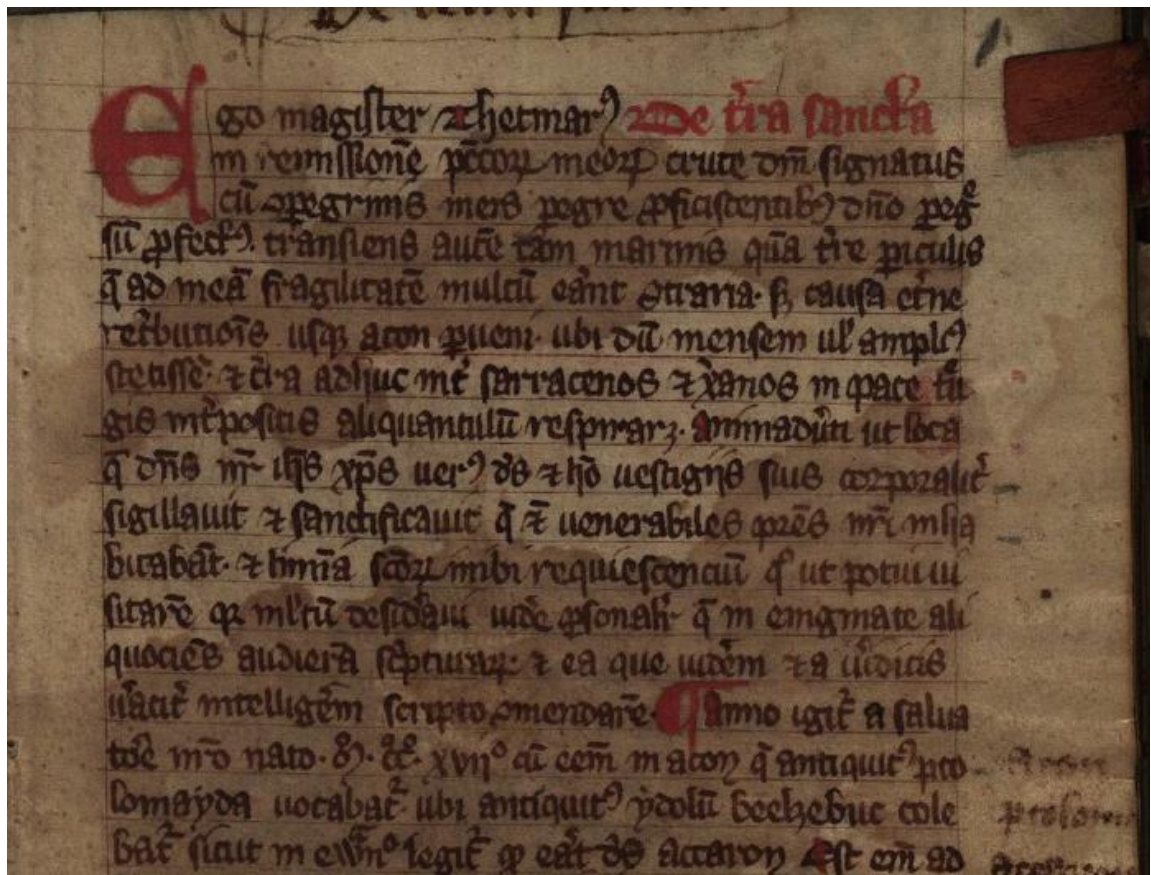


THIETMAR

PERSON, PLACE AND TEXT IN THIRTEENTH-CENTURY HOLY LAND PILGRIMAGE



A dissertation submitted in partial fulfilment of the degree of PhD in History by

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WORD COUNT: 91, 192 words

University of Lancaster, October 2016

Abstract

Using the conceptual framework for the study of pilgrimage established by Eade and Sallnow centred on the breaking down of pilgrimage into three conceptual ideas (Person, Place and Text), this thesis focuses on the close analysis of a single pilgrimage account from the early thirteenth century. The account in question was written by a certain Thietmar, who travelled to the Holy Land in 1217, and is well known for its frequent references to interactions with the indigenous Christian and non-Christian inhabitants of the Holy Land as well as being the first pilgrim to describe Saint Katherine's tomb on Mount Sinai.

The thesis breaks the text of Thietmar's pilgrimage into the three component parts of Person, Place and Text. It aims to resolve the various issues relating to the text's manuscript transmission. It also aims to bring to light more information concerning the identity of Thietmar, his audience and how he experienced the sites of the Holy Land. Most importantly it highlights the ways in which the three aspects of the conceptual framework interacted in the context presented by Thietmar's account. It demonstrates how a pilgrim's experience of the Holy Land was fashioned from competing expectations derived from the pilgrim's own cultural background and the traditions of those who the pilgrim encountered on their journeys. It also shows the current tendency to view pilgrimage as a, in many ways, historically static devotional act are misleading and that pilgrimage was a diverse and ever changing entity particularly in the thirteenth century.

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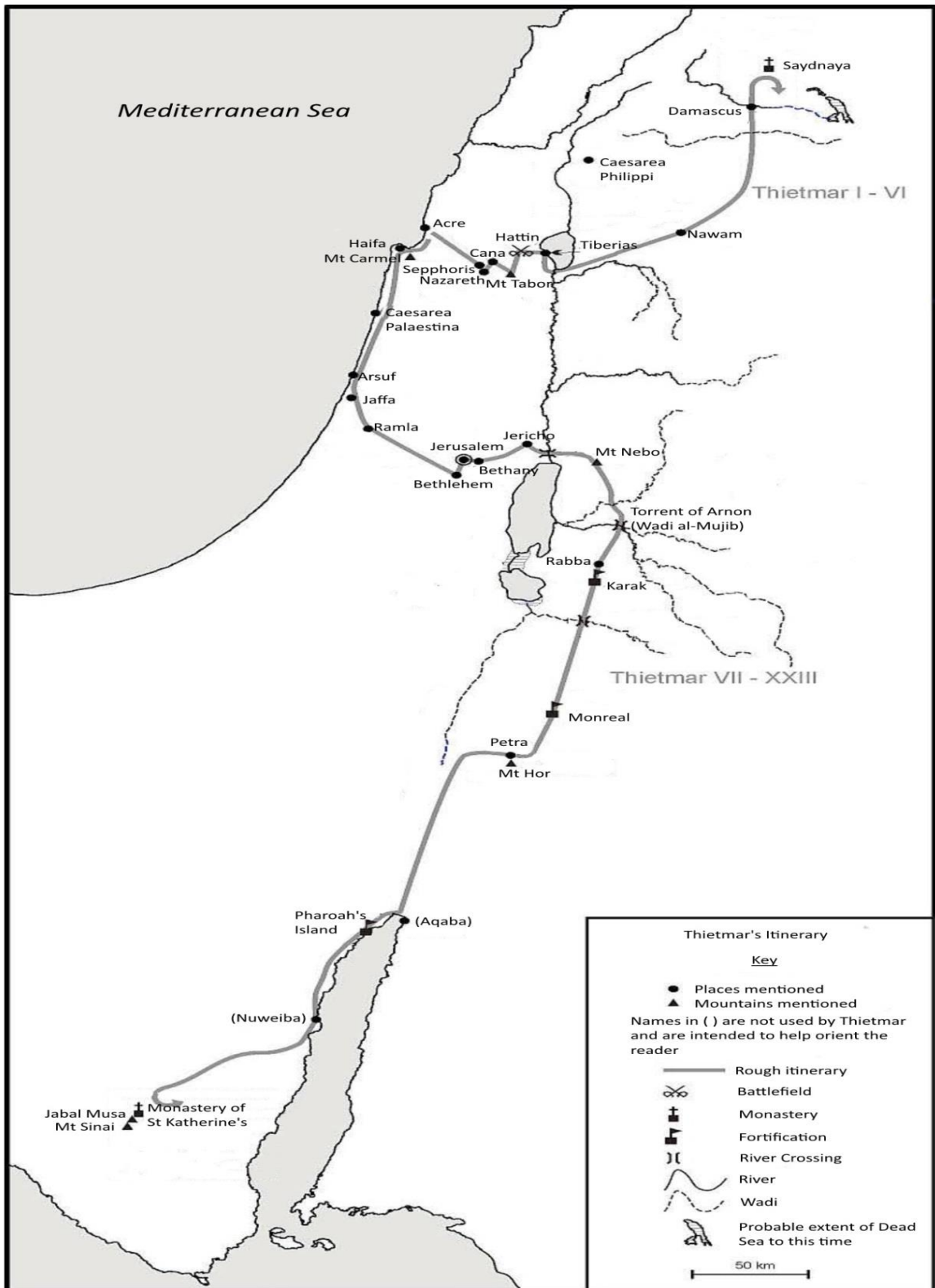
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Acknowledgements

First and foremost, I would like to thank the Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC) for the funding they have given me without which this research would have been impossible. I would also like to thank the Royal Historical Society (RHS) for providing the funding which enabled me to undertake the essential manuscript work for this research. My thanks also go to Lancaster University, not only for the time spent here as doctoral student, but for providing the environment which has moulded me since being an undergraduate. In particular, I would express my appreciation to the History Department for their role in this, for providing the support to conduct the research and funding to share it. As part of this, it would be remiss of me not to thank the Department's administrative team, especially Ghislaine O'Neill and Becky Sheppard, for the indispensable advice and support they have given me. Furthermore, I would like express my gratitude to Anthony Bale, Jeff Brubaker, Adrian Cornell du Houx, Elaine Fulton, Ewan Johnson, Bernard Hamilton, Paul Hayward, Alex Metcalfe, Elizabeth Mylod, Denys Pringle, William Purkis, John Thorley and Jan Vandeburie for the myriad ways in which they have influenced and supported me in completing this project. I am particularly grateful for the support, counsel and friendship of Thomas 'the traveller' Hopkinson, Jamie 'the crusader' Doherty and Connor 'the favourite' Wilson. Above all, I express my deep appreciation to Professor Andrew Jotischky who has supervised this and other research. Without his sage advice and guidance none of this would have been possible. Finally, I would like to thank Rupert and Daphne for their smiles, laughter and cheekiness and to Anna Booth for her love and support and for patiently sticking with it until the very end.

Fig. 1 - Thietmar's Itinerary



(Adapted from Koppitz, U., [ed.], 'Magistri Thietmari Peregrinatio. Pilgerreise nach Palästina und auf den Sinai den Jahren 1217/1218', *Concilium medii aevi*, 14, (2011) p.176.)

Introduction

The Holy Land is an enchanting place. This sense of enchantment originates from the fact that as a place it is both constantly changing and yet unchanged. More than anything these changes occur and have occurred as various people, nations, religions and cultures have appropriated the Holy Land, reinterpreting its architecture, topography, history and geography as determined by their cultural and historical understanding of the land which they encounter. Despite such a history of (re)interpretation, observing the practices of current Holy Land pilgrims leaves one with the sense that little, if nothing, has changed since the medieval period. My own first experiences visiting the Holy Land demonstrated much the same thing. As I entered the Holy Sepulchre for the first time behind a group of Russian Orthodox pilgrims I was able to observe them undertaking many of the same devotional acts which one can read so readily being performed in accounts of medieval pilgrimage.

The problem with such a perception is that it becomes very easy to approach the study of pilgrimage in any age in an anachronistic manner, extrapolating from often limited evidence the engagement in practices and expression of beliefs not manifest in the period subject to study. There are, of course, many universal aspects to Holy Land pilgrimage. However, much current and past scholarship of medieval Holy Land pilgrimage has been interested in grand narratives and overarching themes, rather than chronological specifics. Pilgrimage changed over time and this study seeks to demonstrate this through the in depth analysis of a specific moment in the history of Holy Land pilgrimage as expressed by a single Holy Land pilgrimage account. What follows aims to outline the framework and context within which this enquiry will take place. It is hoped that at the conclusion of this work the reader will be able to see the ways in which the experience of pilgrimage was fundamentally influenced by the world

around the pilgrim and that consequently every pilgrimage could be different, despite how much it exhibited any of the “universal qualities” of pilgrimage.

Medieval Holy Land pilgrimage: a brief history

It would be impossible in the short space here to provide a thorough history of medieval pilgrimage to the Holy Land. Much excellent work may already be found which charts the basic narrative at various points in its history.¹ Nonetheless, it is important at this point to present a “periodisation” of Christian pilgrimage to the Holy Land during the Middle Ages, in order to appreciate the context of the chronological focus of this study. Naturally, any process of periodisation is fraught with difficulties owing to differing perspectives on the formative stages of a historical process or phenomenon. Having said this, it is my own view that the history of Latin Christian pilgrimage to the Holy Land in the medieval period can be broken down into six component parts. The beginnings of this history are, as might be expected, firmly situated within the context of the Constantine building programme which commenced in the Holy Land following Helena’s discovery of the True Cross and the Holy Sepulchre. Of course, there had been what some have called proto-pilgrims in the period before this. Melito of Sardis who travelled to the Holy Land in around 160 in the search of scriptural knowledge has been demonstrated as one such.² However, pilgrimage to the Holy Land proper began following Helena’s discoveries and Constantine’s building despite the criticism of many of the Churches most prominent

¹ See for example J.G. Davies, *Pilgrimage yesterday and today: why? where? how?*, (London, 1988) E.D. Hunt, *Holy Land Pilgrimage in the Later Roman Empire, AD 312-460* (Oxford, 1998), D. Pringle, *Pilgrimage to the Holy Land, 1187-1291: crusader texts in translation*, 23, (Farnham, Surrey, 2012), J. Sumption, *Pilgrimage: an image of medieval religion*, (London, 1975), D. Webb, *Medieval European pilgrimage, c.700-1500*, (Basingstoke, Hants, 2002), D. Webb, *Pilgrims and pilgrimage in the medieval west*, (London, 2001), J. Wilkinson, *Jerusalem pilgrims before the crusades*, (Warminster, Wilts., 1974), J. Wilkinson, *Jerusalem pilgrims, 1099-1187*, (London, 1988).

² C. Morris, *Sepulchre of Christ and the Medieval West: From the Beginning to 1600*, (Oxford, 2005), pp.10-11.

authors.³ This *Late Antique period* of Holy Land pilgrimage was typified by an intense interest in situating the events of sacred text within the landscape of Palestine. This tendency is most clearly expressed in the pilgrimage account, preserved in the form of a letter to her sisters, of a woman known as Egeria.⁴ Egeria's pilgrimage was intrinsically connected to text and prayer, with each of her stops accompanied by scriptural readings specific to the site and the saying of prayers. As evidenced by her account, pilgrimage in this period was characterised by a desire to pray at the sacred sites of the Holy Land and an intense connection with a scriptural, textual past. At the same time, some have noted that pilgrimage in this period had a specific political element, with Christianity becoming the official Imperial cult and visits to the shrines sponsored by Helena and Constantine being seen as buying into these ideals and following the example of Helena who once see as a pilgrim herself.⁵

This late antique period of Holy Land pilgrimage came to an abrupt end in 638 when Caliph Umar captured Jerusalem along with much of the Holy Land. The subsequent *Early Medieval period* of pilgrimage was typified by erratic visits to the Holy Land (as far as we are able to tell) and the influence of various developing devotional trends in the West being reflected in pilgrimage accounts. Just three expansive pilgrimage accounts appear during this period from which we can draw information. The first is Adomnán's account of the Gallic bishop Arculf's pilgrimage to the Holy Land (c.680), which demonstrates that interest in Jerusalem was still profound in a period when

³ For information regarding the earliest phases of pilgrimage see, Hunt, *Holy Land Pilgrimage*, P. Maraval, 'The earliest phases of Christian pilgrimage in the near East (before the seventh century)' *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 56, (2002), pp.63-74 and Morris, *Sepulchre of Christ*, pp.1-44.

⁴ J. Wilkinson, *Egeria's travels to the Holy Land*, (Jerusalem, 1981). See also H. Sivan, 'Holy Land pilgrimage and Western audiences: some reflections on Egeria and her circle', *The classical quarterly*, new series, 38.2, (1988), pp.528-535 and 'Who was Egeria? Piety and pilgrimage in the age of Gratian', *The Harvard theological review*, 81.1, (1988), pp.59-72.

⁵ E.D. Hunt, 'Saint Silvia of Aquitaine: the role of Theodosian pilgrim in the society of East and West', *Journal of theological studies*, 23.2, (1972), pp.351-373 and Morris, *Sepulchre of Christ*, pp.41-44.

visitors to the Holy Land seemed to be few. Crucially this text was subsequently taken up by Bede and became the premier text for information about the Holy Land (including its diagrams of the Holy Sepulchre) well into the twelfth century and beyond. Yet it is in Bernard the Wise's (870) account and the hagiographical *Hodoeporicon* of Willibald (723-726) recounting his pilgrimages to Rome and the Holy Land as well as his holy life that we see most clearly the trends that were effecting Holy Land pilgrimage in this period. First, we see the influence of the famous "Irish" model of perpetual penitential pilgrimage in action in Willibald's account with his pilgrimage to Jerusalem being part of a wider life pilgrimage which he was involved in.⁶ The development of ideas of penitential pilgrimage coincided with the arrival of forms of Irish and Celtic penitential practices and the independent development of new Carolingian ones, many of which were closely tied up with pilgrimage.⁷ This more general establishment of systematic penitential apparatus, regardless of its origins, began to turn pilgrimage, even to the Holy Land, away from ideas of prayer and remembrance towards its use as a devotional act with penitential qualities.

The other key development in this period was the gradual reengagement with the Holy Land which occurred beginning in the Carolingian period under Charlemagne. During his reign Charlemagne had famously entered into diplomatic relations with the Abbasid Caliph Harun al-Rashid. Although, as with much about Charlemagne's life, the truth about many of the claims is difficult to separate from the myth, it would seem that alongside a gift of an elephant he was able to secure various rights intended to protect pilgrims.⁸ This highlights not only the ways in which the Carolingians tried

⁶ See D. Dyas, *Pilgrimage in medieval English literature, 700-1500*, (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 2001), pp.1-56 and S. Hamilton, *The practice of penance, 900-1050*, (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 2001), pp.1-12.

⁷ Hamilton, *Practice of penance*, pp.1-12.

⁸ See M. Gabriele, *An empire of memory: the legend of Charlemagne, the Franks, and Jerusalem before the first crusade*, (Oxford, 2011) and S. Runciman, 'Charlemagne and Palestine', *The English historical review*, 50.200, (1935), pp.606-619.

to re-establish relations with Jerusalem, but also the fact that in many ways Europe had become disconnected with the real Jerusalem (though not with an imagined Jerusalem) during this period.⁹ At the same time it demonstrates that the Early medieval period was also categorised by Islamic control of the Levant. Bernard experienced this control first hand as he was repeatedly arrested and forced to pay what seems to be the *Jizya* despite reassurances that he could travel freely around the Holy Land.¹⁰ It was this Islamic control, coupled with the rise of penitential pilgrimage which epitomised this period when physical Jerusalem slowly tried to regain relevance in a Europe detached from the Holy Land by the Barbarian and Islamic invasions.

Despite the presence of all of these various developments, the biggest influence on the evolution of Holy Land pilgrimage in the early Middle Ages was the approach of the first millennium. Although the effect that the approaching millennium had on Catholic European consciousness is debated, millennial expectations without doubt played an integral part in an increased desire for people to go on pilgrimage to the Holy Land during the period c.950-c.1080. Some attribute this change to a desire to coincide one's visit to the Holy Land with a date which marked the anticipated second coming of Christ. For others it represented the culmination of a long period of developing penitential ideas in the West, heightened by fears of judgement associated with the possible imminent arrival of Christ. No matter how eschatological expectations fuelled the expansion of Holy Land pilgrimage, this *Millennial period* of pilgrimage saw an unprecedented number of pilgrims travel to the Holy Land. As evidence for this is the extremely well-known quote from the chronicler Ralph Glaber:

⁹ Morris, *Sepulchre of Christ* and T. Renna, *Jerusalem in medieval thought, 400-1300*, (New York, 2002).

¹⁰ L. Halevi, 'Bernard, explorer of the Muslim lake: a pilgrimage from Rome to Jerusalem, 867', *Medieval Encounters*, 4.1, (1998), pp.24-50.

‘At this time an innumerable multitude of people from the whole world, greater than any man before could have hoped to see, began to travel to the Sepulchre of the Saviour at Jerusalem. First to go were the petty people, then those of middling estate, and next the powerful, kings, counts, marquesses, and bishops; finally, and this was something which had never happened before, numerous women, noble and poor, undertook the journey. Many wished to die there before they returned to their own lands.’¹¹

This numerical expansion can also be seen in expeditions like the Great German pilgrimage of 1064-1065 which saw an estimated twelve thousand Germans travel to the Holy Land in the hope of arriving at Jerusalem on Good Friday in 1065. This was of particular significance as in this year Good Friday fell on 25th March which was believed to have been the precise date when Christ had suffered the passion. Overall, this phase of Holy Land pilgrimage is typified by a continued and intense focus on penance and judgement, demonstrated not only by ways in which people undertook pilgrimage (Fulk Nerra was dragged naked through the streets to the Holy Sepulchre in an attempt to absolve himself of sin) but also in the above noted desire to die whilst in the Holy Land.¹² It is these eschatologically prompted journeys which epitomise this period of pilgrimage.

By extension, these large scale pilgrimages, involving a large number of secular elites, have been seen as natural precursor and an important factor in the development towards the first crusade.¹³ The first crusade, launched in 1095 by Urban II’s preaching

¹¹ Rodolfus Glaber, ‘Historiarum libri quinque’, J. France, [trs. and ed.] *Rodulfus Glaber Opera*, (Oxford, 1989), pp.199-201.

¹² See Glaber above. For Fulk’s various pilgrimages see B.S. Bachrach, ‘The pilgrimage of Fulk Nerra, Count of the Angevins’, in T.F.X. Noble, and J.J. Cohtren, [eds.], *Religion, Culture and Society in the Early Middle Ages*, (Kalamanzoo, MI, 1987), pp.205-217.

¹³ H.E. Mayer, *The crusades*, 2nd ed., (Oxford, 1990), pp.11-31 and J. Riley-Smith, *The first crusade and the idea of crusading*, 2nd ed., (London, 2009), pp.22-24.

of the crusade at Clermont, resulted in the recapture of Jerusalem by crusader armies in 1099. Though the period of Christian control of the holy places was only brief, ending in 1187 when Saladin recaptured Jerusalem and much of the Holy Land for Islam, its effect on the practice of Christian pilgrimage and Catholic European understanding of the holy places was profound. Although precise statistical information for numbers of pilgrims will always be lacking, the evidence points towards a continued increase in the number of Latin Christian pilgrims visiting Holy Land in this *Crusader period*. More important however were the changes that Catholic Europeans made to the spiritual landscape of the Holy Land during this time, building churches, establishing liturgical customs and attributing old traditions to new locations. The influence of the crusader rulers of Jerusalem had a profound and lasting effect on the way in which pilgrimage was conducted to the Holy Land. Moreover, the crusaders themselves changed the way in which pilgrimage was seen. Despite competing scholarly definitions of a crusade, the idea of it as an armed pilgrimage is fairly well established. Consequently, the spirituality of the crusaders fed into the spirituality of pilgrimage, most pointedly through the development of crusaders (and pilgrims) being seen as acting in the *imitatio Christi* tradition.¹⁴

However, the ability to manage many of the Holy Land's most sacred locations was short-lived. While traditionally the crusader period in the Holy Land is seen as reaching from 1095 until the fall of Acre in 1291, for the history of Holy Land pilgrimage the recapture of much of the Holy Land in 1187 fundamentally altered the way in which pilgrims were able to interact with the sacred places of the Holy Land. This often unrecognised change represented a new phase in Holy Land pilgrimage and should be seen as the *Post-Crusader period* or *Post-Hattin period*, beginning in 1187 and ending

¹⁴ W. Purkis, *Crusading spirituality in the Holy Land and Iberia: 1099-1187*, (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 2008).

with the establishment of the Franciscan custody in the 1330s. This long thirteenth-century of Holy Land pilgrimage, of which Thietmar was a part, witnessed attempts by pilgrims to continue the traditions of the twelfth century. Nonetheless, unpredictable levels of access to the holy places because of Muslim control, particularly Jerusalem, combined with shifting spiritualities in Catholic Europe meant that this was not always possible. The Holy Land expanded and diversified as an experienced geographical concept in this period. As a result sites such as Sinai, which would play such an integral part in later medieval pilgrimage, came to the fore during this time. Additionally, the thirteenth century saw the development of a standardised system of indulgences attributed to various sites of the Holy Land. Certainly, ideas of indulgences and pilgrimage had been connected since the first crusade, but these new indulgences were given in a set number of years of penance for visiting a particular site, rather than an indulgence for a particular journey.¹⁵

Whereas the thirteenth century saw the diversification of pilgrimage to the Holy Land, the fourteenth century was typified by the standardisation of pilgrimage routes and experiences under the careful guidance of the Franciscan custodians of the Holy Land. The Franciscans, once established, began to increasingly regulate pilgrim experiences. They acted as guides taking pilgrims along prescribed routes and their library on Mount Sion provided standardised materials which travellers to the Holy Land could use to compose their own accounts.¹⁶ Furthermore, those providing travel to the Holy Land, usually Venetian ships, disembarked their pilgrim charges in the same place outside Jaffa from whence Franciscans could begin their tour. The Holy Land pilgrimage tour, therefore, became steadily more regulated by those in charge of its

¹⁵ Davies, *Pilgrimage yesterday and today*, pp.15-16, Sumption, *Pilgrimage*, pp.137-144 and Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, pp.14-17.

¹⁶ S.M. Yeager, *Jerusalem in medieval narrative*, (Cambridge, 2008), pp.4-5, 18, 27-33.

fulfilment, primarily the Franciscans and the Venetians. Pilgrimage accounts also became more extensive, providing details and advice on how to successfully survive the long and uncomfortable voyage from Europe to the Levant. With the safe conduct and hospitality that the presence of Franciscans and re-established pilgrimage infrastructure provided, pilgrims began to once again enjoy more fruitful experiences, less at the mercy of the vagaries of pilgrimage in the thirteenth century, or the period between the loss of Jerusalem in 638 and its recapture in 1099. This *Late Medieval* or *Franciscan period* of Holy Land pilgrimage constitutes Holy Land pilgrimage at its most vibrant and compelling, chiefly owing to the vast amount of evidence we have from the pilgrims themselves. In many ways, the later period represented an extension and blend of all that had come before and at the same time something entirely new derived from the cultural and societal developments of the fourteenth and fifteenth century. We see the continuation of ideas of indulgences, prayer at sacred sites and profound interest in Jerusalem all under the watchful care of the Franciscans.

What should be clear from this brief and elementary sketch is that Holy Land pilgrimage changed over time, its performance fluctuating and evolving dependent on the pragmatic situation in the Levant and the devotional landscape of Europe at any given moment in time. It is with the often overlooked *Post-Crusader* period which this study is concerned. Nestled between two periods when Holy Land pilgrimage was at its most energetic, it stands in stark contrast with what came before it and what would follow, whilst displaying at least an attempt at maintaining as many of the devotional practices that one could observe in the twelfth century and to some extent thereafter. The choice of the thirteenth century as a period often presumed to represent part of an unbroken continuation from the eleventh through to the fifteenth century, allows us to demonstrate how the history of pilgrimage experience ruptures and drastically

changes as a result of pragmatic considerations in the Holy Land as well as devotional developments in Catholic Europe.

Genre of pilgrimage literature

The ways in which we are able to assess pilgrimage in these periods are extremely varied. Much excellent archaeological work has been and continues to be done with sites associated with Holy Land pilgrimage in the Levant. One can also find extensive information about pilgrims and pilgrimage in traditional hagiographical texts, although few, if any, such texts exist in relation to the Holy Land. More traditional medieval textual evidence, such as charter material and chronicles, can also tell us much about the performance of pilgrimage, although there has been no systematic attempt to take advantage of such evidence to enhance the understanding of Holy Land pilgrimage. More recently, the “material turn” in historical approaches has led some to analyse the ways in which books themselves could facilitate pilgrimage (real or imagined) and the ways in which marginal notes and the preservation of objects connected with pilgrimage such as pilgrim badges within these books can present an image of real and imagined pilgrimage in a single object. All of these enable us to construct a fuller view of medieval pilgrim practices.

These evidential bases aside, the most profitable source of information regarding pilgrimage to the Holy Land, at least for the high and later middle ages, is the specific genre of pilgrimage literature. Although often unrecognised as a distinct genre of text, Donald Howard has identified from the period 1100 and 1500 five-hundred and twenty-six distinct pilgrimage texts.¹⁷ Within this broader genre of pilgrimage text, there are however several observable sub-categories. J.G. Davies in his extensive work on

¹⁷ D.R. Howard, *Writers and pilgrims: medieval pilgrimage narratives and their posterity*, (Berkeley, 1980), p.17.

pilgrimage identified seven different modes of pilgrimage literature: itineraries, diaries, Indulgence lists, maps and plans, devotional aids, guide books and travel accounts.¹⁸ Though Davies' distinctions are helpful in some ways, several of his sub-categories are so interchangeable that there is little to distinguish them. Certainly, his recognition of maps/plans, lists of indulgences and devotional aids is important for our understanding of many crucial aspects of pilgrimage conduct. Indeed, these "minor" texts are often overlooked. However, the distinction between Itineraries, Diaries, Guide Books and Travel Accounts is less clear. Instead, alongside these more minor sub-categories we should appreciate the existence of two main strands within the genre of pilgrimage literature: pilgrimage accounts and pilgrim guides. Pilgrim guides represent a much simpler version of pilgrimage literature, comprising elements such as a straightforward breakdown of sites one should visit in the Holy Land and why one should visit them alongside some form of directions on how to reach these. Guides might also include several elements of practical information, pertaining both to the physical world (places to stay for example) and the spiritual world (indulgence lists). In fact any of the minor texts previously mentioned might be incorporated into a larger more complicated pilgrim guide. Despite this fact, pilgrim guides are less involved and are representative of a generic journey to the Holy Land rather than the actual experiences of an actual pilgrim and some, such as the guide of the Bordeaux pilgrim (c.333) the earliest example of its kind, are incredibly simple.¹⁹

Pilgrimage accounts on the other hand are much more complex. As well as providing much of the same information that a pilgrimage guide contains, pilgrimage accounts are rooted in the experiences of a single pilgrim. Although rarely written in the form of a diary they are an account or recounting of that pilgrim's travels in the Holy Land and

¹⁸ Davies, *Pilgrimage yesterday and today*, pp.19-33.

¹⁹ Wilkinson, *Egeria's travels*, pp.153-163.

the things which they saw and heard whilst in the Levant. Because of the nature of these texts they are more inclined to step outside the step-by-step narrative of places to visit. They provide more information about shrines, often accompany their more involved descriptions with stories or other information of which they are aware, relate their own experiences whilst on pilgrimage (although this is a feature more prevalent as the medieval period advances) as well as imparting advice for future travellers. Pilgrimage accounts such as these can also form part of a much grander travel account, such as the *Liber peregrinatio* of Riccoldo of Monte Croce which outlined both his pilgrimage to the Holy Land and his missionary exploits in Baghdad.²⁰ Therefore, while Pilgrimage guides can be insightful into where pilgrims were going (depending on the extent to which the guide was a copying of earlier information) and the practicalities of travel, to write any sort of history of pilgrim experiences one needs to rely on these more complex and detailed pilgrimage accounts.

Writing the history of Holy Land pilgrimage

Pilgrimage is certainly not an understudied subject. Since the golden age of social history in the 1960s and 1970s it has been the subject of numerous different scholarly works. First and foremost in this regard are a number of excellent introductory texts to the phenomenon of pilgrimage in medieval Catholic Europe. Pre-eminent are the works of Jonathan Sumption and Diana Webb who provide excellent overviews of pilgrimage in this period.²¹ Nevertheless, while texts such as these provide good introductions into the subject of pilgrimage, the extent of their coverage means that they, unavoidably, obscure some of the more nuanced changes and developments that occurred in the evolution of pilgrimage. Moreover, these works are not exclusively

²⁰ R. George-Tvrtković, *A Christian pilgrim in medieval Iraq: Riccoldo da Montecroce's encounter with Islam*, (Turnhout, 2012).

²¹ Sumption, *Pilgrimage* and Webb, *Medieval European pilgrimage*, Webb, *Pilgrimage in medieval England* and Webb, *Pilgrims and pilgrimage in the medieval west*.

aimed at the discussion of Holy Land pilgrimage as a distinct devotional act, but at pilgrimage more generally. In terms of similar texts relating specifically to this facet of pilgrimage, English scholarship has produced little. French scholarship on the other hand has produced works such as Aryeh Grabois' *La pèlerin occidental en Terre Sainte au moyen âge* as well as Nicole Chareyron's *Pèlerin de Jérusalem au moyen âge* the latter being translated into English in 2005.²² Despite the quality of scholarship in both of these works, the tendency towards generalities rather than specifics is still manifest, though not to the same extremes as some other works.²³

The Late Antique period has received significant amounts of attention, not just in the ways in which pilgrimage was performed but also the way in which ideas about the Holy Land evolved in this period. Of all the contributions made, the works of E.D. Hunt and Pierre Maraval have been of immense importance and quality.²⁴ The extent of the scholarship of this Late Antique period is evidenced by the fact that it has been able to move away from overarching discourses and begin to look at pilgrims and pilgrimage in microcosm. Some of this has to do with the fact that information is at times sparse with few examples of pilgrimage literature upon which to focus.

Nevertheless we see in the works surrounding the pilgrimage account of Egeria (381-384) the tendency to begin to look more into the particulars affecting pilgrims in this period and the specific tendencies of Egeria as an individual pilgrim.²⁵ Of course, such

²² N. Chareyron, *Pilgrims to Jerusalem in the middle ages*, (New York, 2005) and A. Grabois, *La pèlerin occidental en Terre Sainte au moyen âge*, (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1998).

²³ Unfortunately, of particular note is H.L. Savage, 'Pilgrimage and pilgrim shrines in Palestine and Syria after 1095', in H.W. Hazard, and K.M. Setton, [eds.], *A history of the crusades*, vol. 4, (Madison, 1977), pp.36-68, which is still used by crusader historians to this day despite its need of serious revision.

²⁴ Hunt, *Holy Land Pilgrimage*, P. Maraval, 'The earliest phases of Christian pilgrimage', pp.63-74 and *Lieux saints et pèlerinages d'Orient: histoire et géographie, des origines à la conquête arabe*, (Paris, 2004).

²⁵ See note 4 and 5 above.

an approach runs the risk of overlooking certain trends and overemphasising others.

Yet at the same time it is only through such concentrated research that we are able to truly assess the validity of many of the universalist claims while simultaneously uncovering the fine nuances of the performance of pilgrimage in a given period.

Much the same scholarly trajectory can be observed in research into Holy Land pilgrimage in the later medieval period. While the vast amount of evidence from pilgrimage literature (and the detail of many of the texts) means that there are many more studies which could be done on individual texts, we are able to see the same trend in evidence with research moving from the universal to the individual. The later medieval period was the first to receive the summary works which seem to be the beginnings of more detailed scholarly investigation. Chief amongst these are Howard's *Writers and pilgrims* and Davies' *Pilgrimage yesterday and today*, both of which provide excellent introductions into the field of later medieval Holy Land pilgrimage and the writing of pilgrimage accounts.²⁶ That being said, these texts do sometimes display the problematic tendency exhibited in some research into the later period whereby trends of the fourteenth century and beyond are projected backwards onto earlier periods without the evidence to support such projections. The most encouraging signs for research into this period however come in the form of new works which focus specifically on individual texts and experiences. Anthony Bale's work with the accounts of Margery Kempe and the fictitious Sir John Mandeville are examples of this trend.²⁷ And it is exhibited even more so in works such as the edited collection *A companion to the book of Margery Kempe* and most profoundly in the superb recent work on Felix

²⁶ Howard, *Writers and pilgrims*, Davies, *Pilgrimage yesterday and today*. See Ganz Blätter, U., *Andacht und Abenteuer: berichte europäischer Jerusalem- und Santiago-Pilger (1320-1520)*, (Tübingen, 2000), pp.20-38 for an overview into recent research into Holy Land pilgrimage of the later medieval period.

²⁷ A. Bale, [trs. and ed.] *Sir John Mandeville: The book of marvels and travels*, (Oxford, 2012).

Fabri and the ways in which he constructed his text by Kathryn Beebe.²⁸ Furthermore, at this moment in time there are any number of doctoral and post-doctoral researchers, especially in Europe, who are working their way through individual (and often vernacular) texts of Holy Land pilgrimage. The direction of future research into pilgrimage in this period is therefore extremely encouraging. A further direction research into this period has taken is towards looking at what has been variously described as armchair, imagined or virtual pilgrimage, whereby individuals undertook a mystical journey or journeys to a holy place (often the Holy Land) from the comfort of their own home.²⁹ Chief amongst the works in this regard is that done by Kathryn Rudy, though many have since followed in her footsteps.³⁰ Of course, imagined pilgrimage was not an exclusively late medieval phenomenon and further work into its development across the medieval period would enhance our understanding of this aspect of medieval pilgrimage.

Quite apart from this, there is much scope for improvement in research into other periods. In 1982 Aryeh Grabois remarked that: 'While the late Roman and Byzantine period, up to the end of the sixth century, has been the subject of distinguished research, work published on the subsequent medieval centuries has often lacked the precision to be expected in modern investigation'.³¹ Unfortunately, disregarding of course the previously mentioned post-thirteenth century period, little has been done to remedy this problem. Certainly, the work of Thomas O'Loughlin on the Adomnán,

²⁸ K. Beebe, *Pilgrim and preacher: the audiences and observant spirituality of friar Felix Fabri (1437/8-1502)*, (Oxford, 2014).

²⁹ See for example S. Lehmann-Brauns, *Jerusalem sehen: Reiseberichte des 12. Bis 15. Jahrhunderts als empirische Anleitung zur geistigen Pilgerfahrt*, (Freiburg, 2010).

³⁰ K.M. Rudy, *Virtual pilgrimage in the convent: imagining Jerusalem in the late middle ages*, (Turnhout, 2011).

³¹ A. Grabois, 'Christian pilgrims in the thirteenth century and the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem: Burchard of Mount Sion' in B.Z. Kedar, H.E. Mayer, R.C. Smail, [eds.] *Outremer: studies in the history of the crusading kingdom of Jerusalem*, (Jerusalem, 1982), p.285.

Arculf, Bede textual tradition has been significant.³² However, little or nothing systematic has been done with the Early Medieval or Millennial period. This is to some extent due to evidential problems and the decline of Jerusalem as a pilgrimage location at the start of this earlier period. However, this same excuse cannot be made for the period of the eleventh century, for while traditional evidence in the form of pilgrimage accounts fails there is extensive information which may be found in charter and chronicle evidence for this period. My feeling is that an extremely coherent image of Holy Land pilgrimage in the eleventh century could be constructed were someone to take the time to compile all the available evidence in a single place. This fact is proven by Colin Morris' article 'Memorial of the holy places' in which Morris was able to paint a reasonable image of Holy Land pilgrimage in the era, albeit with the intention of confronting John France's claims that the destruction of the Holy Sepulchre by Fatimid caliph al-Hakim in 1009 went unnoticed in the West.³³ The work of Paul Oldfield and Marcus Bull also demonstrate the extent to which information about the eleventh century is readily available if one should look for it.³⁴ While both of these are tangential to the issue of Holy Land pilgrimage both were able to find repeated examples of evidence for eleventh-century Holy Land pilgrimage in the period. More generally, Bull's work is indicative of the chief problem for research pilgrimage during the period c.1000-c.1300, namely that scholarly work is dominated by interest in the

³² O'Loughlin's publication record is extraordinary, but perhaps best representative of his work on pilgrimage are 'The diffusion of Adomnan's *De Locis Sanctis* in the Medieval period', *Ériu*, 51 (2000) pp.93-106 and 'Palestine in the aftermath of the Arab conquest: the earliest Latin account', in R.N. Swanson, [ed.], *The Holy Land, Holy Lands and Christian history, Studies in Church history*, 36, (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 2000), pp.78-89.

³³ C. Morris, 'Memorials of the holy places and blessings from the East: devotion to Jerusalem before the Crusades', in R.N. Swanson, [ed.] *The Holy Land, Holy Lands and Christian history, Studies in Church History*, 36, (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 2000) pp.90-109. For France's claims see J. France, 'The destruction of Jerusalem and the first crusade', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 47, (1996), pp.1-17.

³⁴ See M. Bull, *Knightly piety and the lay response to the first crusade: the Limousin and Gascony, c.970-c.1130*, (Oxford, 1993), pp.204-249 and P. Oldfield, *Sanctity and pilgrimage in medieval southern Italy, 1000-1200*, (Cambridge, 2014).

crusades. Of course, the crusades as a phenomenon represented a fundamental shift in European, perhaps even global, history. Furthermore, there is much about the crusades which dovetails with ideas of pilgrimage. Yet despite definitions to the contrary, scholarship seems to take the subconscious view, from 1095, of Holy Land pilgrimage as subordinate to the crusades.

That is not to say that pilgrimage as a subject of study has been neglected entirely during this period. While the traditional scholarly articles in the *A history of the crusade* volume are in serious need of revision,³⁵ the most substantial advancement of our understanding of pilgrimage from the period of the twelfth and thirteenth century has come in the publication of translations of almost all of the major pilgrimage texts from fourth to the thirteenth century by Denys Pringle and, chiefly, John Wilkinson.³⁶ In undertaking these works of translation, Wilkinson and Pringle were very much working in the tradition of the antiquary *Palestine Pilgrims' Texts Society* (PPTS) whose extensive efforts to publish texts relating to Holy Land saw them publish translations of many of the major pilgrimage texts from the fourth-century Bordeaux Pilgrim and Egeria to the fifteenth-century Felix Fabri.³⁷ The use of PPTS is, it goes without saying, problematic owing to numerous translation errors. Although no translation of a text will ever be perfect (Pringle's and Wilkinson's works are not without their own translation problems) recent translation efforts have done much to reintroduce a generation of scholars to the key texts of the pilgrimage genre relating to the period of the fourth to the fifteenth centuries. That being said, Wilkinson's work

³⁵ See Savage, 'Pilgrimage and pilgrim shrines', and S. Runciman, 'The pilgrimages to Palestine before 1095', in M.W. Baldwin, and K.M. Setton, [eds.], *A history of the crusades*, vol. 1, (Madison, 1969), pp.68-78. Runciman's article is far less problematic than Savage's whose work would be more appropriately titled 'Pilgrimage and pilgrim shrines in Palestine and Syria after 1300'.

³⁶ See Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, Wilkinson, *Jerusalem pilgrims before the crusades* and Wilkinson, *Jerusalem pilgrims, 1099-1187*.

³⁷ *The Library of the Palestine Pilgrim's Text Society*, (New York, 1971)

has come under criticism for very different reasons. Owing to the tendency within pilgrimage accounts to copy information found in the writings of previous authors, Wilkinson made the decision to omit passages of text which were clearly derived from earlier sources. The clearest example of this can be seen in his translations of the twelfth-century accounts of John of Würzburg and Theoderic. Both of these works relied heavily on the earlier anonymous known as the *Work on Geography* (a work which Wilkinson also translated) and as a result Wilkinson omitted significant portions of John and Theoderic's texts because of this copying. While the reader is always given the information required to fill the gaps should they desire, the process of doing so is disruptive to the reading of the text and importantly it skews the impression given of the text for anyone taking it outside of the context within which it was written. Wilkinson's translations were also based on unreliable editions of these texts. Consequently, Huygens who edited the texts of Theoderic and John called Wilkinson's *Jerusalem Pilgrims, 1099-1187* a 'very misleading book'.³⁸ Whilst, not as critical of its usefulness as Huygens this work recognises that it should, as with any work of translation, be used with caution. The great worth of Wilkinson's and Pringle's works are in their ability to inspire future research by making the primary texts so easily accessible. Indeed, Huygens' own edition of the twelfth-century accounts of Saewulf, Theoderic and John was undertaken so that their availability in edited form might stimulate further research.³⁹ Unfortunately, in terms of research into pilgrimage as distinct phenomenon, it has not.

What recent years have seen is the focus on Holy Land pilgrimage as secondary to interest in the Holy Land itself. Edited collections including *Imagining Jerusalem in the medieval West* and *Jerusalem: its sanctity and centrality to Judaism, Christianity and*

³⁸ R.B.C. Huygens, [ed.], *Peregrinationes Tres*, (Turnhout, 1994), p.13.

³⁹ Huygens, *Peregrinationes Tres*, pp.7-29.

Islam as well as works such as Renna's *Jerusalem in medieval thought, 400-1300* and Colin Morris' *Sepulchre of Christ and the Medieval West: From the Beginning to 1600* have advanced significantly our understanding of the Holy Land in this and other periods.⁴⁰ For the period of the twelfth century the work of utmost importance is Sylvia Schein's *Gateway to the heavenly city*. While it is my own feeling that this work places a too much emphasis on the Temple Mount's significance, it represents the foremost discussion of the ways in which the crusaders interacted with the city of Jerusalem during their time in possession of it.⁴¹ There exists however, two key problems with these works, as valuable as they are. First is their focus on Jerusalem specifically. While the holy city's history will be endlessly written and rewritten it must be acknowledged that a medieval pilgrim's experience extended far outside the confines of Jerusalem. Places like Bethlehem, Nazareth or Galilee have received comparatively little scholarly attention. Indeed, scholarship's dedicated interest in Jerusalem is even displayed in the appellation given to pilgrims to the Levant: Jerusalem pilgrims rather than Holy Land pilgrims. Furthermore, these discussions of Jerusalem and the Holy Land, which so often make use of pilgrimage texts and make mention of pilgrims, reduce pilgrimage to a subsidiary of the greater discussion of the Holy Land. Even the immensely helpful introductions in Wilkinson's works are more about the Holy Land than Holy Land pilgrimage.⁴² This is less the case in Pringle's collections of translated works, but while it must be acknowledged that pilgrimage and the Holy Land can never be fully separate, just as pilgrimage and crusade cannot, what is required is a new trend toward looking at pilgrimage as the primary concept with these other fields assuming the

⁴⁰ See L. Donkin, and H. Vorholt, [eds.], *Imagining Jerusalem in the medieval West*, (Oxford, 2012)

L.I. Levine, [ed.] *Jerusalem: its sanctity and centrality to Judaism, Christianity and Islam*, (New York, 1999), Morris, *Sepulchre of Christ* and Renna, *Jerusalem in medieval thought*.

⁴¹ S. Schein, *Gateway to the heavenly city: crusader Jerusalem and the Catholic West*, (1099-1187), (Aldershot, 2005).

⁴² Wilkinson, *Jerusalem pilgrims, 1099-1187*, pp.1-84.

supporting roles. Only studies of pilgrimage and the Holy Land or of the broad idea of pilgrimage including crusading as a significant subcategory can hope to bring us closer to a better understanding of pilgrimage and its performance in the *Crusader* and *Post-Hattin* periods.

Nevertheless, in a field dominated by historians of the crusades and the Holy Land there are a few works which deserve a mention and are indicative of positive directions of research focused on these neglected historical periods. Although still concerned primarily with ideas of crusade and crusading, William Purkis' *Crusading spirituality* outlines the ways in which crusading and pilgrim spirituality evolved in the twelfth century. While pilgrimage, in this work, is still subordinate to crusading the ideas presented come closest to an exposition of developing pilgrim spirituality that has come out of crusading scholarship to this date.⁴³ More positive developments can be taken from the recent work of Adelbert Davids relating to the Early Medieval period and the work coming out of the doctoral research of Liz Mylod.⁴⁴ Both of these make use of in depth analysis of pilgrimage texts to demonstrate the ways in which pilgrimage routes evolved and adapted throughout the centuries. Mylod's work is of particular significance for the current study as she also argues (as this thesis does) that the long thirteenth-century of pilgrimage represented a distinct shift in the ways in which pilgrims navigated the Holy Land. What both of these works achieve is an understanding of where pilgrims chose to visit based upon the information provided by the pilgrims themselves. Most significantly, the recent work of Ora Limor into pilgrimage demonstrates most clearly the direction which research into pilgrimage

⁴³ Purkis, *Crusading spirituality*.

⁴⁴ A. Davids, 'Routes of pilgrimage', in K. Ciggaar, and H. Teule, [eds.], *East and West in the crusader states: context – contracts – confrontations, Acta of the congress held at Hernen castle in May 1993*, (Leuven, 1996), pp.81-101 and L. Mylod, 'Routes to salvation: travelling through the Holy Land, 1187-1291', in A. Gascoigne, L. Hicks, and M. O'Doherty, [ed.], *Journeying along medieval routes in Europe and the Middle East*, (Turnhout, 2016).

between the seventh and thirteenth century needs to take. Her 2004 article 'Pilgrims and authors' advocated superbly the complex relationship between pilgrimage and pilgrimage text,⁴⁵ and her article on pilgrimage and sacred landscape has highlighted the important yet nuanced relationship between individual pilgrims and sacred space as well as following the development of the act of pilgrimage from the eleventh through to the thirteenth century.⁴⁶ As it stands, it is these relationships between pilgrim, pilgrimage text and sacred space which requires close scrutiny if we are to advance our understanding of pilgrimage as a performative act of devotion in the period between the eleventh and thirteenth century beyond the grand narratives and generalisations which dominate much of current research.

