ep.20*, 73; *Ep.112*, 338; Ms. BL Add 19767, fol. 73^r; Ms. BNF lat. 3811, fol. 116^{r-v}; Garnerius of Clairvaux, *Sermo 27*, 750; Gerald of Wales, *De principis instructione*, 200.

35 See *Historia peregrinorum*, ed. Chroust, 124; *Libellus*, ed. Brewer and Kane, 208; *Itinerarium peregrinorum*, ed. Mayer, 247, 258; Ralph of Diceto, *Ymagines*, 61; Ansbert, *Historia*, ed. Chroust, 4. Just as with other terms, it remains mostly unclear what exactly belongs to this inheritance; see also below. *Patrimonium* also knows a spiritual guise referring to Christ's grace (e.g., Peter of Blois, *Ep.42*, 125; *Ep.51*, 156; *Ep.102*, 318; Garnerius of Clairvaux, *Sermo 31*, 770).

36 See, e.g., Peter of Blois, *Passio Raginaldi*, 62; *Sermo 28*, 646; *Sermo 29*, 650; Baldwin of Canterbury, *De sacramento*, 760; Geoffrey of Auxerre, *Sermo 2*, ed. Gastaldelli, 71; Bernard of Clairvaux, *Ep.98*, 746; *Sermo in Cant. 21*, 294; *Sermo in Cant. 60*, 304.

Ps. 79:1 (*deus, venerunt gentes in hereditatem tuam*) provides another reference. The reader may recall that it is present in *Audita tremendi* as well as in some chronicles, to describe the situation of 1187, but it is remarkably absent from the sermon material (see the chapter on Jerusalem). It serves the purpose of creating a contrast: between a heritage's rightful owners and the illegitimate intruders, the true sons of Sara and the bastard sons of Hagar respectively. The Christians are also designated as Christ's *cohaeredes*, for example, through the use of Rom. 8:17. This may relate to the crusade; but it indicates more generically a partaking in Christ's grace.³⁷ Scholars proposed that the use of *haereditas* and *patrimonium* drew on feudal notions.³⁸ Even though such an echo may have been present, this explanation is not sufficient: the rich evidence shows that these terms had a predominantly providential meaning derived from biblical roots.³⁹

One of Baldwin of Canterbury's sermons delivers an elaborate discussion of *haereditas*: it emphasizes vehemently that his listeners are Israel's heirs. He even says that they are Israel (*esto tu haereditas Israel*), entwining their destiny with the East.⁴⁰ The expression in the future tense conveys that he does not understand Israel as a metaphor for the Christian community, but he deploys an eschatological vision. At the sermon's conclusion, he underlines the distinction between elect and damned, embedded in sacred topography: "Thus, one says when seeking this [inheritance]: In Israel inherit [Sir. 24:13], that is, exert yourself, strive for inheriting in Israel—but not in Egypt, not among the gentiles

37 See Philippe Buc, *L'ambiguïté du livre: prince, pouvoir, et peuple dans les commentaires de la Bible au Moyen Âge* (Paris 1994), 333–336. For sources, see, e.g., Peter of Blois, *Contra Iudeos*, 844; *Sermo* 6, 580; Henry of Albano, *De peregrinante civitate Dei* (11), 264; (VII), 306–308; Ralph Ardens, *Pars* (11), *De tempore*, *Sermo* 7, 1325; Geoffrey of Auxerre, *Sermo* 3, ed. Gastaldelli, 77–78. One may recall that Rom. 8:18 (contrasting earthly existence and heavenly reward) is present in several texts (e.g., Gregory VIII, *Audita tremendi*, ed. Chroust, 9; Peter of Blois, *Passio Raginaldi*, 58; Prevostin of Cremona, *Contra haereticos*, 195, 281). A similar reference is Ps. 2:8; see, e.g., Peter of Blois, *Conquestio*, 77–78; Alan of Lille, *Distinctiones*, 809.

38 See Miikka Tamminen, *Crusade Preaching and the Ideal Crusader* (Turnhout 2018), 98–108; Penny J. Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades to the Holy Land, 1095–1270* (Cambridge, Mass. 1991), 105, 134, 197; Jean Flori, *Prêcher la croisade: XI^e–XIII^e siècle; communication et propagande* (Paris 2012), 205, 233, 267.

39 I thus agree with Portnykh: as he discusses, *haereditas* already appears in First Crusade chronicles, yet he concludes it had an augmented significance after 1187: Portnykh, "L'argument," 60–63; see also Matthieu Rajohnson, *L'Occident au regret de Jérusalem (1187–fin du XIV^e siècle)* (Paris 2021), 411–419.

40 Baldwin of Canterbury, *Sermo* 14, 214–215, relating this to the tree of Jesse, which is usually identified with the cross (see Baert, *Heritage*, 291, 324). With a very similar expression, see Benedictinus anonymus, *De penitentia*, ed. Huygens, 106.

who do not know God, but as part of the people of Israel."⁴¹ They will inherit "in Israel" (future tense); the 'inheritance' refers to both the spatial category and salvation, while Baldwin introduces the pagans, the illegitimate sons of Hagar, as well as Egypt, the center of Muslim dominion in the later 12th century. Expounding the subject of election and damnation via the motif of Israel is a conscious decision. The argument that there is no salvation in Egypt may be a reproach of the failed expeditions into Egypt under Amalric, king of Jerusalem (especially late 1160s). This is consistent with dating the sermon to the 1170s.⁴²

Peter of Blois likewise underscores the nature of the Holy Land as an inheritance, concluding on crucial obligations:

The Apostle speaks: Jerusalem which is our mother [Gal. 4:26]. But if she is our mother, where are her children? Certainly, those who tolerate that their mother is discredited, trampled upon, and exposed to public shame are not her children but her stepchildren. The situation is even worse: a mark of disgraceful betrayal befalls them, if they do not defend their mother's home, their Lord's heritage. Christ is the one who says: Whoever is not with me is against me, and whoever does not gather with me causes dispersal [Mt. 12:30]. The Lord's murderers hold today the place where he has been killed, where not only the study of the Scriptures but also the splitting of the rocks recalls the shedding of his blood [cf. Mt. 27:51]. Thus, one can rightly adapt for them this word of divine wrath: you have killed and moreover you have conquered [3 Reg. 21:19]. Naboth's blood has cried, Abel's blood has cried for vengeance from the earth and it found an avenger [Gen. 4:10], but Christ's blood cries for help and it does not find a helper.⁴³

41 Baldwin of Canterbury, *Sermo 14*, 220. "Propterea quaerenti eam dicitur: In Israel haereditare [Sir. 24:13]; hoc est, stude, satage, ut haereditaris in Israel, non in Egypto, non inter gentes quae ignorant Deum, sed in populo Israel."

42 On the date, see David N. Bell, "Introduction," in: *Baldvini de Forda Opera*, CCCM 99 (Turnhout 1991), xii–xiii, xxvi.

43 Peter of Blois, *Conquestio*, 83. "Apostolus dicit: Jerusalem, que est mater nostra [Gal. 4:26]. Si mater est, ubi sunt eius filii? Sane qui matrem suam dehonore, conculcari et prostitui sustinent, non sunt filii sed privigni, immo, quod gravius est, notam ignominiose proditiōnis incurrunt si matris sue patrimonium, si hereditatem domini non defendunt. Christus est qui dicit: Qui non est mecum contra me est, et qui mecum non colligit spargit [Mt. 12:30]. Campum, in quo Dominus occisus est, ubi sanguinis eius effusionem non solum Scripturarum lectio sed petrarum scissio clamat [cf. Mt. 27:51], eiusdem occisores hodie possident, ut eis merito verbum illud divine indignationis aptetur: Occidistis, insuper et possedistis [3 Reg. 21:19]. Clamavit sanguis Naboth, clamavit sanguis Abel ultionem de terra et invenit ultorem [Gen. 4:10], clamat [BNF lat. 2605: >> clamavit] sanguis Christi auxilium et non invenit adiutorem."

Peter operates with the idea of a *familia Christi* including Jerusalem as mother (Gal. 4:26), Christ as father, and the Christians as children—this generates responsibilities. Neglecting them risks being reduced to stepchildren (*non sunt filii sed privigni*). This evokes the Abrahamic genealogy with the Muslims as the sons of Hagar, who appear here as Christ's murderers (*occisores*), a motif that aligns them with the Jews.⁴⁴ Peter outlines a conspiracy against Christendom, while his audience runs the risk of becoming part of it. The reaction suggested is one of violence and vengeance, through the emphasis on both Abel's and Christ's blood pouring into the Holy Land. This blends with the apocalyptic vision of Mt. 27:51–52: both Scripture and “the splitting of the rocks” (likely indicating visible traces of Christ's presence) testify to Christ's bloodshed.⁴⁵

A passage from a crusade-related sermon by Garnerius of Clairvaux blends the motif of heritage with the Cross relic and the Last Judgment:

After he gave sleep to his beloved, behold the heritage of the Lord [Ps. 127:3]. And the book of Wisdom: After mankind has been completed, it will begin [i.e., the End of Days] [Sir. 18:6]. Then, he will sit on the lap of the right-hand Eminence, when anybody will be capable of saying: now it has begun! [Ps. 77:11] Then, the holy transformation will occur, when this corruptible will put on the incorruptible, when this mortal will put on the immortal. Because if you are a judge and the king of Egypt rises up against you (that is, this darkness) so that you cannot discern anymore good from evil, right from wrong, pagan from sacred, the world from the polluted, then consider the cypress that is venerated on Mount Zion. Because this Mount Zion signifies the Church of God where the cypress of the cross has been venerated, for it is reported that the cross has been made from the wood of the same cypress, on which the Savior had hung and predicted a long time ago: When I am elevated above the earth, I will draw all people unto me. And: Now is the judgment of this world [John 12:31–32].⁴⁶

44 See Jeremy Cohen, *Living Letters of the Law: Ideas of the Jew in Medieval Christianity* (Berkeley 1999), 156–165; Philippe Buc, “La vengeance de Dieu: De l'exégèse patristique à la Réforme ecclésiastique et la Première Croisade,” in: *La vengeance, 400–1200*, ed. Dominique Barthélemy, François Bougard, and Régine Le Jan (Rome 2006), 466.

45 For Mt. 27:51–52 see, e.g., Hélinand of Froidmont, *Sermo 10*, 564; Henry of Albano, *Ep. 32*, PL 204:249; *De peregrinante civitate Dei* (XIII), 354; Geoffrey of Auxerre, *Sermo 3*, ed. Gastaldelli, 80; *Sermo 8*, ed. Gastaldelli, 123; *Sermo 20*, ed. Gastaldelli, 240.

46 Garnerius of Clairvaux, *Sermo 28*, 753. “Cum dederit dilectis suis somnum, ecce haereditas Domini [Ps. 127:3]. Et sapientia: Cum consummaverit homo, tunc incipit [Sir. 18:6]. Tunc enim erit in utero dexteræ Excelsi, quando dicere poterit quis: Nunc coepi [Ps. 77:11]. Erit enim tunc sancta mutatio, quando corruptibile hoc induerit incorruptelam; et mor-

The abbot unfolds a twofold exhortation: behold the Lord's heritage (Ps. 127:3) and consider the wood of the cross (*considera cypressum*).⁴⁷ He stresses that one venerated the cross on Mount Zion (*ubi exaltata fuit cypressus crucis*)—the perfect tense implies the situation after 1187—and that it has been made of wood from the same hill: this clearly indicates the specific relic of Jerusalem. *Cypressus* is equivalent to *lignum* and *arbor* (see the chapter on the Cross relic). Searching databases, however, I only found the term in one other text: Baldwin of Canterbury's *De sancta cruce*.⁴⁸ Thus, this may have been another attempt to define new terms following the events of 1187. Garnerius also broaches the Last Judgment, citing John 12:31–32: Christ will draw all people unto him, that is, to Jerusalem, as happened in the course of a crusade. This is presented as a consequence of the crucifixion and thus suggests vengeance for it. It is reminiscent of the prophecy in the *Chanson d'Antioche* that Christ himself uttered hanging on the cross.⁴⁹ The passage cited combines three pivotal crusade elements: the inheritance, the Cross relic (emblem of this inheritance), and the impending Last Judgment (on this sermon, see also the discussion below on the sea and the Exodus).

It was generally accepted in the central Middle Ages that Christ's presence made this land holy—but emphases could vary: as we have seen in the chapter on Jerusalem, numerous authors underline that it was specifically his blood that granted the region its status. The sources also offer references that sketch more generally his presence and work; the most popular is Ps. 131:7: “the land in which the Lord's feet stood” (*terra in qua steterunt pedes domini*). This reference was common on the eve of the Third Crusade (though less common than those emphasizing blood). For example, Peter of Blois' *Dialogus* puts it in the mouth of Henry II who uses this verse to explain why it is such a great personal

tale hoc induerit immortalitatem. Quod si iudex es, et insurgat in te rex Aegypti, hoc est tenebrarum harum, ut ignores boni et mali, veri et falsi, profani et sancti, mundi et polluti distantiam, considera cypressum in monte Sion exaltatam. Mons enim Sion Ecclesiam Dei significat, ubi exaltata fuit cypressus crucis, quia crucem fuisse referunt de cypresso, in qua pendens Salvator longe ante praedixerat: Ego si exaltatus fuero a terra omnia traham ad meipsum. Et: Nunc iudicium est mundi [John 12:31–32].”

47 See also Peter of Blois, *Conquestio*, 92, relating Ps. 127:3 to the crusade and longing for the *eterna hereditas*.

48 Baldwin of Canterbury, *Sermo* 8, 136. It is also present in a sermon by Jacques de Vitry distinguishing five woods from which the cross is made; see Jessalynn L. Bird, “Far Be It from Me to Glory Save in the Cross of Our Lord Jesus Christ (Gal. 6:14): Crusade Preaching and Sermons for Good Friday and Holy Week,” in: *Crusading in Art, Thought, and Will*, ed. Matthew Parker and Ben Halliburton (Leiden 2018), 139.

49 *Chanson d'Antioche*, ed. Duparc-Quioç, 27–28; see John Victor Tolan, *Saracens: Islam in the Medieval European Imagination* (New York 2002), 121.

desire to bring release to the Holy Land.⁵⁰ The same impulse can be seen in 1 Pet. 2:21 (*Christus passus est pro vobis, vobis relinquens exemplum, ut sequamini vestigia eius*), which was also used frequently and ties the *imitatio Christi* to the East.⁵¹ This does not necessarily mean that the *imitatio Christi* is not possible elsewhere, but the Holy Land offers an exceptional opportunity for it.⁵² A third verse stemming from Ex. 3:5 and quoted in Acts 7:33 expresses the same idea (*locus, in quo stas, terra sancta est*): it appears occasionally around the Second Crusade. Around the Third Crusade, however, it is conspicuously absent. The few sources that use it reveal a primarily typological reading referring to the Church and the Corpus Christi.⁵³ It was perhaps an unsuitable reference in light of the large territorial losses of 1187—database searches show that it remains rare in the 13th century. The common use of Ps. 131:7 and 1 Pet. 2:21 underlines Christ's actual presence as a sacralizing factor for Palestine's soil, betraying a literal exegesis that places the focus on the crusade. This stems from a general discovery of the historical Christ.⁵⁴ Both encourage a spatialization and materialization of Christ's grace that makes this region pivotal in providential terms; they deliver the prospect of finding visible traces of his work and of imit-

- 50 Peter of Blois, *Dialogus*, 400. See also, e.g., Ansbert, *Historia*, ed. Chroust, 5; Ralph Niger, *De re militari*, ed. Schmutz, 96, 194, 224; Roger of Howden, *Gesta*, 2:12, 152; and Ms. BL Add 19767, fol. 73^v, where Alan states: "terra in qua misteria nostre redemptionis exhibit." Similar in a crusade call (1184): "haereditas Crucifixi, in qua nostrae salutis sunt praenuntiatata mysteria" (Lucius 111, *Ep. 182*, 1312). See also Bauer, "Heiligkeit," 49–55; Nikolas Jaspert, "'Wo seine Füße standen' (Ubi steterunt pedes eius). Jerusalemsehnsucht und andere Motivationen mittelalterlicher Kreuzfahrer," in: *Die Kreuzzüge: Kein Krieg ist heilig*, ed. Hans-Jürgen Kotzur (Mainz 2004), 172–185.
- 51 See, e.g., Ms. Arsenal 543, fols. 207^v, 219^v; Baldwin of Canterbury, *De sacramento*, 685; *Sermo* 3, 47; *Sermo* 13, 196; Peter of Blois, *Sermo* 42, 688; Alan of Lille, *Contra haereticos* (1.20), 322; Ms. Trier 232, fol. 136^v; Humbert of Romans, *De predicatione*, 59, 82, 118.
- 52 See Bird, "Good Friday," 143; Gaposchkin, *Weapons*, 127–128; Stephen Bennett, *Elite Participation in the Third Crusade* (Woodbridge 2021), 37–38. Peter asserts that the crusaders walk *in via Domini* (Peter of Blois, *Ep. 112*, 339; see also *Conquestio*, 81; *Sermo* 40, 684). See also Humbert of Romans, *Short Version*, ed. Portnykh, 76: "[...] peregrinatio crucifixi movens ad orandum in loco ubi steterunt pedes eius [Ps. 131:7], ad osculandum vestigia pedum eius, ad videndum beatissima loca [...]." For *via domini*, see also Garnerius of Clairvaux, *Sermo* 27, 747–748; Ralph Ardens, *Pars (I), Section (1), Sermo* 2, 1673; *Pars (I), Section (2), Sermo* 42, 2092; *Pars (II), De tempore, Sermo* 18, 1370.
- 53 Henry of Albano, *De peregrinante civitate Dei* (XI), 335; Petrus Cantor, *Verbum abbreviatum*, 110–111. For the Second Crusade, see Bernard of Clairvaux, *Ep. 238*, 274; *Ep. 393*, 758; discussed by Bauer, "Heiligkeit," 44, 54. The scene is that of the burning bush and the words are God's: it is the foundation story of the Holy Land.
- 54 See André Vauchez, *La spiritualité du moyen âge occidental: VII^e–XII^e siècle* (Paris 1994), 31, 77–79; Giles Constable, "The Ideal of the Imitation of Christ," in: *Three Studies in Medieval Religious and Social Thought* (Cambridge, UK 1998), 169, 179–181.

ating him even more intensively. Such traces were specifically identified, for example, a footprint existed in the Dome of the Rock, which contemporaries associated with Christ's cleansing of the Temple.⁵⁵

Passages using these verses have already been examined on more than one occasion, for example, two letters from Henry of Albano.⁵⁶ One more example shall suffice: Ralph Ardens cites 1 Pet. 2:21 in a deeply eschatological sermon on *In exaltatione sancte crucis*:

And this is what Christ says: I will draw all people unto me [John 12:32]. The cross, however, has four arms through which the four parts of the earth are overseen. Likewise, Christ, nailed to the cross, looks towards the East with his head, West with his feet, South with his right side, and North with his left. The Lord thus indicated that he will draw people from all parts of the earth unto him with the help of the cross. And this is what he says: Everybody. But the Lord did this for our sake, my brethren; he demonstrated what we must do for him. Peter says therefore: Christ has suffered for us, leaving you an example so that you would follow in his footsteps [1 Pet. 2:21]. He thus provided us with an example of how much we shall not fear to suffer and to be humiliated for him and with him, if we want to be elevated with him [to salvation]. Because one proceeds to the kingdom [of heaven] through humility and patience, just as one descends to hell through haughtiness.⁵⁷

55 See Heribert Busse, "Vom Felsendom zum Templum Domini," in: *Das Heilige Land im Mittelalter*, ed. Wolfdietrich Fischer and Jürgen Schneider (Neustadt a. d. Aisch 1982), 30. Western observers also assumed that Christ's footprints were to be found on the Mount of Olives, deriving from his Ascension (see Andrea Worm, "Visuelle Vergegenwärtigungen Jerusalems und der Heiligen Stätten im Reichsgebiet. Überlegungen zu Kontexten und Übermittlungswegen," in: *Die Kreuzzugsbewegung im römisch-deutschen Reich (11.–13. Jahrhundert)*, ed. Nikolas Jaspert and Stefan Tebruck (Ostfildern 2015), 312–315).

56 Henry of Albano, *Ep. 32*, PL 204:249; Ms. BL Add 24145, fol. 77^r. See the chapter on Jerusalem.

57 Ralph Ardens, *Pars (II), De tempore, Sermo 36*, 1448–1449. "Et hoc est quod ait: Omnia traham ad meipsum [John 12:32]. Rursus quatuor brachia crux habet, quibus quatuor mundi partes respicit. Christus quoque, in cruce positus, capite respicit orientem, pedibus occidentem, dextra austrum, sinistra aquilonem. Per quod significavit Dominus se per crucem de omnibus mundi partibus homines ad se tracturum. Et hoc est quod ait, omnia. Hoc autem, fratres mei, faciens pro nobis Dominus, ostendit nobis quid pro eo facere debemus. Unde Petrus ait: Christus passus est pro nobis, vobis relinquens exemplum ut sequamini vestigia ejus [1 Pet. 2:21]. Dedit igitur nobis exemplum, quatenus non timeamus pro eo et cum eo humiliari et pati, si cum eo volumus exaltari. Per humilitatem enim et patientiam venit ad regnum, sicut per superbiam venit ad infernum."

This sermon on the cross develops an apocalyptic vision via John 12:31 (not cited)—now is the Judgment—to call then the audience via John 12:32 to swarm unto Christ, that is, to Jerusalem, a significant parallel with Garnerius’ sermon, discussed above. Ralph emphasizes that this concerns “everybody” (*et hoc est quod ait, omnia*), because Christ’s head looks east: the Holy Land is considered to be the Corpus Christi’s pivot.⁵⁸ Christ showed them what to do for his sake (*ostendit nobis quid pro eo facere debemus*); this is aligned with 1 Pet. 2:21: the *imitatio Christi* in the Holy Land would lead them to the celestial kingdom. Consequently, the sermon proposes a vision of the impending Apocalypse characterized by *imitatio Christi* and the spatial anchoring in the Holy Land.

2 The Borders of the Holy Land

If specific rules and purposes apply to the Holy Land, then it is essential to know its borders, since the activity of crusading and the promised salvation would begin there.⁵⁹ The declaration of such borders from the Latin West’s perspective (which may not coincide with the Latin East) betrays providential claims for where the borders ought to be, even if they were not there yet. These claims were shattered in 1187 when large territories were lost. It was, therefore, necessary to prepare for the counterattack, in order to contribute to the prophecy’s fulfillment with regard to the Holy Land’s extension. The Old Covenant’s heritage would only be fully embodied, if the prospective borders were in Christian hands; this moment may be tantamount to initiating the Apocalypse. The opposing development of losing territory likely correlated with the growing threat of losing elect status. One may suppose that all places relevant in providential terms belonged to the Holy Land, in particular those of Christ’s work, considering, for example, the itinerary of holy sites that Bernard presents in *De laude novae militiae*. Sermons offering a collection of such places, including those that might constitute a border (like rivers), suggest an author’s idea of the extent of the Holy Land. Such a collection appears, for example, in a sermon by Alan of Lille (though it uses the Holy Land predominantly as a metaphor for attacking scholasticism). It comprises the Rivers Jordan and Euphrates as well as the *terra promissionis*; these are surrounded by the spaces of evil:

58 The fact that Christ draws all unto him “via the cross” (*per crucem*) may implicate the relic’s loss.

59 This problem has already been identified in: Rajohnson, *L’Occident*, 514–519.

Babylon and Egypt.⁶⁰ An even more extensive list, organized alongside Christ's work (*loca presentia domini corporali sanctificata*), is offered by the anonymous Benedictine: the Mount of Olives, Bethlehem, Bethania, Bethpage, the Valley of Josaphat, and the River Jordan. All these are explained in terms of their significance in the landscape of salvation.⁶¹

The Jordan, the venue of Christ's baptism, seems to have occupied a notable position; it represented a threshold and symbolized entry into the Church.⁶² The Benedictine blends the actual Jordan with baptism and penance. Further contemporaries entangle it with entry into the Church, while being explicitly concerned with the crusade and the Holy Land.⁶³ Others underline the Israelites' crossing of the Jordan as a constitutive moment for the Old Covenant, including Martin of León: commenting on Rev. 22:2, he juxtaposes the Old Testament arrival in the *terra promissionis* with eschatological salvation.⁶⁴ Henry of Albano identifies the river as the Eastern gate (*porta orientalis*) that Christ used for descending to earth (*primo per hanc visitavit mundum*), thereby opening the heavens (*aperti sunt coeli*).⁶⁵ And already a First Crusade chronicle reported that many crusaders, having arrived in Jerusalem and preparing for the siege, were baptized anew in the river—as if this would have been mandatory for entering the city.⁶⁶ All this evidence makes it into a plausible hypothesis that

60 Alan of Lille, *Sermo de clericis*, ed. d'Alverny, 278. As the manuscript evidence demonstrates, this sermon dates to the 1190s when Alan was active in southern France and large parts of the Holy Land were lost (Ms. Toulouse 195, fols. 101^v–103^v). See the chapters on institutional and media context.

61 Benedictinus anonymus, *De penitentia*, ed. Huygens, 101.

62 See Jean Daniélou, *Sacramentum futuri: études sur les origines de la typologie biblique* (Paris 1950), 233–245.

63 Benedictinus anonymus, *De penitentia*, ed. Huygens, 101–102; see also, e.g., Bernard of Clairvaux, *De laude*, 298; Ms. Lambeth 144, fol. 119^r; Peter of Blois, *Sermo 19*, 616; *Sermo 32*, 655; Lucius III, *Ep. 182*, 1312; William of Tyre, *Chronique* (8.1), 381. See also Garnerius of Clairvaux, *Distinctiones*, 873, 972; Alan of Lille, *Distinctiones*, 795, 823; and Jacques de Vitry, *Sermo 2*, ed. Maier, 106–108; discussed by Christopher Matthew Phillips, "The Typology of the Cross and Crusade Preaching," in: *Crusading in Art, Thought, and Will*, ed. Matthew Parker and Ben Halliburton (Leiden 2018), 179.

64 Martin of León, *Commentary on Rev. (22.2)*, 413; see also *Liber sermonum*, *Sermo 23*, 912; Henry of Albano, *De peregrinante civitate Dei* (XIII), 354; Alan of Lille, *Ars praedicandi*, 137; Ralph Ardens, *Pars (11)*, *De tempore*, *Sermo 35*, 1445; Peter of Blois, *Conquestio*, 91; Garnerius of Clairvaux, *Sermo 15*, 669; Sicard of Cremona, *De officiis*, 293. Garnerius and Sicard relate this typologically to Palm Sunday. Tamminen discusses how this fused typologically with Louis IX's crusade (Tamminen, *Crusader*, 48–49).

65 Henry of Albano, *De peregrinante civitate Dei* (v), 296. See the chapter on Jerusalem.

66 Raymond of Aguilers, *Liber*, ed. Hill, 142–143; discussed by Kristin Skottki, "Vom 'Schrecken Gottes' zur Bluttauf. Gewalt und Visionen auf dem Ersten Kreuzzug nach dem Zeugnis

the West understood the Jordan as the Holy Land's eastern border—this would agree with the political circumstances prior to 1187.

Peter's *Passio Raginaldi* describes the Holy Land's borders elaborately:⁶⁷

Certainly, if one compares carefully the minor size of the Promised Land and the unmeasurable vastness of the provinces and regions that surround and combat it, then one will doubtlessly realize that the Lord has been placed in this land as a wall and rampart [Is. 26:1], who never allows this mass [of attackers] to prevail—unless he is offended [by the Christians]. Its longitudinal axis stretches from Dan to Beersheba, spanning almost 140 miles. But its latitude stretches from Joppe to Bethlehem, separated by 46 miles, since a huge desert borders on it. However, if you want to measure the Promised Land's extent on all sides with the help of the book of Numbers, then begin in the south at the sea of salt-pans [i.e., the Dead Sea] through Syna and Cardesbarne until Egypt's torrent [i.e., the Nile] that flows into the great sea at Rinochorus. Begin in the west at the same sea, which stretches from Palestine to Phoenicia, Syria, Celen, and Cilicia. In the north start at Mount Taurus and Zephyrus up to Emath which is called Epiphania in Syria. But in the east start with Antioch, the sea of Genezareth, also called Tiberias, and the Jordan that flows into the sea of salt-pans, which is now called the Sea of the Dead. The regions behind the Jordan are in the possession of two and a half tribes: Ruben and Gad as well as the half tribe of Manasseh. Those borders have been promised but [so far] never been possessed, since one reads that not even the very brave King David, nor Solomon in all his glory, nor one of their successors, held anything beyond the first extension which we have turned into a unit of measure. [...] The land of Canaan has been promised to the Jews who long for terrestrial matters, whereas the kingdom of the heavens is promised to those who long for celestial matters. It is thus proven in a most obvious way that there is another Promised Land in which the heavenly Jerusalem is located, whose image is the earthly Jerusalem.⁶⁸

des Raimund d'Aguilers," in: *Gewalterfahrung und Prophetie*, ed. Peter Buschel and Christoph Marx (Vienna 2013), 473.

67 On the lines following immediately after, concerned with the entanglement of earthly and heavenly Jerusalem, see the chapter on Jerusalem.

68 Peter of Blois, *Passio Raginaldi*, 46–48. "Sane si quis brevitatem terre promissionis et inestimabilem immensitatem provinciarum et regionum circumiacentium, eamque impugnantium diligenter attendat, manifeste videbit quod dominus in ea positus est murus et antemurale [Is. 26:1], qui nunquam nisi offensus permittit illam multitudinem prevalere. A Dan usque Bersabee, ubi vix CXL milliarum interiacent, eius longitudo protenditur, latitudo

He explicitly names the Jordan as the eastern border (supplemented by the Dead Sea); beyond this, he locates several Old Testament tribes that apparently designate the Muslims. The Holy Land appears as a brave enclave surrounded by enemies, which God protects with walls (*dominus in ea positus est murus et antemurale*)—this is reminiscent of Is. 62:6. However, if the Christians enrage him (*offendere*), he drops this protection.⁶⁹ Peter overexerts himself in a detailed description of the Holy Land's extension that even provides distances, an extension that betrays an optimistic vision. As he admits, this had been promised (by God), but never fulfilled. Drawing on biblical texts, he is certain that the Christian dominion should and would have this extension one day; he propagates a providential claim that makes an inimical occupation into a serious issue. The envisioned extension thus represents a prophecy to whose fulfillment the audience may contribute via crusading. Consequently, it is not a coincidence that Peter formulates this claim in a sermon mobilizing for the Third Crusade.

Henry of Albano delivers a similar discussion in his first treatise:

And the Lord has chosen you today so that you may be to him his exceptional people, and he shall make you superior to all other peoples [Deut. 14:2; 26:38–19], and you shall rule those who are now stronger and more numerous than you [Deut. 11:23], from the desert, to Lebanon, to the great River Euphrates, and to the Western Sea shall be your territory [Deut. 11:24].⁷⁰

vero a Ioppe usque Bethleem, spacio XLVI milliarium interposito, nam eidem continuatur vastissima solitudo. Si vero iuxta librum Numeri velis terre promissionis ambitum circumquaue metiri, incipias a meridie Maris Salinarum per Syna et Cadesbarne usque ad torrentem Egypti, qui iuxta Rinochorum Magno Mari influit, et ab occidente ipsum Mare, quod Palestine Phenicis, Syrie Celen, Cilicieque protenditur, ab aquilone Taurum montem et Zephyrum usque Emath, que appellatur Epiphania Syrie, ab oriente vero per Antiochiam et lacum Cynereith, qui Tiberias dicitur, et Iordanem, qui Mari influit Salinarum, quod nunc Mare Mortuum dicitur; trans Iordanem vero et duarum et semis tribuum possessio est, Ruben et Gad et dimidie tribus Manasse. Ista siquidem promissa sunt, non possessa, nam nec David rex fortissimus nec Salomon in omni gloria sua nec eorum successores ultra primam dimensionem quam fecimus palmum unum habuisse leguntur. [...] Iudeis enim, terrena sapientibus, terra Chanaan promissa est, sapientibus vero celestia regnum celorum promittitur. Ex his apertissime liquet aliam esse terram promissionis, in qua est celestis Ierusalem, cuius hec figura est.”

69 On Is. 62:6 see the chapter on Jerusalem. The rendering as *offendere* is present in several texts devoted to explaining 1187 (e.g., Peter of Blois, *Conquestio*, 78; Ms. BL Add 19767, fol. 74^r).

70 Ms. Troyes 509, fol. 95^v. “Et Dominus elegit te hodie, ut sis ei populus peculiaris, et faciat

The borders consist of the desert, Lebanon, the Euphrates, and the Western Sea, whereby the Euphrates pushing the border far towards the northeast is a remarkable claim. At the same time, the Jordan is missing.⁷¹ Henry proposes a literal exegesis common at the time: the Holy Land belongs to the Christians. God would elevate his elect people above all others (*excelsiorem cunctis gentibus*): they will rule all the gentiles, a claim rendered in the future tense (*possidebitis eas*). These, however, are currently superior to them, asserted in the present tense (*que maiores et fortiores vobis sunt*): this may allude to the events of 1187 or the growing pressure in the later 12th century more generally (perhaps penned on the occasion of preaching the crusade in 1179). Be that as it may, it expresses an eschatological vision of victory over the pagans. Yet, the pertinent clause (*et possidebitis eas que maiores et fortiores vobis sunt*) is missing from the text's version in the PL.⁷² This betrays not only that the PL's text stems from another manuscript, but also that its version erased the eschatological hopes present in the surviving manuscript.⁷³ A similar case is offered by one of Peter of Blois' letters (1190s), which calls on the bishop of Rouen to preach the crusade: it adapts the prophetic prediction of Amos 7:17 (dealing with the expulsion of God's people from the Holy Land), from the future tense (*migrabit* in the Vulgate) into the perfect tense (*migravit*). This represents a providential reading of the events of 1187: the prophecy has been fulfilled. This adaptation exists in (at least) one manuscript, whereas the PL, just like in Henry's case, contains a version that has erased this eschatological detail.⁷⁴

te excelsiorem cunctis gentibus [Deut. 14:2; 26:18–19], et possidebitis eas que maiores et fortiores vobis sunt [Deut. 11:23], a deserto et libano et a flumine magno Euphrate usque ad mare occidentale erunt termini vestri [Deut. 11:24].”

- 71 He refers to it as an eastern border in: *De peregrinante civitate Dei* (v), 296. The Euphrates indicates its role as one of the four rivers of paradise, including the popular idea of an earthly paradise located somewhere in the East. The Euphrates was aligned with fertility and *iustitia* in the exegetical tradition, motifs that insinuate the celestial realm (see Grimm, *Paradisus*, 124–126). Joachim of Fiore juxtaposed it with Barbarossa's crusade (see Jay Rubenstein, *Nebuchadnezzar's Dream: The Crusades, Apocalyptic Prophecy, and the End of History* (Oxford 2019), 196–197).
- 72 Henry of Albano, *De peregrinante civitate Dei* (1), 256; discussed by Alexander Marx, “Jerusalem as the Travelling City of God. Henry of Albano and the Preaching of the Third Crusade,” *Crusades* 20 (2021), 103–104. The passage offers instead: “Item: Omnis locus quem calcaverit pes vester, vester erit.” This stresses the Holy Land's nature, tantamount to Ps. 131:7.
- 73 On such phenomena, see Richard Allen Landes, *Relics, Apocalypse, and the Deceits of History: Ademar of Chabannes, 989–1034* (Cambridge, Mass. 1995), 144–153, 287–308; Landes, *Heaven on Earth: The Varieties of the Millennial Experience* (Oxford 2011), 56–67. See the elaborate discussion in the chapter on the Apocalypse.
- 74 Ms. BNF lat. 2954, fol. 159^v and Peter of Blois, *Ep. 124*, 371.

3 The Sea: A Pivotal Element in the Landscape of Salvation

The sea constitutes the fourth large category in the salvific landscape, linking or separating the other three (Holy Land, spaces of evil, and the West as exile): all major regions of the known world were thus colored in providential terms. This spanned providential itineraries that called for movement within this landscape. Traveling to the East by sea gradually became important in the course of the 12th century; this had substantial causes such as the Byzantines' retreat from Asia Minor (a fact that increasingly obstructed this route) and the creation of fleets, in particular in the Italian city states.⁷⁵ From a certain point onwards, the way to the Holy Land led over the sea, and this seems to have affected the preaching of crusades and the conception of the salvific landscape. The sea route already prevailed on the Third Crusade (English and French contingents) save for Barbarossa's massive army that still made its way over land. Hannes Möhring surmised that his choice was intended to imitate Charlemagne's legendary pilgrimage.⁷⁶ Similarly, a chronicle praised the land route because it held more virtuous hardships, while reproaching Godfrey of Würzburg for preferring the passage by sea.⁷⁷ However, ironically, the emperor then drowned in a river: water was again obstructing the road to the Holy Land—several chroniclers tackled this peculiar fact, sometimes including the argument of *peccatis nostris exigentibus*.⁷⁸ The emperor's death, a well-

75 See Christopher J. Tyerman, *God's War: A New History of the Crusades* (Cambridge, Mass. 2006), 389–390; Hannes Möhring, *Saladin und der Dritte Kreuzzug: Aiyubidische Strategie und Diplomatie im Vergleich vornehmlich der arabischen mit den lateinischen Quellen* (Wiesbaden 1980), 71–89. On Genoa's involvement in the Third Crusade, see Jonathan Phillips, "The Third Crusade in Context: Contradiction, Curiosity and Survival," *Studies in Church History* 51 (2015), 94–97. On Venice, see Christopher Wright, "Sea Power and the Evolution of Venetian Crusading," in: *Byzantium, Venice and the Medieval Adriatic*, ed. Magdalena Skoblar and Judith Herrin (New York 2021), 331–335.

76 Möhring, *Saladin*, 85–86; see also Alan Murray, "Finance and Logistics of the Crusade of Frederick Barbarossa," in: *In laudem Hierosolymitani*, ed. Iris Shagrir and Ronnie Ellenblum (Aldershot 2007), 357. On the legend of Charlemagne's pilgrimage, see Matthew Gabriele, *An Empire of Memory: The Legend of Charlemagne, the Franks, and Jerusalem before the First Crusade* (Oxford 2011), 41–72.

77 Ansbert, *Historia*, ed. Chroust, 13, 24; see also Henry of Albano, *De peregrinante civitate Dei* (XIII), 359; and Beth C. Spacey, "A Land of Horror and Vast Wilderness: Landscapes of Crusade and Jerusalem Pilgrimage in Arnold of Lübeck's *Chronica Slavorum*," *Journal of Medieval History* 47/3 (2021), 364.

78 See Leila Bargmann, "Der Tod Friedrichs I. im Spiegel der Quellenüberlieferung," *Concilium Medii Aevi* 13 (2010), 223–249, esp. 239–240. See also *Annales Stadenses*, 351, rendering the emperor's death as a martyrdom, while comparing the water in which he drowned with the water at his baptism.

commemorated event, may have encouraged the opinion that the journey must lead over the sea. Interestingly, the bulk of his army seems to have reconsidered after his death, now switching to the sea route.⁷⁹ The idea that the perils of the sea represented a mandatory probation was important for contemporary preachers. This idea is already present in chronicles of the First Crusade: several tell of a ship sinking right off the Italian coast. Still on the shore, other crusaders observed how crosses appeared on the bodies of the drowning passengers, the sign that they were received as martyrs in heaven.⁸⁰ They thus gained the promised redemption, even though they did not make their way to the Holy Land—but the step in the right direction, as manifested by boarding the ship, was apparently sufficient.⁸¹ The sea, in reality demanding many victims, made them into martyrs. It is telling that the surviving story (such cases were doubtlessly numerous) locates the event immediately off shore: here lies the border where the crusade and the corresponding redemption begin.

As Barbara Baert discussed, the cross is often aligned with Ex. 12:3–13 where the Tau is painted with blood on the doors of the righteous, in order to mark them out. This reference must be understood in its context, that is, the Israelites' impending Exodus through the dividing sea and on to the Holy Land: the cross safeguards the passage over the sea. Adding Ex. 12, blood accompanies this path as it is shed on crusade.⁸² Baldwin of Canterbury intertwines this ref-

79 See Ekkehard Eickhoff, *Friedrich Barbarossa im Orient: Kreuzzug und Tod Friedrichs 1.* (Tübingen 1977), 162.

80 Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia* (1.8), ed. Hagenmeyer, 170; Guibert of Nogent, *Gesta*, ed. Huygens, 329; see Giles Constable, "The Cross of the Crusaders," in: *Crusaders and Crusading in the Twelfth Century* (Farnham 2008), 67; Philippe Buc, "Crusade and Eschatology: Holy War Fostered and Inhibited," *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 125 (2017), 324. See also Jana Habig, "Die pericula maris in den Acta Sanctorum—das Meer als Unheilsbringer?" in: *Ein Meer und seine Heiligen*, ed. Nikolas Jaspert and Christian A. Neumann (Paderborn 2018), 259–260, who noted that the sea's perils peak as a motif in the 12th century.

81 In the early 13th century, it became an established rule that crusaders who sincerely intended to depart, but died before they could, still gained the spiritual rewards (see Jessalynn L. Bird, "The Victorines, Peter the Chanter's Circle, and the Crusade: Two Unpublished Crusading Appeals in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. Latin 14470," *Medieval Sermon Studies* 48 (2004), 19).

82 Baert, *Heritage*, 107–110, 305; see also Bird, "Good Friday," 142–147; Phillips, "Typology," 170, 173–175; Phillips, "The Thief's Cross: Crusade and Penance in Alan of Lille's 'Sermo de cruce domini,'" *Crusades* 5 (2006), 146–147. References to Ex. 12 existed on a (today lost) cross reliquary in Saint-Denis, related to depictions of Bernard of Clairvaux's crusade preaching. Jacques de Vitry deems the cross an instrument through which one overcomes "the sea of this world" (*mare huius seculi*) and proceeds to the celestial Jerusalem (*ad supernam Jerusalem*) (Jacques de Vitry, *Sermo* 2, ed. Maier, 106).

erence with *imitatio Christi*, explicitly labeling it as corporeal, and entangling it with *fortitudo* and *patientia*. Importantly, he cites thereafter Ez. 9 and Rev. 14:1, both concerned with signing people with the Tau.⁸³ Alan of Lille also blends Ex. 12 with *imitatio Christi* and the cross signing (*crucem passionis ejus in fronte portamus*), just as Garnerius of Clairvaux connects Ex. 12 and Ez. 9 in an Easter sermon, before he evokes the virtuous Gideon as a militant *exemplum*. Gideon crushed the Midianites, enemies of Israel; several preachers used his story, often crusade-related.⁸⁴ In a Good Friday sermon, Ralph Ardens blends Ex. 12 with the cross, subsequently calling his audience to travel on the path of virtues to “the land of eternal inheritance” (*viam virtutum arripimus ad terram aeternae haereditatis*), likely a synonym for the Holy Land.⁸⁵ Similarly, an Advent sermon by Prevostin of Cremona, dealing with the events of 1187, argues that his listeners must sign themselves with the cross, in agreement with Ex. 12. This is related to their sinfulness, the cause of the events, and allusions to Rev. 19.⁸⁶ Finally, Innocent III’s Fourth Lateran sermon follows his predecessors in entangling Ex. 12 with Ez. 9 and the crusade.⁸⁷ The rich reception of Ex. 12 demonstrates that blood marks the path to salvation, an idea that preachers explicitly interlock with crusading, that is, the passage over the sea.

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- 83 Baldwin of Canterbury, *De sacramento*, 733: “Postes domorum sunt firmitas cordis et corporis in fortitudine et patientia. Super utrumque ergo postem sanguis agni ponitur, quando passionem Christi per afflictionem utriusque, mentis scilicet et corporis, compatiendo imitatur.” See also Baldwin of Canterbury, *Sermo 8*, 134–135, drafting the same conjunction between Ex. 12, Ez. 9, and *imitatio Christi*, also including Jerusalem and reaching the conclusion: “Hi vero signantur qui compatiendo Christum imitantur, qui signum vite in vita sua ponunt.”
- 84 Alan of Lille, *Distinctiones*, 963; Garnerius of Clairvaux, *Sermo 18*, 689. See also Alan of Lille, *De cruce domini*, ed. d’Alverny, 279–280; Henry of Albano, *De peregrinante civitate Dei* (1), 263. For Gideon see, e.g., Ms. BL Add 19767, fol. 97^v; Alan of Lille, *Ars praedicandi*, 179; Peter of Blois, *Sermo 32*, 659; *Ep. 93*, 292; *Ep. 94*, 295; Martin of León, *De diversis*, *Sermo 11*, 143; Petrus Cantor, *Verbum abbreviatum*, 40; William of Newburgh, *Historia*, 89. The conjunction of Ez. 9 and Gideon was already present in: Guibert of Nogent, *Gesta*, 321–322; discussed by Phillips, “Typology,” 174.
- 85 Ralph Ardens, *Pars (1)*, *Sermo 49*, 1843. See also Martin of León, *Liber sermonum*, *Sermo 4*, 263–264. The motif of eternal inheritance may have indicated salvation in general, but it may likewise have assured the audience that they would retake Jerusalem.
- 86 Ms. BNF lat. 14859, fol. 215^r: “Hoc fuit signum quod scripsit angelus in domibus ierosolimorum, et interfecti sunt omnes in quarum domibus tale signum non inveniebatur. Hoc est signum quod predicant omnes sancti. Hoc est signum principis futuri. Hoc est signum quod predicant nobis omnes sancti, ut habeamus in liminaribus domorum nostrorum, id est in corporibus nostris.” See the chapter on exemplary descriptions for the full text.
- 87 Innocent III, *De diversis*, *Sermo 6*, 677. On this sermon and Ez. 9, see the chapter on the Cross relic.

One of Alan of Lille's sermons devoted to escaping 'the North' elaborates on such a landscape of salvation; one reads right at its outset:

Oh, flee from the land of the North, for I have scattered you to the four winds of heaven, so speaks the Lord [Zach. 2:10]. God speaks to us, most beloved brethren: he admonishes us, who are incarcerated, to escape the dungeon of sin. He exhorts us, who are captives, to escape the Babylon of vices. [He exhorts] us, who are banished, to return from the exile; us, who are subjected to the demon, to shake off the yoke of sin. Once, Jerusalem, the vision of peace [Ez. 13:16], has been promised and given to us. And the Promised Land, the paradise of pleasure, the garden of delights, has likewise been handed over to us, but now, owing to sin, we have descended from Jerusalem to Jericho, we have peregrinated from the paradise to the desert, from the Promised Land to the land of the North. The land of the North is tantamount to the city of Babylon.⁸⁸

A northern region is identified with Babylon and the exile from which one must escape—Zach. 2:10 provides a call for action. At the other end of the journey stand Jerusalem as the *visio pacis* and the Holy Land (here *terra promissionis*). As Alan asserts, both had once been given into their hands; he likely alludes to the First Crusade. The fact that they had first been promised (by God) and then granted evokes the fulfillment of prophecy which many saw in the conquest of 1099.⁸⁹ The movement that occurred now, departing from Jerusalem to Jericho as well as from the Holy Land to the land of the North, suggests the events of 1187. This movement was caused by sin (*per peccatum*), an alternative formulation for *peccatis nostris exigentibus*.⁹⁰ It is evident that this is not a standard

88 Ms. Toulouse 195, fol. 116^v; for other copies see Ms. BL Sloane 1580, fol. 106^v; Ms. BNF lat. 14859, fol. 238^v. "O fugite de terra aquilonis quia dispersi vos in 1111 ventis celi dicit dominus [Zach. 2:10]. Ad nos fratres karissimi loquitur deus, nos incarceratos monet exire de peccatorum carcere, nos captivos rogat egredi de viciorum babilone, nos exules reverti de exilio, nos subiugatos demoni et exire [Sloane 1580: >> excutere iugum] de peccati iugo. Dum nobis promissa et data est Ierusalem, id est visio pacis [Ez. 13:16], olim nobis [Sloane 1580: + promissa et] tradita est terra promissionis, voluptatis paradisus, deliciarum [Sloane 1580: + hortus; BNF 14859: + ortus], sed iam per peccatum a Ierusalem in Iericho descendimus, a paradiso in desertum peregrinati sumus, a terra promissionis in terram aquilonis, [Sloane 1580: + a regione similitudinis in terram dissimilitudinis]. Terra aquilonis et civitas est babilonis [...]"

89 See the chapters on Jerusalem and on the Apocalypse.

90 On the evil North, see also *Brevis ordinacio*, ed. Maier, 48; and Rubenstein, *Dream*, 151; Hans-Dietrich Kahl, "... Auszujäten von der Erde die Feinde des Christentums ..." Der Plan zum 'Wendenkreuzzug' von 1147 als Umsetzung sibyllinischer Eschatologie," in: *Heiden-*

harangue, because the master asserts a providential turning point (expressed with: *sed iam*), contrasting the matters promised with the current situation.⁹¹ One manuscript adds a clause saying that they departed from the region of “likeness” to the land of “unlikeness” (*a regione similitudinis in terram dissimilitudinis*). The concept of *similitudo* refers to the divine part in human beings who were created in God’s image. Its spatialization transfers the *similitudo* to the Holy Land: this encourages the idea that it is a nexus to the heavenly world; it thus possesses a permanent eschatological component. Alan’s confederates mirror this notion: Peter of Blois, when dealing with Reynaud of Châtillon’s captivity in Muslim hands, asserts that he had moved away again from the *similitudo*, that is, the Holy Land.⁹² Prevostin of Cremona declares tellingly in the prologue to his sermon collection that one cannot celebrate the liturgy in “the land of unlikeness”—unless preachers spring into action.⁹³

In the course of the sermon, Alan speaks explicitly of the pilgrimage to Jerusalem and the hardships that come with it, which cause many to fail to fulfill their vows.⁹⁴ He also adds the sea to the salvific landscape; one copy elaborates that the ships of human derangement are frequently swallowed up “in the sea of this world” (*in mari huius mundi tempestas orita, in qua frequenter navicula noctis humane submergitur*).⁹⁵ The sea signifies the tumultuous state of terrestrial existence where one will be sucked up, if one is not a good Christian. Penny Cole

frage und Slawenfrage im deutschen Mittelalter (Leiden 2011), 641. On Jericho, see Tamminen, *Crusader*, 50–59. See also Ms. BNF lat. 14859, fol. 233^r; in this anti-heretical sermon, Alan expresses himself similarly (e.g., *descenditis de Ierusalem in gentium dispersionem per malorum imitationem*).

- 91 He also evokes the paradise that they had to leave (see Grimm, *Paradisus*, esp. 129–170).
- 92 Peter of Blois, *Passio Raginaldi*, 44: “Captivatus itaque in terra dissimilitudinis quasi alter Ezechiel [...]” For the spatialization of *similitudo*, see also Alan of Lille, *Distinctiones*, 957; Peter of Blois, *Sermo* 62, 742; *Ep.* 90, 285; *Compendium in Iob*, 810; Henry of Albano, *De peregrinante civitate Dei* (11), 273; Ralph Ardens, *Pars* (1), *Section* (1), *Sermo* 51, 1850; Benedictinus anonymus, *De penitentia*, PL 213:902; Bernard of Clairvaux, *Sermo in Cant.* 36, 568; Aelred of Rievaulx, *Sermo* 19, 199.
- 93 Ms. BL Add 18335, fol. 2^v: “[...] in regione dissimilitudinis, in terra aliena ubi non potest cantari canticum domini vel ymni, ubi non possit cantari psalmi davitici.” See also Bruun, *Parables*, 182–198, 205–206, 224–225.
- 94 Ms. Toulouse 195, fol. 118^v; see also Ms. BL Sloane 1580, fol. 108^r; Ms. BNF lat. 14859, fol. 239^v. The passage reads: “Proh dolor, pro summa miseria quidam sunt in terra aquilonis, nec exire volunt. Quidam qui volunt exire, sed asperitate vie refugiunt; alii exeunt, sed in illa accumbunt; alii in Ierusalem veniunt, sed consequenter redeunt in babilonem.”
- 95 Ms. BL Sloane 1580, fol. 108^v; see also Ms. Toulouse 195, fol. 119^r; Ms. BNF lat. 14859, fol. 239^v. For other examples, see Alan of Lille, *Distinctiones*, 780; *Contra haereticos* (prologue), 306–307; Ms. BL Add 19767, fol. 75^r; Peter of Blois, *Sermo* 51, 712; *Conquestio*, 90–91; Garnerius of Clairvaux, *Distinctiones*, 1004–1005; Gregory VIII, *Ep.* 19, 1559; Ms. Arsenal 543, fol. 220^r;

argued in the case of a 13th-century sermon that such imagery certainly had strong potential to be associated with the journey to the East, even if a sermon primarily discussed spiritual matters.⁹⁶ In this case, however, the beginning of the text already makes it clear that it was reacting to 1187, and comprises high crusade potential: the actual sea lying ahead of the crusaders is filled here with spiritual meanings.

Alan sheds further light on these ideas in his short commentaries on several Old Testament books. In the chapter on Exodus, he tackles the submersion of the pharaoh's troops in the Red Sea:

The pharaoh has been thrown into the sea, that is, into hell. He is of course interpreted as segregation, and he signifies the devil who has been separated from Christ and his limbs, and who prevailed in Egypt, that is, in the entire world, before Christ's Advent. The chariots of the pharaoh, that is, of the devil, are spiritual idleness and vices. The pharaoh's horsemen are the other demons with whom he rules now in malice. [...] But these chariots, horses, and horsemen have been gulped down into the Red Sea thanks to the power of the Passion and the resurrection of Christ, just as the Lord testifies it in the Gospel: Now, the prince of this world shall be cast out [John 12:31]. One recognizes the stream of vices in the Red Sea, in which the same demons, dragging impious people along with them, have been swallowed and gulped. One speaks of the sea by reason of the abyss of sin; one speaks of the Red Sea by reason of the dread of transgression. Thus, blood usually refers to sin, just as it is said there: Blood has been piled upon blood [Hos. 4:2].⁹⁷

Ms. Oxford, Magd. Coll. 168, fol. 72^v; Ms. BNF lat. 18172, fols. 39^v–41^v; *Sermo de crucis commendacione (II)*, ed. Bird, 26.

96 Cole, *Preaching*, 169: "For crusaders, these words with their reference to a departure, to ships, and to a passage by sea may well have sounded a terrible note."

97 Ms. Würzburg M.ch.q.158, fol. 79^r. "Deiecit in mare, id est in infernum. Pharaon quippe interpretatur divisus et significat diabolus, qui divisus est a Christo et membris eius, qui ante adventum Christi in egipto, id est in toto mundo, durabat. Currus pharaonis id est diaboli sunt spirituales nequitiie et vitia. Equites pharaonis sunt alii demones quibus ipse nunc in malitia preest. [...] Isti autem currus et equi et equites per virtutem passionis et per resurrectionem Christi submersi sunt in mari rubro sicut dominus in evangelio ait: Nunc princeps huius mundi eicietur foras [John 12:31]. Per mare rubrum intelligitur fluxus viciorum in quo ipsi demones, homines impios submergentes, involuti et submersi sunt, et dicitur mare propter abissum peccati, rubrum propter horrorem delicti. Unde et per sanguines peccatum solet significari, ut ibi dicitur, sanguis sanguines tetigit [Hos. 4:2]."

The sea is associated with hell and the pharaoh with the devil.⁹⁸ The latter had been separated from the Corpus Christi when crossing the Red Sea (*divisus est a Christo et membris eius*), which thus operates as a threshold between elect and damned, just as the Mediterranean Sea does between exile (Latin West) and Holy Land. The pharaoh's troops are identified as vices, demons, and unbelievers (*homines impii*); Alan proposes a holistic program. Considering historical circumstances, this indicates the Muslims—Saladin as a pharaoh residing in Egypt seems most plausible. This is corroborated by Baldwin's sermon *De sancta cruce*: it understands the pharaoh's servants exclusively as human protagonists (*perversi homines in odium Christi et ecclesie excitant*).⁹⁹ Alan's passage also subjects the sea's color to exegesis: the Red Sea designates blood, which indicates sin. The eradication of all evil in the Red Sea, encompassing human protagonists, suggests their actual eradication and points to the Last Judgment. This argument blends with Hos. 4:2, a verse we have encountered already.¹⁰⁰ And it agrees with Christ's Passion, thus Alan continues: "And the Red Sea signifies the baptism of Christ; it has been colored via his precious blood. In this sea, the pharaoh is swallowed up with his troops and the old man [cf. Rom. 6:6], and the new man is born."¹⁰¹ The motif of blood is ambiguous in nature: annihilation for the sinner and salvation for the righteous. Therefore, the Red Sea signifies baptism and Christ's Passion, who established with his blood the possibility of redemption. However, his sacrifice does not mean that future generations are exempted from the shedding of blood, whether as the martyr's reward or the sinner's punishment.¹⁰² The latter includes an anti-Jewish

98 See also Peter of Blois, *Conquestio*, 82; Bernard of Clairvaux, *Sermo in Cant.* 39, 54–60; Ms. BNF lat. 18172, fol. 27^r; and Mette Birkedal Bruun, "Bernard of Clairvaux and the Landscape of Salvation," in: *A Companion to Bernard of Clairvaux*, ed. Brian Patrick McGuire (Leiden 2011), 261–263.

99 Baldwin of Canterbury, *Sermo* 8, 130. See also Peter of Blois, *Ep. 112*, 337, where he uses the same imagery, explicitly related to the Muslims, while calling on the archbishop of Orleans to preach a new crusade (1190s). For a holistic approach to *Feindbilder*, see also Ms. BNF NAL 999, fol. 277^r; discussed by Bird, "Rogations," 183.

100 See the chapter on the Cross relic. The eschatological logic is also suggested by Rev. 8:8–9, where a third of all ships and creatures of the sea are annihilated. On Hos. 4:2 see also Alan of Lille, *Distinctiones*, 933; Ralph Ardens, *Pars (1), Section (1), Sermo 32*, 1781; Baldwin of Canterbury, *Sermo* 6, 99; Benedictinus anonymus, *De penitentia*, PL 213:890; Peter of Blois, *Conquestio*, 77; *Ep. 76*, 233; *Ep. 87*, 274; John of Abbeville, *Commentary on Cant.*, 31.

101 Ms. Würzburg M.ch.q.158, fol. 79^r. "Vel mare rubrum significat baptismum Christi sanguine suo precioso rubricatum in quo pharao cum exercitu suo et veteri homine submergitur [cf. Rom. 6:6], et novus homo generatur."

102 See Candida R. Moss, *The Other Christs: Imitating Jesus in Ancient Christian Ideologies of Martyrdom* (Oxford 2010), 100; Herbert E.J. Cowdrey, "Martyrdom and the First Crusade,"

component epitomized here in the overcoming of the *vetus homo* (Rom. 6:6). Some lines later, the righteous appear as God's chariots (*currus dei sunt electi*), imagery that implies the final eschatological battle.¹⁰³ Alan thus grants the sea a providential purpose as the spatially manifested line between the saved and the damned. God's people must navigate across it to achieve salvation—as it literally happens on a crusading venture.¹⁰⁴

Parallel to the crusade, authors also developed spiritual versions: Bernard of Clairvaux wrote in a letter devoted to dissuading a monk from crusading that he should cross the spiritual sea into the spiritual Jerusalem (i.e., Clairvaux). This way would be brief (*in brevi*) compared to the burdensome crusade.¹⁰⁵ He creates an equivalent spiritual guise; and he implements this parallel in imagery because of the omnipresence of crusading, whose theological underpinnings thus unfold a meaningful interplay with monastic concepts. The motif of the sea seems to have grown in popularity by the early 13th century, likely a result of the sea route's increasing predominance. This is visible in Caesarius of Heisterbach's sermon texts, which identify the Church as a ship that struggles in the tides of this world.¹⁰⁶ Despite operating in a metaphorical register, the crusading voyage must have been an obvious implication for his listeners. Adam had been thrown into this sea (*in hoc mare adam proiectus*), that is, the Fall of Mankind, whereas one was deemed worthy to be saved on the shore thanks to Christ's incarnation (*ad litus maris per humilitatem incarnationis descen-*

in: *Crusade and Settlement*, ed. Peter W. Edbury (Cardiff 1985), 47. See also the chapter on Jerusalem.

103 Ms. Würzburg M.ch.q.158, fol. 79^v. On the *vetus homo*, see also Baldwin of Canterbury, *Sermo* 3, 47–64; and *Sermo* 8, 128, where he identifies Jews, pagans, and demons as enemies of the cross. See also Henry of Albano, *Ep.* 31, 247, calling upon the clergy to discard (*deponite*) “the old man.”

104 Sources on the Children's Crusade report that the participants hoped God would divide the sea for them, just as he had done for Moses (see Jean Flori, *L'islam et la fin des temps: l'interprétation prophétique des invasions musulmanes dans la chrétienté médiévale* (Paris 2007), 332–335).

105 Bernard of Clairvaux, *Ep.* 64, 554; discussed by Bruun, *Parables*, 103–105.

106 For example: “sic mare seculum, navis ecclesia” (Ms. Trier 232, fol. 136^v). Prevostin of Cremona also uses such imagery (Ms. Arsenal 543, fols. 211^r, 223^r); as does another crusade-specific sermon (mid-13th cen.): Roger of Salisbury, *Sermo*, ed. Cole, 227; discussed by Cole, *Preaching*, 168–173. An anonymous sermon from Saint-Victor (early 13th cen.) warns the sinful audience that they will drown in the coming flood just like the pharaoh's troops (*Sermo de crucis commendacione* (II), ed. Bird, 25–28). For further examples, see Bruun, *Parables*, 181; Jessalynn L. Bird, “Preaching the Crusades and the Liturgical Year: The Palm Sunday Sermons,” *Essays in Medieval Studies* 30 (2014), 18. The identification of ship and Church stemmed from a long tradition (see Baert, *Heritage*, 298–299).

dere dignatus est).¹⁰⁷ He also identifies the ships as the thoughts via which one needs to navigate through the sea of the heart (*naves sunt cogitationes quibus in mari cordis navigamus*).¹⁰⁸ He imagines terrestrial life as a stormy sea: he may be speaking of the monastic vocation—but the language may be consciously vague. His *Dialogus miraculorum* intertwines these ideas with the crusade when reporting on Richard Lionheart's passage: the king's ships encounter a horrific storm that makes all fear the end, but the king's piety and the prayers of the Cistercians present—thus the climax of the *exemplum*—are able to appease God and so pass the probation of the sea.¹⁰⁹ We see, therefore, how such ideas could move between different textual genres, and how elaborate discussions of the sermons can elucidate other texts.

Baldwin of Canterbury's *De sacramento altaris* offers a notable intermediate reading between the allegorical and the literal. On the basis of 1 Cor. 10:1 (*et omnes mare transierunt*), he expounds the Exodus' allegorical meaning as a reference to baptism, which kills the spiritual pharaoh (*spiritualis Pharaos*).¹¹⁰ Some lines below, the sea appears as the turbulent terrestrial world (*saeculum tam turbulentum*), where many humans live "according to Egyptian habit" (*Aegyptio more vivunt*)—the argument points beyond baptism. He develops an eschatological vision by citing Zach. 14:8, yet diverging from the biblical original which says: "In die illa exibunt aquae vivae de Ierusalem, medium earum ad mare orientale, et medium earum ad mare occidentale" (on this day, the vivid waters will leave Jerusalem, the one half goes to the Eastern Sea and the other half to the Western Sea). Baldwin however declares: "[...] the one half of the waters to the Eastern Sea and the other half to the last sea."¹¹¹ Instead of speaking of a Western and an Eastern Sea, he names only the Eastern Sea (spatial dimension) complemented by "a last sea" (apocalyptic dimension). Instead of scattering Jerusalem's salutary waters in all directions, he adapts Zach. 14:8 in order to suggest a geographical direction to the providential events: to the

107 Ms. Trier 232, fols. 134^v–135^r.

108 Ms. Trier 232, fol. 139^r.

109 Caesarius of Heisterbach, *Dialogus* (10.46), 1986–1988. Two other *exempla* betray the same: the one reports on an enemy army approaching the Iberian Peninsula over sea but miraculously put to flight, even before coming into contact with the Christians. The other explains the fact that a crusader ship sank during the passage to Palestine as a divine punishment (*Dialogus* (8.66), 1660; (9.13), 1774). For the motif of the storm on sea, see Habig, "Pericula," 247–249.

110 Baldwin of Canterbury, *De sacramento*, 707. On the conjunction of Exodus and baptism, see Daniélou, *Sacramentum*, 152–176, 255–256.

111 Baldwin of Canterbury, *De sacramento*, 707–708. "[...] medium earum ad mare orientale, et medium earum ad mare novissimum."

East, to Jerusalem.¹¹² Baldwin, dealing in this treatise with the sacraments and especially baptism, nonetheless evokes an apocalyptic vision that aligns the Exodus and the sea with the crusade. This reflects his own ideas when deciding a few years later to depart on the very same journey. His sermon *De sancta cruce*, penned after 1187, corroborates precisely this: it calls its audience, with reference to the Exodus, to cross over the sea (*exeamus de egipto, veniamus ad mare rubrum*). This is formulated in the first person plural; he presents himself as an *alter Moses*.¹¹³

It is telling that many contemporaries identified Moses' rod (*virga*) with the cross, including three sermon texts with high crusade potential.¹¹⁴ One overcomes the sea thanks to God's support embodied in the respective artefact. Martin of León's *De sancta cruce* even understands the rod as a prefiguration of the specific Cross relic (*Moyses virga, per quam lignum sanctae crucis figuratur*).¹¹⁵ Crossing the Red Sea merges with the crusaders' passage over the Mediterranean Sea, as visible above with Baldwin exhorting his audience: the text blends this with a call for penance and martyrdom, including Rom. 8:18, a combination of significant motifs that enhances the crusade potential of this sermon.¹¹⁶ The *virga* also indicates God's vengeful whip (mostly *virga ferrea*), a motif from both the Old Testament and John's Revelation. It embodies his authority and power on earth: this evokes the Cross relic, which expressed its powers accordingly prior to 1187—hence the comparison by numerous authors. Its purpose as a victorious war banner points forward to the Last Judgment: in the grand finale in Rev. 19, Christ annihilates the unbelievers with the *virga* emerging from his mouth. Garnerius writes that the Ark is located in the sanctuary, and its *virga* signifies God's power (*arca intra sanctuarium, cujus virga est potentia Patris*). The present tense is worth noting; he does not merely speak about the Old Testament.¹¹⁷ Similarly, texts speak of a *virga correctionis*; Alan's

112 See also Hélinand of Froidmont, *Sermo* 10, 568. See the chapter on the Cross relic.

113 Baldwin of Canterbury, *Sermo* 8, 131. It is plausible that Baldwin (and others) preached such while sojourning on a ship; Jacques de Vitry also did this in the Fifth Crusade (see Cole, *Preaching*, 133).