Person, Place and Text

The problems relating to the study of Holy Land pilgrimage, especially true of the crusader and post-crusader eras, are exacerbated by the absence of any historical conceptual framework upon which to rely. Nevertheless, the study of pilgrimage in all its forms has been greatly advanced by the work produced by anthropologists and sociologists of religion. Of course, when speaking of the anthropology of Christian pilgrimage the names which stand at the forefront are those of Victor and Edith Turner.⁴⁷ Their *Image and pilgrimage in Christian culture*, first published in 1978, drew heavily on Victor Turner's early ideas about liminality and *communitas* advocated in his work *The ritual process*.⁴⁸ This in turn drew heavily on the ideas about rites of

⁴⁵ O. Limor, 'Pilgrims and authors: Adomnán's *De locis sanctis* and Hugelburc's *Hodoeporicon sancti Willibaldi*', *Revue Bénédictine*, 114.2, (2004), pp.253-275.

⁴⁶ O. Limor, 'Holy journey: pilgrimage and Christian sacred landscape', in Limor, O., and Stroumsa G., [eds.], *Christians and Christianity in the holy land: from origins to the Latin kingdom*, (Jerusalem, 2006), pp.321-353.

⁴⁷ V. Turner, and E. Turner, *Image and pilgrimage in Christian culture: anthropological perspectives*, (New York, 1978). For the medieval period see McDonald, N.F and Ormrod, W.M. [eds.] *Rites of passage: cultures of transition in the fourteenth century* (York, 2004).

⁴⁸ V. Turner, *The ritual process: structure and anti-structure*, (London, 1969).

passage with liminal elements published by ethnographer Arnold van Gennep at the turn of the twentieth century.⁴⁹ The Turners viewed pilgrimage as a liminal movement transporting the pilgrim from structure to an anti-structural state of *communitas* before once again rehabilitating the pilgrim into the societal structures with their prestige within the community enhanced.⁵⁰ As influential as the work of Edith and Victor Turner's work has been in advancing the study of Christian pilgrimage, their ideas have not gone uncontested. Certainly, though there seems to have been a revival of his fortunes in scholarship of late, his ideas about *communitas* and pilgrimage as an anti-structural performative strategy have been largely undermined.⁵¹

Several anthropological works have attempted to challenge these ideas (although notably none have achieved equal fame).⁵² Most successful in providing an alternative conceptual or theoretical framework for the study of pilgrimage appeared in the collaborative study edited by John Eade and Michael Sallnow in 2000 entitled *Contesting the sacred*. Chief amongst the complaints voiced against the Turners' work was the perceived universality of the model and the simple dichotomy between structure and anti-structure which it presented.⁵³ The evidential base for *Image and pilgrimage* (as well as drawing from Turner's fieldwork with African tribal communities) was focused around sites of Christian pilgrimage, and more often than not sites with a specific Marian association. Consequently, one of the primary aims of *Contesting the sacred* was to show the ways in which Turner's ideas were inadequate for the study of pilgrimage outside the evidential context presented by *Image and*

⁴⁹ A. Van Gennep, *Les rites de passage*, (Paris, 1909).

⁵⁰ Turner, *Ritual process*, pp.92-138.

⁵¹ S. Coleman, 'Pilgrimage as trope for an anthropology of Christianity', *Current Anthropology*, 55.10, (2014), pp.281-291.

⁵² A. Morinis, [ed.] *Sacred Journeys: the Anthropology of Pilgrimage* (New York, 1992).

⁵³ J. Eade, and M.J. Sallnow, [eds.] *Contesting the sacred: the anthropology of Christian pilgrimage*, (London, 2000).

pilgrimage. Alongside this, Eade and Sallnow tried to draw attention to an alternative conceptual framework developed out of the essays published in the collection which could be applied more generally to the study of pilgrimage. This backdrop for the understanding of pilgrimage was constructed around two central ideas. The first was the appreciation of pilgrimage as a 'religious void':

'That it is the meaning and ideas which officials, pilgrims and locals invest in the shrine - meanings and ideas which are determinately shaped by their political and religious, national and regional, ethnic and class backgrounds - which help to give the shrine its religious capital, though this investment might well be in a variety of theological currencies. The power of the shrine therefore derives in large part from its character almost as a religious void, a ritual space capable of accommodating diverse meanings and practices... universalism is ultimately constituted not by a unification of discourses but rather by the capacity of a cult to entertain and respond to plurality. The sacred centre, then, in this perspective, appears as a vessel into which pilgrims devoutly pour their hopes, prayers and aspirations.'⁵⁴

Among the works within this collection which supported these ideas was that of Glenn Bowman whose study revolved around contemporary Christian pilgrimage to the Holy Land. Bowman's ideas have been advanced in a number of different forums, but his essential arguments are that the Holy Land represents such a space as that suggested in the quote above; a blank canvas onto which various denominational groups have painted their own image of the Holy Land.⁵⁵ Accordingly, this view leads to the understanding of pilgrimage less as an expression of *communitas* or the breaking down

⁵⁴ *Contesting the sacred*, p.15.

⁵⁵ G. Bowman, 'Christian ideology and the image of a Holy Land: the place of Jerusalem pilgrimage in various Christianities', in *Contesting the sacred*, pp.98-121.

of socially imposed barriers and rather as a way in which many of these barriers are reinforced, channelled or resolved. They see pilgrimage as a ground for conflict rather than *communitas*.⁵⁶

More importantly for this study, and as a result of this view of pilgrimage as a religious void, Eade and Sallnow emphasised a three part conceptual framework which they believed would enable scholars to dissect pilgrimage in any given context. This framework was the triad of Person, Place and Text.⁵⁷ They believed that by analysis of these three central conceptual themes pilgrimage, particularly Christian pilgrimage, could be removed from universal narratives and understood more directly through the experiences of individual pilgrims or pilgrim groups. Increasingly, through my own study of pilgrimage in the Millennial, Crusader and Post-Crusader eras I have seen the value of this approach. Accordingly, this thesis takes this model and applies it to the information provided by a single pilgrimage account of the early-thirteenth century. Before moving on to the contents of the thesis, it is necessary to outline how I have understood and applied the conceptual triad.

Person is understood in this study to be the individual pilgrim. This represents not only the pilgrim themselves, but encompasses their background, meaning their cultural heritage, societal position, religious and devotional background and national and regional origins. In this case, the pilgrim in question is an individual known to history only as Thietmar. While a fuller attempt will be made in a later chapter to assess what we can about these aspects of Person for now it suffices to say that Thietmar was presumably a member of the clergy from the German speaking areas of

⁵⁶ *Contesting the sacred*, p.xiii.

⁵⁷ *Contesting the sacred*, p.9.

Catholic Europe.⁵⁸ His pilgrimage was conducted between 1217 and 1218 and saw him visit not only those sites traditionally associated with Holy Land pilgrimage during the twelfth century but also several relatively atypical pilgrimage locations such as the monastic shrine of Saydnaya and the tomb of Saint Katherine on Mount Sinai. The lack of any concrete Latin Christian pilgrimage infrastructure in the Holy Land following Hattin and before the arrival of the Franciscans in the Holy Land means that Thietmar's experience in Holy Land was much more intricately connected with local Eastern Christian and non-Christian communities than any time since the eleventh century. Such a reliance on local communities facilitated a much greater number of encounters with other cultures and traditions than in the previous century. Having said that, while many things worked together to forge Thietmar's identity these elements all come together in the idea of Person which in what follows is seen as central to the experience of pilgrimage.

Place, on the other hand, is understood as the Holy Land. Despite the obvious nature of this definition this thesis sees the Holy Land as composed of multiple layers all of which could influence Person whilst there. Primary are the traditionally understood elements of geography, topography and sacred space. These relate to the physical and architectural makeup of the Holy Land, its hills and valleys, rivers and seas, churches and monasteries, and even simple rocks, wells and groves. These features represent those most often understood to represent the blank canvas of the Holy Land onto which the pilgrim imprinted their own predisposed ideas. However, what follows also views the concept of *Place* as inclusive of those local communities who possessed, inhabited and surrounded these spaces, investing them with their own versions of spiritual history which pilgrims needed to negotiate on their arrival. Necessarily, *Place*,

⁵⁸ See Chapter III, p.124-173. Throughout I have preferred Benjamin Kedar's appellation of Catholic Europe to connote those areas of Latin Christian Europe within the post-Carolingian and Roman rite cultural orbit.

in this view, was not a simple religious void but imbued with meaning which Person needed to disregard, reconcile or embrace in relation to their own expectations.

Text, finally, also has a twofold meaning in this study. In the first instance it relates to the text of the pilgrimage account itself which serves as the focus for this research. The point at which this text was produced is unknown, but must have been sometime after the conclusion of Thietmar's pilgrimage in 1218. It survives in eleven Latin and thirteen vernacular manuscripts from the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries. The textual history is complicated and will be considered in full in the thesis. These complications arise primarily from the tendency exhibited in the earliest manuscripts to copy earlier texts. Furthermore, there are several moments when other textual influences can be detected meaning that Text can refer not only to Thietmar's text but to those texts which Thietmar was influenced by when composing his own account and conducting his pilgrimage.

The pilgrimage of Thietmar

The purpose of this thesis is therefore to investigate the ways in which Person, Place and Text merge, interact and come into conflict in Thietmar's account. As already mentioned, much has already been done on aspects of Place in Holy Land in this period, even if this has only been loosely connected with pilgrimage. However, because of the state of scholarship Person and Text require much more attention than Place does in this work. As such, this thesis will be broken down into three parts each comprising two chapters modelled around the conceptual framework of Person, Place and Text and aimed at answering questions about the ways in which these three aspects interacted and were expressed in thirteenth-century Holy Land pilgrimage. Part One has Text as its primary focus. Chapter One deals directly with Thietmar's pilgrimage account and discusses the various textual problems that are understood to

exist between the surviving manuscripts. It argues for a more nuanced view of the manuscript tradition and reaffirms the sometimes challenged notion for the consideration of the Hamburg manuscript of Thietmar's text as the most representative of the "original" version. It also attempts to enhance our understanding of the manuscript tradition through reference to two previously unused manuscripts of the text. More generally, it looks to demonstrate the problematic ways in which pilgrimage accounts were constructed. Chapter Two looks to demonstrate the ways in which Texts developed over time because of the agency of pilgrims through the example the Saydnaya legend.

At this point it is appropriate to provide a brief note on the texts used for the thesis. The last critical edition of the text of Thietmar was produced in 1857 by J.C.M. Laurent based on the thirteenth-century Hamburg manuscript.⁵⁹ This edition was reissued in more accessible format in 2011 by Ulf Koppitz.⁶⁰ Furthermore, Pringle, as part of his previously mentioned collection of translated versions of the most important thirteenth century pilgrimage text, completed an English translation of the Laurent edition of the text.⁶¹ Accordingly, this thesis relies on the Koppitz and Pringle texts for its appraisal of Thietmar's pilgrimage text and experience. English translations have been preferred, except when precise textual comparison has been required, but in all instances the Latin has been provided for the advantage of those wishing to read the text in its original language. I have attempted, where possible, to do so for all text used through the thesis, though it has not always been possible to access all texts used both in translation and in the original language. This approach has been taken to avoid

⁵⁹ Thietmar, 'Peregrinatio', in J.C.M. Laurent, [ed.] *Magister Thietmari Peregrinatio: ad fidem codicis Hamburgensis*, (Hamburg, 1857). Henceforth, Laurent, *Magister Thietmari*.

⁶⁰ Thietmar, 'Peregrinatio', in U. Koppitz, [ed.], 'Magistri Thietmari Peregrinatio. Pilgerreise nach Palästina und auf den Sinai den Jahren 1217/1218', *Concilium medii aevi*, 14, (2011) pp.121-221. Online at: <http://cma.gbv.de/cma,014,2011,a,10.pdf>. Henceforth, simply Koppitz.

⁶¹ Pringle, *Pilgrimage* with Thietmar being found on pp.95-133.

breaking up the flow of the analysis, without compromising the scholarship and allowing, as far as I was able, readers to engage with the text however they wish.

Part Two moves away from Text, to some extent, focusing instead on Thietmar as Person. In accordance with this, Chapter Three looks to glean what information it can regarding Thietmar's identity, origins and his motivations for travelling. It looks at the dating of his pilgrimage, its co-occurrence with the fifth crusade and the connections to 'crusading' ideology within the text. This chapter also aims to suggest who Thietmar might have been writing for and, overall, aims to provide a significant foundation, alongside the evidence present in Chapter One, upon which to build the subsequent evaluations of his pilgrimage. Chapter Four then seeks to understand Person's connection with Place by looking specifically at Thietmar's relationship with two important sites of the Holy Land: Jerusalem and Mount Sinai. It is here that the argument is presented for the understanding of thirteenth-century pilgrimage to be distinct from that which occurred in the twelfth-century. It argues that the reasons behind these changes are threefold: practical concerns resultant from changes to political control of the Holy Land and the decline of an established Latin Christian pilgrim infrastructure, problems relating to the heritage of an expansive twelfth-century corpus of pilgrimage literature and, most importantly, changes in the West's devotional currents. All of these combine, it is argued, to create an almost absent Jerusalem and to the rise and prominence of Saint Katherine in Thietmar's text.

Finally, Part Three turns to look at all three aspects of the conceptual framework concurrently. Chapter Five takes three key sites in Thietmar's text (Bethany, Wadi Al-Khuraitun, and Damascus) and questions whether Thietmar derived his information regarding these sites from Text (traditions he was previously aware of), Person (his own observations), or Place (local communities and traditions). It demonstrates that a

range of influences worked together, or sometimes conflicted with one another, to create Thietmar's image of the Holy Land. While Thietmar's own cultural heritage determined the way he interpreted much of what he encountered, the Holy Land was no blank canvas. Rather it was a place of competing ideologies and traditions which Thietmar had to reconcile with his own preconceptions regarding the nature of the Holy Land. Chapter Six continues this theme by looking at the miraculous occurrences related in Thietmar's text. It demonstrates that while the exposition of these miraculous narratives was dictated by Thietmar's own socially determined interests the kernels around which these narratives were formed represent traditions created by local communities to suit their own needs. What we see therefore, in Thietmar's pilgrimage account, is less the impact of Text on Person and the implanting of this understanding onto Place, but rather the moderation of information from Place by Person to befit the demands of Text. In essence, Thietmar's account displays a conflict between Place and Text which had to be resolved by Person when composing an account of his pilgrimage experiences.

In many ways, my expectations for possible future research into Holy Land pilgrimage are very high and at the same time it is yet to be seen whether this, or any future work, is capable of reaching these. Nevertheless, if nothing else this examination of the text of Thietmar aims to show what is possible. Though there are few more interesting than Thietmar's text, it is by no means a long pilgrimage account. Should a similar approach be taken in investigating the accounts of individuals like John of Würzburg, Theoderic, Saewulf or Burchard of Mount Sion (to name but a few) the extent to which this would enhance our understanding of pilgrimage and its relationship with text and the Holy Land is unfathomable. Of course, the use of a single pilgrimage account has its disadvantages and many of the conclusions which I have reached have been necessarily restrained by the consideration that Thietmar's evidence may be speaking

more of his individual experience as a pilgrim rather than pilgrimage more generally. Having said that, the chief claim of this investigation that pilgrimage should be viewed as changing and yet unchanged; that as the world changed around it pilgrimage adapted and changed with it. Indeed, each individual pilgrim could have a pilgrimage experience distinct from another even if they were under the influence of the same cultural and political pressures. Therefore, it is only by consideration of the individual that we can truly come to an appreciation of the vast diversity of pilgrimage. This thesis will demonstrate this to be the case by reference to a fascinating period of Holy Land pilgrimage and to the pilgrimage account of Thietmar.

Part I – Text and Person

I. Thietmar as Text

When dealing with any Holy Land pilgrimage and pilgrimage writing we must recognise that we are dealing with two merged, and yet to some extent distinct, processes. The first of these processes is the more regularly recognised; that is the process of a pilgrim undertaking a journey to the Holy Land and comprising their experiences, observations or impressions during this journey. Understanding or (de)constructing this process has been, until recently, the primary concern of those researching medieval pilgrimage.¹ Indeed, much of pilgrimage literature has been focused on understanding the nature of Place in these texts.² The issue here is that this first process should and can only be properly understood through the lens of a second more complex process. This relates to the construction of an account or a text relating to the pilgrim's journey. Although it is true that the pilgrimage account could not exist without a pilgrimage, it cannot, or rather should not be presumed that the account is always representative of direct experience.³ Indeed, Ora Limor has argued that authors of pilgrimage texts represent an intermediary between pilgrims or pilgrimage and the

¹ The general texts are works such as J. Stopford, [ed.] *Pilgrimage explored*, (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 1999), Sumption, *Pilgrimage* and Webb, *Medieval European pilgrimage*. More recently works such as Beebe, *Pilgrim and preacher*, Limor, 'Pilgrims and authors', and T. O'Loughlin, 'Palestine in the aftermath of the Arab conquest: the earliest Latin account', in R.N. Swanson, [ed.], *The Holy Land, Holy Lands and Christian history, Studies in Church history*, 36, (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 2000), pp.78-89, to name but a few, have begun to move towards a more nuanced understanding of the ways in which pilgrimages were performed and (importantly) recorded. Of course, the classic text relating to pilgrimage texts and their construction is Howard, *Writers and pilgrims*.

² Some of the key texts regarding Holy Land pilgrimage in recent years have been the following: Levine, *Jerusalem: its sanctity and centrality* and Donkin, and Vorholt, *Imagining Jerusalem* which have as their focus Jerusalem and the Holy Land rather than pilgrimage itself. Even works like Wilkinson, *Jerusalem pilgrims before the crusades*, and Wilkinson, *Jerusalem pilgrims, 1099-1187* ostensibly about pilgrimage, are in fact more interested in recreating the spiritual topography of the Holy Land during the period about which they are written.

³ Even texts created from earlier accounts are to some extent informed by the travels of the individual who inspired the original texts and are therefore still embedded in the experience of actual travellers.

reader (and this is equally true of pilgrims who were themselves authors).⁴ In order, therefore, to safely navigate texts such as these there are several factors which must be taken into account.⁵

The first factor is that the recorded pilgrimage does not always directly correspond to actual pilgrim experience. Often Holy Land pilgrims describe not only things they have seen but also locations or events that they have knowledge of or been informed about by a guide or other individual. Frequently, it is relatively easy to discern which sites a pilgrim did or did not visit, but as a result of this tendency pilgrimage texts can be much more expansive than pilgrim experience.⁶ Using Thietmar as an example, we find within his text a description of Baghdad. However, depending on the edition which one consults Thietmar either states that ‘To the east of that place... there is also a...city called Baghdad’⁷ or ‘Thereafter, passing through diverse places and moving towards the east... I came to a great city...named Baghdad’.⁸ Whilst this is perhaps an extreme example, it demonstrates the difficulties in understanding whether a pilgrim actually did what a pilgrimage text suggests. Even in descriptions of places actually visited problems arise from the fact that eye-witness accounts were often not deemed as valid as traditional textual descriptions. Jaroslav Folda has argued that much of what is written in the thirteenth century relied on that which was written in the twelfth, and John Wilkinson has demonstrated that some of the earliest twelfth century guides,

⁴ Limor, ‘Pilgrims and authors’, p.255.

⁵ See S. Coleman, and J. Elsner, [eds.], *Pilgrim voices: narrative and authorship in Christian pilgrimage*, (Oxford, 2003), pp.3-13, who stressed the fact that authorship and authorial intent must be considered carefully.

⁶ See L. Mylod, ‘Latin Christian pilgrimage in the Holy Land, 1187-1291’ (Unpublished Ph.D thesis, University of Leeds, 2013), p.231.

⁷ Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, p.106., Koppitz, p.142. Latin reads: ‘*Est etiam ab illo loco uersus orientam...ciuitas...nomine Baydach.*’

⁸ Thietmar, ‘*Iter ad terram sanctam*’, T. Tobler, [ed.], *Magister Thietmari iter ad terram sanctam, anno 1217*, (St.Gall and Bern, 1851), p.12. Latin reads: ‘*Deinde pertransius diuersa loca et declinaui uersus orientam...et ueni ad ciuitem magnam...nomine baydach...*’ translation my own. Henceforth, Tobler, *Magister Thietmari*.

written when Jerusalem was more accessible to the West than ever before, relied heavily on Bede and even the *Itineria* of the Bordeaux pilgrim written well over seven hundred years before the fall of Jerusalem to the first crusaders rather than first-hand experience.⁹ There is also the question of how descriptions were moderated to suit the needs of audiences, indeed Kathryn Beebe has demonstrated the extent to which Felix Fabri altered the content of his various pilgrimage accounts to suit various audiences and we must think carefully before deciding which account (if any) represents his true experiences or feelings.¹⁰ Were it not for the fact that Fabri wrote a number of accounts we might never have been aware of these differences, thus highlighting the problem which an often unknown audience creates in these texts.

The second factor is closely related to this first, for while many texts might derive their information from another, often unspecified, source some pilgrim authors went as far as to quote these earlier traditions verbatim in their own texts. This is especially true of sites which a pilgrim was unable to visit in person. Although many of these unvisited sites are described in the author's own words, where a text's knowledge of a particular site is derived from other texts these descriptions are likely as not inserted into the account as a direct quotation of the "original" source. Perhaps the most well-known examples of this appears in the twelfth-century accounts of John of Würzburg (1160) and Theoderic (1169) both of whom quote extensively from an earlier pilgrimage guide written by the monk Fretellus. Huygens, who edited both the texts of John and Theoderic, calculated that 45% of John's account was copied and that over 75% of text of Fretellus can be found within his pages. For Theoderic the copying was not as

⁹ J. Folda, 'Jerusalem and the Holy Sepulchre through the eyes of crusader pilgrims' in B. Kühnel, [ed.], *The real and ideal Jerusalem in Jewish, Christian and Islamic art: studies in honour of Bezalel Narkiss on the occasion of his seventieth birthday*, (Jerusalem, 1998), p.162. Wilkinson, *Jerusalem pilgrims, 1099-1187*, pp.4-7.

¹⁰ Beebe, *Pilgrim and preacher*, pp.93-128.

comprehensive, yet 26% of his account represents a copying of around 46% of Fretellus' original.¹¹ Nevertheless, John reassured his reader that he had seen these places in person himself, and although such practices can tell us much about pilgrimage and Text, we must question the extent to which it can inform us about Person and Place. Indeed, it has been noted by numerous individuals that pilgrimage texts are extremely prone to copying one another's information and this is something which needs to be taken into account when attempting to use pilgrimage texts to help us understand pilgrimage practice.¹²

This leads naturally to our third factor. We must recognise that while in many cases these copied sections represent additions by the "original" author of a text, they could equally be the work of a later scribe. As such we must appreciate that there is no definitive end to this second process. Pilgrimage texts underwent extensive editing at the hands of later scribes and during this editing process the redactions of any text became prone to the insertion of additional information or indeed the removal of what was considered unnecessary information.¹³ Wilbrand of Oldenburg, who visited the Holy Land between 1211 and 1212, went as far as to say that anyone who knew better than him should 'append a line of correction' (*correctionis lineam illos appendere*) in their own descriptions, thereby inviting future readers to edit his text.¹⁴ Whilst this is by no means a problem exclusive to pilgrimage texts, it does mean that when approaching certain elements of a text we must proceed with extreme caution before

¹¹ Huygens, *Peregrinationes Tres*, p.19.

¹² See Davies, *Pilgrimage yesterday and today*, pp.33, 38-39, C. Morris, 'Pilgrimage to Jerusalem in the late middle ages' in C. Morris and P. Robert [eds.] *Pilgrimage: the English experience from Becket to Bunyan*, (Cambridge, 2002), pp.143-144, Mylod, 'Latin Christian pilgrimage', pp.32-35 and Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, pp.21-24.

¹³ Morris, 'Pilgrimage to Jerusalem', pp.143-144.

¹⁴ Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, pp.61-62, Wilbrand of Oldenburg, 'Itinerarium', D. Pringle, 'Wilbrand of Oldenburg's journey to Syria, lesser Armenia, Cyprus, and the Holy Land (1211-1212): a new edition', *Crusades*, 11 (2012), pp.109-137, p.116.

attributing copied sections to the original author. The best and perhaps most extreme example of this is the text of John Mandeville from the fourteenth century.¹⁵ Whatever this book may have been formerly believed to be, it is now understood that rather than representing a single original work Mandeville's travels are in fact an amalgamation of any number of predecessors into a single text. It is not an original composition in any regard and demonstrates the extent to which texts relating to pilgrimage, travel and the Holy Land were reused, recycled and passed off as original texts.¹⁶ That is not to say that such texts are useless, indeed they provide for us a wealth of knowledge pertaining to the cultural interests of a particular period and practices of authorship and text construction. Nevertheless, we must be wary of using accounts such as these for evidence of actual pilgrimage or the presence of such tendencies within accounts of pilgrimage.

Slightly less problematic, but the natural extension of this, is that the subject of the first process (the pilgrim) does not, of necessity, need to be the agent through which the second process (the construction of text) is performed. Author does not have to be pilgrim. Mandeville is again a case in point, but the distance between author and pilgrim might not be necessarily so far removed. The early medieval pilgrims Willbald and Arculf represent examples of pilgrims whose experiences were preserved through the agency of another, the nun Hugeburc and the abbot Adomnan respectively. Ora Limor has given us an excellent discussion of the Willbald/Hugeburc and Arculf/Adomnan relationship and reminds us that in recording the pilgrimages of

¹⁵ John Mandeville, 'The book of marvels and travels', in A. Bale, [trans. and ed.], *Sir John Mandeville: the book of marvels and travels*, (Oxford, 2012).

¹⁶ For a more extensive discussion of Mandeville see first and foremost, John Mandeville, 'The book of marvels and travels', pp.xi-xxviii. See also, M.C. Campbell, *The witness and the other world: exotic European travel writing, 400-1600*, (Ithaca, NY, 1991), pp.122-161, Howard, *Writers and pilgrims*, pp.54-58, Morris, 'Pilgrimage to Jerusalem', p.147 and P. Zumthor, 'The medieval travel narrative', *New literary history*, 4.2, (1994), p.819.

these two their experiences have been filtered through another lens.¹⁷ In essence, all of this is a question of filters. While pilgrimage literature is often our best window into the experience of a medieval pilgrim, we must always be aware of the extent to which their experience had been focused or diluted by the various agents who had a hand in the creation of a pilgrimage text.

With all this in mind it seems only appropriate that we attempt to come to terms with Thietmar as a pilgrimage text before turning to look at Thietmar's pilgrimage experience. Accordingly, the first section of this work will be devoted to that task. The accomplishment of said task will result in the realisation of two identities of Thietmar: 'Thietmar as Person' and 'Thietmar as Text' and attempt to address the question of the extent to which they are representative of one another. We will begin by outlining Thietmar's basic itinerary and the problems with how this is presented in some manuscripts. We will then turn to discuss the current state of the manuscripts of Thietmar before attempting to determine what, if anything, represents the "original" text and how useful those sections are which do not constitute a part of this text. All of this will allow us observe this process of creating a pilgrimage account in action and enable us, in subsequent chapters, to move forward in looking at the relationship between Text, Person and Place in thirteenth century pilgrimage.

Itinerary or Itineraries

Thietmar arrived in Acre in 1217, and from there proceeded south-east towards Nazareth turning then towards Tiberias, taking in Mount Tabor, the battlefield at Hattin and possibly Cana. From Tiberias he rounded the sea of Galilee to the south before turning north again and passing through Nawa on his way to Damascus. Depending on the manuscript consulted he then went further to visit the monastery of

¹⁷ Limor, 'Pilgrims and authors', pp.258-269.

Our Lady of Saydnaya. Thereafter he returned to Acre and in so doing finished the first part of his journey.¹⁸ Setting out again from Acre, the pilgrim travelled southwards along the coast turning inland at Joppa via Rama on his way to Bethlehem. It was his original intention to avoid the city of Jerusalem altogether, however he was captured and taken to the city where he spent several days incarcerated by Muslim authorities. Once released and having presumably viewed the sites of holy city as best he could, he travelled to Bethlehem before journeying to Jericho via Bethany and crossing the Jordan to the north of the Dead Sea. From here he turned southwards and whilst it is not entirely clear which route he took he makes mention of the fortresses of Karak and Monreal in addition to the ancient city of Petra before he finally reached the shores of the Red Sea. Turning now into the Sinai Peninsula, he travelled southward until almost parallel with Mount Sinai at which point he turned inland, arriving at the holy mountain and the tomb of Saint Katherine which he so desired to see.

As simple as this itinerary may appear, following it in the various versions of the text can be extremely difficult due to the divergent natures of the redactions of the text. A small comparative exercise should provide a satisfactory demonstration of this. For this exercise the text of Thietmar has been divided into three broad sections. The first correlates with the Thietmar's initial journey from Acre to Saydnaya. The second to the his subsequent journey to Mount Sinai and the majority of his description of the mountain with the final section covering the various tangential and miscellaneous descriptions the text provides toward the end of the account. By looking at the content of each section within the texts of two manuscripts representative of the two main textual families, namely the Hamburg manuscript and the Basel manuscript, we will be able to compare the problematic differences between the various versions.

¹⁸ Indeed, the division of Thietmar's journey into two parts is pronounced enough for Pringle to state that Thietmar's account describes two pilgrimages. Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, p.3.

Section I – Acre to Damascus/Saydnaya to Acre

Immediately in this first section of the itinerary (see, Fig, 1.1) we can see the apparent differences between the two groups. The itinerary of the Hamburg tradition is much more expansive and the Basel less so. Two notable differences here are the omission of the Saydnaya section in the Hamburg text and the elevation of the role of Baghdad in the Basel text.

Fig.1.1 Hamburg/Basel Itineraries Section I		
	Hamburg Manuscript (Laurent)	Basel Manuscript (Tobler)
1	Acre	Acre
2	Sephoris	Sephoris
3	Nazareth	Nazareth
4	Cana (in passing)	Cana
5	Mt Tabor	Mt Tabor
6	Mt Hermon	
7	Hattin	
8	Nain	
9	Sea of Galilee	Sea of Galilee
10	Tiberias	Tiberias
11	Galilee/Jordan	Galilee/Jordan
12	Places around Galilee: Bethsaida, Capernaum, Gennesareth, Cedar, Chorazin, Dothain, Mt Gilboa, Bethulia	Places around Galilee: Bethsaida, Capernaum, Gennesareth, Cedar, Chorazin, Dothain, Mt. Gilboa
13	Gilboa	
14	Nawam (passing Mt Lebanon, Caesarea Philippi, and River Jabbok)	Caesarea Philippi
15	Michel	
16	Salomen	
17	Damascus	Damascus
18	Saydnaya (mentioning Baghdad)	Baghdad

Section II – Acre to Mount Sinai

This trend continues in the second section (see, Fig 1.2) with Hamburg’s itinerary being more extensive and Basel’s less so. In many ways the tendency in the Basel text is to omit those places not traditionally associated with sacred sites visited by pilgrims.

Hattin is the obvious example from Section I and the omission of anything to do with Thietmar's capture outside Jerusalem the obvious omission in Section II.

<i>Fig.1.2 Hamburg/Basel Itineraries Section II</i>		
	Hamburg Manuscript (Laurent)	Basel Manuscript (Tobler)
1	Acre	Acre
2	Carmel	Carmel
3	Caiphaz	Caiphaz
4	Jezreel	
5	Caesarea Palaestina	
6	Assur	
7	Jaffa	
8	Ramla	Ramla
9	Towards Bethlehem mentions passing: Samaria, Shechem, Shilo. Plus Ramah (left hand side) and Gaza, Ascalon, Achilon and Gibeon (on right)	Towards Mt Judea mentions: Samaria, Sebaste, Ramah, Achilon, and Gibeon
10		Mt Judea
11	Jerusalem	Jerusalem
12	Rachel's Tomb	
13	Bethlehem including mentions of Mamre, Hebron, St. Chariton, Tekoa and Sodom and Gomorrah	Bethlehem including mentions of Mamre, Hebron and Sodom and Gomorrah
14	Bethany	Bethany
15	Jericho	Jericho
16	Gilgal	
17	Jordan (mentioning Bethel)	Jordan
18	Sodom and Gomorrah	Sodom and Gomorrah
19	Segor	Segor
20	En-gedi and Vineyard of Benjamin	En-gedi and Vineyard
		Al-Matariyya
21	Mt Abarim	Mt Abarim
22	Rabbath/Robada	
23	Torrent of Arnon (Wadi al-Hasa)	
24	Monreal	Monreal
25	Mt Hor	Mt Hor
26	Red Sea	Red Sea
27	Mount Sinai, including Burning Bush, Tomb of Saint Katherine, shrines of Virgin Mary, Mount Horeb and Jabal Katarina	Mount Sinai, including Burning Bush, Tomb of Saint Katherine, shrines of Virgin Mary and Mount Horeb

Section III - Miscellaneous Items discussed around the Mount Sinai section

This final section is perhaps most revealing of the differences between the two and is the only section of the text where Basel is more extensive than Hamburg. The inclusion of extra information regarding Alexandria (as with Baghdad) can still be seen as part of this standardisation process. By the fourteenth century Baghdad had been included in the pilgrimage (or missionary) itinerary of Riccoldo of Monte Croce and Alexandria was again beginning to become an important point of disembarkation for visitors to Mount Sinai. What seems to be clear from this is that Thietmar's itinerary was perceived as unusual in the eyes of fourteenth-century copyists and "standardised" in line with what they thought to be more in keeping with normative pilgrimage practice.¹⁹

Fig.1.3 Hamburg/Basel Itineraries Section III

	Hamburg Manuscript (Laurent)	Basel Manuscript (Tobler)
1	Egypt	Egypt
2		Section on New Babylon
3		Section on Palm Trees
4	Egypt (continued)	Egypt (continued)
5		Egypt (from Burchard)
6		Alexandria (from Burchard)
7	Abyssinia	Abyssinia
8	Mecca	Mecca
9	Muhammad	Muhammad
10	Saracen customs and beliefs	Saracen customs and beliefs
11	Mount Sinai	Mount Sinai
12	Return to Acre	
13	Note 1 – Peoples of the Holy Land	Note 1 – Peoples of the Holy Land
14	Note 2 – Trees of Paradise	Note 2 – Trees of Paradise
15	Ecclesiastical organisation	Pre-1187 Canons situation
16	Pre-1187 Canons situation	Ecclesiastical organisation

¹⁹ Mylod, 'Latin Christian pilgrimage', pp42-43. This idea of the Basel manuscript representing a standardisation of the itinerary has been argued in the above work. Standardisation is, however, a problematic concept in a genre where the normative changed over time to suit the cultural inclinations of pilgrims and scribes alike. That being said in the case of the Basel manuscript this seems to be for the most part true.

What is clear from this exercise is the problematic presentation of the itineraries of Thietmar within the different texts. Ultimately, when using the pilgrimage account of Thietmar (and this applies for many other texts) the choice of which manuscript tradition is preferred determines which pilgrimage (for there appears here, in many ways two different pilgrimages) is investigated. As a result, we must approach any pilgrimage account with numerous textual traditions with caution. Nevertheless, in order to successfully conduct the desired discussion of thirteenth-century Holy Land pilgrimage, we must evaluate which of the different versions of the text of Thietmar is the most reliable expression of the pilgrimage experience of Thietmar (if any are at all). In order to do so we will first turn to the manuscripts themselves before looking at the most contentious textual variation, that of the legend of Saydnaya.

Manuscripts of Thietmar

Including the Hamburg and Basel manuscripts there survive to this day eleven Latin manuscripts of the text of Thietmar and a further three texts within which fragments of Thietmar survives. In 1857 when Laurent produced his edition of the text of Thietmar based on the Hamburg manuscript he was aware of a total of nine manuscripts of the text of Thietmar. These manuscripts he grouped roughly into two textual families, which we will call group one and group two.²⁰ Some thirty-three years later, Reinhold Röhricht published his *Bibliotheca Geographica Palaestinae*, in which he noted the existence of a total of eighteen manuscripts of the text.²¹ Since that time there has been, to my knowledge, no work undertaken with the manuscripts of Thietmar and in light of our present discussion we are presented with the perfect

²⁰ Laurent, *Magister Thietmari*, p.55-60.

²¹ R. Röhricht, *Bibliotheca Geographica Palaestinae: chronologisches Verzeichniss der auf die Geographie des Heiligens Landes bezüglichen Literatur, von 333 bis 1878*, (Berlin, 1890), pp.47-48.

opportunity to provide a provisional survey of the current state of these texts. The purpose of this survey will be to demonstrate the current condition of the eighteen manuscripts listed by Röhrich and to discuss them within the framework of the two textual families suggested by Laurent. While what follows does rely on information from Manuscript catalogues and Laurent's editions I have consulted all of the manuscripts via digital mediums except where noted otherwise.

Laurent's Group One Manuscripts

In Laurent's editorial notes he highlighted three manuscripts which he felt represented the most complete text of Thietmar. Principal in this group and the focus of his edition was *Hamburg Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. in scrinio, 143, b*. Alongside this manuscript were two others: *Berlin Staatsbibliothek, Ms. lat. quart. 277* and *Wolfenbüttel, Cod. Guelf. 42.3, Aug. 2°*. We shall deal with each of these in turn.

Hamburg Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. in scrinio, 143, b.

This text exists in a fourteen page fragment, from an originally unknown manuscript, which should be dated to the middle of the thirteenth century (somewhere between 1230 and 1260). It originated from western Germany but no modern catalogue for this manuscript exists.²² Laurent was also able to add that it is a parchment codex and that the fragment is preceded by what appears to be a homily on Matthew 4.18 and followed by medieval prescriptions for gout, coughs and kidney stones written in a fifteenth-century hand.²³

It was this text that Laurent used as the basis of his 1857 edition, which, it must be said, is an accurate rendition of the text of the manuscript. Laurent chose to use the

²² My thanks go to Dr. Hans-Walter Stork of the Staats- and Universitätsbibliothek in Hamburg for his identification.

²³ Laurent, *Magister Thietmari*, pp.56-57.

Hamburg text as it appeared to him to be the most complete of all of the texts. This opinion was probably formed on the basis that of all the texts he possessed the Hamburg is the only one to contain the Saydnaya legend. That is not to say that the other manuscripts do not contain their own segments of additional information. The Hamburg text does not, for example, include many of the sections of Burchard of Strasbourg which some other manuscripts do. In this edition, the text of Laurent's edition was reissued in 2011 by Ulf Koppitz and is readily available online. The text of Laurent was preserved and no additional recourse to the manuscripts was made. Koppitz's intention was to modernise the script of the edition and support the text with his own extensive (and valuable) topographical and explanatory notes and appendices. These additional notes came at the expense of a great number of Laurent's editorial notes, however it is Koppitz's edition which I reference throughout the majority of the thesis when referring to the Latin of Thietmar's text.²⁴ The manuscript will henceforth be termed Hamburg, 143,b or simply the Hamburg manuscript.

Berlin Staatsbibliothek, Ms. lat. quart. 277.

This manuscript was held by the monks of the Cistercian abbey of Hilda from 1347. It is divided into two sections. The first is dated to this period of initial possession and comprises fol. iv-34r. The second section, which contains a series of texts relating to the Holy Land, is dated to a later period namely the second half of the fifteenth century. It is within this second half that we find Thietmar, situated between fol. 70r-114r.²⁵ Laurent knew this manuscript as Stenzlerianus.²⁶

²⁴ See Introduction, p.28.

²⁵ R. Schipke, *Die Lateinischen Handschriften in Quartom, Der Staatbibliothek zu Berlin Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Teil 1, Ms. lat. quart. 146-206*, (Wiesbaden, 2007), pp.311-315.

²⁶ Laurent, *Magister Thietmari*, p.57.

For the most part the Berlin manuscript is identical to the Hamburg. There are just four additions to the text, three of them short and all of them also found within the Basel manuscript. The longer addition to the text is the inclusion of Burchard of Strasbourg's description of Al-Matariyya, the site where the holy family rested during their flight to Egypt. There are also four omissions. Three of these, again, are minor, but interestingly all correspond to similar omissions within the Basel text. The fourth omission is that of the sections relating to the Saydnaya legend. This particular omission is discussed below, but the various additions and omissions call into question the relationship, as suggested by Laurent, between this text and the Hamburg manuscript. This manuscript will be referred to, henceforth, as Berlin, MS.277.

Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 42.3, Aug. 2°.

Like Berlin, MS.277, the final group one manuscript also originates from the fifteenth century which is currently housed the Herzog August library in Wolfenbüttel. The manuscript is an eclectic collection of ecclesiastical, exegetical and Holy Land texts, assembled together in no particular order. The text of Thietmar can be found on ff.187r-197r. The provenance of the manuscript is unknown. It came into the possession of the Herzog August library first in 1637 and had been held in the Braunschweig Cathedral before this point and at some point by a man known only as Gherhardo Wunstrop (possibly from 1615). Information is lacking before this date.²⁷

In many ways, the Wolfenbüttel manuscript is a shortened version of the Berlin manuscript. It possess the same additions as the Berlin manuscript as well as similar, though more extensive, omissions. The most obvious redaction appears in the removal of all elements of the text's prologue which communicates anything of the

²⁷ O. von Heinemann, *Die Augusteischen Handschriften*, 3, *Cod. Guelf. 32.7 Aug. 2° bis 77.3 Aug. 2°*, (Frankfurt am Main, 1966), pp.229-233.

individuality of the text. In many ways the omission of these sections and, once again, the omission of the Saydnaya legend means that in reality the Wolfenbüttel appears to represent more of an intermediary manuscript between the Hamburg manuscript and the group two manuscripts which we will turn to directly. A final judgement in this regard will be reserved for later. Laurent knew this manuscript as Codex Guelpherbytanus, but from this point forward we will refer to the text as Wolfenbüttel, 42.3.²⁸

Laurent's Group Two Manuscripts

Alongside these group one manuscripts, Laurent identified a set of four manuscripts which he grouped together believing them to represent a redacted version of the fuller text which he saw Hamburg, 143,b as exemplifying. The earliest of these four manuscripts was *Basel Universitätsbibliothek, B.X, 35*. Associated with this manuscript were the texts of *Ghent University Library, Ms.486*, *Berlin Staatsbibliothek, Theol. Lat. Qu. 141* and *Munich Universitätsbibliothek, 2° Cod. ms. 102* and to each of these we shall now turn.

Basel Universitätsbibliothek, B.X, 35

This is a manuscript of the fourteenth-century with its earliest known provenance being the Dominican priory in Basel. Thietmar is the first of the texts in the codex, on ff.1r-19v, followed thereafter by the text of Burchard of Strasbourg's account of his visit to the Holy Land as part of a diplomatic mission to Saladin.²⁹ This coupling of the two texts is something that all of these group two manuscripts have in common. The Basel text is one of three of Thietmar's manuscripts to appear in modern editions and was

²⁸ Laurent, *Magister Thietmari*, p.58.

²⁹ G. Meyer, and M. Burckhardt, *Die Mittelalterlichen Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Basel: beschreibendes Verzeichnis. Abt. B, Theologische Pergamenthandschriften, Bd.2* (Basel, 1960-1975), pp.767-780.

edited by Titus Tobler in 1851.³⁰ This version of the text is best known for its inclusion in Sabino Sandoli's *Itinera Hierosolymitana cruce signatorum* as the basis for his Italian translation of the text of Thietmar.³¹

The specific differences between the two traditions, as represented in the Hamburg and Basel texts, has been evidenced already and while the text is shorter it contains several interpolations from the text of Burchard of Strasbourg. It is remarkable in fact that the closing sections of the Basel text are so similar to the sections of Burchard's text considering that the actual text of Burchard of Strasbourg is included in the same manuscript immediately following the conclusion of Thietmar's text. This of course means that the same information is replicated by the same hand within only a few pages of each other telling us much about scribal practices (or perhaps awareness) in the period.³² There is no clear explanation for why this occurs. My only thought can be that a scribe, feeling Thietmar's information regarding Alexandria to be too short, decided to copy Burchard's information instead. This however provides no explanation for why it was then copied a second time into the pages of the same codex. This question must remain unanswered for the time being. From this point on this text will be referred to simply as the Basel manuscript.

Ghent University Library, Ms. 486

Another manuscript of the fourteenth century, this Ghent manuscript contains, primarily, excerpts from the lives of the holy fathers (though who specifically is unclear). Towards the end of the manuscript the texts of Burchard of Strasbourg and

³⁰ Tobler, *Magister Thietmari*.

³¹ Thietmar, 'Iter ad terram sanctam', S. Sandoli, [ed.], in *Itinera Hierosolymitana cruce signatorum, vol.III: tempore recuperationis Terrae Sanctae (1187-1244)*, (Jerusalem, 1978-1984) pp.253-295.

³² The specific sections can be found on ff.15v-16v and ff.20v-21v of the Basel manuscript.

Thietmar are both inserted. Thietmar's text is to be found ff.51-78.³³ This text was the subject of its own edition, produced in 1851 by Jules de Saint-Genois.³⁴ A comparison of the texts of the Basel and Ghent manuscript reveal that excepting a few minor philological differences the two renditions of the text are remarkably similar and Laurent was right to group these two texts together.³⁵ Henceforth, this manuscript will be referred to as Ghent, Ms.486.

Berlin Staatsbibliothek, Theol. Lat. Qu. 141

This codex is a pair of paper manuscripts from north Germany joined together sometime in the fifteenth-century. The first manuscript (ff.1-76) appears to be from the first quarter of the fifteenth century, the second manuscript is from the middle of the same century. The first manuscript contains copies of several texts relating to the Holy Land and the East, including Odoric of Pordenone, Burchard of Strasbourg and the infamous letter of Prester John.³⁶ Amongst these appears Thietmar on ff.9r-22r. Laurent judged, correctly, that this manuscript belonged to the same textual family as Basel as except for a few philological differences the two manuscripts are relatively uniform.³⁷ It will henceforth be termed Berlin, 141.

München Universitätsbibliothek, 2° Cod. ms. 102

As part of Laurent's group two manuscripts, he includes a certain manuscript which he names *Codex Monacensis*.³⁸ This manuscript has most recently been identified with the

³³ J. de Saint-Genois, *Catalogue méthodique et raisonné des manuscrits de la bibliothèque de la ville et de l'université de Gand*, (Ghent: 1849-1852), pp. 406 and 436-437.

³⁴ J. de Saint-Genois, [ed.] 'Voyages faits en Terre Sainte par Thetmar en 1217 et par Burchard d. Strassbourg en 1175, 1189 ou 1225', *Mémoires de l'Academie royale de Belgique*, 26, (1851) pp.3-61.

³⁵ Laurent, *Magister Thietmari*, p.60.

³⁶ G. Achten, *Die theologischen lateinischen Handschriften in Quarto der Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz Berlin: Teil 1. Ms. theol. lat. qu. 141-266*, (Wiesbaden, 1979), pp.161-164.

³⁷ Laurent, *Magister Thietmari*, p.60.

³⁸ Laurent, *Magister Thietmari*, p.59.

sole manuscript, listed by Röhricht, to be housed in the Universitätsbibliothek in München, namely *München Universitätsbibliothek, 2° Cod. ms. 102*.³⁹ Laurent's suggestion that *Codex Monacensis* was previously housed in Landshut, may however point towards this manuscript being one of the missing Landshut manuscripts which Röhricht makes mention of. Having said this, discussions with Dr. Kuttner of the Universitätsbibliothek in Munich have revealed that between 1800 and 1826 the Munich manuscript was indeed kept in Landshut. This fact is shown by the manuscript having a stamp of the Universitätsbibliothek Landshut on the first page.⁴⁰ This may also help us understand the seeming disappearance of the two Landshut manuscripts mentioned by Röhricht. It must be remembered that Röhricht relied on the work of Pertz and the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, published between 1826 and 1874. What seems, therefore, to have occurred is that Röhricht was himself aware of the existence of a manuscript of Thietmar at Munich, but he was also aware that Pertz (who must have been unaware of the removal) had noted the presence of a pair of texts resident at Landshut, hence the duplication. The question still remains as to why Röhricht suggested that there were two manuscripts in Landshut, though we will address that question shortly. Nonetheless, it can be safely said that Pringle was right to identify the *Codex Monacensis* with the Munich manuscript, which we will subsequently refer to as Munich, Ms.102.

The manuscript is a paper manuscript of the fifteenth century comprising of a wide variety of texts. The text of Thietmar is on ff.203r-213r following which we find Burchard of Strasbourg and a series of short unidentifiable Holy Land texts.⁴¹ Laurent identified this text as fitting in with the second group of shorter manuscripts and as

³⁹ Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, p.29.

⁴⁰ N. Daniel, G. Kornrumpf and G. Schott, *Die lat. mittelalterlichen Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek München: die Handschriften aus der Folioreihe, Hälfte 1.*, (Wiesbaden, 1974), p.162.

⁴¹ Daniel, *Die lat. mitteralterlichen Handschriften*, pp.161-164.

with the previous two texts it complies nicely with the Basel text.⁴² This connection is further corroborated by the suggestion made by the manuscripts cataloguers that the codex originated in Basel itself, though this is far from certain, but may demonstrate that this manuscript was a direct copy of Basel.⁴³

Laurent's Ungrouped Manuscripts

Besides those manuscripts which Laurent placed in his two groups, there appeared two more, bringing the total number of manuscripts known to Laurent to nine. The first of these, known to Laurent as Codex Rehdigeranus can be identified now as *Breslau Stadtbibliothek 290/3*. The second, known to Laurent as Codex Maschianus and now identifiable as *Rostock Universitätsbibliothek, Cod.Histor.10*, was lost at the time when Laurent produced his edition of the text and he was therefore unable to assess its usefulness.

Breslau Stadtbibliothek 290/3

Once again, information regarding this text's origins is limited. We do know that it is dated to the fifteenth century and the fact that the anonymous chronicle which follows Thietmar records events for 1492 points towards the fact that it was produced later in the century.⁴⁴ That said, according to Laurent the seventeenth-century cataloguer of the manuscript assumed it to be from earlier in the century, noting as well the poor quality of the script.⁴⁵ The codex represents one of many texts originally held by Thomas Rehdiger and later obtained by the Breslau Stadtbibliothek. However, Laurent did not see the manuscript for himself. How exactly he obtained information regarding

⁴² Laurent, *Magister Thietmari*, p.60.

⁴³ Daniel, *Die lat. mittelalterlichen Handschriften*, p.161.

⁴⁴ H. Alfons, and L. Udo, *Katalog rękopisów dawnej Biblioteki Miejskiej we Wrocławiu, t.1 (R 164-300)*, (Breslau, c.1900-1940), p.152.

⁴⁵ Laurent, *Magister Thietmari*, p.58.

the text is a little unclear from his editorial notes, but it seems a certain Heinrich Fischer, who had been responsible for an edition of this manuscript (which I have been unable to find record of anywhere else) compared his edition with the texts of Hamburg and Basel and informed Laurent of the differences between them. Fischer also suspected that the text was copied in Poland from a poorly written version of the text, a suspicion which he communicated with Laurent. Because of the information given to him by Fischer, Laurent concluded that the text represented a tradition midway between groups one and two.⁴⁶

Notwithstanding this identification, my own analysis of the text and its content suggests that in line with Wolfenbüttel, 42,3, the Breslau manuscripts includes a truncated introduction and the Al-Matariyya section from Burchard but omits both the Saydnaya legend and Burchardian description of Alexandria. In many ways the Breslau and Wolfenbüttel manuscripts are more closely related to each other than the Wolfenbüttel is to Berlin, Ms.277 or either of them are to Hamburg, 143,b. Laurent's opinion of the Breslau manuscript should therefore be upheld, his opinion of the Wolfenbüttel manuscripts needs to be reassessed however and its position in the text's development placed alongside Breslau, 290/3 (as we will refer to this manuscript henceforth). The text of Thietmar may be found on ff.97r-110v.

Rostock Universitätsbibliothek, Cod.Histor.10

The last of the manuscripts known to Laurent, and lost at the time of the 1857 edition of the text, is a manuscript from the fifteenth century, more precisely from the period roughly 1466 to 1500. The first half (ff.1r-120v) is handwritten, the second half printed and Thietmar's text is found on ff.103r-118v. The last known owner, before Rostock University, was the same Andreas Maschius whom Laurent questioned regarding its

⁴⁶ Laurent, *Magister Thietmari*, pp.58-60.

whereabouts but who could not provide any information regarding its location at that time. No one knows how it came into the library's possession, but this confusion would explain its disappearance at the time of Laurent. The earliest record of possession states that the manuscript was purchased in Stettin in 1504 (though by whom it is unclear), but based on the assessment of the manuscripts cataloguers the manuscript is of Southern German origin.⁴⁷

While not as severally redacted as the texts of the other group two manuscripts, there are sufficient differences in the Rostock manuscript to question its direct relation to the Hamburg text as well. In fact, the closest text to that of the Rostock manuscript is that of Berlin, Ms.277. It contains the same additions, notably the Al-Matariyya section of the text, and omissions, Saydnaya being the chief, however the introduction is in no way altered as in Wolfenbüttel 42,3 or Breslau 290/3. Considering this information it seems clear that rather than two groups as Laurent suggested, this manuscripts demonstrates the existence of something more like four groups. At one end of the spectrum lies the four group two manuscripts and at the other the solitary Hamburg manuscript. Between these two groups are two intermediary sets of texts; the first closer to the Hamburg than the others, comprising the Rostock manuscript and Berlin, Ms.277, the second lying closer to the group two manuscripts comprising the Wolfenbüttel and Breslau manuscripts. But of course, Laurent was working with only half the picture and it remains to be seen what additional light the other manuscripts identified by Röhrich might shine on the discussion.

⁴⁷ K. Heydeck, *Die mittelalterlichen Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Rostock, Bd 1* (Wiesbaden, 2001), pp.66-67.

Röhricht's "New" Discoveries

In addition to the nine manuscripts mentioned above which were included as part of Laurent's editorial notes on the text, Röhricht identified a further nine manuscripts which we are now able to consider. These are *Berlin Staatsbibliothek Ms. theol. lat. fol. 291*, *Würzburg, Ms. ch. f.39*, *Magdeburg, Dom-Gymnas. 129 s.XV*, *Berlin Staatsbibliothek, Ms. Diez. C fol. 60*, two unidentified manuscripts from Landshut (mentioned above), an unidentified manuscript from Ossterwyck in the Netherlands, and two fragments, one *Ghent University Library, Ms. 546* and another unidentified manuscript from Vienna. To these I can also add the fragment of the text found as part of *München Universitätsbibliothek, 2° Cod. ms. 312*. As before, we will discuss the present condition and contents of each of these in turn.

Berlin Staatsbibliothek Ms. theol. lat. fol. 291

A manuscript of the fifteenth century, into which Thietmar's text is attached as part of the prologue of a certain Guilelmus Brito's exposition on the Bible and various letters of Jerome and other texts of the Church Fathers. Thietmar's text is the first text of the manuscript found on ff.1r-10v.⁴⁸ In terms of content it can be concluded that the Berlin, 291 is directly related to the Hamburg manuscript of the text. Taking as we have the four key differences of the texts to be the length of the introduction, the inclusion/exclusion of the Saydnaya section, the inclusion/exclusion of Burchard's Al-Matariyya section and the inclusion of either the shortened "Thietmar" Alexandria section or the lengthier "Burchard" Alexandria section, Berlin, 291 exhibits all of the same elements as Hamburg, 143.b. So Al-Matariyya is absent, the Alexandria section is

⁴⁸ V. Rose, *Verzeichniss der Lateinischen Handschriften der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin, Zweiter Band: Die Handschriften der Kurfürstlichen Bibliothek und der Kurfürstlichen Lande – Erste Abteilung – (Die Handschriften-Verzeichnisse der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin, Dreizehnter Band)*, (Berlin, 1901), pp.248-250.

the shortened version and the introduction longer. Most crucially amongst these is the fact that despite the assertion of many that Hamburg is the only manuscript to contain the Saydnaya section, the Berlin, 291 represents a second manuscript (although much later in date) to contain a copy of the text of the Saydnaya legend.⁴⁹ It is therefore Berlin, 291, rather than the texts of Berlin, 277 and the Wolfenbüttel manuscript, that we should see as a group one manuscript like the Hamburg text.

Würzburg, Ms. ch. f.39

Like Berlin, 291, the Würzburg manuscript originates from the fifteenth century. Thietmar's text can be found on ff.35r-49v and is preceded by the Letter of Prester John (though this is the only other text related to the Holy Land in the codex).⁵⁰ Again, in the Würzburg text we are provided with another direct relation to the Hamburg manuscript. Once again we find the inclusion of the longer introduction and the shorter non-Burchardian Alexandria section. The Al-Matariyya is also absent, but vitally the Saydnaya section can be found in full within the pages of the manuscript.⁵¹ Both Berlin, 291 and Würzburg do exhibit some philological differences from the Hamburg text. Nevertheless in terms of content, and particularly with the inclusion of the Saydnaya section of the text, these two previously unused manuscripts go a long way to reconcile the Saydnaya section to our understanding of the original text and should be considered, alongside Hamburg, to be members of the same textual family. The real significance of this will be dealt with shortly but for now it remains to look to the condition of the other seven manuscripts listed by Röhricht.

⁴⁹ Berlin Staatsbibliothek Ms. theol. lat. fol. 291, ff.3r-4r.

⁵⁰ H. Thurn, *Die Papierhandschriften der ehemaligen Dombibliothek. (Die Handschriftender Universitätsbibliothek Würzburg, Bd. 3, Hälfte 2)*, (Wiesbaden, 1981), pp.18-19.

⁵¹ Würzburg, Ms. ch. f.39, ff.38r-39v.

This fragment appears as part of a manuscript dedicated mainly to the works of Hugh of Saint Victor featuring ff.1-121. On ff.122r-122v we find a text on the Holy Land attributed to Thietmar which occupies roughly three of the four columns on these two pages. It is written in a thirteenth-century hand, but is so abridged as to make it impossible to determine anything of use regarding Thietmar's actual voyage and instead represents an attempt by someone to pull from Thietmar the bare bones of a standard pilgrimage itinerary. It is however a wonderful example of how pilgrimage texts could be used and adapted by later writers. What is interesting is that it is followed (on f.122v) by a fragment of *de inventio pretiosi ligni Christi* and a copy of the *Narratio de Pilato*.⁵² Thus, it was likely included and adapted to serve as an aid for the understanding of the other texts contained within the work, though it should be noted that these subsequent texts are in a different hand seemingly of the fifteenth century. If the text was added to assist in understanding the works of Hugh of Saint Victor there is no obvious reason for this as those works of Hugh contained in the manuscript are not ostensibly about the Holy Land. Therefore, while interesting, there is no way to place this text in the context of the *stemma codicum* of Thietmar.

München Universitätsbibliothek, 2° Cod. ms. 312

In actuality there is no copy of Thietmar's text within the pages of this codex. The codex itself is comprised of two separate books bound together, but both originating from some time in the twelfth century. However the manuscript catalogue notes that on the inside of both covers there are glued in pastedowns upon which fragments of

⁵² Saint-Genois, *Catalogue méthodique*, pp.392-393.

the text of Thietmar can be found written in a fourteenth- or fifteenth-century hand.⁵³ They are of no use for the reconstruction of the text of Thietmar and what has clearly occurred is the recycling of a manuscript of Thietmar in the binding of the codex. In many ways, this represents a sad loss in our attempts to reconstruct the original text of Thietmar but speaks for the existence of several more manuscripts than have survived to this day. Perhaps more interestingly, and something that must be reserved for another time, is what it can tell us about practices of manuscript construction and recycling, alongside the evidence it provides for changes in audience interest across time. Of course, there must have been a time when Thietmar's work was deemed important enough to copy, but that at the point when it was recycled in this way it had for some reason lost its significance to its owner. Again, as with Ghent Ms.546, due to the fact that it does not assist in the construction of the original text we must, for now, leave it to one side.

Vienna, Ms.896, fol.63r-64r (fragm.)

The usefulness of this manuscript remains open to question. Despite attempts to find its current location I have been unable to obtain a copy and am therefore unable to comment on its utility. My assumption is, given the nature of the other fragments of Thietmar as represented by Munich, Ms.312 and Ghent, Ms.546, that its merging with other texts, while interesting, will provide little information to improve our ability to comment on the original text of Thietmar.

⁵³ Daniel, *Die lat. mitteralterlichen Handschriften*, pp.55-57. My thanks to Paul Hayward for his assistance in deciphering the manuscript catalogue entry.

Landshut Manuscripts

The identity of these manuscripts has been dealt with above and it seems clear that the two Landshut manuscripts which Röhricht referred to were in fact Munich, Ms.102 and the fragments found in Munich, Ms.312.

Magdeburg, Dom-Gymnas. 129 s.XV

According to Röhricht, fol.165a-169b of this manuscript contained a copy of Thietmar. Judging by the number of pages which the text occupies, this manuscript presumably contained another full and previously unused version of the text. Sadly, the manuscript was lost in the war and we have no record of its contents.⁵⁴

Berlin Staatsbibliothek, Ms. Diez. C fol. 60

Röhricht also suggested that this codex contained a copy of Thietmar. However, on consultation with the manuscript catalogue it would appear that, although the manuscript contains a fourteenth-century copy of Ludolph of Sudheim's *De Itinere Terrae Sanctae*, bound together with a seventeenth-century copy of Wilbrand of Oldenburg's *Itinerarium Terrae Sanctae*, the manuscript does not contain a copy of Thietmar's text.⁵⁵

Oosterwyck

The final manuscript identified by Röhricht was designated only by its name and a reference to a nineteenth century manuscript catalogue published in Amsterdam in 1875.⁵⁶ Further investigation into the whereabouts of this manuscript has uncovered its current location as Tilburg University Library in the Netherlands with the designation,

⁵⁴ My thanks for this identification go to Kurt Heydeck of Berlin Staatsbibliothek.

⁵⁵ U. Winter, *Die europäischen Handschriften der Bibliothek Diez, Teil 3.: die Manuscripta Dieziana C.-*, (Wiesbaden, 1994) pp.42-44

⁵⁶ Röhricht, *Bibliotheca Geographica Palaestinae*, p.47.

Tilburg Universiteitsbibliotheek KHS 3, fol. 6ff. Unlike all of the other texts cited by Röhrich this text is not in Latin, but instead in Middle Dutch and was written sometime after 1477. As such, despite its appearance in the vernacular it is still contemporary with some of the later Latin manuscripts of Thietmar. However, its usefulness for textual comparison (particularly in those sections most frequently debated) is limited owing to the fact that in this incarnation the text of Thietmar is preserved with one express purpose in mind: the veneration of Saint Katherine. The text can be found bound together with the *Life, Passion, Translation and Miracles of Saint Katherine of Alexandria* and was given, possibly, by the Guild of Saint Katherine to one of the two convents who at some point had possession of the manuscript. These were the tertiaries of Catherinenberg at Oosterwyck and the Canonesses Regular of Sint-Annenborch at Rosmalen.⁵⁷

The text itself is extremely reduced in length, omitting the first part of Thietmar's journey and focusing almost entirely on his experience at Mount Sinai with Saint Katherine. What is intriguing is that this text is just one of a total of thirteen similar texts, ten in Middle Dutch and three in some form of German, which have been analysed by Kathryn Rudy.⁵⁸ In all of these manuscripts, the intention was the preservation of information pertaining to Saint Katherine and the facilitation of mystical experiences with the saint. Therefore, while the heavy editing of these texts does little to help our understanding of the textual development in the Latin tradition, it does give us an idea of how Thietmar's text was being used and what about it made it popular. Indeed, it is interesting to note that more copies of these reduced Saint Katherine texts have survived in these vernacular languages than the various fuller versions of the text in Latin. More will be said on this at a later point, but it is

⁵⁷ Rudy, *Virtual pilgrimage*, p.51.

⁵⁸ Rudy, *Virtual pilgrimage*, p.49-57. Although, it should be noted that in her discussion Rudy seems to be unaware of the existence of the original pilgrim and his Latin narrative.

unnecessary to consider these texts further in the present discussion and we would direct the reader to Dr. Rudy's work for more information on this tradition.

Summary

From this discussion, it becomes clear that there are several problems with the current understanding of Thietmar's text. Though understandable considering the texts available to him, it can now be said that Laurent's assertion that Hamburg represented the only example of the preservation of the Saydnaya legend in the text of Thietmar was wrong. In conjunction with this and our next concern, the grounds upon which Saydnaya has often been considered to be a later interpolation can be challenged on several grounds. Yet the primary problem is that of the groupings into textual families. Certainly Laurent was right to place Basel, Ghent Ms. 486, Berlin, 141 and Munich, ms.102 in the same textual family. Hamburg does indeed represent a different, lengthier textual tradition, but rather than being seen within a family grouping of Hamburg, Berlin, 277 and Wolfenbüttel, group one should be seen to consist of the Hamburg manuscript, Berlin, 291 and the Würzburg manuscript. In between these two groups appear two sub groups. "Group 1.25" consisting of Berlin, 277 and the Rostock text, should be seen as closer to group one than group two yet containing elements of both. Similarly, "group 1.75" consisting Breslau, 290/3 and the Wolfenbüttel manuscript, should be seen as closer to group two but containing elements of the group one manuscripts. In order to put the existence of these new groupings to the test, we now turn to address the problematic inclusion of the Saydnaya legend once again and ask whether it should be seen as an integral part of an "original text" or a later and isolated addition. In doing so, we will be able to observe that this new four group model is a much more helpful way of understanding the inter-relationship of the various manuscripts of Thietmar to one another.

Modus incarnationis hic est: The problem of Saydnaya

Of all the elements of the text of Thietmar, the legend of Saydnaya represents the most contentious part and, as far as much current scholarship is concerned, is not considered part of what should be understood as the “original text”. What this section of the chapter aims to do is to reassess the relationship between Thietmar’s text and the legend of Saydnaya and in so doing put to the test the newly suggested manuscript grouping given in the first part of the chapter. This will be done by initially revisiting the arguments against the Hamburg manuscript and its inclusion of the Saydnaya legend and reflecting on how the rediscovery of Berlin, 277 and Wolfenbüttel influences our understanding of this textual family. We will then move to assessing the group of manuscripts without any trace of the Saydnaya legend, the group two manuscripts, to see if they offer a more satisfactory “original text” than the group one manuscripts. Finally, we will look to the problematic four intermediary manuscripts and see what they can tell us about the inclusion or exclusion of Saydnaya in the itinerary and text of Thietmar. This, in turn, will allow us to clearly define the inter-relationship and therefore *stemma codicum* of the manuscripts of Thietmar.

Saydnaya and the Group One manuscripts

Within the Hamburg text the Saydnaya legend is positioned between the text’s description of the city of Damascus and the text’s discussion of Baghdad and the Pope of the Saracens.⁵⁹ The section is introduced by the following introductory statement: *‘Cum autem fuissem in Damasco sex dies, abii et transivi duos fluvios Syrie et Damasci, Habana et Pharpar, et ivi versus montem Seyr, ubi ycona beate virginis Marie est incarnata. Modus incarnationis hic est.*⁶⁰ Thereafter, the text begins a new section as

⁵⁹ Hamburg, 143,b. ff.4r-5r, Koppitz, pp.138-142 and Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, pp.103-106.

⁶⁰ Hamburg, 143,b. f.4r, Koppitz, p.138.

indicated in the manuscript by the rubricated initial in 'Tempore'.⁶¹ This section, designated Chapter V by Laurent, comprising five distinct parts, details the chief elements of the Saydnaya legend as it existed in the period.

It begins by telling the legend of how the icon was translated from Jerusalem to Saydnaya by a monk on behalf of the abbess of Saydnaya, relating also the various miraculous events which occurred during the *translatio* process. Following this, an account is given of how the icon, once in place, began to exude holy oil and became clothed in flesh [*carne vestiri*].⁶² Three separate miracles are then related. The first miracle details the death of a priest who attempted to move the icon to a more illustrious position within the church. The second tells of a sultan of Damascus cured of blindness at the shrine. The final miracle relates the story of a knight, imprisoned in Damascus, who in 1204 was in possession of some of the holy oil and found it to have turned to flesh, which then, when disturbed by a knife began to bleed. This chapter then concludes with the statement: '*Sunt alia plura miracula, que per ymaginem sue sancte genitricis Marie operatur omnipotens Deus, cui honor et gloria et potestas et imperium per infinita secula seculorum. Amen.*'⁶³

However, the discussion of Saydnaya does not end here. Following this, we find a short section (designated chapter VI by Laurent) which tells of the Saracens fear of spending the night at Saydnaya as well as their wine drinking habits.⁶⁴ We also find information regarding the ecclesiastical hierarchy of the shrine (that there is a bishop and an abbess, but that the abbess takes precedence out of reverence to the Virgin) and we also find the addition of a further miracle, relating how the Virgin caused an ampulla

⁶¹ Hamburg, 143,b. f.4r, Koppitz, p.138.

⁶² Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, p.105, Koppitz, pp.139-140.

⁶³ The miracles can be found in Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, pp.105-106, Koppitz, pp.140-141. The quote is taken from Koppitz, p.141 and can be found in English in Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, p.106.

⁶⁴ Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, p.106, Koppitz, p.141.

of oil to appear in the hand of a Saracen woman who had not brought with her the means to carry away any of the shrine's holy oil.⁶⁵ The section then turns away from Saydnaya, towards a report of the tomb of the prophet Daniel before the section ends and the section relating to Baghdad and the Pope of the Saracens begins. It should also be noted that at the conclusion of the section regarding Baghdad the Hamburg text states: '*Transitis autem locis memoratis et uisa ycona Domine nostre reuersus sum Accon*'.⁶⁶

As interesting as these sections are, current scholarship tends to think of them as interpolations, from elsewhere into the text of Thietmar, by a later scribe. There are several reasons for such an interpretation, all of which we should consider seriously. The first derives from Laurent's own edition of the text. In his concluding editorial notes, Laurent states that Chapter V and all the parts of Chapter VI relating to Saydnaya are only found in the Hamburg, 143.b.⁶⁷ Ulf Koppitz maintained this claim in his reworking of Laurent's edition also adding that the *Amen* at the conclusion of Chapter V seems to indicate that this section at least represents a 'stand-alone work'.⁶⁸ He also highlights the fact that the statement in Chapter VI that '*Est autem in illo loco episcopus et abbatissa et sanctimoniales. Pro reverencia beate virginis principatus loci illius cedit abbatisse*',⁶⁹ seems to be a repetition of the following from Chapter V:

⁶⁵ Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, p.106, Koppitz, p.141.

⁶⁶ Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, p.107, Koppitz, p.143.

⁶⁷ Laurent, *Magister Thietmari*, p.64.

⁶⁸ Koppitz, p.138. See footnote 106 where Koppitz refers to this section as '*ein eigenständiges Werk*'.

⁶⁹ Koppitz, p.141.

'Sunt eciam monachi Greci, in quadam parte divinum agentes ministerium; dignitas tamen et magistratus est sanctimonialium pro reverencia supradicte monialis, que locum illum primum inhabitavit et in honore sancte Dei genitricis Marie ecclesiam fabricavit'.⁷⁰

That Chapter V is a copy of a source independent of Thietmar was categorically proven by Paul Devos in 1947.⁷¹ In an article attempting to uncover the earliest version of the Saydnaya legend Devos edited three texts relating to the legend of Saydnaya. One was that of Burchard of Strasbourg, another from an individual named Guy Chat and the final one an anonymous text of the thirteenth century known as Brussel, Codex II.1146. This final manuscript, Devos demonstrated, was remarkably similar to that of Thietmar's (though it must be said not entirely, mainly because of the absence of some of the miraculous information provided by Thietmar's text). On the basis of these similarities, and because Devos believed the Brussels text to predate Hamburg, 143.b significantly, Devos argued that the presence of the Saydnaya legend and its component parts in Thietmar's text was the result of later scribal interpolation. His argument was that the Saydnaya legend should not be considered an integral part of Thietmar's account and that it was likely that Thietmar never even visited the shrine. This argument has been repeated in much subsequent scholarship and has caused no end of problems for our understanding of the text of the Hamburg manuscript.⁷² But there are a number of issues that need to be addressed in this regard.

There is no evidence that the sections of Thietmar's sixth chapter were copied from elsewhere, thus calling into question the idea that Thietmar never went to Saydnaya.

⁷⁰ Koppitz, p.141.

⁷¹ P. Devos, 'Les premières versions occidentales de la légende de Saïdnaia', *Analecta Bollandiana*, 65, (1947) pp.245-278.

⁷² B.Z. Kedar, 'Convergences of oriental Christian, Muslim, and Frankish worshippers: the case of Saydnaya', in Y. Hen, [ed.], *De Sion exhibit lex verbum Domini de Hierusalem: essays on medieval law*, (Turnhout, 2001) pp.59-69.

And, despite the seeming consensus that Devos is correct in his assertions, there are several factors which seem to have been neglected when discussing his argument. Initially, and importantly, Devos believed that the Hamburg manuscript was derived from the fourteenth century and was therefore not contemporary with the versions of the legend found in the Brussels Codex, II.1146 and a related version of the legend found in Roger of Wendover's *Flore historiarum*.⁷³ As referenced above, we now know, and indeed Laurent himself suggested that Hamburg, 143.b was a thirteenth-century text, more specifically a manuscript produced at around the same time as Roger produced his history.⁷⁴ Hamburg, 143.b is therefore a firm contemporary of the other texts Devos discusses. Furthermore, we must be careful in attributing the appearance of the legend in the text of Thietmar to a later scribe. The original author of the text was equally exposed to the same concepts of textual construction as any scribe who later copied his work, and to blame a later interpolator for the addition of the legend without also considering the possibility that the original author could have indeed been the copyist is perhaps rash.

Here we are presented with the biggest problem with Devos' argument, for Laurent did not have the entire picture (as one never does when working with manuscripts). We can now, of course, add that the Würzburg manuscript of Thietmar and Berlin, 291 both contain the legend of Saydnaya precisely as it stands in Hamburg, 143.b.⁷⁵ Therefore, Laurent's suggestion is false and there is much more evidence for the inclusion of the Saydnaya legend in the original text than was initially supposed. That being said, the fact that this evidence derives from the fifteenth century calls into question the weight of its support. After all, Würzburg and Berlin, 291 could themselves be copies of Hamburg, 143.b or another related manuscript. However,

⁷³ Devos, 'la légende de Saïdnaia', pp.248.

⁷⁴ Laurent, *Magister Thietmari*, pp.56-57.

⁷⁵ Berlin, 291, ff.3r-4r and Würzburg, ms.39, ff.38r-39v.

Devos' misunderstanding regarding the dating of Hamburg, 143.b and the discovery of new evidence supporting the idea of the Saydnaya legend as part of the textual traditions means that we must, at this stage, be just as cautious in rejecting the Saydnaya legend as we are to accept it. Furthermore, the idea of Thietmar as the copyist is perhaps strengthened when we consider the fact that Chapter VI seems to be an original composition. Could an alternative theory be that Thietmar, with knowledge of the existent textual tradition went to Saydnaya and when composing his account copied the already existent text appending to it extra information which he himself gained from his visit? At this stage it is hard to tell. But in order to find an answer to this question let us now turn to the group two manuscripts as the manuscript group, in which the Saydnaya legend is entirely absent, so as to ascertain the strength of their claim to be most representative of the original text of Thietmar.

Basel and the Group 2 Manuscripts

If our main reason for doubting Hamburg's position as most representative of the original text, despite it being the earliest of all the manuscripts of Thietmar's text, relates closely to its inclusion of the text of the legend of Saydnaya then it seems only right that we turn to the Basel text as a possible alternative. This manuscript recommends itself for a number of reasons. First, dating as it does from the early-fourteenth century it represents the second earliest manuscript of the text of Thietmar. Furthermore, the absence of the Saydnaya legend and the similarity between it and the other group two manuscripts adds further weight to our need to consider the text as a possible alternative example of how the original text may have appeared. The issue arising is that Basel and the other group two manuscripts are not without their own problems. First of all, the definition between a place visited and a place observed is often blurred within these texts. Hamburg, 143.b and the other group one manuscripts

distinguish between these two types of sites with the use of *veni* or *transivi* when speaking about places which the pilgrim visited and phrases such as *non longe a loco isto est* when speaking of places that were merely observed by the pilgrim or which he was aware of but did not go to in person. The group two manuscripts rarely make such a distinction suggesting they are prone to exaggerating Thietmar's actual itinerary (a similar, but more subtle, problem to the one which Saydnaya presents). Nowhere is this more clear than the section relating to the Pope of the Saracens.

In the group one manuscripts this section is introduced in the following manner: '*Est etiam ab illo loco uersus orientem in confinio Chaldee, Ydumee et Persye ciuitas magna et munita, nomine Baydach*'.⁷⁶ However, in the Basel manuscript this same introductory phrase reads as follows: '*Deinde pertransitus diuersa loca et declinaui uersus orientam in confinio chaldee. ydumee. et persye. et ueni ad ciuitatem magnam et ualde munitam nomine baydach metropolis*'⁷⁷ The difference here is profound. At the beginning of the fourteenth century, when the Basel manuscript was produced, the idea that a pilgrim could have gone to Baghdad would have been much more feasible in an era following the Mongol invasions and a growth in European travel to the East. In the context of a world following the travels of Marco Polo, John de Carpini, William of Rubruck and, importantly for pilgrimage genre, the missionary exploits of Riccoldo of Monte Croce, who did in fact visit Baghdad, such a claim would have seemed unremarkable. However in the context of early thirteenth-century pilgrimage, even Saydnaya and Sinai were pushing the boundaries of where it was expected that a pilgrim could reach. Furthermore, if the pilgrim had visited Baghdad, as the Basel manuscript claims, then surely the description of the city itself would have been more expansive considering the extent to which the text discusses Damascus? Therefore, it

⁷⁶ Koppitz, p.142. Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, p.106.

⁷⁷ Tobler, *Magister Thietmari*, p.12. Emphasis added.

cannot reasonably be maintained that the traveller who was the subject of this text could not have gone to Baghdad and overall this throws into doubt the ability of the Basel manuscript family to provide for us an accurate description of the first process which we discussed earlier. Though this is perhaps an extreme example, is it just one of the many instances where the group two manuscripts blur the distinction between a place visited and a place the pilgrim was simply aware of, causing it to present a questionable image of the actual pilgrimage experience.

Moreover, whereas Hamburg, 143.b contains the copying of the Saydnaya legend, the Basel group has some additions of its own. The conclusion of the text sees Thietmar standing atop Mount Sinai relating information regarding the areas surrounding the Sinai Peninsula, including Egypt and Mecca. As part of this description the Hamburg manuscript states:

*'Sciendum eciam, quod Egyptus continet tres ciuitates principales: Babilonem, Alexandriam, Damiatam....Multi autem Christiani sunt in Egypto et plurime ecclesie Christianorum, qui unum habent patriarchem in Alexandria.'*⁷⁸

In the Basel manuscript, however, the discussion of Alexandria is much lengthier, extending to a total of thirty lines.⁷⁹ On closer inspection it appears that the sections relating to Alexandria in the Basel text are taken word for word from the account of Burchard of Strasbourg.⁸⁰ It is true that all of the texts of Thietmar contain some information copied from the account of Burchard, but the group two manuscripts contain considerably more information from Burchard than Hamburg or the other group one manuscripts. Once more, with Burchard's account being an earlier text we

⁷⁸ Koppitz, p.170, Pringle, *Pilgrimages*, pp.129-130.

⁷⁹ Tobler, *Magister Thietmari*, p.59-66.

⁸⁰ Burchard of Strasbourg, 'De statu Egypti vel Babylonie' S. Sandoli, [ed.], *Itinera Hierosolymitana cruce signatorum, vol.II: tempore Francorum (1100-1187)*, (Jerusalem, 1978-1984) pp.393-414.

cannot rule out the possibility that the copying was not done at the text's inception. However, not long after this section the Basel and other group two manuscripts included a section which begins '*Magister Thetmarus specificat*' demonstrating directly that the scribe here is paraphrasing the words of Thietmar in this instance.⁸¹ Furthermore, as the Saydnaya legend can only be found in the group one texts, Burchard's description of Alexandria can only be found in the group two manuscripts. Unlike the section relating to Al-Matariyya which can be found in all the manuscripts outside group one, these sections relating to Alexandria are only found in group two meaning the inclusion of this section should affect our reliance on the group two manuscripts as much as Saydnaya has affected reliance on Hamburg, 143.b.

Furthermore, one often finds that the sections omitted in the group two manuscripts, but included in Hamburg manuscript, relate directly to the pilgrim's own experience, such as his capture outside Jerusalem. In many, the omission of Saydnaya or Thietmar's Jerusalem capture and the inclusion of sections of Burchard's text and the altering of the text's relationship with Baghdad, represent an attempt to standardise the pilgrimage narrative, to bring it more in line with fourteenth-century thinking about normative pilgrimage practices.⁸² In this case even if Hamburg's position as most representative of the original text is still disputable, being composed in the thirteenth century means, at least, it is more representative of thirteenth-century pilgrimage than the group two manuscripts. That is not to say that the group two manuscripts are without worth. Indeed the changes they represent enlighten us to the ways in which Text was altered over time to be less representative of Person (in this sense pilgrim) and Place but instead representative of current cultural norms and expectations regarding the Holy Land and Holy Land pilgrimage. In essence, the Person which the

⁸¹ Basel, B.X, 35, f.37r.

⁸² Mylod, 'Latin Christian pilgrimage', pp.42-43.

group two manuscripts provide information for is not Thietmar but the scribe who copied his text. The same could be said of the Hamburg manuscript. With this in mind we must turn to the collection of intermediary manuscripts to determine whether one might find some evidence for where to look for an original text.

Groups 1.25 and 1.75

These groups are of course comprised of four manuscripts, two of which Laurent was aware of but unable to consult (Rostock and Breslau) and two manuscripts thought previously to be a part of the group one tradition (Berlin, 277 and Wolfenbüttel, 42.3). We have already determined that these represent two intermediary groups with Berlin, 277 and Rostock representing a pair closer in relation to Hamburg, 143b and Breslau, 290/3 and Wolfenbüttel, 42.3 representing a group closer in relation to the Basel. First of all, it should be noted that in all of these manuscripts we find evidenced the Al-Matariyya section of Burchard, but in none of them do we see the Alexandria section copied from the same author. Focusing in on the area of the text where one would expect to find the Saydnaya legend we find some interesting inclusions within the text. At the conclusion of what is Chapter IV in Laurent's edition of the Hamburg text and therefore directly preceding the Saydnaya section we read the following in the various manuscripts.

In Berlin, 277: *'Cum autem fuissem sex diebus in damasco abii et iui versus montem Seyr ad oppidum Sardanaym quod situm est in montibo Seyr ubi ycona beate virginis marie incarnata.'*⁸³

⁸³ Berlin 277, f. 77v.

And again in the Rostock manuscript: *'Cum autem fuissem sex diebus in damasco abii et iui fluuios, montem Seyr et oppidum Sardanaym quod situ est montibus Seyr ubi ycona beate virginis marie incarnata.'*⁸⁴

In Breslau we see: *'Cum autem fuissem sex diebus in damasco abii et transivi duos fluuios Sirie et damasci et pharpfar et iui versus Montem Seyr ubi Icona beate marie est incarnata.'*⁸⁵

And finally in the Wolfenbüttel manuscript: *'Cum autem fuissem sex diebus in damasco abii et transiui duos fluuios Syrie et damascu Habana et Pharpfar et iui uersus montem Seyr ubi ycona beate marie virginis est incarnata. Modus incarnationis hic est.'*⁸⁶

Each of these manuscripts then picks up the narrative on line 12 of Chapter VI after all the information regarding Saydnaya, both copied and original to Thietmar, has been discussed in Hamburg, 143.b, omitting the legend and the miracles in their entirety. But at the conclusion of the first half of Thietmar's pilgrimage and before moving on to his journey from Acre towards Mount Sinai each of the manuscripts contains the following.

In Berlin, 277. *'Transitis autem locis memoratis et uisa yconia domine nostre ingressus sum Accon.'*⁸⁷

In Rostock: *'Transitis autem locis memoratis est uisa ycona Domine nostre ingressus Accon.'*⁸⁸

⁸⁴ Rostock, f.106r.

⁸⁵ Breslau, 290/3 f.99r.

⁸⁶ Wolfenbüttel, 42.3 f.189r.

⁸⁷ Berlin 277, f. 78v.

⁸⁸ Rostock, f.106v.

In Breslau: *'Transitis autem locis memoratis est visa Iconia domine nostre regressus sum Accon.'*⁸⁹

And in Wolfenbüttel: *'Transitis autem locis memoratis et visa ycona domine nostre regressus sum Accon.'*⁹⁰

Immediately this shows that while only three of the eleven manuscripts contain the Saydnaya legend and appended miraculous information, seven of the eleven manuscript attest to the pilgrim having been there. As such it is clear that Saydnaya should be considered as part of Thietmar's original itinerary, that at the very least he did visit the shrine, even if it is still uncertain as to what point the text of the legend entered into his own and where this additional information came from. There is, however, one curious addition to the text of the fifteenth-century Wolfenbüttel manuscript which must be considered.

At the end of the section which describes the journey to Saydnaya and presence of the incarnated icon the text states: *'Modus incarnationis hic est.'* While the meaning of this phrase is perhaps unclear, the most apparent translation would be 'This manner (or mode) of the incarnation is this'. What this clearly suggests is that the manuscript is about to tell us the legend of the icon's incarnation and yet this is a promise which it does not deliver on. There is no legend recorded and there are no miracles. The manuscript simply moves on to record the location of the provinces of Chaldea and Mesopotamia before beginning the section on the Pope of the Saracens. Any explanation for what is going on here appears unsatisfactory. What it suggests though is that Wolfenbüttel, 42.3, or the text from which it was derived, was aware of the presence of the Saydnaya legend and a decision was made, at some point in the

⁸⁹ Breslau, 290/3, f.99v.

⁹⁰ Wolfenbüttel, 42.3, f.189r.

copying process or processes to omit the legendary material entirely. Given what we have already seen in the evidence of the group two manuscripts, could this be more evidence of attempts to standardise the text of Thietmar? The reasons for doing so are unclear. It is also unclear why someone would remove the legendary material and be so careless as to leave this noticeable phrase. All explanations for this can be reduced to the idea that the scribe had little idea of what s/he was actually copying in the first instance, or that there was a lack of awareness on the part of the copyist to the actual content of the text. But it is significant that this could represent evidence of the existence of a text, or series of texts, now lost, in which the Saydnaya legend was phased out and that all four of these manuscripts could stand testament to this process.

What is more, the fact that Wolfenbüttel, 42.3 contains the Al-Matariyya section absent from the group one manuscripts means that the manuscript from which Wolfenbüttel and these others were derived could not have been Hamburg, 143.b or another group one manuscript. In fact, it suggests that this lost manuscript which we have suggested existed contained both the Saydnaya legend and Burchard's Al-Matariyya section. Such a suggestion makes the loss of manuscripts such as the Magdeburg text all the more frustrating, but it leaves open the suggestion that the Saydnaya legend may have in fact been part of the original text and also the idea that Thietmar might have copied this section. In order to judge the accuracy of such a suggestion let us leave our discussion of Saydnaya to one side for a moment to dwell on the other textual influences evidenced in Thietmar.

Thietmar's Textual Influences

With the idea that Thietmar may have been the individual responsible for the copying becoming increasingly likely, it is worthwhile to chart the obvious textual influences

that the text exhibits. Naturally, there are significant biblical quotations throughout the text and a perhaps surprising number of classical allusions as well.⁹¹ Other than these texts there are two easily perceptible textual influences in Thietmar's text.

Towards the end of the text we see the inclusion of a significant part of the anonymous text known as the *Tractatus de locis et statu terre ierosolmitane*.⁹² And throughout the text one can find quotations from the earlier pilgrim Burchard of Strasbourg, though the nature and length of these quotations varies from manuscript to manuscript.

The *Tractatus* was a text composed sometime in the 1180s to provide Western readers with some general information regarding the Holy Land. Chief amongst this information were sections pertaining to the various religious groups and peoples which inhabited the Holy Land. The text of the actual document is much more extensive than the information provided in Thietmar's text. That being said, Thietmar's text contains a considerable part of the sections about the Syrians (*Suriani* and therefore Melkites) and Greeks (appearing as a single entry), Jacobites (or Syrian Christians), Georgians, Armenians, Nestorians, Assassins and Bedouins.⁹³ It must be said that Thietmar does challenge the information presented regarding various theological differences between the Greeks and Latins, and that in general his copying represents an extensive abridgement of the original text.⁹⁴ Yet despite these alterations, the text is still a self-evident copy of an original. What is more, the fact that this section appears in all eleven of the extant manuscripts of the text indicates this copied section to have been

⁹¹ What texts such allusions betray knowledge of is unclear, but the nature of these allusions and what they tell us about Thietmar is dealt with in Chapter III, see pp.156-166

⁹² B.Z. Kedar, 'The *Tractatus de locis et statu terre ierosolmitane*', in J. France, and W.G. Zajac, [eds.] *The crusades and their sources: essays presented to Bernard Hamilton*, (Aldershot, 1998), pp.111-133.

⁹³ Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, pp.131-132, Koppitz, pp.172-174.

⁹⁴ This first matter is dealt with in more detail at a later point, see p.237-241.

part of the original and therefore by including this section Thietmar played the role of the copyist.

The evidence of the Burchardian sections is less clear cut. Even in, for example, the Hamburg manuscript there are small elements of Burchard's text implanted into Thietmar's.⁹⁵ The two key additions from Burchard's text into Thietmar's are those associated with Al-Matariyya and the description of the city of Alexandria. From the manuscript evidence it would seem that the Alexandria section, at least, was a later addition to text, as evidenced by the fact that only the "standardised" group two manuscript tradition contains this section. All of the group one manuscripts and the intermediary manuscripts include only the shorter information pertaining to Alexandria. The presence of Burchard's text bound together with all four of these manuscripts also supports the conclusion that later copyists, rather than Thietmar, were responsible for this insertion into the text. The Al-Matariyya section is more complicated. Its inclusion in all four intermediary manuscripts and all four group two manuscripts would suggest it could well have been an integral part of the original text. However, its positioning with the itinerary is problematic. The description appears in the section relating to the area around the Dead Sea far removed from the site's actual location just outside of the city of Cairo. One would think that Thietmar could not be responsible for such a mistake. That being said, Thietmar does place Mount Sion to the South East rather than the South West of Jerusalem, a mistake one would not expect a pilgrim like Thietmar to make. So the incorrect locating of Al-Matariyya may not be such a problem. Indeed, if Thietmar were the copyist then his mistake in locating Al-Matariyya in the region of the Dead Sea could have been the reason for its omission from the group one manuscript. The inclusion of other elements of Burchard's text in

⁹⁵ See for example, Koppitz, p.136. Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, pp.102.

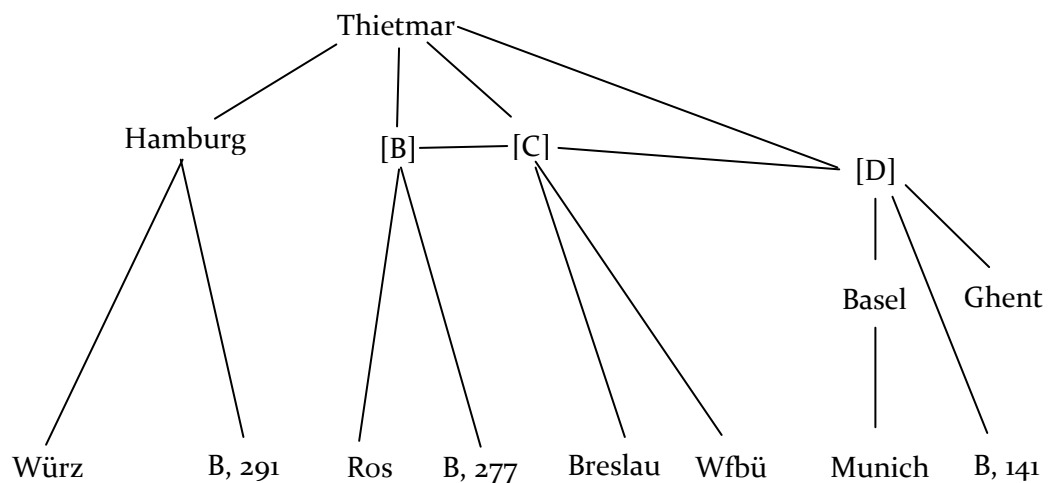
the group one manuscripts demonstrates that Burchard's words found their way into all of the iterations of Thietmar's text. At the same time, the inclusion of Al-Matariyya in these eight manuscripts could also be indicative of scribal errors just as the Alexandria sections in the group two manuscripts. Overall, though the presence of Al-Matariyya in eight out of the eleven manuscripts makes it difficult to ignore the possibility of it being present in at least the earliest forms, if not the original form, of the text.

I think therefore, it is fairly safe to conclude that Thietmar was aware of the text of Burchard when he composed his own. In which case, while the suggestion that Alexandria was a part of an "original text" can be jettisoned, we cannot preclude the possibility of Al-Matariyya having been copied by Thietmar himself. In truth, considering what we have concluded in the case of Saydnaya it would be almost hypocritical not to consider the possibility that an element of the text found in eight out of eleven manuscripts could have been part of the original text. Either way, both of these textual influences show quite clearly that Thietmar was equally capable of plagiarising earlier works in the construction of his text as any later copyist or scribe. With this in mind, I think it is reasonable to assume, for the time being, that both Saydnaya and Al-Matariyya should be considered to have been plausible inclusions into the original text of Thietmar.

Original Text

So where should we look for this "original text"? It should be recognised from the outset that such an endeavour is perhaps futile in a text so altered as Thietmar. There is also the question of whether an original text is really necessary for our consideration of thirteenth-century pilgrimage. Indeed, as the group two manuscripts have demonstrated, those texts which underwent change over time can be just as valuable

in informing us about scribal and cultural practices relating to pilgrimage Texts. They can also reveal what information was deemed important by those from the period in which the copying occurred. The preservation of just the Saint Katherine elements of Thietmar's text in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century vernacular manuscripts discussed by Kathryn Rudy, while not telling us about Thietmar and the thirteenth century, can provide a wealth of knowledge about monasticism and imagined pilgrimages in the later middle ages.⁹⁶ Nevertheless, in an attempt to assess what information we should be considering for discussion of thirteenth-century pilgrimage, let us briefly outline what should now be considered as the manuscripts *stemma codicum* and which manuscript should be considered most useful in any attempt to produce a future edition.



What is clear first and foremost is that the Hamburg text represents a family of three manuscripts, just not the three which Laurent suggested. It comprises primarily the thirteenth-century Hamburg manuscript alongside two fifteenth-century manuscripts, that of Berlin Staatsbibliothek Ms. theol. lat. fol. 291 and Würzburg, Ms. ch. f.39. These manuscripts are typified by their inclusion of the Saydnaya legend, but the omission of the Al-Matariyya section, and for their overall lengthier text. These manuscripts should

⁹⁶ Rudy, *Virtual pilgrimage*, p.49-57.

be termed Group A. Closely related to these are what should be known as Groups B and C. Group B is closely related to the first group in that it represents a text as complete as the Group A manuscripts (for the most part) saving the major omission of the Saydnaya legend and the addition of the Al-Matariyya section. Group C similarly omits the Saydnaya legend and adds the Al-Matariyya section although, overall, the manuscripts are much shorter and more “standardised” than Group A and B. Both of these groups include Saydnaya as part of their itinerary, and the Wolfenbüttel (Wfbü), notably from the shorter of the two groups hints at the presence of the Saydnaya legend at some stage in its evolution. Group B comprises Berlin Staatsbibliothek, Ms. lat. quart. 277 and Rostock Universitätsbibliothek, Cod.Histor.10. Group C comprises Wolfenbüttel Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 42.3, Aug. 2° and Breslau Stadtbibliothek 290/3. Finally, Laurent’s second group of manuscripts, which I now term Group D, should still be considered to comprise a single group representing the text at its most redacted and “standardised” form. Within this group we can see the only easily attestable direct relationship between manuscripts with the provenance of München Universitätsbibliothek, 2° Cod. ms. 102 suggesting that it was a direct copy of the Basel manuscript. Berlin, 141 and Ghent, Ms.486 should be placed alongside these.

Alongside these firm relationships are some more tenuous ones. Whether there is a single or multiple lost versions of Thietmar, from which groups two, three and four are derived, is unknown. What B, C and D are intended to represent is not necessarily three different texts, but rather the slow abridgement and degradation of the text of Thietmar over time. It is important to recognise however that the final level of abridgement, as represented by group four and the “D” manuscript constitutes the early versions of the text after the thirteenth-century Hamburg manuscript suggesting that if a degradation of the text did occur it happened either very quickly or that the process was not linear. Hence, B, C and D could be connected to one another, but at

the same time they could each represent an adaptation of the original. What is clear from this is that a new edition is required to smooth over the remaining, more subtle textual differences. It would seem that any future edition of the text should take as its basis a combination of the Hamburg manuscript, as the earliest Group A text, and both of the fifteenth century manuscripts from Group B. Certainly, the other manuscripts should not be ignored, but overall it is within a combination of these manuscripts that one is most likely to find the text most representative of Thietmar's original.

II. Thietmar and Saydnaya – Person and Text

Considering the evidence of the previous chapter for the re-assimilation of the Saydnaya section of Thietmar's account into our understanding of what might have comprised an original text, it is necessary to attempt to reassess Thietmar's role in the development of the legend of Saydnaya and the West. Even if Thietmar wrote the section with his own hand, he was still copying it, for the most part, from elsewhere. In addressing Thietmar's relationship with the legend we encounter our first confluence of the three parts of our conceptual framework. What this chapter intends to produce is an assessment of the relationship between Person and Text. This chapter will demonstrate that the relationship between pilgrim and texts were symbiotic: Text promoting pilgrimage and pilgrim experience enhancing Text. And while Thietmar or another may have copied the majority of his Saydnaya account from elsewhere, he (or the pilgrim responsible for the description found in his text) also contributed to the development of the Saydnaya legend.