114 Baldwin of Canterbury, *Sermo* 8, 129–131; Alan of Lille, *De cruce domini*, ed. d'Alverny, 280; *De sancta cruce* (I), 223; see also Peter of Blois, *Sermo* 17, 609. On such typologies, see Phillips, "Typology," 166–185.

115 Martin of León, *De sanctis*, *Sermo* 5, 33 and Ms. León, San Isidoro 11/2, fol. 173^r.

116 Baldwin of Canterbury, *Sermo* 8, 131. He betrays here parallels with: Peter of Blois, *Passio Raginaldi*, 62; Gregory VIII, *Audita tremendi*, ed. Chroust, 10. These parallels substantiate the crusading purpose of Baldwin's sermon (see Phillips, "Typology," 173; Bennett, *Participation*, 34).

117 Garnerius of Clairvaux, *Sermo* 37, 808. On the *virga ferrea*, see also Garnerius of Clairvaux, *Sermo* 3, 590; Peter of Blois, *Contra Iudeos*, 838; *Passio Raginaldi*, 56; *Sermo* 39, 678;

Distinctiones equate *virga* with both *correctio* and *justitia divina*.¹¹⁸ Garnerius entangles it with *potestas Christi*, *divina persecutio*, and *sententia iudicis* (the Last Judgment). Thereafter, he declares: “The rod [is] the banner of the cross, just like in the Exodus: and Aaron brought the rod before the pharaoh, because the order of preachers preached the banner of the cross in front of kings and princes.”¹¹⁹ The *virga* is once again juxtaposed with the Cross relic (*vexillum crucis*) as well as with contemporary preaching activity: the *ordo praedicatorum* expounded on it in front of kings and princes (past tense). This likely refers to the Third Crusade and Garnerius’ own activities. His *Distinctiones* contain further passages that allude to the events of 1187, thus providing a *terminus post quem*.¹²⁰ It is possible that parts of the work were already used around the Third Crusade—such a collection’s composition was certainly a long-term project.

Henry of Albano devotes his treatise (12) to the *virga*, which is tellingly placed before the crusade treatise: the latter proposes the common identification of *virga* and cross when broaching the relic’s loss.¹²¹ The legate thus delivers rich materials for preaching on this motif. At the outset of treatise (12), he asserts that Moses’ *virga* opens the gates to Jerusalem, while the beginning of the crusade treatise declares that the gates stood open since the First Crusade, but now the Muslims have barricaded them.¹²² In the remainder of treatise (12), the *virga* blends with diverse motifs such as the ten plagues of Egypt or a

Henry of Albano, *De peregrinante civitate Dei* (IX), 324; (XIII), 355; *Itinerarium peregrinorum*, ed. Mayer, 247.

- 118 Alan of Lille, *Distinctiones*, 1005. On *virga correctionis* see, e.g., Alan of Lille, *Sermo 2*, PL 210:201; Henry of Albano, *De peregrinante civitate Dei* (XII), 340–341; (XIII), 356; Baldwin of Canterbury, *Sermo 8*, 129; Ms. Arsenal 543, fol. 223^v; Ms. BNF lat. 18172, fol. 14^v; Roger of Howden, *Gesta*, 2:38; Ms. Oxford, Rawlinson C 427, fol. 5^v; Jacques de Vitry, *Sermo 2*, ed. Maier, 108. Henry offers synonymous terms such as *virga pastoralis*. Baldwin speaks of a *virga directionis*, a signpost back to heaven.
- 119 Garnerius of Clairvaux, *Distinctiones*, 1080–1081. “Virga, vexillum crucis, ut in Exodo: Tulitque Aaron virgam coram Pharaone, quod ordo praedicatorum vexillum crucis coram regibus et principibus praedicabat.”
- 120 See, e.g., Garnerius of Clairvaux, *Distinctiones*, 1065. The expression *vexillum crucis predicare* is tantamount to *crucem predicare*; see the chapter on the Cross relic.
- 121 Henry of Albano, *De peregrinante civitate Dei* (XIII), 353–354. In the same context, he equates the Cross with the Ark and discusses its four dimensions (Eph. 3:18) aligned with the four parts of the earth (*quatuor brachiis quatuor terrarum partes comprehendens*).
- 122 Henry of Albano, *De peregrinante civitate Dei* (XII), 339; (XIII), 350–351. The first passage reads: “Primus itaque Moyses velut calamus mensurae ad metiendum virgam accepit, et obtulit ad portae spatia designanda.” The *virga* designates the gate: it allows one, despite the state of terrestrial existence, to locate the gate. See also the chapter on Jerusalem; and Marx, “City of God,” 96–102.

virga pastoralis; he also speaks of the *virga ferrea*.¹²³ He delivers therein a summary of the contemporary discourse on this motif, which significantly informs his understanding of the Cross relic, just as it provides an impression of what he preached to thousands of listeners. However, Henry's implementation of the Exodus encompasses another dimension: he asserts that the itinerant and fighting *civitas* (the Christian community) had its origin in the crossing of the Red Sea under Moses. This differs from Augustine, who located its origin in the Genesis. The act of crossing the sea is thus the test, the pivotal opportunity that God grants to his people for approaching the heavenly world. The legate adapts here theological concepts, in order to set them in parallel with the way of the crusaders.¹²⁴ Anchoring the Christian *civitas Dei* in the Old Testament Exodus represents a meaningful decision. Gunther of Pairis follows in his footsteps, even beginning his chronicle of the Fourth Crusade with the Exodus—this makes the crusade into its typological repetition.¹²⁵

Finally, a crusade-specific sermon by Garnerius of Clairvaux merits attention (which has already been considered above regarding the motif of heritage). It distinguishes two *virgae activae* and two *virgae contemplativae*, each building on an Old Testament example, and developing a vision of different protagonists in Christian society: Aaron as the effigy of the priest (*sacerdos*), Jacob as pastor (*pastor*), Moses as judge (*iudex*), and David as king (*rex*). The first two take complementary roles in the *vita contemplativa*, the other two in the *vita activa*. Whereas clerics should focus on the first, lay people should devote themselves to both, that is, spiritual and physical warfare.¹²⁶ The abbot concludes with a vision for the crusade: the Old Testament *virgae* have been prefigurations of the *virga* which they received (*omnia haec, dilectissimi, in figura contingebant illis* [1 Cor. 10:11], *et facta sunt pro nobis, data est nobis virga*).¹²⁷ This current *virga* is obviously the cross, as he demonstrates some lines later, with regard to the

123 Henry of Albano, *De peregrinante civitate Dei* (XI), 340. He also relates the *virga* to Mary.

124 Henry of Albano, *De peregrinante civitate Dei* (IV), 285; discussed by Congar, "Eglise," 187. Urban II already did the same in his crusade sermon (Baldric of Dol, *Historia*, ed. Biddlecombe, 8; see Buc, *Holy War*, 103).

125 Gunther of Pairis, *Hystoria*, ed. Orth, 106; he stresses therein God's agency—and hence the providential plan behind the crusade endeavor. See also Ms. Troyes 1301, fol. 158^r, where Garnerius emphasizes in a sermon *Contra Iudeos* that the Christians are the heirs of the Jews.

126 Garnerius of Clairvaux, *Sermo* 28, 751–752. Joachim identified Bernard of Clairvaux with Moses and Eugen III with Aaron (Joachim of Fiore, *Liber de concordia*, ed. Daniel, 416–419; discussed by Rubenstein, *Dream*, 195–196).

127 Garnerius of Clairvaux, *Sermo* 28, 752 and Ms. Troyes 1301, fol. 99^r. The verse 1 Cor. 10:11 does not speak of *virga*—this is Garnerius' discussion.

specific relic.¹²⁸ The fact that the cross has been given to them (that is, by God) indicates both Christ's Passion and its recovery on the First Crusade.

The sermon's imagery largely depends on the Exodus; Moses' *virga* and the crossing of the sea are the main motifs, including the opening verse of Ex. 14:16: "Eleva virgam tuam, et extende manum tuam, et divide mare, ut transeant filii Israel per medium sicci maris" (raise your rod, stretch out your hand, and divide the sea so that the children of Israel may cross through the midst of the dry sea). The sermon has the objective of describing the way to the Holy Land via the sea, while presenting the *virga*, that is, the cross, as the preeminent instrument for coping with this journey.¹²⁹ In agreement with the Exodus—where Moses raises the rod to divide the sea—Garnerius exhorts his audience to raise both hands (alluding to Christ who hung on the cross with both). This evokes the cross' pluralization after the relic's loss, as discussed in the chapter on the Cross relic (being placed on each participant instead of a single war banner). Slightly before this discussion, he elaborates on the relic and its purpose:

If you want to exercise the royal office, then raise your mind to the one for whom serving means reigning. Long to be a partaker in his kingdom which is eternal. Consider therefore the cypress that is venerated in Lebanon, for the cypress persists in Lebanon immensely, fragrantly, and incorruptibly. Mount Lebanon is bright, since Lebanon is interpreted as brightness. As you know, those men who are outstanding in virtues reside there, fragrantly in fame and incorruptibly in eternity. And no matter how many are there, they all reign, because they are all kings.¹³⁰

He exhorts his audience to consider the relic, which is identified here with the cedar (*considera ergo cedrum*); this shows significant intertextualities with the passage already discussed, which is found some lines before (*considera cypresum in monte Sion exaltatam*).¹³¹ The cedar is intertwined with Lebanon, where

128 Garnerius of Clairvaux, *Sermo* 28, 753; see the section above on the motif of inheritance.

129 A crusade-specific sermon from the year 1226 (relating to heretics) uses the same opening verse (see Tamminen, *Crusader*, 292).

130 Garnerius of Clairvaux, *Sermo* 28, 754. "Quod si regis officium exercere desideras, ad illum mentem eleva, cui servire regnare est; illius regni particeps esse desideras, quod aeternum est. Considera ergo cedrum exaltatam in Libano. Cedrus enim immensa, odorifera, imputribilis perseverat in Libano. Mons Libanus candidus est, quia Libanus candidatio interpretatur. Ibi quippe sunt viri virtutibus eximii, odoriferi fama, imputribiles aeternitate; et quotquot ibi sunt, regnant, quia reges sunt."

131 The identification of cross and cedar is common (see, e.g., Peter of Blois, *Passio Raginaldi*, 51; Alan of Lille, *Distinctiones*, 735–736; Ralph Ardens, *Pars (II)*, *De tempore*, *Sermo* 30, 1423).

virtuous men sojourn (*virī virtutibus eximii*). Considering that the abbot kept preaching the crusade in the West during the expedition, one may read this as a reference to the ongoing siege of Acre.¹³² Highly intriguing is his conclusion: no matter how many there are, they all rule, because they are all kings (*quotquot ibi sunt, regnant, quia reges sunt*). This indicates the crusade's spiritual rewards: they all earn salvation. The fact that Garnerius formulates this in the present tense shows that he is not concerned with a distant eschatological vision. Baldwin's portrayal of the cedar is very similar; it forms the end of his sermon *De sancta cruce*, and he connects it with palm branch and martyrdom—a combination that strongly indicates the crusade.¹³³

The conclusion of Garnerius' sermon discusses that two types of crosses exist: a true cross identified as the *crux Christi* and a false one, the *crux Aman*. This suggests its symbolic value: it must designate a virtuous attitude, just as the term *crux Christi* tends to refer to the specific relic (see the chapter on the Cross relic). The Old Testament Haman was an enemy of the Jews (Est. 9:6) and a member of the Amalekites (Est. 9:24). The book of Esther's bloody finale consists of God's people slaying its opponents, including Haman's sons.¹³⁴ Finally, Garnerius calls his audience, the sons of Israel, to cross the sea (a parallel with Baldwin) and to advance to the mountain of God, thereby spanning spiritual and physical warfare: "Thus advance the sons of Israel through the midst of

132 Acre was located on the northern fringe of today's Israel, close to the Lebanese border. On Garnerius' preaching activity at the time, see Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, 3:132; and the chapter on immediate context. Peter employs a similar description for the siege of Tyre in 1187 (Peter of Blois, *Passio Raginaldi*, 32).

133 Baldwin of Canterbury, *Sermo* 8, 136. Garnerius and Baldwin are the only two authors I could find that combine cedar and cypress. Garnerius' depiction betrays the crusade's drive to overcome social boundaries (see Tamminen, *Crusader*, 251–253, 287–288; André Vauchez, "Les composantes eschatologiques de l'idée de la croisade," in: *Le concile de Clermont de 1095 et l'appel à la croisade de 1095* (Rome 1997), 241–242). Louis IX's speech on the Seventh Crusade demonstrates a similar impetus concerned with martyrdom and equality (see Buc, *Holy War*, 180–181).

134 On the Amalekites in crusade-related sermons, see Bird, "Rogations," 165, 176–179; see also Hofreiter, *Genocide*, 173–174, 184–185, 191. For sources see Sicard of Cremona, *De officiis*, 370; Henry of Albano, *Ep. 11*, 225; Peter of Blois, *Ep. 106*, 330; *Ep. 112*, 338; *Sermo 13*, 599; *Sermo 32*, 658; *Compendium in Iob*, 804; Garnerius of Clairvaux, *Sermo 32*, 775; *Sermo 40*, 825; Ralph Ardens, *Pars (II)*, *De sanctis*, *Sermo 27*, 1595; Benedictinus anonymus, *De penitentia*, PL 213:893; Humbert of Romans, *De predicatione*, 11, 18, 170; Martin of León, *Liber sermonum*, *Sermo 11*, 707, 714. Martin examines the motif elaborately; however, it is not entirely clear whom he designates with "Amalekites"—but one passage suggests warfare against Muslims: "Pugnat adhuc Amalech nobiscum et ad terram promissionis liberum nos habere non sinit transitum" (714). The Amalekites are already found in Urbans 11's sermon in: Baldric of Dol, *Historia*, ed. Biddlecombe, 10.

the sea, that is, via the path of virtues, after having dried up the vices with rigor. They even advance right unto Horeb, the Mount of God.¹³⁵ To sum up, the abbot develops an elaborate vision for the crusade in this sermon, which focuses on the Cross relic (the *virga*), with whose help they shall advance over the sea, in imitation of the Exodus. He evokes those men who already did so successfully and now hold out bravely, likely a reference to the ongoing Third Crusade. We do not really know what prompted specific contingents to settle on either the sea or the land route. Social relations and organizational issues may have been at work here—and it may not be possible to grasp these dimensions in the sources.¹³⁶ Yet, as the material examined in this section suggests, the conception of the preachers (also) played a crucial role. It may not have been a coincidence that the two princes who were exposed to the same preachers, Richard Lionheart and Philip Augustus, settled for the passage by sea.

135 Garnerius of Clairvaux, *Sermo* 28, 755. “Sic enim gradiuntur filii Israel per maris medium, id est per viam virtutum, vitii per amaritudines exsiccatis. Gradiuntur autem usque ad montem Dei Horeb.” Moses had the vision of the burning bush on the Horeb (Ex. 3:1–5)—it embodies the *visio Dei*.

136 Telling is that Tyerman’s book remains silent on this question as far as I can see (Christopher J. Tyerman, *How to Plan a Crusade: Reason and Religious War in the High Middle Ages* (London 2015), esp. 237–238). See also Möhring, *Saladin*, 77–78, 81, 85–89, who discusses this question, but, due to lack of sources, he does not reach any satisfying conclusions.

PART 3

*Metatext: The Metanarrative
of Salvation History*



The Paradox of Failure in the Holy Land: A Tradition after the Second Crusade

This God creates the just and the unjust; his sublime will changes evil into good and crime into virtue; his mood overturns the laws that he himself has given to nature.

PAUL-HENRI THIRY D'HOLBACH, *Le christianisme dévoilé*¹



The idea of an almighty God, who maintains a particular relationship with his elect people, poses certain logical problems, including the challenge of explaining misfortune and failure. Throughout Christian history one can observe the development of such explanations, which occasionally generated lasting traditions: these were effective, and thus transformed from a perhaps situational dilemma into an established cultural paradigm.² The present chapter examines a system of thought and its idiosyncratic logics, a system that is challenged if something happens that contradicts its premises. Either this transforms the system or explanations are developed that allow one to integrate the events, while maintaining the premises unchanged or slightly modified.³ A popular strategy explained misfortune as God's test: the Fall of Mankind made it necessary for humans to prove they were worthy to return to heaven. Christ's grace only represented an offer that one must also receive and properly embody. Such

1 "Ce dieu crée le juste et l'injuste, sa volonté suprême change le mal en bien et le crime en vertu; son caprice renverse les lois qu'il a lui-même données à la Nature [...]." My translation.

2 See John Victor Tolan, *Saracens: Islam in the Medieval European Imagination* (New York 2002), xiii–xv, 40–57; Richard W. Southern, *Western Views of Islam in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, Mass. 1962), 3; Jean Flori, *L'islam et la fin des temps: l'interprétation prophétique des invasions musulmanes dans la chrétienté médiévale* (Paris 2007), esp. 116–121, 320–325.

3 See David d'Avray, *Medieval Religious Rationalities: A Weberian Analysis* (Cambridge, UK 2010), 63–92; Keagan Brewer, "God's Devils: Pragmatic Theodicy in Christian Responses to Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's Conquest of Jerusalem in 1187," *Medieval Encounters* 27 (2021), 125–164, esp. 130; Jussi Hanska, *Strategies of Sanity and Survival: Religious Responses to Natural Disasters in the Middle Ages* (Helsinki 2002), 47.

a test often appeared as a punishment for sinful behavior. This produced a specific type of probation, in case it even demanded a person's death: martyrdom rewarded death with immediate salvation, for which others must wait until the Last Judgment. This bold idea turned occasional failure into desirable failure. Besides a priori motivation, it is also possible that one explained failure as martyrdom with hindsight. The First Crusade's chronicles made basically all participants into martyrs (and not only soldiers).⁴ By the mid-12th century, authors increasingly limited this to soldiers, a development for which Bernard's *De laude novae militiae* was probably constitutive or represents a major source.⁵

However, there was a more fundamental issue: specific crusades defined certain goals beforehand, and if these were not achieved (as was usually the case), the need for an explanation arose. Christopher Tyerman asserts, "[...] the rhetoric of crusade was in danger of contradicting itself as the theoretical assumptions of divine providence obscured political reality."⁶ The Second Crusade declared Damascus as its goal—this was not achieved.⁷ The Third Crusade had two goals: retaking Jerusalem and the Cross relic—this was not achieved. The Fourth Crusade had the same goals, but went astray to Constantinople.⁸

4 See Jean Flori, "Mort et martyre des guerriers vers 1100. L'exemple de la première croisade," *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 34/134 (1991), 121–139; Herbert E.J. Cowdrey, "Martyrdom and the First Crusade," in: *Crusade and Settlement*, ed. Peter W. Edbury (Cardiff 1985), 47–56. See also Philippe Buc, *Holy War, Martyrdom, and Terror: Christianity, Violence, and the West, ca. 70 C.E. to the Iraq War* (Philadelphia 2015), 84–85, 167–176. For 13th-century sermon texts with a strong pan-Christian agenda, see Miikka Tamminen, *Crusade Preaching and the Ideal Crusader* (Turnhout 2018), 169–201.

5 See Alexander Marx, "The *Passio Raginaldi* of Peter of Blois. Martyrdom and Eschatology in the Preaching of the Third Crusade," *Viator* 50/3 (2019), 209; William J. Purkis, *Crusading Spirituality in the Holy Land and Iberia, c.1095–c.1187* (Woodbridge 2008), 104–105, 108, arguing that Bernard tried to limit *imitatio Christi* to the Templars (and monks)—the average crusader was incapable of such, yet these efforts were not successful. See also Katherine Allen Smith, *War and the Making of Medieval Monastic Culture* (Woodbridge 2011), 39–70.

6 Christopher J. Tyerman, *How to Plan a Crusade: Reason and Religious War in the High Middle Ages* (London 2015), 58.

7 See, e.g., Martin Hoch, "The Price of Failure: The Second Crusade as a Turning-Point in the History of the Latin East?" in: *The Second Crusade*, ed. Hoch and Jonathan Phillips (Manchester 2001), 182–183. On Bernard's preaching, see Penny J. Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades to the Holy Land, 1095–1270* (Cambridge, Mass. 1991), 40–49; Jean Flori, *Prêcher la croisade: XI^e–XIII^e siècle; communication et propagande* (Paris 2012), 108–127.

8 Yet, the conquest was regarded as a success: the new Latin emperor of Constantinople wrote to Innocent III that God's hand had brought it about: *manus Domini operetur haec omnia* (Baldwin of Constantinople, *Epistola*, 447). See also Gunther of Pairis, *Hystoria*, ed. Orth, 135–138; and Flori, *L'islam*, 327–330; Beth C. Spacey, *The Miraculous and the Writing of Crusade Narrative* (Woodbridge 2020), 146–151.

Even though one observes that the dead were still rendered as martyrs (though perhaps less frequently than for the First Crusade), the essential issue remained that the goals had not been fulfilled. These, however, had been presented beforehand as God's will and a providential necessity, as the preceding chapters have demonstrated through manifold materials. This dilemma became critically apparent after the Second Crusade, which was perceived as an absolute disaster. Bernard was in need of an explanation, having been the main protagonist in mobilizing it: he defended himself in *De consideratione*, emphasizing that the cause was still God's will. Primarily responsible was not God but Christian sinfulness (expressed with: *dominus provocatus peccatis nostris*), especially the sins of the crusaders, but also, in agreement with the Corpus Christi, those of Christendom in general, disregarding any spatial distance from the events.⁹ If they had lived a virtuous life, they would have been capable of attaining their goals—God would have supported them. This explanation stemmed from biblical roots such as Jud. 11:8 (*constat enim Deum nostrum sic peccatis offensum*) or 2 Macc. 7:32 (*nos enim pro peccatis nostris haec patimur*). Yet, the formula *peccatis nostris exigentibus* is not biblical; it seems to have appeared first in the early Middle Ages, for example, with Gregory the Great or Pseudo-Methodius; the latter used it to explain the Islamic expansion.¹⁰

The Christians were responsible: Bernard's explanation thus intertwined crusade and reform as well as reform and eschatology, since evoking the looming Judgment was an old trick of Christian preachers to call for moral reform. This strategy entangled spiritual and physical warfare, just as it blended individual and community, apparent in the responsibility that Western Christians bore for events in the East.¹¹ These causalities fueled a growing desire to elimin-

9 Bernard of Clairvaux, *De consideratione* (2.1), 660–666; see Jay Rubenstein, *Nebuchadnezzar's Dream: The Crusades, Apocalyptic Prophecy, and the End of History* (Oxford 2019), 116–122, 211–212; Philippe Buc, "Crusade and Eschatology: Holy War Fostered and Inhibited," *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 125 (2017), 326–328; Hubert Glaser, "Das Scheitern des zweiten Kreuzzuges als heilsgeschichtliches Ereignis," in: *Festschrift für Max Spindler*, ed. Dieter Albrecht and Andreas Kraus (Munich 1969), 115–142. Skottki emphasizes that Bernard was surprised about the expedition's outcome: Kristin Skottki, "‘Until the Full Number of Gentiles Has Come In’: Exegesis and Prophecy in St Bernard's Crusade-Related Writings," in: *The Uses of the Bible in Crusader Sources*, ed. Elizabeth Lapina and Nicholas Morton (Leiden 2017), 262–264.

10 See Tolan, *Saracens*, 42, 46–49; Elizabeth Siberry, *Criticism of Crusading, 1095–1274* (Oxford 1985), 70–71.

11 See Cole, *Preaching*, 63–64, 152–153; Buc, *Holy War*, 98–105; Jessalynn L. Bird, "Rogations, Litanies, and Crusade Preaching: The Liturgical Front in the Late Twelfth and Early Thirteenth Centuries," in: *Papacy, Crusade, and Christian-Muslim Relations*, ed. Bird (Amsterdam 2018), 163. On the discourse of spiritual warfare, see Smith, *Monastic Culture*, 28–37;

ate weak limbs and traitors in their own ranks. Sophia Menache asserted that failure prompted a “subsequent search for their own sins as justification for their repeated defeats.”¹² A hunt for sin began that permeated society, building on the assumption that it may not be obvious a priori where sins were located or which sins needed to be uncovered. The events which God had permitted signified that undetected sins existed; strategies were needed to find and identify them. Prevostin of Cremona, for example, voices that their sins must be exposed (*peccata sua detegere*).¹³ Peter of Blois formulates that they are incapable of hiding their iniquities from God, because he trawls Jerusalem “with his oil lamps” (*non possumus iniquitates nostras ab eo abscondere, qui explorat Jerusalem in lucernis*).¹⁴

The identification of sin always entailed personification. Jessalynn Bird asserted that the different groups of heretics and pagans in different regions were causally related manifestations of God’s rage.¹⁵ Consequently, eliminating sin indicated eliminating those humans who sinned—in particular if they did not accept the instruments of penance, confession, or conversion.¹⁶ Such suggests also Mt. 18:15–17: if instructions remain unheard, one shall even treat a *frater* like a pagan (*ethnicus*)—this was significantly taken up by Peter the Chanter.¹⁷ Such arguments blossomed because an individual’s sinfulness often inhered in an invisible and hence treacherous nature: fear of ‘false Christians’ loomed

Cecilia Gaposchkin, *Invisible Weapons: Liturgy and the Making of Crusade Ideology* (Ithaca, NY 2017), 41–53.

- 12 Sophia Menache, “Emotions in the Service of Politics. Another Perspective on the Experience of Crusading (1095–1187),” in: *Jerusalem the Golden*, ed. Susan B. Edgington (Turnhout 2014), 253.
- 13 Ms. Arsenal 543, fol. 220^r.
- 14 Peter of Blois, *Sermo* 39, 679; the reference is to Soph. 1:12. Similar in Peter of Blois, *Conquestio*, 79: *scrutatur Jerusalem in lucernis, omnes tuas malicias numeravit*.
- 15 See Jessalynn L. Bird, *Heresy, Crusade and Reform in the Circle of Peter the Chanter, c.1187–c.1240* (PhD thesis, University of Oxford 2001), 135. In agreement, Joachim identified the Muslims as Revelation’s beast from the sea and the heretics as that from the land (Joachim of Fiore, *Expositio*, fol. 134^{r-v}; discussed by Flori, *L’Islam*, 322).
- 16 See Buc, *Holy War*, 15–18. This is exemplified in the Causa 23 of the *Decretum Gratiani* (see Gerd Althoff, “*Selig sind, die Verfolgung ausüben*”: *Päpste und Gewalt im Hochmittelalter* (Darmstadt 2013), 153–158). See also on Augustine: Christian Hofreiter, *Making Sense of Old Testament Genocide: Christian Interpretations of Herem Passages* (Oxford 2018), 123–124, 127; and on Bernard: Hans-Dietrich Kahl, “... Auszujäten von der Erde die Feinde des Christentums ...” Der Plan zum ‘Wendekreuzzug’ von 1147 als Umsetzung sibyllischer Eschatologie,” in: *Heidenfrage und Slawenfrage im deutschen Mittelalter* (Leiden 2011), 637–641.
- 17 See Philippe Buc, *L’ambiguïté du livre: prince, pouvoir, et peuple dans les commentaires de la Bible au Moyen Âge* (Paris 1994), 353.

large in contemporary texts.¹⁸ This paranoia gained further vigor through an idea dependent upon the Corpus Christi: one must actively prevent evil; otherwise, one becomes a silent accomplice.¹⁹ It was no coincidence that the Council of Reims (1148) was held in the context of the Second Crusade; it aimed at the condemnation of an unorthodox thinker, Gilbert of Poitiers, and Bernard played an essential role in this. His *De consideratione* formulated several attacks against Gilbert, thus drafting a holistic program that encompassed both the crusade and the heresy of scholasticism.²⁰ Similarly, a large tribunal against some Albigensians took place in Cologne in 1163, ending in their public burning that inspired Eckbert of Schönau (his own words) to pen a sermon collection against this group.²¹ The Third Lateran (1179) issued anti-heretical decrees, while Henry of Albano led preaching campaigns in southern France against the same.²² After the Second Crusade, a growing interest in heresy can be observed, whereas such an interest seems to have been absent from the first half of the century.²³ Failure in the East represented a significant cause for these shifting priorities. This chapter will also unearth that failure did not represent a braking factor for further ventures, contrary to what some scholars such as Martin Aurell have claimed. His book is problematic overall, since it tends to

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- 18 On ideas of false Christians, see Gal. 2:4; 2 Cor. 11:26; and Buc, *Holy War*, 91, 246–247; Buc, “Crusade and Eschatology,” 317, 336–337. Jacques de Vitry renders the enemies within ‘Jerusalem’ as *falsi fratres*—since he names all non-Christian groups, this Jerusalem is both literal and allegorical (see Bird, “Rogations,” 175).
- 19 See Rom. 1:32; discussed by Buc, *Libre*, 352–360. See also on Jacques de Vitry and anti-heretical crusading: Carolyn A. Muessig, “Heaven, Earth and the Angels: Preaching Paradise in the Sermons of Jacques de Vitry,” in: *Envisaging Heaven in the Middle Ages*, ed. Muessig and Ad Putter (London 2006), 64–65.
- 20 Bernard of Clairvaux, *De consideratione* (5,6–7), 794–802; see also Geoffrey of Auxerre, *Vita* (3,3–6), 306–314. See the chapter on institutional context. On the council, see Stephen C. Ferruolo, *The Origins of the University: The Schools of Paris and their Critics, 1100–1215* (Stanford 1987), 61–64. Geoffrey of Auxerre also played a role there, and he later wrote a treatise against Gilbert. A contemporary chronicle depicts the council as a direct result of the crusade’s failure (*Ex auctario Gemblacensi*, ed. Delisle, 274).
- 21 Eckbert of Schönau, *Sermones* (prologue), 13.
- 22 Henry II also sent troops to southern France at the time (see Henry of Albano, *Ep.* 28, 234; Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, 2:150–151; *Gesta*, 1:198–199; discussed by Yves Congar, “Henri de Marcy, abbé de Clairvaux, cardinal, évêque d’Albano et légat pontifical,” *Analecta monastica* 5 (1958), 11–12).
- 23 See Congar, “Henri de Marcy,” 6; Beverly Mayne Kienzle, *Cistercians, Heresy and Crusade in Occitania, 1145–1229. Preaching in the Lord’s Vineyard* (Woodbridge 2001), 109–134, esp. 110–111; Giles Constable, *The Reformation of the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, UK 1996), 5. Kienzle lists further examples such as the ambitions of Hildegard of Bingen or Elisabeth of Schönau, Eckbert’s sister.

render all shortcomings that contemporaries addressed as an essentialist critique of crusading, a grave misjudgment of the discourse about failure in the Holy Land.²⁴

1 *Peccatis nostris exigentibus*: Articulation, Variants, and the Quest for Sin

As we have seen, Bernard's *De consideratione* does not formulate according to the classic pattern, but with *dominus provocatus peccatis nostris*—one may see a nuance in God's rage surfacing more strongly. The Genoese merchant who reported on Hattin to Urban III voiced the same sentiment (*provocatus peccatis nostris*).²⁵ One finds a variety of formulations in the sources: specific elements may be replaced, partly with synonyms, partly—as concerns the *nostris*—for shifting nuances as to whose sins are responsible. For example, one finds *culpīs nostris exigentibus*, the meaning remains the same, or *peccatis nostris urgentibus*, a variant that Gerald of Wales seems to prefer.²⁶ Alan packs it into an entire sentence with regard to the Cross relic (*propter ingruentiam peccatorum, que est amissionis causa, nisi nostra culpa*). William of Newburgh explains Jerusalem's loss with *peccatis excrescentibus* and Muslim power with *peccatis eorum invalescentibus*.²⁷ Sometimes, the sharp formulation *peccatis promerentibus* appears: they deserved it because of their sins. This mirrors Arnold of Lübeck when explaining the events of 1187 (i.e., *omnes miserias in sancta terra perpetratas*): sin deservedly brought God's rage on them (*peccata quibus iram meruimus*).²⁸

24 See, e.g., Martin Aurell, *Des chrétiens contre les croisades XII^e–XIII^e siècle* (Paris 2013), 73–77, 161–187. The compelling antithesis in: Christoph T. Maier, *Preaching the Crusades: Mendicant Friars and the Cross in the Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge, UK 1994), 8–19, 161.

25 Cited in Roger of Howden, *Gesta*, 2:11. The classic formula is found in: Bernard of Clairvaux, *Ep.* 363, 650. Peter addresses God directly: *scimus quia peccatis nostris offensus es* (Peter of Blois, *Conquestio*, 78).

26 For the first, see, e.g., Peter of Blois, *Sermo* 39, 677; Martin of León, *De sanctis*, *Sermo* 4, 30; Guillaume le Breton, *Philippidos*, ed. Delaborde, 65; Gregory VIII, *Ep.* 18, 1558. For the second, see Gerald of Wales, *De rebus*, 73; *De principis instructione*, 200, 234, 236; Ms. Troyes 990, fol. 63^v.

27 Alan of Lille, *De cruce domini*, ed. d'Alverny, 281; William of Newburgh, *Historia*, 253. The latter's *eorum* refers primarily to the Holy Land's Christian inhabitants.

28 Arnold of Lübeck, *Chronica*, 170. See also Ansbert, *Historia*, ed. Chroust, 4; Innocent III, *Ep.* 302, PL 214:263; and Burchard of Ursberg, *Chronicon*, 61, explaining Barbarossa's death with *peccatis nostris promerentibus*.

Other phrases are formulated differently, such as *propter peccata nostra*.²⁹ One of Alan of Lille's sermons with high crusade potential states that God cast them out of Jerusalem *per peccatum*.³⁰ The anonymous Benedictine articulates himself similarly about the events of 1187 (*pro peccatis suis acciderit*); as does Peter of Blois (*dominus erat offensus populo terre*).³¹ Elsewhere, Peter puts it in the active voice: the Christians have sinned against God (*peccavimus tibi*), and Innocent III's Fourth Lateran sermon says: Christ was cast out of the (Holy) Land on account of their sins (*qui pro peccatis nostris ejectus est de terra*).³² In a letter penned in 1187, Peter explains the relic's loss (including the comparison with the Ark) with *peccato talium*, referring to bad priests who must now prepare the crusade properly.³³ Martin of León formulates this rhetorically differently in a sermon on rogation liturgy, emphasizing their own responsibility: they enrage God when committing sin (*deum peccando offendimus*).³⁴ Prevostin of Cremona also points to their past sins with which they enraged the Savior (*preterita peccata quibus salvatorem offenderunt*). What exactly has enraged him remains unspoken, but being a Palm Sunday sermon concerned with the journey to Jerusalem, the sinfulness likely refers to 1187.³⁵ In some sources, God's rage is more prominent: *Audita tremendi* says regarding Hattin that God was enraged by his people (*deus populo suo iratus*). Looking back to Hattin, Innocent III's *Post miserabile* (1198) expresses the same sentiment (*peccatis nostris iratus*). God's rage is an eschatological element; the Old Test-

29 See, e.g., Peter of Blois, *Passio Raginaldi*, 54; *Sermo 60*, 736; Martin of León, *Liber sermonum*, *Sermo 29*, 1085; Ralph Ardens, *Pars (II), De tempore*, *Sermo 40*, 1466; Heraclius, *Hilferuf (II)*, ed. Jaspert, 512; Arnold of Lübeck, *Chronica*, 147; and Ms. Oxford, Magd. Coll. 168, fol. 70^v, a Palm Sunday sermon by John of Abbeville: "propter secula nostra et peccata locus ille sanctus traditus a domino in manus gentilium [Job 9:24]." Similarly, a chronicle on the relic's loss: "propter scelera nostra" (*Itinerarium peregrinorum*, ed. Mayer, 259).

30 See Ms. Toulouse 195, fol. 116^v; and the chapter on the Holy Land.

31 Benedictinus anonymus, *De penitentia*, PL 213:868; Peter of Blois, *Passio Raginaldi*, 46.

32 Peter of Blois, *Passio Raginaldi*, 33–34; Innocent III, *De diversis*, *Sermo 6*, 676.

33 Peter of Blois, *Ep. 23*, 85. The letter addressed the papal legate Octavian, who was apparently endowed with these duties. It is remarkable that Peter (and not the pope) wrote him; this indicates the vacant days between Urban III and Gregory VIII as well as Peter's standing at the Curia.

34 Martin of León, *Liber sermonum*, *Sermo 29*, 1057 and Ms. León, San Isidoro 11/3, fol. 114^v. Similarly, Alan of Lille when broaching the events of 1187: *creatorem offendimus* (Ms. BL Add 19767, fol. 74^r; see also *Urkundenbuch*, ed. Janicke, 1:484). A later crusade-specific sermon says that God exterminates the enemies literally (*ad litteram*)—unless human sinfulness impedes him (*nisi peccata hominum impedirent*) (Odo of Chateauroux, *Sermo 2*, ed. Maier, 150).

35 Ms. Arsenal 543, fol. 205^r.

ament deity returns at the End of Days—in contrast to the merciful Christ.³⁶ Similarly, in a call for help sent to the West after Hattin, Patriarch Heraclius asserts that they were struck by God's *terrores*.³⁷ It is also common to articulate via the *ablativus absolutus* that events are an expression of his will: *auctore deo* (at God's behest) or *permittente deo* (with God's permission).³⁸

The explanation's third element, the allocation of responsibility, is often expressed with *nostris*: emphasizing their own responsibility, this aims to elicit action—as happens specifically in sermons. The argument expresses that Western audiences are responsible despite geographical distance and thanks to the logics of the Corpus Christi: God punishes the Christians in the Holy Land for sins committed in Europe—because the verdict hits them there the hardest, and these places serve communication between the earthly and heavenly spheres. Authors occasionally deviate from the *nostris*, either to make further distinctions or to delegate responsibility to someone else. In *Nunquam melius*, Gregory VIII distinguishes that the sins of both the Holy Land's inhabitants and entire Christianity are accountable (*ex peccato habitatorum terrae et totius populi Christiani*). He does the same in *Audita tremendi* (*non solum peccatum habitatorum eius sed et nostrum et totius populi christiani*).³⁹ The *nostris* may be replaced with *populus*, a signifier for God's elect people, often expressed with *ex peccato populi*.⁴⁰ John of Abbeville states, after having explained the events of 1187: “The Lord rages vehemently about the sins of the Christians,

36 Innocent III, *Ep.336*, PL 214:312; Gregory VIII, *Audita tremendi*, ed. Chroust, 7. On the nature of God's rage, see Philippe Buc, *L'empreinte du Moyen Age: la guerre sainte* (Avignon 2012), 26, 42.

37 Heraclius, *Hilferuf* (III), ed. Kedar, 120. On *terror* in First Crusade sources, see Buc, *Holy War*, 262–263; the crusaders cause here *terror* in the Muslims thanks to God's support. On *terror* in the relevant corpus, often blending with the Last Judgment, see Henry of Albano, *De peregrinante civitate Dei* (xvi), 383; Baldwin of Canterbury, *Sermo* 6, 98; Garnerius of Clairvaux, *Sermo* 17, 683; Peter of Blois, *Ep.87*, 274; *Sermo* 16, 605–607; Martin of León, *Liber sermonum*, *Sermo* 22, 859; Hélinand of Froidmont, *Sermo* 14, 593; *Sermo* 27, 701; Ms. BNF lat. 3811, fol. 116^v; Ralph Ardens, *Pars* (II), *De tempore*, *Sermo* 19, 1373.

38 See, e.g., Gregory VIII, *Ep.18*, 1558; Frederick I, *Epistola*, 498; Lucius III, *Ep.182*, 1312; Ralph Ardens, *Pars* (I), *De sanctis*, *Sermo* 18, 1557. In the early 12th century, Fulcher characterized the Cross relic's *potential* loss as *deo permittente* (Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia* (3.9), ed. Hagenmeyer, 639).

39 Gregory VIII, *Nunquam melius*, 1539; *Audita tremendi*, ed. Chroust, 8; see also Thomas W. Smith, “*Audita tremendi* and the Call for the Third Crusade Reconsidered, 1187–1188,” *Viator* 49/3 (2018), 94.

40 See, e.g., Gregory VIII, *Nunquam melius*, 1539; Ralph Ardens, *Pars* (I), *Section* (2), *Sermo* 23, 2024; Otto of Freising, *Chronik*, ed. Lammers, 550. See also Ms. BNF lat. 2954, fol. 157^r, a crusade-related letter entitled: *Quod dominus quandoque irascitur pro peccato populi et pro peccato principis* (Peter of Blois, *Ep.106*, 329).

since these are much worse than those of pagans or Jews."⁴¹ He targets the entire Christian people, contrasting them with Jews and pagans, whose sins are less grave, because they are not God's elect people.⁴² Lastly, one finds an alternative expression, yet not very common, in *peccatis hominum exigentibus*.⁴³ Its rare appearance can be explained by the fact that an undefined *homines* was not the best device for constructing responsibility.

Sylvia Schein claims that it was common practice to delegate responsibility for the events of 1187 to the inhabitants of the Holy Land, but her analysis covers only a limited horizon of sources, in particular chronicles, where one can indeed see such a tendency. Ralph Niger is another well-known advocate of such an idea.⁴⁴ However, numerous chronicles claim equal responsibility for Western Christians, and the common articulation with *nostris* points clearly to their own community and a text's local audience.⁴⁵ The sermon material substantiates that the preachers constructed a pitiless responsibility for their listeners. The explanation helped to rationalize events that had puzzled Western observers *prima facie*. As a result, confining it to the Holy Land's inhabitants would only have made sense if they alone were God's elect people. A crusade-related sermon by Alan of Lille corroborates this when describing the events:

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- 41 John of Abbeville, *Ad cruce signatos*, ed. Cole, 222. "Vehementer irascitur dominus peccatis christianorum quia multo graviora sunt peccatis gentium vel Iudeorum [...]" See also Alan of Lille, *Sermo 5*, PL 210:212; Hélinand of Froidmont, *Sermo 11*, 575; *Itinerarium peregrinorum*, ed. Mayer, 246; Alexander III, *Ep. 626*, 600. The first two references use the formula for explaining the existence of heretics. Celestine III, in his crusade call to Hubert Walter (1195), puts it thus: "[...] in exterminio terrae illius peccatis Christiani populi exigentibus [...]" (Celestine III, *Ep. 224*, 1108).
- 42 This stems from the dialectics between Old and New Covenant; see the chapter on the Cross relic. See also Rigord, *Gesta*, ed. Delaborde, 81; Henry of Albano, *De peregrinante civitate Dei* (XIII), 361.
- 43 *Historia peregrinorum*, ed. Chroust, 117; *Itinerarium peregrinorum*, ed. Mayer, 258.
- 44 Sylvia Schein, *Gateway to the Heavenly City: Crusader Jerusalem and the Catholic West (1099–1187)* (Aldershot 2005), 174–175. For the antithesis, see Christopher Matthew Phillips, "The Thief's Cross: Crusade and Penance in Alan of Lille's 'Sermo de cruce domini,'" *Crusades* 5 (2006), 154–156. See, e.g., William of Newburgh, *Historia*, 252–253; *Itinerarium peregrinorum*, ed. Stubbs, 5–6; Ralph Niger, *De re militari*, ed. Schmutge, 194. Gerhoch already argued this when explaining the Second Crusade's origins (Gerhoch of Reichersberg, *De investigatione*, ed. Sackur, 377; see Glaser, "Scheitern," 137–139).
- 45 A chronicle underlines the responsibility of Western clerics (Arnold of Lübeck, *Chronica*, 162–164). The letter of the Genoese merchant to Urban III explains the events just as *peccatis exigentibus*; allocating responsibility is perhaps consciously avoided; such is the task of his addressee (cited in Roger of Howden, *Gesta*, 2:12).

We have learned that the land on which the Lord trod with his own feet [cf. Ps. 131:7], and where he revealed the mysteries of our redemption, is now occupied by foreigners. We have learned that the Cross that one addresses with “Oh hail to you, Cross, you unique hope” is publicly put to shame by them. We have learned that the Sepulcher about which Isaiah says “and his Sepulcher will be glorious” [Is. 11:10] is treated disgracefully. But is it possible that we clerics are not spurred on in any other way? Is it possible that we do not cleanse ourselves via penance in another way so that God may revoke what he has done in return for our sins?⁴⁶

He assembles three significant elements: the Holy Land (*terra illa*) aligned with a modification of Ps. 131:7 (*quam dominus propriis calcavit pedibus*); the Cross relic connected with a liturgical hymn, in order to stress its relevance for Western liturgical practices; and the rare reference to Christ’s Sepulcher, using Is. 11:10.⁴⁷ God permitted their loss “in return for their sins” (*pro peccatis nostris fecit*). This is embedded in an ironic question: Must he let such things happen to spur them on so that they would do penance, allowing him to then revoke the events (*in irritum revocaret*)? The sermon’s audience are clerics (*nos clerici*), whom the master calls to preach and spiritually prepare the endeavor, as a consequence of *peccatis nostris exigentibus*.

Prevostin of Cremona voices similar ideas, while likewise describing the events:

Thus speaks the Lord to us, but we are incapable of giving him back one thing for the thousand [that he gave us], just as Job puts it [Job 9:3]. He placed his heritage in our hands [Ps. 135:12], and we lost it due to our sins. His Sepulcher had been glorious [Is. 11:10] for such a long time, but now our sins have deformed it. The Lord had been entombed in a constricted Sepulcher for our sake, but we seek riches, we receive the whips, and the demons dance around the Sepulcher.⁴⁸

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- 46 Ms. BL Add 19767, fol. 73^v. “Scimus quod terra illa quam dominus propriis calcavit pedibus [cf. Ps. 131:7], et in qua misteria nostre redemptionis exhibuit ab allophilis possidetur. Scimus quod crux illa cui dicitur ‘o crux ave spes unica’ ab eis ostentui habetur. Scimus quod illud sepulcrum de quo dicit Ysaïas ‘et erit sepulcrum eius gloriosum’ [Is. 11:10] ignominiose tractatur. Sed numquid aliquo modo nos clerici moti sumus, numquid aliquo modo penitentia emendati, ut deus, quod pro peccatis nostris fecit, in irritum revocaret?”
- 47 On cross hymns, see Joseph Szövérfy, “Cruz fidelis ...’ Prolegomena to a History of the Holy Cross Hymns,” *Traditio* 22 (1966), 1–41.
- 48 Ms. BNF lat. 14859, fol. 215^v. “Sic loquitur dominus nobis, sed non possumus reddere unum pro mille sicut dicit Iob [Job 9:3]: hereditatem suam posuit inter manus nostras [Ps. 135:12],

He exhorts his listeners to pay back the Lord for giving them his heritage—this indicates the New Covenant, but also the First Crusade. An allusion to the latter is also present in Prevostin's adaptation of Is. 11:10: While Isaiah formulates an eschatological vision in the future tense (*erit*), he switches into the perfect tense (*fuit*). This modification had been common since 1099 and expressed the prophecy's fulfillment.⁴⁹ The master follows this reading, but seems to understand the events of 1187 as a disruption of this eschatological state. Thus, he twice repeats the explanation of sinfulness, asserting that their sins have deformed the Sepulcher (*peccata nostra fecerunt id deforme*)—an intriguing leap between a spiritual condition and its physical manifestation. The events are an immediate consequence of their sins, while the Muslims are imagined as demons dancing around the Sepulcher.⁵⁰

Hebr. 12:6, a reference cited several times in the relevant corpus, comprises the same logic: “quem enim diligit, Dominus castigat, flagellat autem omnem filium, quem recipit” (for the Lord chastises the one he loves; he whips every son whom he receives).⁵¹ God points the Christians to their sinful behavior: the events of 1187 offer them a chance to turn their heels before the Last Judgment. The punishment is thus an act of grace, whereas other humans do not receive such a sign: they keep committing sins and will be condemned.⁵² In an allusion

et nos peccatis nostris exigentibus amissimus illam. Quandiu fuit sepulchrum eius gloriosum [Is. 11:10], sed peccata nostra fecerunt id deforme. Dominus pro nobis positus fuit in sepulchro stricto, et nos largas querimus, habemus habenas, saltant demonia circa sepulchrum.”

- 49 See Matthew Gabriele, “From Prophecy to Apocalypse: The Verb Tenses of Jerusalem in Robert the Monk's *Historia* of the First Crusade,” *Journal of Medieval History* 42 (2016), 308. See the section on the Sepulcher in the chapter on Jerusalem. The manuscript's abbreviation at the beginning of Prevostin's sentence may also mean *quondam* instead of *quandiu*—the idea remains the same.
- 50 See Schein, *Gateway*, 164; Brewer, “God's Devils,” 135–136; Georges Lacombe, *La vie et les oeuvres de Prévostin* (Kain 1927), 200. Prevostin asserts that Christ created the Sepulcher as “a tangible space” (*sepulchrum strictum*), to offer a place for worship.
- 51 See, e.g., Peter of Blois, *Passio Raginaldi*, 36, 49; *Compendium in Iob*, 814; Henry of Albano, *De peregrinante civitate Dei* (XIII), 356; (XVII), 387; Celestine III, *Ep. 224*, 1107; Martin of León, *Liber sermonum, Sermo 18*, 818; Alan of Lille, *Ars praedicandi*, 142, 175; *Urkundenbuch*, ed. Janicke, 1:484.
- 52 See Marx, “Passio Raginaldi,” 209–211. On this dynamic, see Buc, *Holy War*, 260–261; Jussi Hanska, “Catastrophe Sermons and Apocalyptic Expectations: Eudes de Châteauroux and the Earthquake of 1269 in Viterbo,” in: *The Last Judgement in Medieval Preaching*, ed. Thom Mertens (Turnhout 2011), 130. An intimate of Bernard of Clairvaux saw God's grace in the Second Crusade's failure: “[deus] immisit eis persecutiones et afflictiones, quibus purgati ad regnum pervenire possent.” He also asserts that many crusaders desired to die, lest they sinned again (John of Casa-Maria, *Epistola*, 590; discussed by Cole, *Preaching*, 56–57). This

to Ps. 76:10, several authors writing about 1187 assert that God's rage comprises his compassion (*miserationes suas in ira sua continuit*).⁵³ Celestine III, in his crusade call to the German clergy (1195), negates this hopeful perspective, since this state was still persisting (*misericordiam in ira sua non continens*).⁵⁴ The cultural logic says, therefore, that the events of 1187 signified God's grace: an opportunity to gain salvation, critically in the form of immediate martyrdom. This included those Christians who endured such at Hattin or during the siege of Jerusalem. A chronicle tellingly relates how their bodies merged with the Holy Land—since it belonged to the Corpus Christi.⁵⁵ At the same time, the events represented a *peccatis exigentibus* for those in the West, who had not yet rendered their services: they were sojourning in terrestrial exile, but now had the same opportunity. The martyrdom of the first served as an example for the latter, as Peter's *Passio Raginaldi* betrays in most vivid terms.⁵⁶

2 The Holy Land Has Been Given into the Hands of the Wicked (Job 9:24)

A widely used expression, present in numerous sources surrounding the Third Crusade, is that the Holy Land “has been given into the hand of the impious” (*terra data est in manus impiii*). Formulation is deliberately in the passive voice:

suggests the indulgence's eschatological dimension: it was only effective if there were no further occasions to sin. See also Geoffrey of Auxerre, *Vita* (3.4), 309: death on crusade has rescued them from their sins (*eripere animas a peccatis*).

53 *Epistolae Cantuarienses*, ed. Stubbs, 2:107; see also Peter of Blois, *Conquestio*, 77; Henry of Albano, *De peregrinante civitate Dei* (XIII), 351; Heraclius, *Hilferuf* (111), ed. Kedar, 121; Roger of Howden, *Gesta*, 2:12. According to Augustine, God's acts of violence in the Old Testament were also an act of grace; they raised fear in his chosen people, preventing them from sinning (see Hofreiter, *Genocide*, 135).

54 *Urkundenbuch*, ed. Janicke, 1:484.

55 *Libellus*, ed. Brewer and Kane, 204–206; discussed by James 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), 376.

56 See Marx, “Passio Raginaldi,” 206–212. See also *Persecutio Saalardini*, ed. Richard, 175; Celestine III, *Ep. 224*, 1107, both texts use *meritis suis exigentibus* to explain why the soldiers at Hattin received martyrdom. On Templars as martyrs at Hattin, see Helen J. Nicholson, “‘Martyrum collegio sociandus haberet’: Depictions of the Military Orders' Martyrs in the Holy Land, 1187–1291,” in: *Crusading and Warfare in the Middle Ages*, ed. Simon John and Nicholas Morton (Farnham 2014), 105–112; Joachim Rother, *Das Martyrium im Templerorden: Eine Studie zur historisch-theologischen Relevanz des Opfertodes im geistlichen Ritterorden der Templer* (Bamberg 2017), 407–420.

the Muslims did not conquer through their own strength, but God permitted it, to punish the Christians.⁵⁷ The phrase derives from Job 9:24, an excellent example of how biblical elements often inextricably blended with an author's own words, serving as an interpretive template for contemporary events. The original was occasionally adapted for precisely this purpose, for example, into *in manus impiorum* or *in manus gentium*.⁵⁸ The Holy Land's places, objects, and even groups thus became communicative elements between the earthly and heavenly spheres. Job 9:24 appears, for example, in a crusade-related sermon by Peter of Blois that we have encountered already:⁵⁹

Indeed, the land of our body [John 2:21], which has now been given into the hands of the impious [Job 9:24], will eventually be released from the servitude of sin and the debt of death: when the Lord will heal his humble people, and he will humble the eyes of the haughty [Ps. 18:28]; when he will shake off the burdensome yoke as well as the rod of his persecutor, whom the Lord will kill with the rod from his mouth [Rev. 19:15]. As soon as he is annihilated and blown away just like the dust that the wind sweeps away from the face of the earth [Soph. 1:3], then the Lord will restore the face of our land.⁶⁰

57 See Alexander Marx, "Constructing and Denying the Enemy: Cistercian Approaches to Preaching the Third Crusade (1187–1192)," *Cîteaux* 70 (2019), 47–68, examining evidence between the Third and the Fifth Crusades, including papal letters. See also Brewer, "God's Devils," 125–164; Nicholas Morton, *Encountering Islam on the First Crusade* (Cambridge, UK 2016), 271–273.

58 See, e.g., Ralph Ardens, *Pars (I), Section (I), Sermo 31*, 1775; Henry of Albano, *De peregrinante civitate Dei* (X111), 352; Gunther of Pairis, *Hystoria*, ed. Orth, 112; Ms. BL Add 24145, fol. 77^r. See also Patriarch Heraclius' call for help (after the relic's loss): God has the Cross *a Tracis capi permisit*, and the army at Hattin *manibus paganorum tradidit*. Eventually, he repeats: *terra sancta, hereditas crucifixi, tradita est in manus paganorum* (Heraclius, *Hilferuf* (111), ed. Kedar, 120–121). Very similar, addressing God: *sacrosanctam et vivificam crucem in manus Sarracenorum permisisti devenire* (Heraclius, *Hilferuf* (11), ed. Jaspert, 512).

59 See the section on 'Typology and Prophecy' in the chapter on Jerusalem.

60 Peter of Blois, *Sermo 39*, 678. "Terra siquidem corporis nostri [John 2:21] quae modo [St.Geneviève 2787: >< quomodo] data est in manus impii [Job 9:24], quandoque liberabitur a servitute peccati, et a debito mortis: cum Dominus populum humilem salvum faciet, et oculos superbiorum humiliabit [Ps. 18:28]; cum excusserit jugum oneris, et virgam exactoris illius, quem interficiet Dominus virga [St.Geneviève 2787; Arundel 322: >< spiritu] oris sui [Rev. 19:15]; cum ille delebitur, et exsufflabitur sicut pulvis quem projicit ventus a facie terrae [Soph. 1:3], tunc renovabit Dominus faciem terrae nostrae [...]."

God gave “the land of our body” (*terra corporis nostri*), the Corpus Christi, into the hands of the enemy identified as the Antichrist with reference to Rev. 19 (i.e., *quem interficiet dominus virga oris sui*).⁶¹ John 2:21 relates how Christ expelled the merchants from the Temple—the reference already entwines the Corpus Christi with the Holy Land’s spaces. Peter offers a providential prognosis: God will destroy the Antichrist (Rev. 19:15) and renovate the land. He calls for crusading, while suggesting that this warfare is eschatological in nature. The same sermon asserts at its outset that Christian sinfulness caused the events of 1187 (*culpīs nostris exigentibus*).⁶² This harmonizes perfectly with Job 9:24; both devices signify God’s agency, making every incident in the East into a part of his plan. The beginning of the *Passio Raginaldi* also implements Job 9:24, adapting its *terra* specifically into *terra promissionis*, while it discusses the conquests that occurred in the context of Hattin.⁶³

Significantly, the pertinent collections of *Distinctiones* contain Job 9:24: Garnerius, Alan, and Peter the Chanter list it in their entries for *terra*; Garnerius also in the entry for *impius*.⁶⁴ His entry for *terra* even presents it as the very first reference: “The land is Christ like in Job: The land has been given into the hands of the impious, because Christ had been given to the servants of the devil at the time of his Passion.”⁶⁵ He creates a causal link between Christ and the *terra*—the context indicates the Holy Land and thus points to the familiar nexus between Corpus Christi and spatial category. The verse’s presence in several *distinctiones* shows that it represented a resource of meaning available to contemporary preachers. Exactly such an application is demonstrated by

61 The variant present in two manuscripts, using *spiritu oris sui* instead of *virga oris sui*, indicates a more spiritual reading after the disappointment of eschatological hopes (Ms. Paris, St. Geneviève 2787, fol. 181^r; Ms. BL Arundel 322, fol. 77^v). This may have been a later editor’s work but also Peter’s—after the Third Crusade’s failure. Another crusade-related sermon betrays a similar case: the (source of the) PL adds *spiritualiter* to a clause, whereas this word is missing in both manuscripts in which the sermon exists: “[...] qui de amore hujus saeculi ad amorem coelestium transmigrantes, quasi in exstasi spiritualiter ascendunt in montem Domini [...]” (Peter of Blois, *Sermo* 32, 656; and Ms. BL Royal 8 F xvii, fol. 147^v; Ms. BL Arundel 322, fol. 64^r).

62 Peter of Blois, *Sermo* 39, 677.

63 Peter of Blois, *Passio Raginaldi*, 32; discussed by Marx, “Enemy,” 57. The passage reads: “Terra illa promissionis, in qua steterunt pedes Domini [Ps. 131:7], ut verbis Job utar data est in manus impii [Job 9:24] paucique fideles, qui de ista strage lamentabili remanserunt, estimati tamquam oves occisionis mortificantur tota die.”

64 Garnerius of Clairvaux, *Distinctiones*, 970, 1065; Alan of Lille, *Distinctiones*, 969; Ms. BL Royal 10 A xvi, fol. 105^r and Ms. BNF lat. 10633, fol. 123^v as well as Petrus Cantor, *Distinctiones*, 633–634.

65 Garnerius of Clairvaux, *Distinctiones*, 1065. “Terra est Christus, ut in Job: Terra data est in manus impii, quod Christus tempore passionis suae traditus fuit ministris diaboli.”

Henry of Albano, who uses Job 9:24 on several occasions, including his letter to Barbarossa and the crusade treatise.⁶⁶ In the treatise, he asserts with regard to 1187 that Satan operates “with the help of his satellites” (*cum suis satellitibus*), obviously drawing on Garnerius’ *Distinctiones*. The expression suggests a *corpus diaboli* to which Saladin and the Muslims belong, as Henry explains some lines before (*diabolus per Salahadinum et alia membra sua persequens*).⁶⁷

Job 9:24 is implemented beyond the Third Crusade, for example, in two crusade-related sermons by John of Abbeville (c.1210–1215).⁶⁸ It represents an important element for understanding the crusade discourse after 1187, and it is symptomatic of the diffuse *Feindbild* or even an overwhelming lack of interest in the Muslims, whose agency is completely negated in its implementation. The West did not know and did not care much about them. The fourth book in Alan’s *Contra haereticos* tellingly demonstrates this: it shows hardly any knowledge of them, while attributing Old Testament references to them as things they had said.⁶⁹ The sermon texts, even those certainly concerned with the crusade, do not elaborate on *Feindbilder*. If present at all, they operate primarily with the motif of pagans, drawing on biblical sources.⁷⁰ The Muslims were understood as the prime pagans; this also stemmed from their ethnic and geographical diversity, in agreement with the original meaning of *gentes* and *nationes*. These results encourage the pictures drawn by Richard Southern and John Tolan; the latter asserted that terms such as Muslim and Islam were unknown to medieval writers save for a very few exceptions.⁷¹ This find-

66 Henry of Albano, *De peregrinante civitate Dei* (x111), 359; Ms. BL Add 24145, fol. 77^r; in the latter reference: “sanctuarium domini datum est in manus gentium.” See the chapter on Jerusalem.

67 Henry of Albano, *De peregrinante civitate Dei* (x111), 358; see Marx, “Enemy,” 54–55. The *Glossa*, commenting on Job 9:24, also speaks of *satellites diaboli*, identifying them as those who killed Christ, that is, Jews and pagans (*Glossa ordinaria* (Job 9), ed. Feuarent, 3:129; see also Geoffrey of Auxerre, *Sermo 10*, ed. Gastaldelli, 139; *Sermo 14*, ed. Gastaldelli, 179).

68 Ms. Oxford, Magd. Coll. 168, fol. 70^v; John of Abbeville, *Ad crucesignatos*, ed. Cole, 222; in the latter text: “hereditas data est in manus gentilium.” See the chapter on the Cross relic.

69 Alan of Lille, *Contra paganos*, ed. d’Alverny, 301–350; see Tolan, *Saracens*, 165–166.

70 See, e.g., Peter of Blois, *Conquestio*, 85–86; *Sermo 19*, 615–616; Henry of Albano, *De peregrinante civitate Dei* (x111), 354; Ralph Ardens, *Pars (1), Section (2), Sermo 48*, 2112–2113; Garnerius of Clairvaux, *Sermo 4*, 592; Hélinand of Froidmont, *Sermo 8*, 546–547; Martin of León, *Liber sermonum, Sermo 22*, 855.

71 Tolan, *Saracens*, xv, 133. The two exceptions he names are Petrus Alfonsi (early 12th cen.) and William of Tripoli (late 13th cen.). As Southern notes, William of Malmesbury (c.120) was apparently the first to distinguish between pagan cults (regarding the Slavs) and monotheistic Islam—such an opinion, however, remained very rare (Southern, *Western Views*, 32–34; see also Ingrid Hartl, *Das Feindbild der Kreuzzugsyrik: Das Aufeinander-treffen von Christen und Muslimen* (Bern 2009), 198–199; Nicholas Morton, “Encountering

ing pertains to the hierarchy of text and knowledge, which acted primarily on the basis of the Bible (see the chapter on institutional context); and the papal legate addresses this hierarchical order in most explicit terms:

And it is unjustly proclaimed by Mahomet's people that he has triumphed not only over the Christians but also over Christ. However, these events did not happen because Mahomet was capable of them, but because Christ willed them. Christ intended to provide the Christians with an occasion for exhibiting zeal for the glory of their Lord, an occasion for avenging the injury done to the Father, and an occasion for rescuing our own inheritance.⁷²

Henry emphasizes the providential hierarchy: the events did not happen because Mahomet achieved them (a reference to the Muslims), but because Christ willed them, in order to offer an opportunity for salvation, while he relates this quest to the meaningful motif of inheritance.⁷³

The outset of *Audita tremendi* underlines the same idea, emphasizing that the divine hand brought the events upon Jerusalem (*super terram Jerusalem divina manus exercuit*). Yet, a few lines later, it highlights the deeds of the Muslims by using Ps. 79: the letter's rhetorical structure thus reflects the providential hierarchy.⁷⁴ Gregory raises the question of the correct reading of the divine signs, anchored in the fundamental issue of failure in the Holy Land:

the Turks: The First Crusaders' Foreknowledge of their Enemy; Some Preliminary Findings," in: *Crusading and Warfare in the Middle Ages*, ed. Morton and Simon John (Farnham 2014), 53–56).

72 Henry of Albano, *De peregrinante civitate Dei* (XIII), 355 and Ms. Troyes 509, fol. 152^v. "[...] et non solum de Christianis, sed et de Christo triumphasse Machometus a suis inique praedicetur. Non enim haec acta sunt, quia Machometus potuit, sed quia Christus voluit, volens dare Christianis occasionem zelandi Domini sui gloriam, vindicandi Patris injuriam et haereditatem propriam vendicandi."

73 See Buc, *Holy War*, 260–261; Alexander Marx, "Jerusalem as the Travelling City of God. Henry of Albano and the Preaching of the Third Crusade," *Crusades* 20 (2021), 106–108. See also Muessig, "Heaven," 62.