Before embarking on this, it is necessary to recognise the vast amount of literature that has already been produced regarding the monastery of Saydnaya and the legend of the miraculous icon of the Virgin found there. Scholarly interest in the legend seems to have begun in earnest in the late-nineteenth century. In a pair of articles published at the end of the nineteenth century Gaston Raynaud, interested in French vernacular poetry of the High Middle Ages and aware of Old French material regarding Saydnaya in the works of Gautier of Coincy, published a series of Old French songs relating to the legend of Saydnaya.¹ Raynaud's work encouraged further scholarly interest in the

¹ G. Raynaud, 'Le miracle de Sardenay', *Romania*, 11, (1882) pp.519-53 and G. Raynaud, 'Le miracle de Sardenai: article complémentaire', *Romania* 14, (1885) pp.82-93. For the sections in Gautier see Gautier de Coincy, *Les miracles de Nostre Dame*, ed. V.F. Koenig, 4 vols. (Geneva,

legend and its history and in 1906 Peeters published in *Analecta Bollandiana* in which he improved upon the information provided by Raynaud concerning the dissemination of the legend of Saydnaya in Western Europe during the Middle Ages.² In 1943 Enrico Cerulli, in his expansive work investigating legendary information relating to the Virgin Mary in the East and West, published several new texts pertaining to the legend, primarily from Coptic and Ethiopian traditions, but importantly for the discussion of the legend in the West included an anonymous text of the legend found in Vatican Latin manuscript 44.³ In 1947 Paul Devos, as part of a continued interest in Saydnaya amongst the Bollandists, published a pivotal work respecting new versions of the legend. Devos was the first to draw a serious connection between the text of Thietmar and the legend, and as we have seen in the previous chapter, with his publication of Brussels Codex.II.1146 and the account of Guy Chat, Devos challenged the originality of Thietmar's text of the legend.⁴ In more recent times Daniel Baraz, building on the work of Cerulli, added valuable information regarding the earliest versions of the legend in the East and West and similarly Laura Minervini published contemporarily further work on the links between the Eastern versions of the Saydnaya legend and the Western romance counterparts.⁵ Bernard Hamilton has highlighted the connection between the shrine of Saydnaya and the military orders, particularly the Templars.⁶ Finally, and most significantly for our discussion of the

1955-1970). We will not deal with these here as we are interested primarily in the Latin version of the legend.

² P. Peeters, 'La legende de Saïdnaia', *Analecta Bollandiana*, 25, (1906) pp.135-157.

³ E. Cerulli, 'Il libro etiopico dei miracoli di Maria e le sue fonti nelle letterature del medio evo latino', *Studi orientale pubblicati a cura della scuola orientale*, 1, (Rome, 1943).

⁴ Devos, 'La légende de Saïdnaia', pp.245-278.

⁵ D. Baraz, 'The incarnated icon of Saidnaya goes West', *Le Museon*, 108, (1995) pp.181-191 and L. Minervini, 'Leggende del cristiani orientali nelle letterature romanze del medioevo', *Romance Philology*, 49.1, (1995), pp.1-12.

⁶ B. Hamilton, 'Our Lady of Saidnaiya: an Orthodox shrine revered by Muslims and Knights Templar at the times of the Crusades', in Swanson, R.N., [ed.], *The Holy Land and Christian history*, *Studies in Church history*, 36, (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 2000) pp.207-215.

development of the legend overtime, is the work of Benjamin Kedar who has provided, alongside his now famous delineation of various classifications of shared sacred space, the most extensive summary of legendary information relating to Saydnaya in the West in this period.⁷

However, whilst the aspects of the legend have been dealt with, in some part, by all these authors, it is not since Paul Devos that anyone has tried to engage directly with the way in which the legend has developed over time and certainly, while the Templar connection has been stressed, the pilgrimage connection has not. What we intend to do here is address this development and the role which pilgrims played in it. But while the chapter will present the image of a fairly linear progression, it must be recognised that though there is an observable progression over time, this progression was not uniform across Europe. For example, at the same time that Thietmar and Roger of Wendover were sharing what appears to be the fullest version of the Saydnaya legend, Alberic of Trois-Fontaines was still copying and adapting the legend as it had occurred in Europe around the late-twelfth century in a much shorter form.⁸ So while the presentation of the legend's development in what follows may appear linear it must be remembered that the transmission of the legend was much more nuanced than this.

Rather than attempt to cover in the entirety the broad range of texts within which the Saydnaya legend appears, this chapter will focus on just six formative texts from the period c.1180-1250, namely: the account of Burchard of Strasbourg, Cerulli's Vatican Latin Ms. 44, the legend according to the account of Guy Chat, the Anonymous

⁷ Kedar, 'Convergences', pp.59-69.

⁸ Alberic of Trois-Fontaines, 'Chronica', P. Scheffer-Boichorst, [ed.] 'Chronica Albrici Monachi Trium Fontium', in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Scriptorum*, 23, (Hannover, 1874), pp.935-936. Alberic's discussion is extremely short and entered under the year 1234.

Brussels Codex.II.1146, the account as contained in Roger of Wendover's *Flores Historiarum* and finally the pilgrimage account of Thietmar.⁹ What these texts show is that over time and with continued visitors from the West to Saydnaya, the original, quite basic legend became increasingly elaborate and that it was pilgrims, alongside the military orders, who should be seen as chief agents in the alteration and dissemination of the legend. This chapter will take each of these six texts in turn and attempt to address how they represent different phases in the continued evolution of Text and why this evolution occurred.

Burchard of Strasbourg

The earliest account of the shrine of Saydnaya in the West can be found in the account of Burchard of Strasbourg's *De Statu Egypti vel Babylonie*.¹⁰ Burchard travelled to the Holy Land in 1175 as part of a diplomatic mission from Emperor Frederick I to Saladin. The majority of the account is dedicated to Burchard's visit to Egypt (especially Alexandria) and his journey from there, via the Sinai Peninsula, to Damascus. It was as part of this account he wrote about the shrine at Saydnaya. The account details the location of the shrine and a physical description of the icon itself, its dimensions and condition, and its housing inside the monastery. Having provided these details, Burchard then relates the following:

⁹ Burchard of Strasbourg, 'De statu Egypti vel Babylonie', p.406, Cerulli, 'Miracoli di Maria', pp.269-278. Devos, 'Le légende de Saïdnaia', pp.253-259 and pp.272-273, Roger of Wendover, 'Flores historiarum ab anno Domini MCLIV', H.G. Hewlett, [ed.], 'Rogeri de Wendover liber qui dicitur flores historiarum ab anno Domini MCLIV. Annoque Henrici Anglorum regis secundi primo', *Roll Series*. 84 – *The flowers of history* (London, 1886-1889), pp.3-7, and Koppitz, pp.138-142, Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, pp.103-106.

¹⁰ Burchard of Strasbourg, 'De statu Egypti vel Babylonie', p.406. English translations of this section can be found in part in both D. Pringle, *The churches of the crusader kingdom of Jerusalem: a corpus*, vol. II, (Cambridge, 1993-2009), pp.219-220 and Kedar, 'Convergences', (2001) p.64.

‘On this panel there glittered once the painted image of the Blessed Mary, but now – which is wondrous to relate – the picture on the wood is made flesh and oil more fragrant than the odour of balsam spreads from it unceasingly.’¹¹

It was on account of this twofold miracle, described it would seem for the first time in Burchard, that Saydnaya derived its fame. The incarnation of the icon coupled with the subsequent exuding of oil led to sustained interest in the shrine in both the West and East. Interest in the East led to the legend being mentioned in Arabic, Coptic and even Ethiopian sources throughout the medieval period. The nature of the transmission within Eastern sources has been well documented in Daniel Baraz’s article and will not be discussed in detail here. Nonetheless, within the earliest Eastern versions of the legend the information provided is merely confined to the icon’s presence at the shrine and occasionally its incarnation, although this second point is not always included.¹² It is also important to note that the earliest evidence for the textual preservation of the Saydnaya legend in Eastern languages appears in the year 1183, contemporary with the period around which Burchard’s own account was constructed.¹³ From this we can pinpoint the earliest textual occurrence of the legend (as far as the evidence allows us to) to around the latter half of the twelfth century in both the East and the West.

With this in mind, not only does Burchard go further than some of his Eastern contemporaries by discussing the icon’s incarnation and myroblytic properties, he also is the first source to describe for us the process of the icon’s *translatio*. He improves upon the information regarding the incarnation and the oil by adding that the Saracens (*Saraceni*) also congregate at the site on the feast days commemorating

¹¹ Kedar, ‘Convergences’, p.64, Sandoli, ‘Burchard Argentoratensis’, p.406. Latin reads: ‘*In qua tabula effigies beate Virginis aliquando depicta fuit, sed nunc, quod dictum mirabile est, picture super lignum est incarnata et oleum adoriferum super odorem balsami incessanter ex ea manat.*’

¹² Baraz, ‘Incarnated Icon of Saidnaya’, pp.184-190.

¹³ Baraz, ‘Incarnated Icon of Saidnaya’, pp.183.

Mary's Nativity and Assumption, noting that they 'offer their ceremonies with utmost devotion.'¹⁴ Of the *translatio* legend he states:

'Note that this panel was originally made and painted in honour of the Blessed Virgin in Constantinople, and was taken from there to Jerusalem by a certain patriarch. At that time a certain abbess of the above-mentioned place went down to Jerusalem to pray and having obtained the panel from the patriarch of Jerusalem transported it to the church entrusted to her. This was in the year of the Incarnation 870. But for a long time afterwards the holy oil began to issue from it.'¹⁵

In our attempt to chart a gradual progression of this legend in Western texts there are several important elements that must be recognised at this stage. First: the fact that the icon was made and painted in Constantinople; second, that the icon was received from the patriarch at Jerusalem by the abbess at the monastery herself; and finally the dating of the event to the year 870. The association with Constantinople at this stage is of particular importance. If we assume that the information Burchard is providing for his readers is derived from information communicated to him personally at Saydnaya (which we must do considering the lack of any Latin textual evidence for the shrine before Burchard), then what we see here is the monastic community emphasising its direct links with the Orthodox Church hierarchy. In essence, the fact that the icon originated from there provided a fairly remote community with a direct spiritual connection with the Greek Church hierarchy.

¹⁴ Kedar, 'Convergences', p.64, Burchard of Strasbourg, 'De statu Egypti vel Babylonie', p.406. Latin reads: '*Sarraceni ceremonialia sua illuc offerunt cum maxima devotione.*'

¹⁵ Pringle, *Churches*, II, p.220. Burchard of Strasbourg, 'De statu Egypti vel Babylonie', p.406. The Latin reads: '*Nota, hec tabula Constatinopoli primo facta et depicta fuit in honore beate Virginis, et inde a quodam patriarcha Ierosolymam perducta fuit. Tunc temporis quedam abbatissa supra dicti loci causa orationis Ireusalem descenderat, et impetrata tabula a patriarcha Ierosolymitano, eam secum ad ecclesiam sibi commissam transportavit. Fuit autem hoc incarnationis anno 870. Sed postea per multa tempora cepit oleum scarum ex ea manare.*'

As for the date, based purely on Burchard's account of events, it is hard to find any evidence to support the dating provided. However, the date of 870 situates the event in the context of the end of the iconoclast period following the Triumph of Orthodoxy in 843.¹⁶ It is also the period when the Patriarchs of Constantinople Ignatius I (July 847-Oct 858 and Nov 867-Oct 877) and Photius I (Dec 858-Nov 867 and Oct 877-886), both iconophiles, were restoring icons to their place in Constantinople.¹⁷ There is no evidence to suggest that either of these Patriarchs went to Jerusalem. Too little is known about Theodosius the Patriarch of Jerusalem (862-878) to draw any conclusions as to whether it could have been him who transported the icon from Constantinople. It is therefore also impossible to confirm the claims of Burchard that the icon was carried from Constantinople by a Patriarch. However, it is noteworthy that the dating of the icon's arrival coincides with a period of renewed interest in icons as a legitimate source of spiritual power and in a period during which icons were once again viewed as an integral part of Orthodoxy.

This being said, above all, the key evidence which Burchard's account provides is its corroboration of contemporaneous accounts which allows us to date the initial development of the textual legend in both the East and West to around the 1170s. The significance of this is far from clear. Yet, the appearance of the textual legend in both traditions in short succession demonstrates the synchronicity of the development of legendary materials in East and West and, crucially, the speed at which sacred material developed in one context (in this instance a Melkite one) could find its way into another (a Latin one). To see the ways in which these materials could be altered over

¹⁶ 'Triumph of Orthodoxy' in A. Kazhdan, et al. [eds.], *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, vol.2, (Oxford, 1991) pp.2122-2123.

¹⁷ 'Ignatios' in *Dictionary of Byzantium*, vol.2, pp.983-984 and 'Photius' in *Dictionary of Byzantium*, vol.3, pp.1669-1670.

time we now turn to the version of the legend found within Vatican Latin manuscript 44.

The Vatican Manuscript

A text published by Enrico Cerulli in 1943, Vatican Latin ms.44 (Vat.Lat.44 or the Vatican Manuscript hereafter) is of the late twelfth century and contains primarily a copy of the Gospels. However, inserted into the manuscript, following the Gospel of Mark, appears an account of the legend of Saydnaya different to that of Burchard.¹⁸

The Vatican version of the legend is much too lengthy to quote in full here (length being a chief difference between the two texts), but so that the reader can appreciate the differences it is necessary to paraphrase the main components of the legend directly.

The legend begins during the Byzantine period, when a venerable lady from Damascus took monastic vows and forsook the city. Travelling to Saydnaya (*Sardany*),¹⁹ she established a chapel for prayer and a hospice for pilgrims. We are told that one day a certain monk arrived at the hospice from Constantinople and made clear his intentions to carry on to the holy places at Jerusalem. On hearing this, the nun petitioned the monk to return from Jerusalem with an icon of the Virgin Mary, which she could place in her chapel. Accepting the request, the monk departed for Jerusalem, where he worshipped at the holy places. When he attempted to leave without the promised icon an angelic voice reminded the monk of his promise and following this prompting the monk returned to the city to buy the necessary icon.

¹⁸ Cerulli, 'Miracoli di Maria', pp.269-278. A Latin edition of the Saydnaya section of the manuscript can be found in Cerulli, 'Miracoli di Maria', pp.270-272.

¹⁹ Cerulli 'Miracoli di Maria', p.270.

Once again, he set off, this time with the icon in hand and bound for Saydnaya. On arriving at a place (named Mount Gith in the manuscript) he was confronted by a lion with a reputation as a man-eater. Rather than devour the monk, the lion bowed down and licked his feet and the monk proceeded unharmed. His security was short lived however, as further up the road he encountered a group of bandits. Once again the angelic voice interceded and stunned the bandits to the point that they could neither move nor speak, allowing the monk to continue his journey. At this point the monk exhibited his first of many changes of heart, and decided, seeing the icon's miraculous protective power, that rather than fulfil his promise he would return home to Constantinople with the icon still in his possession. With this new objective in mind he went to Acre and took ship with a group bound for Constantinople. After a few days sailing under good wind, a great storm arose forcing the sailors to throw the ship's contents overboard. The monk also attempted to participate in this desperate, lifesaving action and reached for the icon. At this point the angelic voice once again intervened. The monk was commanded not to cast away the icon, but to lift it to heaven. He did so, and immediately the storm ceased and the ship and all those aboard it were saved.

The storm however, had disorientated the sailors sufficiently that their only option was to return to Acre and upon their return the monk resolved to fulfil his promise and set off for Saydnaya. At his arrival he found the hospice filled with pilgrims and himself unrecognised by the nun. Perceiving here, perhaps, another chance to escape home with the icon, the monk went to the chapel to pray. Having done so, he picked up the bag containing the icon and with the intention of leaving turned to find that the doors of the chapel had all disappeared, only to reappear when the bag was once again set on the ground. We are told the monk spent most of the day trying to figure out a way to leave the chapel with the icon and in the end conceded defeat. He found the nun and

confessed all to her. When she heard of the icon she praised God and removing the icon from the bag she positioned it within the chapel. Thereafter, two miracles occur: first, the icon became clothed in flesh as was mentioned in Burchard; second, a priest attempting to move the icon at a later date was struck down with a withered hand and later died. The significance and potential meanings of these miracles will be discussed in full in a later chapter.²⁰ For now it is important to note their inclusion in the legend and the divergences in the text between the account of Burchard and that of the manuscript Vat.Lat.44.

If we begin with the similarities we quickly run out of comparisons. The culmination of the legend still ends, as in Burchard, with the incarnation of the Icon or its being clothed in flesh (*quasi vera carne vestiri*).²¹ The fact that the icon comes from Jerusalem also remains the same. However, unlike Burchard, the Constantinople element of the icon's origin is omitted. Indeed there appears to be a distinctive shift in the focus of the account. The icon in Burchard's version comes from Constantinople, via Jerusalem to Saydnaya, and thus Constantinople plays an important part in the icon's sacred history. With Vat.Lat.44 the role of Constantinople is dramatically reversed. In Burchard's account it functions in a positive way, the icon's and Constantinople's sanctity intertwined through association. In the Vatican manuscript Jerusalem becomes the location from which the icon (and by extension the divine) originates in the journey and Constantinople functions as the place Divine Will prevents the icon from going. But why the change?

It could be a simple unconscious change which developed as the legend did. However, it could also represent a change in tactics of attraction. This second interpretation would rely upon the Vatican manuscript being in some way derived from the

²⁰ See Chapter VI, p.297-333.

²¹ Cerulli 'Miracoli di Maria', p.272.

monastery itself, and the text's own conclusion may provide the required evidence for this assertion. The final section of the Vatican version of the legend runs as follows:

'This [i.e. the account] was taken from a cupboard in Saydnaya and is described truthfully. The priors of the Templars and many other religious both Latins and Germans, clerics and laity, who saw this with their own eyes and touched it with their hands, testify that this is so. It is now over 300 years ago since this glorious icon was first revealed.'²²

Were the statement to be true that the text of the Vatican manuscript was translated from a text found on site at Saydnaya, it would provide a fascinating link to the ways in which legendary information regarding the holy could be transferred from the East to the West. While such a claim may appear surprising, it is not beyond belief considering what we have previously discussed regarding concurrence of the origin of the textual traditions. The earliest Arabic account of the legend found within Mount Sinai, Ar.585 was discovered by Daniel Baraz and dated to the year 1183.²³ True, the text of the Vatican manuscript does not match any of the surviving Arabic texts in terms of content. Yet Burchard's text diverges in many ways from what we know of Arabic versions of the legend at this time.²⁴ Such a difference should, therefore, not be seen as an impediment to believing the Vatican manuscript at its word. Instead, we should recognise the existence of multiple versions of the Saydnaya legend in both the Eastern Christian and Latin Christian contexts around the period of the late twelfth century. What is more, such an admission is unusual for a Medieval Latin text to make, and this

²² Cerulli 'Miracoli di Maria', p.272, my own translation. The Latin reads: '*Ista translata de armario de Sardani veraci stilo descripta. Testantur autem hoc ita esse priores Templariorum et alii religiosi quamplures tam Latini quam Teutonici tam clerici quam laici, qui hoc oculis suis viderunt et manibus tactaverunt. Sunt autem CCC aut plus anni impleti quum primum revelata est ista yconia gloriosa.*'

²³ Baraz, 'Incarnated Icon of Saidnaya' (1995) p.183.

²⁴ Baraz, 'Incarnated Icon of Saidnaya' (1995) p.189.

oddity may be further reason to believe it to be truthful. That is not to say that the Vatican represents a literal translation of a now lost Arabic text, and even if we were to believe the Vatican manuscript, we must accept that a reasonable amount of elaboration occurred in the translation and transmission process. But accepting these claims to be true would also point towards the manuscript representing information, at least loosely, from a Melkite rather than a Latin context. If it is indeed the agency of the monastery pushing an alternative version of the legend then it would suggest that it was the monastery which could have been attempting to devalue the role of Constantinople in the account.

These concluding remarks also help to identify the precise date around which the Vatican manuscript - or the text it was taken from - was created. The statement that 'This was done *over 300* years since the same glorious Icon was first revealed'²⁵ seems rather obscure when the Vatican manuscript is taken in isolation. However, if we accept the dating provided for us by Burchard things begin to fit together. Burchard states that the Icon was transferred to Saydnaya in the year 870 and if we use this dating in conjunction with the 300 plus years it brings us to the year 1170 at least, although the '*over (aut plus)*' would suggest that it was later and therefore contemporary with both the earliest Arabic account and that of Burchard. This dating not only solidifies the Vatican manuscript's position in history (or at least the account that it relates) but also adds credence to the dating provided by Burchard and the fact he received his information regarding Saydnaya at source, though whether it was transmitted to him orally (which is most likely the case) or textually is unclear. It also highlights the diverse range of textual traditions which were beginning to occur in and around the late twelfth century. But what does all of this tell us about the relationship between Text and Person?

²⁵ Cerulli 'Miracoli di Maria', p.272. Emphasis added.

First of all it is clear that towards the end of the twelfth century a varying corpus of legendary material was formulated on site at Saydnaya which Western pilgrims encountered on their visits to the shrine. At some point around this period, one of these versions of the legend, housed in the monastery at Saydnaya, took the step towards a version of the legend that is at least partially represented in the Vatican manuscript and recorded this textually. It was also around this period that someone (or so it would seem), while visiting the shrine of Saydnaya found this text and translated a copy of it which was then transferred to the West where it eventually found its way into the Vatican manuscript. There is of course the question of how this transfer took place from an Arabic source to a Latin one, which would have of course necessitated someone with the ability to conduct the translation. Discovering how this occurred is probably beyond us. What is clear is that visitors to the shrine were the main means by which legendary information regarding Saydnaya was spread. Burchard and this anonymous translator are cases in point. Yet that this was the case is proven by the acknowledgement in the Vatican manuscript that the shrine had already become the target for visitors from a variety of national and institutional groups, the Templars, as we will see, being amongst the most prominent. The mention of Germans (*Teutonici*) is particularly revealing considering our knowledge of Burchard's and Thietmar's visits to the site.

There are several possible explanations, each of which would ignore some information provided in some of the sources. The explanation which, to me, best aligns with the information we have gathered so far is this: the monastery was founded in the period of pre-Arab conquest, by Justinian and dedicated to the Virgin.²⁶ Later in the ninth century this monastery acquired an icon to which miraculous properties were attributed, knowledge of which became widespread in the twelfth century. At around

²⁶ Pringle, *Churches*, II, pp.198-221.

the same time the monastery started to actively publicise itself and we see the first versions of the legend appearing, as represented in Burchard and the Arabic sources. Shortly after this point, a decision was made to change the way in which the legend was presented and make the move away from Constantinople as the point of spiritual authenticity. Instead it chose to rely on the icon's own miraculous properties and the universal spiritual centre of Jerusalem. Such a shift also necessitated an alternative foundation story, as the Justinian story would also have had a Constantinople focus. Hence, Justinian and Byzantine imperial power were replaced by the simple power of monasticism in the tradition of the Desert Fathers. While this change was taking place an individual, coming from the West, copied a version of the new Saydnaya legend which survives in the Vatican manuscript. At the end of this text a postscript was added, detailing from whence the text came, ratifying its validity with the testimony of the Templars amongst others, and inserting the dating of over three hundred years. This dating could have been derived from information which Burchard had brought back to the West, or simply it may be a case of the community at Saydnaya not yet having their story straight. Maybe different groups around Saydnaya were sharing different versions, we cannot know for certain, but this seems to represent the best explanation for the conflict of dates within the text of the Vatican manuscript.

There remains one more unresolved issue. Why did the monastic community feel the need to detach itself from Constantinople around the period of the 1180s? One possible reason is a perceived weakening of the Byzantine influence following the Byzantine defeat at Myriokephalon in 1176, the year following Burchard's visit to the Levant. In this case the unification of Damascus and Egypt in 1174 under Saladin and Manuel Komnenos' death in 1180 and the struggle for succession that followed in Constantinople may have unsettled the monastic community further. Conceivably it was at this point the community at Saydnaya felt the need to disassociate themselves

from the Byzantine power structures. The disenfranchising of Constantinople from its positive role in the legend may have also come as a result of the doctrinal controversies that occurred during the end of the reign of Manuel. However, it could also have been a result of a change or diversification in the legend's target audience. The account of Burchard not only represents the earliest form of the legend of Saydnaya in the West, but also the earliest evidence of Western interest in the shrine. For these new Western patrons Constantinople would not be held in the same regard; Jerusalem on the other hand was universal to all, even Muslims. In this sense, the removal of Constantinople and the elevation of Jerusalem in the narrative demonstrate the monastic community hedging their bets, making sure that this legend, still in its formative stages, would appeal to all. Indeed, at this point it would have been far from certain as to which of the political forces vying for control of the Levant would triumph. If this new form of the legend was supposed to appeal to all the peoples of the Levant equally, so that the monastic community received the support and protection it desired, it was also supposed to demonstrate the support of He who was above all: God.

For this cause, it is at this point that the legend, as it appears in Vat.Lat.44, begins to exhibit the tropes of a traditional *translatio* account. An individual is sent with the express purpose of securing a relic of some description and succeeds in so doing through the help of various miraculous means.²⁷ The addition of the incidents of the lion and bandits adds several elements of the miraculous to the account of Burchard, which in comparison to the Vatican legend, comes across as rather mundane. The introduction of Divine Will and the role it plays in the icon ending its journey at Saydnaya also adds to the impression of the Vat.Lat.44 account functioning as a traditional *translatio* narrative. There is, after all, a distinctive shift in the narrative

²⁷ Regarding the concept of *translatio* as formulaic texts see P. Geary, *Furta Sacra: Thefts of Relics in the Central Middle Ages*, (Princeton: 1990).

perceivable in Vat.Lat.44. This shift is away from a narrative involving the purchasing of an icon by a nun in Jerusalem for her church, to the errand undertaken by a monk on behalf of the nun and completed only through the assistance of the miraculous and divine, is fundamental. All of this points towards a legend in a state of flux as we shall continue to see as we turn to the account of Guy Chat.

The Letter of Guy Chat

The fact that this story was being disseminated during this period is also attested by another document from around the 1180s and this document also shows that the new modified version of the legend was still in its formative stages. The text in question is a letter written in connection with Aymeric Brun, Lord of Montbrun.²⁸ At some point around the late twelfth century Aymeric visited the Holy Land and encountered there a Templar, Gautier de Marangiers, who had recently been released from a Saracen prison. Gautier gave Aymeric some of the oil of Saydnaya, which Aymeric sent back to France with a certain Guy Chat in 1186. The oil was then given to the church of Saint Mary of Altavaux which Aymeric had founded in 1178-1179.²⁹ As part of this foundation Guy Chat wrote an account in order to explain the donation of the oil, as well as present a version of the legend. This text was edited in 1947 by Paul Devos.³⁰

This version begins once again in Saydnaya with a nun who on this occasion encounters a merchant and asks him if he would go to Jerusalem in order to obtain the desired icon. The merchant consented and purchased the icon, but then like the monk in the Vatican manuscript thought it a more desirable course of action to take the icon home with him. However, after several days sailing under a good wind the ship

²⁸ Montbrun-les-Bains. Approximately 80 miles north of Marseilles.

²⁹ Notre-Dame d'Altavaux, in the Commune of Dournazac, Hatue-Vienne, approximately 30 miles South-West of Limoges. Kedar, 'Convergences', (2001) pp.64-65.

³⁰ Devos 'La légende de Saïdnaia' pp.272-278. The Latin of the text can be found pp.272-273.

inexplicably stopped dead in the water and the icon spoke and told the merchant that the ship would not sail any further unless the icon was taken to shore. On telling the sailors this they took the merchant to land where he continued his journey toward Saydnaya. At this point, consistent with Vat.Lat.44, the bearer of the icon encountered a group of bandits. In this version of the legend however these are not undefined and unidentified bandits, but rather Saracen bandits led by an individual named Aschairanos. Once again the icon spoke and the merchant was able to pass through the midst of them unharmed. The account of Guy Chat then sees the merchant arrive at Saydnaya without including the account of the lion. On arrival however, the merchant tries to deny the fact that he possesses the icon at all, but his attempt at subterfuge is foiled when the icon once again speaks, revealing its location within the merchant's bag. The nun, having finally received the icon wrapped it in linens and stored it in an underground location, for fear of the Saracens. While in this place the icon experienced its incarnation, becoming flesh from the navel upwards and emitting oil from its breasts. Following this miracle the local Melkite community built a church in honour of the Virgin so that the icon could be venerated more appropriately, which it was by both Saracens (*Sarraceni*) and Christians.³¹

In understanding the importance of the account of Guy Chat it is vital to note that although it has its differences in comparison to the account of Vat.Lat.44 it shares the same underlying plot to the *translatio*. Essentially, while it does diverge from the Vatican manuscript on some significant points it is clearly derived from the same tradition as opposed to the tradition which Burchard was aware of. That being said, the account of Guy Chat is significantly shorter than the account found in the Vatican manuscript and the main differences should be recognised before going any further.

These are:

³¹ Devos 'La légende de Saïdnaia' pp.273.

1. The replacement in the text of Guy of the monk for a merchant.
2. The introduction of the icon as an agent of its own destiny.
3. The difference in the ships' experiences at sea, the Vat.Lat.44 account relating to a Jonah-esque storm, the Guy Chat version simply stating that the ship was unable to move.
4. The complete omission of the lion incident and the increased detail contained within the bandit encounter.
5. The variation in the details regarding the construction of the Church, with the local population making the decision to build it in order to house the Icon, as opposed to the Church pre-existing the arrival of the icon.
6. The account of the Priest's fatal attempt to move the icon is also omitted.

Given that the Vatican manuscript and Guy Chat's account originate from the same period and both exhibit a knowledge of the same fundamental legendary elements, we must ask why these differences exist at all? The answer can be found in the origins of both versions of the legend. As stated above, at some point in its development the Vatican version has as its source an Eastern version of the legend potentially derived from the monastic records in Saydnaya itself. On the other hand, the process of transmission which the Guy Chat legend underwent before it was recorded textually is quite different. The text tells us that:

‘This was made known to us by one of the order of the Templars, Walter of Marangiers, who was captured by the gentiles, and when he returned from captivity, he travelled through the city of Saydnaya; carrying some of the aforesaid liquid to Jerusalem.’³²

This statement thus reveals several reasons why the account of Guy Chat diverges in places from the contemporary Vatican manuscript. The primary reason is essentially the mode of transmission. The Vatican manuscript, in specifying that it was taken from an archive in the monastery at Saydnaya, indicates to the reader that its own account was from an original; the transmission is, in essence, textual. The account of Guy, we presume, was transmitted verbally from Walter of Marangiers to Aymeric Brun and then subsequently to Guy Chat. The oral nature of transmission, in this case, naturally lends itself to the alterations which can be observed in the account itself, further exacerbated by the number of individuals the account passed through before reaching the manuscripts pages. Additionally, in this instance, the nature of these alterations seems clearly to have derived from the cultural perceptions of the teller. Several of the differences between the account of Guy and the Vatican account can be attributed to the partial “Latinisation” of the account. There is always the possibility that the Guy account represents changes made to the legend by the community in Saydnaya which were never perpetuated in the West due to popularity of the version of the legend represented in the Vatican manuscript. However, the nature of the alterations, I believe, demonstrates quite clearly that the modifications are of Walter, Aymeric and Guy’s making.

³² Devos ‘La légende de Saïdnaia’ p.273, my own translation. The Latin reads: ‘*Contigit igitur unum de militibus Templi, Galterium de Marangiers, qui captus fuerat a gentilibus, cum de captivitate rediret, per urbem Sardenam transire; qui de liquore in Iherusalem attulit.*’

The first alteration which demonstrates the possibility of Latin intervention in the form of the legend is the embellishing of the story of the bandits and the omission of the story of the lion. That the bandits new found racial identification as Saracens could point towards Western preoccupations, and the naming of the leader as Aschairanos sounds like something straight from the *Chansons de Geste*. Yet it could equally be the actual name of a bandit know to the local communities. I have been unable to find any other occurrence of the name Aschairanos, but knowing more information about the way in which this name has been derived may provide additional information pointing towards Western influence into the account. The omission of the lion story is, however, another matter. For an Orthodox monastic community in the Holy Land the concept of lions as beasts that served to demonstrate an impressive level of sanctity was a well-developed hagiographic trope. The importance of the symbol of the lion in Christian thought can be traced back to biblical writings, where the 'lion of Judah' was seen to foreshadow Christ.³³ But Greek hagiography is replete with examples of individuals whose distinct sanctity was shown by the support of lions.³⁴ Throughout the writings of the desert fathers and *Vitae* of various Eastern saints, the lion appears repeatedly to holy men and women, assisting them in their ascetic exploits.³⁵ Perhaps the most famous was the story of Zosimus and the burial of Saint Mary of Egypt. Unable to bury her himself, Zosimus had received help from a passing lion and then further support from lions in his later monastic exploits.³⁶ While some of these hagiographic traditions may have found their way into the West, lions as a

³³ Revelations 5.5.

³⁴ J. Wortley, 'Two Unpublished Psychopelitic Tales', in *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies*, vol.37, (1996) pp.281-300 and A. Jotischky, 'History and Memory as Factors in Greek Orthodox Pilgrimage to the Holy Land under Crusader Rule' in R.N. Swanson [ed.], *The Holy Land, Holy Lands and Christian History*, SCH 36, (Woodbridge: 2000) p.118.

³⁵ Wortley, 'Two Unpublished Psychopelitic Tales', p.293.

³⁶ See A-M Talbot, [ed.], *Holy women of Byzantium: ten saints' lives in English translation*, (Washington DC, 1996) pp.70-94.

hagiographic trope were not prevalent in the West, where lions were of little concern to remote monasteries. This provides no explanation for why Walter, Aymeric or Guy would have intentionally removed the lion incident. What should be said, however, is that if this were an Eastern adaptation of the legend the encounter with the lion would have surely remained.

An argument could be made that the omission of the lion incident may be as a result of the change in protagonist. The lion, as a symbol of sanctity, attends to the monk of the Vatican manuscript, but not to the merchant of Guy's account. However, the monk of the Vatican account is hardly depicted as a paragon of sanctity, constantly attempting to go against the will of God by ignoring the repeated signs that God wished the icon to be at Saydnaya. If the lion's deference is indicative of anyone's or anything's sanctity in the Vatican manuscript it is the sanctity of the icon (and by extension the shrine) rather than the sanctity of the monk. Indeed, in both accounts the icon is just as much the protagonist as the monk or nun or merchant and perhaps even more so in Guy Chat's account in which it becomes thoroughly involved in the decision to be taken to Saydnaya.

In Vat.Lat.44, the voice which intervenes at various points to direct the path of the monk is described as a heavenly or angelic voice (*vox celestis* or *angelica voce*³⁷) and in regard to the incident at sea the text reads: '*dixit ad eum angelus*'.³⁸ There is no direct inference that the voice issues from the icon, but in all cases the voice comes from either heaven or an angel. Contrastingly, in the account as given by Guy Chat it is the icon itself that speaks and directs its own path. In this way the Templar account demonstrates the icon's sanctity through its own ability to influence its fate and fulfil

³⁷ Cerulli 'Miracoli di Maria', p.270.

³⁸ Cerulli 'Miracoli di Maria', p.271.

the will of God.³⁹ The idea that a relic had power to influence its own final destination was well established in Western hagigographical traditions in the mould of Einhard's *translatio* of Marcellinus and Petrus.⁴⁰ Furthermore, the West had little to do with icons and the doctrine surrounding them. In the East the icon acted as a conduit to spiritual power, but in and of itself it was merely a painting. In the West icons were simply categorised alongside relics, and therefore in this instance we see the attribution of relic-like qualities to an item which, in Eastern eyes, did not necessarily warrant them. Of course, we cannot rule out that these changes represent another layer in the legend's early development, as the difference between the Vatican manuscript and Burchard seem to. Nonetheless, what we seem to be witnessing is a version of the legend which has experienced serious cosmetic surgery at the hands of those transmitting it. It would appear that these individuals who originated from a Catholic European cultural milieu changed, innocently and subconsciously perhaps, the text to represent a legend much more in keeping with Western ideals and expectations.

An additional point in this regard relates to the replacement of monk with merchant. For Orthodox Christians, the history of the holy land was rooted in the monastic experience and indeed monastic establishments were the backbone of the Christian communities of Syria and Palestine. As such the monk appears as the natural vessel to carry the icon and to play as the main character of the legend. From a Latin point of view, the merchant (especially a merchant dealing in relics) fits the role more conveniently and is in keeping with their understanding of the tropes of *translatio*

³⁹ Cerulli 'Miracoli di Maria', p.270.

⁴⁰ See P.E., Dutton [ed. & trans.] *Charlemagne's Courtier: The Complete Einhard*, (Toronto: 2009) pp.xxx; 69-83 and Geary, *Furta Sacra*, p.118.

literature in the Einhard tradition.⁴¹ The replacement of monk with merchant is in many ways representative of the same tendency evidenced through the omission of the lion, the introduction of a cognizant icon and the inclusion of specifically Saracen bandits.

All of this points to the conclusion that in the Guy Chat account we have a divergence from the main strand of the legend which was heavily influenced by its Western transmitters. The Vatican manuscript seems to represent a version directly derived from Eastern sources, perhaps from written sources themselves. The Guy Chat version represents a version derived from the same sources, however transmitted orally and altered significantly in the telling and retelling. In both instances, as has been noted elsewhere, it would seem that the military orders, particularly the Templars, played a key part in the transfer of the legend of Saydnaya to the West.⁴² This process presents an intriguing insight into the relationship between Person and Text. What it shows us is that in transferring legendary information, Person could alter the materials to create a Text more in keeping with what they felt their audience would be more interested in. The more levels of transmission this legendary material experienced the more susceptible the material was to modification. Fundamentally, although Place and the people directly associated with that Place were involved with the initial processes of the creation of sacred text, persons travelling to these locations and encountering these legends played an equally profound role in the development of textual understandings of Place and could adapt them to their own needs and interests. This is even the case with the less obviously adapted Vatican manuscript which, without the intervention of those who visited Saydnaya and copied the text, might never have been preserved.

⁴¹ See Dutton, *Charlemagne's Courtier*, pp.xxx and pp.69-83 comparing the role Deusdona in the *translatio*.

⁴² Kedar, 'Convergences', pp.65-69 and Hamilton, 'Our Lady of Saidnaiya', pp.207-215.

Regardless of the changes demonstrated in Guy Chat's account it is important to note that they did not persist in later accounts and by the thirteenth century the accounts of the Saydnaya legend appearing in Catholic Europe used the version as represented in the Vatican manuscript as their model (perhaps emphasising the fact that the differences represent changes generated by Walter, Aymeric and Guy themselves). Despite the presence of this widely accepted model, this did not preclude the addition of more information to the legend and we can see as we move into the thirteenth century that material regarding Saydnaya continued to flow from West to East thanks to the activity of pilgrims.

Brussels Codex, II.1146

This continuing flow of information is characterised by the information provided by three texts from the first half of the thirteenth century, although the chronological ordering of them may be somewhat problematic. One is the *Flores historiarum* of Roger of Wendover, the other is the account of Thietmar as represented in the Hamburg manuscript. The third version of the legend is contained in a text published by Paul Devos, alongside the text of Guy Chat, from a manuscript now held in Brussels and known as Codex II.1146 (henceforth Brux.II.1146 or the Brussels manuscript).⁴³ It is a manuscript of the thirteenth century, although Devos does not provide any information which would allow us to place it either at the beginning, middle or end of the century in question. The account resembles that found in Thietmar as well as Vat.Lat.44, although it is philologically closer to Hamburg 143,b. As we discussed in the previous chapter, the similarities in the manuscripts helped Devos to come to the conclusion that the text contained in Hamburg 143,b was a later interpolation into Thietmar's text and that the Brussels manuscript represented an example of an earlier

⁴³ Devos 'La légende de Saïdnaia' pp.251-259, the Latin text itself is found on pp.253-259.

text from which the scribe of the Hamburg manuscript may have derived that section of the text.

Despite the close relationship between the legends as preserved in the two texts, Brux.II.1146 is still useful in demonstrating a possible next stage in the legend's transmission. The chronology of the texts complicates things somewhat as we have no clear indication in which order they appear. The Hamburg manuscript was composed sometime in the middle of thirteenth century and Roger of Wendover's *Flores* written sometime between 1220 and his death in 1236.⁴⁴ With no precise date for the composition of the Brussels text our decision to look at the Brussels manuscript first was determined less by chronology and more by content, for of the three the Brussels legend is the shortest. Again, as stated from the outset, this discussion is not trying to argue for a linear progression; indeed the Brussels manuscript could instead represent a reduction in the amount of legendary information on Saydnaya. Indeed, texts such as those written by Alberic of Trois-Fontaines and Gautier de Coincy which we do not cover here are perfect examples of where content does not match chronology; they are simpler than one might expect for the period in which they were composed. Nevertheless, in comparing this text with that of the Vatican manuscript and then Roger's text we can continue to see the ways in which the legend was shaped by those who shared it.

For the most part the main body of the legend appears unchanged in terms of content. But it is at this stage in the transmission that certain miracles begin to become appended to the many texts of the legend. In addition to the incarnation of the icon and the incident of the priest being struck down, Brux.II.1146 sees the introduction of a pair of new miracles. The first appears in the main body of the text and involves a

⁴⁴ D. Corner, 'Wendover, Roger of (d. 1236)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford, 2004)

Sultan (*soldani*) who, having lost his sight, goes to the shrine and is cured.⁴⁵ As a result he grants to the shrine sixty measures of oil, a tradition which seems to have continued annually from the time of Nur al-Din. The process whereby new miracles were appended to the legend is most clearly demonstrated by the second new miracle found in Brux.II.1146. Following the explanation of this first miracle, the text appears to draw to a close as evidenced by a number of formulaic endings including an invocation of the trinity. Yet, following this ending we read:

‘But it happened in Damascus in the knight’s prison, that a certain knight beheld his phial [of oil], on the Tuesday before Easter; when he realised that the holy oil had changed to flesh, which seem to us to be a relic (*sanctuarium*), he put his knife to it, and from it, before all there, drops of blood flowed.’⁴⁶

The positioning and the phrasing of this passage are intriguing. This miracle also appears in Roger of Wendover and Thietmar. However, it appears in these two texts in a much more polished form. The text of the Hamburg manuscript and Roger of Wendover are for the most part identical in their wording and although the basic components of the story are evident here, its transmission is clearly different. For the purpose of illustration their texts appears as follows:

⁴⁵ Devos ‘La légende de Saïdnaia’ p.256.

⁴⁶ Devos ‘La légende de Saïdnaia’ p.256. Latin reads: ‘*Contigit autem apud Damascum in prisiona militum, ut quidam mile aspiceret fiolam suam, die martis ante pascha; quod cum cognovisset oleum sacrum mutatum in carne, ut nobis videretur illud sanctuarium, cultello suo defixit, unde coram omnibus gutte sanguinis deflexerunt.*’ My own translation.

Roger of Wendover

‘Eodem anno, feria tertia ante Paschalem solemnitatem, contigit miraculum omni laude dignissimum de oleo imagines matris Dei apud Sardenai in hunc modum. Accidit in carcere militum Christianorum in castro Damasceno, quod miles quidam extraheret de armario sui fiolam unam, in qua posuerat de oleo illo, quod de iconia Dei genitricis apud Sardenai distillate; sed cum diligenter fiolam illam inspexit, in qua oleum reposuerat lucidissimum et velut aquae fontis perspicuum, apparuit in ea oleum incarnatum sed in duas partes divisum, haerebat namque una pars olei inferiori parte fiolae et altera superiori. Miles autem accipiens cultellum suum voluit conjungere partem superiorem cum parte inferiori, sed continuo ut acies cultelli oleum illud incarnatum tetigit, videntibus capellanis militibusque captivis et caeteris universis, guttae sanguinis inde cunctis admirantibus effluerant...’⁴⁷

Thietmar

‘Anno MCCIV ab incarnatione Domini, feria tertia ante Pascha, contigit in carcere militum in fovea Soldani de Damasco, ut quidam miles extraheret phialam unam de oleo sancte Marie de Sardanaia armiolo, in quo reposuerat, ad videndum, et vidit, quod oleum esset incarnatum, sed in duas partes divisum, ita quod una pars olei in inferiore parte phiale, et altera in superiore. Et accipiens cultellum, cum acumine cultelli voluit coniungere superiorem partem inferiori; et ut acie cultelli tetigit oleum, quod in superiori parte phiale pendeat, statim inde gutte sanguineae effluerunt coram capellanis et militibus, qui aderant, et ceteris captivis universis.’⁴⁸

While the texts do diverge to some extent, it is clear from several similarities in expression that they are both relying on a source from a common tradition. The Brussels manuscript presents a different picture and the simplest explanation for this is

⁴⁷ Roger of Wendover, ‘Flores historiarum ab anno Domini MCLIV’, p.3.

⁴⁸ Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, pp.105-106. Koppitz, p.141.

that Brux.II.1146 represents a less well developed, and presumably earlier, version of the legend. In this case, what we see is the appending of new information in Brux.II.1146 to an already existing legend, and the further refinement of this material in Thietmar and Roger so as to fit more satisfactorily with the existing elements of the legend and hagiographic conventions.

In relation to this there is an intriguing insertion into this text that does not appear in either Thietmar or Roger: the phrase '*ut **nobis** videretur illud sanctuarium*'.⁴⁹

Comparing this phrase to the information provided in Thietmar and Roger provides some indication as to where this new miraculous information was derived. Roger and Thietmar both state that knights and chaplains (*capellanis et militibus*) were present at the performance of this miracle. The fact the Brussels manuscript relates this miracle in the first person points towards the fact that the person responsible for the recording of the miracle was one of these knights or chaplains. The existence of this distinction between the two versions of the legend shows quite clearly the way in which Person could influence the development of a Text about places they had visited as a pilgrim. It also stresses, as does the information of Guy, Aymeric and Walter, that the transmission of legendary material was as much the preserve of the laity as it was the clergy, the latter being the ones responsible for the construction of such texts in the this period.

What is also clear is that legends like these were living things, being passed from institution to institution, having new parts added to them as they progressed through Europe which then developed into integral parts of the legend and the text. We can never truly know the levels of book sharing amongst those institutions involved in the creation of manuscripts, but such fluid editing and reediting which the Saydnaya

⁴⁹ Devos 'La légende de Saïdnaia' p.256, my emphasis.

legend reveals may lead us to re-evaluate the level and frequency of these knowledge sharing interactions during the middle ages. This is particularly apparent from our next two case studies, Roger of Wendover and Thietmar, one from England, the other Germany, but both still able to provide very much the same information and show that the legend continued to change and adapt over time.

Roger of Wendover

Roger of Wendover (d.1236), in all probability, was involved in compiling his chronicle between the years of 1220 and his death in 1236.⁵⁰ Nevertheless, in relation to the legend of Saydnaya the important entry is found under the year 1204.⁵¹ The section is entitled 'How the oil of the image of the mother of God wonderfully became flesh' and as well as outlining the incarnation of the icon, Roger details once again the miracle of the incarnated oil which bled when disturbed by the owner's knife.⁵² As we have seen, the account is much more formalised and lengthy than the account found in the Brussels manuscript, demonstrative of the legend's development. Importantly, the dates have become fixed by this point (as also evidenced by Thietmar). In Roger's account the text follows an entry relating a meeting between King John and his nobles on the Feast of the Circumcision (1st January) 1204 with the section beginning: 'In the same year [1204], on third day before Easter [Tuesday], there happened a most wonderful miracle concerning the oil of the image of the mother of God at Saydnaya

⁵⁰ Corner, 'Wendover, Roger of (d.1236)'.

⁵¹ Roger of Wendover, *Flowers of history: comprising the history of England from the descent of the Saxons to AD. 1235, formerly ascribed to Matthew Paris*, vol.2, J.A. Giles, [trans.], (London, 1849), p.209-210, Roger of Wendover, 'Flores historiarum ab anno Domini MCLIV', pp.3-7.

⁵² Roger of Wendover, *Flowers of history*, vol. 2, p.209, Roger of Wendover, 'Flores historiarum ab anno Domini MCLIV', p.3.

[Sardenai].⁵³ The reason behind the attribution of this specific date is hard to discern. In contrast the Brussels manuscript provides no information regarding dating.

More significant when considering the similarity of these accounts is the geographical proximity of the two authors, one from England and the other from central Germany. There is nothing at all to suggest that these two individuals could have met in any capacity and this fact speaks for a much broader distribution of this formalised version of the legend than the textual evidence bears witness for. For Roger, the way in which the Saydnaya legend is introduced bears witness of this spread and suggests that Roger is bringing this miracle to a new audience. Rather than begin with the legend itself, as all other texts do, Roger positioned his discussion in a specific chronological point which the knife-oil miracle provides. This is also shown by the way in which the miracle concludes. At this point Roger states: 'and since many are ignorant of the truth concerning this image of the mother of God, it is most proper that we should relate the origin of it, to those who do not know it, to the praise of the said mother of God.'⁵⁴ In so doing, Roger is clearly emphasising the fact that this information is something he considers his audiences would be unaware of, speaking to the dissemination of the legend throughout Europe during this period. It also demonstrates how a diverse range of authors could access and use the same version of a text, at different times and in different places across Europe, and that in each instance these authors copied the versions of the legend which they were aware of. In essence, Place influenced Person who influenced Text which in turn not only influenced additional visits to place and

⁵³ Roger of Wendover, *Flowers of history*, vol. 2, p.209, Roger of Wendover, 'Flores historiarum ab anno Domini MCLIV', p.3.

⁵⁴ Roger of Wendover, *Flowers of history*, vol. 2, pp.209-210, Roger of Wendover, 'Flores historiarum ab anno Domini MCLIV', p.3. Latin reads: '*Et quoniam plerique de hac matris Dei imagine veritatem ignorant, dignissimum est, ut, quam habuit originem, ad laudem eiusdem matris Dei nescientibus referamus.*'

the supplementing of text with new information, but also influenced other texts. This process is no more clearly seen than in the text of Thietmar.

Thietmar

While our discussion of the manuscripts could not definitively conclude that the Saydnaya section of the text was an integral part of the original text of Thietmar (though its presence seems more likely than previous scholarship has suggested), the text of the Saydnaya legend as represented, primarily, by the Hamburg text of Thietmar does provide us with what seems to be a final stage in the text's development. What should not be forgotten is that although all of Chapter V of Hamburg 143,b is clearly taken from elsewhere, Chapter VI represents an original composition. The question is not whether a pilgrim recorded this information; rather whether that pilgrim was Thietmar. In this final section we will assess what this new information can tell us about the development of legendary material and the relationship between Person and the creation of Texts pertaining to Place.

To begin with, the text of Hamburg 143,b runs along extremely similar lines to Brux.II.1146, and there are only slight variations in the text's philological construction. The miracles at the end of the account are also extremely similar to the miracles found in Roger of Wendover, and certainly demonstrate that both these texts are building on the tradition that Brux.II.1146 represents. However, it is in the miracles that the chief divergence of the Hamburg text is found. Following the account of the miracle of the Sultan's prison in Damascus, the section concludes with an 'Amen' and Laurent indicates the beginnings of a new chapter.⁵⁵ This chapter contains several pieces of information regarding Saydnaya not found in these earlier texts. There appears the suggestion that Saracens are unable to live in the area around Saydnaya due to what

⁵⁵ Laurent, *Magister Thietmari*, p.18.

seems to be the protection of Mary and some vague reference to some undetermined past event. There also appears the observation that the region around Saydnaya was in possession of great amounts of wine, which the Saracens are not allowed to partake of. As interesting as these additions are, there is also another miracle. This miracle recounts how a Saracen woman attended the shrine when a great multitude of people were there. When she reached the icon she realised that she had not brought anything with her that would allow her to carry home some of the oil that flowed from the holy icon. In her distress she caused quite a commotion, filling 'the whole church with loud wailing and lamentations'.⁵⁶ The disturbance was soon ended however, as the Virgin took pity on the woman and caused a full ampulla of oil to appear in her hand. As far as I have been able to make out, this miracle does not occur in any of the earlier versions of the legend. It represents quite clearly yet another addition to the textual history of the legend of Saydnaya.

There are two conclusions which can be drawn from the evidence of Thietmar's pilgrimage text. The first relates to the process of gathering miraculous material in the West. Before anything else, we must appreciate that chapter V of Thietmar's text represents material which more than likely predates his pilgrimage, certainly the composition of the text. If we put to one side the suggestion made earlier that Thietmar could be the copyists and assume that it indeed was a later scribe who transcribed the legend of Saydnaya into Thietmar's account then we must ask ourselves how the scribe came by this additional miraculous information? Given what we have suggested in relation to the other texts in this process, it seems fair to conclude that this information must have been transmitted by someone coming from Saydnaya (perhaps a Templar but also possibly a pilgrim) back to the West. Whether

⁵⁶ Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, p.106, Koppitz, p.141. Latin reads: '*Unde planctu maximo et eiultau totam repleuit ecclesiam...*'

the encounter between this individual and the scribe was chance or orchestrated, what appears to have occurred is the scribe appending the information of this new traveller onto the information of the established legend. This represents a perfect example of the way in which Text evolved over time as a result of continued visits to a shrine. There is, of course, the possibility that the scribe himself was the pilgrim. This leads naturally into the second conclusion, and back to the conclusions of the previous chapter, that Thietmar himself may have been the copyist. If this were the case, then the process is potentially more profound. The indication that this new miracle occurred on the feast of Our Lady (1st January)⁵⁷ would fit in with our understanding of the timing of Thietmar's visit to Saydnaya.⁵⁷ If Thietmar was the copyist then his own visit to Saydnaya and his inclusion of the legend as part of his account implies that Thietmar was aware of the Saydnaya legend *before* his pilgrimage. In this case, Thietmar's awareness of Text led to him visiting Place, but his own visit to Place allowed him (Person) to expand, enhance and adapt the very Text that inspired pilgrimage. The precise circumstances surrounding the inclusion of the Saydnaya legend in the text of Thietmar are shrouded in the mysteries of textual transmissions. Yet, this supposition aligns with what we have previously suggested regarding the role of Text in influencing Person and Person influencing Text.

⁵⁷ Although this may be simply coincidence, it could also indicate Thietmar was present for the occurrence of the miracle. For the timing of the pilgrimage see Chapter III, p.126-127. Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, p.106, Koppitz, p.141.

Part II – Person and Place

III. Thietmar as Person

‘Ego, Thietmarus, in remissionem peccatorum meorum cruce Domini signatus et munitus cum peregrinis meis peregre proficiscentibus domo peregre sum profectus.’¹

So begins Thietmar’s *Peregrinatio*, and with this statement he provides the first and only clear piece of information regarding his identity. Thereafter, we are given nothing which can provide us with a concrete impression of Thietmar’s profession, point of origin, or anything else about his character. If we are to appreciate anything about the person behind the name we must unfortunately rely on what can only be described as a series of educated guesses. That is not to say that such an exercise is futile, but we must remain aware that all of what follows cannot be presented as definitive. This chapter will be dedicated to answering four questions. Firstly, where did Thietmar come from? Second, what were his reasons for going on pilgrimage? Third, is there any indication as to his background and identity within the pages of his account? And finally, who did Thietmar have in mind when composing his pilgrimage account? Answering these questions will assist us in understanding the reasons for the individuality of Thietmar’s account, whilst also allowing us to draw out some of the seemingly essential characteristics of Holy Land pilgrimage in the thirteenth century.

¹ Koppitz, p.127. Pringle translates this: ‘I, Thietmar, for the remission of my sins, signed with and protected by the cross, set out reluctantly from home along with my pilgrims, who set out with similar misgivings’, Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, p.93. It is not entirely clear from where Pringle derives the *reluctantly* in this translation. It should also be noted at this point that the modern transliteration of Thietmar only appears in one of the extant manuscripts and indeed the spelling of Thietmar (although reasonably consistent) can vary slightly from one text to another. *Thetmarus* is by far the most commonly occurring spelling found in Basel, B.X, 35, Berlin, 277, Ghent, 486, Munich, ms.102, and Wolfenbüttel, Cod. Gud. 42, 3. But it is also rendered Thi[etmarus] in Hamburg, 143, b; Tethmar[us] in Rostock; Themarus in Berlin, 291; Detmar[us] in Berlin, 141; Dithmar[us] in Breslau, 290/3; and Ditmar[us] in Würzburg, Uni.39. I have chosen to retain the modern English transliteration for the sake of familiarity with the reader.

Where did Thietmar come from?

One thing that can be concluded confidently is Thietmar's place of origin. Immediately, his name would suggest his originating from the German-speaking areas of medieval Europe and this suggestion is further corroborated by an incident recited by Thietmar whilst he was in Damascus. During his stay there he explains he had wanted to see certain captives who were being held in the Sultan's Pit (*fovea Soldani*). His guide advised against this and instead, being too scared to go against this advice, Thietmar communicated with these individuals via intermediaries. As a result he received a purse (*bursam*) from a knight of Swabia. He also mentions seeing many Christian and German (*Teutonicos*) captives throughout the city, which Pringle suggests may have been taken captive earlier in 1217 outside Acre.² He states that he recognised two such prisoners, one an individual from Wernigerode and the other a knight from Quedlinburg named John.³ All of this enhances the idea that Thietmar was from the Empire and more precisely we can surmise, as Pringle and others have, that he came from what was then the Duchy of Saxony.⁴ The geographical proximity of Wernigerode and Quedlinburg,⁵ and the fact that Thietmar records the name of the knight from Quedlinburg could allow us to be even more specific in identifying his origins. Indeed, the naming of the knight as John could suggest not only that Thietmar was familiar with the individual, but that his audience was as well. If this was indeed the case, it could provide an explanation for certain aspects of Thietmar's writing, a point which we will return to later. Nevertheless, the identification of Thietmar as a German, and the more tentative suggestion that he came from the area around Quedlingberg, seem safe assumptions.

² Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, p.102.

³Koppitz, p.137, Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, p.102.

⁴ Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, p.27.

⁵ They are around eighteen miles distance from one another.

It is worth mentioning that the dating of his pilgrimage is clearly attested within the text itself. Thietmar states himself that he arrived in Acre in 1217 during a time of a treaty between the Saracens and the Christians.⁶ We know that there had been a treaty in place between the Muslims and the Christians which was due to come to an end in July 1217.⁷ Furthermore, traditional sailing times meant that under normal circumstances ships left the West between the end of March and early April and arrived four to six weeks later in mid to late April and early May.⁸ Thietmar also tells us that he spent a month in Acre during this time of truce, putting his arrival date at somewhere between late April and the beginning of June 1217.⁹ We remain ignorant as to how long he stayed in the Holy Land but, during his discussion of Damascus, Thietmar does mention St. Martin's Day (11th November) and seems to have observed Ramadan which, in 1217, was in December.¹⁰ Whilst the mention of Ramadan does not strictly place Thietmar in Damascus at this time (indeed he states himself he was there for just six days)¹¹ what it does tell us is that he was probably still in the Holy Land in 1218, given the amount of time it would have taken him to travel from Damascus to Mount Sinai. Indeed, this is confirmed by his own statement that he travelled through

⁶ Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, pp.95-96. Koppitz, pp.127-128.

⁷ This treaty had been concluded between John of Brienne and Al-Adil, see J. Powell, *The anatomy of a crusade, 1213-1221*, (Philadelphia, 1986), p.28.

⁸ J.H. Pryor, *Geography, technology and war: studies in the maritime history of the Mediterranean, 649-1571* (Cambridge, 1992)pp.3-4.

⁹ Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, p.95, Koppitz, p.127.

¹⁰ Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, p.101, Koppitz, pp.135-136. Thietmar states: *Temporibus ieiuniorum ieiunant usque ad crepusculum, et ex tunc tota nocte vel quocienscumque possunt comedunt. Sunt autem quidam precones in turribus constituti, qui nocibus proclamant in hunc modum: Surguite, qui ieiunastis! Laute comedite, reficite vos!* [In times of fasting they fast until dusk and from then onwards for the whole night they eat as much as they can. However, there are certain criers stationed in towers, who during the nights shout out like this: 'Arise, you who fast! Eat sumptuously, refresh yourselves!'] Pringle seems to take Thietmar at his word. The problem is, however, that if he was in Damascus for six days, one of which was the 11th November then he could not have been at Damascus during Ramadan which was in December in 1217, unless of course it was part of a return journey. That said, Thietmar could simply be using his discussion of Damascus as an opportunity to talk about Islam generally, a point we will consider later on (see, pp.282-295).

¹¹ Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, p.101, Koppitz, p.135

desert on the way to the Red Sea at 'winter time'.¹² While Thietmar's journey time could, perhaps, be extrapolated from distances and routes, this would of course not take into account any pauses in his journey. It is therefore impossible to say exactly how long he would have been in the Holy Land for. With an appreciation of both the dating of his pilgrimage and the probable geographical context from which Thietmar originated we can now turn to discussing the motivations for his travel.

Why did Thietmar go on pilgrimage?

Relying on the text itself and by extending the above-quoted opening statement to include more of Thietmar's introduction we can begin to see quite clearly his motivation for going on pilgrimage to the Holy Land:

'I, Thietmar, for the remission of my sins, signed with and protected by the [Lord's] cross, set out [...] from home along with my pilgrims [...]. Having passed through dangers both of the sea and of land, which to my fragility were great but in comparison to divine retribution nothing, I arrived in Acre. For a month or more while I remained there and the land meanwhile recovered its breath a little in the peace resulting from treaties made between the Saracens and the Christians, I took it upon myself to ponder what sort of thing the spirit is, because it is not of this world, and to what it aspires, namely good works and from good works eternal life. Therefore, so that from idleness and the delights of the flesh, which strive against the spirit, I should not incline myself to worse, but on the contrary should gain life from labours of the flesh, I resolved in my heart to visit, in so far as I was able, the places that Our Lord Jesus Christ, true God and Man, true Son of the true God and of man, had

¹² Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, p.122, Koppitz, p.161. Latin reads: '*In valle ista tempore hyemis me iter agente tantus erat estus, ut vix sustinere possem.*'

sealed and sanctified with His bodily footprints, those which our venerable fathers inhabited, as is revealed in the Pentateuch, and the dwellings dedicated to the saints lying within them. For I burned greatly with ardent desire to see personally those things, which at different times I had heard from the scriptures in cloudy and obscure language. ¹³

From this, if we assume a certain amount of honesty on behalf of the author, we can observe a threefold motivation for Thietmar's Holy Land pilgrimage: his desire for a remission of sins; as a method for avoiding idleness and engaging in good works; and a desire to personally see the sites of Christian sacred history and thereby to gain a better understanding of the events described in sacred texts. We shall deal with each of these in turn, albeit in reverse order.

I. Seeing Personally

In expressing a desire to enhance his understanding of sacred space and text through the medium of sight, Thietmar is here embracing a long-recognised motivation for undertaking pilgrimage to the Holy Land. Certainly, a quest for a better understanding of scripture had motivated pilgrims from the very beginning. Melito of Sardis, in many ways a proto-pilgrim, visited Jerusalem in around 160CE in order to consult original

¹³ Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, p.95, Koppitz, pp.127-128. Latin reads: '*Ego, Thietmarus, in remissionem peccatorum meorum cruce Domini signatus et munitus cum peregrinis meis peregre proficiscentibus domo peregre sum profectus. Transcursis autem tam maris quam terre periculis, que ad meam fragilitatem multum erant, sed in comparatione divine retributionis nihil, usque Accon perveni. Ubi dum per mensem vel amplius fecissem, et terra adhuc inter Sarracenos et Christianos in pace treugis interpositis aliquantulum respiraret: animadverti, qualem spiritum, quia non de hoc mundo, et adquid, hoc est ad labores, et [ex] laboribus ad eternam vitam accepissem. Ne ergo ex ocio et deliciis carnis, que adversus spiritum concupiscit, ad deteriora vergerem, immo ex laboribus carnis animam lucrifacerem, sedit animo meo, ut loca, que Dominus noster Ihesus Christus, verus Deus et homo, verus veri Dei filius et hominis, vestigiis suis corporaliter sigillavit et sanctificavit, que etiam venerabiles patres nostri, sicut in Pentateuco reperitur, inhabitabant, et limina sanctorum inibi requiescentium, quoad potui, visitarem. Multum enim estuavi et ardentem desideravi videre personaliter, que in nube et enigmatate.'*

copies of scripture and thereby improve his understanding of sacred text.¹⁴ Although, Melito's experience was entirely textual, increasingly, as Christianity began to reluctantly embrace the idea of Place pilgrimage, we see pilgrims arriving in the Holy Land in an attempt to verify Text through experiencing Place. Whilst all the senses could facilitate such an experience, by far the most commonly encountered in pilgrimage accounts is the act of seeing and the benefits of seeing the Holy Land in person are often reiterated in medieval texts.¹⁵ Egeria, who visited the Holy Land sometime in the 380s, is certainly a classic example of a Holy Land pilgrim whose physical experience with the Holy Land is designed to enhance or verify her experience with sacred text. Egeria's account is replete with statements that she saw places she visited 'as we are told in the bible'.¹⁶

But in many ways this act of seeing is contradictory. The land seen is not necessarily an actual landscape, but rather an imaginary or textual landscape which was then mapped onto the physical reality encountered by the pilgrim in the Holy Land.¹⁷ Nevertheless, the act of seeing, even if it was a historical past being observed, was an important

¹⁴ See Morris, *Sepulchre of Christ*, pp.10-11, Sumption, *Pilgrimage*, p.89 and Webb, *Medieval European pilgrimage*, p.1.

¹⁵ See D.J. Birch, *Pilgrimage to Rome in the middle ages: continuity and change*, (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 1998), p.5, Davies, *Pilgrimage yesterday and today*, pp.28-32, G. Frank, *The memory of the eyes: pilgrims to living saints in Christian late antiquity*, (Berkeley, 2000), C. Hahn, 'Seeing and believing: the construction of sanctity in early-medieval saints' shrines', *Speculum*, 72.4, (1997), pp.1079-1106, M.W. Labarge, *Medieval travellers: the rich and restless*, (London, 1984), p.68, Limor, 'Holy journey', pp.324-325, 350-351; Sumption, *Pilgrimage*, p.92, and P. Zumthor, 'The medieval travel narrative', *New literary history*, 4.2, (1994), p.810.

¹⁶ Wilkinson, *Egeria's travels*, pp.105, 107, 109, 110.

¹⁷ For a specific discussion of this in Egeria, see Campbell, *The witness and the other*, pp.17-31. For a more general discussion see G. Bowman, 'Contemporary Christian pilgrimage to the Holy Land', in A. O'Mahony, [ed.], *The Christian heritage in the Holy Land*, (London, 1995) pp.303-304, Limor, 'Holy journey', pp.324-325-350-351 and Wilkinson, *Jerusalem pilgrims before the crusades*, pp.40-42. Regarding Christian mapping process see B. Hamilton, 'The impact of crusader Jerusalem on Western Christendom', *The Catholic historical review*, 80.4, (1994), pp.695-713, J. Praver, *The Latin kingdom of Jerusalem: European colonialism in the Middle Ages*, (London, 1972), p.195 and J.A. Smith, ' "My Lord's native land": mapping the Christian Holy Land', *Church history*, 76.1, (2007), pp.1-31.

element or motivation for Holy Land pilgrimage. This is shown throughout other pieces of pilgrimage literature from the medieval period. Jacinthus, a Presbyter, possibly from Spain, who travelled to the Holy Land before the tenth century stated:

‘I, Jacinthus, consecrated in God’s name, call God to witness how greatly I longed *to see* the most holy places where our Lord was born, and where he bore his sufferings for the whole world.’¹⁸

Twelfth-century accounts again record the importance of seeing. Daniel the Russian Abbot who travelled to the Holy Land between 1106 and 1108 states:

‘urged by my own imagination and impatience, [I] conceived a desire *to see* the holy city of Jerusalem and the promised land... and all of this *I saw* with my own sinful eyes, and merciful God *let me see* what I had long desired in my thoughts.’¹⁹

Such sentiments are improved upon by another Orthodox pilgrim, the Greek John Phocas, who travelled to the Holy Land in 1185, when he says of his reasons for writing his account:

‘If no representation is ever equal to the original experience, I shall clearly provide less delight than is to be gained *by seeing*. What then is the reason? I think it will more teach those who have not shared in these excellent places with *their eyes*, or those who from time to time have heard about the places from the words of those who have not examined them.’²⁰

We are also able to find similar statements in Latin pilgrims of the same period.

Theoderic, who travelled to the Holy Land in 1169, mentions the importance of seeing

¹⁸ Wilkinson, *Jerusalem pilgrims before the crusades*, p.11, 123. In all the following extracts the emphasis is my own.

¹⁹ Wilkinson, *Jerusalem pilgrims, 1099-1187*, p.120.

²⁰ Wilkinson, *Jerusalem pilgrims, 1099-1187*, pp.316-317.

in connection with those who are unable to see these sites personally. Indeed, he realises the worth of his account as being to:

‘satisfy... the wishes of those who cannot personally follow us there, and cannot reach the places *with their eyes* or hear them with their ears.’²¹

Theoderic’s near contemporary, John of Würzburg, again states the importance of being able to see the sites of the Holy Land and like Theoderic he also recognises that those unable to see with physical eyes can access them through their mind’s eye by the reading of his pilgrimage account.²² Furthermore, in the thirteenth century, we find these ideas perpetuated in the account of the Dominican Friar Riccoldo of Monte Croce, who writes:

‘I began my pilgrimage and crossed over the sea, so that *I might see in person* those places that Christ bodily visited, especially the place where He deigned to die for the salvation of humankind, so that the memory of His passion might *be impressed on my mind* more firmly...’²³

The importance of seeing both physically and mentally the sacred spaces of the Holy Land finds its greatest expression, in thirteenth-century pilgrimage texts, in the words of Burchard of Mount Sion who expressed the following:

²¹ Wilkinson, *Jerusalem pilgrims, 1099-1187*, p.274, Huygens, *Peregrinationes Tres*, p.143. The Latin reads: ‘*ut desiderii eorum, qui, cum corporali gressu illuc sequi non possunt, in declaratione eorum, que visu nequeunt attingere, vel auditu percipiant, pro posse satisfaciamus.*’

²² Wilkinson, *Jerusalem pilgrims, 1099-1187*, p.244, Huygens, *Peregrinationes Tres*, p.79.

²³ Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, p.362. Riccoldo of Monte Croce, ‘Liber peregrinationis’, Kappler, R., [ed.], *Riccold de Monte Croce: pérégrination en Terre Sainte et au proche Orient, texte et traduction. Lettres sur la chute de Saint-Jean d’Acre, traduction*, (Paris, 1997), p.38. Latin reads: ‘*incipens peregrinationem transiui mare ut loca illa corporaliter uiderem, que Christus corporaliter uisitauit et maxime locum in quo pro salute humani generis mori dignatus est ut memoria passionis eius in mente mea imprimeretur tenacius et sanguis Christi pro nostra salute effusus esset in robur et firmamentum ad predicandum...*’

‘As St Jerome tells us, when we read in ancient histories of certain people who have wandered through provinces and crossed the sea in order *to see placed before their own eyes* those things that they had learnt from books... what wonder is it if Christians should desire *to see and visit* that land of which all Christ’s churches speak of? The ancients venerated the holy of holies... Is not the tomb of Jesus Christ more worthy of our respect, which whenever one enters one *sees in the mind’s eye* the Saviour wrapped in linen cloth?... What Christian having *seen* these things would not hasten to come to Bethlehem to contemplate the Child crying in the manger...? Afterwards he may return to Jerusalem and *see and hear Jesus preaching* in the Temple, teaching the disciples on the Mount of Olives, dining on Mount Sion, washing the disciples’ feet, giving up His body and blood, praying in Gethsemane, perspiring with bloody sweat, kissing the traitor, being led away a prisoner, scoffed at, spat upon, judged, carrying the cross, stumbling under the weight of the cross in the city gate... being relieved by Simon of Cyrene and celebrating the mysteries of the passion for us on Calvary. The memory of each and every one of these places is still as complete and clear as it was on the day when things were done in their presence’²⁴

²⁴ Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, p.241-242. Burchard of Mount Sion, ‘Descriptio terrae sanctae’, Laurent, J.C.M., [ed.] *Peregrinatores medii aevi quatuor: Burchardus de Monte Sion, Ricoldus de Monte Crucis, Odoricus de Foro Julii, Wilbrandus de Oldenburg*, (Leipzig, 1864), pp.19-20. Latin reads: ‘Cum in ueteribus historiis legamus, sicut dicit beatus Ieronimus, quondam lustrasse prouincas, maria transfretasse, ut ea, que ex libris nouerant, coram posita uiderant...quid mirum, si Christiani terram illam, quam Christi sonant ecclesie uniuerse, uidere et uisitare desiderant? Uenerabantur antiqua sancta sanctorum...nonne apud nos uenerabilis est sepulcrum Ihesu Christi, quod quociens quis ingreditur, tociens inuolutum sindone mentis oculis uidet Saluatorem?...Quis Christianus hijs uisis non festinet uenire Bethlehem, contemplanus pueram in presepio uagientem...Redeat postea in Ierusalem, ut uideat et auidat in templo Ihesum predicantem, in monte oliueti discipulos instruentem, in monte Sion cenantem, discipulorum pedes lauantem, corpus Suum et sanguinem tradentem, in Gethsemani orantem, sudore sanguineo defluentem, traditorem osculantem, captum trahi, illudi, conspui, iudicatum, crucem

Burchard's statement demonstrates a wonderful blend of seeing and imagining and demonstrates that imagined pilgrimage was not just the preoccupation of stay-at-home, armchair pilgrims, but that all pilgrimage displayed an element of the imagined journey, through time as well as space. Burchard's pilgrimage here is a chance for him to travel not only to the Holy Land, but also back to a New Testament past. What is more, Burchard's articulation of the process of seeing is profound.

It seems the first stage in Burchard's process was that the sites themselves observed or were witnesses to the events they commemorate. This is expressed in the final line of the above quoted extract: *'Horum omnium locorum et singulorum adhuc ita plena et manifesta exstat memoria, sicut in illo die exstitit, quando presencialiter erant facta.'* It is almost as if Burchard is suggesting that the sites themselves have seen these events, and consequently anyone who sees the sites is able to access these images, through the mind's eye, as Burchard so vividly describes. As sacred space stands as a literal witness, so too the pilgrim becomes a witness of these events. Furthermore, as the pilgrim preserves this witness in text, others can participate in the act of seeing both vicariously and textually. They are able to use the mind's eye to perceive sacred space far removed in time and space and are able to literally see the description of it preserved as physical words on a page.²⁵ There exists, therefore, layer upon layer of witnessing and seeing (both literally and mystically) embedded in the way in which Person, Place and Text interact. Indeed, Burchard makes the connection of Text facilitating a shared vision when he states:

baiulantem, sub pondere crucis in porta ciuitatis, sicut hodie cernitur, deficientem, Cyreneum Simonem succedentem, in Caluaria pro nobis mysteria passionis celebrantem. Horum omnium locorum et singulorum adhuc ita plena et manifesta exstat memoria, sicut in illo die exstitit, quando presencialiter erant facta.'

²⁵ Frank, *Memory of the eyes*, p.102: 'All travel writing is a form of seeing for the reader, who must rely on the eyes of another'.

‘Seeing, however, that some people are affected by a desire to picture for themselves in some degree at least those things that they are unable to look upon face to face and wanting to satisfy their wish as far as I can, I have inspected, diligently recorded and studiously described as far as I have been able that land through which I have frequently passed on foot.’²⁶

Therefore, in suggesting that he was travelling to the Holy Land to see personally the things he had heard in scripture, Thietmar was expressing a familiar trope of pilgrimage. This engagement also extended to his motivations for writing his account. Although, unlike John of Würzburg, Theoderic and Burchard, to name but a few, whose accounts are written, ostensibly, for the benefit of others, Thietmar appears to have written his account for his own benefit, so that he could continue to see long after his pilgrimage:

‘I considered it not unuseful to commit to writing what I saw and accurately learnt from truthful witnesses, lest suddenly by the smoke of oblivion I should not preserve artificially by the little aide-mémoire of something written down that which I was not able to remember naturally.’²⁷

Again we observe the same process represented, the act of seeing is recorded so that the memory of the seen can be preserved, to be “seen” again at a later date. Although this process of seeing might not have been fully comprehended by all pilgrim authors, or even pilgrims, the weight of evidence suggests that the act of seeing represented a

²⁶ Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, p.242. Burchard of Mont Sion, ‘Descriptio terrae sanctae’, p.20. Latin reads: ‘*Uerum uidens quosdam affici desiderio ea saltem aliquantulum imaginari, que non possunt precencialiter intueri, et cupiens eorum desiderio satisfacere, quantum possum, terram ipsam, quam pedibus meis pluries pertransiui, quantam potui, consideravi, et notavi diligenter, et studiose descripsi...*’ On the connection between the textual recording of experiences and memory see M. Carruthers, *The book of memory: a study of memory in medieval culture*, (Cambridge, 1990).

²⁷ Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, p.95; Koppitz, p.128. Latin reads: ‘*non inutile duxi, que viderem et veraciter a veredictis intelligerem, scripto commendare, ne, oblivionis fumo subrepente, quod per naturam non possem, artificialiter alicuius scripti adminiculo memorie non reservarem.*’

fundamental motivation for not just Thietmar's pilgrimage, but Holy Land pilgrimage throughout the Middle Ages.

Thietmar's identification of what he desired to see is revealing. His desire to illuminate his understanding of sacred text reaffirms the connection between pilgrim experience and exposure to textual traditions before embarking on pilgrimage. Furthermore, Thietmar categorises the textual traditions into three parts. First, the places which Christ 'sealed and sanctified with His bodily footprints'; secondly, those places inhabited by 'venerable fathers' of the Bible, specifically the Pentateuch; and finally, 'dwellings dedicated to the saints'.²⁸ Whilst Christ and sites associated with him are clearly at the forefront of Thietmar's thinking, at this stage of the text, this delineation demonstrates the manifold levels of attraction that the Holy Land had for some pilgrims in the thirteenth century. So often we think of Holy Land pilgrimage as simply involving sites with biblical associations, but the Holy Land offered more than this. Indeed, as we shall see as we look at Thietmar's divergent experiences with Saint Katherine and the city of Jerusalem, some pilgrims seem to have come to the Holy Land with the express intention of visiting or rather seeing non-biblical, non-Christocentric sites.

This can be evidenced, in part, by Thietmar's own description of the tomb of St Katherine in which he states that he saw the saint 'clearly saw, face to face, and without dubiety'.²⁹ The introduction of the phrase 'without dubiety' (*sine ambiguo*) also confirms that the motivation behind this act of seeing was one of understanding and

²⁸ Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, p.95; Koppitz, *Thietmari*, p.127.

²⁹ Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, p.125; Koppitz, *Thietmari*, p.165. Latin reads: 'Cum episcopus loci illius intelligeret desiderium meum et causam adventus mei...accessit ad sarcophagum beate Katerine virginis, et aperuit, et mihi introspicere precepit. Et vidi perspicue facie ad faciem sine ambiguo corpus beate Katerine...'

confirming the presence of the holy or sacred at a shrine or tomb, be it St Katherine's or Christ's. For Thietmar, the act of seeing was therefore not confined to just the biblical past. Instead, seeing was something related to encountering the holy more generally and was as much about confirmation of the reality of the holy (*sine ambiguo*) as much as clarifying meaning and enhancing understanding. Nonetheless, it demonstrates clearly that seeing personally the sites of the Holy Land represented a fundamental motivation for undertaking a pilgrimage to the Levant during the Middle Ages.

II. Avoiding Idleness

As well as desiring to see those sites associated with Christian sacred history, Thietmar also depicts pilgrimage as a means of combating certain vices, in particular idleness (*ocio*) and the delights of flesh (*deliciis carnis*).³⁰ Indeed, according to Thietmar, not only was pilgrimage a way to combat such vices, but in and of itself a good work. In expressing this sentiment Thietmar is not alone among thirteenth-century pilgrims. Riccoldo of Monte Croce also states that:

'I thought, I repeat, that it would not be wise to sit idly around and not experience something of the hardship of poverty and lengthy pilgrimage, especially when I turned over in my mind what long and laborious pilgrimages I had undertaken while still living in the world, in order to learn those worldly sciences that people call liberal.'³¹

Despite the occurrence of this justification for pilgrimage in the works of both Thietmar and Riccoldo, we must still wonder why it was that they felt the need to

³⁰ Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, p.95. Koppitz, p.127.

³¹ Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, p.361. Riccoldo of Monte Croce, 'Liber peregrinationis', pp.37-38. Latin reads: *Cogitavi, inquam, non esse tutum quod ego longo tempore sederem et otiosus essem et non probarem aliquid de labore paupertatis et longe peregrinationes, maxime cum in mente mea reuoluerem quas longas et laboriosas peregrinationes adsumpseram adhuc secularis existens, ut addiscerem illas seculares scientias quas liberales appellant.'*

present such a justification alongside the, perhaps, more common ideas of salvation and seeing. Despite its popularity in the medieval world, we must recognise that originally, and even in the thirteenth century, pilgrimage to holy places was an act that held an ambiguous position in Christian thought, especially when it came to clerics performing such journeys.

It is not necessary to give a full account of opposition to pilgrimage in medieval Christian thought,³² but it must be recognised that Christianity's relationship to holy places has been extremely complex from the very beginning. Jerome is perhaps the best example of the early stages of this conflict, for whilst he stated in one moment that he would challenge those who suggested that Jerusalem was accursed on the basis that Paul had rushed to observe Pentecost there, he also advocated that the divine could be accessed as easily in Britain as at Jerusalem and that what was really commendable was not to have been to Jerusalem but to have lived well there.³³ Based upon her reading of the works of Augustine and Gregory Nyssa, Brouria Bitton-Ashkelony has argued that despite their seemingly different opinions on the matter 'neither of these figures rejected pilgrimage as a pattern of religious behaviour; rather they rejected Jerusalem or disregarded the city as a centre for pilgrimage'.³⁴ The relationship between these ideas was extremely complex. Indeed, early Christian thinking is typified by the conflict between and merging of, that which Dee Dyas has called, 'life pilgrimage' and 'place pilgrimage'; that pilgrimage should be an internal

³² For a discussion of this see: M. Borgolte, 'Augenlust im Land der Ungläubigen', *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft*, 58, (2010), pp.598-600, G. Constable, 'Opposition to pilgrimage in the middle ages', *Studia Gratiana*, 19.1, (1976), pp.125-146, Dyas, *Pilgrimage*, pp.1-56, Webb, *Medieval European pilgrimage*, pp.71-77, and C.K. Zacher, *Curiosity and pilgrimage: the literature of discovery in fourteenth-century England*, (Baltimore, 1976).

³³ Morris, *Sepulchre of Christ*, p.48, Renna, *Jerusalem in medieval thought*, pp.18-19.

³⁴ B. Bitton-Ashkelony, 'The attitudes of Church Fathers toward pilgrimage to Jerusalem in the fourth and fifth centuries', in Levine, *Jerusalem: its sanctity and centrality*, pp.188-203. Quote taken from p.201.

journey back to God rather than a specific journey to a specific place.³⁵ Even as the idea of 'life pilgrimage' began to be, to some extent, subsumed into 'place pilgrimage', other criticisms aimed at pilgrimage, or the way in which pilgrimage was undertaken began to develop. Chief among these criticisms was the accusation that pilgrimage was performed merely to satisfy the vice of curiosity (*curiositas*) or in the wrong frame of mind. Pilgrimage performed for the sake of seeing the sights was inherently criticised by many medieval thinkers.³⁶ Of course, this presents somewhat of a paradox for the pilgrim in that they desire to see, but that seeing cannot be motivated by curiosity. Moreover writers like Bernard of Clairvaux and Jacques de Vitry were adamant that pilgrimage should be performed in the proper spirit of contrition and penitence.³⁷

Within this context, we can begin to understand Thietmar's desire to portray his pilgrimage as being performed in the correct manner, in this instance as a remedy for idleness. We see this desire to present pilgrimages performed in the correct spirit expressed through the medium of varying justifications in pilgrimage literature of the period. Most commonly it appears as a common humility trope. Saewulf refers to himself as unworthy and sinful (*licet indignus et peccator*) and presents this unworthiness as his reason for being unable to sail to the Holy Land by a more direct route.³⁸ Theoderic goes as far as to call himself 'the dung of all monks'.³⁹ The most extreme case of this can be found in the account of Daniel the Russian, who in the prologue of his account goes as far as to say that: 'I have travelled that holy road

³⁵ Dyas, *Pilgrimage*, pp.3-6.

³⁶ Borgolte, 'Augenlust', pp.598-600, Constable, 'Opposition to pilgrimage', pp.125-146 and Zacher, *Curiosity and pilgrimage*, pp.1-59.

³⁷ D.J. Birch, 'Jacques de Vitry and the ideology of pilgrimage' in Stopford, *Pilgrimage explored*, pp.79-93 and Zacher, *Curiosity and pilgrimage*, pp.23-27.

³⁸ Wilkinson, *Jerusalem pilgrims, 1099-1187*, p.94, Huygens, *Peregrinationes Tres*, pp.59-77.

³⁹ Wilkinson, *Jerusalem pilgrims, 1099-1187*, p.274, Huygens, *Peregrinationes Tres*, pp.143-197 Latin reads: 'Omnium tam monachorum quam Christianorum peripsima.'

unworthily, with every kind of sloth and weakness, in drunkenness and doing every kind of unworthy deed... *I did nothing good on my journey.*⁴⁰

Daniel's attempts at humility take him to the point where he seems to suggest that he represents the quintessential delinquent pilgrim. The only reason that his pilgrimage was of any worth is that he was attempting to produce an account of the holy places for the benefit of others.⁴¹ To some extent all of this is representative of the traditional humility tropes evident across all types of medieval literature. But within pilgrimage literature it fulfils a secondary objective; that of justifying pilgrimage. Such a justification would have been all the more important for those pilgrims coming from a monastic background considering the importance placed on the idea of *stabilitas* among so many monastic rules. In fact, most criticism of pilgrimage in the High Middle ages was aimed at members of the clergy since 'place pilgrimage' was seen as the remit of the laity.⁴² Such preoccupations certainly seem to explain Thietmar's statement about idleness, but in Daniel's and Theoderic's statements there is perhaps the hint of something more profound and it must be stressed that in a world where sin and hell were constant fixations for many, we cannot rule out that these sentiments are genuinely expressed, that they are indicative of some of the emotions that pilgrimage, and associated thoughts of salvation and damnation, could produce. As we will see directly, pilgrimage and sin (or the remission of it) were closely connected ideas in the medieval thought.

Nevertheless, what seems to be clear is that pilgrim authors often felt the need to justify not only the writing of their pilgrimage account, but more generally their

⁴⁰ Wilkinson, *Jerusalem pilgrims, 1099-1187*, pp.120-121, my emphasis.

⁴¹ Wilkinson, *Jerusalem pilgrims, 1099-1187*, p.120-121.

⁴² See footnote 37. Also, Constable 'Opposition to pilgrimage', pp.125-146.

engagement in pilgrim activities. Therefore, when Thietmar states he performed his pilgrimage as a remedy for idleness and as a good work it may be less demonstrative of his motivations for going on pilgrimage, but rather of his preoccupations as a writer. Within Thietmar's text, we see these concerns, on occasion, rise to the surface. One such incident occurs while Thietmar is on the shores of the Red Sea:

‘However, I found on the shore of the sea wonderful and delightful mussel and snail shells and stones similarly of the utmost beauty and whiteness in the form of stag horns and golden in colour; also stones appearing as if sculpted, but naturally rather than artificially. But among all these things that gave so much delight I shrank back, because excess is the mother of satiety and all these things, these delectable things, were excessive.’⁴³

Earlier on in his account, Thietmar appears much less able to resist temptation. This time confronted with violets in the middle of winter he remarks: ‘And I saw fresh violets and on account of my astonishment (*admirabilem*) bought myself some.’⁴⁴ In these distractions we see Thietmar being pulled away from his devotional focus and drawn into the realms of *curiositas* which those who would follow him, from the fourteen century onward, would be more inclined towards.⁴⁵ Indeed, the seashell incident shows that Thietmar was aware of the potential problems posed by these distractions. One question which must remain unanswered here is the extent to which Thietmar was actually affected by these concerns, or whether he felt the need to express such concerns in order to deflect potential criticism of his pilgrimage.

⁴³ Pringle, pp.122-123, Koppitz, p.161-162. Latin reads: ‘*Inveni autem in littore huius maris conchas et ocleas mirabiles et delectabiles et lapides similiter pulcherrimos et albissimos ad modum cornuum cervorum et aurei coloris; quosdam eciam quasi sculptos, sed naturaliter, ac si artificialiter. In quibus omnibus quam plurimum delectabar, verum quia nimietas est mater sacietatis, hec omnia, licet delectabilia, quia nimia, fastidivi.*’

⁴⁴ Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, p.101, Koppitz, p.135. Latin reads: ‘*Et violas recentes vidi, et propter rem admirabilem mihi emi.*’

⁴⁵ Zacher, *Curiosity and pilgrimage*, pp.4-12.

Nevertheless these, perhaps, subconscious concerns surface once again in Thietmar's telling discussion of the Islamic practice of the Hajj, during which he states:

'Saracen pilgrims set out from abroad from different parts and distant regions – and as solemnly and in such numbers as Christians go in pilgrimage to the Lord's Holy Sepulchre. But neither rich nor poor are admitted unless they give a gold piece. There [i.e. in Mecca] *deed finds more favour than the intention*: gold is demanded more than a contrite heart.'⁴⁶

Such criticism regarding the manner in which Muslims conducted themselves during pilgrimage, as with much of what Thietmar tells us about Islam, tells us more about Thietmar and Western patterns of thinking than it does about Islam specifically. In many ways Islam, in Thietmar's text, operates as the 'Other' against which to construct his own identity.⁴⁷ More needs to be said about this trend, and we will turn to this at a later point. For now it suffices to say that Thietmar's disparaging remarks about the conduct of Islamic pilgrimage further enhances our understanding of his own concerns about ensuring that his pilgrimage was completed in the right frame of mind. That is to say, it was his intentions, his inward state or the contrition of his heart, which determined whether or not his pilgrimage was a success.

Having said this, we must not forget that Thietmar's mentioning of such factors reflects his concerns about what his audience might think as well as his own concerns. This should remind us that when dealing with pilgrimage accounts we are not just

⁴⁶ Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, p.130. My emphasis. Koppitz, p.170. Latin reads: '*ad quam peregre proficiscuntur de diversis partibus et longinquis regionibus peregrini sarraceni, et tam celebriter, ut ad sanctum sepulchrum Domini peregrinantur Christiani. Sed nec dives nec pauper admittitur, nisi det aureum denarium. Ibi plus effectus placet, quam affectus; plus aurum requiritur, quam cor contritum.*'

⁴⁷ For a discussion of the West's tendency to do this see, for example: M. Uebel, 'Unthinking the monster: twelfth-century responses to Saracen alterity', in J.J. Cohen, [ed.], *Monster theory: reading culture*, (Minneapolis, 1996), pp.264-291.

dealing with straight forward accounts of pilgrimage, but also with issues of authorial intent, textual construction and the demands of audience who, in this case, may not have agreed that pilgrimage was necessarily a profitable undertaking.

III. Remitting Sins

While some rejected the positive effects of pilgrimage, increasingly in this period pilgrimage properly performed was seen as a penitential activity. The concept of penitential pilgrimage had developed sometime around the ninth century and the ideas associated with this type of religious travel quickly gathered support throughout Europe.⁴⁸ To say, therefore, that Thietmar travelled with the intention of receiving a remission of his sins is hardly surprising and would barely be worth mentioning, except for the context in which it occurs. What is unusual about Thietmar is that his expectation for remission of sins is mentioned in the same breath as his statement that he was signed and protected by the Lord's cross (*in remissionem peccatorum meorum cruce Domini signatus et munitus*).⁴⁹ The process of being signed with the cross was a development intrinsically connected with the crusading movement and the ideas of *imitatio Christi* which the crusade promoted. Indeed, from the inception of the crusades, ideas of penance and crusading and with them penitential pilgrimage were inextricably linked.⁵⁰ Not only did the crusades firmly equate the concept of *imitatio Christi* with the idea of pilgrimage, but the issuing of a plenary indulgence by Urban II

⁴⁸ Birch, 'Jacques de Vitry' pp.83-87, Hamilton, *Practice of penance*, p.173, Oldfield, *Sanctity and pilgrimage*, pp.181 and 208, Praver, *Latin kingdom of Jerusalem*, p.194, Sumption, *Pilgrimage*, pp.98-113, Webb, *Medieval European pilgrimage*, pp.44-77 and Webb, *Pilgrims and pilgrimage*, pp.51-83.

⁴⁹ Koppitz, p.127.

⁵⁰ For discussions of the links between pilgrimage and crusading see, Mayer, *The crusades*, , pp.13-14 and 23-31, Riley-Smith, *The first crusade*, pp.22-24, Purkis, *Crusading spirituality*, pp.59-67, Praver, *Latin kingdom of Jerusalem*, p.7-10 and Sumption, *Pilgrimage*, pp.137-145. An interesting discussion of the evolution of Christian spiritual travel from pilgrimage to crusade to missionizing can be found in J. Elsner, and J.-P. Rubiés, [eds.] *Voyages and visions: towards a cultural history of travel*, (London, 1999), pp.1-47.

at Clermont in 1095, which was repeated for subsequent crusades, would continue to have an enormous effect on pilgrimage for years to come.⁵¹

Nevertheless, within a twelfth- and thirteenth-century context, the process of taking the cross (which included the wearing of a cross as a reminder of a crusading vow and the concepts of *Imitatio Christi* which the cross represented) has traditionally been seen as the feature of crusaders, or armed pilgrims, rather than more conventional unarmed pilgrims.⁵² I do not have the space here to enter into a discussion on what did and did not constitute a crusade or crusader. Indeed, such a discussion has already occupied a great many historians for a considerable amount of time.⁵³ However, the extent to which there was a real confluence of crusading and pilgrimage traditions has been the matter of some debate and must concern us here. Though pilgrimage and crusading undeniably influenced one another, they have still been considered by many to represent separate traditions.⁵⁴

One of the main issues is the language which medieval writers used to describe 'crusades' and 'crusaders'. While there existed several ways to express the idea that an individual was going on crusade, one of the accepted ways of describing a crusader was

⁵¹ For a discussion of the influence of crusading concepts of *Imitatio Christi* on pilgrimage see Purkis, *Crusading Spirituality*, pp.59-67 and Oldfield, *Sanctity and pilgrimage*, p.182. In terms of the indulgences, the effects were not limited to the Holy Land, the institution of Jubilee Years and the accompanying indulgences are just one example of this, see Sumption, *Pilgrimage*, pp.137-144 and Davies, *Pilgrimage yesterday and today*, pp.15-16. For a more general discussion of the links between pilgrimage and penance see Hamilton, *Practice of penance*, pp.4-7 and 173 as well as Sumption, *Pilgrimage*, p.98-109, Webb, *Pilgrims and pilgrimage*, pp.15-16 and Gabriele, *An empire of memory*, p.92.

⁵² As argued by Prawer, *Latin kingdom of Jerusalem*, p.192-198.

⁵³ See G. Constable, *Crusaders and crusading in the twelfth century*, (Farnham, 2008), C.J. Tyerman, *The debate on the crusades*, (Manchester, 2011) and T. Madden, [ed.] *The crusades: the essential readings*, (Oxford, 2002), pp.1-9.

⁵⁴ Prawer, *Latin kingdom of Jerusalem*, p.192-198, although this has been perhaps less so in recent historiography. See once again Mayer, *The crusades*, 13-14, 23-31, Riley-Smith, *The first crusade*, pp.22-24 and Purkis, *Crusading spirituality*, pp.59-67.

by use of the appellation *peregrinus*.⁵⁵ Of course, the standard English translation of *peregrinus* is pilgrim, but we must also understand that in the medieval period (although this was more true of the earlier period than the thirteenth century), the meaning of the word *peregrinus* was not uniform. It could mean traveller, foreigner or exile and while its meaning did develop towards our current understanding throughout the Middle Ages, pilgrim (in the strict sense) was not the only meaning of *peregrinus*, just as *peregrinus* was not the only way to describe a crusader.⁵⁶ The use of *peregrinus* in a monastic setting to connote the soul of a monk on its journey home to its celestial homeland is just a single, but extremely prevalent, example.⁵⁷ Most recently Janus Møller Jensen has complicated the matter further by suggesting that *peregrinatio* still meant simply a journey at the time of the first crusade.⁵⁸ All of this may appear to be simple quibbling over semantics, and the more the question of definition is studied the further away we appear to be from a definitive answer. One thing that should be said is that the title of *peregrinus* is deserving of the same critical attention that ‘crusader’ has had. I believe that as we come to understand the term *peregrinus* and its various medieval meanings more intently our understanding of those who used this term to describe themselves will also be enhanced.⁵⁹ That said, even if we may never fully comprehend what medieval people understood when they used certain vocabulary, we must recognise that ‘pilgrim’ and ‘crusader’ are titles which are problematic at best. What concerns us here, therefore, is less the debate surrounding the definition of crusades and crusaders or pilgrims and pilgrimages, but

⁵⁵ Mayer, *The crusades*, p.14.

⁵⁶ For various uses of the word pilgrimage see Dyas, *Pilgrimage*, pp.1-3, Webb, *Pilgrimage in medieval England*, p.xii.

⁵⁷ See Renna, *Jerusalem in medieval thought*.

⁵⁸ J.M. Jensen, ‘*Peregrinatio sive expeditio*: why the first crusade was not a pilgrimage’, *Al-Masāq*, 15.2, (2003), pp.119-137.

⁵⁹ Unfortunately this is a whole research project in and of itself and one which I will leave for another time and place.

more the extent to which the traditions of crusading and pilgrimage developed distinctly. Central to this issue, in relation to the text of Thietmar, is whether a cross-bearer could still be a conventionally understood pilgrim. If this is the case, does Thietmar stand alone as a cross-bearing pilgrim?