74 See also Brewer, "God's Devils," 139–140. On Ps. 79 see the chapter on Jerusalem. Peter puts it similarly: "plaga quam in terra promissionis furor domini nuper exercuit" (Peter of Blois, *Passio Raginaldi*, 39). Similar in: "aggravata est manus domini super populum suum" (*Itinerarium peregrinorum*, ed. Mayer, 246). For *terra Jerusalem*, see also Peter of Blois, *Ep.* 219, 508; Lucius III, *Ep.* 182, 1312; Celestine III, *Ep.* 224, 1110; *Papsturkunden* (no. 265), ed. Berger, 489; Hélinand of Froidmont, *Chronicon*, 1081; Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, 2:330, 359; *Statuta capitulorum*, ed. Canivez (1194), 172; (1195), 181–182; (1197), 210; Ms. Oxford, Rawlinson C 427, fol. 5^r.

it was not obvious (*non facile nobis occurreret*) what should have been done (*quid agere aut quid facere deberemus*) to prevent the events.⁷⁵ Following suit, Henry's letter to Barbarossa characterizes them as unexpected (*inopinatus*).⁷⁶ Many other contemporaries deem them an *occultum iudicium*, an enigmatic verdict, which was now in need of explanation. These ideas refer to the 'Divine Command Theory,' that is, the assumption that everything coming from God (via the Bible or signs) must be good and righteous. Ralph Ardens classifies the Muslims' existence as God's *occulta justitia*, indicating the challenge that Christians had explaining Islam's standing within the providential plan.⁷⁷ Ps. 79, cited in *Audita tremendi*, also comprises the Temple, whereas Rev. 11:2 offers a verse similar to Job 9:24: the Temple has been given into the hands of the pagans (*templum quoniam datum est gentibus*). Rev. 11 deals with pagans conquering Jerusalem, an occupation that would last for 42 months. Following this prophecy, the city's reconquest would have been due by April 1091, yet the crusaders were still busy with the siege of Acre at the time (conquest in July 1091). Richard only marched towards Jerusalem by the end of the year.⁷⁸ Supposing that the prediction influenced at least some participants, the uneventful passing of April 1091 must have generated disillusionment. Indeed, the enterprise seems to have lost quite some vigor by the end of 1091. The two divergent versions of the exchange between Richard Lionheart and Joachim of Fiore, as presented by Roger of Howden, himself a participant, substantiate this: the earlier *Gesta* predicts the reconquest for the Third Crusade—April 1091 seems to have been a realistic date at the time. Joachim insists in the *Gesta* that God will grant Richard victory over his enemies (*dabit tibi de inimicis tuis victoriam*),

75 This is the PL's version; see also Gregory VIII, *Audita tremendi*, ed. Chroust, 6, here with *dicere debeamus*. The present tense subjunctive points to what one should do in reaction to the events. Another copy has *dicere deberemus* (Ms. BL Add 24145, fol. 76^v). The *Gesta regis* has *facere debeamus*; Roger's chronicle, in retrospect, adapts this to *facere deberemus* (Roger of Howden, *Gesta*, 2:15; *Chronica*, 2:326). See also Smith, "Audita tremendi," 88.

76 Ms. BL Add 24145, fol. 77^r. The rendering as *inopinatus* is also present in the Genoese letter to Urban III reporting on Hattin (cited in Roger of Howden, *Gesta*, 2:12).

77 Ralph Ardens, *Pars (I), Section (1), Sermo 41*, 1812. Humbert compares the reason why God tolerates the Muslims with why he tolerates the devil (Humbert of Romans, *De predicatione*, 55–56). On the Divine Command Theory, see Hofreiter, *Genocide*, 109–159. For 1187 as an *occultum iudicium*, see Gerald of Wales, *Expugnatio Hibernica*, 365; *De principis instructione*, 51; Henry of Albano, *De peregrinante civitate Dei* (x111), 355; Peter of Blois, *Passio Raginaldi*, 36; Arnold of Lübeck, *Chronica*, 164; *Urkundenbuch*, ed. Janicke, 1:484; Gunther of Paris, *Hystoria*, ed. Orth, 135.

78 See Christopher J. Tyerman, *God's War: A New History of the Crusades* (Cambridge, Mass. 2006), 448–474. On Rev. 11 see also the chapters on Jerusalem and on the Apocalypse.

but since this did not occur, Roger revised the prediction in his later chronicle, now dating it to 1194.⁷⁹

The established orthodox worldview sought explanations within its boundaries. Certain premises appeared unmodifiable, and the historical events were read with the help of these premises. The Latin Christians remained God's elect people after the Second Crusade, but gradually the ground was prepared for doubts to be raised about this status.⁸⁰ As argued in the chapter on the Cross relic, preachers formulated this as a sincere concern after 1187, using motifs such as adultery or a recurring crucifixion. The development between the Second and the Third Crusades is also apparent in the changing use of Ps. 94:14. Geoffrey of Auxerre's *Vita* of Bernard (1160s) ends its discussion of the Second Crusade with this verse: God will not abandon his people (*plebs*) or his heritage (*haereditas*)—they are tested, but their status remains. Bernard also cites it on several occasions.⁸¹ However, I could not find Ps. 94:14 anywhere in the Third Crusade's corpus: if the Christians do not react, they may no longer be his chosen people.⁸²

3 The Misfits: Gerhoch of Reichersberg and Ralph Niger

Gerhoch (c.1090–1169) delivered a different explanation for the Second Crusade's failure. While Bernard insisted on his opinions, especially the crusade's divine sanction, he argued that the venture had been a trick played by the devil, who fooled the Christians with a false identity, just as false prophets would appear close to the Apocalypse. The enterprise, which Gerhoch himself had preached beforehand, was, in hindsight, not God's will. He was thus one of the very few critics of the phenomenon.⁸³ His main confederate was Ralph Niger,

79 Roger of Howden, *Gesta*, 2153; *Chronica*, 3:77–78. See Flori, *L'islam*, 309–312; Schein, *Gateway*, 156; Rubenstein, *Dream*, 200–202.

80 Bernard already laid the foundations for such doubt when he compared the Israelites' punishment in the Old Testament with the Second Crusade's failure (*eadem iniquitatem*). He thus indicated their ultimate punishment: the end of the Covenant (Bernard of Clairvaux, *De consideratione* (2.1), 664).

81 Geoffrey of Auxerre, *Vita* (3.4), 310; Bernard of Clairvaux, *Ep.*288, 446; *Sermo in Cant.* 14, 200; *Sermo in Cant.* 66, 382.

82 An exception where the verse appears in adapted form (as an exhortation) is a sermon by Alan of Lille devoted to the events of 1187: “parce domine populo tuo et ne des hereditatem tuam in perditionem”—here, too, the threat of losing elect status is present (Ms. BL Add 19767, fol. 75^r). Similar in: “non des hereditatem tuam in obprobrium” (Peter of Blois, *Conquestio*, 78).

83 Gerhoch of Reichersberg, *De investigatione*, ed. Sackur, 377–384; see Siberry, *Criticism*, 199–

who criticized the Third Crusade's preparation, heavily indebted to Bernard's *peccatis nostris exigentibus* and the tradition it had generated.⁸⁴ Whereas Bernard's argument resulted in the necessity for a new and better attempt, preceded by proper spiritual preparation, Gerhoch proposed that the matter as such was wrong. Bernard exemplified his logic in *De consideratione* with the example of Benjamin (Jud. 20), who failed twice on the battlefield, but remained steadfast, and at the third attempt, he was victorious thanks to God's support.⁸⁵ His logic prevailed: he himself tried already in 1150 to organize a new expedition; the Council of Chartres even nominated him as its leader, a position he declined.⁸⁶ As a result, one must reject the idea common in modern scholarship that failure was a braking factor for further ventures.⁸⁷ Penny Cole already described the crusade idea as "self-sustaining and self-generating," just as we know of several expeditions to the Holy Land in the 1150s and 1160s.⁸⁸

Yet, one observes strongly divergent outlooks when comparing texts from prior to the crusade and after the crusade, a phenomenon present in the works of both Bernard and Gerhoch. This stemmed from the thwarting of former expectations and the venture's failure.⁸⁹ If we only had Gerhoch's works

200; Glaser, "Scheitern," 134–142; Rubenstein, *Dream*, 143–159. The only other text with such an opinion that I am aware of is: *Annales Herbipolenses*, 3; discussed by Glaser, "Scheitern," 132–134. Such may also be implicit in: "Bernardus abbas Clarevallensis, qui quasi lucifer exortus" (*Ex auctario Affligemensi*, ed. Delisle, 274; see also *Annales sancti Iacobi Leodiensis*, 641).

84 On Ralph, see Rubenstein, *Dream*, 159–164; John D. Cotts, "The Exegesis of Violence in the Crusade Writings of Ralph Niger and Peter of Blois," in: *The Uses of the Bible in Crusader Sources*, ed. Elizabeth Lapina and Nicholas Morton (Leiden 2017), 277–278, 286; Ludwig Schmutge, "Einleitung," in: Ralph Niger, *De re militari et triplici via peregrinationis Ierosolimitane (1187/88)* (Berlin 1977), 36–40, 68–73.

85 Bernard of Clairvaux, *De consideratione* (2.1), 664; see also Peter of Blois, *Ep.57*, 172; *Ep.112*, 339–340; John of Abbeville, *Ad cruce signatos*, ed. Cole, 225–226. On Jud. 20 see Bird, "Rogations," 184; Rubenstein, *Dream*, 118–119; Skottki, "Number," 263.

86 Bernard of Clairvaux, *Ep.256*, 366–370; *Ep.288*, 448; *Ep.521*, 984–986; see Purkis, *Spirituality*, 11–112; Jonathan Phillips, *Defenders of the Holy Land: Relations between the Latin East and the West, 119–1187* (Oxford 1996), 100–118.

87 See, e.g., Hoch, "Failure," 184, 193; Peter W. Edbury and John Gordon Rowe, *William of Tyre: Historian of the Latin East* (Cambridge, UK 1988), 159.

88 Cole, *Preaching*, 61; see also Matthieu Rajohnson, *L'Occident au regret de Jérusalem (1187–fin du XIV^e siècle)* (Paris 2021), 866–867. On these expeditions, see Phillips, *Defenders*, 240–241; Knut Görlich, *Friedrich Barbarossa: Eine Biographie* (Munich 2011), 546; Christopher J. Tyerman, *England and the Crusades, 1095–1588* (Chicago 1988), 36, 48. There are sermon collections that may serve the investigation of corresponding preaching such as Geoffrey of Auxerre's liturgical sermons (see the chapter on immediate context).

89 See Buc, "Crusade and Eschatology," 332–333; Hans-Dietrich Kahl, "Crusade Eschatology as Seen by St. Bernard in the Years 1146 to 1148," in: *The Second Crusade and the Cistercians*,

penned in the aftermath or only considered those (as partly done), then one could think that he proposed an essentialist critique of crusading. However, texts penned prior to the venture show that he even supported it, specifically his Psalm commentary and his sermon collection, which includes a crusade-related Christmas sermon.⁹⁰ The essential conclusion transpires that those texts penned after a failed expedition offer a distorted picture that can only be of limited help in examining a priori ideas and expectations. Thus, one must criticize large parts of crusade scholarship for using chronicles, the digestion with hindsight, as a source for preaching and motivation.⁹¹ Such approaches are even more problematic, the later chronicles were penned, for example, the second redaction of the *Itinerarium peregrinorum* dating to c.1220.⁹²

One may ask whether Gerhoch's views after the expedition expressed a 'not yet,' that is, the crusade was only inappropriate in the current providential state. After all, he agreed in constructing meaningful spaces that tied providential events to the Holy Land, and he used the argument of *peccatis nostris exigentibus*.⁹³ Moreover, the devil playing his tricks suggested that the Antichrist and the Apocalypse were already lurking around the corner. As Philippe Buc convincingly argued, the Second Crusade thus remained an apocalyptic event—but in a different way to its predecessor.⁹⁴ Gerhoch's critique, therefore, hints at a 'not yet': we must prepare properly. Similarly, Ralph Niger clearly states at the beginning of his treatise that Palestine represents the most important pilgrim destination; he does not leave any doubt that voyages to this place are worthwhile.⁹⁵ He also understands the events of 1187 as an outcome of *peccatis nostris*

ed. Michael Gervers (New York 1992), 39–40. Rubenstein asserted such disillusionment on the part of Otto of Freising, who had spoken of the impending Apocalypse on the eve of the crusade. This may also explain why more of Bernard's crusade-related sermons have not survived (see Rubenstein, *Dream*, 121–122, 129–130, 135–139).

90 Ms. ÖNB 1558, fol. 50^r; Gerhoch of Reichersberg, *In Psalmum*, 434–437; discussed by Buc, "Crusade and Eschatology," 334–335.

91 See, e.g., Purkis, *Spirituality*, 86–119; Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders, 1095–1131* (Cambridge, UK 1997), 53–80; Jonathan Phillips, *The Fourth Crusade and the Sack of Constantinople* (London 2005), 1–55. For an overview of the corresponding research, see Norman J. Housley, *Contesting the Crusades* (Oxford 2006), 75–98. Strack already criticized this regarding the later versions of Urbans 11's sermon: Georg Strack, "The Sermon of Urban 11 in Clermont 1095 and the Tradition of Papal Oratory," *Medieval Sermon Studies* 56 (2012), 36, 44.

92 On the date, see Hans Eberhard Mayer, "Einleitung," in: *Das Itinerarium peregrinorum* (Stuttgart 1962), 105–106.

93 Gerhoch of Reichersberg, *De investigatione*, ed. Sackur, 407. His mostly unstudied sermons would offer copious material for examining these dimensions.

94 Buc, "Crusade and Eschatology," 336–338.

95 Ralph Niger, *De re militari*, ed. Schumge, 92. See also John D. Cotts, "Earthly Kings, Heav-

exigentibus. Unlike his contemporaries, however, he confines the argument's validity to the Holy Land's inhabitants: they deserve punishment, and thus a crusade may hamper God's plan.⁹⁶ He did not deem Christianity spiritually prepared: this explains why he shows an interest in the war on heresy. Perhaps, as John Cotts surmises, he intended to redirect the attention of Philip II, the addressee of *De re militari*, towards this issue.⁹⁷ The right moment may already have lain ahead; this held potential for succeeding generations, who received the earlier texts, to consider it as having arrived. As Johannes Fried demonstrated, such is observable between the Carolingians and Ottonians.⁹⁸ Consequently, the revoking of eschatological expectations, in reaction to the Second Crusade's failure, offered stimulation for crusades and renewed expectations for the near future, building on the firm understanding that the Apocalypse must already be close if certain elements had appeared. Thus, much potential for an apocalyptic conception of the Third Crusade lurked in contemporary minds.

4 The Failure of Crusades: A Model

The Christian system of thought knows two fundamental premises: (1) God is almighty, and (2) the (Latin) Christians are his elect people. In the 12th century this is complemented by (3) the crusade is God's will. These premises betray why failure in the Holy Land posed such an issue. Premise (1) remains immutable: God is almighty regardless of how many crusades fail. Premise (2) is also stable overall: the elect status is permanent since Christ's Passion. Yet, recur-

only Jerusalem: Ralph Niger's Political Exegesis and the Third Crusade,' *The Haskins Society Journal* 30 (2018), 172. Ralph is often depicted as an outright critic of the crusade (see, e.g., Aurell, *Chrétiens*, 154–159; Hannes Möhring, *Saladin und der Dritte Kreuzzug: Aiyubidische Strategie und Diplomatie im Vergleich vornehmlich der arabischen mit den lateinischen Quellen* (Wiesbaden 1980), 122–123).

96 Ralph Niger, *De re militari*, ed. Schmutge, 194; discussed by Schein, *Gateway*, 174–175. The passage reads: "Timendum igitur nobis est ne minus adhuc expiato populo, prepropere festinemus ad eius liberationem adversus dei iudicium, quo diffinierit in quantum oportet eorum durare supplicium."

97 Cotts, "Earthly Kings," 174–175. See also Ralph Niger, *De re militari*, ed. Schmutge, 94, 141. Ralph's sharp criticism suggests that he was reacting to someone in his vicinity, perhaps William de Montibus, resident in Lincoln and part of the reform circle. On this figure, see Joseph Ward Goering, *William de Montibus (c.1140–1213): The Schools and the Literature of Pastoral Care* (Toronto 1992).

98 Johannes Fried, "Endzeiterwartung um die Jahrtausendwende," *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 45 (1989), 406–412.

ring failure in the East, and specifically the events of 1187, prompted growing doubts as to whether this was immutable—the precedent of the Jews proved that it was possible to be deprived of this. Concurrently, with European Jewry in the public eye, this fueled anti-Jewish sentiment and violence.⁹⁹ As the chapter on the Cross relic examined, preachers after 1187 used several motifs to confront their audiences with the very same peril, especially those of a recurring crucifixion and committing adultery on God. Some also described Jewish misfortune in the Old Testament with *peccatis exigentibus*.¹⁰⁰ Premise (2) thus became increasingly unstable as more events occurred that contradicted all three premises. It was still stable around the Second Crusade—I know of no source that would have questioned it—whereas it became volatile after 1187, critically due to the Cross relic's loss.

Premise (3) says that the crusade is God's will: this was a remarkably stable assumption despite the fact that the crusade represented a new historical phenomenon—but here it is pertinent that contemporaries did not consider it as new, but as a logical consequence (stemming from, for example, the meaning of the Holy Land).¹⁰¹ Only this makes the explosive movement of the First Crusade understandable, and yet it is remarkable that the premise remained overall unchallenged despite recurring failure. This can likely be explained with two essential factors: on the one hand, the simple but effective logic that the enterprise must be God's will, since the Holy Land must be in Christian hands. On the other, the first decades of more or less successful and enthusiastic crusading likely played a role in transforming a situational call into an immutable premise.¹⁰² And frequent preaching efforts repeated and encouraged the idea that the crusade adhered to the divine will. Bernard had shown a way out of the dilemma that would turn into a long-lasting tradition: his explanation retained all three premises and hence the existing system of thought. Gerhoch, negating one of the premises, pursued another strategy, which could not prevail in the

99 Such sentiments are found throughout the pertinent authors including Peter of Blois, Alan of Lille, or Garnerius of Clairvaux, complemented by other contemporaries such as Walter of Châtillon.

100 See, e.g., Alan of Lille, *Contra haereticos* (3.12), 413; Garnerius of Clairvaux, *Sermo* 3, 587. Alan proposes this for the Jews' punishment in the form of Jerusalem's conquest in A.D. 70.

101 See Flori, *Prêcher*, 19–27; Christopher J. Tyerman, "Were There Any Crusades in the Twelfth Century?" *The English Historical Review* 110 (1995), 555; Carl Erdmann, *Die Entstehung des Kreuzzugsgedankens* (Darmstadt 1980). In the 12th century one looked back to glorious crusading ancestors such as Charlemagne or Constantine (see Tamminen, *Crusader*, 105–108; Matthew Gabriele, *An Empire of Memory: The Legend of Charlemagne, the Franks, and Jerusalem before the First Crusade* (Oxford 2011), 41–72).

102 See Riley-Smith, *First Crusaders*, 7–22, esp. 8–10; Tyerman, *God's War*, 261–267. The case was similar with the Cross relic: success established meaning.

contemporary discourse.¹⁰³ The intriguing result is, therefore, that elect status, which one might believe was stable, became unstable with recurring failure, whereas the idea of a God-willed crusade, for which one might expect more volatility, remained an essential premise, driving efforts for many decades, if not centuries.

5 The Consequence of Failure: Collective Reform

The explanation of *peccatis nostris exigentibus* unfolded two notable impacts in the years after the Third Crusade: it stimulated an extensive hunt for sin, targeting the whole of society, and the logic of failure did not destroy the paradigm of the crusade, quite the contrary, it suggested that it needed a new and better attempt. These impacts unfolded already after the Second Crusade, but in a modest form compared to what happened after 1187. Already *Audita tremendi* sketches these causalities in most explicit terms:

Therefore, it is urgent for everybody to reflect on and to decide that we shall tame our sins via voluntary castigation and that we shall turn to God our Lord through penance and pious works. First, we shall cleanse ourselves of the evil that we have done; then, we shall focus our attention on the filthiness and malice of the enemies. And since they do not fear to march against the Lord, we shall not hesitate for a second to wage war for God [against them].¹⁰⁴

The pope's crusade letter inheres in a vehement call for moral reform.¹⁰⁵ It is requisite in a first step to diminish sin through chastisement, penance, and

103 He related this specifically to the Second Crusade, whereas the First Crusade still had a positive purpose for him (see Buc, "Crusade and Eschatology," 334–335; Glaser, "Scheitern," 135–136).

104 Gregory VIII, *Audita tremendi*, ed. Chroust, 8–9; see also Ms. BL Add 24145, fols. 76^v–77^r and Smith, "*Audita tremendi*," 95. "Unde hoc universis et cogitandum 'et eligendum imminet' [Add 24145: >> imminet et agendum; PL: >> imo et agendum], ut peccata nostra castigatione voluntaria emendemus et per penitentiam et opera pietatis convertamur ad dominum deum nostrum et in nobis primo quod male gessimus, emendemus, deinde foeditatem [PL: >> feritatem] et malitiam hostium attendamus et quod illi contra dominum attemptare non timent, nos pro deo agere nullatenus hesitemus."

105 This is also present in: Gregory VIII, *Nunquam melius*, 1539; *Ep.22*, 1561; *Ep.23*, 1561; discussed by Schein, *Gateway*, 177. Slightly more elaborate in a longer version of *Nunquam melius*: Ms. Alençon 15, fol. 144^v. Such calls for reform are also present in Peter's letters

pious works. This is the obligatory spiritual preparation, which takes precedence over any practical preparation. Only then (*deinde*) would they be ready to face their enemies. A chronicle reports that Henry of Albano, during his preaching tour, called for Gregory's reform decrees to be implemented in all the churches in the Empire and France.¹⁰⁶

Responding to the encyclical and numerous crusade preachers, thousands departed—and yet failed *peccatis nostris exigentibus*. The failure confirmed the reading of the events of 1187: spiritual preparation had not been sufficient, therefore one must strive all the more to prepare a new expedition. The idea of *peccatis exigentibus* was implemented for both 1187 and the Third Crusade's failure. However, it is noteworthy that not many sources discussed the latter.¹⁰⁷ Some chronicles ended already before its conclusion, such as the *Itinerarium peregrinorum* or the *Historia peregrinorum*. Others simply did not address its unfruitful results; they were perhaps unwilling to admit it or were hoping for a new wave of crusaders. According to contemporary logic, the crusade did not end: no Western discourse broached the issue—in sharp contrast to the Second Crusade. The modern construct of the Third Crusade is thus misleading; efforts flowed smoothly into the 1190s, up to Henry VI's crusade (1197), the Fourth Crusade, and Innocent III's papacy. This is corroborated by Gregory VIII's *Nunquam melius*: it called for reform for a period of five years (until the end of 1192).¹⁰⁸ The agenda remained, therefore, current and widely informed litur-

penned on the eve of the crusade, as their titles in a manuscript suggest: *Exhortatio ad episcopos et prelatos contra detractores* (Ep.20) and *Contra prelatos ambitiosos* (Ep.23) (Ms. BNF lat. 2954, fols. 87^v–90^r; see Peter of Blois, *Ep.20*, 71–75; *Ep.23*, 82–86).

- 106 *Chronica Andrensis*, 719: “orationes publicas a domino papa Gregorio institutas universis ecclesiis observandas.” He himself refers to the decrees in: Henry of Albano, *Ep.31*, 248. The anonymous Benedictine implemented the same logic, devoting his work to penance, in reaction to 1187 (Benedictinus anonymus, *De penitentia*, PL 213).
- 107 See, e.g., Peter of Blois, *Ep.112*, 339; this letter from the 1190s asserts that the crusaders *in superbia et in abusione profecti sunt*. Thereafter, it cites the story of Benjamin (Jud. 20) who was first punished but successful on the third attempt. Celestine puts it similarly, shortly before he refers to Jud. 20: the crusaders departed with weapons but not “inwardly” (*in hasta et gladio sunt profecti, quasi nichil penitus profecerunt*) (Celestine III, *Ep.224*, 1108–1109). Joachim broaches Barbarossa's failure, expressing his personal disillusionment (Joachim of Fiore, *Expositio*, fol. 134^v; discussed by Rubenstein, *Dream*, 196–197, 203–204).
- 108 Gregory VIII, *Nunquam melius*, 1539; discussed by Gaposchkin, *Weapons*, 194. A good example is the *Historia de expeditione Friderici* reporting up to 1195, including Henry VI's crusade preparations (Ansbert, *Historia*, ed. Chroust, 110–115). Loud already noted that the Third Crusade's commemoration remained slim in subsequent years: Graham A. Loud, “Introduction,” in: *The Crusade of Frederick Barbarossa* (Farnham 2010), 12, 30.

gical and penitential practices in the 1190s.¹⁰⁹ It is possible that some of the sermons discussed in this study were used or reused at the time. This form of permanent crusade preaching thus focused on spiritual and penitential dimensions; even less should one expect mobilization speeches in terms of modern propaganda.¹¹⁰ Yet, such preaching was certainly crusade-related: it pursued the goal of preparing a new expedition. The Cistercians set major incentives: several General Chapters issued liturgical imperatives that called for prayers for the Holy Land, and understood crusade preaching as a permanent component of the liturgy.¹¹¹ Peter of Blois excitedly wrote letters to several French bishops, reminding them of their duty to preach the crusade. Alan of Lille and Prevostin of Cremona combatted heretics on the frontier, in order to cleanse Christian society.¹¹² Hélinand of Froidmont maintained a close relationship with the permanent crusader Philip of Dreux. And Garnerius of Clairvaux kept preaching, an activity which Richard Lionheart still praised in the summer of 1191, while the Cistercian was certainly also an important figure at the General Chapters.

It is noteworthy that such efforts unfolded already during the venture: a letter by Baldwin of Canterbury, written in October 1190 before Acre, called on the convent of Canterbury to pray for the venture's success. The author (perhaps Peter of Blois) complained about the sinful state of the Christian army, blending this with the military failure. A similar letter survived from Barbarossa's army (1189), addressing the whole Empire.¹¹³ And the West did react: in 1190, the Cistercian General Chapter announced that weekly prayers for the crusaders should take place, including a commemoration of the dead, who are rendered as martyrs. In 1191, French bishops initiated collective prayer in Saint-Denis for the Holy Land's liberation.¹¹⁴ In April 1191, Celestine III addressed the

109 See Schein, *Gateway*, 177; Bird, *Heresy*, 14, 28, 36–37. Similar efforts unfolded in Jerusalem itself, after Saladin had granted the clergy access to the Church of the Holy Sepulcher (see Gaposchkin, *Weapons*, 162–163).

110 See my critique in the section on methodology.

111 *Statuta capitulorum*, ed. Canivez (1194), 172; (1195), 181–182; (1197), 210; see Gaposchkin, *Weapons*, 290–302, 310; Amnon Linder, *Raising Arms: Liturgy in the Struggle to liberate Jerusalem in the Late Middle Ages* (Turnhout 2003), 2–3, 26, 41–43. Processions were to take place each Friday. All entries term this *terra Ierosolymitana*.

112 Peter of Blois, *Ep.112*, 335–340; *Ep.124*, 367–373. On the date, see Michael Markowski, *Peter of Blois, Writer and Reformer* (PhD thesis, Syracuse University 1988), 352. See the chapter on immediate context.

113 For the first, see *Epistolae Cantuariensis*, ed. Stubbs, 328; for the second, Ansbert, *Historia*, ed. Chroust, 43.

114 *Statuta capitulorum*, ed. Canivez (1190), 122; Rigord, *Gesta*, ed. Delaborde, 114; see Gaposchkin, *Weapons*, 199–200, 309–310.

archbishop of Toledo and his suffragans, enticing them to support the ongoing expedition via the Iberian frontier, in order to avenge the injustice done to Jerusalem by “the Ishmaelites,” a reference to the Muslims as the sons of Hagar (*iniuriam terre Ierosolimitane per Hismaelitas illatam ulcisci*).¹¹⁵ Cecilia Gaposchkin asserted about this cultural logic: “This premise—that prayer could effect military outcomes—lay at the heart of liturgical supplication for God’s help in war.”¹¹⁶ Jessalynn Bird characterized the crusade’s spiritual support as the “liturgical home front,” elaborating on this idea: “Processions, fasting, alms, and prayer now defined the home [i.e., the Latin West] as much as the military front: both were equally spiritually militarized, eroding the distinction between crusader and non-crusader.”¹¹⁷ Hubert Walter, former participant of the Third Crusade, became archbishop of Canterbury in 1193 and papal legate for a new crusade in 1195; he was devoted to urging those who had taken the cross to actually depart. In 1203, he issued a liturgical imperative addressed to his suffragans, calling for daily prayers and a weekly procession for the sake of the Holy Land.¹¹⁸ The centers and figures of the Third Crusade thus remained involved in these efforts—even though the priorities and frontiers shifted according to *peccatis nostris exigentibus*. All of Christian society strove to adjust the unruly state, eager to prepare a new expedition. It seems no exaggeration to say that the matters of the Holy Land significantly occupied the entire Latin West in the 1190s; the crusade effectively penetrated all societal registers. However, as Keagan Brewer noted recently, the sources are reluctant to tell us how long a period of spiritual preparation was required, or at what point one may be properly prepared.¹¹⁹ Yet, silence seems reasonable, since incorrect predictions

115 *Papsturkunden* (no. 265), ed. Berger, 489. See also Damian J. Smith, “The Iberian Legations of Cardinal Hyacinth Bobone,” in: *Pope Celestine III, 1191–1198*, ed. Smith and John Doran (Aldershot 2008), 82.

116 Gaposchkin, *Weapons*, 44, see also 208–211. On liturgical practices and crusade preaching in the 14th century, see Constantinos Georgiou, *Preaching the Crusades to the Eastern Mediterranean: Propaganda, Liturgy, and Diplomacy, 1305–1352* (New York 2018), 101–108.

117 Bird, “Rogations,” 192; see also Bird, *Heresy*, 125–130; Tamminen, *Crusader*, 203–259.

118 See Bird, “Rogations,” 181; Barbara Bombi, “Papal Legates and Their Preaching of the Crusades in England between the Twelfth and the Thirteenth Centuries,” in: *Legati, delegati e l’impresa d’Oltremare (secoli XII–XIII)*, ed. Maria Pia Alberzoni and Pascal Montaubin (Turnhout 2014), 236–241, 258–261. See also Tyerman, *England*, 96–97, 170–172. On Clement III’s activities, see Möhring, *Saladin*, 67–69. For similar measures in Cologne (1190s), see Graham A. Loud, “The German Crusade of 1197–1198,” *Crusades* 13 (2014), 145.

119 Brewer, “God’s Devils,” 143. The efforts continued under Innocent III and were increasingly institutionalized (see Gaposchkin, *Weapons*, 201–208; Linder, *Arms*, 37–40; Chris-

could have earned a cleric the title of false prophet—but important biblical subtexts delivered time spans, drawing on the overarching narrative of salvation history, as the next chapter will examine.

toph T. Maier, “Mass, the Eucharist and the Cross: Innocent III and the Relocation of the Crusade,” in: *Pope Innocent III and His World*, ed. John Clare Moore and Brenda M. Bolton (Aldershot 1999), 351–360).

The Crusades and the Apocalypse: Jerusalem as an Eschatological State

There was nothing left but heaven, where he would meet only those who, like him, had wasted earth.

F. SCOTT FITZGERALD, *Oh Russet Witch (Tales of the Jazz Age)*



The previous chapters frequently noted eschatological elements in the sermon texts; this chapter is now devoted to systematizing and contextualizing these, investigating the role of eschatological expectations for the Third Crusade's mobilization. The state of research overall does not consider this expedition to be eschatological in nature, since its chronicles are hardly eschatological compared to those of the First Crusade.¹ However, this opinion stems from a limited horizon of sources: sermon texts provide another picture, while there are conclusive explanations for the divergences between 'texts prior to a crusade' and 'texts after a crusade.' The crusade movement's eschatological nature has been a controversial subject: some skillfully explored the issue, especially regarding the First Crusade, including Sylvia Schein, Jay Rubenstein, Jean Flori, or Philippe Buc. Others have paid little attention to it or even agitated against it, for example, Jonathan Riley-Smith or John France. The latter school adhered to traditions that viewed the phenomenon too much through a modern rational lens.² Meanwhile, however, the hypothesis about the First Crusade's eschatolo-

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- 1 Nevertheless, some eschatological elements are present: the chapter on Jerusalem discussed, for example, that many chronicles resumed the reading that Jerusalem's conquest fulfilled a prophecy. Brett Whalen's book reflects the state of research; he examines the conjunction of crusade and Apocalypse from the First Crusade to the late 13th century—only the Third Crusade is suspiciously omitted: Brett Edward Whalen, *Dominion of God: Christendom and Apocalypse in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, Mass. 2009), esp. 117–118.
 - 2 See, e.g., Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading* (Philadelphia 1986), 35, 102, 143; Riley-Smith, "Review of Jay Rubenstein, *Armies of Heavens: The First Crusade and the Quest for Apocalypse*," *Catholic Historical Review* 98/4 (2012), 786–787; John France, *Victory in the East: A Military History of the First Crusade* (Cambridge, UK 1994), 356;

gical or better apocalyptic nature is well established: its chronicles, for example, those of Raymond of Aguilers or Guibert of Nogent, reveal numerous and diverse eschatological elements. When arguing for the eschatological nature of Mt. 16:24, cited at the outset of the *Gesta Francorum*, Rubenstein asserts: “The first thing the compiler of the Deeds of the Franks wanted his readers understand was that in talking about the crusade, he was talking about the apocalypse.”³ And elsewhere: “The establishment of a Christian kingdom of Jerusalem brought the Last Days closer to hand, although how close remained a point of debate.”⁴ As for other crusades, it seems to be a common assumption, especially in British scholarship, that these did not adhere to an eschatological outlook; this is worth contesting with the help of the following arguments:

(1) Sermon texts deliver different insights to the chronicles: they offer meaningful and diverse eschatological elements. The reason why this has not found its way into the state of research is simple: sermons have rarely been considered.⁵ The overall absence of eschatology in the chronicles is due to the crusade’s failure, a fact that engenders a disillusionment with such beliefs.

(2) An inherent and coherent logic links crusade and eschatology: it is a general Christian idea that the Apocalypse will take place in Jerusalem. This is present throughout the biblical narratives (including the Old Testament prophets, the apocalyptic passages of the Gospels, John’s Revelation, and popular prophecies such as Pseudo-Methodius). Eschatological beliefs trigger, there-

Nicholas Morton, *Encountering Islam on the First Crusade* (Cambridge, UK 2016), 216–226. For an overview of the different opinions and a critique of the Riley-Smith school, see Philippe Buc, “Crusade and Eschatology: Holy War Fostered and Inhibited,” *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 125 (2017), 305–307; Jay Rubenstein, “Crusade and Apocalypse: History and the Last Days,” *Quaestiones medii aevi novae* 21 (2016), 161–168. See also the critique of overall tendencies in medieval studies: Richard Allen Landes, *Heaven on Earth: The Varieties of the Millennial Experience* (Oxford 2011), 63–65, 79–88; James T. Palmer, *The Apocalypse in the Early Middle Ages* (Cambridge, UK 2014), 18–19.

3 Rubenstein, “Crusade and Apocalypse,” 160. On Mt. 16:24 see the chapter on the Cross relic.

4 Jay Rubenstein, *Nebuchadnezzar’s Dream: The Crusades, Apocalyptic Prophecy, and the End of History* (Oxford 2019), 210; see also Buc, “Crusade and Eschatology,” 323.

5 For exceptions who all highlighted the eschatological nature, see Penny J. Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades to the Holy Land, 1095–1270* (Cambridge, Mass. 1991), 134–135, 198–200; Jean Flori, *Prêcher la croisade: XI^e–XIII^e siècle; communication et propagande* (Paris 2012); Miikka Tamminen, *Crusade Preaching and the Ideal Crusader* (Turnhout 2018), 74–89; Lydia M. Walker, “Living in the Penultimate Age: Apocalyptic Thought in James of Vitry’s *ad status* Sermons,” in: *The Uses of the Bible in Crusader Sources*, ed. Elizabeth Lapina and Nicholas Morton (Leiden 2017), 298–315; Christoph T. Maier, “Crusade and Rhetoric against the Muslim Colony of Lucera: Eudes of Châteauroux’s *Sermones de rebellione Sarracenorum Lucherie in Apulia*,” *Journal of Medieval History* 21 (1995), 356–359.

fore, movement towards the holy city.⁶ While not every journey necessarily had an eschatological origin, it seems reasonable to ask if this was the case when thousands of people suddenly felt such an urge, as was expressed in crusades and pilgrimages.⁷

However, crusading's eschatological logic has not entirely escaped attention: Sylvia Schein spoke of popular messianic movements (*volkstümlich-messianische Bewegungen*).⁸ And Jay Rubenstein concluded: "Apocalypticism, however, was fundamental to crusade thought, inherent in the very idea of a crusade and woven throughout all the narratives."⁹ Jean Flori already pointed to the apocalyptic outlook of the Third Crusade: "Due to [the loss of] Jerusalem and the holy places, the war against the Saracens of the East generated once more an evident prophetic dimension and a more than likely eschatological coloring."¹⁰ And yet, a systematic discussion of this complex subject is still outstanding. Beyond crusade studies, two further fields are pertinent: sermon studies and general research on medieval eschatology and apocalypticism. Astonishingly, these two barely interact despite the fact that sermon texts are filled with eschatological elements. Sermon scholars hardly considered such dimen-

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- 6 See Rubenstein, *Dream*, 49–63; Jean Flori, *L'islam et la fin des temps: l'interprétation prophétique des invasions musulmanes dans la chrétienté médiévale* (Paris 2007), 235–237, 310–311, 316; Sylvia Schein, "Die Kreuzzüge als volkstümlich-messianische Bewegungen," *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 47 (1991), 124–126; André Vauchez, "Les composantes eschatologiques de l'idée de la croisade," in: *Le concile de Clermont de 1095 et l'appel à la croisade de 1095* (Rome 1997), 237–241. The same has been argued for the pilgrimages around 1000: Johannes Fried, "Endzeiterwartung um die Jahrtausendwende," *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 45 (1989), 460–465; Richard Allen Landes, *Relics, Apocalypse, and the Deceits of History. Ademar of Chabannes, 989–1034* (Cambridge, Mass. 1995), 285.
- 7 See Rubenstein, "Crusade and Apocalypse," 181–182. However, I disagree with Rubenstein that there were opposing trends in the later 12th century—he universalizes misfits such as Ralph Niger; the reaction to 1187 is the best rebuttal (see Rubenstein, *Dream*, 188–189, 212). The issue needs more thorough investigation between the Second and Third Crusades, especially regarding sermon texts.
- 8 Schein, "Bewegungen," 120.
- 9 Jay Rubenstein, "Lambert of Saint-Omer and the Apocalyptic First Crusade," in: *Remembering the Crusades*, ed. Nicholas L. Paul and Suzanne M. Yeager (Baltimore 2012), 71. See also Hans-Dietrich Kahl, "'... Auszujäten von der Erde die Feinde des Christentums ...' Der Plan zum 'Wendenkreuzzug' von 1147 als Umsetzung sibyllinischer Eschatologie," in: *Heidenfrage und Slawenfrage im deutschen Mittelalter* (Leiden 2011), 655–660.
- 10 Flori, *L'islam*, 300–335, cited 312: "La lutte contre les Sarrasins d'Orient prend à nouveau, à cause de Jérusalem et des Lieux saints, une dimension prophétique évidente et une connotation eschatologique plus que probable." My translation. See also Jessalynn L. Bird, "Prophecy, Eschatology, Global Networks, and the Crusades, from Hattin to Frederick II," *Traditio* 77 (2022), 31–106.

sions (or did not contextualize them historically);¹¹ scholars devoted to eschatological thought rarely relied on sermon texts, but remained mostly within a classic historiographical spectrum.¹²

Medieval authors posed the fundamental question of why God permitted the Holy Land's conquest, which was usually answered with the argument of sinfulness. Yet, there was always sin, while such dramatic events as those of 1187 were far from being an everyday occurrence. The question follows: Why did he permit the conquest right now?¹³ As a consequence, implementing the explanation of sinfulness suggests a dramatic increase in sin that transcends certain boundaries.¹⁴ Rev. 18:5, for example, speaks of sins towering unto heaven (*pervenerunt peccata eius usque ad caelum*)—the transgression of sin's quantity, and perhaps also quality, represents an eschatological momentum; it forces God to intervene.¹⁵ Therefore, the use of *peccatis nostris exigentibus* hints at a providential watershed tantamount to each conquest of Jerusalem, fueled by the fact that such did not occur too often historically. As the chapter on Jerusalem discussed, the biblical narratives encode the city's conquest already as

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- 11 For exceptions, see Jussi Hanska, *Strategies of Sanity and Survival: Religious Responses to Natural Disasters in the Middle Ages* (Helsinki 2002); Bruce Wood Holsinger, "The Color of Salvation: Desire, Death, and the Second Crusade in Bernard of Clairvaux's Sermons on the Song of Songs," in: *The Tongue of the Fathers*, ed. David R. Townsend and Andrew Taylor (Philadelphia 1998), 165–172; Augustine Thompson, *Revival Preachers and Politics in Thirteenth-Century Italy: The Great Devotion of 1233* (Oxford 1992); Michael Mecklenburg, "How to Represent the Future: Narratological Aspects of Preaching and Performing the Last Judgement," in: *The Last Judgement in Medieval Preaching*, ed. Thom Mertens (Turnhout 2011), 163–180.
- 12 See, e.g., Palmer, *Apocalypse*; Fried, "Endzeiterwartung," 381–473.
- 13 Authors such as Orosius or Lambert of Saint-Omer asked the same about Christ's birth, answering it with the peaceful and prosperous reign of Augustus (see Rubenstein, *Dream*, 29).
- 14 See Cecilia Gaposchkin, *Invisible Weapons: Liturgy and the Making of Crusade Ideology* (Ithaca, NY 2017), 258. It seems that collective sinfulness invalidated the rewards of crusading; especially after the Second Crusade some complained about the useless deaths of participants. The abbot of Casa-Maria developed an antithesis—martyrs despite failure (John of Casa-Maria, *Epistola*, 590; see Cole, *Preaching*, 54–55). In agreement: Geoffrey of Auxerre, *Vita* (3.4), 309; Otto of Freising, *Gesta*, ed. Schmale, 270; discussed by Hubert Glaser, "Das Scheitern des zweiten Kreuzzuges als heilsgeschichtliches Ereignis," in: *Festschrift für Max Spindler*, ed. Dieter Albrecht and Andreas Kraus (Munich 1969), 123, 131.
- 15 For Rev. 18:5, see Martin of León, *Commentary on Rev.* (18.5), 391; William of Newburgh, *Historia*, 253; Peter of Blois, *Passio Raginaldi*, 49, 54–55. See also Alan of Lille, *De cruce Domini*, ed. d'Alverny, 280–281, who speaks of a dangerous increase in sin (*propter ingruentiam peccatorum*) that generated the Cross relic's "definite" (*omnino*) loss. See also Oliver of Paderborn, *Ep.* 5, ed. Hoogeweg, 305, voicing as to 1187: *multiplicarentur peccata super terram*.

such.¹⁶ The question of why God permits the Holy Land's occupation at a specific point in time thus indicates a providential turning point.

Sermon texts contain numerous eschatological elements, references to the End of Days, the Last Judgment, or the Second Coming. Certain feasts such as Advent or All Saints betray a specific entanglement with such themes; they actively bring the Apocalypse closer (didactically, but also temporally); this dynamic will be discussed below.¹⁷ The End of Days is so dominant in these texts that one can describe it as one of their essential traits: they perpetually remind their audiences that the End is always somehow close and that they must always be prepared. Yet, the eschatology's imminence requires discussion, because a text broaching such an element does not necessarily indicate apocalyptic expectations. Different types of eschatology exist (such as an individual or realized form), just as it may be the case that a sermon tackles the Apocalypse, but locates it in the distant future.¹⁸ One may conclude that a text displays imminent expectations if one of four patterns occurs: first, if eschatological elements blend with historical events such as those of 1187; this indicates a literal understanding of the Apocalypse. Second, if specific groups (whether the audience or enemy groups) are endowed with eschatological identities and corresponding calls for action (such as the binary of *iusti* and *impii*). This encompasses the common rendering of the Muslims as 'pagans' (*pagani*; *gentiles*; *nationes*; *ethnici*), in particular if this presents itself as a consistent pattern throughout a text—as is already the case with First Crusade chronicles, indebted to the venture's eschatological outlook.¹⁹ The recurring presence of

16 The post-biblical prophecies substantiate this; these survived in many 12th-century copies, for example, Pseudo-Methodius (see Rubenstein, "Crusade and Apocalypse," 172–175; Guy Lobrichon, 1099: *Jérusalem conquise* (Paris 1998), 27–28).

17 See Jussi Hanska, "Catastrophe Sermons and Apocalyptic Expectations: Eudes de Châteauroux and the Earthquake of 1269 in Viterbo," in: *The Last Judgement in Medieval Preaching*, ed. Thom Mertens (Turnhout 2011), 117–118, highlighting the apocalyptic nature of the second Sunday in Advent devoted to the Second Coming. See also Gaposchkin, *Weapons*, 132, 145–146.

18 Fried distinguishes between 'normal expectations' and 'heightened expectations' (Fried, "Endzeiterwartung," 388–394). See also Palmer, *Apocalypse*, 7–8, 228; and Kevin L. Hughes, *Constructing Antichrist: Paul, Biblical Commentary, and the Development of Doctrine in the Early Middle Ages* (Washington, D.C. 2005), 4–5, discussing how precisely this uncertainty may have contributed to expectations.

19 See Nicholas Morton, "Encountering the Turks: The First Crusaders' Foreknowledge of Their Enemy; Some Preliminary Findings," in: *Crusading and Warfare in the Middle Ages*, ed. Morton and Simon John (Farnham 2014), 54–55; John Victor Tolan, *Saracens: Islam in the Medieval European Imagination* (New York 2002), 105–134; Martin Völkl, *Muslimen—Märtyrer—Militia Christi: Identität, Feindbild und Fremderfahrung während der ersten*

nationes and *gentes* in several prophecies such as John's Revelation or Ezekiel corroborates this eschatological coloring. For example, the *gentes* conquer Jerusalem in Rev. 11:2, to be annihilated by Christ in Rev. 19:15—a trajectory that points to the events of 1187 and expectations for the Third Crusade respectively.²⁰ Third, one can surmise that the more urgent and vivid the broaching of eschatology, the closer is the Apocalypse. Texts speaking of thundering trumpets (such as Peter of Blois) or the terrible judgment (such as *Audita tremendi*) provide strong indicators.²¹ Fourth, some texts even claim that it is happening already, specifically via John 12:31 (*nunc iudicium est huius mundi*).²² But even if one believes in the dawn of the Apocalypse, there remains the question of where exactly one stands within the complex and multistaged eschatological scenario.

This leads to the larger issue of understanding and decoding eschatology nowadays. Historians have sometimes been quick to negate such beliefs, apparently because texts scarcely offer statements such as 'the End is nigh.' At the same time, these historians failed to decode texts' manifold eschatological references, often simply overlooking them.²³ This pertains, for example, to references to Isaiah or Ezekiel, because these are apocalyptic prophecies. However, their imagery is often so specific that one must be trained to recognize it: for instance, the motif from Rev. 14:20 that blood is rising up to the horses'

Kreuzzüge (Stuttgart 2011), 189–214. As Morton notes, the pattern also permeates the encyclicals of Eugen III and Gregory VIII.

- 20 See below, esp. on Joachim of Fiore's prophecy to Richard Lionheart. For sources see, e.g., Ez. 2:3; 20:41; 30:26; 36:20; Is. 64:1; Rev. 2:26–27; 16:19.
- 21 Peter of Blois, *Passio Raginaldi*, 68; Gregory VIII, *Audita tremendi*, ed. Chroust, 6. Ekkehard of Aura said of the First Crusade that the trumpets were already thundering (Ekkehard of Aura, *Chronica*, ed. Schmale, 132). The phrase *iam* or *iam iamque* also expresses such immediacy (see Buc, "Crusade and Eschatology," 310–311, 334; Fried, "Endzeiterwartung," 412).
- 22 See, e.g., Ralph Ardens, *Pars (II), De tempore, Sermo 36*, 1447; Garnerius of Clairvaux, *Sermo 28*, 753; Baldwin of Canterbury, *De commendatione*, 612; Bernard of Clairvaux, *De laude*, 296; *Sermo in Cant.* 6, 804. The reference is pertinent in a twofold way, since John 12:32 says that Christ, hanging on the cross, draws all people unto him, that is, to Jerusalem (*ego, si exaltatus fuero a terra, omnes traham ad meipsum*); see the chapter on the Holy Land.
- 23 For such an example, see Charles W. Connell, "Missing the Apocalypse in Preaching the Crusades," in: *Crusading in Art, Thought, and Will*, ed. Matthew Parker and Ben Halliburton (Leiden 2018), 198, who claims that Henry of Albano's treatise does not contain any apocalyptic elements. For the rebuttal, see Alexander Marx, "Jerusalem as the Travelling City of God. Henry of Albano and the Preaching of the Third Crusade," *Crusades* 20 (2021), 96–110. For a critical review of the simple scheme of 'End: Yes or No,' see Palmer, *Apocalypse*, 227–235.

bridles or Isaiah's call to rejoice with Jerusalem (as the End of Days is coming).²⁴ These references (and there are many more) do not offer a statement that we would deem apocalyptic today, but they are drawing on motifs determined as such via their biblical subtexts and contexts, reinforced by exegetical traditions. This tackles the issue that it is not only a question of when, but also of how and where. One may define eschatology as establishing a connection between earth and heaven, stemming from a Christian worldview where the two spheres are firmly separated since the Fall of Mankind. Yet, this connection is not monocausal in nature (comparable to that between present and future): it is not a simple question of one or the other. In the Christian system of thought, eternity always runs in parallel to earthly existence, therefore connections between the two may occur. Prophecy and history interlock thanks to a permanent interplay, that is, identifying elements of prophetic texts in one's own present. Joachim of Fiore led these efforts to perfection in the late 12th century. Considering the Third Crusade's corpus, one can conclude that his apocalypticism played an essential role for his generation—even though both later generations and modern scholars often depicted him as a misfit.²⁵

Furthermore, there is the question of what exactly 'fulfillment of prophecy' means. A prophecy represents a textually encoded course of action, understood as divine revelation about the future, and an established corpus of texts describes such. Historical agents, trapped in its maelstrom, keep their eyes open for the very same events, since they are fully convinced of the prophetic authority.²⁶ The fulfillment unleashes itself in the coincidental, or perhaps consciously induced, concurrence between textual prophecy and phenomena in one's environment—but what does 'fulfillment' mean? This is bound to the eschatological scenario; the prophecies deal throughout with the End of Days: fulfillment initiates either the Apocalypse itself or a new stage within the eschatological scenario. Asserting such is thus a most meaningful device. Pre-

24 On the first, see Buc, "Crusade and Eschatology," 321–322; Benjamin Z. Kedar, "The Jerusalem Massacre of 1099 in the Historiography of the Crusades," *Crusades* 3 (2004), 65, 72; on the second, see Gaposchkin, *Weapons*, 150–152, 265, 272. In general see Buc, *L'empreinte du Moyen Age: la guerre sainte* (Avignon 2012), 25–26, 41–42; Kahl, "Auszujiäten," 644–645; Kristin Skottki, "'Until the Full Number of Gentiles Has Come in': Exegesis and Prophecy in St Bernard's Crusade-Related Writings," in: *The Uses of the Bible in Crusader Sources*, ed. Elizabeth Lapina and Nicholas Morton (Leiden 2017), 248–249.

25 On Joachim's significance, see Whalen, *Dominion*, 100–124; Elizabeth Siberry, *Criticism of Crusading, 1095–1274* (Oxford 1985), 202–204; Rubenstein, *Dream*, 181–207, 213. On his influence on Innocent III, see Flori, *L'islam*, 317, 328; Whalen, *Dominion*, 135–137.

26 See Buc, *Holy War*, 9–10; Palmer, *Apocalypse*, 15.

cisely for this reason Augustine recommended that one should not consider current events as the fulfillment of prophecy.²⁷ However, it remains possible that authors qualified this with hindsight, for example, by labeling it as a partial (*partim*) fulfillment, as coined by Philippe Buc.²⁸ The essential questions are therefore: What exactly fulfills itself? Which elements (persons, events) are at play therein? What does the fulfillment initiate? Finally, it is necessary to return once more to the crucial role of reform: whereas the crusade was an intrinsic part of the reform agenda, eschatology provided these efforts with a destination. For instance, penance plays a vital role in Revelation (e.g., Rev. 2:5; 2:21; 3:19). Similarly, Dan. 9:24 and 12:11–12 attribute a role to the eradication of sin in the eschatological scenario (in the first reference: *consummetur praevaricatio, et finem accipiat peccatum, et deleatur iniquitas*).²⁹ Anchored in the concept of the Corpus Christi, reform is the collective preparation for the Last Judgment. The closer the Judgment, the more urgent reform appears: extensive efforts, as they can be observed in the 12th century, thus indicate eschatological expectations.³⁰ These represent the obligatory first step, as displayed in Ezekiel's prophecy: the cleansing has to start with the just (Ez. 9:6). The crusade is the second step, a twofold causality prominently formulated in *Audita tremendi*.³¹ Consequently, the vision of the crusade as a penitential journey, as developed by Jonathan Riley-Smith and Marcus Bull in particular, does not contradict the eschatological vision—this is a false modern anti-thesis.³²

27 See Landes, *Heaven*, 48.

28 See Buc, *Holy War*, 74–77, 284; Flori, *L'islam*, 272–275; Gaposchkin, *Weapons*, 155–156. Gaposchkin characterizes this as “when the Apocalypse failed to materialize.” On revisions in Joachim of Fiore's work after the Third Crusade, see Rubenstein, *Dream*, 199, 203–204.

29 This is part of an anti-Jewish trend, often combined with Jerusalem's destruction in A.D. 70 (see Martin of León, *Liber sermonum*, *Sermo* 23, 889; Petrus Comestor, *Historia Scholastica*, 1459; Alan of Lille, *Contra haereticos* (3.12), 412). The implication is that the Jews did not use the time for penance (coincidentally 70 years as in Dan.), therefore God sent the Romans to punish them.

30 See Buc, *Holy War*, 95–99; Johannes Fried, *Dies irae: Eine Geschichte des Weltuntergangs* (Munich 2016), 120–126; Hans-Werner Goetz, “Eschatologische Vorstellungen und Reformziele bei Bernhard von Clairvaux und Norbert von Xanten,” in: *Vorstellungsgeschichte* (Bochum 2007), 75–88.

31 Gregory VIII, *Audita tremendi*, ed. Chroust, 8–9; see the previous chapter. On Ez. 9:6, see Buc, *Holy War*, 171–172. On Ez. 9 see the chapter on the Cross relic. Therefore, anti-heretical crusades preceded crusades to Jerusalem in providential logic. As God ended a crusade *peccatis exigentibus*, he told the Christians that they were not ready, but must return to reform and the war on heresy.

32 This has already been argued in: Rubenstein, *Dream*, 218–219.

Essential questions about eschatology and the Third Crusade are thus:

- (a) What is the eschatological content of the events of 1187? Do they represent a fulfillment of prophecy and what does this initiate? What eschatology is inherent in the Cross, considering, for example, the cross signings in John's Revelation?
- (b) What role does the eschatology of the First Crusade play? What happened in 1099 according to late 12th-century opinions?³³ The initiation of the Apocalypse, which has lasted since then?
- (c) What specific eschatological utterances and elements appear in the sermon texts? Do these permit any conclusions as to where exactly these preachers thought they stood in salvation history or the eschatological scenario?
- (d) Which types of eschatology are present on the eve of the Third Crusade? Is this concerned with a historicized Apocalypse taking place in Jerusalem? Are other types of eschatology present in parallel or in connection with such an understanding?
- (e) What role shall human protagonists play within the eschatological scenario? What calls for action does this entail?
- (f) What is observable in a comparison of sermon texts and chronicles? What kinds of revisions can one expect at the crusade's failure? Which larger processes of adaptation are observable throughout the 12th century?

Eschatological traits unearthed in the other chapters:

Other chapters noted eschatological ideas and biblical references on numerous occasions; these are summarized here to help orientate the reader. Whereas this chapter discusses them within a larger panorama, the preceding chapters examined them with a close eye on the textual evidence.

- (1) The signing with the cross adheres to an eschatological or even apocalyptic outlook (especially via references to Ezekiel and Revelation).
- (2) The cross as a war banner evokes Rev. 19 (*vexillum sanctae crucis*); the same pertains to Christ as their warlord, whom they follow into battle.³⁴
- (3) Jerusalem's conquest fulfills a prophecy, often expressed through references to its earlier conquests (such as that by the Romans), but also through Rev. 11:2 coloring its pagan conquest apocalyptically.

33 Rubenstein argues that the First Crusade's apocalyptic dimension was so strong that it persisted for the remainder of the century, but it was adapted and renegotiated (Rubenstein, *Dream*, 215).

34 Ad (a) and (b), see the chapter on the Cross relic.

- (4) The entanglement of the earthly and heavenly Jerusalem represents eschatology par excellence; this expressed itself notably in the motif of the city's gates.
- (5) The Temple holds specific eschatological components, in particular through its role in John's Revelation and the entanglement with the Ark of the Covenant.³⁵
- (6) The liturgy and thus sermons inhere in an eschatological nature; the church space represents an eschatological window, providing a nexus to the different Jerusalems.³⁶
- (7) The increasing appearance of heretics and false prophets is a sign of the impending Apocalypse: these are 'symptoms of the End' (where and how many heretics appear is subject to perception, a question of discourse and their presence in texts).
- (8) The failure of crusades encourages expectations in the sense of 'not yet, but soon'; these are accumulative expectations that consist of the sum of eschatological elements ('symptoms of the End').³⁷

1 Breaking with Augustinian Authority

Christendom was always a strongly eschatological religion; the return to heaven appeared as the goal of Christian existence. It was even born out of an eschatological mood: Jewish prophecies had announced the coming of both the Messiah and the Apocalypse. While the Messiah came, the Apocalypse did not. After having clung to this paradoxical situation for decades (as visible in the Gospels and Revelation), a solution was developed with the Second Coming of Christ. Christian history was often driven by the hope that the End was nigh; this formed a pivotal impetus for molding society, as the epoch-bridging book of Philippe Buc has masterfully demonstrated.³⁸ However, there was a period which one may call the Augustinian intermezzo: while Christianity remained deeply apocalyptic or even millenarist well into the 4th century (visible, for example, with Irenaeus of Lyon, Hippolyte of Rome, or Lactantius), Augustine turned against such ideas. He rejected an imminent eschatology and remained a seminal authority for centuries. One may summarize his dogmas in three main points:

35 Ad (c), (d), and (e), see the chapter on Jerusalem.

36 See the chapter on Jerusalem as well as below in this chapter.

37 Ad (g) and (h), see the chapter on the failure of crusades as well as below in this chapter.

38 Buc, *Holy War*. On modern phenomena dependent on Christian Apocalypticism, see Landes, *Heaven*, 250–388.

First, Augustine, like many church fathers, rejected the earthly Jerusalem as the place of Judaism: the shift from Old to New Covenant was also manifested in spatial terms. One transitioned to predominantly spiritual and allegorical readings of the prophecies, which all located the Apocalypse in Jerusalem, and thus revised this localization. This interlocked with early Christianity's prevailing approach of allegorical exegesis and spiritual warfare.³⁹ The Apocalypse would not take place there, but somewhere else (God may nominate any place) or perhaps everywhere. Second, Augustine also established the dogma of passiveness. There are two possibilities for conceiving of eschatological agency: either the believers are mere bystanders, while God and perhaps angels conduct business, or one grants humans the possibility of taking on eschatological roles. The church father strongly opted for the first possibility; this generated an 'agnosticism' (Robert Markus' term): historical events do not reflect God's will or a progress in salvation history.⁴⁰ Third, Augustine also rejected the predictability of the End and any corresponding speculation. God alone would know the time, while also being capable of delaying it as he wished. This comprised a rejection of imminent eschatological beliefs, which he countered with the idea of the Church as an apocalyptic presentism, a realization of heaven on earth. The Apocalypse appeared as a state, not as an event. The time of the Judgment itself remained unknown; one should always be prepared, but nothing more than that.⁴¹

These dogmas seem to have been seminal for the early Middle Ages, yet they were neither universal nor binding. Eschatological beliefs blazed up frequently, in particular after the advent of Islam when Christians started wondering about its providential purpose, often considering it as an eschatological symptom (visible, for example, in Pseudo-Methodius). Already Augustine's pupil Orosius (c.385–c.420) developed different ideas pointing towards a historicized Apoca-

39 See Schein, "Bewegungen," 123; Nikolas Jaspert, "Das Heilige Grab, das Wahre Kreuz, Jerusalem und das Heilige Land. Wirkung, Wandel und Vermittler hochmittelalterlicher Attraktoren," in: *Konflikt und Bewältigung*, ed. Thomas Pratsch (Berlin 2011), 71. On spiritual warfare, see Buc, *Holy War*, 72–100; Gaposchkin, *Weapons*, 41–53.

40 Robert Austin Markus, *Saeculum: History and Society in the Theology of Saint Augustine* (Cambridge, UK 1970), 159–162. See also Landes, *Heaven*, 18, 32–35; Johannes Fried, *Aufstieg aus dem Untergang: Apokalyptisches Denken und die Entstehung der modernen Naturwissenschaft im Mittelalter* (Munich 2001), 22–23, 51–53. Landes and Fried argue that apocalypticism (unlike eschatology) lent itself to human activity. Landes also discusses that specific apocalyptic movements, in the course of their existence (and failure), switched between the poles of active and passive.

41 See Fried, *Untergang*, 47–51; Landes, *Heaven*, 6–7, 29–31, 48; Landes, "The Fear of an Apocalyptic Year 1000: Augustinian Historiography, Medieval and Modern," *Speculum* 75/1 (2000), 97–145. See also Markus, *Saeculum*, 178–186.

lypse and immediate expectations.⁴² Yet, for the time being, the West remained relatively distant from Islam's domains; only the Carolingian age would bring it more strongly into the West's orbit. This age also initiated certain intellectual changes that started questioning the Augustinian dogmas, especially in terms of reading the biblical texts again more literally. As a result, the perspective opened up towards the earthly Jerusalem; the legend of Charlemagne's pilgrimage to the holy city bears witness to this.⁴³ Imminent eschatology and its predictability likewise became more popular concerns: in general, people do not seem to have believed it was imminent, but located it in the near future. The rich exegetical works of the Carolingian Empire developed alternatives to Augustine, but they remained for the time being (largely) limited to an exegetical register. What had been penned on parchment unleashed in the Ottonian age its full historical power. As Johannes Fried demonstrated, the Ottonians understood their time as the End of Days that the Carolingians had predicted were close.⁴⁴ The year 1000 saw exorbitant expectations resulting in masses of pilgrims traveling to Jerusalem: the eschatological discourse had found its way from the exegetical register to the midst of society. The movements around 1000 (and the further 11th century) show how emphatically the Augustinian dogma of passiveness had been discarded: various social classes started seeking their eschatological redemption in Jerusalem.⁴⁵ It is certainly not a coincidence that this happened at the time when preaching to the laity was expanding—eschatology was an essential trait of sermons, while it was also their responsibility to formulate calls for action.⁴⁶

At the time of and especially after the First Crusade, all three Augustinian dogmas certainly belonged to the past: authors formulated numerous literal

42 On Orosius, see Rubenstein, *Dream*, 26–34. On Pseudo-Methodius, see Flori, *L'islam*, 302–307; Palmer, *Apocalypse*, 107–129.

43 See Buc, *Holy War*, 91–98; Gaposchkin, *Weapons*, 52–53. On Charlemagne, see Matthew Gabriele, *An Empire of Memory: The Legend of Charlemagne, the Franks, and Jerusalem before the First Crusade* (Oxford 2011), 41–72; and Carl Erdmann, *Die Entstehung des Kreuzzugsgedankens* (Darmstadt 1980), 276–279, asserting that the legend was well established by the 11th century.

44 Fried, “Endzeiterwartung,” 406–412.

45 See Landes, *Relics*; Sylvia Schein, *Gateway to the Heavenly City: Crusader Jerusalem and the Catholic West (1099–1187)* (Aldershot 2005), 146–148; Jay Rubenstein, *Armies of Heaven: The First Crusade and the Quest for Apocalypse* (New York 2011), 318–320. For a depiction of the modern scholarly debate about the year 1000, see Palmer, *Apocalypse*, 4–7.

46 See Nicole Bériou, *Religion et communication: un autre regard sur la prédication au Moyen Age* (Paris 2018), 47–59, esp. 51; Charles W. Connell, *Popular Opinion in the Middle Ages: Channeling Public Ideas and Attitudes* (Berlin 2016), 48–108. However, sermon texts around 1000 have not been investigated yet.

readings, thus putting the earthly Jerusalem center stage. Preachers called for dedicated activity within the eschatological scenario, molding crusaders into God's eschatological helpers, who contributed to the progress of salvation history and secured their personal salvation.⁴⁷ And the unpredictability also seems to have been forgotten.⁴⁸ Eschatological beliefs had been festering since the late 10th century, encouraged by Islam's allegedly eschatological role, beliefs that were all fulfilled in the First Crusade: the West overall seems to have agreed that the End was imminent. The 12th century reveals a tendency to emphasize the Apocalypse as an actual event, especially when historicizing the concept of the *civitas Dei*, in contrast to Augustine, for example, in the works of Otto of Freising (c.1112–1158) or Henry of Albano.⁴⁹ Historicizing means to anchor it in time and space, while the localization was obvious thanks to the biblical sources. These developments supported the understanding of the Apocalypse as an impending event that would take place in the Holy Land. The central Middle Ages followed a lore other than Augustine, particularly significant was the concurrence between lurking eschatological expectations and expanding popular preaching: the age of the crusades had begun.