First, it should be noted that recent scholarship has challenged the traditional idea of the cross being a symbol reserved for crusaders. Contesting the ideas presented by Michael Markowski in his 1984 article, Walker Cosgrove has recently questioned the idea that the term *crucesignatus*, the medieval term most clearly recognisable as denoting a crusader, was at all uniform, demonstrating that at the time of Innocent III a range of terms were used to describe crusaders in Innocent's communications and that *crucesignatus*, by the beginning of the thirteenth century, was far from being understood as a universal term to describe crusaders.⁶⁰ Furthermore, Christopher Tyerman and more recently William Purkis have noted the extent to which the custom of cross bearing was practised by both armed and unarmed pilgrims. Tyerman has emphasised that between 1096 and 1270 "crusading" language was deployed repeatedly outside crusade related literature. He has noted that the Crutched Friars took the title *crucesignati*. Additionally, Bishop Fulk of Toulouse's White Company of 1209 and devotees of St Cuthbert were known to have worn crosses. Furthermore, he also notes how in 1208 St. Dominic forced penitent heretics to wear crosses, a practice that was also used by the Inquisition, and that fourteenth-century former heretics were often designated *crucesignati*, all of which seems to link the wearing of the cross or the title *crucesignati* as a sign of religious orders and the receipt of penance rather than any

⁶⁰ See M. Markowski, 'Crucesignatus: its origins and early usage', *Journal of medieval history*, 10, (1984) pp.157-165 for the original argument and W.R. Cosgrove, 'Crucesignatus: a refinement or merely one more term among many?', in T.F. Madden, J.L. Naus, and V. Ryan, [eds.] *Crusades – medieval worlds in conflict*, (Farnham, Surrey, 2010) pp.95-107 for the response.

particular form of activity like crusading.⁶¹ Additionally, Tyerman cites the example of Robert Almer as a unarmed pilgrim who went to the Holy Land bearing a cross in the fifteenth century.⁶² To these examples, William Purkis added that the act of cross bearing had been retrospectively applied in the twelfth century to eleventh-century figures such as Fulk Nerra, Bishop of Altmann of Passau and Godric of Finchale.⁶³ He has also highlighted evidence from the text of the pilgrimage account of Theoderic, who travelled to the Holy Land in 1169, that pilgrims would bring crosses with them and leave them on Calvary, presumably, as a sign that they had completed their pilgrimage.⁶⁴ Giles Constable has also provided examples of images in art and architecture of the twelfth century of unarmed pilgrims bearing crosses.⁶⁵

Additionally, the *vita* of Saint Nicholas of Trani, as discussed by Paul Oldfield, is yet another example of a pilgrim bearing a cross.⁶⁶ What is interesting is the process of Nicholas' canonisation and the dating of his *vita*'s composition. To this example I am also able to add the case of the Life of Davino of Lucca, whose *vita* states that he left on his pilgrimage '*Tollens itaque Cruce Domini, hoc modo secutus est Dominum Redemptorem*'.⁶⁷ Both of these *vitae* can be dated to around 1100 and perhaps speak of the speed at which Urban's ideas might have spread from crusading to pilgrimage. Certainly, this says something about contemporary conceptions of the first crusade as

⁶¹ C.J. Tyerman, *The invention of the crusades*, (Basingstoke, Hants, 1998), pp.50-77.

⁶² Tyerman, *Invention*, p.79.

⁶³ Purkis, *Crusading spirituality*, p.63, Tyerman also put forward the example of Godric, Tyerman, *Invention*, p.79.

⁶⁴ Purkis, *Crusading spirituality*, p.62, Wilkinson, *Jerusalem pilgrims, 1099-1187*, p.286.

⁶⁵ Constable, *Crusaders and crusading*, pp.63-85.

⁶⁶ Though his cross-bearing was a little more literal than most, his *vita* describes how he walked around the city of Trani accompanied by his followers, in the weeks preceding his death, carrying a cross on his back. P. Oldfield, 'Saint Nicholas the pilgrim and the city of Trani between Greeks and Normans, c.1090-1140', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 30, (2007), pp.168-181. See also Oldfield, *Sanctity and pilgrimage*.

⁶⁷ My sincere thanks to Adrian Cornell du Houx for this reference. See, *The Life of Davino of Lucca: De s. Davino*, Acta sanctorum, Iunii, I, pp. 327-36, at c.2, p. 330.

a pilgrimage, although we do not have the space here discuss this matter in full. What must be said is that while wearing the cross was certainly a development from the crusaders, crusades and crusaders did not have a monopoly over the wearing or bearing of Christ's cross.

The cross however was in many ways simply representative of the wider devotional trend to see the crusade, and also pilgrimage, as a form of *Imitatio Christi*. Such sentiments are clearly expressed, once again, in the account of Theoderic:

'...In order that in reading it or having it read he may learn to have Christ always in mind. Having him in mind he must be eager to love. Loving him, who suffered for him, he must suffer with him. Suffering he must be filled with desires. Being filled with desire he must be absolved from his sins. Absolved from his sin he must follow his grace. And following his grace he must reach the kingdom of heaven.'⁶⁸

In many ways this expresses perfectly what Thietmar and other pilgrims hoped to achieve by imitating Christ. The suffering would be achieved through the hardships of pilgrimage, which led, ultimately, to the absolution of sins. Furthermore, such a Christo-centric view of pilgrimage can be observed in Theoderic's contemporary John of Würzburg. The weight of John's account is organised following the events of the passion, rather than geographically following the pattern of his pilgrimage itinerary.⁶⁹ John's account was a textual reconstruction of the geography of the passion, allowing

⁶⁸ Wilkinson, *Jerusalem pilgrims, 1099-1187*, p.274, Huygens, *Peregrinationes Tres*, p.143. Latin reads: 'ut ex hac ipsa lectione sive narratione Christum in memoria semper discat habere et eum in memoria retinens studeat amare, amando ei, qui pro se passus est, compatiatur, compatiens eius desiderio accendatur, desiderio ipsius accensus a peccatis absolvatur, a peccatis absolutus gratiam ipsius consequatur, gratiam ipsius consecutus regnum celeste adipiscatur.'

⁶⁹ Wilkinson, *Jerusalem pilgrims, 1099-1187*, pp.244-273, Huygens, *Peregrinationes Tres*, pp.79-138.

the reader to mystically experience Christ's passion. Concepts of *Imitatio Christi* were central to the way in which Theoderic and John thought about pilgrimage. These examples are by no means exhaustive, but highlight the extent to which the cross was used as a symbol by non-crusaders, just as easily as crusaders.

All of this speaks of what Tyerman has referred to as a fluidity of symbols,⁷⁰ and what Constable has called the 'multivalent symbol [of] the cross'.⁷¹ Such fluidity has also recently been emphasised by Celicia Gaposchkin, who in considering such rites of departure for crusaders has demonstrated that until Durandus' canonical reforms of the late-thirteenth century there was no universal, clear-cut liturgical expression of crusading at the curia and that local custom prevailed. What is more, local liturgical customs for crusading rites of passage appear as amalgamations of scrip/staff blessings, usually associated with pilgrimage, and either traditional cross blessings, blessings of arms or even blessings of military standards which were already in use.⁷² Furthermore, it demonstrates a long continuity and continued merging of traditions pertaining to pilgrimage and crusading throughout the period of the High Middle Ages.⁷³ In this context, Thietmar's assertion that he was signed with the cross does not seem as incongruous as some might think. What is striking is that in all the pilgrimage accounts of the twelfth and thirteenth century, it is only Thietmar who specifically states that he went on pilgrimage signed with the cross. We know from other sources that he was not the only cross-bearing, unarmed pilgrim in this period and we must therefore look for other explanations for Thietmar's statement and the absence of something similar among his contemporaries.

⁷⁰ Tyerman, *Invention*, p.77.

⁷¹ Constable, *Crusaders and crusading*, p.86.

⁷² M.C. Gaposchkin, 'From pilgrimage to crusade: the liturgy of departure, 1095-1300', *Speculum*, 88.1, (2013), pp.44-91.

⁷³ Gaposchkin, 'Liturgy of departure', p.47-79.

One approach would be to look at reasons for the silence among other pilgrim authors during the period. This could be for any number of reasons, none of which are very satisfactory. It could be that as pilgrimage accounts were rarely demonstrably self-conscious, the author felt that knowledge of whether the pilgrim did or did not wear a cross would have been unimportant.⁷⁴ As Colin Morris has observed, 'the aim of most [pilgrimage] writers was not self-expression'.⁷⁵ Of course, there is always the chance that none of the individuals who went on pilgrimage and produced an account in this period were cross-bearing. But this is all little more than conjecture. Rather than trying to explain the absence of explicit cross-bearing symbolism in other accounts of the period, a more fruitful approach would be to ask whether there existed any particular reasons for why Thietmar did in fact state that he was signed with the Lord's cross and here there is an obvious answer.

Thietmar's account is one of the few pilgrimage accounts whose dating coincides directly with a call to crusade. The fifth crusade had of course been preached 1213 with the issuing of the *Quia Maior* by Innocent III and was repeated by the issuing of the *Ad Liberandam* in 1215 alongside the decrees of the Fourth Lateran Council. Whilst the decree of the *Ad Liberandam* seems to focus on armed pilgrims rather than unarmed ones, the closing of the decree appears extremely vague as to who it applies to. It states:

'We therefore, trusting in the mercy of almighty God and in the authority of the blessed Apostles Peter and Paul, do grant, by the power of binding and loosing that God has conferred upon us, albeit unworthy, unto all those who undertake this work in person and at their own expense, full pardon for their sins about which they

⁷⁴ Howard, *Writers and pilgrims*, p.85.

⁷⁵ Morris, 'Pilgrimage to Jerusalem', p.149.

are heartily contrite and have spoken in confession, and we promise them an increase of eternal life at the recompensing of the just; also to those who do not go there in person but send suitable men at their own expense, according to their means and status, and likewise to those who go in person at others' expense, we grant full pardon for their sins. We wish and grant to share this remission, according to the quality of their help and the intensity of their devotion, all who shall contribute suitably from their goods to the aid of the said land or who will give useful advice and help. *Finally, this general synod imparts the benefit of its blessing to all who piously set out on this common enterprise in order that it may contribute worthily to their salvation.*⁷⁶

What this final phrase actually means appears far from clear. Indeed, the indulgence has already been granted to those undertaking the crusade in person, for those on someone else's behalf and for those who assisted the crusade financially or temporally in some other manner earlier in the passage. When the *Ad Liberandum* extends the blessing to 'those who piously set out on this common enterprise' could this be referring to non-armed pilgrims accompanying the crusade also? Indeed, the sentiment of *opera communi* might refer to pilgrimage itself again highlighting the understood link between pilgrimage and crusading in this period. That said, it could equally mean that the crusade was seen as an enterprise common to all Christians. However, if this final phrase of the decree does indeed suggest that Innocent was extending the indulgence to all *crucesignati*, both armed and unarmed, it would certainly demonstrate that Thietmar's motivation for going on pilgrimage was very much entwined with the call for the fifth crusade.

⁷⁶ N.P. Tanner, [ed.] *Decrees of the ecumenical councils*, vol.1 (London, 1990), pp.270-271. My emphasis. The Latin for this last sentence reads: '*Omnibus etiam pie proficiscentibus in hoc opera communi universalis synodus omnium beneficorum suorum suffragium impartitur, ut eis digne proficiat ad salutem.*'

Be that as it may, Thietmar's declaration that he was signed with the cross and undertook his pilgrimage for remission of sins seems to suggest that he felt he was taking advantage of the crusading indulgence offered by Innocent III. Other evidence also connects Thietmar with the crusade. The second part of this journey is clearly undertaken in the company of certain Hungarians, who would later be instrumental in Thietmar's release from imprisonment at Jerusalem.⁷⁷ The Hungarian contingents were, of course, amongst the earliest to arrive (and indeed leave) during the course of the crusade. Many of the Hungarian crusaders had in fact gone home before the crusade even moved on to Egypt in May 1218 meaning the timings would have been perfect for Thietmar's Hungarian pilgrims to represent a group who had stayed on to perform a pilgrimage after fulfilling the military obligations of their crusading vow.⁷⁸ If this was the case, it is testament to how closely bound with the crusade Thietmar's pilgrimage was.

Furthermore, there is perhaps evidence for Thietmar being connected to those involved in the preaching of the crusade. During his account Thietmar relates the story of the nasal self-mutilation of the nuns of St. Lazarus of Bethany.⁷⁹ Whilst the origins of this story are extremely complicated, what seems to be clear is that the earliest textual record of nuns removing their noses in an effort to protect themselves and their vows of chastity, which is connected with the Holy Land, appears in a

⁷⁷ Koppitz, p.148; Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, p.112.

⁷⁸ Powell, *Anatomy of a crusade*, p.132-133. The Hungarian contingents arrived in the Holy Land in late September of 1217 and had departed again in early 1218. If Thietmar was in and around Damascus from November 1217 to December then he would have returned to Acre for the second leg of his journey just as the Hungarians were about to leave in January 1218 and this perhaps suggests he joined a group of them at Acre on the road to Bethlehem and ultimately Sinai, though whether they continued with Thietmar after Jerusalem is unclear.

⁷⁹ This story and its origins are dealt with fully in Chapter V, see pp.261-282.

commentary on Psalm 139.6 written by Peter the Chanter.⁸⁰ Peter the Chanter's connection with the crusade revolves around the fact that many of his Parisian students went on to play a fundamental role in the preaching of the fifth crusade, Jacques de Vitry being the most prominent example.⁸¹ And whilst Peter's influence was mainly focused in and around Paris, it was still felt across the border in the Empire.⁸² If Thietmar, in telling this story, was aware of the tradition recited by the Chanter, this could very well place him within the context of the group of intellectuals right at the heart of the preaching for the fifth crusade. That is not to say that Thietmar himself was a crusade preacher, but the title of *Magister* which is so often ascribed to him, could suggest a level of education to have placed him within the intellectual circles of the Chanter and his former students.

We will return to the implications this has for Thietmar's background shortly. In relation to the motivations for Thietmar's pilgrimage, it would seem that the evidence, circumstantial though it may be, points towards the fact that the crusade, crusading indulgences and cross bearing were very much a part of Thietmar's understanding of the worth of his pilgrimage. In saying this I am not suggesting that all Holy Land pilgrims following the first crusade were signed with the cross and taking advantage of crusading indulgences, but I do not think that it is wise to dismiss Thietmar as an evidential anomaly. What it does do is reinforces the idea that regular, unarmed pilgrims did and could go the Holy Land wearing crosses like their armed counterparts. Furthermore, we must ask ourselves where we would be if we did not have Thietmar's account. Despite all the evidence suggesting that it was conceivable

⁸⁰ J. Baldwin, *Masters, princes and merchants: the social views of Peter the chanter and his circle*, (Princeton, 1970), pp.183-184, 256.

⁸¹ Baldwin, *Masters, princes and merchants*, pp.38-39.

⁸² Baldwin, *Masters, princes and merchants*, p.17, 38-39.

for conventional pilgrims to be signed with the cross, the evidence Thietmar provides is the only direct evidence within the diverse genre of Holy Land pilgrimage literature which affirms the reality of the practice.

This, however, raises one further question. If what we think of as crusading iconography and spirituality is so evident in Thietmar's account why does his account contain no reference to the crusade itself? Certainly we have hints that the crusade got underway during his journey. The fact that the first half of Thietmar's journey was undertaken in the company of Syrians and Saracens and the second half, presumably started in early 1218 while the fifth crusade was in full swing, was undertaken disguised as Georgian monk is indicative of the change of mood that the crusade seems to have ushered in.⁸³ Indeed, before Thietmar's return from Damascus we see him engaging with local Muslim populations regularly. He travels with *Saraceni*, he also tells us that he spoke to the Emir of Mount Tabor and that a *Saracenus* in Cana showed him the cisterns in which Christ had turned water into wine.⁸⁴ Following his return from Saydnaya (concurrent with the presumed commencement of crusades) and Thietmar's eventual return from Sinai, no such interactions occur except for those with his Bedouin escort to Mount Sinai, which itself was organised by a Frankish women of Scobach.⁸⁵ During the second half of the journey Thietmar's interactions with indigenous peoples appears entirely to have been with local Christians. If this represents implicit evidence for the onset of the crusade, and Thietmar's awareness of this or experience of the way in which it altered the status quo, then why does Thietmar not mention the crusade at any point during his text? He certainly had

⁸³ Koppitz, p.143, Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, p.107. Latin reads: '*habitu tamquam Georgianus monachus et longa barba simulavi quod non eram*'.

⁸⁴ Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, p.96, Koppitz, p.129.

⁸⁵ Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, p.120, Koppitz, p.159. A more in depth discussion of these interactions can be found in Chapter V, p.232-237.

opportunity to do so. While his account has Thietmar stood at the top of Mount Sinai, the author uses this opportunity to discuss several areas surrounding the peninsula including Mecca and importantly Egypt. There are here several explanations.

The first is that, even though in our mind the connections between the crusaders and Thietmar as a pilgrim seem clear, they were not distinctions or connections which Thietmar appreciated. Of course, there is no way to determine whether this was or was not the case, but it is something we must certainly keep in mind. At the same time, given what we have discussed concerning Thietmar's connection to the crusade such a conclusion seems unlikely. Indeed, earlier on the text we see Thietmar explicitly mention the site of Hattin and the crusader's defeat there showing he was not intentionally ignoring the crusades.⁸⁶ An alternative conclusion brings us to the question of audience. As we will discuss later, the demands of audience certainly dictated what the author wrote in his account. Katherine Beebe has recently demonstrated the subtle alterations Felix Fabri made to his various pilgrimage accounts to suit the demands of perceived audiences.⁸⁷ And whilst Fabri represents a pilgrim far removed in time from Thietmar, as we will see later, the same preoccupations held true. Could it be then that the omission of anything regarding the crusade could be indicative of an audience for whom the crusade meant very little? This question of audience we will turn to shortly. One final explanation is a pragmatic one. If we maintain the dating of Thietmar's pilgrimage to around the period 1217 to 1218, which seems the most likely conclusion, then by the time Thietmar left the Holy Land (presumably sometime in 1218) the crusade had not yet finished. Significantly, Damietta did not fall (the crusade's major success) until 1219 and the crusade itself did

⁸⁶ Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, p.97, Koppitz, p.130.

⁸⁷ Beebe, *Pilgrim and preacher*, pp.93-128.

not finish until 1221. Thus, when Thietmar was in the Holy Land there was nothing of consequence to report. Of course, this would not have stopped him from adding something once news of its failure arrived in Western Europe in which case the absence of anything relating to the crusade could be down to Thietmar's desire to avoid mentioning yet another embarrassing episode in the history of the crusades. Equally, it could help us date the composition of his text to the period between 1218 and the crusade's end in 1221 or even possibly the fall of Damietta in 1219.

Putting such questions to one side, what we have discussed constructs a picture in which pilgrimage and crusading were very much intertwined. Though their purposes may have been different and crusaders may have, at times, made things very difficult for pilgrims, the two groups, if they can even be distinguished as such, provided for each other a shared foundation of ideologies and symbols. It is clear that crusading very much influenced the ideas of pilgrimage, and in particular the concepts of *Imitatio Christi* and cross-bearing became part of an already established tradition of penitential pilgrimage. It is also interesting to note the connection that seems to be drawn by Thietmar between the act of cross-bearing and his desire to achieve a remission of sins. Thietmar, as one of the few pilgrims who wrote an account of a visit to the Holy Land at the time of a crusade, provides us with a unique glimpse of this complicated relationship. Furthermore, the obvious affect that the crusade and crusading had on Thietmar can help us to begin to understand the social and cultural world out of which he originated and which, among other things, affected his pilgrimage and pilgrimage writing.

Thietmar's background

With this in mind, we can turn our thinking towards Thietmar's background and identity. Much of what can be said is conjecture and in reality we know nothing except for the fact that our pilgrim went on a pilgrimage and produced an account thereafter. Frustratingly, this is not an unusual position to be in when dealing with pilgrim authors of the late and high Middle Ages. However, when considering the many thousands of pilgrims who went to the Holy Land during this period, these accounts can provide valuable insight into the sorts of individuals who went on pilgrimage. Furthermore, as we have stated above, the greater our understanding of a pilgrim's background the better our ability to understand the pilgrim's experience. This is especially true if we adhere to the view, expressed in the introduction, that a pilgrim's experience of the Holy Land is as much a product of their cultural and devotional preconceptions, as it is their actual experience of the holy places. We have already touched on Thietmar's background to some extent. We have addressed his geographical point of origin and we have also raised the question of Thietmar's connection with the crusade and his holding the title of *Magister*. While little more can be said pertaining to his connection with the crusade, in what follows we will look in more detail into the identity of "*Magister*" Thietmar. We will also attempt to address the question of whether Thietmar was or was not a member of the clergy, if possible, and to which order he might have belonged (though the latter is probably impossible). In so doing we will raise the problem of the creation of a mythical pilgrim identity by later users of pilgrimage texts, all while continuing to unfold elements of Thietmar's identity which will enable us to better understand his pilgrimage and pilgrimage account.

Despite the traditional attribution of the title of *Magister* to Thietmar, such a designation is rather misleading. The earliest use of the title *Magister* in connection with Thietmar is in the fourteenth-century Basel manuscript, where the text begins ‘*Ego Magister Thetmar[us]*’.⁸⁸ Indeed, the thirteenth-century Hamburg manuscript contains no reference to the title *Magister*,⁸⁹ nor indeed do we find the title of *Magister* present in any of the manuscripts, outside of the textual family of Basel.⁹⁰

Quantitatively, therefore, only four of the eleven complete manuscripts of Thietmar refer to him as *Magister* and importantly all four of these manuscripts come from the more redacted tradition. This does not mean we can rule out entirely the possibility that Thietmar bore the title of *Magister* but it certainly does mean we should approach the attribution of such a title to him with some caution. It also demonstrates that pilgrim authors could sometimes be provided with an identity, when one was absent, by later users of a pilgrimage text. The attribution of the title of *Magister* is just one example of this occurring with Thietmar. Denys Pringle has shown that in the Franciscan chronicle written by Nicolas Glassberger of Moravia in Nuremberg between 1491 and 1508, Nicolas noted that:

‘In the same year, 1217, a certain monk named Dithmar set out through the Holy Land, passing through the lots of Zebulun and Naphtali, and came to the town of Sepphoris, in which St Anne, the mother of the Blessed Virgin, was born; he similarly passed through the city of Nazareth. He wrote a book of the Holy Land and made known the state of that Land to the lord Pope, who – Pope Honorius [III],

⁸⁸ Basel B.X, 35. f. 1r. It is also perhaps worth noting at this point that towards the end of the manuscript, Thietmar is again referred to as *Magister*, but at the point where the Basel manuscript slips into third person narrative with the phrase ‘*Magister Thietmarus specificat...*’, Basel B.X, 35, f.9r.

⁸⁹ Hamburg, 143,b, f. 1v.

⁹⁰ With the addition of the Basel manuscript these three manuscripts are the only ones to contain the title of *Magister*: Berlin, 141, Ghent, Ms.486, München, ms.102.

that is – preached in the city of Rome the Jerusalem journey of which Innocent [III] had laid the foundations.’⁹¹

Certainly, this reference is by no means explicitly referencing Thietmar, but given the variations of the spelling of Thietmar in the various manuscripts, the dating of the pilgrimage to 1217 and the details of the itinerary which appear to match elements of Thietmar’s itinerary it seems safe to assume that Glassberger is here making reference to our pilgrim.⁹² It is also interesting to note that he refers to Thietmar as a monk (*monachus*).⁹³ However, the suggestion that Thietmar’s text operated as a report on the Holy Land compiled for the benefit of the Papacy is intriguing if, in many ways, problematic. The timing of the pilgrimage might well correlate with a period of information gathering by the Christian West. In 1198 Pope Innocent III had issued his *Post Miserabile* which contained a call for information from the Holy Land.⁹⁴ Furthermore, it has been shown that information gathering represented an important element of Jacques of Vitry’s Eastern assignment.⁹⁵ However if Thietmar’s account were intended as a report for the Pope then it is a very poor one. There are some elements of the account that could be used as evidence of intelligence gathering. Of course, there is the curious example of Thietmar’s conversation with, what he calls, the Castellan (*castellanum*) of Mount Tabor.⁹⁶ Alongside this is Thietmar’s inclusion of elements of the *Tractatus de locis et statu sancte terre*. While this does go some way to provide information regarding the indigenous populations of the Holy Land, Thietmar

⁹¹ Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, p.27. See also R. Röhricht, *Bibliotheca Geographica Palaestinae*, p.48.

⁹² Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, p.27.

⁹³ Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, p.27.

⁹⁴ B. Bolton, “Serpent in the dust: sparrow on the housetop”: attitudes to Jerusalem and the Holy Land in the circle of Innocent III’, in R.N. Swanson, [ed.], *The Holy Land, holy lands and Christian history, Studies in Church history*, 36, (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 2000) pp.159-160.

⁹⁵ J. Vandeburie, ‘Jacques de Vitry’s *Historia Orientalis*: reform, crusading and the Holy Land after the fourth Lateran council’, (Unpublished Ph.D thesis, University of Kent, 2015), pp.246 and 258.

⁹⁶ Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, p.97, Koppitz, p.130.

adds nothing to this text in the way Jacques de Vitry or Oliver of Paderborn do. Instead, he simply restates information that had been available since the 1180s, and moreover, in a shortened format. Again the timing of the pilgrimage could again be used as evidence for this argument, but this must be offset, as suggested before, by the lack of information regarding Egypt and the lack of any mention of the crusade itself. Indeed, there is a remarkable lack of information regarding those areas of the Holy Land which the West were focused on retrieving at the time. Furthermore, if Thietmar's *Peregrinatio* were a report prepared for the Pope then one would expect that the account would say so. There, of course, exists the possibility Thietmar composed two accounts, one for the Pope and another for a different audience, of which only the latter has survived. Thietmar certainly had an eye for reporting which churches were ruined or had been taken over by the Saracens, but on the whole his account is more concerned with gathering information about the sacred spaces outside the traditional bounds of the Holy Land and less with detailing the state of the traditional sites of the Holy Land.

It would be interesting to know the sources from which Glassberger derived his information. We do not have a surviving manuscript of Thietmar from Nuremberg, nor does anything we know about the provenance of the surviving manuscripts suggest that there was a copy of Thietmar's text in Nuremberg (though we cannot rule out the possibility). One thing that we can be sure of is that there was a profound connection with Saint Katherine in later medieval Nuremberg and it has been suggested that Thietmar could represent an example of ways in which information regarding Saint Katherine reached places like these.⁹⁷ All things considered, without additional

⁹⁷ A. Simon, *Cult of Saint Katherine of Alexandria in late-medieval Nuremberg*, (Farnham, 2012). For this identification see specifically pp.132-133.

evidence in support of this idea it needs to be approached with significant caution. Nevertheless, it is another example of the way in which a pilgrim's identity could be manipulated over time.

These “false” identifications of Thietmar continued to appear through the medieval period. As noted earlier, Thietmar's text, or at least part of it, was popular within religious communities, particularly female religious communities, in and around the Low Countries during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. These manuscripts, containing a truncated version of Thietmar's *Peregrinatio*, advance various suggestions pertaining to his identity. One such is that he was the same Thietmar who was Bishop of Merseburg from 975 to 1018 and now remembered for his famous *Chronicon*.⁹⁸ This identification is of course, incorrect. But the fact that the communities believed that Thietmar's account could be that of a Bishop who died two hundred years before Thietmar's pilgrimage is suggestive of problems with historical memory in this period.⁹⁹ The other alternative identification was that he was a Greek philosopher too humble to sign his name.¹⁰⁰ Where such identifications could have come from is a mystery, but there is certainly nothing in the text to suggest that Thietmar was Greek.¹⁰¹ Alongside the suggestion that Thietmar might have been a monk compiling a report for the Pope this process provides an interesting insight into the ways in which a quasi-mythical identity could be created by later writers for pilgrims who otherwise were very much anonymous.

⁹⁸ Rudy, *Virtual pilgrimage*, pp.49-51.

⁹⁹ Incidentally the same mistake was made by those who produced the index for the recent Brepols publication A. Gascoigne, L. Hicks, and M. O'Doherty, [ed.], *Journeying along medieval routes in Europe and the Middle East*, (Turnhout, 2016).

¹⁰⁰ Rudy, *Virtual pilgrimage*, pp.49-51.

¹⁰¹ While he certainly made Greek connections in the Holy Land and may have known a little of the language, he was far from Greek himself.

The reasons why later writers felt the need to construct such identities is probably very much the same reason that Thietmar himself stressed the fact that he had seen the sites physically and attempted to deflect criticism of him going on pilgrimage, namely, to present Thietmar as a reliable witness. One feature shared by all of these identities, *Magister*, bishop of Merseberg, monk on a sanctioned mission by the Pope and Greek philosopher, is that they give Thietmar an air of authority that he does not perhaps possess. With so much information regarding the Holy Land being available in the West and the weight of centuries of textual traditions, it was important to establish the reliability of any account relating to far away places which few would see themselves in person.¹⁰²

Another commonality which all of these identifications possess is that Thietmar came from a learned background. Ideas that he might have been a bishop or a monk, though impossible to prove, also suggest Thietmar was a member of the clergy in some capacity. There are suggestions within the text that this possibility may represent reality. First and foremost, Thietmar's statement at the start of his text that the people he was accompanied by were 'my pilgrims' (*peregrinis meis*)¹⁰³ could be indicative of his clerical status. It was the norm during this period for groups of pilgrims to be led by someone able to perform the necessary rituals at the appropriate places, thereby enhancing the pilgrim's experience.¹⁰⁴ In designating the pilgrims as his, Thietmar could be presenting himself as their leader and thus as a member of the clergy. The fact that Glassberger calls Thietmar a monk (*monachus*) could also be evidence of Thietmar's social position, though if we are to discount Glassberger's suggestion of a

¹⁰² See for example Ora Limor's discussion of Arculf and Adomnan's relationship, 'Pilgrims and authors', pp.261-265.

¹⁰³ Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, p.95, Koppitz, p.127.

¹⁰⁴ Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, p.27.

Papal mission we cannot entirely trust this identification either.¹⁰⁵ Nevertheless, in many regards Thietmar's focus on the spiritual past, rather than the physical present, and indeed the very fact that Thietmar made a record of his pilgrimage at all would suggest that Thietmar was indeed a member of the clergy.

Furthermore, the text of Thietmar's prologue suggests a clerical background:

'I took it upon myself to ponder what sort of thing the spirit is, because it is not of this world, and to what it aspires, namely good works and from good works eternal life. Therefore, so that from idleness and the delights of the flesh, which strive against the spirit, I should not incline myself to worse, but on the contrary should gain life from labours of the flesh, I resolved in my heart to visit, in so far as I was able, the places that Our Lord Jesus Christ, true God and Man, true Son of the true God and of man, had sealed and sanctified with His bodily footprints...'¹⁰⁶

There are several concepts expressed here which could hint at Thietmar being an educated member of the clergy. First of all, the statement that Christ was *verus Deus et homo, verus veri Dei filius et hominis* represents an extremely profound statement of dogma, particularly in the context of the recently concluded Fourth Lateran Council and various heresies that the medieval Catholic church had to contend with in this period. The first two canons of the same council had themselves touched upon the same issue (as indeed all ecumenical councils did). This statement could well reflect an

¹⁰⁵ Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, p.27.

¹⁰⁶ Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, p.95, Koppitz, p.127: '*Animadverti, qualem spiritum, quia non de hoc mundo, et ad quid, hoc est ad labores, et [ex] laboribus ad eternam vitam accepissem. Ne ergo ex ocio et deliciis carnis, que adversus spiritum concupiscit, ad deteriora vergerem, immo ex laboribus carnis animam lucrifacerem, sedit animo meo, ut loca, que Dominus noster Ihesus Christus, verus Deus et homo, verus veri Dei filius et hominis, vestigiis suis corporaliter sigillavit et sanctificavit.*'

attempt on Thietmar's part to demonstrate his orthodox position to his audience. In addition to this Thietmar's short discourse on the nature of the spirit, and direct opposition of the *deliciis carnis* to it, calls to mind the discourses of Paul in his epistle to the Galatians 5.16-25 in which Paul contrasts the *fructus Spiritus* with the *opera carnis*.¹⁰⁷ Indeed, Thietmar's understanding of scripture is frequently demonstrated and the Bible often quoted. Of course, all of this does not prove Thietmar's identity as a member of the clergy, but the evidence strongly points in that direction. It is a shame that we have no indication as to what position he held or the order to which he belonged (if he belonged to one at all). Nonetheless, this identification of Thietmar as a member of the clergy confirms much about what we already understand about the writing of pilgrimage texts in this period; namely that it was the preserve of clerics.

There is also evidence that Thietmar was reasonably well read. During his description of his capture at Jerusalem Thietmar states: 'When I had come within three miles of Jerusalem, I fell into a snare, whence the verse, "He fell on Scylla, hoping to avoid Charybdis".¹⁰⁸ The myth of Scylla and Charybdis was well known in the Middle Ages in connection with the straits of Messina. But the various uses of this story in the period, as well as others, speaks for the increased interest for the works of Virgil in medieval intellectual circles.¹⁰⁹ While many referenced the myth in relation to the straits, Thietmar's use of it as an analogy for his plight outside Jerusalem could perhaps speak for a keener awareness of the story. Indeed, Scylla and Charybdis are not the only classical references to be found in the account of Thietmar. It is clear that Thietmar knew something of Josephus. In the region of Mount Carmel he speaks of a river called

¹⁰⁷ Galatians 5.16-25. Although it should be noted that Thietmar uses *laboribus* rather than *opera* as the verse does.

¹⁰⁸ Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, p.111, Kopptiz, p.148. Latin reads: '*et venissem contra Iherusalem ad tria miliaria, incidi in laquem. Unde versus: Incidit in Scillam cupiens vitare Caribdim.*'

¹⁰⁹ Oldfield, *Sanctity and pilgrimage*, pp.214-217.

Beleum which produced sand which could be made into glass, which in turn would revert back to sand if it were ever returned to the river. This story seems to be based on information from Josephus' *Jewish Wars*.¹¹⁰ Thietmar also relates how Titus experimented with the Dead Sea's buoyancy by throwing condemned men into it and leaving them floating for four days with hands and feet tied before they were removed. This episode also appears in Josephus, though attributed to Vespasian rather than Titus.¹¹¹ Furthermore, Thietmar associates the Dead Sea with a fruit which is externally pleasing but entirely composed of ash internally, a story also found in Josephus and shared similarly by Jacques de Vitry and Burchard of Mt Sion.¹¹² We could also add to these the example outside Jaffa of the supposed location of Perseus's killing of the sea monster sent to devour Andromeda at the command of Jupiter which is taken from Pliny's *Natural History*; or Thietmar's mention of the tomb of Memnon near the city of Ptolemais.¹¹³ These are just a few examples of repeated classic references within the text and all the more interesting given that, generally, allusions to such ancient texts are usually limited to the Old Testament in pilgrimage literature.

All of this indicates that Thietmar represents an individual who had read more widely than a standard medieval pilgrimage writer in which such classical allusions are not always evidenced. Moreover, his awareness of the developing Saydnaya legend and its text places him alongside the likes of Alberic of Trois-Fontaines, Gautier de Coincy and Roger of Wendover. The inclusion of the legend of Saint Katherine before the appearance of her *Vita* in the Golden Legend places him alongside the likes of Caesarius of Heisterbach. Importantly, his inclusion, at the end of his account, of a

¹¹⁰ Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, pp.107-108, Koppitz, p.143.

¹¹¹ Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, p.117, Koppitz, p.154.

¹¹² Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, p.117, Koppitz, p.154. See also Mylod, 'Latin Christian pilgrimage', p.144

¹¹³ Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, pp.110 and 107, Koppitz, pp.146 and 143.

version of the *Tractatus de locis et statu sancte terre* could demonstrate not only his intellectual standing, but also provides another connection, as mentioned above, with those responsible for preaching the crusade.¹¹⁴ The most well-known incarnation of the *Tractatus* appears in heavily adapted form in Book III of Jacques de Vitry's *Historia Orientalis*.¹¹⁵ The fact that Thietmar and Jacques also share an interest in the *Tractatus*, the Dead Sea's ashen fruits and also considering that Jacques was also known to use metaphors concerning Scylla and Charybdis could suggest a real connection between the two. That is not to say that Thietmar was involved in crusade preaching or knew Jacques directly, but it gives some indication as to the social circles he could have been mixing with. In this light, the mythical identity of Thietmar as a *Magister* may be closer to reality than the manuscript evidence suggests.

Indeed, even if Thietmar did not hold the title of *Magister*, what we have discussed provides a fascinating insight into the identities, both real and imagined, of pilgrims and pilgrim authors in the Middle Ages. Furthermore, if what we have surmised is true, it confirms the fact that clerics represented an important part of pilgrimage traffic to the Holy Land in the period and it supports the idea that pilgrimage authors of the period were clerics. It also highlights that subsequent users of these pilgrimage accounts were just as anxious to understand who these pilgrims were as we are. It also leads us to perhaps question other pilgrim identities presented to us by those who reworked or utilised these pilgrimage accounts. However, if the identity of Thietmar is uncertain then the identity of his audience is even more so.

¹¹⁴ A full edition of the text, accompanied by notes pertaining to its significance can be found here: B.Z. Kedar, 'The *Tractatus de locis et statu terre ierosolimitane*', in France, J., and Zajac, W.G., [eds.] *The crusades and their sources: essays presented to Bernard Hamilton*, (Aldershot, 1998), pp.111-133.

¹¹⁵ Vandeburie, '*Historie Orientalis*', pp.254-259.

Who was Thietmar writing for?

The question of audience is crucial if we are to understand a pilgrim author's intentions and in pilgrimage literature there are many examples of individuals who imply or even explicitly state who they are writing for. Egeria, who travelled to the Holy Land between 381 and 384, repeatedly referenced her sisters to whom she was writing and while the identity of these sisters has been debated, it is clear that Egeria wrote to them in order to enhance their understanding of scripture.¹¹⁶ John of Würzburg, writing in the twelfth century, was even more specific. He stated that his account was written for a certain monk called Dietrich and was intended to facilitate his understanding of the Holy Land.¹¹⁷ The audiences of each of Felix Fabri's four pilgrimage works are easily attestable and it is clear that he altered the information, or the way it was communicated, depending on his audience.¹¹⁸

Thietmar does not, however, provide us with the luxury of knowing who he expected to read his work apart from himself. Having said this, it is still important to hypothesise who these recipients might have been. In attempt to do so we will first look to see what manuscript provenance can tell us about later users of Thietmar's text. From this it may be possible to extrapolate the sorts of individuals who Thietmar's text appealed to and perhaps, if different, the groups that Thietmar expected to read his account. Information regarding a complete history of all of Thietmar's manuscripts is lacking,¹¹⁹ but from those we do have it seems that his text's

¹¹⁶ Hunt, *Holy Land Pilgrimage*, pp.381-384, Sivan, 'Holy Land pilgrimage', pp.528-535 and 'Who was Egeria?', pp.59-72, Wilkinson, *Egeria's travels*, p.4.

¹¹⁷ Some have hypothesised that Dietrich was in fact Theoderic, the monk who travelled to the Holy Land some years after John. Whilst an attractive theory there is little concrete evidence to suggest that it is true. Huygens, *Peregrinationes Tres*, p.29, Wilkinson, *Jerusalem pilgrims*, pp.21-22.

¹¹⁸ Beebe, *Pilgrim and preacher*, pp.93-128.

¹¹⁹ I have been unable to identify the provenance of the following manuscripts: Hamburg, 143, b., Ghent, Ms.486, Rostock, Cod. Hist. 10, Breslau, 290/3. Of the Würzburg manuscript, we

appeal was broad, yet focused on clerical audiences, at least during the medieval period. Of course, this may be a trick of the evidential light, considering that it was within clerical circles that these texts were copied. Nevertheless, the manuscript provenance of Thietmar's text would suggest a clerical, particularly monastic, audience over anything else, including a pilgrim audience.

We know that the Basel manuscript originated from the Dominican priory in Basel in the fourteenth century.¹²⁰ In addition, whilst we are uncertain as to how Munich ms.102 reached the University Library in Ingolstadt it is believed that it was originally copied in Basel before being gifted or taken elsewhere.¹²¹ That the Dominican Priory in Basel and Thietmar's text should be connected provides the interesting possibility that Thietmar's text was read by Felix Fabri during his time at the priory and that Thietmar's text influenced Felix's pilgrimages. In many ways this might point towards Thietmar's text as popular among would-be pilgrims. However, although Fabri frequently points to moments in his text where his information is derived from other pilgrim authors I have been unable, in what was admittedly only a brief comparison, to find any obvious direct links between the texts.¹²² If there was any link of influence between Thietmar and Felix, it probably existed as a result of Thietmar's description of Saint Katherine's tomb on Mount Sinai. After all, Fabri became a Dominican novice, it seems by choice, on the feast of Saint Katherine's and Fabri was certainly extremely devoted to her cult.¹²³ If this were true, not only could we place Dominican's within

cannot be more precise than to say that it originated from south or central Germany. Wolfenbüttel was owned by an unidentifiable man named Gerhard Wunstop from whom the manuscript was acquired by Cathedral chapter in Bruanschweig and subsequently by the Herzog August Bibliothek in 1637. The dates of the earlier transfers are uncertain.

¹²⁰ Meyer and Burckhardt, *Mittelalterlichen Handschriften*, p.767.

¹²¹ Daniel, *Die lat. mittelalterlichen Handschriften*, p.161.

¹²² Though it would not be a surprise should a more thorough and comprehensive comparison of the two texts throw up some connection.

¹²³ Beebe, *Pilgrim and preacher*, pp.18 and 101.

Thietmar's readership, but also a specific Dominican whose career was so closely tied up with Holy Land pilgrimage.

However, there is no evidence of other pilgrims referencing Thietmar in the later period, as far as I am aware. That being said, five of the extant manuscripts of Thietmar are bound together with other pilgrimage texts. Of course, four of these are copied alongside Burchard of Strasbourg: Basel, B.X, 35; Ghent, Ms.486; Munich, ms.102; and Berlin, 141.¹²⁴ Nonetheless, Munich, ms.102 also contains a few unidentifiable anonymous pilgrimage texts.¹²⁵ Furthermore, Berlin, 141 also contains a copy of the pilgrimage account of Odoric of Pordenone and a copy of a version of the letter of Prester John which suggests a more general interest in the Holy Land in this case.¹²⁶ The only other text to contain anything relating to pilgrimage is the Wolfenbüttel manuscript which contains the text of Hans Porners. Yet, rather than pilgrimage, what seems to have brought these texts together is concerns or interest in Islam. This preoccupation means that alongside Hans and Thietmar we see the letter of Prester John, a life of Muhammad, a letter (betraying much later concerns) regarding the destruction of Constantinople in 1453 and a letter written by the Saint John of Capistrano famous for leading a crusade against the Ottomans in 1456.¹²⁷ Berlin, 277 also points towards the non-pilgrimage elements of the text as its main reason for being of interest. Bound together with Thietmar in this manuscript are texts such as the Revelations of Pseudo-Methodius, a classic Christian polemical text against Islam, and two anonymous texts entitled *De rebus naturalibus et curiositatibus Terrae Sanctae*, again suggesting a general interest in the Holy Land, and *Liber de ortu beate*

¹²⁴ See Meyer and Burckhardt, *Mittelalterlichen Handschriften*, p.767-780, Saint-Genois, *Catalogue méthodique*, pp.436-437, Achten, *Die theologischen lateinischen Handschriften*, pp.161-164 and Daniel, *Die lat. mitteralterlichen Handschriften*, pp.161-164.

¹²⁵ Daniel, *Die lat. mitteralterlichen Handschriften*, p.164.

¹²⁶ Achten, *Theologischen lateinischen Handschriften*, pp.161-164.

¹²⁷ Heinemann, *Augusteischen Handschriften*, pp.229-233.

Mariae et infantia salvatoris, connecting with Thietmar's own interest in the Virgin and the inclusion of Al-Matariyya in the text.¹²⁸ All of this demonstrates that Thietmar's information regarding Islam and more generally the Holy Land seems to have been the main attraction of the text.

Interest in Saint Katherine might also be added to this list of reasons for Thietmar's popularity. It should be noted that there may also be a Saint Katherine connection in the provenance of Berlin 291. This manuscript sees Thietmar's text serve as a prelude to Guilelmus Brito's *Expositiones Bibliae*. The manuscript was created in 1416 in the Cathedral in Bradenburg an der Havel.¹²⁹ It should be noted that in 1401 a church had been constructed in Neustadt of Bradenburg which had been dedicated to Saint Katherine. Interest in Saint Katherine might therefore account for Thietmar's inclusion in a text in this area at this time. Berlin 277 on the other hand was created at Hilda (now Eldena) Abbey, which in the thirteenth century was a Cistercian house.¹³⁰ There are no other manuscripts connected with Cistercian houses, but there are several connected with the Benedictine Order. The first half of the Berlin 141 codex seems to have been created by either the Teutonic Orders or the Hospitallers, and then gifted to and filled by the monks of Corvey Abbey.¹³¹ During the fifteenth century it was gifted to the Benedictine Abbey of Abdinghof in Paderborn at which time a second half was added to the manuscript. It was later transferred to the Königslichen Bibliothek in Berlin in 1828. Thietmar's text is contained in the first half of the codex and as such was copied at Corvey, although from what source is unknown.¹³² Furthermore, the

¹²⁸ Schipke, *Lateinischen Handschriften*, pp.311-315.

¹²⁹ Rose, *Verzeichnis der lateinischen Handschriften*, pp.248-250.

¹³⁰ Schipke, *Lateinischen Handschriften*, pp.311-315.

¹³¹ There are other Benedictine candidates from the same region (determined by palaeographic peculiarities) but the Corvey seems the most likely due to some of the dedications within the codex. Achten, *Theologischen lateinischen Handschriften*, pp.161-164.

¹³² Achten, *Theologischen lateinischen Handschriften*, pp.161-164.

Munich ms.312 codex, which contains fragments of Thietmar's text, was originally from the Benedictine monastery in Biburg, Bavaria.¹³³ This demonstrates that a range of monastic groups were interested in Thietmar's text, the Benedictines being most prevalent (though this is not necessarily significant considering the high proportion of Benedictine houses in medieval Europe). In all, there seems to be little to connect what seems to be a disparate audience.

That being said, the vernacular tradition of Thietmar's text may suggest otherwise. As mentioned previously, Kathryn Rudy noted a total of thirteen Middle Dutch and German manuscripts containing Saint-Katherine focused abridgements of Thietmar's text.¹³⁴ Of the thirteen, nine of them were in the possession of, and in some cases made for or by, female monastic communities. Of the other four, three are of unknown provenance and one belonged to a house of Canons regular of Kreuzherrenkloster of Marienfrede. Of these nine female houses five were Canoness Regular, one a house of Carmelite nuns, one house attached to a Franciscan establishment, one house belonging to the Sisters of the Common Life and St Agnes and one unspecified female house.¹³⁵ One of the five, owned by a house of Canonesses Regular and also the manuscript of which Röhricht was aware of (Tilburg University Library, KHS 3, fol. 6ff and 194v-203r), also belonged at some point, before its transfer to the University library, to the house of the Tertiaries of Catherinenberg in Oosterwyck.¹³⁶ While this may be seen as a continuation of the monastic interest in Thietmar's text, when both the vernacular and Latin traditions are viewed as one we are presented with twenty-four extant manuscripts of Thietmar's text. Of these twenty-four, eight are of unknown

¹³³ Daniel, *Die lat. mittelalterlichen Handschriften*, pp.55-57.

¹³⁴ Rudy, *Virtual pilgrimage*, p.49-57.

¹³⁵ Rudy, *Virtual pilgrimage*, p.50-51. This final one was identified by the female forms of the colophon rather than any strict attribution to a female monastic house.

¹³⁶ Rudy, *Virtual pilgrimage*, p.51.

provenance, seven were attached to male monastic institutions and nine attached to female institutions.

Certainly, we should not jump to any conclusions because of this evidence but it must be said that Thietmar's text clearly had a strong appeal to female religious in the middle ages primarily because of its interest in Saint Katherine. As a result of this we should make one more tenuous suggestion: that when composing his text Thietmar had a female, monastic audience in mind. This would go some way to explaining some of the oddities that the text presents. It may clarify the lack of anything ostensible linked with crusading in the text. It might also solve the strong preference in the text for sites so closely related to the sacred feminine (Mary at Saydnaya, Mount Sinai and Al-Matariyya, Saint Katherine at Mount Sinai and the "miraculous" story at Bethany of nuns cutting off their noses to protect their vows of chastity). There exists one more interesting connection in this regard which returns us to the beginning just as we approach the end. Of all that has been said regarding Thietmar's identity one of the safer assumptions was that he originated from around the area of Quedlinburg or Wernigerode in Germany. Quedlinburg is of course the site of the Imperial abbey founded by Empress Mathilda 936. Furthermore, roughly five-and-a-half miles south of Quedlinburg and twenty-one miles south-east of Wernigerode stands the female imperial abbey of Gernrode, which was built in the 960s and granted Imperial status by Otto III by 999. If Thietmar was from the area round Quedlinburg, which seems highly likely, then it is also plausible, given what we have just discussed, that Thietmar was in some way connected with these institutions and could have had them in mind when composing his account. It would be unwise to push such conclusions any further, but were it to be true then it would explain so much of the unexplainable of Thietmar's account.