2 The Paradox of Eschatological Prognosis: False Prophet or *Praedicator Dei*

Indebted to the biblical prophecies, one can say that the End of Days expressed itself in symptoms (such as natural phenomena): elements appeared on the world stage that were coincidentally also part of prophecies, or at least they were perceived as such. One may expect that the simultaneous occurrence of several symptoms triggered even greater expectations, and that lay people also

47 See Buc, *Holy War*, 253–261, 271–272; Gerd Althoff, “*Selig sind, die Verfolgung ausüben*”: *Päpste und Gewalt im Hochmittelalter* (Darmstadt 2013), 135–136, 146. Buc reviews the common idea that humans only became agents of history in modernity (in opposition to God as agent in pre-modern times). The concept of a prophet alone makes it clear that God uses helpers.

48 See Rubenstein, *Armies*, 264–266; Fried, *Dies Irae*, 89–93.

49 See Rubenstein, *Dream*, 126–131; Yves Congar, “Eglise et Cité de Dieu chez quelques auteurs cisterciens à l'époque des Croisades: en particulier dans le De Peregrinante Civitate Dei d'Henri d'Albano,” in: *Mélanges offerts à Etienne Gilson de l'Académie française*, ed. Callistus Edie (Toronto 1959), 187; Hans-Werner Goetz, “Die Rezeption der augustinischen *civitas*-Lehre in der Geschichtstheologie des 12. Jahrhunderts,” in: *Vorstellungsgeschichte* (Bochum 2007), 110–111.

had a certain knowledge about this (not least taught by sermons/preachers).⁵⁰ Such symptoms may thus have operated without clerical interference, yet it seems essential that authorities interpreted and classified them. If rumors were circulating, it is likely that a preacher would have taken them up at the earliest opportunity, either to confirm or to refute them: confirmation likely generated a meaningful boost. Richard Landes argued that apocalyptic movements were fed by latent expectations or 'hidden transcripts' that made their way into the public sphere and then overwhelmed a considerable part of society.⁵¹ A crusade can be described as reaching such a critical mass. Clerics desired to control the apocalyptic discourse, in order to prevent feral lay movements. This, however, did not mean that they were opposed to apocalyptic violence. Guy Lobrichon argued that, when they lost control over the Apocalypse, they returned to predominantly spiritual readings—Bernard did so after the Second Crusade.⁵² On the other hand, it is possible that clerics were the authors of such beliefs: they were far more aware of the eschatological symptoms and likely read events through the lens of prophecies. It was one of their duties to convey the divine will to the laity and to warn them if the End was impending, since it was then all the more urgent to repent, in order to secure a favorable verdict at the Last Judgment.⁵³ A cleric would therefore want to look out for the approaching End and to instruct his flock accordingly. This instruction happened primarily via sermons, where eschatological themes were omnipresent. A cleric neglecting this duty would have run the risk of receiving the sentence of damnation at the Judgment.

50 See Mt. 24:32–33; 2 Tim. 3:1–5; and Rubenstein, "Crusade and Apocalypse," 171–172, 175–185; Guy Lobrichon, "Stalking the Signs: The Apocalyptic Commentaries," in: *The Apocalyptic Year 1000*, ed. Richard Allen Landes (Oxford 2003), 67–79; Hans-Dietrich Kahl, "Crusade Eschatology as Seen by St. Bernard in the Years 1146 to 1148," in: *The Second Crusade and the Cistercians*, ed. Michael Gervers (New York 1992), 38–39. For a list of such symptoms, see Landes, *Heaven*, 53–54.

51 Landes, *Heaven*, 8–9, 40–43, 52–55.

52 Guy Lobrichon, "Making Ends Meet: Western Eschatologies, or the Future of a Society (9th–12th Centuries). Addition of Individual Projects, or Collective Construction of a Radiant Dawn?" in: *Cultures of Eschatology*, ed. Veronika Wieser and Vincent Eltschinger (Berlin 2020), 1:36.

53 See Landes, *Heaven*, 14–15; Lobrichon, "Ends," 30; Phyllis Barzillay Roberts, *Studies in the Sermons of Stephen Langton* (Toronto 1968), 63–64. See, e.g., Henry of Albano, *De peregrinante civitate Dei* (1), 259, concluding on the basis of Jerusalem's conquest and the presence of several types of sinners (2 Tim. 3:1–5)—all symptoms of the End—that the Second Coming and the general resurrection are certainly nigh (*communem omnium resurrectionem, et ultimum Christi adventum talia praeventura indubitanter expectet*). See also Peter of Blois, *Ep. 227*, 516; Alan of Lille, *Contra haereticos* (2.1), 380; Benedictinus anonymus, *De penitentia*, PL 213:890.

However, clerics faced a fatal dilemma: the formulation of a providential prognosis entailed a delicate risk if it was not fulfilled—as was usually the case, yet this study has already unearthed that the central Middle Ages did not care about empiricism (see the chapter on institutional context). If this happened, the preacher turned into a false prophet, a servant of the devil and Antichrist, a most serious accusation.⁵⁴ Caution was required—so how shall one broach the issue? The sermon texts, and how they deal with eschatological matters, seem to reflect this ambivalent situation: one will not find any precise predictions about the day and year the Apocalypse will come. This would have been skating on very thin ice indeed—and it was not necessary. As already noted, sermon texts often speak about eschatology in a way that leaves its nature and imminence undetermined. Expectations were triggered by references and keywords, mostly from the Bible, which were familiar to the audience. Another strategy consisted in putting such words into another's mouth: Bernard did this prior to the Second Crusade; here, the devil formulated the prognosis.⁵⁵ Furthermore, one may suppose that any exposure to eschatological themes (even if located in the distant future) produced a heightened sensitivity—equivalent to the Holy Land's presence in sermons. As a result, merely the presence of such themes, even if a prognosis remained absent, operated as a vital motor for unleashing corresponding hopes.

Another dimension complements this game: if preachers discarded Augustinian passiveness, they promoted the idea that humans can contribute to the progress of salvation history. The Apocalypse's positive connotation for a righteous Christian—and most clerics would have considered themselves as such—suggests that they wanted to push the story forward, and that they instructed their audiences accordingly. One who obviously overdid it was Bernard. The accusation, especially by Gerhoch of Reichersberg, that the crusade had been a devilish trick, was also targeting him, who revealed himself as a false prophet.⁵⁶ The eschatological prognosis was thus an issue of societal discourse: Was a

54 See Landes, *Heaven*, 29. This is precisely the reason why one observes much seesawing in Joachim of Fiore's works (see Rubenstein, *Dream*, 199), but he still dared more than anybody else, a fact for which some celebrated him as a prophet, while others condemned him.

55 See Skottki, "Number," 260. As to the Third Crusade, consider Peter's *Dialogus* (a conversation between Henry II and an abbot) as well as Henry's imagined speech of the devil (Peter of Blois, *Dialogus*, esp. 395–396; Henry of Albano, *De peregrinante civitate Dei* (xiii), 359–360).

56 See the chapter on the failure of crusades. Another enthusiastic example is Jacques de Vitry in conjunction with the Fifth Crusade (see Tamminen, *Crusader*, 76–77).

preacher capable of holding his ground following a false prediction?⁵⁷ This is what Bernard was trying to do in *De consideratione*, and one may conclude that he was successful. Considering his pivotal role in the Second Crusade's mobilization, it would have been possible to brand him as a false prophet, perhaps even threatening or persecuting him. Nevertheless, the failure left a mark on his reputation.⁵⁸ A preacher had two important tasks in such a situation: on the one hand, controlling the discourse towards the laity. If he was a cleric in need of an explanation for his flock, his authority would have been helpful, likely also social bonds—as long as he was not accused by another authority. On the other, controlling the textual discourse was essential for further communication within the clerical milieu: it certainly helped that preachers were seldom alone in their predictions, but had colleagues who shared their views—who thus assisted in erasing the traces of failure. In light of this delicate situation, it is astonishing that preachers sometimes uttered predictions that were more specific.⁵⁹ Penned on parchment, it is evident that this was not a moment of spontaneous foolishness, as is imaginable in the situation of preaching. These are remarkable findings, a tangible manifestation of the discourse, displaying an author's convictions which were probably shared by others (likely including the manuscript's scribe). As for the manifestation in text, three forms are possible:

(a) An *a posteriori* perspective pertains to many texts, in particular those of a historiographical nature, but sermon texts may also have been subject to such a perspective. A text is cleaned up after a prophecy's failure, after the Apocalypse did not materialize; failure is erased and suppressed—the essential argument of Richard Landes' research. Texts where eschatological elements remain unclear may reflect such a process, especially if a text's overall appearance is unpolished or patchy.⁶⁰ The comparison of different manuscripts is

57 For a discussion of such strategies, see Landes, *Heaven*, 57.

58 See Hans-Dietrich Kahl, "Die Kreuzzugeschatologie Bernhards von Clairvaux und ihre missionsgeschichtliche Auswirkung," in: *Bernhard von Clairvaux und der Beginn der Moderne*, ed. Dieter R. Bauer and Gotthard Fuchs (Innsbruck 1996), 311–315, who suggested that Bernard inspired the Antichrist in the *Ludus de Antichristo*. See also *Annales Heribolenses*, 3, asserting that the crusade preachers were false prophets and the Antichrist's servants (*quidam pseudoprophete* and *testes Antichristi*). Prior to the expedition, Bernard himself did not shy away from such accusations (Bernard of Clairvaux, *Ep. 365*, 668–670; see Skottki, "Number," 255–256).

59 On Bernard, see Kahl, "Auszujaeten," 658–660.

60 Landes, *Relics*, 144–153, 287–308; Landes, *Heaven*, 56–67; see also Fried, "Endzeiterwartung," 389. As to sermons, besides cleansing eschatological elements, adaptation into a generic model may likewise have occurred—the two processes may also have blended.

most valuable here: this study discussed several examples where one version of a text contains eschatological details (for instance, concerning verb tenses), while another has erased them.⁶¹

(b) An *a priori* perspective pertains to the sermon texts, since this genre is naturally located prior to action (reform, Apocalypse, crusade); it fundamentally contributed to expectations. Texts surviving in such a state are most valuable evidence. Reasons for such a survival may have been that an author simply did not have an opportunity to cleanse the text (for example, Henry of Albano dying prior to the crusade), or doing so was not a priority, as the text lost importance along the way, disappearing in some library.⁶² Sermons were perhaps also adapted for the future; the same text may have been used ten or twenty years later when expectations were again blazing. It seems unlikely that a large cleansing machinery systematically purged all texts (as assumed by Landes); sermons demonstrate how apocalypticism may survive in the evidence. Other genres (critically historiography) were only penned after failure; there was no need to cleanse them.

(c) An *a fortiori* perspective can be argued for the First Crusade chronicles: outlooks were confirmed and encouraged, since failure remained absent and *a priori* expectations delivered.⁶³ Consequently, the expedition remained an apocalyptic event, at least for some time and for some observers. Such cases, however, are rare and may blend with *a posteriori*: some elements are revised, while others are encouraged—so Jean Flori's opinion on the First Crusade.⁶⁴

Due to this complex situation, the historians must prick up their ears, that is, deliver a close textual analysis, including the consideration of different versions in the manuscript evidence. Landes argued that one may extrapolate eschatological elements qualitatively and quantitatively, since it is already remarkable to find such in texts due to the dilemma of prognosis and *a posteriori* cleansing.⁶⁵ Such evidence preserves clerical beliefs as well as their desire to formulate predictions. The exact nature of an element may occasionally remain

61 For copies preserving such, see, e.g., Ms. Troyes 509, fols. 95^v, 150^{r-v}; Ms. BL Royal 8 F XVII, fols. 147^v, 159^r.

62 Landes seems to exclude such a possibility; he does not consider the possibilities that sermon texts offer (see Landes, *Heaven*, xvii). Palmer, however, already noted such a possibility of survival (Palmer, *Apocalypse*, 18).

63 See Lobrichon, *Jérusalem*, 30; Whalen, *Dominion*, 53. Landes also excludes such a possibility, since he operates with the premise that all apocalyptic events fail.

64 Flori, *L'Islam*, 280–281; Flori, *Pierre l'ermite et la première croisade* (Paris 1999), 419–420, 466.

65 See Landes, *Heaven*, 66–69, 79–81, using the image of an iceberg of which we can only see the tip.

unclear in a specific text—but the analysis of an entire corpus allows us to assemble such utterances and thus draw a clearer picture, in agreement with a discourse analysis.

3 The Eschatological Offer of Identity: Preaching, Church, and Crusade

Participating in the eschatological scenario provided historical protagonists with new identities and these were formulated in sermon texts. They were a key component of crusade spirituality, especially because they were capable of overruling existing identities such as social class.⁶⁶ As Philippe Buc noted, John's Revelation left the question of human agency open, a fact that allowed preachers to formulate such roles for their audiences. As he demonstrated through numerous examples from across the centuries, including from the First Crusade, agents often believed they were taking on such roles and thus contributing to the progress of salvation history through their actions.⁶⁷ While preachers, in their vocation as exegetes, taught the prophecies and created such roles, their listeners performatively engendered their fulfillment: text transformed into event. Jay Rubenstein concluded on Adso of Montier-en-Der's ideas (around the year 1000): "[...] [it is] an invitation to live at history's climax and to participate in the transformation and transfiguration of humanity."⁶⁸ Eschatological discourses delivered role models for safeguarding one's personal salvation within a preconceived eschatological scenario; they made crusaders into God's helpers as 1 Cor. 3:9 puts it (*Dei enim sumus adiutores*), a verse present in several crusade texts.⁶⁹ Adaptations of it appear in many sermons: Ralph Ardens, for example, exhorts the standard-bearers of the cross (here *aquila*) to assemble in the Holy Land, to assist Christ in holding Judgment (*ibi con-*

66 See Vauchez, "Composantes," 241–242; Tamminen, *Crusader*, 251–253, 286–288. See also the discussion on audience in the chapter on historical context.

67 Buc, *Holy War*, 75, 84–85, 247, 253–261. Gaposchkin discusses that war-related liturgy encouraged such an identity: one's own actions were embedded in a larger providential struggle (Gaposchkin, *Weapons*, 46; see also Rubenstein, "Crusade and Apocalypse," 164, 186–187).

68 Rubenstein, "Crusade and Apocalypse," 175.

69 See Marx, "City of God," 108; Marx, "The *Passio Raginaldi* of Peter of Blois. Martyrdom and Eschatology in the Preaching of the Third Crusade," *Viator* 50/3 (2019), 222–223. It is present in Humbert's list of biblical references for crusade preaching: he adds that they are his helpers "of course against the Saracens" (*scilicet contra sarracenos*) (Humbert of Romans, *De predicatione*, 117).

gregantur [...] ut iudicent mundum cum eo).⁷⁰ Henry of Albano voices that God shall finish “in us” or “through us” what he had begun in the First Crusade (*consumma, Deus, hoc quod jam coepisti operari in nobis*).⁷¹ Augustinian passiveness abandoned, humans can actively contribute to the eschatological events or initiate their coming.

The Apocalypse’s positive connotation engendered that the believers wanted the prophecies to be fulfilled, therefore they contributed to it: this represented the teleological goal of an entire society. Measures to achieve the same may have unleashed an exorbitant force—and the crusades may be understood as exactly such. The preachers assisting via their didactic mediation were essential for clarifying the issue, that is, for shaping a societal discourse. Depending on exegetical reading and historical context, different ‘scripts’ may have developed that informed a protagonist’s goals and priorities.⁷² This was likely more powerful the more agents came under pressure, that is, when an alleged point of fulfillment was approaching or corresponding elements appeared on the world stage (symptoms of the End), dynamics that triggered eschatological action such as anti-Jewish pogroms.⁷³ However, if such a point passed without the anticipated fulfillment, it likely began to dawn on protagonists that their activities had not been sufficient. The First Crusade displays such a performative advancement of prophecy, after expectations had been bottled up for c.100 years. One may suppose the same dynamic for the period between 1099 and 1187.

The sermon was thus the point of departure for the eschatological play, the casting that granted everyone who was willing a role in the End of Days. It is well known, and has recently been discussed by Cecilia Gaposchkin, that the liturgy inhered in certain eschatological logics: “And the liturgy, because of the way in which it spoke to Scripture, history, and eschatology, because of the multivalent

70 Ralph Ardens, *Pars (II), De tempore, Sermo 19*, 1373; see the chapter on the Cross relic.

71 Henry of Albano, *De peregrinante civitate Dei* (XIII), 356. Pascal II already formulated the same in his letter answering the crusaders’ report of the massacre in Jerusalem (1100): “Quod per prophetam populo suo Dominus pollicetur, impletum vobis agnoscimus.” And a few lines later: “quod coepit adimpleat [deus] et manus vestras, quas hostium suorum sanguine consecravit, immaculatas usque in finem adfluentissima pietate custodiat.” (*Kreuzzugsbriefe* (XXII), ed. Hagenmeyer, 178; discussed by Althoff, *Verfolgung*, 139–140).

72 See Buc, “Crusade and Eschatology,” 305, 316, 323; Buc, *Holy War*, 9–10, 264–272; Thomas Sizgorich, *Violence and Belief in Late Antiquity: Militant Devotion in Christianity and Islam* (Philadelphia 2009), 48–49, 67–69.

73 On the causal link between apocalypticism and anti-Jewish pogroms, see Flori, *L’Islam*, 228–233; Rubenstein, *Dream*, 47–48, 105; Richard Allen Landes, “The Massacres of 1010: On the Origins of Popular Anti-Jewish Violence in Western Europe,” in: *From Witness to Witchcraft*, ed. Jeremy Cohen (Wiesbaden 1997), 79–112.

readings and multiple levels on which liturgy was intended to convey, was the ideal vehicle to bridge the gap between the historical and the eschatological; to articulate the ties between the events themselves and the providence they belonged to.⁷⁴ The liturgy was the ritual capable of establishing a connection with the heavenly realm; it opened an eschatological window, as manifested in a church's architecture and spatial structuring.⁷⁵ This was experienced in community, guided by the mediator between heaven and earth, the priest and preacher.

The imagery of an 'eschatological window' is found in the sources, for example, in one of Hélinand of Froidmont's Palm Sunday sermons, already discussed in the chapter on the Cross relic. While it focuses on the Cross and calls for crusading, one section deals with liturgical space, thus creating an interplay between crusade, liturgy, and eschatology. Hélinand expounds that two jubes exist in the church (one between laity and clergy, the other between clergy and the inner sanctum). These consist of curtains that are opened on Good Friday, in reference to the tearing of the Temple's curtains at the moment of Christ's death (Mt. 27:50–51). Drawing on Cant. 2:9, their opening generates an eschatological window that reveals the view towards the eschatological resurrection (*respiciens per fenestras*); one can catch a glimpse of the eschatological events (*per fenestras videt futura opera*).⁷⁶ This is aligned with Ez. 40, where the prophet speaks of an Eastern gate to heaven (*sic Ezechiel vidit eum stantem in porta*). Hélinand sees a sermon's purpose as creating such a window.⁷⁷ Consider that the audience looks East while listening to him, into the area of the church colored as the heavenly Jerusalem, in the direction of the earthly city. Sermon and church open the perspective towards the End of Days: this idea is found here in a text with high crusade potential, which elaborates on Ez. 9, a verse that entwines Jerusalem and the signing with the cross. On what occasion, if not at such a sermon, should the listeners take the cross, encouraged by the eschatological role suggested to them?

74 Gaposchkin, *Weapons*, 156; see also 29–64.

75 Consider, for example, references to the heavenly Jerusalem or the Last Judgment, the demarcation of sacred areas (which are thus closer to heaven), or a building's orientation towards heaven (vivid in the Gothic style), but also the orientation towards east.

76 Hélinand of Froidmont, *Sermo 10*, 564. Mt. 27 presents this in conjunction with eschatological passages where the dead rise and march to Jerusalem. Alan of Lille offers a similar discussion in a crusade-specific sermon (Ms. BL Add 19767, fol. 75^r). See the chapter on exemplary descriptions for the full text.

77 A few lines after this discussion, he exhorts his audience via Ez. 9 "to approach Jerusalem" (*appropinqua Hierosolymis*) (Hélinand of Froidmont, *Sermo 10*, 565). On the Eastern gate, see the chapter on Jerusalem.

Another significant example delivers a sermon *In dedicatione ecclesiae* by Peter of Blois, already discussed in the chapter on Jerusalem: as Peter delineates, the church, a typological Jerusalem, represents a nexus to the city's heavenly and earthly guises. Consider again that his listeners are looking East when hearing his words; he plays specifically with Ps. 122: Jerusalem has been built as a city (*Ierusalem, quae aedificata est ut civitas*). This reference evokes the earthly city which he describes as a portent and signpost that God established (*posuit Dominus in signum et portentum*).⁷⁸ He agrees with Hélinand that the church represents an eschatological window by drawing on Ez. 41:16 and including the motif of the Eastern gate.⁷⁹ Peter's words suggest to his listeners that an eschatological sphere arises, a sphere causally related to the holy city, the signpost to the End of Days. It transpires that the conjunction of church and sermon evoked the city at least as an echo (considering the concurrence of terminology, architecture, and symbolism), but, as two examples demonstrated, it was also explicitly made present. This remained passive per se in the liturgy: one participated in such a ritual, cast a glance into the future, but returned afterwards to the business of daily life. One entered an eschatological sphere, but left it again—in this sense eschatological and not apocalyptic. It was the crusade itself where passive turned into active, spiritual prediction into literal manifestation, and eschatological window into impending Apocalypse.⁸⁰ The crusade represented the physical realization of so many matters that were present in the West only in their invisible, spiritual form. The sermon had the purpose of pointing to this possibility of the End, which one must seize by traveling to the Holy Land.

Two crucial figures within the eschatological scenario were the Last World Emperor and the Antichrist; these invited contemporaries to identify them with actual protagonists, and exactly this happened on the eve of the Third Crusade. Depending on the region, the Emperor was identified with all three major leaders: Richard Lionheart, Philip Augustus, and Frederick Barbarossa.⁸¹

78 Peter of Blois, *Sermo* 52, 713.

79 Peter of Blois, *Sermo* 52, 714.

80 However, if one left the Holy Land again, one left the apocalyptic sphere. Thus, with hindsight, apocalypticism may have turned again into eschatology. This is corroborated by the liturgy of Latin Jerusalem, which had been created after the model of dedicating churches (see Gaposchkin, *Weapons*, 131, 154–155).

81 See Schein, *Gateway*, 153–154; Flori, *L'islam*, 302–307; Rubenstein, *Dream*, 43–48, 193–201. For evidence on Philip Augustus, see Rigord, *Gesta*, ed. Delaborde, 94; Roger of Howden, *Gesta*, 2:51–53; Ralph of Diceto, *Ymagines*, 58–60; discussed by Hannes Möhring, *Der Weltkaiser der Endzeit: Entstehung, Wandel und Wirkung einer tausendjährigen Weissagung* (Stuttgart 2000), 174. Such identifications were also made for the Second Crusade: on

However, references to such ideas are rare in the sermon texts, just as the princes do not play any role therein. Those few cases where they are present are concerned with reproaching a delayed departure or internal Christian conflicts.⁸² Since sermons were addressing broad audiences and mobilizing in places far from princely courts, their absence should not be surprising. They did not play the preeminent role which modern concepts of politics like to grant them—local nobility and bishops were probably far more important for recruiting specific groups.⁸³ Similarly, the overall absence of both great princes and the Last Emperor can be explained with the sermon material's model nature: such references would have limited the potential applications—additions in the actual preaching situation were thus possible. As we know from many examples (such as Henry II), a prince's promise to participate was far from a guarantee, therefore naming such a prince was not supporting mobilization.⁸⁴ If a preacher had even identified him with the Last Emperor, his absence from the expedition would have been tantamount to a false prophecy. Other sources, however, demonstrate that such ideas were vivid on the eve of the crusade. It may have been the case that these ideas only unfolded their full potential once an army had departed under a prince's leadership. Yet, the disappointment must have been even more devastating, if the alleged Emperor was not capable of deposing his crown in Jerusalem for the purpose of initiating the Apocalypse. Barbarossa drowned in Asia Minor, whereupon the bulk of his army returned home; the disappointment that he was not the Last Emperor was likely an essential cause.⁸⁵ Richard Lionheart was most successful, feeding on some triumphs (the conquest of Acre; the victory at Arsuf) that may have encouraged such ideas, but then, despite his proximity, he was not even capable of organizing an attack on Jerusalem.

Martin of León, in his strongly historical commentary on John's Revelation, discusses some aspects about the Last Emperor when commenting on Rev. 11:2 (relating how pagans occupied Jerusalem for 42 month):⁸⁶

Louis VII, see Rubenstein, *Dream*, 102–103; Anne Latowsky, *Emperor of the World: Charlemagne and the Construction of Imperial Authority, 800–1229* (Ithaca, NY 2013), 141–147; and on Conrad III, see Skottki, "Number," 259–260; Kahl, "Auszuajäten," 657–660.

82 See Peter of Blois, *Conquestio*, 94; Henry of Albano, *De peregrinante civitate Dei* (XIII), 357.

83 On these questions, see the chapter on historical context.

84 In agreement: Tamminen, *Crusader*, 74, 94, noting that the pope barely appears in sermons either, and discussing that ambivalent personal traits or opinions about a prince, for example, about Richard Lionheart, may have encouraged omission.

85 Many only turned back from Antioch, after an epidemic had struck them, another divine punishment (see Graham A. Loud, "Introduction," in: *The Crusade of Frederick Barbarossa* (Farnham 2010), 27). Happening a few weeks after the emperor's death, a causal link seems still plausible.

86 On the commentary, see Amélie de las Heras, "Le livre de l'Apocalypse chez Martin de

But some among our savants claim that one among the Frankish kings will fully represent the Roman Empire, for he will live in the End of Days. He will be the greatest and last among all kings. And, after having reigned his realm blessedly, he will eventually depart for Jerusalem and voluntarily surrender his scepter and crown on the Mount of Olives. This will be the end and completion of the Empire of Romans and Christians, and, agreeing with the Apostle's authority, they say that the Antichrist will appear immediately. [...] Thus, as we noted above, he will be born in Babylon. Thereafter, he will come to Jerusalem and circumcise himself, speaking to the Jews: "I am Christ who has been promised to you and who has come for the sake of your salvation, in order to assemble you from all regions and to protect you." As a consequence, all the Jews will stream unto him, believing that they receive God, but they will receive the devil.⁸⁷

Martin declares that a king holding the Roman Empire would be the Last Emperor who surrenders his crown in Jerusalem in order to initiate the arrival of the Antichrist—this may allude to Barbarossa.⁸⁸ The Antichrist would come from Babylon to Jerusalem; this could refer to a conquest. He would pretend to be Christ in front of the Jews, and they would be taken in. Like many of his contemporaries, Martin intertwines Jews and Muslims, evoking a conspiratorial front against Christendom.⁸⁹ The question, however, remains of where

León (m. 1203), entre commentaire et sermon. Une 'lectio divina' tournée vers l'action," *Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez* 49/1 (2019), 61–84, who, however, did not consider the crusade.

87 Martin of León, *Commentary on Rev.* (11.2), 359–360 and Ms. León, San Isidoro 11/3, fol. 197^v. "Quidam vero nostri doctores dicunt, quod unus ex Francorum regibus Romanum imperium ex integro tenebit, quia in novissimo tempore erit, et ipse erit maximus et omnium regum ultimus. Hic postquam regnum suum feliciter gubernaverit, ad ultimum Jerosolymam perget, et in monte Oliveti sceptrum et coronam suam ultro deponet, (hic erit finis et consummatio Romanorum Christianorumque imperii) statimque, secundum Apostoli sententiam, Antichristum dicunt adfuturum. [...] Hic itaque, ut supra diximus, in civitate Babyloniae natus, Jerosolymam veniens, circumcidet se, dicens Judaeis: Ego sum Christus vobis repromissus, qui ad salutem vestram venit, ut vos de cunctis terris congregem et defendam. Tunc fluent ad eum omnes Judaei, aestimantes Deum suscipere, sed suscipiunt diabolium."

88 The passage speaks of the emperor departing for Jerusalem at the end of his life; this likewise suggests Barbarossa. Martin refers to "some of our teachers" (*quidam nostri doctores*), perhaps Paris masters or also Iberian traditions. The first half of the passage quotes verbatim from: Adso of Montier-en-Der, *De ortu*, 26.

89 See, e.g., Flori, *L'islam*, 228–230; Philippe Buc, "La vengeance de Dieu: de l'exégèse patristique à la Réforme ecclésiastique et la Première Croisade," in: *La vengeance, 400–1200*, ed. Dominique Barthélemy, François Bougard, and Régine Le Jan (Rome 2006), 466; Jeremy

he sees his own days in this scenario: he speaks of the events in the future tense, yet allusions to current circumstances and the crusade endeavor are obvious. It is possible that he penned these lines on the eve of the venture, expecting that one of the princes would lay down his crown in Jerusalem. Just the fact that he relates the Last Emperor to Jerusalem's pagan conquest in Rev. 11:2 is a bold indication that he is devoted to making sense of the events of 1187. He may have surmised that Saladin is the Antichrist (as did Peter of Blois)—but the commentary remains silent on the matter.⁹⁰ The dangers of predictions may have made him cautious.

Two sources deliver an impression of the self-image of two princes, Barbarossa and Lionheart. Such ideas seem to have been vivid around the first; scholars have attested that the German regions had a strong affinity for such.⁹¹ The *Ludus de Antichristo*, penned in southern Germany (Tegernsee, 1160s), provides an insightful testimony. Even though some scholars have rightfully noted that it remains unclear whether Barbarossa is the Last Emperor of the play, it is at least a possible reading, especially if one staged it at the imperial court or in a related context.⁹² Discourses potentially related to Barbarossa thus existed on the eve of the Third Crusade. The fact that he decided to depart must have appeared to fulfill a prophecy.⁹³ Henry of Albano's letter to Barbarossa (probably January 1188), enticing him to join the crusade, suggests the same idea to his addressee: the papal legate and powerful messenger of God's will encouraged such hopes. He says that divine providence elevated the emperor above all other rulers (*providentia divina maiestatem vestram super colla cuiuslibet*

Cohen, *Living Letters of the Law: Ideas of the Jew in Medieval Christianity* (Berkeley 1999), 156–165.

- 90 Joachim of Fiore considered Saladin to be the sixth of seven Antichrists (see Rubenstein, *Dream*, 193–198; Flori, *L'islam*, 322–324). Roger, after having cited Joachim's sermon to Richard Lionheart, quotes two sections from treatises on the Antichrist; the one is Adso of Montier-en-Der's, the other is to my knowledge unidentified (Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, 3:80–86). On the notion of several Antichrists, see Buc, "Vengeance," 475; and in general Hughes, *Antichrist*; Bernard McGinn, *Antichrist: Two Thousand Years of the Human Fascination with Evil* (New York 2000).
- 91 See, e.g., Jean Flori, "Jérusalem terrestre, céleste et spirituelle. Trois facteurs de sacralisation de la première croisade," in: *Jerusalem the Golden*, ed. Susan B. Edgington (Turnhout 2014), 37.
- 92 See Schein, "Bewegungen," 130; Möhring, *Weltkaiser*, 173–174, 184. Möhring notes that Barbarossa commissioned assignments to the scriptorium of Tegernsee.
- 93 See Flori, *L'islam*, 307, who ascribes Barbarossa a messianic charisma. Before his departure, Barbarossa received an illustrated manuscript of the strongly apocalyptic First Crusade chronicle of Robert of Reims (see Damien Kempf, "Towards a Textual Archaeology of the First Crusade," in: *Writing the Early Crusades*, ed. Kempf and Marcus Bull (Woodbridge 2014), 123–126).

terrene potestatis extulit); and he stresses his duty to provide an example (*exemplo precellat*) as well as to annihilate the pagans (*ad conterendos hostes fidei*).⁹⁴ This letter likely reflects the mood at the Council of Mainz, where Barbarossa took the cross, and which not for nothing bore the name of *Curia Iesu Christi*. In agreement, the emperor refused to occupy his throne during the council, since it actually belonged to Christ, a prefiguration of his intent to depose his crown in Jerusalem.⁹⁵ Eventual disillusionment with the idea may explain why Henry's letter is not cited in any chronicles (unlike other letters from his pen): it only survives in an independent copy.

The second piece of evidence comes from Richard Lionheart's own pen, writing to Garnerius of Clairvaux some days after the massacre on Muslims in Acre, and praising therein its divinely sanctioned nature. He delineates first the meaning of the holy places, emphasizing the role of blood:

We have received the places of his death as our burden with such large and holy labor, the places that he dedicated with his precious blood and that the enemies of Christ's cross have hitherto disgracefully defiled. And in the short period of time after the lord and king of the Franks had arrived in Acre, we have landed there successfully thanks to God's guidance.⁹⁶

He underlines the sanctity of deeds (*sanctus labor*) as well as God's guidance. Thereafter, he reports on Acre's conquest and the failed negotiations to regain the Cross relic, the cause of the massacre, which he subsequently describes: "As was proper, we commanded the Saracens that we had in custody be killed, around 2600 altogether."⁹⁷ It happened "as was proper" (*sicut decuit*), that is,

94 Ms. BL Add 24145, fol. 77^v. Joachim of Fiore's portrayal of Richard Lionheart is very similar: "[...] Dominus dabit tibi victoriam de inimicis suis, et exaltabit nomen tuum super omnes principes terrae" (cited in Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, 3:78).

95 See Schein, *Gateway*, 155; Karl Young, *The Drama of the Medieval Church* (Oxford 1962), 390–393. Ansbert renders him as a *signifer*, a term also used for Christ, inspired by Rev. 19 (see the chapter on the Cross relic); this analogy indicates once more the Last Emperor. The same passage notes that Henry of Albano suggested the name of *Curia Jesu Christi* (Ansbert, *Historia*, ed. Chroust, 14). This is corroborated by his letter to the German nobility: "eadem curia singulariter est Salvatori Domino deputata" (Henry of Albano, *Ep. 32*, PL 204:250).

96 Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, 3:31. "[...] loca mortis Ejus, pretioso Suo Sanguine dedicata, quae inimici crucis Christi hactenus ignominiose profanabant, tanti et tam sancti laboris in nos onus suscepimus, et intra breve temporis spatium post adventum domini regis Francorum ad Accon, ibidem Domino duce prospere applicuimus."

97 Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, 3:31. "[...] de Sarracenis, quos in custodia habuimus, circa duo millia et sexcentos, sicut decuit, fecimus exspirare."

according to God's will. Richard perceives himself as an executor of divine will, the spearhead of the apocalyptic forces. He presents the massacre as a providential necessity, lacking any signs of remorse or conflict. He seems to have been eager to fulfill Joachim of Fiore's prediction of such an event (*erit illorum strages maxima, qualis non fuit ab initio mundi*).⁹⁸ Similarly, his wish to proceed to Jerusalem and thus complete the story becomes evident at the letter's conclusion.⁹⁹ This agrees once again with Joachim, who (allegedly) said that he would be the chosen one who retakes Jerusalem, while clearly suggesting the identity of the Last Emperor to the English king.¹⁰⁰ Richard's own words, addressed to one of the most eminent representatives of Christendom, betray his identity as an eschatological avenger who strives for the eradication of paganism. The eschatological impetus is also apparent when he renders Jerusalem as the *civitas Dei*.¹⁰¹ This most significant piece of evidence shows his encouraged role after the capture of Acre: among the three princes who departed, he is the one who most likely fulfills the role of the Last Emperor. At the same time, he calls his addressee to keep preaching the crusade in the West, in agreement with the double frontier of spiritual and physical warfare; this would secure God's support all the way to the final battle.

98 Roger of Howden, *Gesta*, 2:152. Other authors shared the positive view of the massacre, or at least did not consider it a condemnable event (e.g., William of Newburgh, *Historia*, 68–69; Ralph of Diceto, *Ymagines*, 94–95; Ambroise, *L'Estoire*, ed. Paris, 148–149; Ralph of Coggeshall, *Chronicon*, ed. Stevenson, 34; discussed by Stephen Spencer, "Like a Raging Lion: Richard the Lionheart's Anger during the Third Crusade in Medieval and Modern Historiography," *The English Historical Review* 132 (2017), 506–508; John B. Gillingham, *Richard I* (New Haven, Conn. 1999), 170). The same pertains to the letter by the First Crusade's leaders about the massacre in Jerusalem (*Kreuzzugsbriefe* (XVIII), ed. Hagenmeyer, 170–171; see Althoff, *Verfolgung*, 137–140).

99 Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, 3:132–133. It is significant that he connects this with Easter.

100 See Roger of Howden, *Gesta*, 2:152–153; *Chronica*, 3:80–86; see the compelling argument in: Flori, *L'Islam*, 310–312; see also Rubenstein, *Dream*, 200–202.

101 Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, 3:130. Contrary to the depictions in: Jonathan Phillips, "The Third Crusade in Context: Contradiction, Curiosity and Survival," *Studies in Church History* 51 (2015), 110–113; John D. Hosler, *The Siege of Acre, 1189–1191: Saladin, Richard the Lionheart, and the Battle that Decided the Third Crusade* (New Haven 2018), 150–157; Thomas Asbridge, "Talking to the Enemy: The Role and Purpose of Negotiations between Saladin and Richard the Lionheart during the Third Crusade," *Journal of Medieval History* 39/3 (2013), 275–296, esp. 294. For an overview of depictions of the massacre, see Spencer, "Lion," 520–522.

4 The Earthly Jerusalem as an Eschatological State (1099–1187)

It is a remarkable finding that some of the First Crusade's chroniclers, years after the events, still had a deeply eschatological approach to them, in particular the three Benedictines Guibert of Nogent, Baldric of Dol, and Robert of Reims, all writing around ten years later. Jay Rubenstein thus elaborated on the hypothesis of an eschatological state: the Apocalypse begun in 1099 and was still ongoing. He even extended this hypothesis to Lambert of Saint-Omer, active slightly later (1120s).¹⁰² The fact that several chroniclers ten to twenty years later displayed this idea demonstrates that it had the potential to persist—the First Crusade remained popular throughout the 12th century.¹⁰³ Before 1187, there seems to have been no event that would have hampered such an understanding: the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem flourished and even expanded (for example, the conquests of Tyre and Ascalon). Sources around the Third Crusade betray that this was still common ground. Significant evidence is offered by, for example, Prevostin of Cremona when he asserts, in an adaptation of Is. 11:10, that the Sepulcher had been glorious “for such a long time” (*quandiu fuit sepulchrum eius gloriosum*).¹⁰⁴ The chapter on Jerusalem discussed how strongly writers were merging the earthly and heavenly city, as expressed specifically in the motif of the gates, while the earthly guise represented such a gateway.¹⁰⁵ The chapter thus reflected on the concept of the four senses, unearthing a clear tendency to align the earthly city with the anagogical sense, a

¹⁰² Rubenstein, “Saint-Omer,” 73–75, 85–88; Rubenstein, “Crusade and Apocalypse,” 177–185; see also Gaposchkin, *Weapons*, 148–156; Lobrichon, *Jérusalem*, 131–133; Vauchez, “Composantes,” 236. Rubenstein claims that they remained in a state of an “ongoing Apocalypse” “for decades”—however, he does not tell us where he sees a possible end to this state (Rubenstein, *Armies*, 319). Connell suggested that Guibert of Nogent’s strongly apocalyptic chronicle intended to provide a model for future crusade preachers (Connell, “Apocalypse,” 193).

¹⁰³ On its commemoration, see Gaposchkin, *Weapons*, 130–191; Jonathan Phillips, *The Second Crusade: Extending the Frontiers of Christendom* (New Haven 2007), 17–36; Jaroslav Folda, “Commemorating the Fall of Jerusalem: Remembering the First Crusade in Text, Liturgy, and Image,” in: *Remembering the Crusades*, ed. Nicholas L. Paul and Suzanne M. Yeager (Baltimore 2012), 125–145. References to the glorious first crusaders were also common; see William J. Purkis, *Crusading Spirituality in the Holy Land and Iberia, c.1095–c.1187* (Woodbridge 2008), 93–94; Nicholas L. Paul, *To Follow in Their Footsteps: The Crusades and Family Memory in the High Middle Ages* (Ithaca, NY 2012).

¹⁰⁴ Ms. BNF lat. 14859, fol. 215^v. By adapting its verb tense, 12th-century authors frequently made clear that they believed Is. 11:10 to have been fulfilled; see, e.g., Rupert of Deutz, *Commentary on Zach.*, 761; Hervé de Bourge-Dieu, *In Isaiam*, 144–145; Richard of Saint-Victor, *Christus ponitur*, 523.

¹⁰⁵ See Marx, “City of God,” 98–102. For sources, see, e.g., Henry of Albano, *De peregrinante*

result that substantiates the hypothesis of an eschatological state. What meaning inhered in this idea? With the First Crusade, it was commonly accepted that *something* eschatological had happened: the holy city henceforth offered an outstanding possibility for getting in touch with heaven—tantamount to ideas of saints, relics, and churches, but surpassing these in intensity and meaning.¹⁰⁶ However, it remained unclear whether this trait, according to late 12th-century opinions, inhered generally in the earthly city, that is, since Christ, or whether it was only established with the First Crusade—an unspoken subtext. It seems at least that the events of 1099 engendered an intensification consisting in a temporal approach to the Apocalypse and a spatial approach to the celestial realm: they had opened a unique eschatological window.¹⁰⁷

There is the issue of whether earthly Jerusalem signifies an ‘eschatological state’ or an ‘apocalyptic state’—an issue depending on how one defines these categories.¹⁰⁸ Eschatological state designates the notion of a realized Apocalypse, a heaven on earth, an outstanding connection with the celestial realm. Augustine understood the Church as such; this likewise pertains to the monastery. It is plausible that monastic authors fused this concept with the earthly city—they did so with other ideas including *imitatio Christi* and *contemplatio*.¹⁰⁹ Did the earthly city offer lay people what the monastery offered to monks? Did it provide lay people with the possibility of a monastic life (if only temporarily)? The rendering of crusading as a quasi-monastic activity suggests so. Bernard’s *De laude novae militiae* formulated the same idea for the Templars.¹¹⁰ The realized Apocalypse implies a process of adaptation after the First Crusade: whereas at first one meant to see the (final) Apocalypse, one then

civitate Dei (XIII), 350–351; Peter of Blois, *Passio Raginaldi*, 48; Ms. Paris, Arsenal 543, fols. 243^r–244^v.

106 See Rubenstein, *Dream*, 215.

107 A sermon by Prevostin of Cremona presents the earthly Jerusalem as being in an eschatological state established with Christ’s arrival (Ms. BL Add 18335, fol. 11^r; see also Peter of Blois, *Conquestio*, 94). See the chapter on Jerusalem. However, this does not necessarily mean that this state existed continuously—it may have been inactive due to enemy occupation. Prevostin’s sermon also expresses the belief that the conquest of 1187 indicated the fall of the heavenly city (see also Peter of Blois, *Sermo* 39, 677; Gerald of Wales, *Expugnatio Hibernica*, 369–372).

108 For the two concepts, see Landes, *Heaven*, 18–20; Palmer, *Apocalypse*, 10; Lobrichon, “Ends,” 26–27.

109 See Marx, “City of God,” 95; Gaposchkin, *Weapons*, 34–35; Purkis, *Spirituality*, 12–58, 118. On the realized Apocalypse, see Congar, “Eglise,” 175–178; Schein, *Gateway*, 128–130, 190–191.

110 See Riley-Smith, *First Crusade*, 84, 150–152; Jessalynn L. Bird, “Rogations, Litanies, and Crusade Preaching: The Liturgical Front in the Late Twelfth and Early Thirteenth Centuries,” in: *Papacy, Crusade, and Christian-Muslim Relations*, ed. Bird (Amsterdam 2018), 189–191. On Bernard, see Skottki, “Number,” 248–251; Peter Raedts, “St. Bernard of Clairvaux and

came to the conclusion that the expedition had created an eschatological state, a spatially manifested possibility of gaining salvation.

The second possibility is that the city represented an 'apocalyptic state,' a literal reading of the prophecies: the Apocalypse began in 1099 and lasted from then on. This would mean that it happened in Jerusalem, whereas the West—the terrestrial exile of Christendom—was still dwelling in normal time. Such was certainly a possibility in the contemporary system of thought, though difficult to determine. Such a hypothesis is corroborated by the fact that all the prophecies agree on Jerusalem as the Apocalypse's venue. It is also plausible that late 12th-century observers believed it had been ongoing for almost a century: the notion of a single event is modern. Two factors demonstrate that it would be a protracted process: on the one hand, the idea that human and divine counting do not concur. What God does on one day may be a thousand years for humans, therefore numbers provided by prophecies were not binding. On the other, several prophecies make the multistaged process explicit, sometimes naming longer time spans, for example, Rev. 11:2 speaks of a three-and-a-half-year pagan occupation of Jerusalem, or Dan. 9:24 drafts a 70-year penitential period within the eschatological scenario.¹¹¹ It is thus possible that the Apocalypse was believed to have been ongoing since 1099. This raises the question of how the eschatological scenario had developed since then. Or did it fail to develop?—the next section is devoted to this question. That the earthly city represented such a state became apparent in Cecilia Gaposchkin's study of the liturgy of Latin Jerusalem, which positioned the city close to its heavenly counterpart or even equated the two. Liturgical texts even proclaimed that the gates of heaven stood open.¹¹² The liturgy, therefore, perpetuated throughout the 12th century the understanding that one stood here on the threshold to heaven. This impression must have been even stronger for a visitor from the West when participating in local liturgical actions.¹¹³

Finally, the specific paradigms inherent in such a state require discussion, including the question of how these were differing from the 'normal state' in Europe. First, it was due to this state that every Christian had the opportu-

Jerusalem," in: *Prophecy and Eschatology*, ed. Michael J. Wilks (Oxford 1994), 181. However, as Raedts and Skottki argue, the Templars were exemplary for all lay people.

111 Consider also Joachim's calculation of the eschatological scenario stretching from 1200 to 1260 (Joachim of Fiore, *Expositio*, fols. 5^r–6^r, 131^v; Ralph of Coggeshall, *Chronicon*, 68; see Flori, *L'islam*, 323; Whalen, *Dominion*, 170–175; see also Tamminen, *Crusader*, 79–80).

112 See Gaposchkin, *Weapons*, 137, 154–155, 267, 280–281.

113 There may have been a divergence in perception: it seems plausible that inhabitants understood the liturgy in eschatological terms, whereas visitors from the West perceived it as apocalyptic.

ity for martyrdom, an extraordinary grace usually only granted to a few elect, so colored through the early Christian narratives on the Roman persecution.¹¹⁴ This was the condition in the West (consider, for example, Thomas Becket). Yet, on crusade, everybody was suddenly entitled to become a martyr, disregarding the former way of life, because the Holy Land being that close to heaven offered this easy way to step over. Second, the activity of crusading safeguarded a favorable verdict at the Last Judgment. It was thus deeply eschatological, even if one did not believe in an imminent Judgment. Yet, this was suddenly imminent as soon as one believed one's own death was close, a threat omnipresent on crusade. With his death, the individual entered into a timeless period, jumping forward to the Judgment.¹¹⁵ Safeguarding a place happened via the crusade's remission of sin, which, however, was only effective if there was not any further occasion for sinning, that is, if martyrdom or the Apocalypse occurred.¹¹⁶ Some also took it literally by either marking a spot in the Valley of Josaphat, the Judgment's venue, or choosing the same as their burial place.¹¹⁷ Crusading thus offered an insurance as it was only available in the Holy Land for the bulk of Christian society. Third, as discussed, the earthly city between 1099 and 1187 represented at least a realized eschatology tantamount to the monastery: in agreement with the providential coloring of actual landscapes, it made it possible to approach God and heaven in a way that was impossible elsewhere. This expressed itself, for example, in transmitting the monastic idea of *contemplatio*. Such made the earthly city attractive even for monks despite the concerns and prohibitions of authorities. Fourth, it seems that the mere presence of Christians in the Holy Land contributed to salvation history's progress. This likely adhered to the fulfillment of a quantity, equivalent to completing the num-

114 See Candida R. Moss, *The Other Christs: Imitating Jesus in Ancient Christian Ideologies of Martyrdom* (Oxford 2010).

115 See Palmer, *Apocalypse*, 228; Christoph Auffarth, *Irdische Wege und himmlischer Lohn: Kreuzzug, Jerusalem und Fegefeuer in religionswissenschaftlicher Perspektive* (Göttingen 2002), 157. On the distinction of collective and individual Apocalypse, see Buc, *Holy War*, 152–176; Loblrichon, “Ends,” 31–32.

116 The abbot of Casa-Maria betrays this outlook regarding the Second Crusade's participants: “Denique confessi sunt nobis qui redibant, quod vidissent multos ibi morientes, qui libenter se mori dicebant, neque velle reverti, ne amplius in peccatis reciderent.” (John of Casa-Maria, *Epistola*, 590; see Cole, *Preaching*, 56–57.) During the Fourth Crusade, participants voiced concerns that sins committed in the preparation period or during the crusade (that is, after the remission was granted) may jeopardize the enterprise (see Tamminen, *Crusader*, 163–166).

117 See Schein, *Gateway*, 145; Paul, *Footsteps*, 76; Ora Limor, “Placing an Idea: The Valley of Jehoshaphat in Religious Imagination,” in: *Between Jerusalem and Europe*, ed. Renana Bartal and Bianca Kühnel (Leiden 2015), 288–290, 293–300.

ber of martyrs, an achievement that would initiate the Apocalypse (see Rev. 6:10–11). However, such progress necessitated that they were virtuous. With the Second Crusade, as we will see in the next section, God revealed that this was not the case. It thus seems that the eschatological state required perpetual and performative renewal—as done in the liturgy of Latin Jerusalem. This raises the intriguing question of what providential developments may have occurred between 1099 and 1187 as well as what shifts the year 1187 heralded.

5 The Narrative of Salvation History, Vantage Point Post-1187: Nodes, Plot Twists, and Accumulative Expectations

It is well known that later generations still considered the First Crusade a providential watershed, but scholars have hardly discussed the question of how the vantage point changed the providential narrative. For example, how did one look on the first expedition at the time of the Second Crusade? The basis for this examination is provided by the narrative of salvation history consisting of the following key elements: Fall of Mankind / Ten Commandments / Old Covenant / Christ / New Covenant / Apocalypse. All these events form nodes or plot twists that initiate paradigm shifts. The First Crusade was one such node located between New Covenant and Apocalypse (with a clear tendency to the latter).¹¹⁸ Yet, this basic model occasionally required adaptation: authors inserted new elements, dependent on different prophecies and changing historical circumstances, for example, Jerusalem's earlier conquests (such as that by Titus and Vespasian) or the emergence of Islam in the 7th century.¹¹⁹ It is possible that the anticipated salvation history materialized in events; and this requires a reflection on the concepts of 'node' and 'plot twist.' Christ's Passion, for example, represented a node, that is, a watershed essential for the entire dramaturgy, pointing beyond itself in meaning and impact. A node is the *a posteriori* interpretation of an event that acquired meaning in the metanarrative with hindsight.¹²⁰ A plot twist, on the other hand, indicates an *a priori* notion

118 The concept of providential nodes has been developed in: Buc, *Holy War*, 278–284. See also on typological causalities in salvation history: Buc, *Guerre Sainte*, 25–26, 32–33, 41–42.

119 Augustine defined Jerusalem's conquests as providential watersheds, each initiating a new age in his model of six ages of the world (see Rubenstein, *Dream*, 25, 28; see also Markus, *Saeculum*, 17–18).

120 See Buc, *Holy War*, 278–279. See also Sizgorich, *Violence*, 48–49, 67–69; Alexander Marx, Gerd Micheluzzi, and Kristina Kogler, "Narrare: Reflexionen über die Anwendung von Erzähltheorie auf das Mittelalter," in *Narrare—producere—ordinare* (Vienna 2021), 24–26.

about an event that then occurred in an unexpected way: both the Second Crusade's failure and the events of 1187 represented such. They challenged pope, preachers, and exegetes as to classifying them in providential terms, that is, finding their appropriate place within the providential narrative.

The Christian system of thought is characterized by the peculiar simultaneousness of terrestrial and celestial world, a phenomenon that enables the establishment of points of contact, while the two are fundamentally separate until the Apocalypse. Therefore, the teleological narrative of salvation is terrestrial in nature: God structures it with the help of signs and prophecies, providing guidance back to the heavenly world.¹²¹ Only in the End of Days would the demarcations break down: as Isaiah and Revelation put it, heaven would be 'rolled up,' and the two worlds would openly face one another.¹²² The closer the End, the more these demarcations break down, the more elements from the other world troop into this world, the more the concept of temporality dissolves—as the idea of Jerusalem as an eschatological state demonstrates. Beyond the narrative's basic nodes, one may assert six further nodes or plot twists; this stems from general tendencies extracted from contemporary sources, in particular the Third Crusade's corpus:

- (a) Jerusalem's conquest by Titus and Vespasian (A.D. 70) was often classified as a node that had expressed God's will concerning the rejection of the Jews. The event was a visible manifestation of what had changed in the shift from Old to New Covenant. The significant fact of being a (pagan) conquest of Jerusalem thus delivered a model for similar events.¹²³
- (b) The emergence of Islam represented a plot twist; it surprised Christian observers, who started wondering how it fitted into the narrative of salvation. As Jean Flori's epoch-bridging book examined, this question troubled Christianity throughout the centuries.¹²⁴ It was a common approach to consider Islam as the eschatological enemy; following this lore,

121 Peter takes it to extremes via Amos 3:7: regarding 1187, he asserts that God does not let anything happen without having revealed it beforehand to the prophets—a radical departure from Augustinian agnosticism (Peter of Blois, *Sermo 39*, 677–678); see the chapter on Jerusalem.

122 Is. 34:4; Rev. 6:14. Isaiah says: *complicabuntur sicut liber caeli*. And Revelation: *caelum recedit sicut liber involutus*. See also Henry of Albano, *De peregrinante civitate Dei* (1), 261; with regard to the close Second Coming, he proclaims that faith will turn into sight (*fides transit in speciem*), that is, spiritual into physical.

123 Yet, authors often understand the two emperors as God's avengers; see the chapter on Jerusalem. See also Buc, *Holy War*, 21–22, 76–77, 264; Glaser, "Scheitern," 140–142.

124 Flori, *L'Islam*, esp. 116–121, 320–325; see also Lobrichon, *Jérusalem*, 27–35; Tolan, *Saracens*, 40–57.

the crusades finally fulfilled what God had already intended since its emergence in the 7th century.¹²⁵

- (c) The year 1000 was supposed to be the End itself, so the opinion *a priori*, but the plot twist consisted in the fact that expectations did not deliver. Thus, they were repeatedly postponed and frequently disappointed. Similar to the failure of crusades, the 11th century knew a number of plot twists. As was argued in the previous chapter, these did not hamper the renewal of expectations, quite the contrary; the First Crusade is the best proof of that.¹²⁶ However, eventually the year 1000 was revised so far (or overshadowed by the conquest of 1099), that it does not seem to have played a role anymore in the late 12th century.
- (d) The First Crusade fulfilled what the year 1000 had promised; contemporaries immediately elevated it into a pivotal node, sometimes even comparing it with Christ's crucifixion. This swift establishment of interpretive authority indicates expectations that shaped the expedition itself, and were only the fulfillment of long-lasting desires. The First Crusade was deeply apocalyptic, but, depending on the opinion, either *not quite yet* the End itself or just the first stage in a protracted eschatological scenario.¹²⁷ Be that as it may, it is evident that historical agents after 1099 were called to contribute to the progress of salvation history. One may read the subsequent waves of crusaders as an attempt to achieve exactly that.¹²⁸
- (e) However, then came the plot twist of the Second Crusade: while Bernard of Clairvaux and many others may have believed that the progress had been successful, and therefore God sent a sign to initiate the next step (the loss of Edessa), the expedition's failure suggested the opposite.¹²⁹ The proactive attempts to push the story forward had failed *peccatis nostris exigentibus*. This seems to have agreed with the contemporary under-

125 See, e.g., Henry of Albano, *De peregrinante civitate Dei* (x111), 359, where he sketches the Holy Land's turbulent history, including the Islamic expansion. See the chapter on Jerusalem.

126 On the year 1000, see, e.g., Landes, *Relics*; Flori, *L'islam*, 226–241, 258–260, 266–281.

127 See Lobjichon, *Jérusalem*, 130–133; Buc, *Holy War*, 99, 278–284; Rubenstein, *Armies*, 318–319. On the heightened interest in the Apocalypse in the early 12th century, see also Whalen, *Dominion*, 79–83.

128 On these waves, see Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders, 1095–1131* (Cambridge, UK 1997), 7–22; Christopher J. Tyerman, *God's War: A New History of the Crusades* (Cambridge, Mass. 2006), 261–267.

129 For expressing surprise about its failure: "Nec facile invenies sive in historiis, sive in annalibus, quod ab exordio Christianitatis usque ad tempus istud tanta multitudo populi dei tam subito et tam miserabiliter deperierit, sicut nunc factum est" (*Ex auctario Gemblacensi*, ed. Delisle, 274).

standing that God planned the Apocalypse for the Second Crusade, but he ultimately postponed it.¹³⁰ Progress necessitated that the *militia Christi* was worthy to enter heaven. God pulled the emergency break, signifying that they must engage in moral reform; this refocused attention on internal enemies, yet heretics and false prophets were also eschatological symptoms. God would not push heaven's doors further open until these had been efficiently dealt with.¹³¹

- (f) But then the next plot twist occurred: the events of 1187.¹³² After a long period of seesawing, from which the Christians did not know how to extricate themselves, God put salvation history to the test, so manifested in the losses of the Cross relic and Jerusalem. The relic, vivid embodiment of the Covenant, suggested that their elect status was endangered. Jerusalem suggested that the gates to heaven may close again. Similarly, many authors entwined the conquest with that of the two Roman emperors, usually considered as vengeance on the Jews for the crucifixion. God now exacted vengeance on the Christians; the typological construction thus indicated the same consequences as in A.D. 70, a deprivation of their elect status.¹³³ The meaning of Cross and Jerusalem, especially after 1099, created this critical situation: in the eyes of contemporary observers, 1187 was perhaps the most fateful year that had ever challenged Christendom. Peter of Blois, for example, asserts that their idleness had shattered the stability of the divine plan (*stabilitatem sancti propositi concussissent*).¹³⁴ The Christians now gained a last chance to prove themselves;

130 See Kahl, "Eschatology," 35–47; Buc, "Crusade and Eschatology," 328–338; Rubenstein, *Dream*, 107–122. See also Goetz, "Reformziele," 82–85.

131 See the chapter on the failure of crusades. See also Peter of Blois, *Ep. 98*, 307, where he inverts the meaning of Is. 66:10; the vantage point is 1185; the prophecy had hitherto failed to be fulfilled—in agreement with the discourse after the Second Crusade. See the chapter on Jerusalem.

132 Their nature as a plot-twist is corroborated by the surprise that numerous contemporaries expressed (e.g., Gregory VIII, *Audita tremendi*, ed. Chroust, 6; Henry of Albano, *De peregrinante civitate Dei* (XIII), 355; Roger of Howden, *Gesta*, 2:12; Gerald of Wales, *Expugnatio Hibernica*, 365; Peter of Blois, *Passio Raginaldi*, 36).

133 See, e.g., Martin of León, *Liber sermonum*, *Sermo* 22, 858; Ralph Ardens, *Pars* (1), *Section* (2), *Sermo* 23, 2024; Peter of Blois, *Passio Raginaldi*, 49. One chronicle even equates Jerusalem's loss with the crucifixion (*Continuatio Zwetlensis*, 543; see also Henry of Albano, *Ep. 32*, PL 204:249).

134 Peter of Blois, *Conquestio*, 85–86. See also *Itinerarium peregrinorum*, ed. Mayer, 265, saying that the Muslims proclaimed after Jerusalem's conquest the law that Christ's Passion had already destroyed, the law of the Old Covenant—an unscheduled turning point. See the chapter on Jerusalem.

otherwise, an entire and unplanned reorganization of the divine plan was impending—as had happened in the shift from Judaism to Christianity. Such was the urgent call on the eve of the Third Crusade. After the venture, however, preachers protracted this call, evoking over decades the same threat with the same rhetorical urgency, as the frequent references to Jerusalem and the Cross relic demonstrate.¹³⁵

A modern observer wonders what went wrong with medieval people when they repeatedly believed in the coming End, then reached the conclusion that it had still not arrived, and still did not learn from the experience, but surrendered once again to the apocalyptic turmoil when an occasion presented itself.¹³⁶ From our (European) perspective, this must seem like a collective pathological issue. Therefore, historians who characterized these phenomena in such language may be forgiven, in their attempts to qualify these through the lens of post-Enlightenment rationalism—but this does not do justice to the phenomenon.¹³⁷ Even though keywords such as fanaticism or delusion may apply to eschatological hopes, these people were not insane. What they did concurred with a logic and a specific rationality that may not be ours, but it worked for medieval society.¹³⁸ It was a vicious circle: the End was an omnipresent subject in Latin society since the year 1000. The eschatological corpus of texts (biblical and post-biblical) held such a large variety of elements, making it quite impossible that a Christian eked out existence without encountering, probably multiple times, such elements, for example, heretics or natural phenomena. But why did they not learn from experience? The simple answer is that eschatological hopes operated in an accumulative manner. The narrative of salvation

135 This study discussed some early 13th-century examples, especially: John of Abbeville, *Ad cruce signatos*, ed. Cole, 222–226; Ms. Oxford, Magd. Coll. 168, fols. 70^v–72^r. Several exegetes of the 13th and 14th centuries made the Second and the Third Crusades into further nodes on the way to the Apocalypse. As Buc argues, such nodes developed exactly because the events had been considered apocalyptic in their own time (Buc, *Holy War*, 281–284). Joachim of Fiore's prediction towards Richard Lionheart also remained a vivid story for the rest of the Middle Ages: one piece of the apocalyptic Third Crusade thus had a powerful legacy (see Marjorie Reeves, *The Influence of Prophecy in the Later Middle Ages: A Study in Joachitism* (Oxford 1969), 73–74, 100–101).

136 Landes developed a model for the emergence and abatement of apocalyptic expectations, the *apocalyptic wave*, consisting of *waxing wave*, *breaking wave*, *churning wave*, and *return to normal time* (Landes, *Heaven*, 52–61). This is a useful model, yet at times it requires adaptation according to context.

137 In agreement, see Landes, *Heaven*, 4–6, 63–65, 83–88; Buc, “Crusade and Eschatology,” 306–307; Rubenstein, “Crusade and Apocalypse,” 163–164; Palmer, *Apocalypse*, 18–19.

138 See in general David d'Avray, *Medieval Religious Rationalities: A Weberian Analysis* (Cambridge, UK 2010).

induced the necessary logic that the Apocalypse must draw nearer the more time passed. It was not supposed to take a step backwards. Even if expectations were revised or adapted with hindsight, as soon as interpretive authority had been established, it became quite impossible to erase it completely. Jay Rubenstein argued for the situation's dilemma: if the prophecy delivers, the Apocalypse comes. If it fails, one is confronted with false prophets, yet these are likewise a sign of the imminent End.¹³⁹ It is thus meaningful that this motif is omnipresent in the pertinent corpus of sources.¹⁴⁰ Even if efforts were made to negate or erase eschatological hopes, it is likely that either the dynamic of false prophets unfolded, or that erasing collective experiences remained simply unachievable.

Expectations behaved accumulatively in a twofold manner: diachronically and synchronically. The synchronic dimension tackles the 'symptoms of the End': the simultaneous occurrence of apocalyptic elements triggered expectations. The losses of the Cross and Jerusalem, both holding momentous eschatological meaning, must have appeared as a completion of such symptoms, a point of no return. The accumulation may also have stretched over a period: the First Crusade appears to have been drawn on in this manner. This leads to the diachronic dimension: with 1099, it was obvious that *something* eschatological had happened—what exactly remained a matter of debate and underwent adaptations over the decades. So much had already occurred that was apocalyptic in one way or another that it could now only be a question of a few moments. As the chapter on the failure of crusades examined, failure did not diminish the enthusiasm, but hopes accumulated. Each time a situation occurred that was somehow eschatological, but then proved to be not yet apocalyptic, new building blocks were piled up on the eschatological tower—until, so it was hoped, it would touch heaven itself.¹⁴¹ This was the dynamic of the

139 Rubenstein, "Crusade and Apocalypse," 182; see also Flori, *L'islam*, 288–294; Buc, "Crusade and Eschatology," 330, 336–338; Buc, *Holy War*, 53–54, 85, 170, 190.

140 See, e.g., Baldwin of Canterbury, *De commendatione*, 391, 395, 435–436; Petrus Cantor, *Verbum abbreviatum*, 61, 195; Peter of Blois, *Sermo* 22, 626; *Sermo* 58, 732; *Compendium in Iob*, 800; Garnerius of Clairvaux, *Sermo* 4, 592; Martin of León, *Liber sermonum*, *Sermo* 8, 825; *De diversis*, *Sermo* 4, 98; *Commentary on Rev.* (19.20), 398–399; Alan of Lille, *Distinctiones*, 694, 763, 796, 828, 843, 912; *Contra haereticos* (2.1), 377; and (2.25), 399–400; *Ars praedicandi*, 183; Ms. BL Add 19767, fol. 73^v; Henry of Albano, *De peregrinante civitate Dei* (1), 259; Benedictinus anonymus, *De penitentia*, PL 213:890; Ms. Troyes 1301, fol. 141^r; Ralph Ardens, *Pars* (11), *De tempore*, *Sermo* 18, 1369–1372; *Pars* (1), *Section* (1), *Sermo* 28, 1765–1766; *Pars* (1), *Section* (2), *Sermo* 19, 2010; Caesarius of Heisterbach, *Dialogus* (6.20), 1228; Innocent III, *Quia maior*, 818.

141 This agrees with Landes' idea that protagonists must boost their 'dose' to maintain their apocalyptic inebriation (Landes, *Heaven*, 44, 57–58).

12th century: at its conclusion, after having been caught up deeper and deeper in this vicious circle, God decided to let two events happen in 1187 that could not communicate more clearly that the End was finally imminent.