IV. Thietmar and the Holy Land – Person and Place

In light of the previous chapter's discussion surrounding Thietmar's possible identities, we find ourselves in the position to address the way in which Person and Place (in this case the Holy Land) interacted. Doing so allows us to engage with two crucial yet antithetical questions relating to the interaction between Place and Person. Does Person, along with their emotional, cultural and spiritual expectations, influence the way in which Place is experienced and presented? Or rather, is it Place that affects Person? These questions reflect some of the thoughts of the anthropologist Glenn Bowman who, in his study of contemporary Holy Land pilgrimage, has highlighted the ways in which cultural, social and devotional expectations shape a pilgrim's experience of the Holy Land more than the physical markers of the holy places.¹ Other scholars have highlighted the ways in which Christian visitors to, and controllers of the holy places, mapped scripture and sacred history onto the spaces of the Holy Land with each group able to construct a map individual to their denominational and cultural backgrounds.²

This chapter will query the reality of such interplay between Person and Place in direct relation to two key sites mentioned in the text of Thietmar. Of course, Jerusalem is an obvious choice and our first example, and this chapter will provide several reasons for the significant neglect Thietmar exhibits in discussing the holy city. Following this, the

¹ See for example, Bowman, 'Christian ideology', pp.98-121. This represents just one of many times that Bowman has spoken on the subject.

² On the issue of mapping see S. Schein, 'Between mount Moriah and the holy sepulchre: the changing traditions of the temple mount in the central middle ages', *Traditio*, 40, (1984), pp.175-195 and J.A. Smith, ' "My Lord's native land", pp.1-31. See also, Jotischky, 'History and memory', pp.110-122, which presents a similar discussion of the way in which history and cultural memory influenced the interpretation or experience of the present in Greek Orthodox pilgrimage.

chapter will turn to the shrine of Saint Katherine of Alexandria at Mount Sinai, in many ways the climax of Thietmar's text, and look at why Thietmar displays such an intense interest in Katherine in a period when she was still a relatively novel and little-known saint. This discussion will be supported by reference to Bethlehem so as to demonstrate that the changes evident in the relationship between the Holy Land pilgrim and the Holy Land post-1187 were very much bound together with changes in the specific relationship between Jerusalem and Western pilgrims in this period. By extension, it shall be shown that Thietmar's text is expressive of broader cultural changes within Western spirituality and ideas of travel and travel writing in the period.

Jerusalem

It goes without saying that of all the sites of the Holy Land Jerusalem held, and still holds, pride of place in the spiritual hierarchy of Christian holy places. For Christian pilgrims travelling to the Holy Land in the medieval period their experience was inextricably linked with seeing, touching and emotionally connecting with the sites associated with Christ's life, death and ministry, most notably the Holy Sepulchre.³

³ It would be foolish to attempt to compile a comprehensive list of literature on Jerusalem and pilgrimage to it. Here are, in my opinion, some of the more important works. General works include:

Donkin, and Vorholt, *Imagining Jerusalem*, Grabois, *La pèlerin occidental*, Levine, *Jerusalem: its sanctity and centrality*, Morris, *Sepulchre of Christ* and Renna, *Jerusalem in medieval thought*. For the earlier period Bull, *Knightly piety*, pp.204-250, Hunt, *Holy Land Pilgrimage*, Morris, 'Memorials of the holy places', pp.90-109 and Wilkinson, *Jerusalem pilgrims before the crusades*, pp.1-43. For the later period, discounting much of the vast amount of literature on later medieval Holy Land pilgrimage: Morris, 'Pilgrimage to Jerusalem', pp.141-163 and Yeager, *Jerusalem in medieval narrative*. Historians of the crusader period will be aware of the two classic examples: Runciman, 'Pilgrimages to Palestine', pp.68-78 and Savage, 'Pilgrimage and pilgrim shrines', pp.36-68, but these are outdated and in desperate need of revision. Of course, the compilations of texts, Pringle, *Churches*, I-IV, and Wilkinson, *Jerusalem pilgrims, 1099-1187*, are the obvious reference choices for the twelfth and thirteenth century, accompanied by the seminal work Schein, *Gateway to the heavenly city*. However, we are still in need of a comprehensive study of Holy Land pilgrimage in the twelfth and thirteenth century along the lines of what Liz Mylod has done in her recent Ph.D thesis: L. Mylod, 'Latin Christian pilgrimage'.

Interest in the Holy Land had been particularly profound in the century leading up to the pilgrimage of Thietmar, owing to the fact that Jerusalem and much of the Holy Land had been in the hands of Latin Christians between 1099 and 1187. Possession of the holy city led to a level of access to the holy places not experienced by Christians since the fall of Jerusalem to the Arabs in 637. Even with the loss of Jerusalem in 1187 devotion to Jerusalem within pilgrimage accounts remained profound; the spiritual legacy of the twelfth century, as pertaining to Jerusalem, was difficult to escape.

Despite profound levels of devotion to Jerusalem before the twelfth century, the access experienced by Latin Christians during the twelfth century allowed Catholic Europe to connect with Jerusalem like never before.⁴ Although, it is well recognised that Holy Land pilgrimage experienced an upward surge from the turn of the millennium, this trend strengthened in the twelfth century, a fact that is most easily observable through the number of pilgrimage accounts produced in the period before 1095 compared with the period roughly 1095-1187. From this earlier period around ten pilgrimage accounts have survived, in contrast almost double that have survived from the period 1099-1187.⁵ That is not to say that the number of pilgrims had doubled, but it is noteworthy that the ninety years of the twelfth century produced around twice as many pilgrimage texts as the seven hundred years previous. Nevertheless, within almost all of these accounts, both pre- and post-1099, Jerusalem looms large in the narratives. This is

⁴ B. Hamilton, 'Impact of crusader Jerusalem', p.704 and Schein, *Gateway*.

⁵ These figures are based on texts listed in Röhrich, *Bibliotheca Geographica Palaestinae*, pp.1-42. In compiling these figures I have included only those texts which are ostensibly connected to an identifiable pilgrimage, rather than just the Holy Land generally. I have also not included the huge amount of literature about the various crusades which would nearly double the figure for the twelfth century. Unfortunately, the age of Röhrich's work means that it is perhaps not the best for conducting such analysis and a new work compiling all of the works which relate to the Holy Land in this period would be a valuable addition to current scholarship. I believe such a work would serve to demonstrate more clearly the importance of the period 1099-1187 in the transmission of information regarding the Holy Land from East to West.

most simply evidenced through the amount of content devoted to the spaces in and around Jerusalem.⁶

Saewulf, for example, who travelled to the Holy Land between 1102-1103 dedicated 38% of his account to a discussion of Jerusalem⁷ and two later twelfth-century pilgrims, John of Würzburg (1160) and Theoderic (1172) devote an impressive 63% and 55% of their accounts respectively to a discussion of the holy sites in and around the city.⁸ We see much the same in the thirteenth century. Wilbrand of Oldenburg who travelled to the Holy Land between 1211 and 1212 dedicated 17% of his entire account to the city of Jerusalem. And this figure rises to 61% if we exclude the first part of his account which includes a narrative of his diplomatic mission to Armenia.⁹ Furthermore, a pair of anonymous accounts written between 1229 and 1239 each devote around 63% of their accounts to Jerusalem and a third anonymous account known by the title *The Holy Pilgrimages* written in the same period devotes 33% to the holy city.¹⁰ Later in the thirteenth century the Dominican missionary Riccoldo of Monte Croce used 38% of

⁶ The following percentages were compiled by comparing the number of lines each text spent speaking about particular sites in the Holy Land and converting this into a percentage. Whilst not wholly accurate it gives a fairly dependable way of representing what elements of the texts are most important to the author or copyist. This of course depends upon the assumption that writers wrote more about those sites and events which they thought to be most important. Naturally, some places require more describing than others as there was more to see. On the whole, however, this assumption holds true. In conducting this analysis I have used translations rather than editions in order to speed up the process. That said, I have avoided Wilkinson's translations, as his tendency to omit sections of texts derived from elsewhere skews the results. However, this has meant recourse to the problematic translations of the PPTS volumes. Though regrettable, they are less problematic for my purposes here as this analysis is less about what they say about the sites, but rather how much they say. Furthermore, the rendering of the values as percentages mitigates against obvious differences in font and formatting within the various printed texts.

⁷ 'The Travels of Saewulf' in T. Wright, *Early Travels in Palestine*, (New York, 1969) pp.31-50.

⁸ John of Würzburg, 'The description of the Holy Land', Stewart, A., [trans.], *The Library of the Palestine Pilgrim's Text Society*, 5, (New York, 1971) pp.1-72 and Theoderic, 'Description of the holy places', Stewart, A., [trans.], *The Library of the Palestine Pilgrim's Text Society*, 5, (New York, 1971) pp.1-86.

⁹ Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, pp.61-94.

¹⁰ Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, pp.173-180 and pp.165-172.

the sections of his text devoted to the Holy Land to discuss Jerusalem while Burchard of Mount Sion dedicated 19% of his incredibly comprehensive pilgrimage account to the sites in and around the city.¹¹

This statistical information is corroborated by other elements of these accounts. Of Jerusalem the pilgrim Theoderic states:

‘On the very top of the mountains, as Josephus and Jerome bear witness, is located the city of Jerusalem. This is held to be holier and more famous than any other city or place in the world, but not because it is holy in itself or for itself. It is holier because it is illuminated by the presence there of our God and Lord Jesus Christ and of his good Mother, and the fact that all the Patriarchs, Prophets and Apostles have lived and taught and preached and suffered martyrdom there.’¹²

Theoderic’s statement expresses the pre-eminence of Jerusalem in the minds of twelfth century pilgrims, John of Würzburg, Theoderic’s contemporary, translated this pre-eminence directly into the content of his account. He declared: ‘I have paid particular attention to the Holy City Jerusalem’.¹³ It was not just prominence that set Jerusalem apart but the devotional responses it could elicit. Even in the thirteenth century when access to the city was more limited, Wilbrand of Oldenburg, who travelled to the Holy Land just five years prior to Thietmar, records his first sight of Jerusalem in the following manner:

¹¹ Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, pp.361-375 and pp.241-320.

¹² Wilkinson, *Jerusalem pilgrims, 1099-1187*, p.274, Huygens, *Peregrinationes Tres*, pp.143-197. Latin reads: ‘*In ipsa denique montium summa eminentia, ut Iosephus atque Ieronimus attestantur, sita est civitas illa Iherusalem, que universis per orbem urbibus et locis sanctorum habetur et eminentior, non quia a se vel per se sit sancta, sed quia ipsius dei et domini nostri Iesu Christi eius que pie genitricis presentia et patriarcharum, prophetarum atque apostolorum necnon et aliorum sanctorum inhabitatione, doctrina, predicatione, martirio fuerit illustrata.*’

¹³ Wilkinson, *Jerusalem pilgrims, 1099-1187*, p.244, Huygens, *Peregrinationes Tres*, p.79.

‘The next day, which I count without doubt the happiest of my happy days, we ascended to mountains of Jerusalem... And so, as the sun was rising that much longed for Jerusalem appeared before our eyes. So struck were we at that point with joy and admiration that we even imagined that we were seeing the celestial Jerusalem.’¹⁴

Such experiences of the first sight of Jerusalem are repeated in pilgrimage accounts throughout the medieval period. What this, and the previous excerpts and statistics, conveys is the very real and strong connection which existed between pilgrims and Jerusalem in the twelfth and thirteenth century.

Thietmar, however, presents a vastly different picture. In his account Jerusalem plays an almost negligible role in comparison to the pre-eminence of Saydnaya and Mount Sinai with just under 5% related to Jerusalem. This figure is reduced to 3% when the sections relating to his capture by Saracens and imprisonment are excluded.¹⁵ The acute nature of this neglect is further exacerbated by the fact that 18% of Thietmar’s account is devoted to a discussion of the sites of Mount Sinai and 11% to the monastery of Saydnaya.¹⁶ It is also revealed in the way in which Thietmar speaks about Jerusalem and its environs. He tells us that he tried to avoid the city of Jerusalem altogether, and yet his pilgrimage to Saint Katherine was something that had been a long time in the planning.¹⁷ This section will look at why this is the case and will put forward three

¹⁴ Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, p.87, Wilbrand of Oldenburg, ‘Itinerarium’, p.132. Latin reads: ‘*Postero die, qui inter omnes dies mee felicitates felicissimus nimium computabitur, conscendimus montana Iherusalem...Igitur sole oriente desiderata illa Iherusalem nostro aspectui oriebatur. Ubi tanto percussi sumus gaudio et ammiratione, ut etiam illam celeste Iherusalem nos videre putaremus.*’

¹⁵ This section of the text can be found in Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, pp.111-113 and Koppitz, pp.148-149.

¹⁶ Saydnaya: Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, pp.103-106, Koppitz, pp.138-142. Mount Sinai: Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, pp.124-131, Koppitz, pp.163-172.

¹⁷ Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, pp.107 and 111, Koppitz, pp.143 and 148.

reasons for these textual and devotional differences: pragmatic considerations, previous textual traditions and Thietmar's own personal devotional tendencies.

I. Pragmatic Considerations

Just as 1099 had heralded a new "golden age" of access to Jerusalem for Western pilgrims, Saladin's victory at Hattin and the subsequent capture of Jerusalem in 1187 fundamentally altered the way in which Western pilgrims were able to experience the holy city. It was not until 1192 that Richard I was able to negotiate the provision for Latin priests at the Holy Sepulchre, Bethlehem and Nazareth. Even then, the majority of the Latin clergy remained in Acre rather than use this as an opportunity to return to their respective dioceses.¹⁸ Though Jerusalem was returned into Western hands through the negotiations of Frederick II, between the years 1229 and 1244, parts of the city, such as the Temple Mount, were never restored to Christian hands. Indeed, from 1187 until the establishment of the Franciscan custody in 1333, Western pilgrims' access to the holy places within the city and the quality of that access was unpredictable at best.

This is observable throughout pilgrimage accounts of the thirteenth century. Of his visit to Jerusalem, Wilbrand of Oldenburg related the following:

'Entering this [St Stephen's gate] we were counted like sheep and with bowed heads we were led by an official of the Sultan to the forecourt of the church of the Holy Sepulchre. That desolate church, not having anyone to console her, is now placed under tribute. So that before its doors we were obliged to pay eight-and-a-half drachmas.'¹⁹

¹⁸ Hamilton, 'Ideals of holiness', pp.703-707.

¹⁹ Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, p.88, Wilbrand of Oldenburg, 'Itinerarium', p.133. Latin reads: '*Quam nos sicut over quedam computati intrantes, inclinatis capitibus ad atria ecclesie sancti Sepulcri per*

Several of the problems which confronted pilgrims to Jerusalem in the thirteenth century are expressed here. Access was strictly controlled by the Muslim authorities and, much as they had been before 1095, pilgrims were required to pay to access Christianity's most sacred space. What is more, the Holy Sepulchre which in the twelfth century had been '*sed quia celebrior est omnibus aliis aecclesiis*' had become '*desolata*'.²⁰ Moreover, it was not just access to the Holy Sepulchre which had changed. Access to those other sites within the city walls, conventionally visited by pilgrims during the twelfth century, became even more problematic. Having visited the Holy Sepulchre, Wilbrand goes on to say that after a brief time in the church they were forced to leave and escorted out of Jerusalem 'without having seen the other holy places of the city.'²¹ Whereas access to the Holy Sepulchre was difficult, access to the other sites of the holy city was sometimes impossible. It could be argued that Wilbrand's mistreatment at the hands of the Muslims authorities may be less of a reality and more of an opportunity to play up the pilgrim's suffering and thereby improve the depiction of the pilgrimage as a salvific devotional activity.²² Having said this, unlike their twelfth-century predecessors, the thirteenth-century pilgrim was not free to do as s/he liked in the holy city.

Wilbrand's experience was not an isolated experience. Riccoldo of Monte Croce visiting the Holy Land between 1288 and 1289 had even greater problems trying to gain the desired level of access, particularly to the Holy Sepulchre. Riccoldo tells us that when he arrived at Jerusalem: 'We went first to the church of the Holy Sepulchre of Our Lord Jesus Christ, but were unable to enter because the Saracens would not allow

nuntium Soldani deducebamur. Que desolata non habens, qui consoletur eam, adeo facta est sub tribute, ut ante fores ipsius VIII dragmas et dimidiam dare cogeremur.'

²⁰ The first expression comes from Saewulf, Huygens, *Peregrinationes Tres*, p.59-77.

²¹ Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, p.90, Wilbrand of Oldenburg, 'Itinerarium', p.134. Latin: '*reliquis locis sanctis in civitate nondum perspectis*'.

²² Yeager, *Jerusalem in medieval narrative*, pp.5, 34-43.

us in.²³ It was only perseverance and a second visit which enabled Riccoldo to enter the church and even then his experiences were limited. He tells that one pilgrim singing parts of the Easter liturgy did so in such a loud voice that it caused consternation among the Saracens outside.²⁴ While this may be seen as triumph for Riccoldo, there were fears that the performance of Christian ritual could bring down the wrath of the Saracens on them. Thus at Mount Sion, Riccoldo remarks that they performed their devotions ‘fearing dreadfully to be killed by the Saracens’,²⁵ showing that there were moments when Christians could perform the desired rituals at the sacred sites in Jerusalem, but that their performance was not uninhibited.

What becomes clear from this is that during the thirteenth century, Western pilgrims had to go to great lengths to gain even unsatisfactory access to the holy places of Jerusalem. Indeed what Thietmar signals is that these difficulties were enough for some pilgrims to think it expedient to avoid the city altogether. He tells us, as he describes his route to Bethlehem: ‘For since Bethlehem is near Jerusalem, in order to avoid the holy city and danger, I made a detour: but in vain, because what I feared happened, and I was captured by the Saracens and taken to Jerusalem.’²⁶ Thietmar’s intention to avoid the holy city altogether demonstrates how deeply things had changed from the twelfth century. Of course, Thietmar’s situations may have been made worse by the commencement of the fifth crusade, which we know necessitated

²³ Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, p.366. Riccoldo of Monte Croce, ‘Liber peregrinationis’, p.48. Latin reads: ‘*In qua primo iuimus ad ecclesiam sepulchri Domini nostro Ihesu Christi et non potuimus intrare nolentibus sarracenis.*’

²⁴ Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, p.373. Riccoldo of Monte Croce, ‘Liber peregrinationis’, p.70.

²⁵ Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, p.366. Riccoldo of Monte Croce, ‘Liber peregrinationis’, p.50 Latin reads: ‘*...vehementer timentes occidi a sarracenis.*’

²⁶ Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, p.111, Koppitz, p.148. Latin reads: ‘*Cum enim sit Bethleem iuxta Iherusalem; ut civitatem sanctum vitarem et periculum, feci vie dispendium; sed frustra, quia ibi quod verebar accidit, et captus a Sarracenis ductus sum Iherusalem.*’

Thietmar's disguising himself as a Georgian monk.²⁷ Nevertheless, from what he tells us subsequently, he had every reason to be anxious about how he might be treated should he come close to Jerusalem. Following his capture he was taken to the *Asnerie* as Wilbrand had been five years previously. Yet, whereas Wilbrand's description presents the *Asnerie* as more of a holding area for pilgrims before they were escorted into the holy city, Thietmar felt himself to be very much a prisoner. Indeed, with a sense of desperation he declared:

'At that time although alive I seemed to myself dead. For there was nothing standing between my present sufferings and the fear of death or perpetual captivity; on the contrary, disturbed by the fear of death and imprisonment, from then onwards I seemed to myself to die at every moment. Thus I was detained for two days and one night outside the gate of the city, in the place where St Stephen the protomartyr was stoned... Thus imprisoned and afflicted, since I had no hope or way of hoping, God, who is close to all those who call on His name, visited the desperate one, restored hope, and miraculously preserved me, in this way: I had with me a noble Hungarian count, who knew that certain of his Saracen Hungarian compatriots were living in Jerusalem for the purpose of study. He had them sent for, and being recognised by those sent for he was received by them in a very friendly way. When they perceived the misfortune of our imprisonment, they intervened and with no little effort they had us set free.'²⁸

²⁷ Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, p.107, Koppitz, p.143.

²⁸ Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, pp.111-112, Koppitz, p.148. Latin reads: *Tunc temporis vivus videbar mihi mortuus. Ille enim status inter presentes passiones et timorem mortis vel captivitatis perpetue nichil distabat; immo mortis et captivitatis timore ventilatus hinc inde singulis mihi videbar mori momentis. Sic captivus detinebar duobus diebus et una nocte extra portam civitatis, ubi sanctus Stephanus prothomartir lapidatus fuit. In quo loco quondam constructa est ecclesia, sed nunc a Sarracenis funditus eversa. Cum ergo mihi aptivo et sic angustiato non esset spes nec via spei,*

Again, as with Wilbrand, Thietmar's bemoaning of his situation and emphasis of his suffering could in many ways be an attempt to accentuate pilgrim experiences as an imitation of Christ's suffering with the Muslims playing the role of Christ's Jewish persecutors.²⁹ His choice of the word *passiones* to describe his suffering might indicate that he wished to portray his experience as a subtle expression of *Imitatio Christi*. Even if Thietmar were overplaying the emotional turmoil that such an experience wrought upon him, it is clear from the fact that a release needed to be arranged at all the situation which he found himself in was serious. What is more, that the release only came about through the agency of Hungarian Muslims and Thietmar's good fortune at having Hungarian Christian companions himself speaks to us of the very real difficulties and dangers which thirteenth-century Holy Land pilgrims encountered trying to access Jerusalem.

Can we therefore conclude that it was pragmatic considerations, problems with access and security, which led to the creation of an almost absent Jerusalem in Thietmar's account? Perhaps not. Wilbrand experienced similar, if not quite so extreme, problems in accessing Jerusalem and still wrote a great deal about it, or at least as much as he could. And despite the fact that Riccoldo could not initially access the city, his desire to experience it was so strong that he made a second, successful attempt at visiting. On the contrary, even after being released and allowed to see the city Thietmar's description of Jerusalem is cursory and terse. All he says of the sites within the walls is:

Deus, qui prope est omnibus invocantibus eum, visitavit desperantem, spem rediintegravit, et me miraculose conservavit. Sic: Habui comitem Hungarumnobilem, qui scivit quosdam conprovinciales suos Hungaros sarracenos obtentu studii existere Iherusalem. Quos fecit vocari. Quibus vocatis et agnitus ab ipsis amicissime receptus est. Qui dum intellexissent casum captivitatis nostre, partes suas interposuerunt, et labore non modico fecerunt nos expeditos.' On the presence of *Hungaros sarracenos* see B.Z. Kedar, 'Ungarische Muslime in Jerusalem im Jahre 1217', *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, 40.2/3, (1986), pp.325-327.

²⁹ Yeager, *Jerusalem in medieval narrative*, pp.5, 34-43.

‘The city is very strong and is fortified with walls and towers. The Saracens have converted the Temple of the Lord, which is said to be that of Solomon, into their mosque, so that no Christian ever presumes to enter it. The church containing the Lord’s Sepulchre and the place of the Passion still stand closed, without lights and without honour and reverence, except when it is open through the considerable favour of pilgrim offering payment.’³⁰

The brevity of the description is striking enough, for most pilgrims spent page after page describing the wonders of the Holy Sepulchre and the Temple, without even mentioning the sites such as St Anne’s, sites which Thietmar neglected altogether. Part of this was because certain places, Saint Anne’s and the Temple mount for example, were no longer in Christian hands.³¹ But even his discussion of those sites outside the city, such as those on the Mount of Olives or in the valley of Jehoshaphat, not necessarily restricted by Muslim control of the city are limited at best, if not entirely absent. A brief comparison of Riccoldo’s and Thietmar’s dealings with Mount Sion demonstrates as much:

³⁰ Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, p.112, Kopptiz, p.148. Latin reads: ‘*De sancta civitate quia multi multa dixerunt et quia de ea multa dici possunt, me aliqua dicere duco ociosum. Tamen de multis dicam pauca. Civitas ista est fortissima, muris et turribus munita. Templum Domini, quod dicitur Salomonis, mirifice adornatum, Sarraceni in suam maumeriam converterunt, quo numquam Christianus presumit intrare. Ecclesia Dominici sepulchri et locus passionis sine luminaribus et sine honore et reverencia semper clausa existit, nisi forte gracia oblationum peregrinis aperiatur.*’

³¹ Saint Anne’s had been turned into a Madrasa by Saladin between 1187 and 1192. Pringle, *Churches*, III, p.143.

Thietmar

‘Mons Syon est infra civitatem in orientali vel in australe parte. In cuius summitate est ecclesia, ubi Dominus lavit pedes discipulorum suorom. Ibi eciam in die Pentekostes discipuli Spiritum Sanctum acceperunt. Ibi beata virgo Maria in medio apostolorum Deo reddidit spiritum. Ibi Dominus presentatus fuit Pylato iudici. Ibi cum discipulis cenavit. Ibi Iohannes supra pectus Domini in cena recubuit. Ibi clausis ianuis post resurrectionem discipulis Dominus apparuit. Ibi sanctus Stephanus fuit sepultus inter Nichodemum et Abibam.’³²

Riccoldo

‘Postea inuenimus locum ubi fuit cenaculum illud grande stratum ubi fuit edificata maxima ecclesia que ex una parte continet cellam siue mansionem beate Virginis post ascensionem filii. Ex alia parte in longum continet locum ubi cenauit Christus cum discipulis et alia que fecit eodem sero. Et ibi est altare, ubi ordinauit sacramentum euchariste. Et ibi eciam est locus ubi discipuli erant congregati quando factus est repente de celo sonus et in eodem loco suptus est mansio ubi sero erant discipuli congregati propter metum Iudeorum et locus ubi stetit in medio eorum et dixit pax vobiscum; ibi est altare ubi celebrauimus et predicauimus gementes et flentes et vehementer timentes occidi a sarracenis. Ibi prope iuxta ecclesiam est columpna flagellationis Christi adhuc uestigio sanguinis Christi cruentata ; ibi iuxta est domus Anna, soceri Cayfe. Ibi prope est locus ubi Petrus postquam negauit egressus foras fleuit amare, ubi in memoriam negationis uel amari fletus et penitente Petri edificata est ecclesia.’³³

Aside from the fact that Riccoldo’s description is around fifty percent longer, it is also noteworthy that Thietmar’s description is much more dispassionate, much less involved, than Riccoldo’s. In many ways his straightforward repetition of *Ibi...* followed

³² Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, p.112, Koppitz, p.149.

³³ Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, p.366, Riccoldo of Monte Croce, ‘Liber peregrinationis’, pp.49-50.

by a description of a biblical event is reminiscent of the more basic *Itineraria* than the more complex work that Thietmar's pilgrimage account should be. This, coupled with his false identification of Mount Sion's location, suggests that Thietmar may not have even been to the site, but rather observed it from afar and drew his description from information found in other Holy Land pilgrimage texts.³⁴ Of course, Riccoldo's description also falls foul of traditional ways of describing the site; the frequent use of the *Ibi...* construction is still well evidenced. Yet, the inclusion of his own devotional activities and specifics in regards to dimensions presents a much more informed and involved account of the site. Even more demonstrative is the fact that the above quoted description of Mount Sion is just as long as all the sections pertaining to those sites within the city walls themselves. This is just one example indicative of the way in which Thietmar deals with Jerusalem and its environs more generally.

Evidently, although Thietmar's limited description of the sacred sites in and around the city were influenced by pragmatic considerations, we cannot conclude that this was the main reason for the neglect of the holy city in his account. Were that the case, we would find similar neglect within the accounts of pilgrims like Wilbrand and Riccoldo. In order to understand Thietmar's decision not to give Jerusalem the attention we might expect, we have to turn to look at the impact of textual traditions on his account and his own personal devotional interests.

³⁴ Mount Sion is of course towards the South West. A point also noted by Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, p.112.

II. Textual Traditions

Another clue as to why Thietmar exhibits such a lack of interest in Jerusalem appears in the following statement at the beginning of his description of the holy city. He writes: 'Because many people have said many things about the Holy City and because many things may be said about it, I feel myself free to say what I like.'³⁵ In saying this, as Koppitz notes, Thietmar is demonstrating, subtly, his knowledge of earlier pilgrimage accounts.³⁶ This is hardly surprising. As previously discussed, the twelfth century had seen an explosion in the amount of Holy Land pilgrimage, and therefore pilgrimage literature, in Western Europe. Particularly in the context of German speaking areas of Europe, Thietmar's presumed geographical point of origin, there existed in the likes of John of Würzburg, Theoderic, Burchard of Strasbourg and Wilbrand of Oldenburg, an impressive array of pilgrimage writers. More generally, information about Jerusalem was found across Europe, not just in contemporary or near contemporary literature, but also in literature from the earlier Middle Ages. Adomnán's *De Locis Sanctis* and Bede's various renditions of the same text were extremely popular in the Middle Ages. Bede's version of the *De Locis Sanctis* alone survives in 47 manuscripts, and its popularity grew during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. And yet, this is just one example of the wealth of literature regarding the Holy Land available at this time and the well-established traditions regarding the Holy Land in existence in Europe.³⁷

³⁵ Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, p.112, Koppitz, p.148. Latin reads: *De sancta civitate quia multi multa dixerunt et quia de ea multa dici possunt, me aliqua dicere duco ociosum*. Pringle's translation is perhaps a little free here, in that *aliqua* could be simply rendered as 'other things' rather than 'what I like'. The sense is perhaps here the same however. Because previous writers had already said so much Thietmar felt himself free to diverge from accepted tradition and speaking of something more to his choosing. This alternate rendition could also hint at his decision to give preference to sites outside Jerusalem such as Saint Katherine's and Saydnaya.

³⁶ Koppitz, p.148.

³⁷ O'Loughin, 'Adomnan's *De Locis Sanctis*', p.101.

In short, it was hard to be original when it came to information regarding Jerusalem.

John of Würzburg recognised this when he stated:

‘I am well aware that, long ago, long before the present time, these very places... have been described by a certain revered man. But... it is a long time since they were written down... Hence the attention which we have paid to their location, which we have seen and noted down, is not to be dismissed as exaggerated or superfluous.’³⁸

Nevertheless, John’s intentions here are not the same as Thietmar’s. John is justifying to his readers the *inclusion* of information which he considered to have been well-known at the time. Thietmar on the other hand is justifying the *omission* of that same information. In many ways Thietmar’s text echoes the sentiments of the early medieval pilgrim Bernard the Monk who visited the Holy Land in the year 867. Of the Holy Sepulchre he writes: ‘It is not necessary to say more of this sepulchre, since Bede has given a full description of it in his history’.³⁹ For Bernard, it was the impressive influence of the authority of Bede that led to this omission. For Thietmar, we can presume, it was the expansive amount of Holy Land literature which had been produced during the course of the twelfth century.

What Thietmar’s and Bernard’s accounts demonstrate is that an absent Jerusalem was a product of textual traditions, a problem of how one goes about writing about the

³⁸ Wilkinson, *Jerusalem pilgrims, 1099-1187*, pp.244-245, Huygens, *Peregrinationes Tres*, p.79. Latin reads: ‘Scio equidem iam dudum ante tempora moderna haec eadem loca non tantum in civitate prefata, sed etiam longe extra posita a quodam viro reverendo in scripta redacta fuisse; verum, quia postmodum per tanti temporis spacium, eadem civitate sepe ab hostibus capta et destructa, etiam eadem sacrosancta loca infra muros et prope extra, de quibus tantum intendimus, sunt eversa et forte postea transmutata, ideo hec nostra devotio iuxta situm eorum, quem coram positi videndo diligenter denotavimus, superhabundans et superflua non est iudicanda.’

³⁹ ‘Bernard the Monk’, in T. Wright, *Early Travels in Palestine*, (New York, 1969), p.27.

Holy Land, as much as anything else. The idea that one might avoid commenting on a site due to a pre-existing textual tradition is further evidenced by following the passage of John of Würzburg, quoted a moment before, to its conclusion: 'Of those places far away in other provinces we do not intend to speak, knowing that enough has already been recorded by other writers.'⁴⁰ However, John's solution was not to omit but to copy. And copy he did, with a total 45% of his account taken from other writers.⁴¹ Furthermore, Suzanne Yeager has discussed how in the fourteenth century pilgrims' descriptions of Jerusalem became increasingly standardised and formulaic as a result of a desire to present Jerusalem in a particular light and craft a text which in many ways represented a secondary relic of the holy city. This standardisation was also due to the increasing reliance of pilgrim authors on a series of uniform texts derived from the Franciscan library on Mount Zion.⁴² In fact, most medieval pilgrimage writer's response to dealing with earlier textual authority was to copy the information of older writers, even when it was perhaps out of date and even when they themselves had seen the things they described. Burchard of Mount Zion specifically tells us that although he copied a vast amount of information from Jacques de Vitry he had 'still seen most of these things with my own eyes.'⁴³ This gives the distinct impression that this process of copying or removing certain elements of an account could equally come as a result of the feeling that if someone else had said it, and said it well, it was better to copy them or remain silent on the subject.

⁴⁰ He is here referring to the account of the Monk Fretellus or the anonymous *Work on Geography*. Wilkinson, *Jerusalem pilgrims, 1099-1187*, p.245, Huygens, *Peregrinationes Tres*, p.18.

⁴¹ Huygens, *Peregrinationes Tres*, p.19.

⁴² Yeager, *Jerusalem in medieval narrative*, pp.4-5, 18, 27-33. Michele Campopiano's and Guy Geltner's *Cultural Memory and Identity in the Late Middle Ages: the Franciscans of Mount Zion in Jerusalem and the Representation of the Holy Land (1333-1516)* is also beginning to address these ideas as well.

⁴³ Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, p.245, Laurent, *Peregrinatores medii aevi quatuor*, p.23. Latin reads: '*...que pro maiori parte de dictis uenerabilis patris, domini Iacobi de Utriaco, sancte romane ecclesie legati in terra sancta, quamquam ego oculis meis plurima uiderem de hijs, a me sunt assumpta.*'

What is perhaps surprising in all this is that Thietmar's text has already provided us with a perfect example of this process of copying from, and relying on, earlier textual authorities. As noted in chapter II, almost the entirety of Thietmar's description of Saydnaya was copied from pre-existing texts. If Thietmar, or a later copyist, had been willing to replicate information for Saydnaya, then why not Jerusalem as well?

Awareness of previous textual authorities therefore represented a crucial part in Thietmar's decision to neglect Jerusalem in his account, but it was not the only reason. Even when coupled with the previously discussed pragmatic problems, they provide an unsatisfactory explanation for Thietmar's absent Jerusalem since there are others who experienced similar problems and yet did not, as Thietmar did, neglect the city. For a resolution of this matter, it is to Thietmar's own devotional tendencies that we must look for clarification.

III. Personal Devotions

One of the most difficult aspects of dealing with medieval pilgrimage accounts is trying to understand the ways in which pilgrims felt about the sites they were visiting. Most pilgrims up until at least the thirteenth century approach the places of the Holy Land from a surprisingly dispassionate angle, rarely betraying any emotions and seldom portraying themselves as directly involved in any devotional activities. It is in the way the pilgrim authors write about the sacred rather than the way in which they describe their own conduct that we can most clearly perceive their devotional interests. Fortunately, in Thietmar's text we find multiple statements which do help us to understand the ways in which his personal devotions shaped his experiences of the places of the Holy Land.

To begin with let us return to Thietmar's description of the Holy Sepulchre: 'The church containing the Lord's Sepulchre and the place of the Passion still stands closed, without lights and without honour and reverence, except when it is opened through the considerable favour of a pilgrim offering payment.'⁴⁴ We have already noted the brevity with which Thietmar deals with one of Christianity's most sacred sites, but the specifics warrant more attention. Three things seem to affect Thietmar's disappointment with the site. The first is the already mentioned issue of access. The second and third are closely related to one another. The second issue, that of a lack of lights, represents the practical side to the third issue which is the lack of honour and reverence. Both of these hint at a lack of clergy to perform the necessary rites for the pilgrims and maintain the shrine in an acceptable fashion. As mentioned previously, Richard I had negotiated the presence of clergy at the Holy Sepulchre, but they are conspicuous in their absence in Thietmar's text. Riccoldo hints, tellingly, that while in the Holy Sepulchre he organised his own procession, again suggesting the absence of anyone able to do so on his behalf.⁴⁵ While the two experiences are seventy years apart, all of this suggests that despite the provisions made for the presence of clergy, they were not always able to take care of the shrine as expected by pilgrims. Wilbrand's statement that the church had 'no one to console her' (*Que desolata non habens, qui consoletur eam*) might be interpreted as further evidence for this.⁴⁶

When we compare this experience of Jerusalem with Thietmar's experience on Mount Sinai with Saint Katherine we are presented with a remarkably different picture. Of his visit to the saint's shrine he tells us:

⁴⁴ Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, p.112, Koppitz, p.148.

⁴⁵ Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, p.373, Riccoldo of Monte Croce, 'Liber peregrinationis', p.70.

⁴⁶ Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, p.88, Wilbrand of Oldenburg, 'Itinerarium', p.133.

‘When the bishop of that place learnt of my wishes and the reason for my coming, he made himself ready with devotion, prayers and chanting and after lamps and censers had been lit he went to the sarcophagus of the blessed virgin Katherine, opened it and bade me look inside. And I saw clearly, face to face and without dubiety, the body of Saint Katherine; and I kissed her uncovered head... When I had spent four days with them, however, and the bishop learnt of my wish to depart, with great devotion he approached the sarcophagus of Saint Katherine. Having opened it, he gave me some of the oil of the same virgin.’⁴⁷

Clearly Thietmar’s experience of Mount Sinai was profoundly more fulfilling than that at Jerusalem; and the text makes the reasons for this clear. Saint Katherine was open, accessible; the Holy Sepulchre was not. Saint Katherine was honoured with lights, with divine service; the Holy Sepulchre was without honour, devoid of such trappings. Importantly, Saint Katherine possessed an active clergy, specifically a Bishop, who could perform the necessary rites to complete the pilgrim’s experience; there was no such clergy in evidence at the Holy Sepulchre when Thietmar was there. His experience was further improved at Mount Sinai owing to the fact that Thietmar was able to obtain relics from Katherine’s tomb.

Yet Thietmar’s preference for Saint Katherine over the city of Christ is about more than just Thietmar’s ability to worship there effectively. At the beginning of the second

⁴⁷ Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, p.125 and 131, Koppitz, p.165 and 172. Latin reads: ‘*Cum episcopus loci illius intelligeret desiderium meum et causam adventus mei, preparatus cum devotione et orationibus et cantu accensis luminaribus et thuribus accessit ad sarcophagum beate Katerine virginis, et aperuit, et mihi introspicere precepit. Et vidi perspicue facie ad faciem sine ambiguo corpus beate Katerine, et capud eius nudum deosculabar...Cum autem quatuor dies fecissem apud eos, et episcopus de voluntate discessus mei intelligeret, cum multa devotione accessit ad sarcophagum beate Katerine. Quo aperto dedit mihi de oleo eiusdem virginis.*’

phase of Thietmar's pilgrimage, within which the Jerusalem account also appears, Thietmar tells us that he set out 'wishing with great desire and longing to visit the body of Saint Katherine'.⁴⁸ What is clear from this is that Thietmar's preferential treatment of places like Saint Katherine's over the more traditional sites of the Holy Land occurred for more profound reasons than just pragmatics, the influence of textual traditions or the reality of the experience. It seems from what Thietmar tells us here, that his entire reason for going to the Holy Land was to visit the body of Saint Katherine on Mt Sinai. Taking into consideration what we usually assume to be the primary purpose of Holy Land pilgrimage, namely for pilgrims to engage with sites directly related to the life of Christ, Thietmar presents us with a challenging problem. What he should lead us to realise is that although Christ and Jerusalem were central to Holy Land pilgrimage in the period, there existed exceptions and pilgrims had the ability to choose which sites to visit. More strikingly, these choices could be made on devotional grounds. As a result of the way in which Thietmar presents his pilgrimage through his text, it would appear that for him Katherine, and not Christ, was the primary objective of his pilgrimage journey.

Saint Katherine

'Thietmar was clearly smitten with Saint Katherine'.⁴⁹

Concise though it may be Kathryn Rudy's above-quoted statement succinctly describes the relationship that existed between Thietmar and Saint Katherine. Indeed, previous scholarship has highlighted Thietmar's close relationship with Mount Sinai and Saint Katherine particularly Thietmar's role as the first pilgrim to provide a description of

⁴⁸ Pringle, p.107. Koppitz, p.143. Latin reads: '*Desiderio autem desiderans desiderantissime corpus beate Katerine... visitare...*'

⁴⁹ Rudy, *Virtual Pilgrimage*, p.57.

the shrine.⁵⁰ Considering the preceding discussion of Thietmar's relationship with Jerusalem and our identification of Thietmar's devotion to Katherine as a key reason for his neglect of the holy city, it is essential that we address Thietmar's relationship with the saint in much more detail and ask what it was about her that attracted Thietmar so intensely. Whilst Jerusalem represents the oldest sacred sites in Christian history, the cult of Saint Katherine was in its infancy and far from the great heights it would reach in the later middle ages. What is more Katherine's association with Mount Sinai was arguably even younger. This section will focus on Thietmar's relationship with Katherine; what he can tell us about the development of her cult, her association with Mount Sinai and ultimately show that the thirteenth century was witness to some fundamental shifts in the practice of Holy Land pilgrimage and Catholic European understanding of the Holy Land itself.

The Cult of Saint Katherine

The history of the cult of Saint Katherine is well documented. Yet there remains some debate surrounding the point at which Katherine's relics appeared within the monastery which now bears her name. Broadly speaking, there exists two lines of thinking regarding the presence of a tomb for Saint Katherine on Mount Sinai. The first, and advocated by the likes of Christine Walsh, argues for Saint Katherine's presence on the mountain at the earliest stages of the cult's development (around the seventh and eighth century).⁵¹ Even if others reject this earlier dating, Walsh maintains

⁵⁰ K.J. Lewis, 'Pilgrimage and the cult of Saint Katherine of Alexandria in late medieval England', in J. Stopford, [ed.] *Pilgrimage explored*, (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 1999), pp.146-147

⁵¹ See Primarily C. Walsh, *The cult of St Katherine of Alexandria in early medieval Europe*, (Aldershot, 2007), but also C. Walsh, 'The role of the Normans in the development of the cult of St. Katherine' in J. Jenkins, and K. Lewis, [eds.] *St. Katherine of Alexandria: texts and contexts in Western medieval Europe*, (Turnhout, 2003), pp.19-35 and C. Walsh, 'Medieval saints' cults as international networks: the example of the cult of St. Katherine of Alexandria', in J. Gregory, and H. Mcleod, [eds.], *International religious networks, Studies in Church history*, subsidia 14, (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 2012) pp.1-8.

that at the very latest the relics must have been in place by the late-tenth/early-eleventh century when a monk of Sinai, Symeon of Trier, purportedly transported a finger bone of the saint from Sinai to Rouen.

In contrast, a revisionist interpretation is that appearance of Katherine's remains on the mountain was the result of interest from Western, specifically Norman pilgrims. The argument is that the appearance of Norman pilgrims, like Philip of Nablus (the first visitor attested to have visited Sinai specifically to see Saint Katherine), at Sinai prompted the Orthodox clergy of Sinai to produce and promote the presence of Katherine's body at the shrine.⁵² Norman interest in Saint Katherine of course, stemmed from the presence of relics of Saint Katherine at Rouen. From which an expectation arose that the Saint would be found at Sinai spread. It is at this point that the two theories collide over the veracity of the relics received at Rouen and Symeon's role in their translation. If Symeon did indeed bring relics from Sinai in the early eleventh century then it is clear that the relics were in place at Sinai before this point, but if the translation is pure invention then the idea that the cult was stimulated by Norman interest in Sinai gains more ground. And in support of this, Symeon's role in the translation has been convincingly challenged in recent years.⁵³ The key issue here is the point at which we have our first concrete evidence for Saint Katherine's physical presence on Mount Sinai.

⁵² This argument was made by Charles Jones and more recently has found support in the likes of Andrew Jotischky and David Jacoby. See, D. Jacoby, 'Christian pilgrimage to Sinai until the late fifteenth century', in R.S. Nelson, and K.M. Collins, [eds.], *Holy image, hallowed ground: icons from Sinai*, (Los Angeles, 2006) pp.79-93, C.W. Jones, 'The Norman cult of Saints Catherine and Nicholas saec.XI', in Chambier, G., [ed.], *Hommages à André Boutemy*, (Brussels, 1976) pp.216-230 and A. Jotischky, 'Saints' cult and devotions on the Norman edge: the case of Saint Katherine of Alexandria', unpublished paper given at conference *Power and acculturation in the Norman world*, Lancaster University, 15-17 December, 2011.

⁵³ On Symeon's career see M.C. Ferrari, 'From pilgrims' guide to living relic: Symeon of Trier and his biographer Eberwin' in M. Herren, C. McDonough, and R.G. Arthur, [ed.] *Latin culture in the eleventh century*, (Turnhout, 2002) pp.324-344.

On the one side, it is not until Philip of Nablus' pilgrimage to Sinai in the 1160s that he have the first suggestion that Katherine might actually be found on Sinai. And not until Thietmar some fifty years later that we have our first eye witness account of her tomb. On the other hand, many of the earliest *Vitae* of the saint (produced it has to be said in the Orthodox world) state that following her martyrdom, Katherine's body had been miraculously transported to Sinai by angels and deposited in an unknown location. It would make sense, therefore, for the literary traditions, present in the Orthodox world from at least the eighth century, to inspire the appearance of the saint on Sinai without the cult needing to be stimulated from an outside source. Until more evidence surfaces to support either argument the debate has in many ways reached an impasse. That being said, for our discussion two key points must be acknowledged. The first is that by 1217 there was already a clear expectation in the West that one would find Katherine on Mount Sinai. Secondly, it is clear that this expectation was being to result in Western pilgrims to Sinai from around the 1160s.

What is also fascinating is the purpose for these pilgrim's travels. A legend recounted to Thietmar by the monk of Mount Sinai (discussed in more depth later on) tells of how a certain noble of Petra (which by implication must be Philip of Nablus) tried to steal the body of Katherine but was prevented from doing so by divine means. Charter evidence serves to corroborate this for the most part with a cartulary from Croan dated to 20th March 1169 stating:

*'Noscet omnium...quia ego Philippus Neapolitanus in montem Synay ascendi et a monachis loci illius sepulcrum beatae virginis Catherinae mihi aperire obtinui et, cum ingenti timore partier et amore, de sacratissimo corpore praefaterae virginis, praesentem thesauram veraciter assumpti.'*⁵⁴

While this does not suggest the Philip intended to take Katherine's whole body it does show that he was looking for relics of the saint when he visited the mountain. Other, less well-known, travellers to the Holy Land were also on the lookout for relics of the Saint. The register of donation to Saint Mary of Altavaux in the year 1180, connected with the already mentioned Guy Chat and Aymeric Brun, states: *'Postea vero, Aimericus Bruni misit de Iherusalem in Altas-valles de oleo quod ex uberibus imagines sancta Dei genitricis emanate, de oleo tumuli sancta Katerine, viriginis et martyris, per manum Guidonis Chati.'*⁵⁵ Furthermore, a certain Guy of Blond recorded, in a letter confirming the grant a whole host of other Holy Land relics to the monastery of Saint Junien of Limoges sometime between 1158 and 1162, that *'Archeviscopus de Monte Sinai dedit mihi de oleo S. Catharinae.'*⁵⁶ We also know that Heisterbach was the in possession of a bone of Saint Katherine and some oil of both Saint Katherine and Saydnaya at the time when Caesarius was writing his *Dialogus Miraculorum*.⁵⁷

⁵⁴ Bertrand de Breusillon, *La Maison de Craon 1050-1480. Etude historique accompagnée du cartulaire de Craon*, vol 1 (Paris, 1893), no.138, p.101. My thanks to Andrew Jotischky for this reference.

⁵⁵ Devos, 'Le légende de Saïdnaia', p.276.

⁵⁶ C. Kohler, 'Documents inédits concernant l'orient Latin et les Croisades (XII-XIV siècle)', in *Revue de l'orient Latin*, 7, (Paris, 1899) p.8. Kohler dated the translation as having occurred sometime between 1130 and 1160, but on consultation with the monastery's chronicle a more precise dating, given above can be suggested making this possibly the earliest evidence of relics coming from Katherine at Sinai to the West, discounting of course the claims of Rouen. Stephan Maleu, 'Chronicon Comodoliacense', Arbellot, [ed.] *Chronique de Maleu: chanoine de saint-Junien*, (Paris, 1847)

⁵⁷ See W. Purkis, 'Crusading and crusade memory in Caesarius of Heisterbach's *Dialogus miraculorum*', *Journal of medieval history*, 39.1, (2013), pp.100-127. One can also find two miracles attributed to the Saint in the Dialogues. Caesarius of Heisterbach, 'Dialogus

Relics therefore were of primary importance to these early travels to Sinai. Yet more than this, the evidence of Heisterbach and Guy Chat demonstrates that initial devotional interest in Katherine was closely connected to the interest in Saydnaya. Sinai and Saydnaya brought from the Holy Land were both in possession of effluvial relics, both were connected with figures of female piety and pilgrims become aware of both sites in around the period 1160-1180. Accordingly, Thietmar's interest in the saint mirrors that of broader European interest in the saint during this early period of her cult.