6 Marching into the End of Days: The Apocalyptic Third Crusade

Numerous elements and sources have been assembled, showing that the End was believed to be impending or had already begun. Three essential arguments demonstrate this: first, there was a vivid apocalyptic mood since the days of the First Crusade, manifesting itself in the earthly Jerusalem as an either eschatological or even apocalyptic state. The providential watershed of 1099 caused a break in the Latin West's perception: whereas its exact nature may remain hidden from the modern observer, existing largely as a subtext and being subject to change, it is evident that the West believed it was living in the shadow of the Apocalypse. Second, certain disappointments seem to have occurred, especially after the Second Crusade, because the Christians failed to move the eschatological scenario forward. However, the events of 1187 delivered an apocalyptic antithesis: the two objects, the Cross and the holy city, comprised momentous providential meaning, therefore their God-willed loss could only be perceived as apocalyptic. Authors read Jerusalem's conquest as the fulfillment of prophecy, which was per se always apocalyptic. Third, the omnipresent entanglement of earthly and heavenly city delivers a persuasive argument: the gates to heaven stood open.

The border between heaven and earth thus crumbled; Christ assembled his soldiers for the final battle, aiming for the eradication of all unbelievers, in agreement with the vision of Rev. 19, whose imagery and ideas are present in many texts. As the chapter on the Cross relic discussed, the crusaders appear as *vexilliferi crucis* (Henry of Albano) and *aquilae* (Ralph Ardens), who follow their Savior into battle.¹⁴² The term *aquilae* entwines the idea of a cross-bearer with the image of a bird, in accordance with Rev. 19, where the birds (here *aves*) feed on the flesh of the unbelievers.¹⁴³ Numerous sermon texts portray Christ as a warlord and standard-bearer: for example, Peter of Blois speaks of the leader and lord of the cross banner whom they shall follow into battle

142 Henry of Albano, *De peregrinante civitate Dei* (xiii), 357, 360; Ralph Ardens, *Pars (II), De tempore, Sermo 19*, 1373; see also Henry of Albano, *Ep. 31*, 247, 249; Jacques de Vitry, *Sermo 2*, ed. Maier, 106; Guillaume le Breton, *Philippidos*, ed. Delaborde, 66; Odo of Chatcauroux, *Sermo 2*, ed. Maier, 146.

143 Bede had already identified the birds as the saints (see Buc, *Holy War*, 88).

(*sequamur ducem ac principem hujus vexilli*). Ralph Ardens assures his audience that Christ will precede them to the Last Judgment with the cross banner (*praecedet enim vexillum sanctae crucis*), just as Hélinand of Froidmont deemed him *signifer noster* and *antesignanus noster*, who marches ahead of them (*ante eas vadit*). Martin of León reminded his audience that Christ has led his soldiers onto the battlefield (*dux noster Jesus Christus secum milites ad praelium duxit*), likely referring to the First Crusade.¹⁴⁴ The Third Crusade's preachers suggested to their audiences that the cross on their clothes was an apocalyptic sign that marked them out as Christ's soldiers, ready to march into the last of all battles.

The outstanding treatises penned by Henry of Albano and Peter of Blois are valuable sources for the expedition's apocalyptic outlook. These present the Apocalypse in its unadulterated grimness: Peter designates Saladin as the Antichrist (without specifying that he is not the final Antichrist).¹⁴⁵ The Muslims appear throughout as eschatological enemies; one passage equates them with the Whore of Babylon, upon whom the crusaders must now exact vengeance, a bold apocalyptic motif.¹⁴⁶ Another passage asks rhetorically whether the audience cannot hear the thundering trumpets, another motif colored by Revelation.¹⁴⁷ Henry of Albano agrees in classifying Saladin and the Muslims as irreconcilable enemies and servants of the Antichrist.¹⁴⁸ His crusade treatise starts with the assertion that the gates connecting earthly and heavenly Jerusalem stand open, because Old Testament prophecies have been fulfilled (in the First Crusade).¹⁴⁹ In his ultimate vision of the End, he calls the audience to consider the impending day of salvation (2 Cor. 6:2): Christ has come now to

144 Peter of Blois, *Passio Raginaldi*, 50–51; Ralph Ardens, *Pars (11), De tempore, Sermo 19*, 1374; Hélinand of Froidmont, *Sermo 8*, 546–547; Martin of León, *De diversis, Sermo 11*, 144; see also Ansbert, *Historia*, ed. Chroust, 14; Baldwin of Canterbury, *Sermo 8*, 127; Henry of Albano, *Ep. 32*, PL 204:249. Several texts refer to the *virga* with which Christ would annihilate the unbelievers according to Rev. 19 (e.g., Peter of Blois, *Contra Iudeos*, 838; *Passio Raginaldi*, 56; *Sermo 39*, 678; Garnerius of Clairvaux, *Sermo 3*, 590; Henry of Albano, *De peregrinante civitate Dei* (IX), 324; (XIII), 355; *Itinerarium peregrinorum*, ed. Mayer, 247).

145 See Peter of Blois, *Passio Raginaldi*, 40, 57; discussed by Marx, "Passio Raginaldi," 221.

146 Peter of Blois, *Passio Raginaldi*, 54–55; see also Peter of Blois, *Conquestio*, 79; John of Abbeville, *Ad cruce signatos*, ed. Cole, 223; Martin of León, *Commentary on Rev. (2.5)*, 310; Ralph Ardens, *Pars (1), Section (2), Sermo 38*, 2075; Baldwin of Canterbury, *Sermo 3*, 57.

147 Peter of Blois, *Passio Raginaldi*, 68; see also Ralph Ardens, *Pars (1), Section (1), Sermo 32*, 1780–1781; Sicard of Cremona, *De officiis*, 214. The reference stems from Rev. 8–10. See Marx, "Passio Raginaldi," 219–224.

148 See esp. the imagined speech of the devil in: Henry of Albano, *De peregrinante civitate Dei* (XIII), 359–360 and Ms. Troyes 509, fols. 154^v–155^r.

149 Henry of Albano, *De peregrinante civitate Dei* (XIII), 350–351 and Ms. Troyes 509, fol. 150^r–^v.

hold judgment (i.e., *probet Dominus, qui sint ejus; qui sint ei fideles, qui perfidi*), and, in agreement with Rev. 19, they shall follow their king into the last battle (*fideles siquidem milites suum regem sequentur*).¹⁵⁰ However, Henry pushes his luck further: through a rhetorical question he formulates that it seems as if Christ had already come again, but, contrary to the plan, to be crucified again (*nunquid non in his [diebus] videtur venisse Christus iterum crucifigi?*). In the subsequent sentence, he answers his own question (*venit plane denuo crucifigendus ab ethnicis*). Christ has already come a second time, formulated in the perfect tense—they live in the End of Days.¹⁵¹

Similarly, right at its outset, *Audita tremendi* draws attention to the terrible judgment. Many other contemporaries followed the pope in classifying the events as an *iudicium Dei*, a plain reference to the Last Judgment.¹⁵² This includes Henry when addressing the German nobility: he evokes the apocalyptic vision of Mt. 27, including the resurrection of the dead (*terra tremuit, sol expavit, petrae scissae sunt, et aperta credimus monumenta*).¹⁵³ Richard Lionheart, in the shadow of Jerusalem, writes to Garnerius of Clairvaux that the earth trembled (*contremuit terra*), confidently marching towards the Judgment.¹⁵⁴ Several preachers formulate an apocalyptic vision of violence that seems to supersede all humanism when declaring its goal as the genocidal eradication of all unbelievers.¹⁵⁵ Contextualized within the providential narrative, it seems that contemporaries believed that the End had started in 1099 and

150 Henry of Albano, *De peregrinante civitate Dei* (XIII), 355 and Ms. Troyes 509, fol. 152^v. Note that *probet Dominus* is present tense subjunctive.

151 Henry of Albano, *De peregrinante civitate Dei* (XIII), 354 and Ms. Troyes 509, fol. 152^r.

152 Gregory VIII, *Audita tremendi*, ed. Chroust, 6; see also Gerald of Wales, *Expugnatio Hibernica*, 365; Peter of Blois, *Passio Raginaldi*, 36; *Ep.87*, 274; Arnold of Lübeck, *Chronica*, 164; Ralph Ardens, *Pars (II), De sanctis, Sermo 8*, 1519; Gunther of Pairis, *Hystoria*, ed. Orth, 135; Lucius III, *Ep.182*, 1313.

153 Henry of Albano, *Ep.32*, ed. Chroust, 11; see also *De peregrinante civitate Dei* (XIII), 354; Geoffrey of Auxerre, *Sermo 3*, ed. Gastaldelli, 80; *Sermo 8*, ed. Gastaldelli, 123; *Sermo 20*, ed. Gastaldelli, 240; Peter of Blois, *Conquestio*, 83; Hélinand of Froidmont, *Sermo 10*, 564.

154 Cited in Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, 3:130.

155 See, e.g., Peter of Blois, *Passio Raginaldi*, 33, 70; *Conquestio*, 78; Henry of Albano, *De peregrinante civitate Dei* (XIII), 355, 359; Ms. BL Add 24145, fol. 77^v; Baldwin of Canterbury, *Sermo 8*, 127; Alan of Lille, *Contra haereticos* (2.23), 399; Martin of León, *De diversis, Sermo 11*, 150; Roger of Howden, *Gesta*, 2:152 (Joachim of Fiore's sermon); Lucius III, *Ep.12*, 1085. On the Second Crusade, see Bernard of Clairvaux, *Ep.457*, 890; Odo of Deuil, *De projectione*, ed. Berry, 70–71. On Bernard, see Kahl, "Auszu-jäten," 637, 649; Skottki, "Number," 258–261. See also Skottki, "Vom 'Schrecken Gottes' zur Bluttauf. Gewalt und Visionen auf dem Ersten Kreuzzug nach dem Zeugnis des Raimund d'Aguilers," in: *Gewaltverfahung und Prophetie*, ed. Peter Buschel and Christoph Marx (Vienna 2013), 477–478.

now, with 1187, the Judgment itself, the conclusion of the eschatological scenario, had arrived—yet, depending on their reaction, the verdict may not fall in their favor.

Lastly, the beginning of the chapter outlined four approaches to help substantiate the hypothesis that a sermon text not only speaks about eschatological elements in an undetermined future, but displays imminent expectations. First, the sermon texts connect eschatological themes and biblical references explicitly with the events of 1187, for example, by using several Old Testament prophecies to describe them (such as Ezekiel or Isaiah). They thus propose a literal reading that merges the historical events with the Apocalypse. It is similarly expressive when they replace a prophecy's future tense with the present or perfect tense, as has been visible in several cases: one believes the prophecy fulfilled.¹⁵⁶ Second, the eschatological portrayal of groups, both the audience and inimical groups, is a persistent pattern throughout the texts; one discards ethnic or social identities. Using such methods, the sermons prepare their audiences for their role as eschatological executors, ready to meet the enemy in the Holy Land.¹⁵⁷ Third, we have seen on several occasions that the eschatological vision is presented as a vivid and imminent matter. Calls to abstain from sin and to prepare for the Judgment suggest great urgency; they fuel fear and panic, but also violence and zest for action. Even if this was sometimes a rhetorical device, one may suppose that this had an impact on audiences. Fourth, we have encountered several passages plainly formulating that something apocalyptic is happening already, for example, when Henry of Albano asserts that the Second Coming has already taken place. Properly analysing and decoding eschatological elements makes it clear that preachers conceived of the Third Crusade in deeply apocalyptic terms, while presenting this vision to broad audiences. This is remarkable considering the disappointments and adaptations that likely followed the expedition; it is significant that we even find these elements manifested in text: we may read these as the tip of the iceberg, a prevailing apocalyptic mood. On the eve of the venture, there seems to have been no doubt: building on the precedent of the First Crusade, one believed the final battle to have come and departed full of devotion on the path that would lead right unto the heavenly Jerusalem.

156 See, e.g., Peter of Blois, *Passio Raginaldi*, 49; *Conquestio*, 85–86; Ms. BNF lat. 14859, fol. 215^v; Ms. BNF lat. 2954, fol. 159^v; Ms. Dijon 219, fols. 87^v–88^r; Ms. BL Add 19767, fol. 75^r. See also Marx, “City of God,” 104–105.

157 See Marx, “Passio Raginaldi,” 219–222.

PART 4
Contexts (II)

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Media Context: The Material Evidence as an Archaeological Artefact

Whereas the previous chapters examined the sermon texts in terms of contents, the analysis returns now, in agreement with a discourse analysis, to the investigation of context. The media context was an essential dimension for Michel Foucault: it considers the mediality of sources with critical lenses, instead of simply using them to confirm a preconceived past. As a result, this chapter examines the manuscripts in which the relevant sermons appear. In agreement with Foucault, these are considered as archaeological artefacts: they are physical testimonies of the past; their texts existed through this media context in a specific historical context, where they likely had an impact.¹ One may suppose that specific interests facilitated their production, since the penning of texts was a laborious task in the medieval period, which required certain preconditions. The analysis thus addresses the following questions: What does the text look like as physical evidence? Which paratextual framings does it offer?² What devices for guiding orientation and use does the codex contain? How do parameters such as format, font size, or the state of survival present themselves? Which other texts or genres are present in the manuscript? In which different manuscripts does the same sermon text survive? How do different media contexts transform the purpose and meaning of the same text? Which institutional conditions may one assert concerning both composition and transmission of the surviving codices?³

1 See Richard Hunter Rouse and Mary A. Rouse, "Introduction," in: *Authentic Witnesses* (Notre Dame, Ind. 1991), 1–4; David d'Avray, *The Preaching of the Friars: Sermons Diffused from Paris before 1300* (Oxford 1985), 57–60; Giles Constable, *The Reformation of the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, UK 1996), 216. On liturgical manuscripts, see Cecilia Gaposchkin, *Invisible Weapons: Liturgy and the Making of Crusade Ideology* (Ithaca, NY 2017); Gaposchkin, "The Echoes of Victory: Liturgical and Paraliturgical Commemorations of the Capture of Jerusalem in the West," *Journal of Medieval History* 40/3 (2014), 237–259.

2 See Mary A. Rouse, "Statim invenire": Schools, Preachers, and New Attitudes to the Page," in: *Authentic Witnesses* (Notre Dame, Ind. 1991), 192–197. On the concept of paratext, see Seraina Plotke, *Die Stimme des Erzählens: Mittelalterliche Buchkultur und moderne Narratologie* (Göttingen 2017), 63–65.

3 On the challenges of institutional attribution, see, e.g., Christoph Egger, "Die Suche nach dem archimedischen Punkt. Methodische Probleme der Erforschung von Skriptorien und

The media analysis shall demonstrate one crucial dimension: that these sources were vivid texts derived from preaching practice, which were intended to coalesce with preaching practice once more. These codices thus stand in opposition to another type of medieval manuscript: miscellanies, large-sized codices, and luxurious specimens, which indicate purposes of representation, collection, and preservation.⁴ Moving beyond a generic argument that sees a self-evident connection with practice in the penning of sermons, this chapter will show how such a connection can be established through the evidence. The following analysis considers only some significant examples from the pertinent corpus, whereas the manuscripts were always considered in the service of a holistic examination (see the section on methodology; the section on manuscripts in the bibliography; and table 2).⁵ The point of departure is thus always the specific sermon text whose crusade nature has been unearthed in the previous chapters, whereas this chapter locates it now in its media context. Texts of the 12th century often only survived as copies and not as originals or autographs—even though some examples seem to be originals or to bring us close to such. One can distinguish, on the one hand, a copy that does not care about preserving the original appearance, partly including new texts and hence producing typical miscellanies meant for preservation. On the other hand, there are codices that copied an original faithfully, keeping the original composition, that is, media context—perhaps because the replica still served a practical purpose.⁶

Buchproduktion im 12. Jahrhundert am Beispiel von Admont,” in: *Scriptorium*, ed. Andreas Nievergelt and Rudolf Gamper (Munich 2015), 375–390.

4 See, e.g., Erik Kwakkel and Rodney Thomson, “Codicology,” in: *The European Book in the Twelfth Century*, ed. Kwakkel and Thomson (Cambridge, UK 2018), 11–14; Constant J. Mews, “Scholars and Their Books,” in: *The European Book in the Twelfth Century*, ed. Kwakkel and Thomson, 87–88.

5 The examples chosen depend of course on transmission. Some works survived only in a few or later copies such as Henry of Albano’s treatise (Ms. Troyes 509, fols. 93^v–177^v)—even though it is highly pertinent in terms of contents.

6 The observations discussed in this chapter stem from two sources: on the one hand, data provided by library catalogues and other publications (specific publications are cited in the notes; for the digital library catalogues, see the bibliography); on the other, my own observations when handling the codices, which sometimes modified existing data. There may remain potential for refinement, a task that I leave to those scholars with more profound expertise in codicology and paleography.

1 From Canterbury to Paris

The chapter on Jerusalem examined Peter of Blois' *Sermo 39* ascribed to the feast of the Archangel Michael, which explicitly broaches the events of 1187 and the First Crusade, developing a bold eschatological reading dependent upon the entanglement of earthly and heavenly Jerusalem. This sermon survived in three copies, which betray three different media contexts: this finding suggests that it was a vivid text intertwined with preaching practice. It was put to use on different occasions, thus resulting in divergent media contexts. The sermon's title is identical in all three copies: "In festo sancti michaelis." This indicates a certain stability of the text's purpose. The feast adheres to an eschatological dimension, which the sermon fuses with the historical events of 1187—but the text's setting varies:⁷

Ms. BL Royal 8 F XVII is a collection of Peter's works including the *Conquestio* (fol. 83^v, part of his letter collection) and his sermon collection, including *Sermo 39* (fol. 158^v).⁸ This is obviously a clean copy aiming primarily at preservation, whereas it does not betray entanglement with preaching practice (format: c.20 × 25 cm, 176 fols.).⁹ It comes from the monastery of Lesnes in London (see fol. 1^r), a house established in 1178, in honor of Thomas Becket; this reveals a connection with Canterbury (on this codex, see also below regarding the *Conquestio*).

Ms. BL Arundel 322 presents a different case: here *Sermo 39* is likewise part of Peter's sermon collection (fol. 77^r). However, the setting as well as the manuscript's composition are fundamentally different.¹⁰ The codex consists only of the collection, complemented by an unidentified text at the end of the codex (fol. 78^v, same hand). The library catalogue characterizes it as *distinctiones*, that is, a preaching aid meant for preparing the delivery of a sermon.¹¹

7 On the feast of the Archangel Michael and its eschatological dimension, see Nicole Bériou, *Religion et communication: un autre regard sur la prédication au Moyen Age* (Paris 2018), 417–433.

8 The codex also contains the examined texts of *Sermo 17* (fol. 129^v); 19 (fol. 132^v); 32 (fol. 147^v); and 52 (fol. 169^v).

9 Yet, the codex seems to have been a vivid artefact; glosses frequently accompany Peter's letters, partly contemporary, partly later (e.g., fols. 19^r; 53^v).

10 The codex also contains *Sermo 17* (fol. 28^r); 19 (fol. 31^v); 32 (fol. 63^v); and 52 (fol. 54^r).

11 'British Library: Catalogue Archives and Manuscripts'; see the bibliography. On the nature of *Distinctiones*, see Rouse, "Statim invenire," 206; Emmanuelle Kuhry, "Dictionnaires, distinctions, recueils de propriétés en milieu cistercien: outils pour la prédication, sources pour l'étude de la nature," in: *Les Cisterciens et la transmission des textes (XII^e–XVIII^e siècles)*, ed. Anne-Marie Turcan-Verkerk and Dominique Stutzmann (Turnhout 2018), 289–293.

Sermo 39 is the final text of the collection, and it ends abruptly halfway through (while still containing all the significant arguments, as discussed in the chapter on Jerusalem). Already a quick peek at the *distinctiones* shows parallels with *Sermo 39*: in both, the Temple features prominently; the *distinctiones* provide further material, allowing the recipient to expand on the motif when preaching.¹² The codex's shape corroborates a practical purpose: it has a handy size (c.12 × 18 cm, 124 fols.) with an unsteady script (instead of a clean copy meant for preservation). However, the generous font size makes it possible that such a book was even flipped open in front of the preacher while delivering a sermon.¹³

Ms. Paris, Sainte-Geneviève 2787, a hitherto unnoticed testimony of Peter's sermons, also reveals significant entanglement with preaching practice; yet, the sermon's setting (fol. 181^r) as well as the institutional context deviate significantly from the other two copies. This is a typical polygraphic collection of the Parisian milieu, comprising 155 sermons of several masters and Victorines. Peter of Blois occurs most frequently with 28 identified sermons, succeeded by Alan of Lille (22 pieces), whereas others follow with around ten texts (for example, Peter Comestor, Maurice of Sully, or Walter of Saint-Victor).¹⁴ An attribution to Peter is missing; the codex may even have been his editorial work, possibly in cooperation with Alan—or he included so many of his colleague's sermons because he held him in high esteem. Notably, the sermons of the two often appear in an alternating pattern: in several cases, there are sermons by both on the same feast—as if the intention was to compare the preaching of the two masters. Most of the texts in this codex are presented in anonymous form, a fact demonstrating that the material's practical usefulness was key, rather than preserving the works of a particular author (like in the copy from Lesnes).¹⁵ The physical appearance corroborates this argument: once more a handy size

12 Moreover, a quotation of Job 9:24 follows (fol. 79^r) aligned with the *ecclesia militans*; this reference is also present in the *Sermo 39* as well as in many other Third Crusade texts; see the chapter on the failure of crusades.

13 Furthermore, this manuscript contains many notes on audiences (more than in the PL), in particular *ad claustrales*. These notes may record the material's past use, whereas such notes are generally absent in Ms. BL Royal 8 F XVII, a codex meant for preservation (only two cases).

14 Likewise included are Peter's *Sermo 17* (fol. 145^v); *19* (fol. 158^r); and *52* (fol. 189^v). On the manuscript, see also Marie-Thérèse d'Alverny, *Alain de Lille: textes inédits* (Paris 1965), 122–123; Stephen A. Barney, "Introduction," in: *Petri Cantoris distinctiones Abel*, CCCM 288 (Turnhout 2020), 220–222.

15 See Nicole Bériou, *L'avènement des maîtres de la Parole: la prédication à Paris au XIII^e siècle* (Paris 1998), 1:91.

(c.14×19 cm, 225 fols.), including an unsteady script. Yet, the font size is quite small, therefore this copy could not have served as a direct model while preaching.

Furthermore, the Paris manuscript offers some aids to usability, once again evidence of its practical nature, in particular a complete table of contents at the collection's outset (entitled: *hic sunt capitula sermonum*), including a numbering of the sermons, and organization according to the liturgical calendar (fol. 122^v). Title and number are repeated at the sermons themselves (in the form of a gloss), thus allowing a user to quickly find the texts listed in the contents. Appearance and composition suggest that these texts are *reportationes* penned by either an unknown scribe or Peter himself.¹⁶ Since the text of *Sermo 39* is broadly identical with the other two copies (the same is true for other sermons), this substantiates the argument put forward by Nicole Bériou and Louis-Jacques Bataillon for the 13th century: there are astonishingly few deviations between model text and *reportatio*, that is, between template and actual preaching.¹⁷ Moreover, the codex combines the sermon collection with Peter the Chanter's *Distinctiones*, another significant indication of its practical nature. The Chanter's work offers, for example, material for expanding on the motif of Jerusalem, and the chapter on Jerusalem discussed the fact that Peter of Blois used exactly this entry in one of his sermons (*Sermo 52*), which is also found in this codex (fol. 189^v).¹⁸ This manuscript is vivid testimony for Paris as a place of extensive preaching activities, and this already before the advent of the friars (none of the authors dates after 1200). It also shows that master Peter of Blois remained involved in this dynamic milieu despite being no longer a resident in the city.

The media contexts of Peter's *Sermo 39* demonstrate that this text is entangled with preaching practice in two of three cases, a dimension visible thanks to different parameters such as the expressive combination with *distinctiones*.

16 The codex often offers several sermons on the same feast; this may record sermons preached consecutively on the same day. On identifying *reportationes*, see Bériou, *L'Avènement*, 1:92–97.

17 Bériou, *L'Avènement*, 1:108; Louis-Jacques Bataillon, "Approaches to the Study of Medieval Sermons," in: *La prédication au XIII^e siècle en France et Italie* (Aldershot 1993), 21–22; Bataillon, "Sermons rédigés, sermons réportés (XIII^e siècle)," in: *La prédication au XIII^e siècle*, 75–77.

18 For the entry on Jerusalem, see Ms. BL Royal 10 A XVI, fol. 82^{r-v} and Ms. BNF lat. 10633, fols. 95^v–96^r as well as Petrus Cantor, *Distinctiones*, 529–534. Sermon collection and *Distinctiones* are penned in two distinct hands. However, harmonizing so well in terms of contents, the two parts seem to reflect an original composition, in which the collection has been replaced with a slightly later copy, likely due to avid use.

However, the two cases stem from different institutional settings: the London manuscript seems related to Peter's office in Canterbury (just like the copy from Lesnes), whereas the Parisian example indicates his involvement in the same city. The first fulfills the purpose of a model sermon collection, while the latter is even more strongly entangled with practice, likely holding *reportationes*. Both need to be placed in the historical context after 1187, since *Sermo 39* explicitly refers to this year's events. The testimony of Ms. Sainte-Geneviève 2787 suggests that Peter was engaged in hitherto unknown activities in Paris: either directly related to the Third Crusade or in the 1190s.

The media context of Peter's *Conquestio*, a well-known but never scrutinized crusade treatise, also delivers important insights. This text has been transmitted broadly; the analysis will limit itself to some meaningful examples (neglecting later copies). These point to two different institutional contexts, but also to two different purposes: the *Conquestio* sometimes appears as an independent text and sometimes (in the bulk of cases) as a part of Peter's letter collection—even though, considering its length and contents, it certainly transcends the purpose of a letter. At its outset, it has two addressees, which one copy replaced with two others: the text was apparently distributed as a letter in the service of crusade recruitment, while it can be described as a model sermon (containing manifold elements which are rhetorical and oral in nature). These findings are strongly reminiscent of Bernard of Clairvaux's crusade letters, likely Peter's models.¹⁹

Ms. BL Royal 8 F XVII is a miscellany of Peter's works that we have already encountered: here the *Conquestio* forms the collection's last letter (fol. 83^v), succeeded by the *Compendium in Job* (fol. 88^v) and his sermons (fol. 108^r, entitled as *exhortationes*). The manuscript therefore contains manifold materials concerned with crusading, including Peter's crusade call from 1185, which bears the title "Exhortatio vie terre Ierosolimitane succurratur," an exhortation to support the voyage to the land of Jerusalem (fol. 77^r, a few folios before the *Conquestio*). Note the fact that the label of genre is identical with that of the sermons.

19 See Alexander Marx, "The *Passio Raginaldi* of Peter of Blois. Martyrdom and Eschatology in the Preaching of the Third Crusade," *Viator* 50/3 (2019), 204–205; Michael Markowski, *Peter of Blois, Writer and Reformer* (PhD thesis, Syracuse University 1988), 307. For deviating addressees, see, e.g., Ms. BL Arundel 227, fol. 98^r. On Bernard's letters, see Christopher J. Tyerman, *God's War: A New History of the Crusades* (Cambridge, Mass. 2006), 280–281; Kristin Skottki, "‘Until the Full Number of Gentiles Has Come in’: Exegesis and Prophecy in St Bernard's Crusade-Related Writings," in: *The Uses of the Bible in Crusader Sources*, ed. Elizabeth Lapina and Nicholas Morton (Leiden 2017), 252–256.

Ms. Lambeth Palace 421 also includes the *Conquestio* among the letters (fol. 93^r); it is preceded by 1185's crusade call entitled "Exhortatio magna et pernecessaria vie terre Ierosolimitane succuratur" (fol. 85^r). The handy codex suggests a practical use (c.12 × 18 cm, 142 fols.); and similar to the combination with *distinctiones*, the letters are succeeded by short commentaries on all the books of the Bible (from fol. 109^r)—as if these were meant to provide further material.²⁰

Ms. BNF lat. 2954 follows the same pattern: inclusion in the letter collection (fol. 78^r) and a handy codex (c.13 × 15 cm, 193 fols.). Its texts betray once again a strong crusade focus, encompassing a number of crusade-related letters including 1185's call: each of these is labeled as an 'exhortatio.' The codex also holds the *Passio Raginaldi*, here likewise included among the letters (fol. 183^v). Its deviating title places it, just like the *Conquestio*, in the service of counteracting postponed crusade efforts: "Contra principes qui differebant transfretare et de cruce eius [Christi]" (Against the princes who postpone the passage over the sea and about Christ's cross). Did Peter or other protagonists also distribute the *Passio* as a letter, perhaps as an extension of its original purpose? This manuscript suggests such an adaptation.²¹

Ms. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Lat. misc. f.14 provides extraordinary evidence: it is the only copy that contains all three of Peter's crusade treatises, while it also indicates preaching practice. The codex consists only of his texts (another part has been added later), and it has a remarkably handy size (c.8 × 12 cm, 60 fols.).²² It also comprises numerous glosses that repeat parts of the main text; these are obviously meant as an aid to orientation. Similarly, several subheadings within the *Passio* (in red ink), which only exist in this copy, structure this lengthy text, for example, "De situ terre Ierosolimitane et destructione eius" (fol. 39^r). The manuscript's early date (c.1200) makes it possible that this may even be Peter's autograph, which directly served his preaching of the Third Crusade.²³ And,

20 The question of attribution is unresolved and insignificant for my argument: other copies suggest a Cistercian origin (Ms. Troyes 959, fols. 31^r–63^r; Troyes 854, fols. 1^v–53^v; Dijon 109). However, I did not consult these codices; the first also contains Alan of Lille's *Contra haereticos* (fols. 3^r–30^v).

21 Both crusade treatises identify themselves as *epistola* (Peter of Blois, *Passio Raginaldi*, 46; *Conquestio*, 84). On the manuscript, see also Robert B.C. Huygens, "Einleitung," in: *Petri Blesensis Tractatus Dvo*, CCCM 194 (Turnhout 2002), 10.

22 The relevant part: 60 fols.; altogether 93 fols. The order is: *Dialogus* (fols. 1^r–15^v); *Conquestio* (fols. 15^v–27^v); *Passio Raginaldi* (fols. 27^v–60^r). On the manuscript, see also Huygens, "Einleitung," 8–9; Richard W. Southern, "Peter of Blois and the Third Crusade," in: *Studies in Medieval History Presented to R.H.C. Davis*, ed. Henry Mayr-Harting (London 1985), 208.

23 Huygens noted that several passages of the *Conquestio* are missing in this manuscript; he

just like in the case of Ms. BL Arundel 322, a generous font size makes it possible to place this book before the preacher when delivering a sermon.

In conclusion, the *Conquestio* presents itself with two different purposes: on the one hand, the labeling as a letter; on the other, the absence of a specific paratext in the Oxford copy, while including it among Peter's other crusade treatises, which are clearly related to recruiting and preaching. In agreement, Ms. BNF lat. 2954 identifies the *Conquestio* as a sermon—despite including it among the letters: “Exhortatio ad subsidium terre sancte, et lamentationes et fletus ad bona opera,” an exhortation to come to the help of the Holy Land (fol. 78^r). The work represents, therefore, sermon material sent to several addressees, in order to promote crusade recruitment. Its title in some copies indicates the specific point in time when these efforts unfolded: “Conquestio super nimia dilatione itineris Ierosolimis” or “Conquestio de dilatione vie Ierosolimitane” (The lament about delaying the voyage to Jerusalem). Just like Henry of Albano's treatise, this text reacted to the delays and internal Christian conflicts that obstructed the crusade endeavor as the year 1188 advanced. Peter used the medium of the letter to encourage mobilization after the great preaching tours and events: the erudite master provided others with material that is rhetorically elaborate and exegetically sound. The *Conquestio* thus provides evidence for how such a text's purpose, and hence its media transmission, may have developed. The institutional contexts (even though the exact origins of these codices are unclear) seem to agree with Peter's sermons, pointing on the one hand to Canterbury, especially the copy from Lambeth Palace, and on the other to Paris, where his treatise was likewise circulating (with further copies besides the example discussed, for example, Ms. BNF lat. 2605).

The next case remains within the institutional context of the archbishopric of Canterbury: Ms. Lambeth Palace 144 is likely the earliest copy of Peter's reform treatise, the *Compendium in Iob*. Several factors suggest that it may even have been his working copy: the codex seems to date to the 12th century;²⁴ an

concluded that a scribe eliminated these from an original version (Huygens, “Einleitung,” 9). However, due to the codex's early date and its idiosyncratic media context, I suspect that the process was the other way round: this was Peter's early version. This is corroborated when considering the missing passages; these focus on (a) the virtue of poverty and (b) place the text in the historical context of autumn 1188, that is, the delay of crusade preparations (see Peter of Blois, *Conquestio*, 94). The fact that the latter is absent from the early version indicates that the *Conquestio* originated already earlier in 1188, after Peter became aware of Jerusalem's loss—he adapted the text then into a letter, adding the note about the occasion. This agrees with the extended focus on poverty, since the delayed (and then failing) crusade efforts pushed moral reform to the fore.

24 The date requires discussion: the catalogue also notes a date in the 14th century; this,

authorial attribution is absent; the work's prologue is missing, while all other manuscripts include it; and throughout the text, one finds glosses with textual elements that are otherwise part of the main text (in both the PL and other copies). This codex sheds light on the work's genesis: it needs to be placed at the top of a stemma, whereas the version circulating already included all these glosses in the main text.²⁵ Peter's *Compendium* can be aligned with the reform movement, and it is telling that the same codex contains Gregory the Great's *Liber pastoralis* (from fol. 1^r), an essential cornerstone of this movement. Similarly, the treatise *Summa qui bene presunt* by Richard of Wetheringsett (from fol. 35^r) is not only evidence for reform efforts, but also an essential milestone in putting these into practice via preaching activities.²⁶ The explanation of *peccatis nostris exigentibus* refocused attention on moral reform; this was vitally fueled at the time thanks to recurring failure in the Holy Land. We might assume that this codex was solely concerned with reform efforts (the *Compendium* dates to the late 1170s), were it not for the fact that it contains another significant and hitherto unnoticed text. Immediately after the *Compendium*, one finds the "Certa relatio de situ Ierusalem" (fol. 117^r), which I only found in this manuscript. It offers not only a description of the Holy Land's places, but also broaches the event of 1187, referring to the losses of both the Cross and Jerusalem (especially fol. 118^v). It is possible that Peter authored it, drawing on his experiences during the Third Crusade—at least, it seems to belong to the Canterbury circle, the codex's institutional setting.²⁷ The inclusion of this treatise demonstrates that one needs to place the codex's reform-oriented texts within the situation after 1187, probably the ongoing efforts after the Third Crusade's

however, seems to refer to the part beginning with fol. 121^r (clearly separated from the former part; fol. 120^{r-v} is blank, and the two hands are fundamentally different). In the pertinent part (fols. 1^r–119^v), the latest texts come from Innocent III (*De misera humane conditionis*, mid-1190s) and Richard of Wetheringsett (*Summa qui bene presunt*) who is usually located in the early 13th century (see Joseph Ward Goering, *William de Montibus* (c.1140–1213): *The Schools and the Literature of Pastoral Care* (Toronto 1992), 87; Franco Morenzoni, *Des écoles aux paroisses. Thomas de Chobham et la promotion de la prédication au début du XIII^e siècle* (Paris 1995), 178–182). Thus, the pertinent part may date to the early 13th century, but it seems to represent a copy faithful to an original.

25 Only one other copy betrays parallels: Ms. Paris, Mazarine 677. It also lacks the prologue and contains the same glosses; it has obviously been copied from the Canterbury codex—but the Parisian copy offers additional passages at the end of the work (which I have not investigated). This codex's dating in the 13th century provides a *terminus ante quem* for dating the Canterbury codex.

26 See Goering, *William de Montibus*, 86–91.

27 *In principio* does not deliver further hits for the text. It is penned in a generic form, often formulating in the passive mode, instead of a pilgrim's personal vantage point.

failure. There is thus a logic as to why these texts are combined: the state of the Holy Land represented cause and incentive for these reform efforts; the media context points directly to the historical context of its composition. The existence of this archaeological artefact can be explained by specific interests that occupied the Canterbury circle at the time, interests that were closely aligned with crusading.²⁸

The Angevin context is also pertinent to the next example: the chapter on the Holy Land discussed Ralph Ardens' *In exaltatione sancte crucis* (*De tempore, Sermo 36*) and the chapter on the Cross relic one of his sermons *In festo omnium sanctorum* (*De tempore, Sermo 41*). The first delivers an exegesis of John 12:31–32, a tandem of two verses that evokes the impending Last Judgment and calls the audience to swarm to Jerusalem, the Judgment's venue, while demanding they follow Christ's example (for example, via 1 Pet. 2:21). It outlines repeatedly a *via* that should lead the audience to the *lumen*, a motif naturally located in the East, in order to become *fili lucis*. The second sermon develops an exegesis for Rev. 7:2–4, an equivalent of Ez. 9:4 (which is also cited in the text); it calls on the listeners to sign themselves with the *signum crucis* (Ralph also speaks of the *signati*). He embeds this discussion in a salvific topography, underlining a salutary East, and including several allusions to crusading such as the hint at the existence of Christians beyond the Latin orbit. He also emphasizes that they must assist God in holding Judgment, a deeply apocalyptic idea. The two sermons thus share a number of themes—albeit their motifs and biblical references vary: these are two complementary texts within the same spectrum of ideas. How do they appear in their media context? Three manuscripts are pertinent, belonging to two different contexts:

Ms. Paris, Sainte-Geneviève 2786 is by far the earliest copy of Ralph's sermons (13th cen.), and it consists solely of his collection. Only a few folios separate the two texts, and both are entitled by their opening verses: "Secundum Iohannem" (*Sermo 36*, fol. 77^r) and "Iohannis apostoli, omnium sanctorum" (*Sermo 41*, fol. 80^v). Such titles are common throughout the codex, which is organized according to the liturgical calendar and agrees overall with the order in the PL.²⁹ This is a typical Parisian manuscript: handy size (c.12 × 20 cm, 104

28 An interesting comparison is provided by Ms. Oxford, Bodley 409, where the *Compendium in Iob* is combined with Alan of Lille's *Ars praedicandi* and sermon texts of several authors including Innocent III. Subsequent to Alan's treatise, one finds model sermons different from the usual texts *ad status*, including his third sermon *De sancta cruce* (fol. 148^v). See the chapter on the Cross relic.

29 The manuscript also contains the examined texts of *Pars (I), Section 2, Sermo 23* (fol. 53^r) and *Sermo 48* (fol. 67^r).

fol.) and an incomplete table of contents at the outset, including the incipit of each sermon as an aid to orientation. Similarly, the lack of authorial attribution indicates the material's practical nature. It also shows signs of wear: several pages have been ripped out, mostly corresponding to a particular text—as if a preacher used these pages to deliver a sermon.³⁰

The two copies Ms. Oxford, Lincoln College 112 and Lincoln College 116 reveal another context; the two are broadly identical in both contents and composition: one was likely copied from the other. Both are part of the phenomenon that all copies of Ralph's collection—save for the Parisian codex discussed—belong to late medieval England (late 14th to late 15th cen.), in particular four copies from Oxford.³¹ Comparing these two with the Parisian codex, one can conclude that the original composition has been maintained. The two Lincoln College manuscripts are of little interest in codicological terms, being large-sized and probably aimed at preservation, perhaps for the purposes of studying at the university. However, their composition is noteworthy: both contain Ralph's prologue at the outset that indicates the collection's historical context as well as the impetus of popular preaching.³² And in both copies, *Sermo 41* immediately follows *Sermo 36* (unlike in the PL): first, *Sermo 36* entitled "In festo exaltationis sancte crucis ewangelium secundum Iohannem xii" (Lincoln 112: fol. 108^v; see also Lincoln 116: fol. 195^r); and then *Sermo 41* entitled "In die omnium sanctorum epistola Apocalypsis vii" (Lincoln 112: fol. 112^v; see also Lincoln 116: fol. 202^r). The sequence is indebted to the liturgical calendar, but it also agrees very well with their contents, since the two harmonize so perfectly. Ralph drafted two sermons with varying nuances, but belonging to the same spectrum of ideas. One could thus have preached the two to the same audience without being repetitive—and both show high crusade potential. Like with Peter of Blois, the codices indicate two different contexts stemming from the preacher's biography: on the one hand, the codex in Paris where Ralph was a master and whose media setting demonstrates the vivid Parisian milieu; on

30 This is the case at: fols. 67^v–68^r, 71^v–72^r, 79^v–80^r, 99^v–100^r; discussed by Ronald James Stansbury, "A Preliminary Manuscript Catalogue of the Sermon Collection by Ralph Ardent," *Studi Medievali* 42 (2001), 879. On the manuscript, see also Stansbury, *Preaching before the Friars: The Sermons of Ralph Ardent (c.1130–c.1215)* (PhD thesis, Ohio State University 2001), 121–123.

31 On all these codices, see Stansbury, *Before the Friars*, 124–143; Stansbury, "Manuscript," 875–895. Lincoln 112 also contains the examined texts of *Pars (I)*, *Section 2*, *Sermo 23* (fol. 66^v); *Sermo 48* (fol. 82^r); and *Pars (II)*, *De tempore*, *Sermo 18* (fol. 95^r); *Sermo 19* (fol. 95^v). And Lincoln 116: *Pars (I)*, *Section 2*, *Sermo 23* (fol. 121^r); *Sermo 48* (fol. 148^r); and *Pars (II)*, *De tempore*, *Sermo 18* (fol. 171^v); *Sermo 19* (fol. 172^v).

32 See the chapter on immediate context.

the other, the Oxford group which likely stems from an earlier, now lost copy. Both are thus entangled with the institutional context of the university, yet embedded in different spatial and historical contexts, once more evidence for the material's vivid nature and use.

2 From Clairvaux to Paris

The example of Garnerius of Clairvaux leads into a different setting: he represents a Cistercian well integrated into the monastic milieu, yet his works' media contexts shed light on the entanglement of university and monastery. The existence and broad transmission of a collection of *Distinctiones* from his pen is significant evidence for this; but first, an example from his sermon collection is worth considering. The chapter on the Holy Land examined his *Sermo* 28 ascribed to the Assumption of Mary (15 Aug.), which survived in two copies from Clairvaux. Ms. Troyes, Bibliothèque Municipale 1301 offers the same attribution: "Item in assumptione, sermo 11" (fol. 98^r); whereas Ms. Troyes, Bibliothèque Municipale 970 lacks a title (space is left blank, fol. 62^v). However, the feast does not seem essential when considering its contents: Mary is only discussed in one paragraph regarding the wordplay of *virgo* and *virga*.³³ The text's preeminent concern is the Exodus from Egypt facilitated by Moses' *virga*, which divides the sea and paves thus the way to the Holy Land (opening with Ex. 14:16). As is common, Garnerius identifies the *virga* with the cross, pointing multiple times to its localization in the Holy Land; he also emphasizes its materiality, and connects it with the eschatological vision of John 12:31 (a parallel with Ralph). These are all strong indications of the specific Cross relic, while he understands the Exodus as a typological *exemplum* for contemporary events in the Holy Land. The two manuscripts in which *Sermo* 28 appears belong to the same institutional context, that is, Clairvaux, and date around the same time (early 13th cen.). They are of minor interest in codicological terms, being large-sized (both c.20 × 25 cm) and primarily meant for preservation. Practice-related indications are largely absent; this suggests another mode of production dependent on a monastic scriptorium. Yet, both copies' composition and contents suggest entanglement with matters beyond the abbey's walls: the two were likely copied from an original closer to practice. Troyes 970 in particular

33 Notably, Urban II originally planned the First Crusade's departure for this feast day (see Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading* (Philadelphia 1986), 49).

must stem from another copy due to its largely incomplete state, for example, sermons' titles are often missing, but this cannot have been Troyes 1301: their composition is vastly different.

Ms. Troyes 970 only contains some sermons from Garnerius' collection; overall it is in an incomplete and unpolished state. *Sermo 28* forms the collection's last text, ending abruptly after a few lines (fol. 62^v).³⁴ An unidentified text in a different but contemporary hand follows thereafter (from fol. 63^r): a quick peek reveals significant parallels with *Sermo 28*; the unidentified text is concerned with Ex. 12 at its outset. As the chapter on the Holy Land discussed, this is an important reference in the Third Crusade's preaching. This juxtaposition in the manuscript evidence is thus expressive, and we have already encountered such a pattern: in Ms. BL Arundel 322, Peter of Blois' *Sermo 39* ended some lines before its actual conclusion and was succeeded by a text that reveals parallels with the sermon and hence offers further material. Yet, the incomplete state of Ms. Troyes 970 meant that this purpose was only rudimentarily achieved.

Ms. Troyes 1301 offers an extensive collection of Garnerius' sermons, complemented by his treatise *Contra Amaurianos*, which is intriguingly placed in between the sermons (fols. 141^r–154^r).³⁵ The codex consists of his works only: content, titles, and order broadly agree with the PL. Yet, one finds eight sermons, including one *Contra Iudaeos*, that are absent from the PL; this suggests that the PL's version stems from another copy (it contains sermons that do not exist in any of the two surviving manuscripts). *Sermo 28* is embedded in the liturgical calendar (fol. 98^r), succeeded by a sermon on Bernard of Clairvaux's feast.³⁶ The combination with *Contra Amaurianos* is expressive: this text addresses the heretical group of the Amalricians. Its setting in the midst of the sermon collection indicates that the treatise was also meant as preaching material and that the codex was not intended for intra-monastic purposes. The treatise is succeeded by his *Sermo 19* (separated by a simple line break), an Easter sermon that has been discussed in this study and certainly holds high crusade potential. The sermon drafts a strongly militant vision and presents the loss of the Ark as an *exemplum* to the audience "for resisting the enemies"

34 The manuscript also contains the examined texts of *Sermo 4* (fol. 8^v) and *Sermo 37* (fol. 34^v).

35 On the manuscript, see Paolo Lucentini, "Introduzione," in: Garnerius of Clairvaux, *Contra Amavrianos*, CCCM 232 (Turnhout 2010), v–vi; Clemens Baeumker, "Einleitung," in: Garnerius of Clairvaux, *Contra Amaurianos* (Münster 1926), ix–xvi.

36 Likewise comprised are the *Sermo 4* (fol. 11^v); 17 (fol. 138^v); 18 (fol. 67^v); 19 (fol. 154^r); 31 (fol. 125^r); and 37 (fol. 116^r).

(*exemplo nostris hostibus viriliter resistamus*)—the loss of the Cross relic suggests itself.³⁷ Unlike the rest of the collection, it is deprived of its place in the liturgical calendar, in order to be aligned with the treatise, whereas the corresponding place in the collection (fol. 71^v) offers another piece on Easter absent from the PL.

While the media context of Garnerius' sermons is largely indebted to a classic monastic production, their contents reveal extra-monastic activities; and as we know, he was involved in such. This makes it likely that the surviving manuscripts stem from a non-monastic specimen. As has already been seen with other examples, the media context can help in anchoring an author's activities in the historical context. Garnerius' collection of *Distinctiones* allows us to do the same: it shows that he was not only involved in a historical context beyond the monastery (the crusade), but also in another institutional context, the university. The *distinctiones* have been transmitted broadly, a fact that demonstrates how useful and widely disseminated this work was.³⁸ This study has already reviewed the question of attribution: two early manuscripts from Clairvaux identify Garnerius as the author, and many copies come from Cistercian monasteries.³⁹ However, many preserve it in anonymous form, a fact that indicates its practical nature. Other parameters encourage this, thus relating the work more to Parisian practices than to monastic ones: many copies have a handy size (such as Ms. Oxford, Laud Misc. 504; Oxford, Merton College 200; BNF lat. 588; Troyes 1697), and many consist only of the collection (such as Ms. BNF lat. 599; Troyes 32; Troyes 539; Troyes 392). These codicological patterns are likewise observable in other preaching aids such as Alan of Lille's *Ars praedicatorum* or Peter the Chanter's *Distinctiones*.⁴⁰ The exceptions are the six copies

37 Garnerius of Clairvaux, *Sermo 19*, 697. See the similar argument in: Hélinand of Froidmont, *Sermo 10*, 566. See the chapter on the Cross relic.

38 See Kuhry, "Dictionnaires," 335–337, listing 53 copies, 13 of them early (late 12th to early 13th cen.), among these, at least four seem to have originated outside of Cistercian monasteries.

39 See the chapter on immediate context. I thus disagree with: Kuhry, "Dictionnaires," 323–326; and Tuija Ainonen, "Making New from Old: Distinction Collections and Textual Communities at the Turn of the Thirteenth Century," in: *From Learning to Love*, ed. Tristan Sharp (Toronto 2017), 51–53. Both discussed the fact that the two copies naming Garnerius contain additional material, primarily from Peter the Chanter's *Distinctiones*. Both argued thus that Garnerius was the editor of these two codices but not necessarily the work's author. However, I do not see why one should doubt his authorship.

40 For Alan see, e.g., Ms. BL Add 10393 (likely the earliest copy of the *Ars*, late 12th cen.) or Ms. BNF NAL 335. For Peter see, e.g., Ms. BL Royal 10 A xv1 or Ms. Paris, St. Geneviève 2787. On further copies, see Barney, "Introduction," 132–134, 220–222, listing 14 codices in Paris (today); ten seem to have originally come from Paris. Twelve of the 14 date early (late 12th

from Clairvaux itself: even though these contain often only Garnerius' collection, many of them are large-sized, for example, Ms. Troyes 392 (c.35 × 25 cm). They betray a media context dependent on monastic production and likely meant for internal monastic use (reading, exegesis, but also preaching).⁴¹ Ms. Troyes 392 contains a note saying that Garnerius himself presented it to the monastery in 1220 (fol. 169^r); this was obviously not his personal copy meant for practical implementation, but a luxurious copy meant as a gift.⁴²

The codicological evidence thus reveals two different purposes: the copies from Clairvaux seem to belong to an intra-monastic arena, whereas the non-monastic manuscripts reveal strong resemblances with the Parisian production of such materials. The latter are thus entangled with a more dynamic practice. Considering their places of origin and institutional contexts corroborates the work's double purpose, since one finds some early copies beyond Clairvaux. This includes Ms. BNF lat. 588 dating to around 1200 and coming from Saint-Nicolas d'Herminiers, a Premonstratensian abbey near Paris, or Ms. Oxford, Merton College 200 dating to the early 13th century and, as a dedication shows, belonging to the early university milieu in Oxford.⁴³ Garnerius' work circulated early. Ms. BNF lat. 588 combines the *distinctiones* (here anonymous) with the texts of John's Revelation (from fol. 49^r) as well as some of Paul's letters (from fol. 87^r), including commentary on them in the form of the *Glossa ordinaria*.

to early 13th cen.). For other examples, see Bériou, *L'Avènement*, 2:671, 676; Jean Longère, *La prédication médiévale* (Paris 1983), 141.

- 41 See, e.g., Kwakkel and Thomson, "Codicology," 14, asserting clear correlations between genre and a codex's size (but without considering sermons).
- 42 He commissioned the manuscript's illumination in Paris by the same artists who produced the first *Bibles moralisées* (see Patricia Danz Stirnemann, "Some Champenois Vernacular Manuscripts and the Manerius Style of Illumination," in: *Les Manuscrits de Chrétien de Troyes*, ed. Keith Busby (Amsterdam 1993), 1:206). See also Kuhry, "Dictionnaires," 323–326, 336; Barney, "Introduction," 252–255. Garnerius also gave a Bible codex to Clairvaux on this occasion: Ms. Troyes 577, fol. 326^v, where the dedication is noted. See André Vernet, *La bibliothèque de l'Abbaye de Clairvaux du XII^e au XVIII^e siècle: manuscrits bibliques, patristiques et théologiques* (Paris 1997), 2:66–67.
- 43 On the first, see Kuhry, "Dictionnaires," 336; Anne Bondéelle-Souchier, *Bibliothèques de l'Ordre de Prémontré dans la France d'ancien régime: répertoire des abbayes* (Paris 2000), 1:154. On the second, see Barney, "Introduction," 175–176; Rodney Malcolm Thomson, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Medieval Manuscripts of Merton College, Oxford: With a Description of the Greek Manuscripts* (Woodbridge 2009), 144. Noteworthy is also Ms. Lisbon, Alcobaca 410, coming from a Portuguese Cistercian monastery and dating to the early 13th century (see Barney, "Introduction," 123–126). On Premonstratensian involvement in the Third Crusade, see Stephen Bennett, *Elite Participation in the Third Crusade* (Woodbridge 2021), 36–38. The reader may recall that Ralph Ardens joined this order at some point (see Stansbury, *Before the Friars*, 98–101).

The combination that it offers thus moves in the other direction: from preaching aid to exegesis (a similar ensemble was visible in Ms. Lambeth Palace 421). Nonetheless, the *distinctiones* blend with preaching practice: at the collection's conclusion, separated by a simple line break, one finds an "Oratio ante predicationem dicens devote" (fol. 48^v), a prayer meant to precede preaching. The copy's early date is significant and may suggest a distribution from Paris; the example also shows how flexibly recipients used such a work. Another noteworthy specimen is Ms. Troyes 868, which combines the *distinctiones* with two sermon collections, those of Aelred of Rievaulx and Gilbert of Hoyland, two Cistercian colleagues. Dating to the late 12th century, it is the earliest copy (but incomplete).⁴⁴ It is possible that this was Garnerius' editorial work or composed under his patronage as abbot of Clairvaux. The combination of sermon collection and preaching aid as well as the inclusion of several preachers, exceptional for the monastic context, reveals clear resemblances with the Parisian production of such materials. The Cistercian apparently attempted to implement the Parisian methods in the monastic context, likely to provide his monks with preaching material (just as Henry of Albano did with his work). It would be worth investigating if the sermons of Aelred and Gilbert deliver crusade-fit texts—a task that I leave to other scholars.

3 The Epicenter of Paris and Its Emanation

The chapter on Jerusalem examined one of Prevostin of Cremona's sermons *In adventu domini*, which drafts meaningful connections between the different senses of Scripture. He emphasizes twice that Christ approached the heavenly Jerusalem *temporaliter* (reference is to Lk. 19:41 and Palm Sunday), an argument that engenders a concurrence between earthly and heavenly city. He concludes that Jerusalem now lies in ruins (a parallel with Peter of Blois and Gerald of Wales): this strongly indicates the events of 1187. Furthermore, the sermon underlines a blending of Corpus Christi and Holy Land (specifically the Mount of Olives), ending with the example of martyrs who received their palm branches in Jerusalem—the audience should follow suit. I only found this piece in one manuscript, Ms. BLAdd 18335; it contains a collection of Prevostin's

44 On the codex, see Kuhry, "Dictionnaires," 324–325, 336; Vernet, *Bibliothèque*, 2:533–535. Similar is Ms. Oxford, Laud Misc. 504, where Garnerius' collection is combined with sermons of Hugh of Saint Cher and Nicolas Byard (both 13th cen.): his collection was still considered a useful tool. Similar in Ms. Troyes 1697, where the *Distinctiones* are combined with an anonymous *Summa de vitiis*.

sermons that has not received any scholarly attention; its texts are entirely unpublished. The sermon appears therein with the title “De adventu domini” (fol. 11^r), embedded in other sermons that form a smorgasbord rather than a clear liturgical organization. The codex is divided in three parts, all penned by the same hand, consequently representing a purposeful composition. The text at stake belongs to the first part, a collection of 19 sermons, which is preceded by a prologue entitled “Sermones Prepositini accessus ad populum” (fol. 2^v), indicating that these materials were intended for popular preaching.⁴⁵ The prologue declares the goal of preaching against *idolatria* and *impüi*, related to an eschatological vision: the purpose of crusading surfaces thus significantly. Since the prologue represents a paratext, this suggests that this purpose was essential for the entire codex.⁴⁶ Whereas the relevant sermon focuses on Jerusalem, one finds some folios later another pertinent text with the title “Miraculum de sancta cruce” (fol. 24^r); it belongs to the genre *De sancta cruce*, which developed as a result of scrutinizing the relic’s loss.

The manuscript’s second part comprises Prevostin’s treatise *De ecclesiasticis officiis* (fols. 26^r–65^v), a work devoted to expounding the meaning of liturgical feasts, for example, Palm Sunday: a strong entanglement with preaching practice. The inclusion of *De officiis* thus mirrors the combination with *distinctiones* in other manuscripts; and Jessalynn Bird argued that such treatises were resources for crusade preachers.⁴⁷ The codex’s third part offers further sermons (14 pieces, from fol. 66^r), including three entitled “Quando volueris” (Whenever you want), three texts figuring as ultimate preaching models (fols. 81^v; 82^v; 84^v).

45 On the manuscript, see Georges Lacombe, *La vie et les oeuvres de Prévostin* (Kain 1927), 183–184. The prologue is also present in: Ms. Paris, Arsenal 543, fol. 235^r; Ms. Salzburg, St.Peter VI 32, fol. 51^r.

46 See the chapter on immediate context. The prologue of Martin’s collection likewise betrays the purpose of crusade preaching (Martin of León, *Liber sermonum, Prologus*, 31–32 and Ms. León, San Isidoro 11/1, fols. 1^r–2^r).

47 Jessalynn L. Bird, “The Victorines, Peter the Chanter’s Circle, and the Crusade: Two Unpublished Crusading Appeals in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. Latin 14470,” *Medieval Sermon Studies* 48 (2004), 13; Bird, “Rogations, Litanies, and Crusade Preaching: The Liturgical Front in the Late Twelfth and Early Thirteenth Centuries,” in: *Papacy, Crusade, and Christian-Muslim Relations*, ed. Bird (Amsterdam 2018), 156; see also Longère, *Prédication*, 242–243. On Prevostin’s treatise, see Lacombe, *Prevostin*, 73–103. It survived in two further copies: Ms. BL Add 18325 and Ms. Salzburg, St.Peter VI 32. The first also contains several of Alan of Lille’s works including the *Ars praedicandi*. The latter also comprises sermons by Prevostin (fols. 51^r–62^v), thus offering the same combination as the copy investigated, partly with the same sermons, but none of those pertinent to this study. Lacombe asserted that both codices contain sermons dating before 1198 (Lacombe, *Prevostin*, 185–188, 199–200).

The first among these displays bold militant notes, using Eph. 6 and Job 7:1; it could well have served for crusade-related preaching. The codex's physical form corroborates a practical purpose: a handy size (c.12 × 18 cm, 167 fols.) and a composition clearly devoted to preaching activities. Yet, we do not know much about its (institutional) origins: neither the library catalogue nor the codex itself provide any information.⁴⁸ The fact that this specific composition only survived here makes it possible that Prevostin himself drafted it (in which case, this would be a faithful 13th-century copy).

The last example is represented by Alan of Lille, an eminent master, whose sermons are those with the broadest transmission among the authors investigated. As the chapter on immediate context delineated, one may divide them into three groups. The following two examples come from the largest group, whose transmission is most complex and multifarious, and it reveals a dynamic practice most compellingly. The chapter on the Cross relic discussed *inter alia* the text published in the PL and here always cited as “De sancta cruce (1).” It develops an argument about the Cross relic (and not only the cross generically, as discussed), departing from Cant. 7:9 and underlining the relic's materiality. It needs to be placed in the context after 1187, even though it does not broach the loss explicitly—unlike one of Alan's other Holy Cross sermons. As already seen with other examples, one observes complementary material that avoids being redundant.⁴⁹ The chapter on the Holy Land investigated his sermon with the incipit “O fugite de terra aquilonis,” which drafts an elaborate salvific topography, including the sea as a milestone. This text tackles requisite movements within this landscape, especially escaping the evil North, a call stemming from Zach. 2:10. It evokes the events of 1187 when asserting that they were cast out of Jerusalem because of their sins, just as it broaches the hardships of the Jerusalem pilgrimage. Both sermons survived in a number of copies, among them four that hold both:

Ms. Paris, Sainte-Geneviève 2787 is a codex we have encountered already with Peter of Blois, an essential testimony of Parisian preaching activities in the late 12th century. It indicates a hitherto unknown relationship between Peter and Alan. Since this conjunction exists only in this codex, it likely stems from a personal relationship, belonging to a specific context or occasion. Considering the contents of relevant sermons (and further material may be waiting in this vast collection), this was cooperation in the course of the Third Crusade: several texts either broach the events of 1187 explicitly or seem fundamentally

48 'British Library: Catalogue Archives and Manuscripts'; see the bibliography.

49 The other is: Alan of Lille, *De cruce domini*, ed. d'Alverny, 279–283.

informed by their shadow. The codex thus betrays a specific historical context: its sermons offer a reaction to these devastating events, that is, material related to crusade mobilization. Alan's sermon on the cross is therein entitled "In parasceve," that is, Good Friday (fol. 147^r), preceded by a similar sermon from Peter's pen (fol. 145^v, his *Sermo* 17).⁵⁰ The deviating title offers the same focus as "De sancta cruce," but, instead of the extraordinary genre, it applies a common liturgical label. The sermon on escaping the North bears the title "Sermo communis" (fol. 222^r), an expressive indication that it was meant for a broad audience; this agrees with its crusade focus.⁵¹ The manuscript contains further texts envisaging such a broad audience (or perhaps recording it in the form of a *reportatio*), among them a sermon "De communi exhortatione" (fol. 207^r) that deals with the destruction of Gaza and Ascalon.⁵²

Ms. Paris, BNF lat. 14859 is another example of Parisian preaching activities in the late 12th century. It also comprises sermons by Prevostin of Cremona (a combination of the two authors exists in several manuscripts). It represents a typical polygraphic collection of the Parisian milieu, likely even *reportationes*, but the composition suggests that these materials were prepared for future use.⁵³ Alan's sermon on the cross is entitled "In resurrectione dominica" (fol. 230^r), in functional agreement with the former copy.⁵⁴ The sequence in which it appears is illuminating: immediately after follows a Palm Sunday sermon by Stephen Langton (fol. 231^r), which Jessalynn Bird assessed as having high crusade potential.⁵⁵ Thereafter comes the well-known anti-heretical sermon (fol. 233^r) that Alan heard in southern France, as its elaborate title records. It is characterized both here and in the table of contents (fol. 178^r) as "communis," just like many other sermons in the collection.⁵⁶ A few folios

50 Peter's sermon is also crusade-related; see the chapter on the Cross relic.

51 The codex also contains several texts from his *Liber sermonum* such as a strongly militant sermon *De omnibus sanctis* (fol. 187^r), which shows crusade potential (yet, it is a generic model by nature): it broaches the Cross relic (*vexillum christiane religionis*) and cites Deut. 32:30. For other copies, see, e.g., Ms. BL Add 19767, fol. 97^r; Ms. BNF NAL 335, fol. 118^r.

52 According to *In principio*, this sermon exists only here.

53 See d'Alverny, *Textes*, 121–122; Phyllis Barzillay Roberts, *Studies in the Sermons of Stephen Langton* (Toronto 1968), 58. A highly pertinent sermon by Prevostin (fol. 215^{r-v}) that discusses the events of 1187 has been considered on more than one occasion in this study. See the chapter on exemplary descriptions for the full text.

54 It is here attributed to Peter of Poitiers, an attribution clearly refuted by the other copies. Or did Peter use one of Alan's sermons that a listener recorded as a *reportatio*? Such a scenario is likewise possible.

55 Jessalynn L. Bird, "Preaching the Crusades and the Liturgical Year: The Palm Sunday Sermons," *Essays in Medieval Studies* 30 (2014), 23.

56 See d'Alverny, *Textes*, 14–15; Beverly Mayne Kienzle, "Preaching the Cross: Liturgy and Cru-

later, one finds his piece on escaping the North, here as “Item sermo magistri alanis sumptus ex ezechiel” (fol. 238^v), to which the collection’s table of contents adds the attribute of “communis” (fol. 178^r). Alan’s militant sermon on Job 7:1 appears slightly before (fol. 235^r); and the surrounding texts offer further sermons entitled *Ad populum* (for example, fol. 236^r) or *Sermo communis* (for example, fol. 251^v). A broad audience is envisaged—a parallel with the previous codex.⁵⁷ As a result, five crusade-related sermons gather here within eight folios (fols. 230^r–238^v): this is a noteworthy cluster of crusade materials. At the same time, the material avoids being redundant, an already familiar strategy: one sermon focuses on the cross, another on sacred topography, and another on militant imagery (the one on Job 7:1). These texts deliver different materials within the same spectrum of ideas, and the brace holding this spectrum together is clearly identifiable as the crusade.

The codex consists of two parts that were assembled later; the first is not relevant (Augustine’s commentary on Genesis); both bear the mark of ownership of Saint-Victor in Paris, its institutional setting. Bird demonstrated how important the abbey was for the production of crusade-related materials. It interacted closely with the city’s other institutions.⁵⁸ The relevant corpus offers further manuscripts from Saint-Victor—even though their authors were not canons of the abbey.⁵⁹ The codex in question betrays proximity to practice via its handy size (c.15 × 22 cm, 162 fols.) and an unsteady script.⁶⁰ It also offers numerous aids to usability and orientation, beginning with a short introduction listing its authors. The same page presents an extensive table of contents (fol. 178^r) cataloguing 75 sermons including title, number, and short incipit. Title and number are also found at the sermons themselves, often repeated in the form of a gloss, to procure visibility, and meant for quickly finding the texts listed in

sade Propaganda,” in: *Preaching and Political Society*, ed. Franco Morenzoni (Turnhout 2013), 23–25.

57 The sermon on Job 7:1 is also entitled “communis” in the table of contents.

58 See Bird, “Victorines,” 5–28; Bird, *Heresy, Crusade and Reform in the Circle of Peter the Chanter, c.1187–c.1240* (PhD thesis, University of Oxford 2001), 13–14, 121. On manuscript production in Saint-Victor, see also Richard Hunter Rouse and Mary A. Rouse, *Illitterati et uxorati: Manuscripts and Their Makers in Medieval Paris, 1200–1500* (London 2000), 1:26–27.

59 See, e.g., Ms. BNF lat. 14591 (Hélinand); BNF lat. 14804 (Prevostin); BNF lat. 14937 (Maurice of Sully). The role of Victorine preachers in the late 12th century is still in need of investigation, for example, many of the authors in Ms. Paris, St. Geneviève 2787 are Victorines—even though this codex does not seem to come from Saint-Victor.

60 The relevant part: 162 fols.; altogether 339 fols. On the manuscript, see also d’Alverny, *Textes*, 121–122; Gilbert Ouy, *Les Manuscrits de l’abbaye de Saint-Victor: catalogue établi sur la base du répertoire de Claude de Grandrue (1514)* (Turnhout 1999), 2:388.

the table of contents (a parallel with Ms. Sainte-Geneviève 2787). The table is succeeded by a short collection of *distinctiones* (fols. 178^v–187^v) and a treatise (fols. 188^r–205^r) attributed partly to Hugh and partly to Richard of Saint-Victor, which fuses into the sermon collection (simple line break; from fol. 205^r). As already visible with other examples, such combinations are expressive. This codex thus unites several aspects examined in this chapter, while being permeated by crusade-related materials (which may be complemented in future beyond the texts identified here).

Ms. Dijon, Bibliothèque Municipale 219 leads into a different setting; it was composed in 1214 in the monastery of Cîteaux, as a note at the beginning reveals (fol. 2^v; see also fols. 4^r; 93^r).⁶¹ It evidences Alan's relationship with the Cistercians (whom he joined shortly before his death), but also entanglement with Parisian preaching practice and other matters beyond the abbey. It also contains Richard of Saint-Victor's *Liber exceptionum* and a biblical commentary by Walter of Saint-Victor, thus entwining three institutional contexts: the University of Paris, Saint-Victor, and the Cistercians. As a result, one can determine a Cistercian interest in the Parisian milieu. Alan's sermon on the cross appears therein as "Item sermo eiusdem de sancta cruce" (fol. 86^r); his sermon on escaping the North a few folios before, separated by a single text, as "Item sermo magistri Alani" and complemented by the gloss "Ezechiel" (fol. 82^v). The sequence in which the sermons appear is once again expressive: the Holy Cross sermon is succeeded by a text with the title "De anticristo" (fol. 87^v), which is absent from Marie-Thérèse d'Alverny's list of Alan's sermons.⁶² This text holds high crusade potential, speaking inter alia of the armies of the Antichrist assembling in Jerusalem.⁶³ The codex offers further relevant texts such as Alan's well-known anti-heretical sermon (fol. 73^v), his militant sermon on Job 7:1 (fol. 76^r), and several sermons entitled "ad populum" (for example, fol. 78^v).⁶⁴ It

61 On the codex, see d'Alverny, *Textes*, 120–121; Yolanta Zaluska, *Manuscrits enluminés de Dijon* (Paris 1991), 181–182; Jean Châtillon, "Introduction," in: *Liber exceptionum / Richard de Saint-Victor* (Paris 1958), 16–17.

62 See d'Alverny, *Textes*, 109–140.

63 The passage reads: "[...] venit Antichristus in Ierusalem cum exercitu suo, Goth et Magoth, et arma sua arripit, et eos interficit, sicut in apochalipsi legitur [...]" (fols. 87^v–88^r)—note the present tense. The sermon's first lines are taken from: Adso of Montier-en-Der, *De Antichristo*, 1131.

64 The last sermon is also present in: Ms. BNF lat. 14932, fol. 13^r and Ms. Reims 465, fol. 131^v. Both cases represent Parisian sermon collections that contain the text in anonymous form. The first also contains a sermon by Baldwin of Canterbury and betrays, therefore, that this Cistercian was also involved in Paris; it even identifies him as a *magister* (fol. 185^r). On this manuscript, see David N. Bell, "Introduction," in: *Baldvini de Forda opera*, CCCM 99 (Turnhout 1991), x.

offers 20 sermons from his pen altogether (fols. 72^v–92^v), a smorgasbord rather than a liturgical organization.⁶⁵ The texts transmitted here usually appear in polygraphic Parisian collections (often as *reportationes*); the two previous codices were two significant examples. However, this manuscript organizes them in a monographic manner, perhaps offering a ‘Best of’ of Alan’s preaching, and the numerous notes on audiences likely document past use. Despite having been produced in the monastery, it likely stems from another copy that Alan himself brought when entering Cîteaux, a codex that was likely unsuitable for preservation because of its diligent use in the service of preaching.

Alan’s sermons are found in the midst of the manuscript, embedded in Richard of Saint-Victor’s *Liber exceptionum*, which fuses without break into Alan’s texts (fol. 72^v), before being continued at the end of the same (fol. 93^r). Richard’s opus delivers a kind of handbook for using the Bible; such was certainly a valuable preaching aid, while Alan’s texts provide ready to use sermons, including a strong crusade focus.⁶⁶ Similar to the combination with *distinctiones*, Richard’s work makes it possible to find further material; and, just like with Garnerius’ *Distinctiones*, this was an attempt to transfer Parisian methods to the monastic context.⁶⁷ Furthermore, the beginning of the codex (fols. 2^v–3^v) delivers an illuminating anchoring in the historical context; it offers an annals-like list of historical events, many of them crusade-related, including Jerusalem’s loss in 1187 (*a capta Ierusalem a sarracenis*). The manuscript conveys a historical frame to which its sermon material belongs and to which it reacts—Alan’s sermons corroborate precisely this; they demonstrate how such may have been informed by historical events.

Ms. Amiens, Bibliothèque Municipale 301 contains Alan’s Holy Cross sermon without a title (fol. 93^r), but its setting within the liturgical calendar suggests that it was here intended for *In exaltatione sancte crucis* (14 Sept.).⁶⁸ Whereas

65 D’Alverny states that only nine can safely be said to come from Alan’s pen (d’Alverny, *Textes*, 120–121)—but Alan was perhaps reusing material that others had originally penned.

66 On Richard’s work, see Châtillon, “Introduction,” 7–96; Ineke van’t Spijker, “The Literal and the Spiritual. Richard of Saint-Victor and the Multiple Meaning of Scripture,” in: *The Multiple Meaning of Scripture*, ed. Spijker (Leiden 2008), 225–231; and on a similar work by Hugh of Saint-Victor: Grover A. Zinn, “Hugh of St. Victor’s *De scripturis et scriptoribus sacris* as an *accessus* Treatise for the Study of the Bible,” *Traditio* 52 (1997), 111–134. Alan’s sermons are preceded by five of Richard’s sermons (fols. 68^v–72^v); I have not considered these, but one shows a focus on Jerusalem (fol. 70^r).

67 Such transmissions towards monasteries also happened with the *Glossa*; see Lesley Janette Smith, *The “Glossa ordinaria”: The Making of a Medieval Bible Commentary* (Leiden 2009), 171.

68 See d’Alverny, *Textes*, 143; Jean Longère, “L’Écriture sainte dans les Sermones uarii d’Alain

the focus on the cross remains, the liturgical ascription differs from the copies that aligned it with Easter. Only a few folios later, one finds the piece on escaping the North, also without a title (fol. 98^v). The codex comes from the important Benedictine house of Corbie (early 13th cen.) and evidences the wide circulation of Alan's materials.⁶⁹ Just like with the Cistercians, it reveals echoes of Parisian methods: a handy size (c.14×20 cm, 113 fols.); containing solely preaching material; anonymous transmission of the texts; and a clear font in a generous size—once more a codex that could have been flipped open before the preacher. It consists of two works: Alan's *Ars praedicandi* and his sermons, another example of the significant blending of preaching aid and sermon texts—but this is not the *Liber sermonum*, which is usually aligned with the *Ars*. The fact that the treatise is combined here with sermons that appear mostly in polygraphic Parisian collections reveals in this case more proximity to practice than is usually the case with the overall generic *Liber sermonum*.⁷⁰

The four codices each contain both of Alan's sermons, thereby delivering complementary material: the one sermon focuses on the cross, the other develops a broader salvific landscape. At the same time, these codices comprise much further material devoted to the crusading purpose, therefore one can conclude that the crusade was an important subject in these media contexts—and hence in the corresponding institutional and historical contexts. It has become clear how much these manuscripts are indebted to a vivid preaching practice, and how strongly they are dedicated to offering guidance and resources for such. These dimensions have surfaced even more strongly in

de Lille," in: *Alain de Lille, le docteur universel*, ed. Jean-Luc Solère (Turnhout 2005), 450.

69 On the manuscript, see d'Alverny, *Textes*, 116–117. On other crusade texts in Corbie around 1200, see Massimiliano Gaggero, "Western Eyes on the Latin East: The Chronique d'Ernoult et de Bernard le Trésorier and Robert of Clari's Conquête de Constantinople," in: *The French of Outremer*, ed. Laura K. Morreale and Nicholas L. Paul (New York 2018), 93–94. The broad dissemination of Alan's sermons is likewise evidenced by Ms. BL Sloane 1580, which contains another copy of the sermon *Fugite de terra aquilonis* (fol. 106^v) including some interesting variants (see the chapter on the Holy Land).

70 A similar case is Ms. BL Add 19767, a clean copy and collection of Alan's works meant for preservation, penned in the 1230s in the Bavarian monastery of Ottobeuren (see fol. 216^r). Yet, its composition is telling and perhaps based on a copy closer to practice: (a) *Ars praedicandi* (fol. 1^r) including the eight sermons *ad status*; (b) *Liber sermonum* (fol. 52^r) including the sermon *Feria 11 intrante ieiunio* (fol. 72^r), which discusses the events of 1187 and is otherwise not part of the *Liber* (see the chapter on exemplary descriptions for the full text); (c) *Contra haereticos* (fol. 99^r); and (d) Peter the Chanter's *Verbum abbreviatum*, here entitled *Viaticum tendentis Iherusalem* (fol. 153^r). On the codex, see d'Alverny, *Textes*, 114–115.

Alan's case thanks to the multifarious transmission, likely because he was the one who spent most time in Paris among the relevant authors. The media contexts also revealed connections with several institutions (the university, Saint-Victor, the Cistercians): his sermons were widely disseminated and thus put to use. Concluding the examination, the two sermons will each be considered in another copy:

Ms. BNF lat. 3818 represents another polygraphic and practice-related codex of the Parisian milieu: handy size (c.17 × 23 cm, 64 fols.); the manuscript consists solely of the collection; and all sermons are transmitted anonymously. Furthermore, it frequently offers glosses in red ink (usually several per page) that provide keywords to the main text; this delivers an excellent aid to orientation meant for finding material quickly.⁷¹ Alan's cross sermon appears therein as "Sermo de passione domini" (fol. 53^r), without authorial attribution. One also encounters his sermon on Job 7:1 (fol. 60^v),⁷² and his "Sermo de cruce domini" (fol. 41^v), that is, his second Holy Cross sermon, which explicitly discusses the events of 1187 and has been published by d'Alverny.⁷³ Juxtaposing the two sermons *De sancta cruce* makes perfect sense: they complement each other without being repetitive, a familiar pattern. The manuscript comprises further crusade-related texts, including a "Sermo de beato petro apostolo" (fol. 33^r) lamenting that Saracens and heretics are prevalent "in our times" (*temporibus nostris prevaleant, videntur enim tam sarraceni quam heretici prevalere ecclesie dei*) (fol. 34^v).⁷⁴ The codex has 43 sermons altogether, of which only Alan's two pieces on the cross have been published. The rest also poses the question of attribution: I could only attribute one to Prevostin of Cremona thanks to another manuscript. Nothing seems to be known about the codex's origins, yet the early date (early 13th cen.) suggests that it was assembled either by Alan himself or someone close to him.⁷⁵ Whereas I considered only some of its texts,

71 See also Ms. BNF lat. 18172; this polygraphic collection comprises inter alia sermons by Alan and Prevostin; it comes from Notre-Dame in Paris (early 13th cen.) and also offers glosses with keywords to the main text.

72 A gloss betrays that the text encompasses more than spiritual warfare: "de diversis bellorum generibus" (fol. 61^v).

73 The sequence of sermons is once again noteworthy: a piece on *De sancto michael* follows (fol. 43^r), which drafts a bold militant and eschatological vision, while having a holistic understanding of warfare that encompasses both the spiritual and physical (corresponding gloss: "de triplici bello et triplici bellatore"). According to *In principio*, this is the only surviving copy of the sermon.

74 The same passage notes as a gloss *de diversis portis* identifying the heretics as *porte inferni*. On the motif of the gates, see the chapter on Jerusalem. According to *In principio*, this is the only copy.

75 On the manuscript, see d'Alverny, *Textes*, 123, who asserts a Parisian origin (paleographical indications).

it certainly holds further intriguing material on both the crusades and late 12th-century preaching in general.

Ms. Toulouse, Bibliothèque Municipale 195 represents an exceptional testimony that allows us to grasp Alan in a specific historical context.⁷⁶ It contains another copy of his sermon on *Fugite de terra aquilonis*, here without a title (fol. 116^v), and probably its earliest version (c.1200); which is embedded here in a monographic collection. Yet, an organization according to the liturgical calendar is not discernable, and sermons' titles are often missing. Only a few folios away, one finds Alan's sermon on Job 7:1 (fol. 112^v) as well as his "Sermo de clericis ad theologiam non accedentibus" (fol. 101^v), which hints at the events of 1187 and only survived here.⁷⁷ Furthermore, a hitherto unnoticed crusade-related sermon is presented with the incipit "Oriens splendor lucis eterne et sol iustitie" (fol. 96^v, without a title), likewise only surviving in this copy.⁷⁸ The manuscript has a handy size (c.12 × 20 cm, 122 fols.) with a clear and generously large script (once more, lying before the preacher seems very much possible). It consists of two parts that were assembled later; the second part is not relevant (from fol. 127^r).⁷⁹ The first (fols. 1^r–122^v) contains a collection of Alan's works. This miscellany, however, does not seem intended for preservation, but delivers a handbook for preaching activities, so suggests the codex's physical shape as well as its composition and contents. The works contained are: Alan's *Liber poenitentialis* (fol. 1^r), his *Ars praedicandi* (fol. 18^v), and a vast collection of his sermons. These total 51 pieces that one may divide into three groups: (a) the eight sermons *ad status* attached to his *Ars* (fols. 63^r–68^r), appearing here without titles, a fact that renders the *ad status* purpose *ad absurdum*; (b) a first section of 25 sermons, succeeding the former part with a simple line break (fols. 68^r–92^v); and (c) a second section with 18 pieces, separated from the former by a page break (but the same hand seems to continue). The last section is introduced with "Incipiunt sermones magistri alani" (fols. 93^r–122^v). Parts (b) and (c) contain 12 sermons from Alan's *Liber sermonum* as well as ten that have only survived in this copy.

76 On the codex, see d'Alverny, *Textes*, 114, 119–120.

77 See the sermon's examination in the chapter on institutional context.

78 Another copy may exist in Ms. Turin D.v.2, fols. 97^r–98^r—but I have not consulted this codex. See d'Alverny, *Textes*, 124; Joseph N. Garvin, "Introduction," in: Prevostin of Cremona, *The Summa contra haereticos: Ascribed to Praepositinus of Cremona* (Notre Dame, Ind. 1958), xxii–xxiv. This codex likewise originated in southern France (also early 13th cen.) and combines Alan's sermons with Prevostin's *Contra haereticos* (fols. 65^r–78^v), a significant juxtaposition.

79 See d'Alverny, *Textes*, 239. The relevant part: 122 fols.; altogether 192 fols.

Origin and contents suggest that this specimen stems directly from Alan's anti-heretical activities in southern France (1190s): one can determine a specific historical context for the development of this media context. The early date (c.1200) makes it possible either that this was his autograph serving his activities in the region or that he prepared therein material for others, drawing on his experiences (likely the latter). The correlation between historical context and manuscript is substantiated by the fact that the codex contains ten sermons that do not exist in any other copy: these did not circulate in the Parisian milieu. This agrees with the fact that this is a monographic collection with a loose organization—a parallel with Ms. Dijon 219, where we likewise came into contact with Alan's biography. Texts from his *Liber sermonum* and others of his sermons are mixed freely in the Toulouse copy, whereas the two groups are otherwise firmly separated in the transmission—save for Ms. Sainte-Geneviève 2787 for which the same practice-related argument has been formulated. These findings suggest that the author himself drew on his pool flexibly here, in order to assemble materials appropriate for the occasion.

The rich transmission of Alan's sermons makes it possible to substantiate several traits pursued in this chapter: the media contexts reveal a vivid historical practice permeated by crusade-related materials. Similarly, they point to various geographical and institutional contexts (University of Paris, Saint-Victor, Corbie, Cîteaux, southern France), demonstrating that his sermons were successfully disseminated, but they also bring us into contact with his biography, especially the copies from Cîteaux and Toulouse. The media contexts revealed how the same material can be organized differently, a fact that indicates different purposes or interests—from a monastic and classic liturgical organization to freely assembled repositories that reflect practice and specific historical contexts. However, it is a noteworthy result that the monastic copies tried to implement Parisian methods, probably because the copies were related to preaching efforts beyond the monastery's walls. The broad transmission conveys the fact that the texts also served others. The sermons being model-like but also crusade-specific demonstrate how an eminent master shaped the Third Crusade's agenda and supplied others with material that could well have found application beyond the specific expedition—and so it did, as the rich manuscript evidence shows.

4 Archaeological Artefacts of a Historical Practice

The questions formulated at the outset of the chapter are now resumed in order to conclude on the patterns observable in the pertinent corpus of sources: the

texts present themselves throughout as part of sermon collections, whether monographic or polygraphic, with the latter phenomenon largely limited to Paris. These codices, in which four of the nine preachers make an appearance, are overall closer to practice and thus likely closer to preaching events.⁸⁰ It is common scholarly assumption that such contain *reportationes*; this likely includes the copies investigated—yet, one sees that the texts are prepared for future usage.⁸¹ The paratextual framings vary, but they betray throughout that this is preaching material, that is, models for oral communication beyond the clerical milieu. The collections often follow the liturgical calendar, but how many sermons they contain can vary widely. The codices sometimes offer several pieces on the same feast, whereby one observes that those with high crusade potential are combined with those with little or no crusade potential. The aim was clearly to provide diverse materials for the same feast, that is, for different occasions and audiences.⁸² On the other hand, we have also encountered several codices with clusters of crusade material; these usually offer different but complementary material (for example, one sermon focuses on the cross, another on Jerusalem).⁸³ The thematic range covered by such clusters is certainly not coincidental: the crusade represents the brace holding them together; this makes it into the material's most plausible context of application.⁸⁴ In many cases, one finds practical aids to usability that allowed a recipient a quick way of operating: tables of contents, glosses, the numbering of the sermons, and organization according to the liturgical year.⁸⁵ Moreover, sermons often survived in anonymous form; this sometimes pertains to entire collections. The material's usability was essential here; the question of who penned it originally was of little interest.⁸⁶ The chapter frequently hinted at further crusade-related materials in the manuscripts (some has flown into this study's footnotes), including anonymous sermons, which often survived in a

80 Those four preachers are Peter of Blois, Baldwin of Canterbury, Prevostin of Cremona, and Alan of Lille. Furthermore, Hélinand of Froidmont and Ralph Ardens appear in monographic Parisian collections.

81 See, e.g., Ms. Paris, St. Geneviève 2787; BNF lat. 14859.

82 See, e.g., Ms. Troyes 1301; Paris, Mazarine 1041.

83 See, e.g., Ms. BNF lat. 3818; lat. 14859; Toulouse 195; Oxford, Lincoln Coll. 112 and 116.

84 Important approaches have already been developed as to Ms. BNF NAL 999 (see Bériou, *L'Avènement*, 1:58–70, 2:676; Jessalynn L. Bird, "Crusade and Reform: The Sermons of Bibliothèque Nationale, MS nouv. acq. lat. 999," in: *The Fifth Crusade in Context*, ed. Elizabeth Jane Mylod and Guy Perry (London 2017), 92–113).

85 See, e.g., Ms. Paris, St. Geneviève 2787; BNF lat. 3818; lat. 14859; Oxford, Lat. misc. f.14.

86 See, e.g., Ms. Paris, St. Geneviève 2786 and 2787; BNF lat. 3818; BL Sloane 1580; Amiens 301.

single copy (according to *In principio*).⁸⁷ This study focused on sermons attributable to an author; this provides us with better possibilities regarding historical anchoring, but anonymous texts are a vast and untrodden field that would complement the evidence on crusade preaching.⁸⁸ In the manuscripts under discussion, these reinforce the occurrence of crusade clusters, a dimension easily overlooked if only the texts of a specific author are considered.

The manuscripts' state of elaboration varies: sometimes, the titles of sermons are missing; sometimes, it is incomplete overall; sometimes, one detects traces of use such as the ripped-out folios in the Parisian codex with Ralph Ardens' sermons.⁸⁹ Completing such a manuscript was likely not a priority, since it worked in tandem with preaching (thus, time was perhaps lacking, in particular considering crusade mobilization), and could already have served its purpose in an incomplete state. The pertinent corpus does not offer clean copies with embellishing features and meant for preservation, but throughout one observes the practical nature of these books: these derived from practice and were intended to merge back into such practice. This is corroborated by their physical shape: one frequently encounters convenient sizes (both in terms of the size and number of pages) that a preacher could easily carry as his personal handbook.⁹⁰ Several examples have been discussed (examples of the opposite exist as well) where the font size is generous enough to allow a preacher to directly use the material during the delivery of a sermon.⁹¹ These codices are archaeological artefacts of a past discourse practice, in line with Foucault's understanding: each codex was likely the personal book of a specific preacher. These may have been the authors themselves, but in the bulk of cases, these were figures that we cannot identify today, yet they used these resources and thus disseminated the preaching agenda developed in these materials. Some codices were perhaps tied to a specific institution and hence available to more than one user (this is easy to imagine as a secondary adaptation, after a preacher's death).

Regarding the compilation with other texts, one can distinguish two types: some cases represent later copies mixing sermons with other genres and stem-

87 See, e.g., Ms. BNF lat. 3818.

88 On already identified sermons, anonymous and crusade-related, see Bird, "Victorines," 5–28; Bériou, *L'Avènement*, 2:681–682; Constantinos Georgiou, *Preaching the Crusades to the Eastern Mediterranean: Propaganda, Liturgy, and Diplomacy, 1305–1352* (New York 2018), 195.

89 Ms. Paris, St.Geneviève 2786; see also, e.g., Troyes 970; Toulouse 195.

90 See, e.g., Oxford, Lat. misc. f.14; BL Sloane 1580; BL Add 18335; Paris, St.Geneviève 2786; BNF lat. 3818.

91 See, e.g., Ms. BL Arundel 322; Amiens 301; Oxford, Lat. misc. f.14.

ming from an interest in preserving an author's works.⁹² In the bulk of cases, however, that is, in those where this chapter asserted a proximity to practice and author, sermons are usually only aligned with other preaching material. This significantly includes *distinctiones*, as visible in several cases, a genre that delivers further resources on specific motifs.⁹³ Some manuscripts even consist only of a sermon collection.⁹⁴ Such a media context is even more remarkable with later copies: even these do not blend sermons with genres removed from preaching—their transmission usually remains related to preaching activities, instead of freezing into a librarian act of copying.

It is worth pondering on the genres that are not combined with sermons: neither chronicles nor liturgical materials are present.⁹⁵ In those few cases that include other genres, these are either exegetical texts or reform treatises, that is, works also interwoven with preaching and its goals, at least in a wider sense.⁹⁶ Chronicles and liturgical texts, on the other hand, belonged to other registers, stemming from other interests and modes of production. Chronicles were literary products, even if they were subsequently used somehow. This is critically apparent in the case of later crusade chronicles such as those of the three Benedictines, which formulated the explicit goal of rhetorically and theologically refining earlier reports of the First Crusade.⁹⁷ A chronicle's form, its perception and selection of facts, and an individual's very decision to pen one were arbitrary acts. Their purpose was fundamentally different from the sermons, including the point in time when they were penned and the corresponding interests. Thus, it is not surprising that sermons and chronicles were not combined in the manuscripts, just as one must underline the essential distinction between prac-

92 See Ms. BL Royal 8 F XVII; BL Add 19767.

93 See, e.g., Ms. BL Arundel 322; Paris, St. Geneviève 2787; BNF lat. 14859; Troyes 868.

94 See, e.g., Ms. Paris, St. Geneviève 2786; BNF lat. 3818.

95 With a single exception: one codex combines Baldwin of Canterbury's sermon collection, including his *De sancta cruce*, with the *Historia Albigensium* of Peter of Vaux-de-Cernay (Ms. BNF lat. 2601; see Bell, "Introduction," ix–x). This case refers us to a specific historical context and, thus, to a potential application of the sermon material (by other users, since the chronicle dates after Baldwin's death).

96 See Ms. Dijon 219; Troyes 1301; BNF lat. 588; Toulouse 195.

97 See Riley-Smith, *First Crusade*, 135–152. As Rubenstein discussed, chronicles often appear in combination with mythical texts, for example, on Troy or Alexander the Great, a fact that corroborates their literary nature and the register to which they belong (Jay Rubenstein, *Nebuchadnezzar's Dream: The Crusades, Apocalyptic Prophecy, and the End of History* (Oxford 2019), 61, 235; see also Kristin Skottki, *Christen, Muslime und der Erste Kreuzzug: Die Macht der Beschreibung in der mittelalterlichen und modernen Historiographie* (Münster 2015), 240).

tical and artificial texts.⁹⁸ The fact that not even earlier chronicles, especially those of the First Crusade, were assembled with sermons demonstrates that those reports did not serve as immediate sources for preachers. Consequently, one needs to discard such scholarly ideas, at least for the late 12th century.⁹⁹ These results corroborate the textual hierarchy, as discussed in the chapter on institutional context: the Bible, harvested in different genres, and not actual information from the East, served in drafting the vision of the Holy Land.

Considering the same sermon text in different manuscripts yielded two essential results: first, the text remains broadly stable; deviations are minor or even non-existent. This is especially remarkable for cases where we have both model sermon and *reportatio*.¹⁰⁰ The concurrence of the two versions substantiates the argument already developed for the 13th century: one stuck closely to the text; deviations in preaching were less common than one might assume.¹⁰¹ Second, however, the manuscripts reveal essential deviations when it comes to paratext and media context: all codices under discussion are unique in their composition (see also below). This observation refutes the argument that the texts may have been stable because they were distributed in a standardized form and thus say little about practice. The manifold media contexts show adaptations by users (whoever they may have been), occasionally betraying varying purposes in different manuscripts. The case of Peter of Blois' *Conquestio* in particular revealed this: sometimes a model text for preaching, sometimes a letter.¹⁰²

It is another significant phenomenon that a sermon's title occasionally changes from copy to copy despite the fact that its text remains stable: the same text has been used on different occasions and feasts. The manuscripts some-

98 On the media context of chronicles, see Skottki, *Beschreibung*, 231–242; Jay Rubenstein, “Putting History to Use: Three Crusade Chronicles in Context,” *Viator* 35 (2004), 131–168; Damien Kempf, “Towards a Textual Archaeology of the First Crusade,” in: *Writing the Early Crusades*, ed. Kempf and Marcus Bull (Woodbridge 2014), 116–126; Stephen Spencer, “Two Unexamined Witnesses to Ralph of Coggeshall's *Chronicon anglicanum* in London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 371,” *Manuscripta* 62 (2018), 279–286.

99 See, e.g., Jessalynn L. Bird, “Preaching and Narrating the Fifth Crusade: Bible, Sermons and the History of a Campaign,” in: *The Uses of the Bible in Crusader Sources*, ed. Elizabeth Lapina and Nicholas Morton (Leiden 2017), 340. The same applies to pilgrim reports and *Chanson de geste*.

100 See, e.g., for Peter of Blois: Ms. BL Arundel 322 (model texts) and Paris, St. Geneviève 2787 (*reportationes*); or for Alan of Lille: Ms. Amiens 301 (model texts) and BNF lat. 14859 (*reportationes*).

101 See Bataillon, “Approaches,” 21–22; Bataillon, “Sermons rédigés,” 75–77; Bériou, *L'Avènement*, 1108.

102 See Oxford, Lat. misc. f.14 (model text) and, e.g., BNF lat. 2954 (letter).

times also contain notes on audiences.¹⁰³ Such adaptations may have been even quicker with the crusade endeavor, where historical events were dictating the pace: one had perhaps a suitable text, but ascribed to a distant feast, therefore one now used it for another feast, that is, the one offering the next occasion. Divergent titles can thus be read as evidence for the material's use; and it was especially historical events that made such adaptation necessary. The texts remain largely stable despite different implementations, probably because it would have been laborious (and unnecessary) to alter these elaborate models. If one intended to preach something else, one could simply use another model text. At the same time, however, the physical evidence shows that the materials were adapted for varying contexts. This may have included shifts from a crusade-specific use to another purpose, in particular in cases of generic model texts that this study labeled as 'sermons with possible crusade potential.'¹⁰⁴ The codices' places of origin and transmission include (institutional) contexts that point beyond the immediate sphere of the authors: this reveals an entanglement of several institutions, especially between university and monastery, but also an entanglement of institutions and historical events. It reveals specifically how one distributed crusade-related materials after 1187: the surviving manuscripts, even if later copies, are the outcome of these processes.¹⁰⁵ This invites us to reflect on the intentions behind copying: this was not a matter of replicating works for one's own library, but of preparing preaching materials for specific purposes, since interests existed in contemporary society—crusading, the war on heresy, reform ambitions—that generated a growing demand for such. The physical evidence thus substantiates the assumption that these texts reflect a vivid preaching agenda.

One detects two large categories of media contexts that indicate two institutional contexts: the Paris masters and the Cistercians. The examples of Peter of Blois, Ralph Ardens, Prevostin of Cremona, and Alan of Lille unearthed media settings multifariously entangled with a vivid preaching practice. Their texts are transmitted in varying form, precisely because they were agile and found application on different occasions. On the other hand, the Cistercian media

103 For divergent liturgical titles, see, e.g., Paris, St.Geneviève 2787 and Dijon 219 (Alan of Lille); or Ms. BL Royal 8 F xvii and Arundel 322 (Peter of Blois); for notes on audiences, see, e.g., Ms. BL Arundel 322; Dijon 219; BNF lat. 14859.

104 See the section on methodology.

105 In agreement, it belonged to a deacon's duties (an office that, for example, Peter of Blois held) to assist their bishops in supervising the diocese, for example, by inspecting local clerics' preaching skills and offering corresponding support, that is, preaching material (see Morenzoni, *Écoles*, 144–163; Matthew Anthony Doyle, *Peter Lombard and His Students* (Toronto 2016), 103).

contexts, even though they also deliver interesting results, are less dynamic; they conform to a more traditional production. As a result, some Cistercians such as Hélinand of Froidmont were entirely absent from this chapter—even though the contents of their texts are highly pertinent. The monks were more conservative in their approach, the masters more experimental.¹⁰⁶ The divergent institutional contexts between university and monastery produced different media contexts—but when analysing the texts, one observes numerous parallels in ideas and imagery. There are not any noticeable differences between the two groups, since these protagonists left their institutions when engaging in the crusades, taking available texts with them. One observes meaningful entanglements between university and monastery that should warn us about seeing two separate worlds.¹⁰⁷ Apart from the fact that we know about the involvement of specific monks in Paris, the manuscripts reveal permeability in a twofold manner: on the one hand, some monastic copies with sermons of Paris masters have survived (see the codices from Amiens and Cîteaux). On the other, one observes active attempts to implement the new Parisian methods, likely to provide the monks with sermon material, in particular Garnerius as the abbot of Clairvaux seems to have pursued such ambitions. This thus represents a distribution from the center of Paris to the monasteries; monastic preachers, however, were hardly received in the city.¹⁰⁸

Remarkably, all codices under discussion are unique: there are no two copies with the same composition. These are not model sermon collections as the Parisian book trade of the 13th century would know them.¹⁰⁹ Even though many of them have the character of models, the media context reveals agility and proximity to practice. This proximity is sometimes that of the author himself (as visible in some cases), but the phenomenon of the manifold, yet heterogeneous transmission betrays that many anonymous preachers and editors were

106 See Rouse, "Introduction," 2. Notably, both copies of Hélinand's sermons come from Saint-Victor (Ms. BNF lat. 14591 and Mazarine 1041; both with a note of ownership). This shows that he was likewise involved in the Parisian milieu. On the two copies, see Ouy, *Manuscripts*, 2:377–379.

107 This is corroborated, for example, by the fact that the Cistercians used the *Glossa* (see Hendrik Breuer, "Quia salus ex iudeis est' (Joh 4,22). Ein Textzeugnis der rheinischen Kreuzzugspredigt des Heiligen Bernhard von Clairvaux in der *Glossa ordinaria* des Codex 23 der Kölner Dombibliothek," *Mittelalterliche Handschriften der Kölner Dombibliothek* 4 (2012), 115–174, esp. 123; Constance Brittain Bouchard, "The Cistercians and the *Glossa ordinaria*," *The Catholic Historical Review* 86 (2000), 183–192).

108 On the distribution of texts from Paris, see, e.g., Christopher de Hamel, *Glossed Books of the Bible and the Origins of the Paris Book Trade* (Woodbridge 1984); Peter H. Tibber, *The Origins of the Scholastic Sermon, c.1130–c.1210* (PhD thesis, University of Oxford 1983).

109 On the early Parisian book trade, see Rouse, *Manuscripts*, 1:21–33.

active in assembling the works of the well-known masters. The unique media contexts reveal situational adaptation and editorial work. Each manuscript thus represents evidence for putting the texts it contains to use. The phenomenon of the polygraphic collection is evidence for a venue where preachers assembled, to hear each other's sermons and to exchange material. Such activities must have been even more copious in the preparation period of the Third Crusade, considering the Parisian crusade council on *Laetare Jerusalem* (March 1188) or the visits of several preachers (Peter of Blois, Henry of Albano). Consequently, these sermon collections manifest historical change in physical form; following Mary Rouse, they survived so abundantly because they were answering a demand, but, as she emphasizes, this was not a demand for exegesis but for popular preaching.¹¹⁰

110 Rouse, "Statim invenire," 205–206; Rouse, "Introduction," 4.

TABLE 2A Manuscripts

	Origin of manuscript						
	Paris	Clairvaux	Canterbury / Southern England	Cîteaux	Corbie	Southern France	Southern German regions
Baldwin of Canterbury	BNF lat. 14932; BNF lat. 1252; BNF lat. 2601	Troyes 433; Troyes 876	Cambridge, Pembroke 159				
Peter of Blois	St.Gen. 2787		BL Royal 8 F XVII; BL Arundel 322; Bodl. Libr., Lat. misc. f.14; Lambeth Palace 144; Oxford, Magd. Coll. 168				
Ralph Ardens	St.Gen. 2786		Oxford, Lincoln Coll. 112 and 116				
Garnerius of Clairvaux	BNF lat. 588	Troyes 1301; Troyes 970; Troyes 392; Troyes 868; Troyes 32; Troyes 1697	Oxford, Merton Coll. 200				
Henry of Albano		Troyes 509					
Alan of Lille	St.Gen. 2787; BNF lat. 14859; BNF lat. 3818; BNF lat. 18172		BL Sloane 1580; Bodley 409	Dijon 211; Dijon 219	Amiens 301	Toulouse 195; Turin D.V.2	BL Add 19767; Würzburg M.ch. q.158

TABLE 2B Manuscripts

	Nature codex / Proximity to practice				Historical context / Crusade nature			
	Monographic collection	Polygraphic collection	Combination with <i>Distinctiones</i>	Practical aids to usability	Entangled with biography preacher	Entangled with historical context	Cluster of crusade-related material	Indication crusade via prologue or other paratext
Baldwin of Canterbury	Troyes 876; BNF lat. 2601; Cambridge, Pembroke 159	BNF lat. 14932; BNF lat. 1252		BNF lat. 14932; BNF lat. 1252		BNF lat. 2601		BNF lat. 2601
Peter of Blois	BL Royal 8 F XVII; BL Arundel 322	St.Gen. 2787; Oxford, Magd. Coll. 168	BL Arundel 322; St.Gen. 2787	BL Arundel 322; St.Gen. 2787; Bodl. Libr., Lat. misc. f.14; Oxford, Magd. Coll. 168	St.Gen. 2787	Lambeth Palace 144	St.Gen. 2787	Bodl. Libr., Lat. misc. f.14; Lam- beth Palace 144
Ralph Ardens	St.Gen. 2786; Oxford, Lincoln Coll. 112 and 116			St.Gen. 2786	Oxford, Lincoln Coll. 112 and 116		Oxford, Lincoln Coll. 112 and 116	
Garnerius of Clairvaux	Troyes 1301; Troyes 970	Troyes 868	Troyes 392; BNF lat. 588; Troyes 868; Oxford, Merton Coll. 200; Troyes 32; Troyes 1697	Troyes 392; BNF lat. 588; Oxford, Merton Coll. 200; Troyes 32; Troyes 1697	Troyes 868; Troyes 392	Troyes 1301; Troyes 392	Troyes 1301	

TABLE 2B Manuscripts (cont.)

	Nature codex / Proximity to practice				Historical context / Crusade nature			
	Monographic collection	Polygraphic collection	Combination with <i>Distinctions</i>	Practical aids to usability	Entangled with biography preacher	Entangled with historical context	Cluster of crusade-related material	Indication crusade via prologue or other paratext
Henry of Albano					Troyes 509			
Alan of Lille	Dijon 219; Amiens 301; Toulouse 195; BL Add 19767; Turin D.V.2; Dijon 211; Bodley 409	St.Gen. 2787; BNF lat. 14859; BNF lat. 3818; BL Sloane 1580; BNF lat. 18172	St.Gen. 2787; BNF lat. 14859	St.Gen. 2787; BNF lat. 14859; Dijon 219; BNF lat. 3818; Amiens 301; Toulouse 195; BL Add 19767; BNF lat. 18172; Turin D.V.2; Dijon 211; Bodley 409	St.Gen. 2787; Dijon 219; Toulouse 195; Dijon 211	Dijon 219; Toulouse 195; Turin D.V.2	St.Gen. 2787; BNF lat. 3818; BNF lat. 14859; Toulouse 195; Dijon 219	Dijon 219; BL Add 19767; Turin D.V.2
Prevostin of Cremona	BL Add 18335; Arsenal 543; Salzburg, St. Peter VI 32	BNF lat. 14859; BNF lat. 18172	BNF lat. 14859	BL Add 18335; BNF lat. 14859; Salzburg, St. Peter VI 32; BNF lat. 18172			BL Add 18335; BNF lat. 14859	BL Add 18335; Arsenal 543; Salzburg, St. Peter VI 32
Hélinand of Froidmont	Maz. 1041; BNF lat. 14591							
Martin of León	León, San Isidoro II			León, San Isidoro II	León, San Isidoro II		León, San Isidoro II	León, San Isidoro II

Historical Context: Mobilization, Audience, and the Liturgical Calendar

This last chapter anchors the sermon texts in their historical context: it drags them from a vacuum into the historical events as they unfolded during the mobilization of the Third Crusade. This represents a major achievement: previous research either examined other sources to discuss mobilization, while sermons were not satisfactorily integrated. Or it focused on the content of sermons, but without any satisfactory solution for anchoring them historically—despite important preparatory work. From a possible range of approaches,¹ the chapter pursues three: mobilization, audience, and the liturgical calendar. This concludes a process: the chapter on immediate context demonstrated that one can relate all nine authors to the Third Crusade. The task then consisted in identifying texts in their sermon material that could have served this activity. The chapter on media context examined the manuscripts that were already helpful in connecting with the historical context. It became clear that these texts served the practice of preaching; notions of classroom exercises or library preservation do not do justice to these sources. Their practical nature was corroborated by the fact that all manuscripts represent unique copies: the same sermon—even though the text remains largely stable—is presented in a variety of media settings. This thus leads beyond the nine preachers; others used this expedient material, a fact that makes it into an even more valuable source.

There is the larger issue of how crusades were mobilized in the 12th century: Which protagonists were active? Where and when did preaching take place? What societal and geographical distribution may one suppose? Furthermore, there is the issue of whether preaching can be equated with mobilization: Was there also recruitment without preaching, perhaps since one acted on the basis of feudal fealty?² Or may we suppose that clerical instruction was always

1 See, e.g., Jussi Hanska, *Strategies of Sanity and Survival: Religious Responses to Natural Disasters in the Middle Ages* (Helsinki 2002); David d'Avray, *The Preaching of the Friars: Sermons Diffused from Paris before 1300* (Oxford 1985); Hervé Martin, *Le métier de prédicateur en France septentrionale à la fin du moyen âge 1350–1520* (Paris 1988).

2 For this position, see John France, “Patronage and the Appeal of the First Crusade,” in: *The First Crusade. Origins and Impact*, ed. Jonathan Phillips (Manchester 1997), 5–20; Christopher

essential, given that the crusades were certainly religious movements in need of clerical authority and guidance? This chapter will not be able to sort out all of these difficult questions, since this concerns complex issues of causality and motivation, but it will examine the preaching effort's distribution and operating mode. Other scholars will have to address the question of whether there was mobilization beyond that, for example, via considering prosopographical material. Stephen Bennett's important study, with its extensive list of participants, has certainly identified crusaders from northwestern Europe that cannot (directly) be associated with the nine preachers—yet, one should be careful about an *argumentum ex silentio*.³ Beyond the fact that there must have been numerous preaching events that we cannot grasp in any record today,⁴ it is important to note that the present study marks only the beginning in a wide-ranging net of sources. I am convinced that further preachers are waiting in the archives, including further geographical areas such as northern Italy or southern Germany. Moreover, there is the question of the effort's practical organization, which cannot be answered satisfactorily for the period—but one may gather some indications. For the 13th century, this can be traced better thanks to administrative sources, as Christoph Maier in particular has demonstrated.⁵ However, it would be a mistake to think that preaching in the 12th century confined itself to specific occasions and popular figures, as they are present in the chronicles, only because such administrative sources did not yet exist (in general).⁶ The friars institutionalized an existing practice; they

J. Tyerman, "Who Went on Crusades to the Holy Land?" in: *The Horns of Hattin*, ed. Benjamin Z. Kedar (Jerusalem 1992), 13, 24–26; see also Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders, 1095–1131* (Cambridge, UK 1997), 81–105. Bennett offers a nuanced discussion: fealty played a role among the elites; sometimes, entire princely households went on crusade together. However, he underlines that this is not antithetical to religious motivation (Stephen Bennett, *Elite Participation in the Third Crusade* (Woodbridge 2021)).

3 See the list of participants in: Bennett, *Participation*, 220–352.

4 See d'Avray, *Friars*, 61; Jussi Hanska, "Reconstructing the Mental Calendar of Medieval Preaching: A Method and Its Limits—An Analysis of Sunday Sermons," in: *Preacher, Sermon and Audience in the Middle Ages*, ed. Carolyn A. Muessig (Leiden 2002), 295; Augustine Thompson, "From Texts to Preaching: Retrieving the Medieval Sermon as an Event," in: *Preacher, Sermon and Audience in the Middle Ages*, ed. Muessig, 25.

5 Christoph T. Maier, *Preaching the Crusades: Mendicant Friars and the Cross in the Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge, UK 1994). See also Christopher J. Tyerman, *How to Plan a Crusade: Reason and Religious War in the High Middle Ages* (London 2015), who covers the 12th century; and on Barbarossa's crusade: Alan Murray, "Finance and Logistics of the Crusade of Frederick Barbarossa," in: *In laudem Hierosolymitani*, ed. Iris Shagrir and Ronnie Ellenblum (Aldershot 2007), 357–368.

6 For this position, see esp. Penny J. Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades to the Holy Land, 1095–1270* (Cambridge, Mass. 1991), 78–79, 84, 218–219.

did not emerge from a vacuum. This professionalization became necessary due to a growing demand for popular preaching (including the pluralization of crusade frontiers). Preaching before the friars built on the existing church structures, descending through the hierarchy downwards from the bishops, essential figures for crusade preaching in their dioceses, to the simple parish priests. Whereas the perception of the chronicles usually stops at the top of this hierarchy, there is already sporadic evidence for the First Crusade that bishops and parish priests played an essential role in distributing Urban II's call. For example, every crusader was obliged to obtain his priest's permission to depart on crusade.⁷

What sources allow us then to grasp the effort's geographical and societal distribution? Chronicles deliver occasional hints beyond the preaching superstars. This tip of the iceberg provides a glimpse of an existing phenomenon, especially if the often casual remarks suggest that the matter was not extraordinary. Letters, crusade calls, and papal encyclicals are important sources: the naming of addressees and survival in different manuscripts provide valuable insights about the distribution of such calls—whereby not only calls to crusade, but also to preach the expedition are notable evidence; several of which have survived for the Third Crusade. Evidently, the sermon texts represent pivotal evidence, showing not only that preaching took place, but also who preached, what was preached, and how such efforts operated. Even though it remains difficult to attach specific sermon texts to specific preaching occasions, one may argue that this can be neglected if analysing a large corpus. Another possible source whose profound consideration would require a dedicated study are charters: they may provide additional insights, including the identification of further preaching events.⁸

As for anchoring the sermon texts historically, the question of audience is pivotal; sharp tongues may claim that these texts were perhaps only used within the walls of university and monastery (see below). However, on numerous occasions throughout this study, it has been noted that the pertinent texts point beyond these walls. Examining this question in-depth here shall shed

7 See, e.g., *Kreuzzugsbriefe* (111), ed. Hagenmeyer, 138; Robert of Reims, *Historia*, ed. Bull, 7; Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia*, ed. Hagenmeyer, 134–135; discussed by Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading* (Philadelphia 1986), 31, 35. See also Riley-Smith, *First Crusaders*, 10, 14.

8 Bennett pointed to these sources' potential: he identified in a charter an assembly devoted to the crusade endeavor (early 1188), held in a monastery close to Liège and supervised by the bishop of Liège, after having hosted the large clerical crusade council in his town (Bennett, *Participation*, 52; for the source, see *Crusade Charters*, ed. Slack, 90–92).

light on both specific social groups and the religious identities that sermons proposed to their listeners (see table 6). This will show that the contemporary preaching agenda conceived of a pan-Christian audience that did not confine itself to the boundaries of social classes. Furthermore, a skeleton of mobilization, built with the help of available sources (chronicles, letters, papal encyclicals), shall map the societal and geographical distribution (see table 7). This happens for discussing essential mechanisms of mobilization such as calls to preach the crusade or the role of bishops (whether as preachers or participants), including their relations with our nine authors (see tables 3 and 5). Finally, this skeleton incorporates another essential element: the liturgical calendar. Sermon texts are usually ascribed to a feast and thus provide a date within the liturgical year. Holding the calendar over the skeleton built up with other sources, one can look out for correspondences: Can one align a pertinent sermon text with simultaneous efforts such as assemblies or preaching tours? The objective thus consists in identifying occasions that required preaching material; while this study has determined sermon texts that could have served the very same occasions (see table 4).⁹

1 The Question of Mobilization: Preaching before the Friars

There is the larger issue of how one may imagine preaching before the advent of the friars: What was its quality and with what frequency did it occur? Which audiences did it reach? And how did the written resources relate to common preaching practice? Considering the state of research does not really help here; notions of preaching before the friars remain mostly vague and abstract.¹⁰ The bulk of sermon-related scholarship begins only with their advent and often regards the preceding period as an epoch not yet aware of the merits of preaching.¹¹ Yet, it is true that the evidence before the 13th century only permits

9 Georgiou also identified this challenge; he suggested plausible preaching occasions for some sermon texts of the early 14th century (Constantinos Georgiou, *Preaching the Crusades to the Eastern Mediterranean: Propaganda, Liturgy, and Diplomacy, 1305–1352* (New York 2018), 134–144).

10 See, e.g., d'Avray, *Friars*, 13–28; Nicole Bériou, *L'avènement des maîtres de la Parole: la prédication à Paris au xiii^e siècle* (Paris 1998), 1:15–21.

11 See, e.g., Larissa Taylor, *Soldiers of Christ: Preaching in Late Medieval and Reformation France* (New York 1992), 61; Eyal Poleg, "A Ladder Set up on Earth': The Bible in Medieval Sermons," in: *The Practice of the Bible in the Middle Ages*, ed. Susan Boynton (New York 2011), 208–210; Christoph T. Maier, "Propaganda und Diversifikation der Kreuzzüge im 13. Jahrhundert," in: *Die Kreuzzugsbewegung im römisch-deutschen Reich (11.–13. Jahrhundert)*,

limited insights into practice; one can sometimes only speculate about the extent of such activities. This reveals a noteworthy tension: indebted to the Gospels, preaching had been an essential tool for teaching the congregation and developing a Christian identity since the dawn of Christendom. The ecclesiastical structures, as they had likewise existed since early Christian times, made every Christian a member of a congregation, whose priest frequently conducted mass and the Eucharist—and preaching was a key component of these practices, at least on some feast days.¹² Yet, as we know, the education of simple priests was meager and thus obstructed the delivery of a theologically sound and rhetorically sharp sermon; this was a key point for the activities of the 12th-century reform movement. As a result, a potential divergence between duty and practice existed: Did the simple parish clergy deliver sermons but of poor quality, perhaps even problematic in terms of orthodoxy? Was there consequently a significant gap between existing preaching material and its non-existent parochial use?¹³ Or should we assume that they did not preach at all? We are not able to answer these questions satisfactorily, yet we must broach them. One must assume a high degree of variability, especially if one follows the lore that a priest was educated by his predecessor and thus inherited his education.¹⁴ The standards may have varied greatly from parish to parish: some priests were perhaps entirely incapable of delivering sermons. Others may have tried, if in a modest form (these would have been grateful

ed. Nikolas Jaspert and Stefan Tebruck (Ostfildern 2015), 241–242. Recent work on early medieval preaching suggests that there is still much potential for developing our understanding of preaching before the friars (see Christoph Galle, *Predigen im Karolingerreich: Die homiletischen Sammlungen von Paulus Diaconus, Lantperhtus von Mondsee, Rabanus Maurus und Haymo von Auxerre* (Turnhout 2023); Maximilian Diesenberger, *Predigt und Politik im frühmittelalterlichen Bayern: Arn von Salzburg, Karl der Große und die Salzburger Sermones-Sammlung* (Berlin 2016); Diesenberger, “Der Zorn der Richter. Friedensdiskurse in Predigten und Kapitularien in der Karolingerzeit,” in: *Das Recht in die eigene Hand nehmen?*, ed. Christine Reinle and Anna-Lena Wendel (Baden-Baden 2021), 29–42).

- 12 See Thompson, “Texts,” 22; Phyllis Barzillay Roberts, *Studies in the Sermons of Stephen Langton* (Toronto 1968), 21–22; Franco Morenzoni, *Des écoles aux paroisses: Thomas de Chobham et la promotion de la prédication au début du XIII^e siècle* (Paris 1995), 138. See also the historical overview in: Ronald James Stansbury, *Preaching before the Friars: The Sermons of Ralph Ardent (c.1130–c.1215)* (PhD thesis, Ohio State University 2001), 17–80.
- 13 This is d’Avray’s opinion; the friars closed this gap (d’Avray, *Friars*, 6).
- 14 See, e.g., Stansbury, *Before the Friars*, 27; Joseph Ward Goering, *William de Montibus (c.1140–1213): The Schools and the Literature of Pastoral Care* (Toronto 1992), 59–60.

for the supply of materials). And there were also educated clerics, even more so the more one climbs up the hierarchy, critically the figure of the bishop, an essential preaching protagonist since early Christian times.¹⁵ Wherever one can grasp an educated cleric, one can expect frequent preaching: this is the minimal position, but even this reveals a net that covered a certain amount of Christendom.

Estimates suggest that the University of Paris had around 200 students in the late 12th century.¹⁶ A student usually stayed for three to five years, let us say five; this means that every five years around 200 educated clerics returned to their dioceses and fulfilled some kind of duty there. Let us suppose that they were active for around 25 years (and this is a conservative estimate), this makes around 1000 active and educated clerics—just from Paris. Taking the other schools into account, one could easily double the number. These estimates demonstrate that one can safely expect a certain cohort of educated clerics capable of delivering sermons. Thus, such may not have been the majority, but they were not an exception either.¹⁷ What one can say specifically for the late 12th century is that many ambitions and approaches preceded the friars.¹⁸ Nevertheless, one may rightly ask if theory and practice deviated.¹⁹ While the development of elaborate preaching materials and the goals of the reform movement are obvious, there is the question of whether this generation perhaps still failed in putting this program (extensively) into practice. Here the factor of variability comes into play: already in the late 12th century, several figures, in different regions and anchored in ecclesiastical structures, started to implement the program. This included Maurice of Sully in the diocese of Paris, Thomas of Chobham (c.1160–c.1235) in the diocese of Salisbury, or Alan of Lille with his *Liber sermonum* and *Ars praedicandi*.²⁰ Martin of León's *Liber sermonum* was an attempt to realize the Parisian program in the

15 See, e.g., Stansbury, *Before the Friars*, 20–22, 307–308.

16 See, e.g., Roberts, *Sermons*, 2.

17 This is an essential conclusion in: Richard W. Southern, *Scholastic Humanism and the Unification of Europe: Foundations* (Oxford 1995), 131–134; the presence of educated clerics in the ecclesiastical structures procured a much quicker distribution of university methods than usually assumed.

18 See, e.g., Stansbury, *Before the Friars*, 78–80, 312; Riccardo Quinto, “Peter the Chanter and the ‘Miscellanea del Codice del Tesoro’ (Etymology as a Way for Constructing a Sermon),” in: *Constructing the Medieval Sermon*, ed. Roger Andersson (Turnhout 2007), 68–70.

19 See, e.g., Goering, *William de Montibus*, 59–63.

20 On Maurice of Sully, see Bériou, *L'Avènement*, 1:21–30. On Thomas of Chobham, see Morenzoni, *Écoles*, esp. 10, 147–148. Similarly, Peter Comestor prepared Peter Lombard's *Sententiae* in an abbreviated and simplified form (entitled *De sacramentis*), intended as a

diocese of León, including the preaching of crusades. He spends many pages instructing his brothers in San Isidoro in the goals and requirements of popular preaching.²¹ Yet, these were still regional phenomena, test runs, and pioneering work, efforts that the friars would institutionalize. Similarly, the late 12th century already offered numerous sermon texts for feast days, but not yet for Sundays (save for the collection of Ralph Ardens). This consistent pattern indicates a practice: preaching on feast days was already common, but not yet on Sundays.

The microcosm of the Third Crusade, certainly a time of heightened productivity, and its accompanying goals (liturgical practices, reform efforts) represented a major milestone for putting the agenda into practice. The nine preachers reveal both educational background in the university and attachment to ecclesiastical structures that gave them occasion to realize the program.²² One may reasonably suppose that they were successful overall, as the rich crusade mobilization as well as their sermons' practical preparation in copious manuscript evidence suggests. They fulfilled the role of vectors: if each of them inspired only ten other clerics, then the number of crusade preachers easily exploded—and these were all distributing the same preaching agenda. A factor of one to ten is a conservative estimate considering the clerical interest in crusading, the vivid attendance of the councils, the calls to preach the crusade, and clerical participation in the expedition. Among the latter are four of our nine authors, several chroniclers (such as Roger of Howden), and at least 39 bishops.²³ The bishops were essential preaching protagonists before the friars: 39 as participants represents an enormous number. These were dispersed over

practical handbook for simple priests; see Matthew Anthony Doyle, *Peter Lombard and His Students* (Toronto 2016), 174. See also on Richard of Saint-Victor: Stansbury, *Before the Friars*, 67.

- 21 See, e.g., Martin of León, *De diversis, Sermo 11*, 146, 162–166, 180–181; discussed by Alexander Marx, “The unique Liber Sermonum of Martin of León (c.1130–1203): The Third Crusade, popular preaching, and the liturgical front,” *Journal of Medieval History* (forthcoming).
- 22 Four of the nine were masters (Peter of Blois, Ralph Ardens, Alan of Lille, and Prevostin of Cremona); three others most likely studied in Paris, judging from the educational background in their writings (Martin of León, Hélinand of Froidmont, and Garnerius of Clairvaux).
- 23 See the lists in Bennett, *Participation*, 220–352; John D. Hosler, *The Siege of Acre, 1189–1191: Saladin, Richard the Lionheart, and the Battle that Decided the Third Crusade* (New Haven 2018), 184–195; and Ansbert, *Historia*, ed. Chroust, 18. On chroniclers joining the expedition, see Hosler, “Embedded Reporters? Ambroise, Richard de Templo, and Roger of Howden on the Third Crusade,” in: *Military Cultures and Martial Enterprises in the Middle Ages*, ed. Hosler and Steven Isaac (Martlesham 2020), 177–191. My collection of 39 bishops has tried to consider sources of several regions but may well have overlooked somebody.

France, England, Italy, and the Empire. One may suppose that every participant also preached the crusade (primarily in his own diocese) and likely continued preaching during the venture. The participants were complemented by further bishops who were involved in the crusade's mobilization. However, it is remarkable that hardly any sermon texts have survived from episcopal pens (save for Baldwin of Canterbury and Maurice of Sully). Those who wrote sermons did not represent the first political flight, but the second or third, as can be seen in the case of our nine authors (save for Baldwin and Henry of Albano). It is thus likely that bishops used material that others had composed for them.²⁴ The next logical step consists in establishing connections between the authors and the bishops involved in the crusade: at least 63 direct relations with 29 different bishops can be determined (see table 3). And this is only a preliminary result, since this study did not conduct a profound network analysis. Some relations have already been addressed, including that between Peter of Blois and Baldwin of Canterbury as well as that between Hélinand of Froidmont and Philip of Dreux. Another plausible connection is found between Ralph Ardens (Richard Lionheart's chaplain) and the archbishop of Tours, Bartholomew of Vendôme, from whom Richard took the cross. One may also consider such in the case of Garnerius of Clairvaux and Henry of Albano—even though the latter's work already offered a rich resource for preaching.

While the dioceses seem to have been an important factor for preaching since the dawn of the crusade movement, the Third Crusade initiated a new stage: bishops acted increasingly beyond their own dioceses through preaching tours and delegations (such as Baldwin in Wales and northern France, on the latter occasion accompanied by Bishop Hugh of Lincoln). The same applies to their presence at several assemblies (such as those in Geddington or Liège).²⁵ The Third Crusade's mobilization went beyond ecclesiastical struc-

These include the bishops of Beauvais, Chartres, Besançon, Langres, Liège, Cambrai, Bayonne, Évreux, Auch, Coutances, Toulon, Théroüanne, Bordeaux, Arles-le-Blanc, Rouen, Reims, Tours, Canterbury, Salisbury, Durham, Bath, Coventry, Norwich, Fano, Asti, Verona, Pisa, Ravenna, Strasburg, Würzburg, Münster, Passau, Győr, Regensburg, Meissen, Basel, Osnabrück, Toul, and Tarentaise.

24 Bird suggests a similar purpose for Caesarius' *Dialogus miraculorum* (Jessalynn L. Bird, "The Victorines, Peter the Chanter's Circle, and the Crusade: Two unpublished Crusading Appeals in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. Latin 14470," *Medieval Sermon Studies* 48 (2004), 14). Another case is Stephen of Tournai, abbot of Saint-Geneviève, who penned sermons for the archbishop of Tours (see Bériou, *L'Avènement*, 1:40). Such a purpose also suggests itself for sermons *In dedicatione ecclesiae* (such as those by Peter of Blois or Ralph Ardens), since a church was dedicated by a bishop.

25 See Cole, *Preaching*, 72; Kathryn Hurlock, *Wales and the Crusades, c.1095–1291* (Cardiff 2011), 65.

tures, thereby once more anticipating the friars. The existing networks were certainly crucial for this development, notably the epicenter of Paris that connected the nine preachers with several regions. Significant relations existed between southern England and northern France, but also with northern Italy with the epicenter of the Curia: Peter of Blois and Henry of Albano sojourned there in 1187; Martin of León was likewise in Italy at the time; Prevostin of Cremona went there after the Third Crusade, devoting himself to anti-heretical activities. Henry of Albano reveals contacts with the western Empire, where one moved from its eastern parts to attend the great councils, while Martin of León connected Paris, Italy, and Iberia. Contacts with Iberia are also visible in the two encyclicals by Clement III (May and June 1188) that called on the archbishop of Toledo and his suffragans to crusade on the Peninsula as well as for corresponding preaching activity, offering the same remission of sin (*eandem remissionem*) and thus initiating a holistic war *contra Sarracenos*.²⁶ Clement had already issued a letter with a similar purpose in February 1188, addressed to Baldwin of Canterbury and his suffragans.²⁷ It transpires that the bishops operated as essential points of contact for distributing the mobilization effort.²⁸

Finally, it is significant that the three centers for preaching the Third Crusade—Paris, Canterbury, and Clairvaux—reveal manifold relations, both on a personal level (as became apparent throughout this study, considering the immense number of parallels in texts and ideas) and regarding institutions and manuscripts (see especially the chapter on media context). These three centers shaped an axis of mobilization, reaching from southern England, over the Ile-de-France, to Burgundy; and one could easily extend it to northern Italy with the Curia. It is certainly not a coincidence that the expedition was pre-

26 *Papsturkunden* (no.253), ed. Berger, 466–468; and (no.256), 474–477. Both refer to *Audita tremendi*. Contacts with Iberia also existed via the order of Calatrava, which was affiliated with the Cistercians since 1187, and which Garnerius supported at the time of the Fourth Crusade (Garnerius of Clairvaux, *Pro militibus*, 283–286; see Jean-Charles Didier, “Garnier de Rochefort. Sa vie et son œuvre,” *Collectanea Cisterciensia* 17 (1955), 147; Christian Krötzel, “Die Cistercienser und die Mission ‘ad paganos’, ca. 1150–1250,” *Analecta Cisterciensia* 61 (2011), 293–294). On Cistercians in Iberia, see also Jonathan R. Wilson, “‘Neither Age nor Sex Sparing’: The Alvor Massacre 1189, an Anomaly in the Portuguese Reconquista?” *Journal of Medieval Iberian Studies* 12 (2020), 216–218.

27 Cited in Gerald of Wales, *De principis instructione*, 236–239.

28 This was still the case under Innocent III, as the list of addressees attached to the encyclical *Pium et sanctum* (1213) demonstrates; it primarily consists of bishops (see Cole, *Preaching*, 107–108).

dominantly mobilized along this axis, but this reveals the essential role played by the nine preachers. Departing from the axis, one observes an emanation into further regions: Baldwin of Canterbury and Peter of Blois with the tour in Wales; Ralph Ardens in Tours and Poitiers; Henry of Albano in Flanders and the western Empire; perhaps also Martin of León for further Italian regions. These preachers betray a surprisingly even distribution over several important regions, often in cooperation with vital political protagonists—it almost seems as if there were agreements on how to cover larger areas. One can rightfully deem Canterbury, Paris, and Clairvaux centers of mobilization: they were home to important preachers; and these were centers for the production of crusade-related texts, as visible in the manuscript evidence (but also, for example, in Baldwin's ambitions as a patron of textual production).²⁹ These thus acted as hubs in a wider network and were likely magnets for other preachers, probably also for collecting preaching material. Furthermore, one may assume that the resident preachers delivered the bulk of their preaching at the same venues, and that these places were, therefore, also magnets for potential crusaders, especially in the cases of Canterbury and Paris as the sees of their dioceses.

1.1 *Table 3: Bishops Involved in the Third Crusade*

This table depicts relations between the nine preachers and the bishops involved in the expedition. It distinguishes between preaching bishops (Pr) and participating bishops (Pa); as can be seen, some did both. In every documented case, there is explicit evidence, for example, from chronicles or charters, that the bishop was active as a preacher or participant. The table demonstrates that not only simple connections between one author and one bishop exist, but often several authors had contact with the same bishop: a network becomes apparent in which those two preachers who were themselves bishops, Baldwin of Canterbury and Henry of Albano, were cardinal points. Through their ecclesiastical offices and preaching tours, the two acted as nodes in a wider network that revealed its effectiveness in the face of crusade recruitment. Lastly, it shall be noted that blank spaces are not significant: a sound network analysis could certainly detect further connections, for example, by considering charters. The table distinguishes four types of entries according to the sources and the nature of the relationship:

- (a) “?” designates a plausible relation, which I could not grasp anywhere explicitly. For example, we know that Henry of Albano was in Paris on the eve

29 On Baldwin's ambitions, see the chapter on immediate context.

of the crusade, where Alan and Prevostin were important preachers, but it was not possible to determine personal contact.

- (b) 'x' designates a simple connection: there is a source which connects the two persons or, for example, the two participated in the same council such as Baldwin of Canterbury and Philip of Dreux in the Council of Gisors. Another example, Peter of Blois belonged to Baldwin's entourage, as did Hubert Walter, at the time bishop of Salisbury; both also joined the expedition in the archbishop's service. However, if we cannot grasp the relationship more precisely, a simple connection is noted.
- (c) 'xx' stands for a more intense connection or a significant piece of evidence concerned with mobilizing the crusade, for example, the letter that Peter of Blois addressed to the bishop of Rouen, calling on him to preach a new venture in the 1190s. This category also encompasses when two figures' sermons or other texts appear together in a manuscript, as in the case of Alan of Lille and Maurice of Sully, bishop of Paris. Such evidence displays that they belonged to the same circles; they may even have preached on the same occasion.
- (d) 'xxx' designates an intense or permanent relationship, often with an institutional background, about whose nature we know more details. In these cases, it is highly likely that the bishop used his cleric's texts, for example, in the case of the relationship between Philip of Dreux and Hélinand of Froidmont (which the latter describes as a friendship). Another example is the connection between the pope and Peter of Blois, both at the Curia in 1187; the writings of the two show significant parallels.

TABLE 3 Bishops involved in the Third Crusade

Bishops who are preachers (Pr) or participants (Pa)	Preachers of the Third Crusade									
	Baldwin of Canterbury	Peter of Blois	Ralph Ardens	Garnerius of Clairvaux	Henry of Albano	Hélinand of Froidmont	Alan of Lille	Prevostin of Cremona	Martin of León	
Baldwin of Canterbury (Pr / Pa)	–	xxx	x		x			?		
Henry of Albano (Pr)	x	xxx	?	xxx	–	?	?	?		
Philip of Dreux (Beauvais) (Pr / Pa)	x				x	xxx	?	?		
Maurice of Sully (Paris) (Pr)		xx	?		x		xx	xx	?	
Bishop Tours (Pr / Pa)	x		xx		x					
Bishop Langres (Pa)				x						
Hubert Walter (Salisbury) (Pa)	x	xxx								
Bishop Rouen (Pr / Pa)	x	xx								
Bishop Reims (Pr)		x		xx	xx		?	?	?	
Bishop Bourges (Pr)	?	x		x	xx		xx	?		
Stephen of Tournai (Pr)	xx	?	xx		xx		x	x		
Bishop Liège (Pr / Pa)					x					
Bishop Strasbourg (Pr / Pa)					xx					
Bishop Würzburg (Pr / Pa)					xx					
Bishop Bath (Pa)	?	x								
Bishop Lincoln (Pr)	xx	x								
Bishop London (Pr)	xx	x								
Bishop Rochester (Pr)	xx		?							
Bishop Saint-David's (Pr)	x	x								
Bishop Saint Asaph (Pr)	xx	x								
Bishop Orleans (Pr)		xx								
Bishop Hereford (Pr)	xx	x	?							

TABLE 3 Bishops involved in the Third Crusade (*cont.*)

Bishops who are preachers (Pr) or participants (Pa)	Preachers of the Third Crusade									
	Baldwin of Canterbury	Peter of Blois	Ralph Ardens	Garmerius of Clairvaux	Henry of Albano	Hélinand of Froidmont	Alan of Lille	Prevostin of Cremona	Martin of León	
Bishop Mainz (Pr)		xx			xx			x		
Bishop Cologne (Pr)					x					
Bishop Le Mans (Pr)	x									
Bishop Nantes (Pr)	x									
Bishop Arras (Pr)	x	x		x	x					
Sicard of Cremona (Pr)		?			?			x	?	
Bishop Rome (Pr)	xx	xxx			xxx				?	

1.2 *Table 4: Preaching Events and the Liturgical Calendar*

This table is concerned with anchoring the relevant sermon texts in their historical context, that is, the events that mobilized the Third Crusade. It identifies occasions for preaching, that is, occasions requiring sermon material, both prior to and during the venture. These include the arrival of the news in late 1187, the councils in Mainz and Paris in late March 1188, and the preaching tour in northern France in the summer and autumn of 1188. The table compares these recruitment efforts with the liturgical calendar, since sermons are usually ascribed to a liturgical feast and thus provide a date. Drawing on the documented whereabouts and activities of the preachers, one can thus identify occasions for preaching, while this study has identified a sermon text that could have served the very same occasion. We cannot know whether this did actually happen; this remains hypothetical—but as the table demonstrates, one detects a number of such concurrences, and these can hardly be coincidental in their quantity. Consequently, the table shows that it is possible to approach with great plausibility the origins and contexts of application of these texts. These thus stand not only in a thematic but also in a causal and chronological relationship with the endeavor. The allocation of sermon texts to preaching occasions is substantiated by surviving liturgical imperatives (papal or legatine) that called for crusade preaching on specific feast days, for instance, on Maundy Thursday.

For example, a sermon by Peter of Blois, ascribed to the feast of the Archangel Michael (29 Sept.), holds high crusade potential (*Sermo 39*). Its discussion of the events of 1187 provides a *terminus post quem*: the earliest date for its preaching is thus September 1188. We know that Peter was traveling in northern France at the time, in the service of the crusade, and together with Henry II and Baldwin: this concurrence indicates with high probability the occasion for delivering the sermon. Another excellent example is a sermon for Advent by Garnerius of Clairvaux, which holds similarly high crusade potential (*Sermo 4*); it evokes the events of 1187 by sketching Jerusalem's pollution by pagan practices. At the same time, there are liturgical imperatives by both Henry of Albano and Gregory VIII that called for crusade preaching in Advent. Two occasions present themselves here: either the sermon was a direct reaction to the news arriving in the autumn of 1187, or it was a reaction to the letter which Richard Lionheart sent to Garnerius in the summer of 1191, calling him to keep preaching the crusade in the West. An arrival by Advent seems plausible, and we know that Garnerius reacted to it, since he forwarded it to the archbishop of Reims.³⁰

30 See Jean-Charles Didier, "Une lettre inédite de Garnier de Rochefort," *Collectanea Cister-*

The table distinguishes between plausible and possible preaching occasions: the plausible occasions (normal font) are those where a definite occasion or need is detectable; the challenge then remains to align it with a suitable text. The concurrences, as the table depicts them, demonstrate that a plausible candidate exists. The possible occasions (italics) identify more hypothetical possibilities that we cannot pin down in the evidence (for example, since we do not always know a preacher's whereabouts). What the table depicts represents a minimum that does not even consider two essential factors: on the one hand, that model sermons could easily have been used for widely different feasts (as their changing titles in different copies show); on the other, that other protagonists used this material, notably bishops, but also the indications provided by the manuscripts with their diverse spatial, institutional, and media contexts. A crusade-appropriate sermon for, say, Palm Sunday may have been used on the feast in 1188 at more than one venue simultaneously.

A noteworthy outcome consists in two clusters: first, one sees a cluster of both suitable sermon texts and liturgical imperatives in autumn, especially with Advent and All Saints. This fits perfectly with the arrival of the news in 1187, an event that certainly triggered a significant response in preaching. Second, there is a cluster in spring with Lent and Easter, again both suitable sermon texts and liturgical imperatives. This fits perfectly with the main recruitment phase, spanning the large assemblies and preaching tours, events that were accompanied by the activities of numerous preachers. These clusters substantiate that the comparison of liturgical calendar and mobilization efforts does indeed bring us close to sermons that were delivered or even first composed in this historical context. The historical anchoring therefore corroborates the textual analyses: these are texts with high crusade potential that most likely stood in causal and chronological relationship with recruitment for the Third Crusade.

ciensia 18 (1956), 190–198. The letter's quotation in Roger of Howden's chronicle suggests its dissemination to further addressees. An abbreviated version is also found in: Ralph of Diceto, *Ymagines*, 95.

TABLE 4A Preaching events and the liturgical calendar

			1187		
Liturgical imperatives by			Arrival of news Hattin and Cross	Council of Strasburg	Cross taking Lionheart
1 Mon Lent	Feria II infrante ieiunio				
1 Wed Lent	Feria IV in cap- ite ieiunii				
4 Sun Lent	Laetare Jerus- alem	Henry of Albano			
6 Sun Lent	Palm Sunday				
Thurs before Easter	Maundy Thursday	Henry of Albano			
Fr-Mon	Easter	Henry of Albano			
03 May	In inventione sanctae crucis				
Aug.	Dominica X post trinitatem				
10 Aug.	Laurentius				
15 Aug.	Assumption Mary				
14 Sept.	In exaltatione sanctae crucis				

1188

Arrival of news Jerusalem	Council of Liège	Councils of Mainz and Paris	Preaching tour Wales	Journeys in summer (Paris, Clairvaux)	Journey Henry II to Northern France
Alan, Feria II intrante ieiunio	Alan, Feria II intrante ieiunio				
Ralph, Pars (1), Sec- tion (1), Sermo 32	<i>Ralph, Pars (1), Section (1), Sermo 32</i>				
		Alan, Laetare Jer- usalem; Ralph, Pars (1), Section (1), Sermo 41; Henry, De per. civ. Dei; <i>Prevostin, Porta orientalis</i>	<i>Peter, Sermo 52</i>		
<i>Martin, Sermo 18; Hélinand, Sermo 8 and 10; Ralph, Pars (1), Section (1), Sermo 46</i>					
Martin, Sermo 22			Peter, Sermo 19		
Garnerius, Sermo 19 and 37; Ralph, Pars (1), Section (1), Sermo 49			Peter, Sermo 17 and 19; Baldwin, Sermo 8		
<i>Martin, De sancta cruce; Alan, De cruce domini</i>					
					<i>Ralph, Pars (1), Section (2), Sermo 23</i>
				Peter, Sermo 32 Garnerius, Sermo 28; Bald- win, Sermo 14	
			<i>Alan, De cruce domini</i>		Baldwin, Sermo 8

TABLE 4A Preaching events and the liturgical calendar (*cont.*)

			1187		
Liturgical imperatives by			Arrival of news Hattin and Cross	Council of Strasburg	Cross taking Lionheart
29 Sept.	Archangel Michael				
01 Nov.	All Saints	Letter Barbarossa to Saladin	Ralph, Pars (11), De tempore, Sermo 41		Ralph, Pars (11), De tempore, Sermo 41
Nov.	Dominica XXIII post trinitatem		Ralph, Pars (1), Sec- tion (2), Sermo 48		Ralph, Pars (1), Section (2), Sermo 48
Dec. (4 Sun)	Advent	Henry of Albano; Gregory VIII	Garnerius, Sermo 4; Prevostin, In adventu (1) and (11); <i>Petrus, Sermo</i> 52	Henry, De per. civ. Dei	

1188

Arrival of news
Jerusalem

Council of Liège

Councils of
Mainz and Paris

Preaching
tour Wales

Journeys in
summer (Paris,
Clairvaux)

Journey
Henry II to
Northern
France

Peter, Sermo 39

Peter, Sermo 41
and 42

*Henry, De per.
civ. Dei*

TABLE 4B Preaching events and the liturgical calendar

		1189			
		Liturgical imper- atives	Scheduled departure of Henry II	Departure of Barbarossa / Philip of Dreux	Coronation of Lion- heart
1 Mon Lent	Feria II intra te iei- unio				
1 Wed Lent	Feria IV in capite ieiunii				
4 Sun Lent	Laetare Jerus- alem	Henry of Albano			
6 Sun Lent	Palm Sunday			<i>Hélinand, Sermo 8 and 10</i>	
Thurs before Easter	Maundy Thursday	Henry of Albano	Peter, Sermo 17 and 19		
Fr- Mon	Easter	Henry of Albano			
03 May	In inventione sanctae cru- cis				
Aug.	Dominica X post trinit- atem				
10 Aug.	Laurentius				
15 Aug.	Assumption Mary				
14 Sept.	In exaltatione sanctae cru- cis				Ralph, Pars (II), De tempore, Sermo 36; Baldwin, Sermo 8
29 Sept.	Archangel Michael				
01 Nov.	All Saints	Letter Barbarossa to Saladin			
Nov.	Dominica XXIII post trinitatem				
Dec. (4 So)	Advent	Henry of Albano; Gregory VIII			

1190				1191	
Departure of Baldwin	Siege of Acre	Departure of Lionheart / Philip II	Stay in Sicily during winter	Arrival letter of Lionheart after capture of Acre	Stay in Acre
			Ralph, Pars (1), Section (1), Sermo 32		
			Ralph, Pars (1), Section (1), Sermo 41		
Peter, Sermo 17 and 19; Baldwin, Sermo 8			Ralph, Pars (1), Section (1), Sermo 49		
				Ralph, <i>De tempore</i> , Sermo 19; Martin, <i>De sancta cruce</i>	
		Ralph, Pars (1), Section (2), Sermo 23		Ralph, Pars (1), Section (2), Sermo 23	
	Peter, Sermo 32				
	Baldwin, Sermo 14				
	Baldwin, Sermo 8; Peter, Sermo 17			Ralph, Pars (11), <i>De tempore</i> , Sermo 36; Martin, <i>De sancta cruce</i>	
	Peter, Sermo 39				
	Peter, Sermo 41 and 42		Ralph, Pars (11), <i>De tempore</i> , Sermo 41		
			Ralph, Pars (1), Section (2), Sermo 48		
				Garnerius, Sermo 4 and 37	

1.3 *Table 5: Letters Related to Crusade Mobilization*

This table assembles the main letters concerned with mobilizing the venture, focusing on intra-European letters that deal with preaching and crusade preparation, complemented by those sent from the Holy Land during the expedition, especially those calling for remote spiritual support. The letters that reported on Hattin and Jerusalem's loss in 1187–1188 are not included. The column on spatial distribution encompasses three parameters, focusing on where the letters were received: the localization of its addressees (in cases where specific addressees are noted), the localization of chronicles that cite the letter, and the distribution according to its surviving manuscripts. Besides the popes, two letter writers stand out, Peter of Blois and Henry of Albano: both penned crucial texts entitled as letters and concerned with mobilization. The two act as cardinal points in a network. Furthermore, several calls to preach the crusade survived: this is valuable evidence for the effort's vast extent, far beyond the spotlight of the historiographical reports. Such calls sometimes addressed a collective of clerics and sometimes particular figures (such as Garnerius or Hubert Walter), who functioned as vectors in a larger network of preachers. The deviating titles of Peter's *Passio Raginaldi* in two manuscripts are telling in this regard, whereas another manuscript included the text in his letter collection, a fact that suggests its distribution in the service of recruitment.³¹

Noteworthy are the letters to the German regions, since these remain remarkably invisible in the network of preachers, yet the letters show that they were addressed, both to lay people (Henry of Albano's pieces) and clerics. The German clergy was even called twice upon to preach the crusade (Gregory VIII and Celestine III). Clement III's reissue of *Audita tremendi* (Jan. 1188) survived predominantly in (southern) German manuscripts: this suggests that it was primarily meant for these regions.³² The two letters calling for preaching suggest that a network covering the German areas did not exist, unlike further

³¹ See the discussion on audience below; and the chapter on media context.

³² See Thomas W. Smith, "Audita tremendi and the Call for the Third Crusade Reconsidered, 1187–1188," *Viator* 49/3 (2018), 68, 88. There is generally not much evidence for the southern or eastern parts of the Empire, although many crusaders came from these regions, among them the Austrian duke Leopold v. For activities in the German-speaking regions, see Thomas W. Smith, "Scribal Crusading: Three New Manuscript Witnesses to the Regional Reception and Transmission of First Crusade Letters," *Traditio* 72 (2017), 153; Alan Murray, "The Poet Friedrich von Hausen in the Third Crusade and the Performance of Middle High German Crusading Songs," in: *Crusading and Warfare in the Middle Ages*, ed. Simon John and Nicholas Morton (Farnham 2014), 119–128.

West; and thus, the popes attempted to mobilize preachers via such encyclicals. What found its way here on parchment happened in western Europe on the basis of personal relations; consequently, such collective calls do not exist for these regions. We cannot determine the response to these calls, but two factors indicate success: the successful mobilization of a large German army and the movement of potential crusaders from different parts of the Empire towards the great councils in the west (Mainz, Strasburg, Liège). They had been informed about the efforts, likely by preachers, and were willing to react. A similar dynamic can be seen in the Iberian Peninsula, which was also addressed by several papal letters: twice in the preparation period (May and June 1188), calling for crusading in Iberia in return for the same remission of sin; once during the ongoing siege of Acre (April 1191); and once by Celestine III in 1195, parallel to the other crusade calls of that year (one addressed to Hubert Walter and the other, as discussed, to the entire German clergy). All Iberian letters were directed at the archbishop of Toledo, the Peninsula's primate, and his suffragans; some of them explicitly called for preaching. It seems that a network was likewise largely missing for the Peninsula, therefore the popes used the instrument of the encyclical—but with limited success. The letters repeatedly broach the ongoing conflicts between Iberia's Christian kings and call for peace.³³

33 See Damian J. Smith, "The Iberian Legations of Cardinal Hyacinth Bobone," in: *Pope Celestine III, 1191–1198*, ed. Smith and John Doran (Aldershot 2008), 81–111; Miguel Gómez and Kyle C. Lincoln, "The Sins of the Sons of Men': A New Letter of Pope Celestine III concerning the 1195 Crusade of Alarcos," *Crusades* 16 (2017), 55–63.

TABLE 5 Letters related to crusade mobilization

		Nature of letter			
		Call for crusade	Call for preaching the crusade	Call for spiritual support	Information
Oct.– Dec. 1187	Gregory VIII, Ep.1 (German clergy)		X	X	X
	Gregory VIII, Audita tremendi	X		X	X
	Gregory VIII, Nunquam melius			X	
	Peter of Blois to Henry II				X
	Peter of Blois to Baldwin of Canterbury				X
	Gregory VIII, Ep.22			X	
	Gregory VIII, Ep.23			X	
	Peter of Blois, Ep.23				X
Jan.– June 1188	Clement III, Reissue Audita tremendi	X		X	X
	Henry of Albano to Barbarossa	X			
	Clement III to Baldwin of Canterbury		X	X	
	Henry of Albano, Ep.31		X	X	
	Henry of Albano, Ep.32	X			
	Peter of Blois, Ep.20				X
	Clement III, Crusade calls Iberia (I) and (II)	X	X		X
Autumn 1188	Peter of Blois, Passio Raginaldi	X	X	X	
	Peter of Blois, Conquestio	X		X	
During siege Acre, end 1190 to mid-1191	Baldwin to convent of Canterbury			X	
	Peter of Blois, Ep.27				X
	Celestine III to archbishop Toledo	X			
	Richard Lionheart to Garnerius		X	X	X
1190s	Peter of Blois, Ep.112		X		
	Peter of Blois, Ep.124		X		
	Celestine III to Hubert Walter		X	X	
	Celestine III to Germany clergy		X		
	Celestine III to archbishop Toledo	X			

Addressees					Spatial distribution (including manuscripts)		
<i>Omnes fideles</i>	Emperor, kings, princes	Entire lay people or nobility	Entire clergy	Bishop	Northern France	Southern England	German regions
			X				X
X					X	X	X
X					X	X	
	X					X	
				X		X	
X							
			X				
				X			
X							X
	X				X		X
			X	X		X	
			X		X		
		X			X		X
					X		
			X	X			
		X	X		X	X	
		X			X	X	
			X			X	
			X	X	X	X	
				X	X	X	
				X	X	X	
				X		X	
			X				X
			X	X			

2 The Question of Audience

Before examining specific hints about the audience in the evidence, some larger aspects require discussion, especially concerning the question of whom sermons addressed in the late 12th century.³⁴ Scholars often assume that preaching to lay audiences only started with the friars. However, popular preaching blossomed already in the 12th century thanks to the activities of the reform movement. Phyllis Roberts asserted, “The real impetus to popular preaching, however, coincided with the offensive taken by the Church against its enemies, be they Saracens or heretics.”³⁵ Nicole Bériou agreed by locating the establishment of the nexus between the liturgy and popular preaching even in the late 11th century, a development fueled by the Gregorian reform and the emerging crusade movement.³⁶ Lay people became an essential target, therefore one must consider them as a possible audience for the surviving sermon texts. Techniques of preaching and the elaboration of sermon materials were at an evolutionary step in the 12th century; this consisted of three key developments: first, there was a greater need for preaching, a development that was essentially fueled by the crusades. This required expanding preaching activities, that is, increasing the frequency of sermons and disseminating the effort in spatial and societal terms.³⁷ Second, what may have been new is that the intellec-

34 For studies investigating hints about audience in sermon texts, see, e.g., Martin, *Le Métier*, 549–611; Bériou, *L'Avènement*, 1:293–383; Carolyn A. Muessig, “Audience and Preacher: *Ad status* Sermons and Social Classification,” in: *Preacher, Sermon and Audience in the Middle Ages*, ed. Muessig (Leiden 2002), 255–276.

35 Roberts, *Sermons*, 42; see also Stansbury, *Before the Friars*, 79; Cole, *Preaching*, 113–114; Jessalynn L. Bird, “‘Far Be It from Me to Glory Save in the Cross of Our Lord Jesus Christ (Gal. 6:14)’: Crusade Preaching and Sermons for Good Friday and Holy Week,” in: *Crusading in Art, Thought, and Will*, ed. Matthew Parker and Ben Halliburton (Leiden 2018), 131; David d’Avray, “Popular and Elite Religion: Feastdays and Preaching,” in: *Elite and Popular Religion*, ed. Kate Mason Cooper (Woodbridge 2006), 167.

36 Nicole Bériou, *Religion et communication: un autre regard sur la prédication au Moyen Age* (Paris 2018), 47–59, esp. 51.

37 The threat of heretics made it even more necessary that preachers consolidated clerics and lay people in the foundations of Christian faith (see Cole, *Preaching*, 117; Stansbury, *Before the Friars*, 319). The phenomenon of lay preachers (well known from the Waldensians) demonstrates how much preaching was already an established technique of communication. While Alan agitated against them, Peter the Chanter approved of such preaching to a certain degree (see Philippe Buc, “‘Vox clamantis in deserto’? Pierre le Chantre et la prédication laïque,” *Revue Mabillon* 4 (1993), 5–47; and Alan of Lille, *Contra haereticos* (2), 377–400; see also Charles W. Connell, *Popular Opinion in the Middle Ages: Channeling Public Ideas and Attitudes* (Berlin 2016), 118–119).

tual elite now preached directly to lay audiences, whereas the diocese-based sermon had previously prevailed.³⁸ Third, the ways in which one composed sermons, and thus how they survived in text, changed fundamentally: these new formats answered a growing demand for popular preaching.³⁹ Some of these innovative formats would develop into established genres such as the *distinctiones*, whereas others remained idiosyncratic experiments—as this study suggested for Henry of Albano's *De peregrinante civitate Dei*. The development of collections of *exempla* was another expression of the growing amount of popular preaching: *exempla* granted a sermon more agility, thus attracting lay listeners' attention. Even though one also used such for clerical or monastic audiences, lay people were those whom one could not only address via dogmatic and argumentative contents.⁴⁰ It is an essential observation that all these innovations belonged to the (late) 12th century; the friars only refined them.

David d'Avray assumed that a sermon's secular audience must have been educated. He did not explain why he proposed this, perhaps since one needed a certain education to understand a sermon. Be that as it may, he seems to have perpetuated therein common scholarly ideas. Yet, he argued for a broad spectrum of preaching, because lay people in the 13th century were often better educated than is usually assumed, and one can discern preaching beyond the urban centers, and thus the notion that it was an urban phenomenon must be revised.⁴¹ The idea that sermons only addressed educated classes needs to be reviewed for three essential reasons: first, it contradicts the ser-

38 Bériou underlines that the Cistercians were frequently involved in preaching activities beyond their monasteries (Bériou, *L'Avènement*, 1:37; see also Giles Constable, *The Reformation of the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, UK 1996), 157–158, 209–256).

39 See Mary A. Rouse, “Statim invenire’: Schools, Preachers, and New Attitudes to the Page,” in: *Authentic Witnesses: Approaches to Medieval Texts and Manuscripts* (Notre Dame, Ind. 1991), 205–206. It is the same period in which sermon studies locate the vital watershed between *sermo antiquus* and *sermo modernus* (see Taylor, *Soldiers*, 60–62; Yuichi Akae, “Between *artes praedicandi* and Actual Sermons: Robert of Basevorn's *forma praedicandi* and the Sermons of John Waldeby,” in: *Constructing the Medieval Sermon*, ed. Roger Andersson (Turnhout 2007), 9–10).

40 See Bériou, *Communication*, 62; Roberts, *Sermons*, 82–87.

41 d'Avray, *Friars*, 29–43. This already becomes clear in: Ralph Ardens, *Pars (II), De sanctis, Sermo 8*, 1519; discussed by Stansbury, *Before the Friars*, 165. For the laity's education already in the 12th century, see Connell, *Opinion*, 112–114; Martin Aurell, *Le chevalier lettré: savoir et conduite de l'aristocratie aux XII^e et XIII^e siècles* (Paris 2011); Marcus Graham Bull, *Piety and the Lay Response to the First Crusade: The Limousin and Gascony, c.970–c.1130* (Oxford 1993), 115–154, 285.

mon's purpose as an instruction of the entire congregation. It may be true that this was not always achieved, but that preaching was a priori confined to educated audiences would stand in grave contradiction to central Christian teachings. Second, the sermon texts—and I argue here primarily on the basis of my corpus—do not reveal such a focus; quite the contrary, their language is simple (compared to, say, theological treatises or the papal encyclicals). They are explanatory and didactic, elaborating on a biblical text's diverse layers of meaning, and working with elements that must have been familiar to lay people from the liturgy, for example, several Psalms or the Corpus Christi.⁴² The sermons designated the *praedicatio* in Peter the Chanter's threefold scheme (not the *lectio* or *disputatio*); they were meant for the "public teaching in morals and faith," as Alan of Lille put it (*publica instructio morum et fidei*).⁴³ It is significant if a text is designated as a 'sermon' in a manuscript, even more so an entire collection: such materials were meant to reach broad audiences in accordance with the reform agenda. Intra-clerical communication could have taken place via simpler methods, for example, a biblical commentary. Third, the crusades are the best proof that preaching was certainly not only addressed to educated listeners. Different strata of society joined these ventures, after preachers had stimulated them to do so.⁴⁴ Admittedly, this works with the premise that sermons fulfilled an essential purpose in stimulating participation, not in the spirit of monocausal but structural causality (see the section on methodology). As d'Avray discussed for the 13th century, remarkably few differences existed between sermons directed at clerics and lay people respectively (in cases where we can grasp audiences); one observes a common social world. Therefore, he

42 On the 13th century, see d'Avray, *Friars*, 130, 181–182. See also Christopher J. Tyerman, *God's War: A New History of the Crusades* (Cambridge, Mass. 2006), 379, 387–389. On crusade elements in the liturgy, see Cecilia Gaposchkin, *Invisible Weapons: Liturgy and the Making of Crusade Ideology* (Ithaca, NY 2017); Amnon Linder, *Raising Arms: Liturgy in the Struggle to Liberate Jerusalem in the Late Middle Ages* (Turnhout 2003).

43 Alan of Lille, *Ars praedicandi*, 111; Petrus Cantor, *Verbum Abbreviatum*, 25; discussed by Quinto, "Peter the Chanter," 68–69; Beverly Mayne Kienzle, *The Sermon* (Turnhout 2000), 161. Thomas of Chobham proposes a similar definition: the public nature of preaching was deemed essential, in order to demarcate oneself from the occult preaching of heretics (see Morenzoni, *Écoles*, 25, 35).

44 See, e.g., Jean Flori, *Pierre l'ermite et la première croisade* (Paris 1999); Christoph Auffarth, "Ritter' und 'Arme' auf dem Ersten Kreuzzug. Zum Problem der Herrschaft und Religion, ausgehend von Raymond von Aguilers," *Saeculum* 40 (1989), 39–55; Conor Kostick, *The Social Structure of the First Crusade* (Leiden 2008). This also encompassed women; see Helen J. Nicholson, "Women on the Third Crusade," *Journal of Medieval History* 23 (1997), 335–349.

suggested that sermon collections were not penned with a specific audience in mind, yet they were primarily meant for lay listeners.⁴⁵

The fact that there was not an established terminology for ‘crusaders’ in the late 12th century represents an essential premise for exploring the audience in the textual evidence: the term *crucesignati* is absent from the entire corpus of the Third Crusade, and it only appears occasionally in earlier texts. Thus, Christopher Tyerman’s idea that preachers almost exclusively used the term *crucesignati* after 1187 is in need of revision—this is simply not correct.⁴⁶ As the chapter on the Cross relic discussed, the situation after 1187 was manifold: preachers proposed a variety of terms for describing ‘crusaders’ such as *aquilae* or *vexilliferi crucis*.⁴⁷ Moreover, crusaders were not a stable social group, but a temporary identity, whereas travelers to the East came from all social classes: hence, all were potential crusaders, that is, listeners of corresponding preaching. Similarly, it remained impossible to distinguish between ‘crusaders’ and ‘pilgrims’ until the end of the 12th century.⁴⁸ The crusade was a pilgrimage: this indicates a potentially broad audience and the inclusiveness of travelers to the East. Above all, it points to the fact that sermons’ audiences did not just consist of the fighting class. Telling for these missing distinctions were the

45 d’Avray, *Friars*, 7, 115, 124; and d’Avray, “Elite Religion,” 179, arguing against the antithesis of elite and popular religion. See also Mark Allen Zier, “Sermons of the Twelfth Century Schoolmasters and Canons,” in: *The Sermon*, ed. Beverly Mayne Kienzle (Turnhout 2000), 325–326; Jean Longère, *La prédication médiévale* (Paris 1983), 87–92, 147, both asserting the same already for the late 12th century. Roberts discusses that expressions such as *vulgariter dicitur* or *vulgo dici solet* indicate a lay audience (Roberts, *Sermons*, 52–55). For such expressions, see Hélinand of Froidmont, *Sermo* 8, 544; *Sermo* 11, 572; *Sermo* 27, 703; Peter of Blois, *Sermo* 40, 682; *Sermo* 65, 751, 772; *Conquestio*, 78; Ms. Arsenal 543, fols. 204^v, 220^r. As can be seen, this includes texts classified as crusade-related in the course of this study.

46 See Tyerman, *God’s War*, 375; Tyerman, *Plan*, 116. On the terminology in the 12th century, see Gaposchkin, *Weapons*, 77–78; Michael Markowski, “Crucesignatus: Its Origins and Early Usage,” *Journal of Medieval History* 10/3 (1984), 157–165; Christopher J. Tyerman, *The Invention of the Crusades* (Basingstoke 1998), 27, 55–62.

47 This terminological diversity persisted in the 13th century despite a more frequent use of *crucesignati*. It is also telling that, even after this term was more established, not all who departed on crusade were official *crucesignati* (see Tyerman, *Plan*, 172; Walker Reid Cosgrove, “Crucesignatus: A Refinement or Merely One More Term among Many?” in: *Crusades: Medieval Worlds in Conflict*, ed. Thomas F. Madden (Ashgate 2010), 95–110).

48 See Gaposchkin, *Weapons*, 65–92; Giles Constable, “The Place of the Crusader in Medieval Society,” *Viator* 29 (1998), 380, 384–390; Martin Völkl, *Muslimen—Märtyrer—Militia Christi: Identität, Feindbild und Fremderfahrung während der ersten Kreuzzüge* (Stuttgart 2011), 43–46.

sentences of Peter Comestor and Peter the Chanter: they permitted clerics to wear weapons on a pilgrimage.⁴⁹ Following suit, Henry of Albano deems the terms *peregrinans* and *militans* to be synonymous when discussing his concept of the *civitas* and how it blends with the crusade.⁵⁰ The terms *peregrini* (pilgrims) and *peregrinatio* (pilgrimage) in sermons are thus potential references to crusading—while the crusade was certainly the most important pilgrimage of the 12th century.⁵¹ Whether such a sermon was directed at armed or unarmed pilgrims is insignificant; with a lay audience, both were likely present. Such pilgrim sermons seem especially crusade-fit if they contain further elements that indicate such a purpose, for example, the Holy Land's spaces or ideas of martyrdom—a combination of significant motifs, one approach to determine crusade potential.⁵²

The following discussion considers two aspects: on the one hand, hints about specific social groups (lay people, clerics, university audiences), or, conversely, when it is not possible to determine a specific group. The latter finding suggests the material's model nature and potentially broad application. On the other, the examination considers offers of identity that preachers suggested to their audiences, in particular those that were intertwined with crusading, a key parameter for identifying the crusade (see the section on methodology). This includes militant *exempla*, the identity as cross-bearers, and religious or even eschatological classifications, while social or ethnic denominations remain absent. One address that appears frequently in sermons is *fratres* or *fratres charissimi* (most beloved brothers). One might associate this with a monastic audience, as Henry of Albano does in the prologue of *De peregrinante civitate Dei*, identifying the *fratres* as those from Clairvaux. Yet, this term does not necessarily indicate such.⁵³ The motif of *fratres* had been omnipresent since

49 See Constable, "Place," 383, 402; Philippe Buc, *L'ambiguïté du livre: prince, pouvoir, et peuple dans les commentaires de la Bible au Moyen Âge* (Paris 1994), 202. We also know of instances of unarmed pilgrims who eventually armed themselves in the Holy Land (see, e.g., Walter Map, *De nugis curialium*, ed. James, 54).

50 See Yves Congar, "Henri de Marcy, abbé de Clairvaux, cardinal, évêque d'Albano et légat pontifical," *Analecta monastica* 5 (1958), 60–61. For a synonymous use see, e.g., Henry of Albano, *De peregrinante civitate Dei* (prologue), 254; (1), 261; (VI), 299.

51 See Jessalynn L. Bird, "James of Vitry's Sermons to Pilgrims," *Essays in Medieval Studies* 25 (2008), 81–88; Miikka Tamminen, *Crusade Preaching and the Ideal Crusader* (Turnhout 2018), 31–32. See also, e.g., Humbert of Romans, *Sermo 1*, ed. Maier, 210, bearing the title *Ad peregrinos cruce signatos*, "to those pilgrims who are signed with the cross"; *crucesignatus* is a descriptive element, just like in its earlier use.

52 Bird identified 'pilgrim sermons' that promise martyrdom to their audiences—as it is only granted on crusade (Bird, "Good Friday," 156–157; Bird, "Pilgrims," 86–87, 101–102).

53 See Stansbury, *Before the Friars*, 177–178; Roberts, *Sermons*, 51–52. Roberts offers an exam-

the days of the First Crusade, conceiving of a pan-Christian *familia Christi*, an idea that bridged geographical distance and social classes—as expressed in the seminal concept of the Corpus Christi.⁵⁴ As a result, calling the audience ‘brothers’ does not provide compelling evidence for a monastic setting, even less so if a text betrays proximity to crusade ideas.⁵⁵ And even if *fratres* designates a clerical audience, this may only refer to the recipients of the written material, and not necessarily to the ultimate audience for which the material was intended.⁵⁶

To determine specific social groups, it was essential to consult the manuscripts, since these sometimes contain notes on audiences, often absent from the PL, or a collection’s prologue can offer valuable insights. It is telling if divergent audiences are found in different manuscripts; this likely reflects the material’s past use on different occasions—and not only a prospective audience.⁵⁷ As table 6 demonstrates, in around one third of the relevant texts, it is not possible to determine any audience, neither through a paratext nor through hints within the sermons. This is symptomatic of their nature as models—yet, most of them construct crusade-specific identities. Does this indicate an audience of ‘crusaders’? Likely yes, especially if other parameters suggested such a purpose.⁵⁸ The absence of specific social groups seems symptomatic of the broad understanding of crusaders that these texts propagate. Moreover, in around one third of the texts, one can grasp monks or clerics, sometimes even university audiences (partly via a paratext, partly thanks to hints within the sermons). This is a noteworthy finding in light of the texts’ crusade nature: the next section examines this phenomenon.

ple where Stephen Langton calls his lay audience *fratres*. On Henry’s audience, see Henry of Albano, *De peregrinante civitate Dei* (prologue), 251 and Ms. Troyes 509, fol. 93^v.

54 See Steven Biddlecombe, “Baldric of Bourgueil and the *Familia Christi*,” in: *Writing the Early Crusades*, ed. Marcus Bull and Damien Kempf (Woodbridge 2014), 9–23.

55 For example, Martin of Pairis uses the address *fratres* in his sermon directed *ad clerum et populum* (Gunther of Pairis, *Hystoria*, ed. Orth, 110, 114). In several sermons Martin of León uses *fratres et domini mei*—‘lords’ in the plural indicates a non-monastic context (e.g., Martin of León, *De diversis*, *Sermo 1*, 66; *Sermo 7*, 113; *Sermo 9*, 125; *Liber sermonum*, *Sermo 6*, 558).

56 This is substantiated if passages with such an address seem loosely connected to the sermon (such often appear at the end of the text), representing an instructive addendum to the sermon text provided.

57 See Bériou, *L’Avènement*, 1:216–227; Thompson, “Texts,” 23–24; and the chapter on media context.

58 See the tables on ‘Parameter for identifying the crusade’ (10) and on ‘Crusade-related sermon texts’ (9).

In another third of the sermons, it is possible to determine a lay audience, since the texts bear the title *ad populum* (to the people) or *sermo communis* (a communal or public sermon). This appears either as a note at the outset of the sermon or as the purpose of a whole collection, mostly derived from information provided by a prologue. The latter is the case with Ralph Ardens and Prevostin of Cremona; significant evidence for popular preaching before the friars.⁵⁹ In a number of further cases, sermons' contents deliver evidence for a broad audience (noted in a dedicated column 'broad audience / lay people'); this now makes around one half of the pertinent texts that were apparently addressed to the laity. Who exactly this lay audience was remains difficult to determine (whether prospective or present in the past): this stretches from the secular nobility to an indeed broad audience. We can at least say that it was the sermons' intention to reach as broad an audience as possible, eager to penetrate the whole Christian society. This is corroborated by those preaching events reported in historiographical accounts, which often speak of audiences such as *pauperes* (the poor) or *rustici* (peasants). A comparative perspective with the sermons demonstrates that these are not romanticized exaggerations, but reflect a genuinely broad interest in sermons.⁶⁰ Lastly, it is significant that there are a handful of cases where one can grasp divergent audiences for the same text (spanning laity and clergy), mostly because different manuscripts note different listeners.⁶¹ This evidences the texts' model nature; these were used for different groups when an occasion presented itself. It also indicates the broad understanding of 'crusaders' that they propose.

As is visible in table 6, almost all of the pertinent texts construct crusade-specific identities (see also table 10). As discussed in the section on methodology, this does not limit itself to the Holy Land, yet the conjunction with other elements, in particular the Holy Land's spaces, makes the East in many cases into the most likely context. Around one half of the sermons conceive of the

59 On Ralph, see also Stansbury, *Before the Friars*, 175–177, 312, discussing that this also pertains to Alan of Lille who targets a broad audience with his *Ars praedicandi* and the model-like *Liber sermonum*, which always survived together with the *Ars* (see the chapter on immediate context).

60 See, e.g., William of Newburgh's description of the different groups who took the cross at the Council of Geddington, including the *rustici* (William of Newburgh, *Historia*, 275). See also Peter of Blois, *Conquestio*, 90; *Sermo* 42, 689, stressing the duty of preaching the crusade to the *pauperes*.

61 Beyond the primarily relevant sermons, the collections offer further such cases, for example, by comparing Ms. BL Royal 8 F xvii and Ms. BL Arundel 322 (Peter of Blois' sermons); in the latter, far more sermons contain notes on audiences, in particular *ad claustrales*.

expressive identity of cross-bearers, a plausible synonym for crusaders. Even though cross signings were not unique to this arena, the crusade represents the most likely context, especially if an audience is directly called to sign themselves with the cross (as is the case in one third of the texts). Similarly, one may assume an inclusive understanding (as with the senses of Scripture): when talking about cross takings, the crusade was undoubtedly one layer of meaning present. The absence of social groups may suggest eschatological expectations, since these had the potential to shatter former social boundaries: the final battle would only know the righteous and the damned, but apparently no kings, peasants, or monks.⁶² An example par excellence are Peter of Blois' crusade treatises, which hardly use any ethnic or social denominations. He only knows polemical binaries such as the just and the impious (*iusti* and *impii*).⁶³ Such depictions are also helpful for determining a text's crusade potential: if eschatological identities appear in conjunction with the Holy Land, then a high potential reveals itself (this is a combination of significant motifs).

In light of this section's results, a popular notion among historians, that is, that crusade-related preaching only addressed knights, the class of militant nobility, must be revised.⁶⁴ The sermon material does not show such a restriction; social categories are almost entirely absent (save for the very few sermons *ad status*).⁶⁵ Identities therein are religious and providential in nature. The sermon as a part of the mass was accessible to several groups: if a preacher

62 See Tamminen, *Crusader*, 251–253, 287–288; André Vauchez, “Les composantes eschatologiques de l'idée de la croisade,” in: *Le concile de Clermont de 1095 et l'appel à la croisade de 1095* (Rome 1997), 241–242. As Tyerman rightly asserts, it inheres in a flawed logic that the elites should not have thought apocalyptically, especially since they were the ones who propagated the approaching end (Tyerman, *Plan*, 173; see also Sylvia Schein, *Gateway to the Heavenly City: Crusader Jerusalem and the Catholic West (1099–1187)* (Aldershot 2005), 146, 150; Philippe Buc, *Holy War, Martyrdom, and Terror: Christianity, Violence, and the West, ca. 70 C.E. to the Iraq War* (Philadelphia 2015), 140–141).

63 See Alexander Marx, “The *Passio Raginaldi* of Peter of Blois. Martyrdom and Eschatology in the Preaching of the Third Crusade,” *Viator* 50/3 (2019), 220–221.

64 See, e.g., Tyerman, *Plan*, 150; Tyerman, “Who Went,” 15; Riley-Smith, *First Crusade*, 35; John France, *Victory in the East: A Military History of the First Crusade* (Cambridge, UK 1994), 88.

65 However, sermons *ad status* more often offer a general *ad populum* and rarely a specific *ad milites*. For *ad populum* see, e.g., Peter of Blois, *Sermo* 65, 750; Ralph Ardens, *Prologus*, 372–373; Ms. BL Add 18335, fols. 2^v, 17^r; Ms. BL Add 19767, fol. 80^r; Ms. Dijon 219, fol. 78^{r-v}. Equivalent is *Sermo communis*; see, e.g., Ms. BNF lat. 14859, fols. 212^r, 233^r; Paris, St.Geneviève 2787, fols. 123^r, 207^r.

intended to address only knights, it would have been necessary to clarify this. It remains possible that this was done in the actual preaching situation, but the consistent pattern of missing social categorization suggests otherwise, promoting a pan-Christian agenda.⁶⁶ Thus, one must not underestimate either the popular enthusiasm for crusading or the success of preaching. As Cecilia Gaposchkin argued, this enthusiasm endured in the 13th century despite a certain institutionalization of crusading. This is evidenced by the fact that the crusades and corresponding practices remained fundamentally anchored in the liturgy—if such ventures were only rationally organized, such anchoring would not have made any sense.⁶⁷ In particular, substituting personal participation with other forms of support, a practice established under Innocent III, made it even more necessary to wage liturgical actions and spiritual warfare—far removed from modern rationality.⁶⁸ As a result, increasing institutionalization did not hamper the purpose of preaching; such an antithesis is the product of modern notions.

2.1 *Clerics and Monks as an Audience*

It is a remarkable finding that several crusade-specific sermons addressed clerics or monks, sometimes also university audiences. Previous research has already identified such cases, and this study adds six further texts.⁶⁹ Such sermons had two essential purposes: inspiring and instructing the audience in their own preaching activities, accordingly these texts were important vectors for distributing the effort, and calling for the crusade's spiritual support, for example, via prayers or processions.⁷⁰ Both purposes may also have blended; it is not always possible to distinguish them in the evidence. Such sermons were indebted to the goals of the reform movement: one reached simple clerics partly by supplying materials, partly by preaching to them directly. Con-

66 Tamminen reaches the same conclusion for 13th-century material (Tamminen, *Crusader*, 286–287); likewise, Cole for Innocent III's crusade encyclicals (Cole, *Preaching*, 81–82); and Linder for crusade-related liturgy (Linder, *Arms*, 363–364).

67 Gaposchkin, *Weapons*, 10; see also Matthieu Rajohnson, *L'Occident au regret de Jérusalem (1187-fin du XIV^e siècle)* (Paris 2021), 866–867. For the position that the 13th century witnessed a rationalization of crusading, see, e.g., Tyerman, *God's War*, 486–488, 889–893.

68 See Bird, “Good Friday,” 131, 140.

69 Bird and Bériou identified three such sermons; these are anonymous, crusade-specific, and addressed *ad clericos* (Ms. BNF NAL 999, fols. 188^r, 193^r, 233^r; see Bériou, *L'Avènement*, 1:61; 2:681; Jessalynn L. Bird, “Crusade and Reform: The Sermons of Bibliothèque Nationale, MS nouv. acq. lat. 999,” in: *The Fifth Crusade in Context*, ed. Elizabeth Jane Mylod and Guy Perry (London 2017), 92–113).

70 See Jessalynn L. Bird, “Rogations, Litanies, and Crusade Preaching: The Liturgical Front

sequently, it is an important result that clerical and monastic audiences do not represent an argument against a text's pertinence to the crusade.⁷¹

The Third Crusade's corpus contains the following texts: a sermon by Alan of Lille with high crusade potential bears the title *Ad scolares* in two manuscripts.⁷² It was obviously delivered in Paris and addressed to students and masters (probably representing a *reportatio*): either to inspire their own crusade preaching or even to stimulate participation. There is no reason to believe that they were exempted from the pan-Christian duty of crusading.⁷³ Another of his sermons (ascribed to *Feria 11 intrante ieiunio*) contains similarly high crusade potential; it deals with the events of 1187, but, as becomes clear at several points, it addresses a clerical audience. Calls for preaching are absent, while it offers an elaborate discussion of liturgical space.⁷⁴ It seems, therefore, that the endeavor's spiritual support or preparation was its prime purpose. This sermon was also plausibly put to use during the Third Crusade, to support it spiritually from the distance. Two sermons by Ralph Ardens—even though they are obviously concerned with the crusade—address a clerical or university audience: both broach the duty of *crucem praedicare*, a synonym for preaching the crusade, while the audience is accused of not fulfilling this duty adequately.⁷⁵ One of the two is ascribed to *In inventione sancte crucis*; it complements Ralph's other sermon on the feast, which also holds high crusade potential, including

in the Late Twelfth and Early Thirteenth Centuries," in: *Papacy, Crusade, and Christian-Muslim Relations*, ed. Bird (Amsterdam 2018), 165; Nicole Bériou, "La prédication de croisade de Philippe le Chancelier et d'Eudes de Châteauroux en 1226," in: *La Prédication en Pays d'Oc* (Toulouse 1997), 85–109. Urban II did the same, before his famous sermon to the laity; see Georg Strack, "The Sermon of Urban II in Clermont 1095 and the Tradition of Papal Oratory," *Medieval Sermon Studies* 56 (2012), 32.

71 This thus criticizes Tamminen's approach, which aims to identify 'crusade sermons' by their audience (Tamminen, *Crusader*, 25–26).

72 Ms. BNF lat. 14859, fol. 235^r and Ms. Dijon 219, fol. 76^r; in the first copy, however, the collection's table of contents (fol. 178^r) notes the purpose *sermo communis*. In Ms. BNF lat. 3818, fol. 60^v, it is addressed *Ad religiosos*; and in Ms. Toulouse 195, fol. 112^v: *Sermo in statu hominis*.

73 In agreement, the chapter on institutional context examined two sermons (by Alan and Prevostin respectively) that use the imagery of the Holy Land to attack scholastics. The 13th century knows a crusade-related sermon by Odo of Chateauroux and three by Philip the Chancellor addressed to scholastics (see Tamminen, *Crusader*, 292–293). This agrees with the conclusion of Odo's sermon calling its audience "to go out" (*egrediamur*), that is, out of the schools, into the world (Odo of Chateauroux, *Sermo 1*, ed. Maier, 142).

74 Ms. BL Add 19767, fols. 74^v–75^r. For the full text, see the chapter on exemplary descriptions.

75 Ralph Ardens, *Pars (1), Section (2), Sermo 48*, 2112–2113; *Pars (11), De tempore, Sermo 18*, 1370.

an allusion to the events of 1187.⁷⁶ While the first addresses clerics, the latter seems to target a broad audience; such complementary material was frequently encountered in the chapter on media context. Furthermore, the epilogue of Peter's *Passio Raginaldi* has a title of its own in some codices: one designates it as an *Exortatio ad eos qui nec accipiunt nec predicant crucem*. In this copy, the text addresses both lay people (those who do not take the cross) and clerics (those who do not preach the cross)—note the parallel with Ralph. Another copy addresses monks (*Sermo ad cunctos infra sacros ordines*) for instructing their own preaching activities.⁷⁷ These divergent attributions likely stem from the text's use on different occasions (see also the next section). Finally, as discussed, Henry's *De peregrinante civitate Dei* offers a rich collection of material for preaching about Jerusalem in the face of the events of 1187—addressed to the monks of Clairvaux. They thus received an idiosyncratic mastertext.⁷⁸ This is complemented by Henry's seminal role at the council in Liège (Feb. 1188), where he prepared the assembled clergy for the crusade, a major occasion for using the sermon texts discussed in this section (see table 4).⁷⁹

In conclusion, there is rich evidence for the crusade being preached to clerics and monks. One needs to insert this layer between the text production of the intellectual elite and popular preaching. Further sermons, where we cannot grasp such a purpose explicitly, may likewise have served such. This evidence invites us to reflect on the common scholarly antithesis of clergy and laity: clerics were also essential crusade participants, whether through genuine interest or in their role as pastors. One may read the sermons addressed to them as symptomatic of their participation; such texts also created ideas among them. We know of numerous clerics who joined the Third Crusade.⁸⁰ The same is

76 See esp. Ralph Ardens, *Pars (II), De tempore, Sermo 19*, 1373. See the chapter on the Cross relic.

77 For the first, see Ms. BL Royal 10 A XVIII, fol. 14^v; for the second, Ms. Cambridge, Gonville 114/183, fol. 180^r.

78 See the chapters on immediate context and on Jerusalem; and Alexander Marx, "Jerusalem as the Travelling City of God. Henry of Albano and the Preaching of the Third Crusade," *Crusades* 20 (2021), 83–120.

79 See Henry of Albano, *Ep. 31*, 247–249; and Congar, "Henri de Marcy," 48–49.

80 See, e.g., Ansbert, *Historia*, ed. Chroust, 14–15, 18–24; William of Newburgh, *Historia*, 272, 275. See in general Schein, *Gateway*, 125, 131–132, 137; Tyerman, *Plan*, 161–163; Riley-Smith, *First Crusade*, 79–88. A chronicle reports that 66 clerics took the cross at the Council of Liège (*Chronicon Clarevellense*, 1251). It was also common practice among the reformers to urge bad clerics to participate in a crusade (see Jessalynn L. Bird, *Heresy, Crusade and*

true for monks—despite Bernard of Clairvaux's previous efforts to minimize the phenomenon.⁸¹ It is noteworthy that the Third Crusade's preachers apparently dropped such concerns: although many monks participated, I have not found a single utterance that would agitate against this. Whereas Henry's *De peregrinante civitate Dei* delivered elaborate preaching resources to them, it did not utter any prohibition regarding their participation. Considering that it intended to pitch the crusade, a clarification would have been requisite. Already Thomas Renna noted that Henry's ideas deviated from Bernard's by placing the monks much more in the middle of the Church, instead of separating them.⁸² Consequently, it is possible that sermons addressed clerics or monks, not only to instruct their preaching, but perhaps also to stimulate their participation. The crusade addressed all strata of society.⁸³

Reform in the Circle of Peter the Chanter, c.1187–c.1240 (PhD thesis, University of Oxford 2001), 62).

- 81 See Schein, *Gateway*, 128–129, 140; Constable, “Place,” 382–383. On the First Crusade, see William J. Purkis, *Crusading Spirituality in the Holy Land and Iberia, c.1095–c.1187* (Woodbridge 2008), 12–14. A chronicle reports on a large crowd of monks who, having received the news from the East in 1187, immediately left their monastery and took the cross (*Itinerarium peregrinorum*, ed. Mayer, 277–278).
- 82 Thomas Renna, “The Idea of the City in Otto of Freising and Henry of Albano,” *Cîteaux* 35 (1984), 65–71; see also Wilson, “Alvor,” 218.
- 83 Only the early 13th century witnessed developments that resulted in the prohibition of specific groups' participation, but which at the same time proposed substitutions such as financial support (see Jessalynn L. Bird, “Innocent III, Peter the Chanter's Circle, and the Crusade Indulgence: Theory, Implementation, and Aftermath,” in: *Innocenzo III: Urbs et orbis*, ed. Andrea Sommerlechner (Rome 2003), 1:504–524). Concerns about certain groups had already been formulated in: Ralph Niger, *De re militari*, ed. Schmutge, 227.

TABLE 6 Audiences of sermon texts

		No audience detectable	Ad populum	Sermo communis
Baldwin of Canterbury	Sermo 3	X		
	Sermo 8	X		
	Sermo 14	X		
Peter of Blois	Passio Raginaldi			
	Conquestio			
	Sermo 19	X		
	Sermo 32	X		
	Sermo 39	X		
	Sermo 52	X		
Ralph Ardens	Pars (1), Section (1), Sermo 32		X	
	Pars (1), Section (1), Sermo 41		X	
	Pars (1), Section (1), Sermo 49		X	
	Pars (1), Section (2), Sermo 23		X	
	Pars (1), Section (2), Sermo 48		X	
	De tempore, Sermo 18		X	
	De tempore, Sermo 19		X	
	De tempore, Sermo 36		X	
	De tempore, Sermo 41		X	
Garnerius of Clairvaux	Sermo 4	X		
	Sermo 18	X		
	Sermo 19	X		
	Sermo 28			
	Sermo 37	X		
Henry of Albano	De peregrinante civitate Dei			
	Ep.31			
	Ep.32			
Hélinand of Froidmont	Sermo 8			
	Sermo 10			

Broad audience / lay people	Clerics or monks	University audience	Religious identities prevailing	Militant <i>exempla</i>	Identity as cross bearers
	?		X		
?			X	X	X
	?		X		
X	X		X	X	X
X			X	X	X
			X		X
?				X	X
?			X	X	
?					
	X				
			X		
			X	X	
		X			
	X		X		X
			X	X	X
			X	X	
X			X		X
?			X	X	
	?			X	
	?		X	X	
X	?		X	X	X
	?			X	
	X			X	X
	X				
X					
X	?		X	X	X
X			X	X	X

TABLE 6 Audiences of sermon texts (*cont.*)

		No audience detectable	Ad populum	Sermo communis
Alan of Lille	Fugite de terra aquilonis			X
	Militia est vita hominis			X
	Feria II intrante ieiunio			
	Laetare Jerusalem		X	
	De cruce domini			
	Sermo de clericis			
	De sancta cruce (I)	X		
Prevostin of Cremona	Porta orientalis			
	In adventu domini (I)	X		
	In adventu domini (II)		X	
	De sancta cruce		X	
	In ramis palmarum			
Martin of León	De diversis, Sermo 11			
	Sermo 18			
	Sermo 22			
	Sermo 23			
	Sermo 27			
	Sermo 29			
	De sancta cruce			
Sum	47	13	12	2

Broad audience / lay people	Clerics or monks	University audience	Religious identities prevailing	Militant <i>exempla</i>	Identity as cross bearers
	X	X		X	
	X			X	
			X		
X			X	X	X
	X	X			
					X
		X			
?					X
					X
			X	X	
X				X	X
	X			X	X
X	X			X	
X	X		X	X	X
	X			X	
	X				
	X		X		
X	X		X	X	X
12 (18)	15 (22)	4	24	26	20

3 Mobilizing the Crusade

One can determine several essential events or mechanisms of mobilization; this sheds light on the preaching effort's distribution and organization, whereby much was under development in the late 12th century. Two dimensions are pertinent: on the one hand, the effort's external expansion, that is, into further regions, beyond the main mobilization axis; on the other, its internal expansion, that is, from the centers (universities, assemblies, episcopal sees) into the peripheries (parishes and further episcopal sees) as well as downwards through the hierarchy from the masters to more simple clerics. The sources mostly provide us only with the starting points of the internal and external expansion. Occasionally, one can trace the effort beyond that, for example, via letters or the manuscript evidence, but the impact often remains unclear, since we cannot say much about when, where, and by whom the available texts were used. Nevertheless, the declared goal was to spread the effort, and judging from the rich mobilization, one may surmise that this was successful overall. This section thus pursues two important objectives: first, it demonstrates how the nine preachers were involved in essential mechanisms of mobilization, a fact substantiating that they were important protagonists in ecclesiastical and political terms. Their texts are certainly not coincidental survivors or classroom practices. Second, the section blends this study's results with the existing narrative on the Third Crusade's mobilization, as presented at the outset of this study. In doing so, it modifies the existing historiography, both medieval and modern. One can assert ten essential cornerstones of mobilization that also designate a chronological sequence:

- (1) **There was a cause for a new crusade.** Something happened in the East and its news spread steadily to the West. Different regions may have received it at different points and initiated preparations even before a papal call arrived. An excellent example is Richard Lionheart taking the cross already in November 1187 in Tours.⁸⁴ Such early ambitions betray genuine interest in crusading; consequently, one must not overestimate papal authority: mobilization was not a matter of centralized orchestration. Local authorities and preachers likely played an essential role in

84 See Tyerman, *God's War*, 376. On the news' dissemination, see Helen Birkett, "News in the Middle Ages: News, Communications, and the Launch of the Third Crusade in 1187–1188," *Viator* 49/3 (2018), 23–61. Similarly, Louis VII already initiated preparations, especially at the assembly in Bourges (Dec. 1145), before Eugen III's encyclical arrived (see Tyerman, *God's War*, 276).

establishing readings of the situation. Two obvious figures in Richard's case were Bartholomew of Vendôme, archbishop of Tours, from whom Richard took the cross, and his chaplain: Ralph Ardens. Yet, the question remains whether such local initiatives would stand in conflict with the papal encyclical. It is possible that one remained cautious, for example, as to the promise of redemption. One could also consult earlier encyclicals, given that such were sometimes cited in new ones, for example, *Audita tremendi* in Celestine III's letter to Hubert Walter (1195).⁸⁵

- (2) **The pope issued a crusade call.** This was the official start, which not only permitted but even demanded a break with former relations (social, political, or legal) where these obstructed the cause.⁸⁶ The letter represented an authoritative metatext disseminated throughout the West.⁸⁷ It occupied a supreme place in the textual hierarchy and offered guidance for preachers (as to reading the historical events, providing biblical elements, and offering spiritual rewards). Yet, one should not overestimate its role, since it represented only one text with limited contents. Preachers had to expand thematically; they had to draw on other resources, especially if they were addressing the same audience on multiple occasions (following the liturgical year). Similarly, one may recall that *Audita tremendi* was not the only papal letter concerned with the expedition, but a number were issued, encompassing different addressees.⁸⁸
- (3) **Crusade preachers departed from the Curia.**⁸⁹ Innocent III eventually established the system of legates appointed for such tasks and sent into

85 Celestine III, *Ep.224*, 1107–1110, cited in Ralph of Diceto, *Ymagines*, 132–135. Constable noted that it is unclear whether spiritual reward was only granted for the current venture or remained valid till cancelled—but he tended to the latter (Constable, “Place,” 387). I agree because the definition of specific ventures is a modern product, and especially *Audita tremendi* remained highly pertinent throughout the 1190s.

86 See Cecilia Gaposchkin, “The Echoes of Victory: Liturgical and Paraliturgical Commemorations of the Capture of Jerusalem in the West,” *Journal of Medieval History* 40/3 (2014), 239; James A. Brundage, “‘Crucesignari’: The Rite for Taking the Cross in England,” *Traditio* 22 (1966), 291.

87 See Schein, *Gateway*, 164; Christoph T. Maier, “Ritual, What Else? Papal Letters, Sermons and the Making of Crusaders,” *Journal of Medieval History* 44 (2018), 334. This was the case since *Quantum predecessores* (1145), the first crusade encyclical. Previous crusades operated without such (see Anne Lise Bysted, *The Crusade Indulgence: Spiritual Rewards and the Theology of the Crusades, c.1095–1216* (Leiden 2015), 157, 168).

88 See the chapter on immediate context as well as the table on letters (5).

89 A chronicle states: “omnes igitur ecclesie filii in toto orbe terrarum diffusi” (Arnold of Lübeck, *Chronica*, 170; see also Peter of Blois, *Ep.219*, 508). On the crusade of 1197 (preaching started in 1195), see *Annales Marbacenses*, MGH *Her. Germ.* 9:65–66; and Graham A. Loud, “The German Crusade of 1197–1198,” *Crusades* 13 (2014), 149.

different regions, but the preceding period already knew such activities, for example, Henry of Albano in the Empire, Burgundy, and Paris. Clement III was apparently appointed as a legate for southern Germany, before he returned to the Curia in December 1187, to seize the papal office.⁹⁰ Discussing the Fourth Crusade, Barbara Bombi sketches a legate's duties in three points: coordinating itinerant preachers, collecting money for the Holy Land, and supervising the preaching of local clerics.⁹¹ Such a figure likely had a retinue (further preachers and scribes), for example, Peter of Blois and Gerald of Wales accompanying Baldwin to Wales.⁹²

- (4) **Recipients of the encyclical decided to preach the crusade** (if they had not started already). These were often bishops or abbots, especially Cistercians, perhaps also certain Paris masters.⁹³ These may only have preached locally or conducted a tour like in Baldwin's case. Preaching may also have focused on certain occasions such as the meeting in Gisors (Jan. 1188). Essential figures for the Third Crusade were Baldwin of Canterbury,

90 See *Annales Marbacenses*, MGH SS 17:163–164; and Congar, “Henri de Marcy,” 44–46. The same source names another cardinal (of Prenestino) as a legate for western Germany (see also Ina Friedländer, *Die päpstlichen Legaten in Deutschland und Italien am Ende des XII. Jahrhunderts (1181–1198)* (Berlin 1928), 146–148). On Innocent, see Claudia Zey, “Die päpstlichen Legaten als Kreuzzugswerber im Reich,” in: *Die Kreuzzugsbewegung im römisch-deutschen Reich (11.–13. Jahrhundert)*, ed. Nikolas Jaspert and Stefan Tebruck (Ostfildern 2015), 224–232. For corresponding preaching, see Cole, *Preaching*, 80–97. On the cooperation between pope and preachers in the 13th and 14th centuries, see Maier, *Friars*; Georgiou, *Preaching*, 20–96.

91 Barbara Bombi, “Papal Legates and Their Preaching of the Crusades in England between the Twelfth and the Thirteenth Centuries,” in: *Legati, delegati e l'impresa d'Oltremare (secoli XII–XIII)*, ed. Maria Pia Alberzoni and Pascal Montaubin (Turnhout 2014), 250. Odo of Chateauroux took on the role of coordinator in the 13th century (see Maier, “Diversifikation,” 244).

92 See Peter W. Edbury, “Preaching the Crusade in Wales,” in: *England and Germany in the High Middle Ages*, ed. Alfred Haverkamp and Hanna Vollrath (London 1996), 223–224; Christopher J. Tyerman, *England and the Crusades, 1095–1588* (Chicago 1988), 157–158. Another legate was sent to England in 1189 to settle the conflict between Baldwin and his monks (see Bombi, “Legates,” 229–232). For legatine activities in the German regions in 1188–1189, see Friedländer, *Legaten*, 50–56, 68–71.

93 The encyclical was likely read aloud before a sermon (see Maier, “Papal Letters,” 335–337; Bysted, *Indulgence*, 257–258). I suggested such a tandem for: Ralph Ardens, *Pars (I), Section (I), Sermo 32*, 1780–1781; see the chapter on the Cross relic. The pope occasionally authorized specific figures (often bishops) to preach the crusade (e.g., Alexander III, *Ep.627*, 601–602; *Ep.1047*, 927–928; *Ep.1102*, 962–963; discussed by Purkis, *Spirituality*, 113–114). On the 13th century, see Maier, *Friars*, 96–110.

Garnerius of Clairvaux, Maurice of Sully, and Philip of Dreux. Moreover, Henry of Strasburg and Godfrey of Würzburg already preached early on; after Henry of Albano's arrival, they cooperated with him closely (see the chapter on immediate context). Yet, the list of bishops involved in the venture's preparation is long, a fact that reveals much about the widespread nature of mobilization (see table 3).

- (5) **Preaching tours** combed through larger regions; these, however, only represented the documented main axis of recruitment. According to the chronicles, these were in particular the tours of Baldwin (England, Wales, and northern France) and Henry of Albano (Burgundy, Flanders, and the Ile-de-France). The chronicles often focus on certain events and frequently confine themselves to short notes. This study has already broached the question of whether the perception of such tours stems primarily from narrative construction (critically in the case of the *Itinerarium Cambriae*), given that it was an arbitrary act to commemorate such an activity with a historiographical report. If Gerald of Wales had not decided to pen this work, we might not even know about the tour—and it would never have gained this supreme position in the venture's modern depiction.⁹⁴ In such narratives, it is especially those who eagerly produced sermon material, such as Peter of Blois or Ralph Ardens, who remain invisible—even though these figures represented the most skilled preachers of their age. One may suppose that such tours also served as an occasion to instruct local clerics and supply them with materials.⁹⁵ The recruitment situation suggests that simple clerics, as well as figures who did not have the time to compose their own sermons, used the available texts. Thus, one may consider the surviving texts as authoritative metatexts. Yet, it remains difficult to determine how widely a specific text may have been used—the manuscripts' dissemination and media-related diversity provide hints.⁹⁶ However, a small number of copies does not pose a compelling argument against a text's impact, but may say more about its later reception: for example, *De peregrinante civitate*

94 See Hurlock, *Wales*, 59.

95 See Bird, "Victorines," 20; Cole, *Preaching*, 82–85, 113–114; Bériou, *L'Avènement*, 1:47–48; Zey, "Legaten," 232–233. Baldwin delegated preaching in Wales to local Cistercian abbots (see Gerald of Wales, *Itinerarium*, 55, 82–83, 110, 119, 126, 144; discussed by Edbury, "Wales," 224).

96 See the chapter on media context. See also David d'Avray, "Method in the Study of Medieval Sermons," in: *Modern Questions about Medieval Sermons* (Spoleto 1994), 9–10, who stresses that the surviving model sermons operated as multipliers of ideas.

Dei survived in only one copy despite Henry's pivotal role.⁹⁷ The distribution of materials prior to a crusade may also explain why the more extraordinary texts have often been preserved independently, especially Peter's *Passio Raginaldi* and *Conquestio*. One can imagine how a group of preachers arrived at a place and, besides preaching themselves, they also equipped the local clerics with a copy of suitable material. Consequently, these texts lack a typical sermon paratext or manuscript composition.⁹⁸

- (6) **Royal, imperial, and princely assemblies** were essential for an expedition, creating occasions for the political elite to meet, in order to discuss the matter, to hear sermons, and to then take the cross together. Sermons were pivotal for granting such events weight and meaning: consider, for example, the eschatological coloring of the Council of Mainz, for which Henry of Albano was essential (see the chapter on the Apocalypse). Similarly, the council convened by Philip Augustus in Paris was certainly an essential preaching occasion for masters such as Alan of Lille and Prevostin of Cremona. Without clerical readings—that is, without transmitting the divine will—planning a crusade seems impossible. The preachers at such assemblies could either be itinerant preachers (such as Henry of Albano in Mainz) or local clerics (such as Henry of Strasburg in the same town). Assembling princes was also crucial for settling former political conflicts.⁹⁹ Several important assemblies took place on the eve of the Third Crusade (such as Gisors or Geddington), often setting the stage for the cross takings of kings and princes; these acts happened in the public eye. Concurrently, these events were those that received most attention in the chronicles.

97 See also Christoph T. Maier, *Crusade Propaganda and Ideology: Model Sermons for the Preaching of the Cross* (Cambridge, UK 2000), 14, who speculates that sermon codices may not have survived due to avid use. D'Avray determined such a case in the 13th century (d'Avray, *Friars*, 281–286). The same may apply to the *Ordinacio de predicacione sancte crucis* with only two manuscripts. I thus disagree with Cole who takes this as a sign that it was not very popular (Cole, *Preaching*, 126).

98 Copies identify the *Passio Raginaldi* as a *sermo*, *exhortatio*, and *monitio*, but it appears as a single text (Ms. Cambridge, Gonville 114/183, fols. 174^v, 180^r; Ms. BL Royal 10 A XVIII, fol. 14^v; see Robert B.C. Huygens, "Einleitung," in: *Petri Blesensis Tractatus Dvo*, CCCM 194 (Turnhout 2002), 11, 13).

99 See Tyerman, *God's War*, 377–378; Loud, "German Crusade," 152–153. The simultaneous cross takings acted as a guarantee that the other prince would depart on crusade as well (see Jonathan Phillips, *Defenders of the Holy Land: Relations between the Latin East and the West, 119–1187* (Oxford 1996), 239).

- (7) **Letters and crusade calls** represent most significant evidence for exploring mobilization, especially since more often than not they provided materials for sermons or even represented a sermon distributed as a letter (see table 5).¹⁰⁰ Letters were usually read aloud at their arrival—and may thus have preceded a sermon.¹⁰¹ Bernard of Clairvaux's letters specifically addressed those regions where he himself did not preach. According to the Annals of Würzburg, their distribution was so efficient that they mobilized from both widespread regions and all social classes: they were apparently put up in many churches (*in plerisque ecclesiis ad inditium predictae expeditionis diligenter recondite*).¹⁰² As concerns the Third Crusade, Peter of Blois and Henry of Albano wrote important letters. Gregory VIII's first letter, a collective call to the German clergy to preach the crusade, is also significant.¹⁰³ Furthermore, Peter's *Conquestio* is included among his letters in several manuscripts, partly addressed to different persons, as the chapter on media context discussed. The appearance of divergent addressees delivers valuable hints about a text's distribution, as does a letter's appearance in different contexts and manuscripts. This is the case, for example, with Henry's *Ep.32*: one copy is cited in a German chronicle, another survived independently in a codex from Flanders (see the chapter on immediate context). Sending a sermon as a letter or a letter that offered pieces for preaching, or even calls for preaching, is substantial evidence for the effort's wide distribution, enticing mobilization beyond a preacher's personal radar.
- (8) **Preaching to clerics and monks as a vector for encouraging further preaching.** This strategy represented an additional mechanism, which is observable in several sermon texts, as discussed. It served a rapid distri-

100 See Marx, "Passio Raginaldi," 204–205. Kienzle classifies Bernard's letters as 'sermon-like,' and Cramer understands Henry of Albano's letter to the German nobility (*Ep.32*) as a written crusade sermon (Beverly Mayne Kienzle, "Preaching the Cross: Liturgy and Crusade Propaganda," in: *Preaching and Political Society*, ed. Franco Morenzoni (Turnhout 2013), 21; Valmar Cramer, "Kreuzpredigt und Kreuzzugsgedanken von Bernhard von Clairvaux bis Humbert von Romans," *Das Heilige Land* 1 (1939), 74). On fluid boundaries between the genres, see Kienzle, *The sermon*, 168–169; Smith, "Scribal Crusading," 154–155.

101 See Bird, "Victorines," 14; Beverly Mayne Kienzle, *Cistercians, Heresy and Crusade in Occitania, 1145–1229: Preaching in the Lord's Vineyard* (Woodbridge 2001), 72.

102 *Annales Herbipolenses*, 3; discussed by Cole, *Preaching*, 55. See also Tyerman, *God's War*, 280–281; Bysted, *Indulgence*, 238–239.

103 Gregory VIII, *Ep.1*, 1537–1538; see Zey, "Legaten," 215; Ekkehard Eickhoff, *Friedrich Barbarossa im Orient: Kreuzzug und Tod Friedrichs I.* (Tübingen 1977), 9.

bution of ideas and texts, but such preaching events remain invisible in historiographical accounts, save for Henry of Albano's large council in Liège, where allegedly 2000 clerics assembled, certainly an essential event for disseminating the effort.¹⁰⁴ One may expect this form of preaching primarily in Clairvaux (Henry and Garnerius) and Paris (Alan and Prevostin), where large numbers of clerics were resident, whose skills were of great value.¹⁰⁵ In general, monasteries, cathedral schools, and councils were places that provided such occasions. This instruction via preaching, barely considered by previous scholarship, was a key mechanism for moving from the activities visible in chronicles to preaching by local clerics. Several pieces of evidence show that parish-based preaching was already an important subject at the time, at least as a requirement formulated by the reform circle.¹⁰⁶

- (9) **Preaching by local clerics as well as ongoing preaching activities until departure.** There may have been more specific occasions for 'crusade preaching' when it was preferable to take the cross. Yet, the creation of such an occasion was eventually up to an individual preacher; it was not bound to any formal requirements, therefore one must discard the modern antithesis of 'crusade preaching' versus 'normal preaching.' The bishops were prime protagonists, but further clerics may have been active, especially if they received instructions and texts from the intellectual elite, a fact that made it comparatively easy to spring into action.¹⁰⁷ Bishops likely preached both at their sees and in their diocese's parishes; visiting parishes (so-called *Visitationes*) was among their most important duties.¹⁰⁸ Even though such preaching does not surface in histori-

104 See, e.g., Giselbert, *Chonicon*, 555; Alberic of Trois-Fontaines, *Chronica*, 861.

105 Noteworthy are the promulgations of Cistercian General Chapters since 1190 that called for weekly prayers and processions in support of the Holy Land (*Statuta capitulorum*, ed. Canivez (1190), 122; (1194), 172; (1195), 181–182; (1197), 210; see Gaposchkin, *Weapons*, 290–302, 309–310).

106 See, e.g., Peter of Blois, *Ep.*98, 308; Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, 2:335–337; *Gesta*, 2:30–32; Gregory VIII, *Ep.*1, 1537–1538; *Urkundenbuch*, ed. Janicke, 1:483–485. The prologue of Maurice of Sully's sermon collection (1160s) outlines that it shall serve his diocese's priests (see Nicole Bériou, "Les prologues de recueils de sermons latins, du XII^e au XV^e siècle," in: *Les prologues médiévaux*, ed. Jacqueline Hamesse (Turnhout 2000), 408).

107 Hurlock underlined the necessity of local preachers on the tour in Wales, since they were much more familiar with the audiences and hence essential for achieving success (Hurlock, *Wales*, 73).

108 Consider, for example, the letters that Peter wrote in the 1190s to the bishops of Rouen and Orleans respectively, calling on them to preach the crusade. This may be understood as a call to preach throughout the diocese (Peter of Blois, *Ep.*112, 335–340; *Ep.*124, 367–373).

ographical reports, it was certainly essential for the cause. The specific emphases that a preacher chose in such a context may have varied, but crusade-related references (such as Jerusalem) were likely perceived as crusade-specific when used in the preparation period. One must expect that local preaching took place especially after the more formalized occasions, when numerous people had taken the cross.¹⁰⁹ There was usually a period of some years between these acts and departure, including for the Third Crusade. Cecilia Gaposchkin distinguishes, therefore, between the act of taking the cross and the rites of departure.¹¹⁰ The disparity between those who took the cross and those who actually departed is well known: among the first, some never departed; among the latter, some had never formally taken the cross. The second phase of preparation mostly remains invisible in chronicles, although it was essential for keeping crusade matters in the public eye. Matthew Phillips discussed such a purpose for Alan of Lille's sermon *De cruce domini*.¹¹¹ It was the pivotal task of preaching to remind of the crusade's necessity, its spiritual and eschatological dimensions, and to draw attention to specific subjects of the Holy Land. As this study has abundantly demonstrated, these are all crucial traits in contemporary sermon texts. Years after the initial cause, only such activities could ensure that an army actually assembled: preaching's perpetual presence maintained and encouraged enthusiasm until the departure.¹¹²

- (10) **Preaching during a crusade.** One must likewise expect preaching activities during the journey, including the application of available material: the handy formats, as discussed in the chapter on media context, make it more than plausible that a preacher carried such a codex to the Holy Land (see also table 4). There were four main motivations to preach: first, regular preaching following the liturgical year. Sermons were also delivered prior to military engagements, for example, in conjunction with confession or the Eucharist. Reports on the Third Crusade evidence that

109 This is also underlined in: Tamminen, *Crusader*, 282.

110 Gaposchkin, *Weapons*, 66–67.

111 Christopher Matthew Phillips, "The Thief's Cross: Crusade and Penance in Alan of Lille's 'Sermo de cruce domini,'" *Crusades* 5 (2006), 145–146. This agrees with the sermons *ad cruce signatos*, sermons addressed to those who already took the cross (see Maier, *Propaganda*, 30; Cole, *Preaching*, 168).

112 Henry of Albano also indicates preaching in this later phase: his letter to the entire clergy promulgates that one shall preach the crusade in Advent (Henry of Albano, *Ep. 31*, 248). Since the letter dates to early 1188, he primarily had December 1188 in mind.

mass was celebrated alongside the soldiers while marching into battle.¹¹³ Second, maintaining mood and motivation: especially the hardships of the journey made such preaching a necessity, probably including repetitive emphasis on the cause's spiritual rewards. Sermon texts broaching these hardships or specific topographical elements (such as the sea, as discussed in the chapter on the Holy Land) are plausible candidates. Christoph Maier asserted such a purpose for the sermons of Bertrand de la Tour (early 14th century).¹¹⁴ Third, holy sites and relics offered another occasion. Such preaching may have taken place in conjunction with carrying the Cross relic into battle or replacement relics after 1187, for example, on the Fourth and Fifth Crusades.¹¹⁵ Fourth, preaching in the turmoil of battle: preachers stood fearlessly on the frontier, trusting in divine protection or hoping for martyrdom—a significant clue that they were convinced by what they were preaching. An expressive example is Ademar of LePuy who always led his contingents into battle unarmed.¹¹⁶ One may assume bold militant and eschatological notes (as offered by several of the identified sermon texts) as well as an emphasis on impending salvation. This is corroborated by those 'sermons' cited in chronicles and delivered during a crusade.¹¹⁷ The same is seen in the surviving sermon

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- 113 Ansbert, *Historia*, ed. Chroust, 80, 84; discussed by Gaposchkin, *Weapons*, 123, see also 99–110. The Eucharist fulfilled the purpose of purging the Corpus Christi before marching into battle. See, e.g., Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, 3:131–132; *Itinerarium peregrinorum*, ed. Mayer, 349; and *Epistolae Cantuariensis*, ed. Stubbs, 328, a letter by Baldwin sent from the Holy Land (Oct. 1190) to his convent in Canterbury: it underlines that they celebrated *In exaltatione sancte crucis*, even though this was already a month earlier.
- 114 Maier, *Propaganda*, 3, 29–30. See also Odo of Chateauroux, *Sermo* 3, ed. Maier, 152, bearing the title: *Sermo ad invitandum ad accipiendum crucem et ad confortandum cruce signatos*. Scholars have identified several sermons that Odo preached on Louis IX's crusade (see Tamminen, *Crusader*, 50, 294–297; Alexis Charansonnet, *L'Université, l'église, l'état dans les sermons du Cardinal Eudes de Chateauroux* (PhD thesis, Université de Lyon 2001), 737–766).
- 115 See Gaposchkin, *Weapons*, 101–105, 124–125; Bird, "Rogations," 169–171. For processions during the First Crusade, see Gaposchkin, *Weapons*, 110–121.
- 116 See Gaposchkin, *Weapons*, 106.
- 117 See Baldric of Dol, *Historia*, ed. Biddlecombe, 108; *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi*, ed. Stubbs, cxlvii–clii, clxxi–clxxv; see also Bysted, *Indulgence*, 253–254; Jay Rubenstein, *Armies of Heaven: The First Crusade and the Quest for Apocalypse* (New York 2011), 284–285. The day of battle was sometimes chosen in agreement with a suitable liturgical feast (see, e.g., *Kreuzzugsbriefe* (xii), ed. Hagenmeyer, 154–155; discussed by Gaposchkin, *Weapons*, 2). The same goes for days of departure, for example, Barbarossa's army on 23 April 1189, Saint George's Day (see Eickhoff, *Barbarossa*, 37).

texts preached by Odo of Chateauroux during an expedition (mid-13th century): these focus heavily on martyrdom.¹¹⁸

One may suppose that preaching during an expedition worked similarly to preaching in Europe: a preacher likely used available material and the fundamental paradigms were the same. It may have been more spontaneous, but, as noted, it is plausible that a preacher carried a handy sermon codex. Gaposchkin suggested the same for liturgical texts that survived in Western manuscripts.¹¹⁹ In such a context, sermon texts with possible crusade potential certainly unfolded their full potential for the crusade, for example, a sermon originally meant for the spiritual Jerusalem would merge with the earthly city. Being in the Holy Land generated an automatism of transforming allegorical into literal readings.¹²⁰ The only question is whether this process already began beforehand in the West, and if we may thus suppose a ‘crusade automatism’ as to shifting between the senses of Scripture. It is also possible that a preacher first penned a sermon during a crusade, and worked it into a collection back home. Martin of León’s case suggests such: his *Vita* reports that he was in the Holy Land, right before he brought his work to León—while, as this study has shown, his material offers several sermons that could easily have been preached during the campaign.¹²¹ Another example is Peter of Blois, whose sermons may have been used either by himself or Baldwin. Such preaching probably initially had an encouraging impact: listeners were finally seeing places that they had heard of all their lives; this must have seemed like fulfilling a prophecy.¹²² Similarly, initial successes, usually happening due to a certain element of surprise, must have had an encouraging impact—but expectations were eventually disappointed if the crusade ended in failure. Then, it is likely that preaching also lost its effect or that preachers returned to Europe.

118 See Tamminen, *Crusader*, 182–188; Charansonnet, *L’Eglise*, 214–217, 697–699; Penny J. Cole, David d’Avray, and Jonathan Riley-Smith, “Application of Theology to Current Affairs: Memorial Sermons on the Dead of Mansurah and on Innocent IV,” in: *Modern Questions about Medieval Sermons* (Spoleto 1994), 217–245.

119 Gaposchkin, *Weapons*, 101; see also Bird, “Rogations,” 182. Portable copies of First Crusade chronicles were made for later crusade participants such as a copy of Robert of Reims’ chronicle for Barbarossa (see Damien Kempf, “Towards a Textual Archaeology of the First Crusade,” in: *Writing the Early Crusades*, ed. Kempf and Marcus Bull (Woodbridge 2014), 123–126).

120 See Bird, “Rogations,” 177; Gaposchkin, *Weapons*, 3, 149–150; Buc, *Holy War*, 283; Rubenstein, “Crusade and Apocalypse: History and the Last Days,” *Questiones medii aevi novae* 21 (2016), 184.

121 Lucas de Tuy, *Vita*, 16.

122 Gaposchkin assumes that such confirmation encouraged the intensity and frequency of liturgical practices (Gaposchkin, *Weapons*, 129).

Furthermore, one must expect crusade-related preaching in the West simultaneously with the expedition; the departure of the main crusade army did not end efforts. This either concerned mobilizing further participants; this is present in Richard Lionheart's letter to Garnerius (summer 1191); or it aimed to provide spiritual support for the crusader army from afar, which could be pursued through manifold liturgical practices. The goal was to decrease the sum of sin enough that God would grant victory in the Holy Land. Several letters from the East survive that call for such a spiritual support, for example, from Barbarossa's army or Baldwin writing to his convent in Canterbury. These activities remind us that the modern counting of crusades is misleading: these were ongoing activities that encompassed several purposes. It is plausible that all those preachers who did not join the expedition remained active (Alan, Prevostin, Hélinand, Garnerius). The ten mechanisms of mobilization frequently revealed an entanglement with our nine preachers (see table 7): they were significantly involved in these mechanisms or even shaped and organized them. This included the germ cell of the Curia (Peter, Henry, perhaps also Martin), early ambitions before the encyclical's arrival (Ralph), or ongoing preaching after the venture's departure (Garnerius, likely also Alan and Prevostin). One can align specific texts with specific mechanisms such as Peter's letters (especially the *Conquestio*) or two of Ralph's sermons devoted to instructing clerics in *crucem praedicare*. Moreover, this study examined several texts that blend diverse thematic layers and, thus, different historical arenas, especially the two sermons by Alan and Prevostin respectively that used the imagery of the Holy Land to agitate against scholasticism. These two texts fit perfectly with the ongoing efforts in the early 1190s when the focus was shifting from the failing crusade to the enemies within (inspired by *peccatis nostris exigentibus*), a field in which the two masters distinguished themselves. The personal involvement of preachers in the mobilization effort substantiates the legitimacy of identifying suitable sermon material in their writings and anchoring the same in the mobilization events with the help of the liturgical calendar.

TABLE 7 Involvement of preachers in mobilization mechanisms

	Autumn 1187		Late 1187 / Spring–summer 1188			
	Cause crusade	Crusade encyclical	Preachers depart from curia	Recipients of encyclical start preaching	Preaching tours	Assem- blies
Baldwin of Canterbury				X	X	X
Peter of Blois	X	X	X		X	X
Ralph Ardens	X				?	?
Garnerius of Clairvaux				?	?	?
Henry of Albano	X	X	X		X	X
Hélinand of Froidmont				?	?	?
Alan of Lille				?		X
Prevostin of Cremona				?		X
Martin of León	?		?		?	

Spring 1188 and later		Summer 1188 to 1190s	
Letters, crusade calls	Preaching to clerics, monks	Ongoing preaching activities, local clerics	Preaching during crusade (in East and West)
X	?	X	X
X	X	X	X
	X		X
X	X	X	X
X	X	X	
	?	?	?
	X	X	?
	X	X	?
	X		X

Conclusions

This study was devoted to the preaching and mobilization of the Third Crusade, a subject that has not received meaningful scholarly attention so far despite the enormous historical significance of this expedition. The study set out by tackling two important methodological dimensions that have accompanied us throughout: first, a pivotal issue consisted in the question of which sermon material is pertinent to the crusades and specifically the Third Crusade, while being confronted with the fact that ‘crusade sermon’ is an anachronistic category that cannot help us in the selection of sources. Second, the strong narrativity in crusade studies, largely dependent on the chronicles, required review, since these accounts are so poor when it comes to preaching activities. The same scholarship ignored the vast sermon material which provides us with a far more diverse picture and thus thwarts the story that scholars have told to date. This study harvested the corpus of the nine preachers of the Third Crusade (c.630 texts) for crusade-related material, concluding that 42 texts are definitely pertinent to this purpose. Among these, 30 have been categorized as holding high crusade potential, that is, the crusade is their primary purpose, whereas 12 hold possible crusade potential, in agreement with a sermon’s model nature. Among those with high potential, a causal relationship with mobilizing the venture has even been asserted in 25 cases (instead of only a thematic relationship), that is, contributing to these efforts was the text’s primary concern. These 42 texts include, for example, eight sermons on the cross, three on Advent, and four on Palm Sunday (see table 8). They also include eight sermons that broach the events of 1187 as well as ten texts that contain strong allusions to the same (see table 9). In sum, rich materials have been unearthed that allow the Third Crusade to be examined in unprecedented depth as to the questions of what one preached and how preaching operated. These results show how worthwhile it is to consider sermon material broadly and without bias (that is, without being obstructed by modern categories or notions of established genres). The crusade presents itself as an intrinsic part of the contemporary preaching agenda, therefore such material can certainly help with understanding the mobilization of these ventures as well as the spirituality surrounding specific crusade motifs.

This study broached the issue of determining the crusade potential of these texts from different angles: first, a meticulous analysis has unearthed how one may encounter the crusade therein, spanning a number of approaches such as a sermon announcing a holistic program (hence including the crusade and the earthly Jerusalem) or developing crusade-related identities (such as militant

examples). The tables provided in this study concisely depict the parameters which permitted the assertion of crusade potential in a specific case (especially tables 9–11). Second, these results were corroborated by other crusade-specific texts, as the corpus of crusade-related elements assembled them (table 1). This substantiated that a specific element had at least a crusade echo, but often even a crusade-specific coloring in the contemporary discourse. For example, Ez. 9 was a pivotal reference for making sense of the events of 1187, while database searches show that it was hardly used before 1187. Third, the textual analyses were corroborated by the four dimensions of context that confirmed and encouraged the texts' entanglement with the crusading purpose. After a sermon had revealed high potential, the same was corroborated, for example, by its media context presenting it within a cluster of crusade materials or being preceded by a prologue that announces such a purpose. The contextualization proved, therefore, that my textual analyses followed the right track: consequently, one can unearth the crusading purpose of sermon texts with some methodological creativity and a multi-angled approach. This is very much indebted to a discourse analysis, which delivers analytical categories and helps to bring order to the evidence.

This study started with the assertion that seven of the nine preachers remain invisible in the chronicle reports, and that crusade scholars relied far too heavily on these accounts, which are not representative sources. This is not surprising, since it is not to be expected that preaching events were usually remodeled into historiographical narratives—this was an absolute exception. Most preachers and most preaching activities remain invisible in chronicles and, consequently, in previous scholarship. This even pertains to the most eminent preachers of their age such as Alan of Lille, as well as to those who were closely connected with political protagonists, such as Ralph Ardens, Richard Lionheart's chaplain. As a result, this study fundamentally shifts the existing story regarding the question of who preached the crusade: numerous agents were active far beyond the spotlight shone on popular figures and large recruitment events. This included anonymous figures who yet left us their sermon texts, evidence that proves their expertise and activity in the field. These surfaced in a twofold manner: on the one hand, in the form of specific texts that only survived anonymously; and on the other, via the archeological evidence of the codices that all presented unique compositions. This finding demonstrates that anonymous editors and preachers were active in reusing and implementing the materials provided by the renowned masters—and this in varying geographical and institutional settings. Every existing codex can be read as evidence of the material's use in a specific context; this is the very reason why it was composed. This is substantiated by their form and composition; they were not

meant for preserving an author's works in a library, but were vitally entangled with preaching efforts, supplying material for this purpose. In some cases, it was even possible to relate a codex to a preacher's biography (such as with Alan of Lille) or a specific historical context.

Regarding both the vast number of surviving sermons and their practice-related nature permeating the manuscripts, the rich materials of the late 12th century point to another essential result, encouraging what other scholars have already argued. Popular and frequent preaching did not fall out of the sky with the friars, but it drew on a steady process of development that originated at least in mid-12th-century Paris. By the end of the century, these efforts and the corresponding written material were already elaborate and widespread. This includes the rich transmission of preaching aids (especially *Distinctiones*), as well as idiosyncratic experiments that tried to find new ways to supply others with preaching material (for example, Henry of Albano's treatise). As a result, scholars often underestimated the importance of popular preaching for the period preceding the friars—and this preaching was significantly intertwined with and fueled by the objective of mobilizing and preparing crusades. These results also contest the idea that a crusade was imposed or orchestrated by the Curia. The widespread protagonists show that it was a much more diverse affair, probably including quite a number who acted more or less independently of papal policies (even just considering the cumbersome nature of long-distance communication). Preachers were essential brokers who set trends on a local level; they were much more important than the pope for shaping ideas and mobilizing specific groups. Furthermore, this study has shown how worthwhile it is to consider sermons through a historian's lens, that is, relating them to historical phenomena, instead of considering them as mere spiritual or theological texts existing in a vacuum. Refuting the notion of model sermons being timeless and unspecific, it demonstrated how profoundly these sources can contribute to understanding historical phenomena. A historian sees different things in these texts than scholars from other disciplines; we therefore need more historians using these as a source and bringing them more into the mainstream of the historical discipline. This approach has great innovative potential, being adaptable for both further crusade ventures and sermons' entanglement with other historical phenomena.

This study not only thwarts the existing story as to the dissemination and operating mode of the preaching effort, but also as to the nature of the expedition itself. The sermons have shown how omnipresent and boldly eschatological beliefs surface; and these were intrinsically interwoven with the Holy Land as the stage for the End of Days. This called historical agents to travel to this region when they believed the End was nigh, as expressed itself in the

massive Third Crusade. These beliefs articulated themselves in a number of pivotal ideas such as the notion that Jerusalem had been in an eschatological state since the days of the First Crusade, or that the earthly city was a literal gateway to heaven, or the creative use of prophecies in the sermons, often adapting their verb tenses to assert a prophecy's fulfillment, a most meaningful device. These ideas also demonstrate that the Third Crusade's preachers were building on existing discourses that had been alive since 1099 (especially visible in the use of Is. 11:10 and the adaptation of its verb tense, a phenomenon found throughout the century). This finding indicates that eschatological beliefs were not only pertinent to the Third Crusade—even though the events of 1187 granted them particular urgency—but there is still much potential for developing our understanding, an endeavor that would benefit from the consideration of further sermon collections.

Similarly, the eschatological lenses help with making sense of what was happening during the crusade itself. They help in explaining why the massive army under Barbarossa's command dissolved soon after his death, since it was now clear that he could not be the Last World Emperor. They help with understanding Richard Lionheart's self-perception when he commanded the (in military terms unnecessary) slaughter of thousands of Muslims, since he embodied the role of the Last Emperor, eager to fulfill the prophecy that Joachim of Fiore had uttered to him (an unprecedented massacre among 'the pagans'). The lenses provided by the sermons thus transform the understanding of the expedition's nature and course, once more profoundly shifting the existing story, and contesting the approach of viewing such phenomena through rational or military lenses. While the reader may recall that this study does not claim that sermons were the only factor at play in the maze of mobilization or in shaping crusade spirituality, its results show that sermons were undeniably an important factor. These sources deliver new explanations for historical events and actions. This also demonstrates why it needs historians, not so much to write history, but to critically review the writing of history. The chronicles, on the other hand, only contain a limited number of eschatological elements for a simple reason: such beliefs were obviously disappointed by the crusade's failure (especially obvious with Barbarossa's death), an outcome that fundamentally distorted the picture, but shaped an event's commemoration and hence the modern narrative. A glance into the First Crusade's chronicles corroborates this argument, where eschatological beliefs are still exorbitant, since this expedition did not disappoint them. Considering sermon texts and other sources created prior to a venture is thus essential to understanding its drives and outlooks. This can contribute to understanding the ideas that crusaders had in their minds, and why they deemed it worthwhile to leave their homes behind, departing on such a burdensome and dangerous journey.

The notion that preaching primarily addressed the fighting class, another idea stemming from modern rational lenses, likewise requires revision. The sermons and the preachers' other efforts do not show such a limitation, quite the contrary: they conceive throughout of a pan-Christian agenda, understanding crusading as the duty of all Christendom. This surfaced specifically in sermons (for example, by Ralph Ardens) that even call on university audiences to go on crusade. It is another significant result that I have not found a single utterance that would prohibit monks from crusading, whereas the preachers very much involved them in the efforts (such as Henry of Albano's treatise being addressed to his brothers in Clairvaux). Sometimes, they even joined the venture themselves (such as Baldwin of Canterbury). This stands in sharp contrast to Bernard of Clairvaux, and this study explained this egalitarian drive through the vivid eschatological outlook, since the final battle would only know the righteous and the damned, but no kings, monks, or peasants. The sermons have shown that crusade-related texts addressed a variety of audiences, encompassing different purposes such as instructing other clerics in crusade preaching (six such texts have been identified; see table 6). Thus, one cannot identify a crusade-related sermon by its audience, critically because 'crusaders' were a far too heterogeneous group and a temporary identity, overlapping with or replacing other types of identity.

Pertinent results have also been unearthed as to how the preachers constructed their vision of the Holy Land and subsequently transmitted this to wide audiences. They did not care about collecting actual information, neither about the current events nor as to using earlier sources such as the chronicles of the First Crusade or Peter the Venerable's works on Islam. They developed their vision solely on the basis of the Bible, since this was the right source in their understanding, the divine revelation, which contained everything they needed for preparing a crusade. This includes, for example, the construction of typological ties, understanding the crusaders' actions as a repetition or embodiment of biblical precedent (significantly visible in the conception of the sea, causally linked to the Exodus), or a prognosis for the future by implementing prophecies (and often dragging them into the present via their adaptation). This also includes specific biblical verses that provided lenses for describing and hence for imagining and commemorating the events in East (for instance, via Job 9:24 or Ez. 9:4). In terms of a discourse analysis, the Bible was the pivotal instrument for constructing knowledge and thus for developing a historical reality; this is even more pertinent considering the historical situation of the Holy Land's factual distance and invisibility in daily life in the West. Even though this may be a common approach for a religion of the book, this study argued that these dynamics were fueled by conflicts within the early University of Paris.

Whereas the early scholastics increasingly studied non-biblical texts, in particular ancient philosophical works, the reformers took issue with these developments and emphasized even more that all knowledge must come from the Bible (epitomized with 1 Cor. 2:2 in many texts). This made other sources of knowledge suspicious or even dangerous, but at least worthless for the rationale of crusade preparation. One thus observes how a specific institutional context very much affected a historical context, the crusade movement.

This leads to the issue of crusade-specific language and terminology, an essential point of departure for this study, very much related to the challenge of identifying sermon texts pertinent to the crusading purpose. This study's rich materials have shown that one must not limit oneself to specific terms (such as *crucesignati*), since the linguistic devices that may verbalize 'the crusade' or 'crusaders' are far too manifold and versatile, being also subject to authorial creativity. Several of our authors tried to establish new terms in reaction to the events of 1187, in order to make sense of the situation, thereby engendering terminological diversity (such as Ralph Ardens with *aquilae* for crusaders or Peter of Blois with *facies testamenti* for the Cross relic). Although specific terms and biblical references may lend themselves to the crusade, they cannot claim exclusivity for verbalizing this purpose. We must always approach such texts unbiased, remaining open to new linguistic forms that may express 'the crusade,' that is, the meaning of a journey to the East and the Church's defense against its diverse enemies. There is also a simple reason why an unequivocal terminology did not exist: exegesis and liturgy provided the language for perceiving and theorizing the phenomenon, thus interweaving it intrinsically with daily religious practice. A motif like Jerusalem is always pertinent to crusading when used in this period—even though the historian must still try to determine a text's crusade potential. Even though expeditions to the Holy Land undoubtedly had their idiosyncrasies, owing to the region's place in salvation history and the End of Days, one observes that the Holy Land's spaces and other crusade ideas were used in manifold contexts such as for agitating against scholasticism, as visible with Alan of Lille and Prevostin of Cremona.

The methodological devices that this study developed have the potential to find application in future research on sermons and crusade mobilization, but more generally on how the Christian meta-structure (exegesis, liturgy, apocalypticism) can help us in understanding the crusade movement. This study thus pushes the developments that the field has seen in recent years a step further by offering concrete tools for asserting a sermon text's crusade pertinence (see tables 9–11). These tools can be applied to other contexts, for example, the Second Crusade or the vast unpublished materials from the 13th century that are still waiting. The study asserted within the entire corpus of sources

(c.630 sermons) that c.7 per cent of the texts have crusade potential, whereas c.4 per cent even betray a causal relationship with crusading—but altogether, c.22 per cent have found consideration, that is, texts containing crusade-related elements. All these can serve the examination of crusade spirituality, even if we cannot pin down the purpose of mobilization. These are highly pertinent sources for crusade studies that should find their way into the scholarly mainstream far more often, especially into the large narrative depictions of such expeditions. Considering that we have around 140,000 sermon texts for the period between 1150 and 1350, and presupposing that the amount of crusade material is similar overall, we can surmise that the following numbers are still waiting in the archives: if c.4 per cent of the 140,000 sermons betray a causal relationship with crusade mobilization, this makes around 5600 texts. If c.7 per cent hold crusade potential, this makes around 9800 texts. And if c.22 per cent contain crusade motifs, this makes the enormous number of c.30,800 texts—whereas previous research has only tackled around 100 texts. Vast masses of material are still waiting to be scrutinized by scholars, which also requires time-consuming work with manuscripts. This study has shown ways for harvesting such and for determining the crusade in the same. Considering such in future research can very much transform our understanding of the crusade movement and its forces, as this study did specifically for the Third Crusade by revising numerous notions of previous scholarship, reviewing the prevalent narrativity in modern historiography, and offering a far more nuanced picture of how mobilization operated.

In agreement with a discourse analysis, this included moving beyond the single text: this has been achieved (a) through a comparative perspective within the entire corpus that unearthed numerous parallels, patterns, and hence a vivid preaching agenda; (b) by bringing order to the evidence, including clarifying the purpose and value of particular genres (with the essential sketch at the study's outset); the outcome of this very much informed the various tables; and (c) by considering the manuscripts as archaeological artefacts for the material's use and dissemination. Furthermore, (d) this study kept a comparative perspective with letters (including switching a text's label between letter and sermon), since these sources substantiate the spatial and societal distribution of ideas, proving that the ideas presented in the sermons undeniably left a clerical or monastic register. Similarly, (e) it examined the nine preachers' involvement in several mechanisms of mobilization: their writings are not haphazard survivors, but they were essential protagonists who shaped and organized several devices for recruiting crusaders. This included their extensive contacts with bishops who were mobilizing the crusade and/or participating in it. Finally, (f) this study anchored the sermon texts classified as

crusade-related in their historical context with the help of the liturgical calendar: this meant identifying preaching occasions such as councils or preaching tours at the time of a liturgical feast a sermon is ascribed to. This endeavor yielded numerous fitting occasions. All these approaches thus substantiated and corroborated my analyses of the texts, making clear that the sermons identified were indeed close to the mobilization of the Third Crusade and meant for broad lay audiences. Thanks to a discourse analytical approach, this blended investigating their contents with the events and mechanisms of mobilizing crusader armies.

The preachers investigated in this study, both the nine authors and the anonymous protagonists who edited and reused their material, were all distributing the preaching agenda of the Third Crusade as well as a general discourse that stemmed from the events of 1187. This discourse had a momentous impact, as visible, for example, in Innocent III's opening sermon for the Fourth Lateran, which was very much indebted to readings that the Third Crusade's preachers established. This microcosm not only sheds light on the particular expedition, but helps with understanding several significant phenomena developing thereafter. This includes the strenuous drive for popular preaching that would fuse into the establishment of the friars; the relentless crusading efforts of the succeeding decades (including developing the concept of crusading); the further development of the universities and, thus, of the organization of learning and knowledge; and overarching church policies, for example, as to the issue of heresy that would lead to the establishment of inquisitorial procedures. The Third Crusade and the preachers that made this expedition were the pivotal origin or at least a vital boost for all these developments. As a result, it is not too much to say that those preachers, in the microcosm of preparing this expedition, a time of heightened productivity and emotional outburst, significantly shaped the further development of European history and culture.

Appendix

TABLE 8 List of the 42 primarily relevant sermon texts

	Title	Alternative titles	Incipit	Crusade potential	Causal relationship	Copies	Audience
Baldwin of Canterbury	Sermo 3	De cruce infra passionem;	Vetus homo noster simul crucifixus est, ut destruat corpus peccati, ut ultra non seruiamus peccato. Christus passus est pro nobis, relinquens nobis exemplum ut sequamur uestigia eius. Passus est autem in cruce [...]	Possible		BNF lat. 2601; Cambridge, Pembroke Coll. 159; Troyes 433; Troyes 876; Lambeth 210	non detectable
		De triplici cruce					
	Sermo 8	—	Conuenite, populi nationum, ad stupendum diuine uirtutis spectaculum, ubi mysterium nostre salutis consummatur, ubi mors a uita triumphatur, ubi crucis contumelia gloria commutatur. Venite et uidete uisionem hanc magnam [...]	High	X	BNF lat. 2601	non detectable
Sermo 14	In assumptione sancte Marie	Sermo ad claustrales de sancta Maria in adventu domini	In omnibus requiem quesui, et in hereditate Domini morabor; tunc precepit et dixit michi creator omnium, et qui creauit me requieuit in tabernaculo meo. [...] Sapientia Dei, in qua instaurata et restaurata sunt omnia [...]	High	?	BNF lat. 2601; Cambridge, Pembroke Coll. 159; Troyes 433; Troyes 876; Lambeth 210	non detectable

TABLE 8 List of the 42 primarily relevant sermon texts (*cont.*)

Title	Alternative titles	Incipit	Crusade potential	Causal relationship	Copies	Audience
Peter of Blois	Contra principes qui differebant transfretare et de cruce eius; Accendit corda principium ad subveniendum terre sancte; Monitio ad idem	Antequam comedam suspiro et quasi inundantes aque sic rugitus meus, quia timor quem timebam evenit michi et quodcumque verebar accidit. Sperabam in eo qui spes nostra est, qui facit concordiam in sublimibus suis [...]	High	X	Bodl. Lat. misc. f.14; BNF lat. 2954; Cambridge, Gonville 114/183; Den Haag 73 H 5; Arundel 227; BL Royal 10 A XVIII	Broad audience / lay people; Clerics or monks
Conquestio super nimia dilatione itineris Ierosolimis; Exhortatio ad subsidium terre sancte,	Conquestio super nimia dilatione itineris Ierosolimis; Exhortatio ad subsidium terre sancte,	Quis dabit capiti meo aquam et oculis meis fontem lacrimarum, et plorabo interfectos populi mei? Utinam in fletum totus effluam et pascatur lacrimarum solatio dolor meus, deducant oculi mei lacrimas [...]	High	X	BL Royal 8 F XVII; Bodl. Lat. misc. f.14; BNF lat. 2954; Lambeth Palace 421; Cambridge, Gonville 114/183	Broad audience / lay people

TABLE 8 List of the 42 primarily relevant sermon texts (*cont.*)

Title	Alternative titles	Incipit	Crusade potential	Causal relationship	Copies	Audience
Sermo 19	In coena domini	et lamentationes et fletus ad bona opera; De itinere Ierosolimitanorum	High	X	BL Royal 8 F XVII; BL Arundel 322; St.Geneviève 2787	non detectable
Sermo 32	In festo sancti Laurentii	Separavit Moyses trans Jordanem ad orientem plagam tres civitates fugii: Bosor in solitudine, in terra campestri de tribu Ruben: Ramoth Galaad de tribu Gad: Golan et Gaulon in Basan de tribu Manasse. Tria sunt refugia, sive remedia. Primum est pro nostris, et alienis peccatis conterii [...]	High	X	BL Royal 8 F XVII; BL Arundel 322	non detectable

TABLE 8 List of the 42 primarily relevant sermon texts (*cont.*)

	Title	Alternative titles	Incipit	Crusade potential	Causal relationship	Copies	Audience
Sermo 39	In festo sancti michaelis	—	Benigne fac, Domine, in bona voluntate tua Sion, ut aedificentur muri Jerusalem. Si referamus tempora Nabuchodonosor, tempora Sennacherib, Titi quoque et Vespasiani, non dubitamus quia terrena Sion multoties capta et destructa et reaedificata est. [...]	High	X	BL Royal 8 F XVII; BL Arundel 322; St.Geneviève 2787	non detectable
Sermo 52	In dedicatione ecclesiae	—	Jerusalem quae aedificatur ut civitas, cuius participatio ejus in idipsum. Tripliciter accipitur Jerusalem, civitas illa sanguinaria, quae occidit prophetas, de qua dicitur: Non capit perire prophetam extra Jerusalem. [...]	Possible		BL Royal 8 F XVII; BL Arundel 322; St.Geneviève 2787	non detectable
Ralph Ardens	Pars (1), Section (1), Sermo 32 Feria IV in capite ieunii	—	Convertimini ad me in toto corde vestro, in jejuniis et fletu, et planctu, et scindite corda vestra, et non vestimenta vestra, etc. His verbis, fratres charissimi, olim hortabatur Dominus per prophetam populum suum, qui peccando recesserat a se, converti ad se. [...]	Possible	X	?	Ad populum; Clerics or monks

TABLE 8 List of the 42 primarily relevant sermon texts (*cont.*)

	Title	Alternative titles	Incipit	Crusade potential	Causal relationship	Copies	Audience
Pars (1), Section (1), Sermo 41	Dominica quarta quadragesima	—	Scriptum est: Quoniam Abraham duos filios habuit unum, videlicet Ismael, de ancilla Agar, et unum, scilicet Isaac, de libera, scilicet Sara. Sed qui de ancilla secundum carnem natus est, id est secundum consuetudinem carnis [...]	High	?	Lincoln 112 and 116	Ad populum
Pars (1), Section (1), Sermo 49	In parave	—	Dixit Dominus ad Moysen et Aaron in terra Aegypti: Mensis iste vobis principium mensium, etc. In hac lectione, fratres charissimi, Dominus tradidit olim Judaeis historialiter qualiter figuratum Pascha deberent celebrare [...]	Possible	?	?	Ad populum
Pars (1), Section (2), Sermo 23	Dominica decima post trinitatem	—	Cum appropinquaret Jesus Jerusalem, videns civitatem flevit super illam, dicens: Quia si cognovisses et tu. Praelibatam, fratres charissimi, exposituri lectionem, primum ea quae ad litteram, deinde ea quae ad mysticum sensum pertinent, videamus, [...]	High	?	St. Geneviève 2786; Lincoln 112 and 116	Ad populum
Pars (1), Section (2), Sermo 48	Dominica vigesima tertia post trinitatem	—	Imitatores mei estote, et observate eos qui ita ambulat, sicut videtis formam nostram, etc. Hac in lectione, fratres charissimi, quae facit Apostolus: primo monet eos quibus scribit [...]	High	X	St. Geneviève 2786; Lincoln 112 and 116	Ad populum; University audience

TABLE 8 List of the 42 primarily relevant sermon texts (*cont.*)

	Title	Alternative titles	Incipit	Crusade potential	Causal relationship	Copies	Audience
De tempore, Sermo 18	In inventione sancte crucis	—	Confido de vobis in Domino quod nihil aliud sapietis, etc. Fratres mei, haec loquitur Paulus Galatis, quibus pseudo- praedicatorum praedicaverant legem cum Evangelio esse tenendam [...]	High	X	Lincoln 112 and 116	Ad populum; Clerics or monks
De tempore, Sermo 19	In inventione sancte crucis	—	Dixit Jesus discipulis suis: Sicut fulgur exit ab oriente et parit usque in occidentem, ita erit et adventus Filii hominis, et reliqua; In hac sancti Evangelii lectione, fratres charissimi, praecinstruit nos Dominus et Redemptor noster de secundo adventu suo [...]	High	X	Lincoln 112 and 116	Ad populum
De tempore, Sermo 36	In exaltatione sancte crucis	Secundum Iohannem	Nunc iudicium est mundi, nunc princeps hujus mundi ejicietur foras, et reliqua. Haec lectio sancti Evangelii, fratres mei, quadripertita est. Primo enim dicit Dominus per iudicium principem hujus mundi ejiciendum de mundo. [...]	High	X	St. Geneviève 2786; Lincoln 112 and 116	Ad populum
De tempore, Sermo 41	In festo omnium sanctorum	Iohannis apostoli, omnium sanctorum	Ecce ego Johannes vidi alterum angelum ascendentem ab ortu solis, habentem signum Dei vivi, etc. Haec visio, fratres mei, quam Johannes evangelista se vidisse testatur, de Christo intelligitur. [...]	High	X	St. Geneviève 2786; Lincoln 112 and 116	Ad populum

TABLE 8 List of the 42 primarily relevant sermon texts (*cont.*)

	Title	Alternative titles	Incipit	Crusade potential	Causal relationship	Copies	Audience	
Garnerius of Clairvaux	Sermo 4	In adventu domini	—	Elevare, consurge. sede, Jerusalem; solve vincula colli tui, captiva filia Sion. Hora enim est jam nos de somno surgere. De illo inquam somno, in quo qui dormit, nec aliquid videt, nec sentit; vel si videt, quod videt non intelligit [...]	High	X	Troyes 970; Troyes 1301	non detectable
	Sermo 18	In die sancto paschae	—	Non coques haedum in lacte matris suae. Apostolo teste, nihil ad perfectum adduxit lex; sed propter transgressiones data est; donec plenitudo legis, non per verbum legis [...]	Possible		Troyes 1301	non detectable
	Sermo 19	In die sancto paschae	—	Die sexto princeps filiorum Gad, Eliasapn filius Duel obtulit acetabulum plenum similia in sacrificium. In dandis accipiendisque muneribus nostri sermonis series et virtus consistit. Accepti siquidem et dati gratia foederantur [...]	High	?	Troyes 1301	non detectable
	Sermo 28	In assumptione beate Marie	—	Eleva virgam tuam, et extende manum tuam, et divide mare, ut transeant filii Israel per medium sicci maris. Quod uni dico, omnibus dico. Omnibus, inquam, illis qui tanquam boni pauperum advocati, contra frivolas excusationes eorum [...]	High	X	Troyes 970; Troyes 1301	Broad audience / lay people

TABLE 8 List of the 42 primarily relevant sermon texts (*cont.*)

	Title	Alternative titles	Incipit	Crusade potential	Causal relationship	Copies	Audience
Sermo 37	In dedicatione ecclesiae	—	Super muros tuos Jerusalem constitui cistodes, etc. Non minor est virtus, quam quaerere, parva tueri. Nam sicut circa divitias temporales concurrere solent tria [...]	Possible	?	Troyes 970; Troyes 1301	non detectable
Henry of Albano	De peregrinante civitate Dei	—	Charissimis ac spiritualibus filiis suis in Claravalle Domino servientibus, Henricus peccator monachus, superfluentem Paracliti consolationem. Ex ea qua me sentio vobis charitate devinctum, vestrum quem erga me geritis, metiri ac pensare libet affectum. [...]	High	X	Troyes 599	Clerics or monks
Ep.31			Venerabilibus et in Domino sibi charissimis archiepiscopis, episcopis, caeterisque Ecclesiae praelatis Albanensis episcopus apostolicae sedis legatus, per gloriam salutaris crucis ad perpetuae lucis gaudia pervenire. Publicani et peccatores violenter praeripiunt regnum Dei [...]	—	?	?	Clerics

TABLE 8 List of the 42 primarily relevant sermon texts (*cont.*)

	Title	Alternative titles	Incipit	Crusade potential	Causal relationship	Copies	Audience
Ep.32			Charissimis in Christo fratribus et amicis, venerabilibus Dei gratia archiepiscopis, episcopis, abbatibus, praepositis et aliis Ecclesiarum praelatis [...] Henricus eadem gratia Albanus episcopus, apostolicae sedis legatus, salutem in Domino. Ex quo vox illa turturis, vox gemitus, vox doloris fines nostros [...]	—		BL Add 24145	Broad audience / lay people
Hélinand of Froidmont	Sermo 8	In ramis palmarum (1)	Si quis vult venire post me, abneget semetipsum, et tollat crucem suam, et sequatur me. Vulgo dicitur: Qui bene est, non se moveat. Sed quis bene est, quando in mundo est, qui totus in maligno positus est [...]	High	X	BNF lat. 14591	Broad audience / lay people
	Sermo 10	In ramis palmarum (111)	Transi per mediam civitatem in medio Ierusalem; et signa Tau super frontes virorum gementium, et dolentium super cunctis abominationibus quae fiunt in medio ejus. Haec dicit Dominus ad virum lineis indutum; id est Pater ad Filium mundissimae carnis multiplici pressura circumdatum [...]	High	X	Mazarine 1041	Broad audience / lay people

TABLE 8 List of the 42 primarily relevant sermon texts (*cont.*)

	Title	Alternative titles	Incipit	Crusade potential	Causal relationship	Copies	Audience
Alan of Lille	Fugite de terra aquilonis	Sermo communis;	Fugite de terra aquilonis quia dispersi vos in IIII ventis celi dicit dominus. Ad nos fratres karissimi loquitur deus, nos in carceratos monet exire de peccatorum carcere,	High	X	BNF lat. 14859; St. Geneviève 2787; Toulouse 195; BL Sloane 1580; Amiens 301; Dijon 219	Sermo communis
		magistri alani sumptus ex ezechiel	nos captivatos rogat egredi de viciorum babilone, nos exules reverti de exilio [...]				
	Militia est vita hominis	Sermo ad scolares;	Militia est vita hominis super terram, o homo in hiis brevibus verbis tuam vitam lege, tuam statum intellege, considera quomodo transeas de pugna ad coronam, de via ad patriam, de pena ad gloriam, labora tu qui es hospes et advena, peregrinus et accola, ut sis celestis avis et domesticus salvatoris [...]	Possible	?	Dijon 219; BNF lat. 14859; Toulouse 195	Sermo communis; Clerics or monks; University audience
	Feria II intrante ieiunio	—	Manete in Ihericho donec crescat barba vestra et post revertimini, verbum quod audistis viri fratres per os meum consilium est david qui mandavit servis suis quibus amon rex amonitarum pravorum consilio dimidiam partem barbe raserat, et vestes usque ad nates preciderat [...]	High	X	BL Add 19767	Clerics or monks

TABLE 8 List of the 42 primarily relevant sermon texts (*cont.*)

Title	Alternative titles	Incipit	Crusade potential	Causal relationship	Copies	Audience
Laetare Ierusalem	—	Letare Ierusalem et conventum facite omnes qui diligitis eam, ad populum fidelem ut propter imminentem diem pasche purgatus tempore penitentie letetur, spirituali exultatione sermo iste dirigitur, fidelis enim populus, id est, presens ecclesia Ierusalem dicitur, Ierusalem enim visio pacis interpretatur [...]	Possible		BL Add 19767; BNF NAL 335	Ad populum
De sancta cruce (II) domini	—	Absit michi gloriari, etc. Gloriantur alii in divitiis cum Creso, alii in honoribus terrenis, cum Iulio, alii in deliciis, cum Augusto, alii in sapientia terrena, cum philosopho, alii in robore, cum Antheo, alii in pulcritudine, cum Partenopeo [...]	High	X	BNF lat. 3818; BNF lat. 15965	Broad audience / lay people
Sermo de clericis ad theologiam non accedentibus	—	Ve vobis qui transitis. Fratres karissimi, intuendum est quis loquitur, et de quo loquitur. Deus loquitur, ad nos, miseros clericos, loquitur, de nostris inanibus et frivolis studiis loquitur, qui theologiam relinquimus, et inanes et transitorias scientias currimus [...]	Possible		Toulouse 195	Clerics or monks; University audience

TABLE 8 List of the 42 primarily relevant sermon texts (*cont.*)

	Title	Alternative titles	Incipit	Crusade potential	Causal relationship	Copies	Audience
	De sancta cruce (1)	In paraseve; De passione domini; In resurrectione dominica	Ascendam in palmam, et comprehendam fructus ejus. Verba Sponsi in Canticis, fratres charissimi, per palmam intelligimus crucem Dominicam triplici ratione: Ratione substantiae, ratione circumstantiae, ratione efficientiae. [...]	Possible		BNF lat. 3818; Amiens 301; Dijon 219; BNF lat. 14859; St.Geneviève 2787	non detectable
Prevostin of Cremona	Porta orientalis	—	Converti me ad portam vel ad viam porte sanctuarii exterioris, que respicit ad orientem, et erat clausa, et dixit dominus ad me, porta hec clausa erit, non aperietur, vir non transibit per eam [...]	Possible		Arsenal 543; BNF lat. 14932	University audience
	In adventu domini (1)	In adventu domini	In die illa est radix Iesse qui stat in signum populorum ipsum gentes deprecabuntur, et erit sepulchrum eius gloriosum, verbum dulce multiplicat amicos, et lingua eucharis in bono homine habundabit [...]	High	X	BNF lat. 14859	non detectable

TABLE 8 List of the 42 primarily relevant sermon texts (*cont.*)

Title	Alternative titles	Incipit	Crusade potential	Causal relationship	Copies	Audience
In adventu domini (11)	—	Cum appropinquasset Iesus et venisset bethfage ad montem oliveti, et invenisset discipulos dixit eis, ite in castellum quod contra vos est, et inventetis asinam alligatam et pullum et solvite et adducite mihi, non est alienum ab hac sollempnitate viri fratres [...]	High	X	BL Add 18335	Ad populum
De sancta cruce	Miraculum de sancta cruce	Levate oculos sensus vestri, et videte hanc novam admirationem, que facta est ad infinita mirabilia dei, et date ei gloriam, conspiciete ineffabilem humanitatem ac magnitudinem ordinationis eius, et lamentationem cum leticia assumite [...]	High		BL Add 18335	Ad populum
In ramis palmarum	—	Cum appropinquaret Ihesus Ierosolimis et venisset bethfage ad montem oliveti misit duos de discipulis suis dicens, ite in castellum quod contra vos est, et inventetis asinam alligatam et pullum, solvite et adducite mihi, hodie, fratres karissimi, representamus magnum honorem domini nostri Ihesu Christi [...]	High	X	Arsenal 543; BNF NAL 999; BNF lat. 3555	Broad audience / lay people

TABLE 8 List of the 42 primarily relevant sermon texts (*cont.*)

	Title	Alternative titles	Incipit	Crusade potential	Causal relationship	Copies	Audience	
Martin of León	De diversis, Sermo 11	De actibus apostolorum	—	Lucas evangelista et apostolicae conscriptor historiae, natione Syrus, arte medicus, Graeco eloquio eruditus, Pauli apostoli discipulus, ejusque peregrinationis comes individuus, gratia Spiritus sancti cooperante [...]	High	X	León 11	Clerics or monks
	Sermo 18	In ramis palmarum	—	Isaias propheta, fratres charissimi, ut vir nobilis, et urbanae elegantiae, qui multa Spiritu sancto edoctus de Christi incarnatione, nativitate, passione, morte, ad inferos descensione, in coelis ascensione ac Spiritus sancti missione, clara voce praedixit [...]	High	X	León 11	Clerics or monks; Broad audience / lay people
	Sermo 22	In coena domini (11)	—	Jeremias propheta ab ipsa, ut ita dicam, conceptione, Spiritu sancto edoctus, pro humani generis salute de stirpe David Verbum Deo Patri coaeternum, per quod omnia ex nihilo facta sunt, praevidens nasciturum [...]	High	X	León 11	Clerics or monks; Broad audience / lay people
	Sermo 23	In coena domini (111)	—	Deus Pater ante omnia saecula Filium sibi aequalem genuit, per quem visibilia et invisibilia cuncta creavit; per quem et in aeternitate sua humanum genus, quod	High		León 11	Clerics or monks

TABLE 8 List of the 42 primarily relevant sermon texts (*cont.*)

Title	Alternative titles	Incipit	Crusade potential	Causal relationship	Copies	Audience
Sermo 27	In dominica — secunda post pascha	diaboli dolo decipientis a rectitudinis statu casurum praesciebat, liberare disposuit. [...] Oportet vos scire, fratres charissimi, quia, sicut duae fuerunt civitates, Jerusalem scilicet et Babylonia, quarum altera afflixit alteram et captivavit; ita modo duae civitates sunt, una bonorum, altera vero malorum, permistae corpore, separatae corde, Jerusalem videlicet et Babylonia. Tenetur ergo Jerusalem captiva in Babylonia, sed non tota. [...]	Possible		León II	Clerics or monks
Sermo 29	In rogationibus	Primo videndum, fratres charissimi, quid sit litania; secundo, cum duae sint litaniae, quare una dicatur major, altera vero minor; tertio, quare fuerint institutae; quarto, qualiter in eis jejunandum sit, et vestiendum, et quid populus in litania debeat cantare. [...]	High	X	León II	Clerics or monks
De sanctis, Sermo 5	De sancta — cruce	Ideo, fratres charissimi, Dominus noster Jesus Christus de coelis pro nostra salute ad nos dignatus est descendere, ut iterum nos de terris ad coelum reduceret post se. [...]	High	X	León II	Clerics or monks; Broad audience / lay people

TABLE 9 Crusade-related sermon texts

	Explicit broaching of 1187's events	(Strong) allusions to 1187's events	Penned in the shadow of 1187	Generic crusade-fit model texts, or repositories of material	Focus on cross
Baldwin of Canterbury			Sermo 8	Sermo 3; Sermo 14	Sermo 8
Peter of Blois	Sermo 39; Passio Raginaldi; Conquestio		Sermo 32	Sermo 19; Sermo 41; Sermo 42; Sermo 52	Sermo 19; Passio Raginaldi
Ralph Ardens		De tempore, Sermo 19; Pars (1), section (1), Sermo 32	Pars (1), section (2), Sermo 48; De tempore, Sermo 36	De tempore, Sermo 41; Pars (1), Section (1), Sermo 41	De tempore, Sermo 19; 36 and 41; Pars (1), Section (2), Sermo 48
Garnerius of Clairvaux		Sermo 4; Sermo 19	Sermo 28	Sermo 37	Sermo 19; Sermo 28
Henry of Albano	De peregrinante civitate Dei			De peregrinante civitate Dei	De peregrinante civitate Dei
Hélinand of Froidmont		Sermo 8; Sermo 10		Sermo 27	Sermo 8; Sermo 10
Alan of Lille	Feria II intrante ieiunio; De cruce domini	Fugite de terra aquilonis; Sermo de clericis	De sancta cruce (1)	Militia est vita hominis; Laetare Jerusalem	De sancta cruce (1); De cruce domini
Prevostin of Cremona	In adventu domini (1)	In adventu domini (II)	De sancta cruce; Porta orientalis	In ramis palmarum	De sancta cruce
Martin of León	Sermo 22	Sermo 18	De sancta cruce	Sermo 23; 27; 29; De diversis, Sermo 1 and 11	De sancta cruce

Focus on Jerusalem	Focus on salvific topography	Calling the audience to take the cross	Calls for activity / departure	Parallels with encyclicals (esp. <i>Audita tremendi</i>)	Parallels with legate Henry of Albano
	Sermo 8; Sermo 14	Sermo 8	Sermo 8	Sermo 8; Sermo 14	Sermo 3; Sermo 8; Sermo 14
Sermo 39; Sermo 52; Conquestio	Sermo 32; Sermo 39	Conquestio; Passio Raginaldi; Sermo 32	Conquestio; Passio Raginaldi; Sermo 32; 39; 52	Sermo 19; 39; 52; Passio Raginaldi; Conquestio	Sermo 19; 32; 39; Passio Raginaldi; Conquestio
De tempore, Sermo 36; Pars (1), Section (2), Sermo 23	De tempore, Sermo 41	De tempore, Sermo 18; 19 and 41; Pars (1), Section (2), Sermo 48	De tempore, Sermo 19 and 36; Pars (1), Section (1), Sermo 32 and 49	Pars (1), Section (1), Sermo 32; De tempore, Sermo 18 and 41	De tempore, Sermo 36 and 41; Pars (1), Section (1), Sermo 49
Sermo 4; Sermo 37	Sermo 28; Sermo 37		Sermo 4; Sermo 18; 19; Sermo 28; 37	Sermo 37	Sermo 18; 19; 28
De peregrinante civitate Dei	De peregrinante civitate Dei			De peregrinante civitate Dei	
Sermo 10		Sermo 8 and 10	Sermo 8		Sermo 8 and 10
Laetare Jerusalem	Fugite de terra aquilonis	De sancta cruce (I); De cruce domini	Fugite de terra aquilonis; Feria II intrante ieiunio; De cruce domini; Sermo de clericis	Feria II intrante ieiunio	De cruce domini; Feria II intrante ieiunio; Fugite de terra aquilonis
In adventu domini (I) and (II)	Porta orientalis	In adventu domini (I) and (II); In ramis palmarum	Porta orientalis; In ramis palmarum	Porta orientalis	Porta orientalis; In adventu domini (I)
Sermo 18; 23; 27		Sermo 22; De sancta cruce		Sermo 18; 22; De sancta cruce	Sermo 18; 22; De diversis, Sermo 11

TABLE 10 Parameter for identifying the crusade

		Holistic program	Discussion of physical manifestations	Discussion of the own present	Quantity of crusade elements	Combination of significant motifs	Crusade-related identities
Baldwin of Canterbury	Sermo 3	X		X	X	X	X
	Sermo 8			X	X	X	X
	Sermo 14		X	X	X	X	X
Peter of Blois	Passio Raginaldi		X	X	X	X	X
	Conquestio		X	X	X	X	X
	Sermo 19		X	X	X	X	X
	Sermo 32		X	X	X	X	X
	Sermo 39	X	X	X	X	X	X
	Sermo 52	X	X	X	X	X	X
Ralph Ardens	Pars (1), Section (1), Sermo 32			X	X	X	X
	Pars (1), Section (1), Sermo 41			X	X	X	X
	Pars (1), Section (1), Sermo 49		X		X	X	X
	Pars (1), Section (2), Sermo 23	X	X		X	X	X
	Pars (1), Section (2), Sermo 48			X	X	X	X
	De tempore, Sermo 18			X	X	X	X
	De tempore, Sermo 19		X	X	X	X	X
	De tempore, Sermo 36		X	X	X	X	X
De tempore, Sermo 41	X		X	X	X	X	

TABLE 10 Parameter for identifying the crusade (*cont.*)

	Parameter for identifying the crusade (<i>cont.</i>)	Holistic program	Discussion of physical manifestations	Discussion of the own present	Quantity of crusade elements	Combination of significant motifs	Crusade-related identities
Garnerius of Clairvaux	Sermo 4	X	X	X	X	X	X
	Sermo 18					X	X
	Sermo 19	X		X		X	X
	Sermo 28	X	X	X	X	X	X
	Sermo 37	X			X	X	X
Henry of Albano	De peregrinante civitate Dei	X	X	X	X	X	X
	Ep.31 Ep.32		X	X		X	X
Hélinand of Froidmont	Sermo 8		X	X	X	X	X
	Sermo 10		X	X	X	X	X
Alan of Lille	Fugite de terra aquilonis	X		X	X	X	X
	Militia est vita hominis	X				X	X
	Feria 11 intrante ieiunio		X	X	X	X	
	Laetare Jerusalem			X	X	X	X
	De cruce domini		X	X	X	X	X
	Sermo de clericis De sancta cruce (1)				X	X	X

TABLE 10 Parameter for identifying the crusade (*cont.*)

	Prevostin of Cremona	Martin of León	Sum	Holistic program	Discussion of physical manifestations	Discussion of the own present	Quantity of crusade elements	Combination of significant motifs	Crusade-related identities
	Porta orientalis In adventu domini (I) In adventu domini (II) De sancta cruce In ramis palmarum			X	X X X X	X X X X		X X X X X	X X X X X
	De diversis, Sermo II Sermo 18 Sermo 22 Sermo 23 Sermo 27 Sermo 29 De sancta cruce	X X X X X X		X X X X X X	X X X X X X	X X X X X X	X X X X X X	X X X X X X X	X X X X X X
Sum		18	28	34	23	47	38		

TABLE 11 Nature of the relationship with crusading purpose

		Relationship with the crusade				A sermon's impetus			
		Thematic	Causal	Chronological	Journey to the East	Spiritual support	Call and instruction for preaching	During a crusade	
Baldwin of Canterbury	Sermo 3	X			?	?		?	
	Sermo 8	X	X		X	X		?	
	Sermo 14	X	?		?			?	
Peter of Blois	Passio Raginaldi	X	X	X	X		X	?	
	Conquestio	X	X	X	X	X		?	
	Sermo 19	X	X		?	X		?	
	Sermo 32	X	X		X			?	
	Sermo 39	X	X	X	X	X		?	
Sermo 52	X				?				
Ralph Ardens	Pars (1), Section (1), Sermo 32	X	X	X		X		?	
	Pars (1), Section (1), Sermo 41	X	?		?			?	
	Pars (1), Section (1), Sermo 49	X	?		X			?	
	Pars (1), Section (2), Sermo 23	X	?		?			?	
	Pars (1), Section (2), Sermo 48	X	X			X	X		
	De tempore, Sermo 18	X	X				X		
	De tempore, Sermo 19	X	X	X	X			?	
	De tempore, Sermo 36	X	X		X			?	
De tempore, Sermo 41	X	X		X			?		

TABLE II Nature of the relationship with crusading purpose (*cont.*)

	Relationship with the crusade			A sermon's impetus			
	Thematic	Causal	Chronological	Journey to the East	Spiritual support	Call and instruction for preaching	During a crusade
Garnerius of Clairvaux	Sermo 4	X	X	X	X		
	Sermo 18	X		X	?		
	Sermo 19	X	?	X	?		
	Sermo 28	X	X	X	X		
	Sermo 37	X	?			X	
Henry of Albano	De peregrinante civitate Dei	X	X	X	X	X	
	Ep.31	X	X	X	X	X	
	Ep.32	X	X	X	X		
Hélinand of Froidmont	Sermo 8	X	X	X	X		
	Sermo 10	X	X	X	X		
Alan of Lille	Fugite de terra aquilonis	X	X	X	X		
	Militia est vita hominis	X	?		?	X	
	Feria II intrante ieiunio	X	X	X		X	
	Laetare Jerusalem	X			?		
	De cruce domini	X	X	X	X		
	Sermo de clericis	X		X		X	
De sancta cruce (1)	X			?	X		

TABLE II Nature of the relationship with crusading purpose (*cont.*)

	Relationship with the crusade				A sermon's impetus			
	Thematic	Causal	Chronological	Journey to the East	Spiritual support	Call and instruction for preaching	During a crusade	
Prevostin of Cremona	Porta orientalis	X			X			
	In adventu domini (I)	X	X	X				
	In adventu domini (II)	X	X	X				
	De sancta cruce	X		?				
	In ramis palmarum	X	X	X				
Martin of León	De diversis, Sermo 11	X				X	?	
	Sermo 18	X	X	X	X		?	
	Sermo 22	X	X	X	X			
	Sermo 23	X				X		
	Sermo 27	X				?		
	Sermo 29	X	X			X		
De sancta cruce	X	X		X			?	
Sum	47	30 (37)	21	23 (34)	20 (25)	10	(17)	

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