Thietmar and St Katherine

Thietmar, as the first pilgrim to provide us with a description of Katherine's tomb on Sinai, is clearly therefore significant in terms of the cult's development, but one question which remains to be answered is why it was that Katherine occupied so much of Thietmar's thinking. Was Thietmar's decision to preference Sinai over Jerusalem based more on pragmatic or devotional factors? Certainly we have seen already from Thietmar's above-quoted description, the liturgical approach to the coffin, the ritual act of kissing the saint, that Thietmar expressed a profound devotion to Katherine within his account. We see this also at the beginning of the section detailing his journey from Acre to Sinai:

'Wishing with great desire and longing to visit the body of St Katherine, which sweats holy oil, and still more ardently because I had conceived of it in my mind for a long time, I submitted my whole self, body and mind, to the grace of God and to the assistance of St Katherine, not shrinking away from whatever dangers or chance events there might be. I was set aflame with such a desire

Miraculorum', J. Strange, [ed.] *Caesarii hiesterbacensis monachi ordinis cisterciensis Dialogus Miraculorum*, 2 vols., (Cologne, 1851), pp.150-151.

(for I was exposing my life to death or perpetual captivity through the ebb and flow of chance and fate).⁵⁸

First and foremost, it is important to note that Thietmar's visit did not just occur on a whim. The fact that he had 'conceived of it in [his] mind for a long time' suggests an amount of forethought on the part of our pilgrim. Indeed, this statement shows that rather than places like Jerusalem, Nazareth or Bethlehem being the motivating factor behind Thietmar's embarkation on pilgrimage it was in fact Saint Katherine. This is significant not just because of the apparent relegation of the traditional sites of the Holy Land at the expense of Katherine. It must be remembered that Thietmar's account is not only the first to mention Saint Katherine on Mount Sinai, but also the first Latin, pilgrim author to describe a personal visit to Mount Sinai at all since Egeria.⁵⁹ This is all the more important when one considers that Thietmar's visit was not an opportunistic venture, but an informed and long considered devotional decision. Of course, the mountain had been mentioned in pilgrimage accounts throughout the period in connection with Moses and the Burning Bush, but there is no evidence that any of these pilgrim authors went to the mountain. This is all the more significant considering pilgrims like Bernard and Arculf did travel through places like Alexandria, as Egeria had done, and still did not visit the holy mountain.⁶⁰ Although there were several reasons why a pilgrim *would* visit Mount Sinai, the simple fact was that Latin pilgrims in the early Middle Ages, at least those that composed accounts of the Holy Land, did not. Such a tendency can also be observed in the accounts of Thietmar's contemporaries.

⁵⁸ Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, p.107. Koppitz, p.143.

⁵⁹ Wilkinson, *Egeria's travels*, pp.91-98.

⁶⁰ Bernard the Monk, pp.24-26, Bernard travelled straight across the desert from Egypt to Palestine without even a mention of Sinai. Wilkinson, *Jerusalem pilgrims before the crusades*, p.93-116, similarly the description provided by Arculf from Adomnán's report jumps straight from Tyre to Alexandria without mentioning Sinai.

Sinai does not appear in the texts of Riccoldo of Monte Croce and Wilbrand of Oldenburg. Philip of Savona's text mentions the bare details regarding Katherine's presence at the shrine and the time (fifteen days) it takes to get there.⁶¹ The simple texts of *The Holy Pilgrimages*, Anonymous IX and Anonymous X, all written sometime between 1229 and 1239 provide the same information as Philip, though they judge Sinai to be just eight days travel.⁶² This information is again found in the anonymous text written between 1244 and 1265 known as *The Ways and Pilgrimages of the Holy Land*.⁶³ Ernoul's Chronicle written in around 1231 provides a little more detail regarding Katherine stating:

‘On that mountain where the law was given the angel carried the body of Saint Katherine, when she had her head cut off in Egypt. There she lies in oil, which her body emits. And above there is an abbey of Greek monks. But the main abbey of that house is not there, but at the foot of the mountain...’⁶⁴

In this there seems to be similar suggestion to that found in the *Lives* of Saint Katherine connected with Rouen, that Katherine was not housed in the main abbey, which is of course in direct contradiction to Thietmar's statement. This fact might suggest that rather than Ernoul's information being based on the thirteenth-century reality it was in fact based on rumours created by the development of the Norman legend. Indeed, a lack of clarity in regards to the precise situation of Katherine is also found in two anonymous Greek texts of the period. The first written between 1253-1254 depicts Katherine as being present in the monastery, the first Greek pilgrimage text to

⁶¹ Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, pp.346-347.

⁶² Pringle, *Pilgrimage*. The Holy Pilgrimages section can be found on p.172. Anonymous IX and X can be found on p.178.

⁶³ Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, p.222.

⁶⁴ Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, pp.139-140.

do so.⁶⁵ The second dating from sometime in the century thereafter merely mentions ‘the mountain of Saint Katherine, on which she lay for 365 years guarded by angels.’⁶⁶ As indicated by the phrase ‘mountain of Saint Katherine’, this description refers to *Jabal Katarina* specifically rather than Mount Sinai and should not be read as a second witness in a Greek text to Katherine’s presence in the monastery proper. Ultimately, this shows that knowledge of Saint Katherine’s presence on the mountain, even after Thietmar’s visit and the obvious existence of a tomb in the monastery, was far from uniform in both the Greek and Latin traditions.

Clearly there was no well-defined appreciation of Katherine’s final resting place. It also shows that while Sinai was becoming more popular in this period, it was by no means a pilgrimage “hot spot”.⁶⁷ The reasons for this are clearly represented in the anonymous accounts *The Pilgrimages and Places of the Holy Land* and *The Pilgrimages and Pardons of Acre*. In the latter we read:

‘There are many other pilgrimages in that land, such that I cannot or do not know how to name them all. Of Sardayne, of Mount Sinai, and other pilgrimages that there are in those countries, I have said nothing for the journeys are difficult and the ways long.’⁶⁸

Evidently for many thirteenth-century pilgrims the journey to Sinai, and interestingly Saydnaya was too difficult. Even in the later period when there existed a more established route and framework within which to perform Sinai pilgrimage, the

⁶⁵ Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, p.196.

⁶⁶ Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, p.387.

⁶⁷ Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, p.4.

⁶⁸ Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, p.234.

journey was incredibly demanding.⁶⁹ This further undermines the significance of pragmatic considerations when considering Thietmar's neglect of Jerusalem, as surely if Jerusalem were perceived to be too dangerous to visit then the same would have applied to Mount Sinai? Nevertheless, it is interesting that Sinai and Saydnaya, once again, appear considered together. In a similar fashion *The Pilgrimages and Places of the Holy Land* states:

'In Damascus Saint Paul was converted. There follows Saint Mary of Sardinalli. On Mount Sinai the law was given. Near by the Lord appeared in a bramble bush. Near by is the Red Sea where the children of Israel crossed over. Likewise on Mount Sinai the body of Saint Katherine is buried. In Babylon is the church in which is the body of St Barbara. Near Babylon is the spring where balsam grew. Jesus, however, passing through the midst of them went his way.'⁷⁰

What is intriguing with this list (Damascus, Saydnaya, Mount Sinai, the Red Sea, St Barbara, Al-Matariyya) is, excepting St Barbara, all of these sites correspond with the "unusual" places which Thietmar himself visits. The succinct nature of the descriptions of each of these sites, and their positioning at the end of the anonymous texts, is once again suggestive of the fact that Mount Sinai, and the associated sites, represent peripheral or secondary shrines of the Holy Land in the thirteenth century.

⁶⁹ Jacoby, 'Christian pilgrimage', pp.79-93.

⁷⁰ Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, p.380.

Certainly, this did not rule out the possibility of Western visitors to the monastery, as evidenced by the diplomatic exchanges between the monks of the monastery and Normandy throughout the eleventh century and also the connections between Mount Sinai and Monte Cassino. The evidence of Philip of Nablus proves that people were beginning to visit the holy mountain again during the twelfth century. Nonetheless, the monastery's position on Mount Sinai meant that as a rule, before the thirteenth century, it was not considered to be part of a traditional Latin pilgrimage itinerary even though it would go on to be an integral and popular element of later medieval pilgrim tours. Part of the problem with Sinai and its relationship with the Holy Land is the result of definitions of the Holy Land's traditional bounds. Regrettably, we do not have the space here to consider what was or was not considered a part of the Holy Land at any given period or at what point Christianity began to think in terms of a *Terra Sancta* as opposed to simple sacred places. Among pilgrimage texts of the period, Burchard of Mount Sion is the only one to provide anything that can assist us in understanding how some people viewed the Holy Land in this period. Significantly, for Burchard, the beginning of the Sinai desert represents one of the southern borders of the Holy Land thereby excluding Sinai from his definition of it.⁷¹ Taking Burchard of Mount Sion's account as an expression of how some thought about the Holy Land in the thirteenth century, we can see the problem that Mount Sinai faced.

If we acknowledge this problematic relationship between Mount Sinai and the traditional Holy Land, then this must lead us to some interesting conclusions regarding Thietmar's intentions. Essentially, Thietmar purposely planned to travel to the East to visit a site outside of what was, at this time, considered by some to be

⁷¹Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, p.267, Burchard of Mount Sion, 'Descriptio terrae sanctae', p.43.

outside the traditional bounds of the Holy Land. Importantly, Saydnaya also fits into the category of a site which transcends these inferred boundaries. Thietmar gives us no indications as to his own understanding of what defined the Holy Land. He uses the phrase *terra sancta* just once in his account, and this usage is generic, referring simply to the time when the Holy Land was lost (*quando terra sancta perdita fuit*).⁷² However it would be unwise to conclude that Thietmar himself thought he was doing anything extraordinary or intentionally trying to step outside these boundaries. Instead, the unusual geographic focus of Thietmar's text speaks for the way in which the Holy Land expanded in Western consciousness during the thirteenth century. The effects of this expansion would not be truly felt until the fourteenth century when Mount Sinai would become a regular route on pilgrimage, although we are seeing the beginnings of this process here.⁷³ The question is why was the thirteenth century the period when these changes were beginning to occur? Some have argued that this expansion came as the result of the pragmatic considerations we discussed in relation to Jerusalem.⁷⁴ Important as it is not to ignore the crucial role that such considerations played in determining pilgrimage routes, Thietmar makes clear that decisions were not made pragmatically on arrival in the Holy Land, but rather in advance of travelling. Thietmar's decision was as much to do with premeditated devotional decisions, as practical concerns.

This can clearly be seen from the start of the above quoted extract. Thietmar's elegant phrase '*Desiderio autem desiderans desiderantissime*', expresses wonderfully the intense devotion that he felt towards Saint Katherine and his desire to see her body. Such a strong devotional response is again exhibited in the same extract, when Thietmar

⁷² Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, p.115, Koppitz, p.151.

⁷³ Lewis, 'Cult of Saint Katherine', pp.145-160.

⁷⁴ Mylod, 'Latin Christian pilgrimage', p.269, Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, pp.1-19.

states that he was 'set aflame which such a desire.'⁷⁵ Furthermore, by sketching out the dangers he was willing to confront in order to see the realisation of this desire he attempts to underline this devotion. This emphasis may appear a little contrived considering the retrospective knowledge of what he endured trying to get to Sinai. Yet, Thietmar did suffer capture and feared death, one of his companions did die and he did become ill from drinking contaminated water.⁷⁶ I would seem that these sentiments were genuine. Of course, these sentiments and Thietmar's clear plan to avoid Jerusalem and travel to Sinai could be a retrospective attempt, in constructing his account, to validate pragmatic decisions on devotional grounds.⁷⁷ But we need to ask: why was Thietmar willing to risk so much to go to Sinai, and not risk take similar risks in going to Jerusalem? Why did Katherine appeal so much to Thietmar?

The obvious explanation for why this was the case is the universal appeal and the versatility of Saint Katherine as a saint. Such versatility was noted within the *Legenda Aurea's* version of Saint Katherine's life in which we read:

'It is worthy of note that blessed Katherine is admirable in five respects: first in wisdom, second in eloquence, third in constancy, fourth in cleanness of chastity, fifth in her privileged dignity... 'Lastly, she was admirable by reason of her privileged dignity... Some saints have received special privileges at the time of death – for instance, a visitation by Christ (Saint John the Evangelist), an outflow of oil (Saint Nicholas), an effusion of milk (Saint Paul), the preparation of a sepulchre (Saint Clement), and the hearing of petitions (Saint Margaret of

⁷⁵ Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, p.107, Koppitz, p.143.

⁷⁶ This last incident can be found here, Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, p.123, Koppitz, p.162.

⁷⁷ Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, p.95, Koppitz, p.127. See Chapter III, pp.142-156.

Antioch...). Saint Katherine's legend shows that all these privileges were hers."⁷⁸

From these attributes we can see how Katherine might have appealed to an individual like Thietmar. He, as an educated individual, who was probably a member of the clergy and possibly connected with female monastic communities, had very strong reasons to develop a deep devotional connection with Saint Katherine. Yet it is crucial to acknowledge that while Thietmar is representative of later medieval devotional tendencies he exhibits them *before* the publication of the Golden Legend which played such a large role in the popularisation of the saint's cult. He was therefore ahead of his times. All this adds weight to the argument that devotional preferences played a far greater role in Thietmar's decision to prefer Sinai over Jerusalem than did pragmatic considerations.

Another thing that Saint Katherine offered Thietmar was a tangible sacred experience. On his arrival at Mount Sinai, having seen the burning bush and having been escorted to the part of the chapel where Saint Katherine lay interned, he indicates that he was able to see the saint 'face to face, and without dubiety'.⁷⁹ It was not just the act of seeing that Katherine facilitated, but the act of touching, and specifically kissing. This moment with Saint Katherine is not the only time in his account in which we see him interacting with the sacred through the act of kissing. At Bethlehem Thietmar 'a sinner, kissed the crib in which the little Lord squalled and worshipped in the place...'⁸⁰ Kissing as a devotional response on pilgrimage is well attested in the sources, but it betrays the intense feeling and emotion that such sites were able to elicit and

⁷⁸ Jacobus de Voragine, *The golden legend*, in W.G. Ryan, [trans.], *The golden legend: reading on the saints*, vol. 2, (Princeton, 1993), p.339.

⁷⁹ Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, p.125, Koppitz, p.151. See p.193 above for full quote.

⁸⁰ Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, p.114, Koppitz, p.150. Latin reads: '*In qua ego peccator deosculabar presepe, in quo Dominus parvulus vagiit, et adoravi in loco.*'

demonstrates a desire within Thietmar to be intimately engaging with the objects of sanctity which he encounters during his pilgrimage journey. Furthermore, by giving himself the appellation of sinner (*peccator*) it demonstrates that Thietmar was able to reflect on his own sinful state at this location tying in his desire to conduct a penitential pilgrimage. It is also revealing that just as at the Holy Sepulchre, Thietmar's access to Bethlehem was restricted by the presence of Saracen guard who took payment from pilgrims entering the church. And yet unlike Jerusalem, Thietmar was more than willing to overcome this pragmatic obstacle on this occasion.

Just as at Bethlehem, Thietmar was able to worship at Saint Katherine's tomb and it must always be remembered that a pilgrim's experience was a ritual one. As Josef Meri has argued, in the context of Islamic pilgrimage, it was the enactment of these rituals which gave space for sacred meaning.⁸¹ Such a process is explicit in Thietmar. Those places, like Bethlehem or Mount Sinai, where he was able to engage in the ritual acts of pilgrimage (touching and kissing things perceived as holy and engaging in worship) he speaks about more positively. The places where those rituals were hampered, for whatever reason, are dealt with in a more cursory and negative manner. It is for this reason that Saint Katherine looms large in Thietmar's narrative, Jerusalem slips slowly into the background and Bethlehem maintains its position as an intrinsic part of the Holy Land experience for Thietmar.

Additionally, Saint Katherine could offer relics. Of course, pilgrims from very early periods had collected relics at Jerusalem. Visitors to the Holy Sepulchre had gathered

⁸¹ J.W. Meri, *The cult of saints among Muslims and Jews in medieval Syria*, (Oxford, 2002), p.284.

dust from Christ's tomb, or chipped away pieces of the tomb itself.⁸² If Thietmar went looking for relics of Christ in Jerusalem he does not say, whereas he clearly states that he obtained some of Katherine's relics from Mount Sinai.⁸³ By the same token, the letter of Guy of Blond elucidates the broad range of relics that could be acquired in the Holy Land. The difference with Saint Katherine is that, compared with traditional Holy Land relics which could be found across Catholic Europe especially following the sacking of Constantinople in 1204, Katherine's relics were an uncommon sight in the Latin West in 1217. The presence of easily accessible, unusual relics, with a particular connection to the pilgrim's own devotional tendencies, should be recognised as something which would recommend Sinai to a pilgrim such as Thietmar.⁸⁴

In truth, this is the key to what we have been discussing. There were certainly pragmatic concerns which affected Thietmar's decision to preference Saint Katherine over Jerusalem. The prevalence of textual traditions regarding Jerusalem may also have had a role to play. But it was Thietmar's devotional preferences, first and foremost, which led him to make the arduous journey to the Holy Land not to visit Jerusalem but to see Saint Katherine. The prevailing message in this is that pilgrims had a choice. Regardless of which site, shrine or saint held pride of place in the hierarchy of pilgrimage destinations and regardless of what the more universalist narratives might suggest about what pilgrims did on pilgrimage, each pilgrim was above all else an individual, with their own devotional preferences and inclinations which could dictate the decisions relating to which places they visited. Overshadowing this vital acknowledgment is the feeling that there were some profound changes occurring in

⁸² C. Morris, *Sepulchre of Christ and the Medieval West: From the Beginning to 1600*, (Oxford: 2005), pp.146-153, 223-229.

⁸³ Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, p.131, Koppitz, p.172.

⁸⁴ The question of a female audience could once again be raised, but as suggested earlier the evidence for this is circumstantial at best. See, pp.166-172.

the nature of pilgrimage in the thirteenth century and that because of the problems which Jerusalem faced in this period other sites were able to compete for the attention of pilgrims.

Thietmar and the Holy Land

Thietmar's pilgrimage experience, therefore, involving as it did saints, relics and miracles, was much more reminiscent of what we would expect to see from a pilgrimage to one of the many shrines of continental Europe. As Rudy has said 'Thietmar's text privileges Sinai's monastery over Jerusalem's Sepulchre, miracles over indulgences, and a personally forged trip over a pre-planned itinerary'.⁸⁵ The existence of such a pilgrimage challenges our expectations of normal Holy Land pilgrimage experience. Of course, I am not arguing that every thirteenth-century pilgrim preferred Sinai over Jerusalem. What I am arguing is that pilgrims had a choice. Despite the overwhelming draw that Jerusalem undeniably exerted over the vast majority of pilgrims, the problems which the holy city experienced, coupled with changing Western devotional preferences, meant pilgrim focuses could shift, change and adapt.

While Thietmar is perhaps an extreme example, what he shows is that we should not take for granted that twelfth-century Holy Land pilgrimage and thirteenth-century Holy Land pilgrimage were one and the same. Primarily, for our discussion of Place, what has to be recognised is that the thirteenth-century witnessed an expansion of the Holy Land. Liz Mylod has shown the ways in which pilgrimage within the bounds of traditional twelfth-century itineraries diversified in the period.⁸⁶ Burchard of Mount Sion's tendency in this regard has already been noted. Yet this diversification along the accessible routes can also be witnessed by the appearance, in the thirteenth century, of

⁸⁵ Rudy, *Virtual Pilgrimage*, p.57.

⁸⁶ Mylod, 'Latin Christian pilgrimage'.

lists of indulgences which one could obtain within Acre, a city which had been all but devoid of spiritual importance in the twelfth century.⁸⁷ As noted previously, Mount Sion represented another place where displaced holy sites could congregate.⁸⁸ What Thietmar shows is that this diversification occurred not just within the traditional bounds of the Holy Land, but outside as well. The importance of recognising that sites such as Saydnaya and Mount Sinai represented an expansion of the Holy Land cannot be stressed enough. While the reasons for their popularisation in the thirteenth century are clear, what is not clear is why these processes of expansion had already begun in the twelfth century with individuals such as Burchard of Strasbourg and Philip of Nablus. The most likely explanation is that the expansion of Place had very close links to development of devotional trends in the West.

Crucially, therefore, the expansion of Place was a result of the decisions and devotional drives of Person. On the one hand this adds credence to the views of Glenn Bowman. However, I believe there was something more profound occurring in the West in this period. It was not just Place that changed as a result of the developments of the thirteenth century but Holy Land pilgrimage as an “institution” itself. To truly appreciate this we must step outside of Thietmar’s text and look at the three other major accounts of the thirteenth century: Wilbrand of Oldenburg, Riccoldo of Monte Croce and Burchard of Mount Sion. Before doing so it is important to remind the reader that although Thietmar’s itinerary is unusual for the way he practised his pilgrimage, his use of the verb of *peregre* to describe his travels means that he saw himself, and acted in way which we might refer to, as a “standard pilgrim” following “standard pilgrim practices”.⁸⁹ On the other hand, at least in their descriptions of the

⁸⁷ Mylod, ‘Latin Christian pilgrimage’, p.247, Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, p.16, 44-46, 229-236.

⁸⁸ Jotischky, ‘The Franciscan return’, pp.241-258.

⁸⁹ Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, p.95, Koppitz, p.127.

holy places, the narratives of Wilbrand, Riccoldo and Burchard are much more normative. Their experiences, however, are not.

While Wilbrand describes himself as a “pilgrim” it must be stressed that he uses this definition at the start of his account and in so doing defines himself as a “pilgrim” while he is travelling both in a political and spiritual function.⁹⁰ Riccoldo presents the same problem. His whole enterprise is termed *peregrinationes* and yet this encompassed both his Holy Land “pilgrimage” and his missionary travels to the East in Baghdad.⁹¹ This is shown by his use of the term *peregrinationes* in his introduction, and also by the fact that when travelling through the lands of the Tartars, on his way to Baghdad, Riccoldo concludes his section of his description of the Tartars with the phrase: ‘*Nunc prosequamur de nostra peregrinatione.*’⁹² Alternatively, Burchard of Mount Sion whose activities (in terms of geographic remit) are most normative does not use the words *peregrinus* or *peregrinationes*, as far as I have been able to tell. Yet, at the same time, unlike Thietmar, Burchard’s travels were no strict there-and-back-again process, but rather represent six years wandering the Holy Land in search of information. What we have presented here is a preliminary sketch of the problems with much more work needing to be undertaken on these three texts. What is clear is that individuals we regard as “pilgrims” understood “pilgrimage” as encompassing a much more diverse range of activities than we expect. While I do not go as far as to argue, as Janus Møller Jensen has, that *peregrinatio* still meant simply to travel in this

⁹⁰ Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, p.61, Wilbrand of Oldenburg, ‘Itinerarium’, p.116. The Latin reads: ‘*Quam ideo describere et in medium vestry deducere decevi, ne ille hostis antiquus, leo rugiens et querens quem devoret, non solum me peregrinum, verum etiam aliquibus operibus non vitiosis intentum inveniret et occupatum*’. Of course, Wilbrand could be using *peregrinus* here in its traditional sense of foreigner or traveller, though this simply adds weight to the idea that we require an increased understanding of how the definition word *peregrinus* evolved over the medieval period.

⁹¹ Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, pp.316-362. Riccoldo of Monte Croce ‘Liber peregrinationis’, p.38.

⁹² Riccoldo of Monte Croce ‘Liber peregrinationis’, p.114.

period, I think we should recognise that medieval understandings of pilgrimage do not dovetail so simply with modern ones. It appears that in the strictest sense any form of travel which brought one closer to the divine (real or imagined) could be understood as a pilgrimage. And a broader definition and more rigorous understanding of what pilgrims and pilgrimage were in the medieval period will go some way to reconciling images of monastic mystical experiences, armed crusaders and there-and-back-again travellers as pilgrims. What is evident that only by scrutinising individual pilgrim experiences that we can really come to appreciate the ways in which pilgrimage changed and evolved over time. Overall, all of this should remind us that the Holy Land and Holy Land pilgrimage were not static concepts or as Dee Dyas has stated: 'Pilgrimage, as understood by the medieval church, was not a monolithic concept but a mosaic of ideas which evolved through the Christian centuries.'⁹³

⁹³ Dyas, *Pilgrimage*, p.3.

V. Encountering the holy and impure

Encounters are an integral part of the pilgrim experience. However, encounters should be understood to encompass more than just encounters with an “Other” or indeed “Self”. Pilgrimage is intrinsically linked with the idea of encountering the divine or the sacred. The ability of physical, or in some cases imagined, movement to convey the individual into closer proximity with the divine is a fundamental concept of pilgrimage. This discussion looks to explore both of these types of encounters simultaneously in an effort to appreciate whether Place or Text played a more vital role in a Person’s pilgrimage experience. This will be achieved through the analysis of the two sites previously mentioned.

Bethany, on the one hand, stood as the place where a group of nuns, wishing to avoid induction into Saladin’s harem following the defeats of 1187, cut off their own noses and represents a site of particular importance to Thietmar because of its sanctity. Damascus, conversely, represent an opportunity for Thietmar to not only describe the great city, but also an opportunity to undertake one of his diversionary discussions of Muslims and Islamic practices. For each site and the information pertaining to it, this chapter will ask from where Thietmar derives his information and it will show that a combination of local traditions, his own observations and foreknowledge of the sites and what he would find there, as understood from already existing textual traditions, contributed to his understanding of these places. It will also show how in some cases, particularly Damascus, there existed a conflict in what Thietmar observed and the pre-existing knowledge Thietmar possessed. In reality, little of what Thietmar says about these sites has anything to do with the influence of the physical space which he encountered. Rather it is his encounters with resident populations and experience with textual traditions that resonates throughout the pages of his text. Before beginning our

analysis of these sites, it is necessary to outline briefly the evidence for who Thietmar came in to contact with during the course of his pilgrimage. Of course, a discussion of his textual influences has already been conducted in chapter II and I refer the reader to that point for information in this regard.¹

Encounters

Much could be said about those groups and individuals encountered by Thietmar during the course of his pilgrimage, more than we have the time here to mention. However, in order to facilitate the discussion of the places outlined above we must account for the people he engaged with during his travels. Doing so will assist in our attempt to ascertain the extent to which Thietmar's experience of these places was informed by Place and Person rather than the texts Thietmar was aware of. Broadly speaking, these peoples can be categorised into three groups: Latin or Western Christians, local or Eastern Christians, and finally, as Thietmar calls them, Saracens.² We will briefly outline the evidence within Thietmar's text for his encounters with each of these groups, underscoring the extent to which each of these groups may have influenced Thietmar's pilgrimage experience.

Latin Christians

Despite the fact that at the time of Thietmar's pilgrimage, Latin Christian territorial possession was just a mere fraction of what it had been during the twelfth century, there were still significant opportunities for him to encounter fellow Western European Christians. The primary place in which these encounters occurred was of course Acre. We are given no indication as to who Thietmar might have met or stayed with while in Acre. However, we do know that the city was the point of his arrival in

¹ Chapter II, see pp.74-76.

² And within this category we will also include his encounters with Bedouin, who he also refers to as Saracens in this text.

the Holy Land and that following his arrival he remained there for 'a month or more'.³ He also returned to Acre, for an undetermined amount of time between his journey to Saydnaya and Mount Sinai and it was to Acre that he returned at the end of his travels.⁴ He must have had contact with fellow Latin Christians during these times.

What is perhaps more interesting are his encounters with Latin Christians living, in whatever capacity, under Muslim rule. As noted above, he was in communication with certain 'Christian captives' (*Christianos captivos*) in Damascus.⁵ He also seems to have encountered more Latin Christians at a site which Pringle identifies as Ayla.⁶ Of this place Thietmar states:

'On a certain rock in that sea [i.e. the Red Sea], half a *campus* from shore, I saw there was placed a certain castle, whose inhabitants were in part Christian and in part Saracen. Indeed, the Christians were captive French, English and Latins (*Gallici, Anglici, Latini*); but all of them, both the latter and the former, were fisherman of the sultan of Babylon, practising neither agriculture, nor war, nor anything military, but only fishing...'⁷

There is no indication that he communicated with any of these people, but we cannot rule out the possibility that he may have done. Perhaps the absence of Germans (*Teutonicos*) as at Damascus might have hindered any effective communication. The designations of *Gallici* and *Anglici* give a reasonably clear idea of what peoples he is referring to, but it is unclear what 'nation' or people Thietmar is referring to when he

³ Pringle, p.95, Koppitz, p.127.

⁴ Pringle, pp.107 and 131, Koppitz, pp.143 and 172.

⁵ See above, p.102, Pringle, p.102, Koppitz, p.137.

⁶ Pringle, p.123, see footnote 206. Modern day Jazirat Fara 'ūn (Pharaoh's Island).

⁷ Pringle, p.123, Koppitz, p.162.

refers to *Latini*.⁸ Nevertheless, the mention of these groups belies the fact that Thietmar *could* have had contact with locally resident Latin Christians.

The final such encounter with Latin Christians occurs while Thietmar was in Monreal (*Scobach*) during which time he stayed with a French widow (*vidua Gallica*) who arranged for him to be conducted to Mount Sinai under the guidance of a group of Bedouins.⁹ Rudolf Hiestand has spoken of this woman as the medieval equivalent of a travel agent.¹⁰ Whether organising such travel arrangements was a regular occupation for this widow is not stated, but if it were it may speak for more frequent pilgrimages to Mount Sinai in this period than the textual evidence suggests. Nonetheless, it is interesting to note the continuing existence of a Latin pilgrimage infrastructure, even an unconventional one, which could facilitate Latin Christian pilgrimage, following the reconquests of 1187. It must be left for someone else to discuss the ramifications of Franks living under Muslim rule in the Holy Land following Saladin's conquests. Nevertheless, it is vital that we appreciate that there were opportunities for Latin pilgrims to interact with co-religionists even after much of the Holy Land was lost and even outside the surviving sections of the coastline that remained in Latin Christian hands. It would be interesting to see the extent to which Latin settlement in the areas of the Holy Land away from the coast persisted after 1187, though the sources would almost certainly fail to provide any more information on the matter.

One other way in which Western pilgrims could interact with other Latin Christians was through their travelling companions. This was especially true when these companions were drawn from areas of Europe outside of the traveller's own. When this

⁸ Note here also the use of *Gallici* rather than the more common *Franci*.

⁹ Pringle, pp.120-121, Koppitz, p.159.

¹⁰ R. Hiestand, 'Ein Zimmer mit Blick auf das Meer: einige wenig beachtete Aspekte der Pilgerreisen ins Hl. Land im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert', in K. Ciggaar, and H. Teule, [eds.], *East and West in the crusader states: context – contracts – confrontations, III, Acta of the congress held at Hernen castle in September 2000*, (Dudley, Ma, 2003) pp.152-153.

was the case these encounters or interactions may, just as easily, represent encounters with an Other as encounters with Oriental Christians or Muslims. One of the more famous examples of such encounters appears in the *Evagatorium* of Felix Fabri. Whilst in Jerusalem he encountered:

‘two Englishmen, who wished to go across the desert to Saint Katherine’s (convent at Mount Sinai), with whom I would willingly have stayed had they known either the German or Latin tongue, but as I could not talk with them their company would have been valueless to me...’¹¹

From incidents such as these, and from much of the information we have on the nature of travel companions during this period, many have drawn the conclusion that pilgrims travelled in national groupings.¹² There are however examples of pilgrims travelling in “multinational” groups. Bernard the Wise, a pilgrim of unknown origin, but presumably a Frank, tells us that he undertook his pilgrimage accompanied by a certain Theudemundus of Benevento and also a Spaniard named Stephen.¹³ Thietmar represents a much later example of these “multinational” pilgrimage groups.

There are several references to Thietmar’s travelling companions in the text. Most give us no clues as to their identities. When entering Damascus he tells us: ‘Thus I was searched for gold in every fold of my clothing and body, *as were all my comrades*, whether poor or rich.’¹⁴ And again, somewhere in the mountains between Karak and Monreal he us tells that: ‘I finally lost one of my companions who was brought down

¹¹ Felix Fabri, ‘The wanderings’, A. Stewart, [trans.], *The Library of the Palestine Pilgrim’s Text Society*, 7-10, (New York, 1971), p.24.

¹² Yeager, *Jerusalem in medieval narrative*, p.18. See also A.V. Murray, ‘National identity, language and conflict in the crusades to the Holy Land, 1096-1192’, in C. Kostick, *The crusades and the near East*, (London, 2011), pp.107-130, who has discussed much the same issue with regard crusaders.

¹³ Bernard the Wise, p.23.

¹⁴ Pringle, p.100, Koppitz, p.134. Latin reads: ‘*Ubi a me in omnibus rugis tam vestis quam corporis est quesitum; et ab omnibus comitibus meis, tam pauperibus quam divitibus.*’

by an excess of that cold.¹⁵ During the incident of Thietmar's capture outside Jerusalem he reveals that his release was organised by a 'Hungarian noble' (*comitem Hungarum nobilem*) who he had with him.¹⁶ There are two explanations for his choosing Hungarian companions. It must be remembered that the beginning of the second phase of Thietmar's travels coincided roughly with the end of the first stage of the fifth crusade. It was also around this time that the Hungarian contingents had decided to return home, rather than participate further in the crusade. With this in mind, these Hungarians may have made suitable travelling companions because of a shared "pilgrim" identity, or more practically because they were heading in the same direction as Thietmar, in an attempt to perform the final stage of a crusading vow by visiting Jerusalem. Whether they remained with Thietmar after Jerusalem is unclear. Yet it shows that choosing a travelling companion and the construction of traveller identities were more fluid than might be supposed.¹⁷ There were not just "national" identities at play, but a pilgrim exhibited a range of identities from specific "national" ones to more generalised transnational ones. In addition, it shows that these encounters with other Europeans represent an important second level of encounters which deserve more scholarly attention.

Another important travel companion is hinted at within the text, namely Thietmar's guide. There are three specific references to a guide or guides within the text. The first appears in Damascus, where he was advised against visiting various Christian captives in the city in person. A guide is also referenced later on, accused of exaggerating the

¹⁵ Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, p.120, Koppitz, p.158. Latin reads: '*Inde transiens veni ad maximum montem, in cuius summitate tantum frigus erat, ut etiam mihi vicinus morti viderer. Ubi unum sociorum meorum nimietate eiusdem frigoris corruptum tandem perdi.*'

¹⁶ Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, p.112, Koppitz, p.148.

¹⁷ Beebe has compared Fabri's identity to an onion, centred and rippling out from Ulm. 'He was a German-speaking Dominican from Zurich living in Swabian Ulm; a Dominican travelling through Germany; a German travelling through Italy; a Western pilgrim travelling through infidel lands; a supplicant and paramour of Saint Katherine...' Beebe, *Pilgrim and preacher*, p.5.

size of local pomegranates which he suggested were the size of an amphora (*tina*), whereas Thietmar felt they were more in line with the size of a jar (*urna*).¹⁸ There is nothing to suggest that these two individuals were different or indeed the same, nor is there anything said about their identity. The third reference, during Thietmar's visit to Mount Sinai, however, is clearly a separate individual as Thietmar tells us that he had asked the local bishop for a guide to lead him into the mountains on his arrival. This guide was also responsible for sharing with Thietmar some of the miracles of the Virgin which he associated with Mount Sinai and possibly the same guide who informed him of the process of Katherine's translation to the monastery (though again these might be two separate individuals).¹⁹ Nevertheless, this third guide was a local monk of Mount Sinai and that the guide in Damascus was able to advise Thietmar on the dangers of liaising with his fellow Christians should suggest to us that these guides, rather than representing a further encounter with Latin Christians, in fact represents just one of many interactions with local Muslims and Christians which we will turn to directly.

Eastern Christians

When talking about local Christians, Thietmar designates them in one of two ways. First, as *Suriani*, by which he means Melkites rather than Syrian Orthodox Christians who were usually termed *Jacobites* by Latin Christians.²⁰ The second group Thietmar refers to are *Greci*, by which he means the traditional Greek Orthodox Church and which he applies almost exclusively to members of the clergy. In this discussion we will disregard for the most part Thietmar's inclusion of sections of *Tractatus* as his copying

¹⁸ Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, p.117, Koppitz, p.153.

¹⁹ Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, pp.125-127, Koppitz, p.165-167.

²⁰ A. Jotischky, 'Ethnographic attitudes in the crusader states: the Franks and the indigenous Orthodox peoples', in K. Ciggar, and H. Teule, [eds.] *East and West in the crusader states: context-contracts-confrontations, Acta of the congress held at Hernen Castle in September 2000, III, Orientalia lovaniensia analecta*, 125, (Leuven, 2003), pp.1-19.

of this text only occasionally betrays any actual encounters which Thietmar had with the groups it describes.²¹

Within Thietmar's text there are just three references to *Suriani*. At the start, as he explains he began his journey with 'certain Syrians and Saracens' (*quibusdam Surianis et Sarracenis*).²² In many ways this is quite remarkable by demonstrating the extent to which, in times of peace, Latin Christians and Eastern Christians and Muslims could travel together quite contently thus highlighting the importance of viewing travelling companions as an important opportunity for encounters with Other and Self.²³ It also raises questions of how these groups of travellers communicated with one another, but unfortunately the sources are quiet on this matter.²⁴ Assuming that there must have been some manner of communication between the groups (and we know that there was between Thietmar and various other Muslims during this part of the text) a vast amount of local knowledge and traditions might have been passed to Thietmar without our knowing. The other references come at Mount Carmel where Thietmar mentions the presence of a monastery in which both Greek and Syrian monks lived together, and at Mount Sinai where this combination is repeated.²⁵

While such references do not explicitly indicate contact, there are numerous other moments in the text in which Thietmar encounters Greek Monks. At Mount Hor there were a pair of Greek Christian monks and on Mount Abarim there was a Greek

²¹ See Chapter II, pp.74-76.

²² Pringle, p.96, Koppitz, p.129.

²³ Of course, this is prior to him having to disguise himself as a Georgian monk and therefore before the start of the hostilities comprising the fifth crusade.

²⁴ The same question could be asked of Thietmar and his Hungarian companions, but the answer to this question would presumably have been Latin or perhaps some derivative of German.

²⁵ Pringle, p.108 and 124, Koppitz, p.144 and 163.

monastery where Thietmar was able to stay the night.²⁶ Another instance of Thietmar being able to stay with resident Greek populations occurs just outside of Karak where Thietmar was given shelter by a Greek woman and where:

‘during the night the Greek bishop came from somewhere nearby. Grey-haired, venerable in character and reverend in appearance he brought me his gifts, bread and cheese, and blessed me in his own language.’²⁷

What we see here is that the Greek communities resident in the Holy Land performed several important functions for the Latin pilgrim; they provided shelter, as well as physical and spiritual nourishment. This demonstrates the vital role Greek communities could play in the infrastructure of Latin pilgrimage during the period 1187 and the arrival of the Franciscans in 1333. This example coupled with the earlier one of the French widow also demonstrates the improvised nature of Latin pilgrimage infrastructure in the period. What is more, these moments when Greek communities provided support also led to chances for interaction between them and Latin Christians.

Such moments of interactions could lead to opportunities for dialogue and the transfer of information. As Thietmar interjects in his copying of the *Tractatus*:

‘It is said of the Greeks that they believe that the Holy Spirit proceeds not from the Father and Son but from the Father alone. A Greek bishop explained this

²⁶ Pringle, p.119 and 121, Koppitz, pp.157 and 160.

²⁷ Pringle, p.120, Koppitz, p.158. Latin reads: ‘*Ubi in tempestate noctis venit de vicinis locis episcopus Grecus, canus, persona venerabilis, facie reverendus, qui attulit mihi xenia sua, panem et caseum, et benedixit mihi suo ydyomate.*’ Note here the use of the words *ydyomate* and *xenia*, words that could suggest that Thietmar may have picked up some Greek on his travels (although it could equally be the product of eclectic medieval word lists).

matter to me and said that it was not like that, but that the Greeks believed in the same way as the Latins except that they consecrated leavened bread. Some people say that they wash the altars after the celebration of the Latins, but the same bishop openly denied this.²⁸

When compared with the actual text of the *Tractatus*, we see the ways in which cross-cultural encounters such as these impacted upon pilgrim experience and understanding. The *Tractatus* reads:

*'De Grecis. Alii sunt Grecis, ab ecclesia Romana divisi, homines astute, armis parum exercitati, pilleos oblongos portantes, errantes in fidei ei iuris articulis, precipue in eo quod dictunt spiritum sanctum non a patre et filio sed a patre solo procedere, et solum fermentatum sacrificant, et in multis aliis errant. Propriam habent litteram.'*²⁹

This serves as an excellent example of what we are trying to observe here. First of all, Text (*Tractatus*) influences Person (Thietmar). Having read this, and presumably other texts, Thietmar expected the presence of certain stereotypical behaviours in the Greek communities of the Holy Land, namely washing of altars and the continuation of the *filioque* dispute. What Thietmar then is trying to do is verify the accuracy of his textual knowledge. Although not always the case with Thietmar, this instance provides an example of this verification process challenging Thietmar's knowledge. There is no indication whether he believed the claims of the bishop (indeed, they seem unusual considering what we know from other sources regarding altar washing and the *filioque*

²⁸ Pringle, p.131, Koppitz, p.172-173. Latin reads: *'Dicitur de Grecis, quod credunt Spiritum Sanctum non a Patre et Filio, sed a solo Patre procedere. Super quo quidam episcopus Grecus me expediens dixit non esse ita, sed Grecos eo modo credere, quo Latinos, nisi quod fermentatum offerunt. Altaria post celebrationem Latinorum dicant quidam quod abluant, sed idem episcopus hoc plane dedixit.'*

²⁹ *'Tractatus de locis et statu terre ierosolmitane'*, p.124.

dispute) but the fact that Thietmar includes this information suggests that this encounter led to a rejection of Thietmar's textual knowledge and a replacement of this with knowledge derived from his own encounter with Person and Place. As such, encounters with Person and Place *could* upstage knowledge based on Text in so far as the pilgrim was willing to approach his textual knowledge critically.

That being said, perhaps the most profound example of these encounters with local Greek Christians occurs in at Mount Sinai. As evidenced in our previous discussion of St Katherine, Thietmar's experience at Mount Sinai was profoundly influenced by his interactions with the resident Greek clergy.³⁰ All of this points towards the fact that local Christian communities, particularly the Greek Church infrastructure, played a vital role in the successful performance of Latin pilgrimages during the thirteenth century, in both logistical and spiritual terms but also in the transfer of knowledge.

Muslims

Compared with the experience of twelfth century pilgrims, who mention interaction with Muslims infrequently if at all, there is in Thietmar's text a vast increase in the frequency and quality of his encounters with Muslims. We have already mentioned that on route from Acre to Galilee Thietmar travelled with *Surianis* and *Sarracennis* and it is in these early stages of his account, before the presumed outbreak of hostilities which were part of the fifth crusade, that the majority of these encounters with Muslims occurred. Thietmar also has a great deal to say about Islam and his encounters with Islamic culture and while the majority of our discussion of this will be reserved for the section on Damascus in this chapter, it is worth noting some of the smaller encounters at this stage.

³⁰ These miracles can be found Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, pp.125-129 and Koppitz, pp.165-169.

During the aforementioned first phase of Thietmar's pilgrimage, he describes two encounters with local Muslims. The first is at the village of Cana, where Christ had turned water into wine. Here Thietmar tells us that a certain Saracen (*quidam Sarracenus*) showed him the cisterns at which Christ had performed the miracle and furthermore told him that this water still tasted like wine.³¹ The second encounter appears immediately after this at Mount Tabor, where Thietmar tells us he conversed with the local *castellanum* and that during this encounter the castellan:

'inquired diligently, as if an expert, about the state of the empire and the emperor, the Christian kings and the state of our lands, and continuing to ask questions before he had even received an answer he so defined and thoroughly instructed me what he desired to be told about that each separate item made itself better and truer than I then knew.'³²

Both of these examples are intriguing insights into the role which pilgrims played in the transfer of information from East to West and vice versa. The first instance shows that Thietmar was relying on local populations for information regarding the sacred sites of the Holy Land. What is more, the second instance demonstrates that just as these pilgrims could be information gatherers, they could be information providers. In a previous chapter, this second encounter was presented as possible evidence for Thietmar performing the role of Papal informant.³³ However, from what Thietmar tells us he seems to have been of more assistance to Muslim intelligence gathering rather than the other way around (though what really happened in the conversation may be concealed behind an anxious veneer of Thietmar's concern about how much this

³¹ Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, p.96, Koppitz, p.129.

³² Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, p.125, Koppitz, p.164.

³³ See above, pp.156-166.

Muslim noble knew about the West). There still remains the curious question of how these conversations were conducted. The obvious conclusion would be that the previously mentioned guides must have been involved in the role of bilingual intermediaries.

After Damascus such encounters appear to cease. Of course, his capture outside of Jerusalem could be classed as an encounter, but for the purposes of understanding the ways in which Thietmar gained information it was perhaps not a constructive one. However, there are two more instances of such encounters in the text. The more obvious of the two occurs at Mount Sinai where Thietmar's visit to the monastery coincided with a visit from 'the great sultan, the king of Cairo' (*Magnus Soldanus, rex Babilonie*) who had come to venerate the golden memorial to Moses' burning bush, though there is no evidence of any interaction between Thietmar and the 'king' or his entourage.³⁴

A more obscure, and not necessarily Islamic, encounter comes in the form of Thietmar's guides from *Monreal* to Mount Sinai. As previously mentioned, Thietmar was accommodated by a Frankish woman in *Monreal* who had arranged a Bedouin escort across the desert and Sinai Peninsula. While there is no precise information on how this interaction influenced Thietmar, if indeed it did at all, he does mention the skill of the Bedouin. Once in connection with Mount Carmel where he references an annual coming together of Saracen Bedouins and the Military Orders, in what seems a form of joint military exercises, during which section Thietmar praises the Bedouins horsemanship.³⁵ Again, unsurprisingly, he praises their unsurpassed ability to navigate

³⁴ Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, p.125, Koppitz, p.164.

³⁵ Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, p.109, Koppitz, p.145.

through the deserts of Transjordan and Sinai,³⁶ but whether these encounters resulted in any form of transfer of information is unclear.

There are further references to other peoples, or religious groups, throughout the account, such as the discussion of the land of Abyssinia (*Issini*). But there is no indication that Thietmar met any of these other people. Rather, it is clear that his information in these moments is derived from his guide or knowledge he acquired at home, either before or after his pilgrimage. Nonetheless, what is clear is that while encounters with Muslims were not as frequent or as important as those with local Christians, they need to be acknowledged as possible influences on Thietmar's understanding of mundane and spiritual aspects of the Holy Land.

Bethany

In between Bethlehem and Jerusalem Thietmar recounts the story of a monastery which, when the Holy Land was lost in 1187, contained 'very beautiful nuns'.³⁷ When Saladin heard of their renowned beauty he 'wanted to mix with them' and sent orders for them to prepare themselves for his arrival. When the nuns received this message they were suitably concerned about their eventual fate, but, Thietmar tells us:

'Their abbess...lest she be thus [corrupted] through wantonness of flesh and the Devil, and the lily of her chastity be swallowed up in the sewer of licentiousness, cancelled the deserts of her labour and chose rather to mutilate herself and her sisters than continue to exist with a whole body and heavenly countenance as a harlot to a vile dog. Therefore, when the tyrant was already before the doors, propelled with support and encouragement as if instructed from heaven she gave

³⁶ Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, pp.121-122. Koppitz, p.160-161.

³⁷ Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, p.115, Koppitz, p.151.

this advice: 'Reverend sisters, this is the time of our tribulation. Saladin, enemy of our virginal modesty, is at hand. You cannot avoid his hand. So take my advice and do what I do.' When they all understood the situation, the abbess first and before the rest cut off her nose, and afterwards with a spontaneous will each of the others was mutilated. When he heard of this, Saladin was extremely disconcerted. Admiring their constancy and wisdom, he was struck with amazement and commended highly what had been done and the tenacious constancy of their faith.'³⁸

While Thietmar is not specific about the exact location of the site, the judgement that it lay between Bethlehem and Jerusalem and its occupation by female monastics led Pringle to conclude that Thietmar was referring to the female monastic houses in Bethany connected with Martha and Mary of the New Testament and attached to the church of Saint Lazarus.³⁹ Furthermore, although the story is not the account of an evident miraculous or biblical event it still forms part of the developing sacred history of the Holy Land. Yet, from around the twelfth century similar stories had been attributed to other sites by other authors not just within the Holy Land but in places

³⁸ Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, p.115, Koppitz, pp.151-152. Latin reads: '*Item a Bethleem versus Sodomam et Gomorram ad miliare est locus, qui dicitur gloria in excelsis, ubi pastoribus angeli annunciaverunt Dominum natum. Dicitur autem etiam turris Ader, ubi Iacob pavit greges suos. Item inter Bethleem et Iherusalem est cenobium, ubi erant sanctimoniales, quando terra sancta perdita fuit, pulchre valde. De quarum pulchritudine dum intellexit Soldanus, voluit eis commisceri, et precepit, ut se pulchre induerent et ornarent, nequicie sue incentivum facientes. Abbatissa autem earum, ne sic ludibrio esset carni et diabolo, et ne castitatis sue liliam luxurie mergeret in cloaca, sui laboris annullans meritum, se suasque maluit mutilare, quam corpore integro, facie sydeream inmundissimo cani scortum existere. Igitur, tamquam divinitus edocta, cum iam pre foribus esset tyrannus, premissa exhortatione et confortatione usa est hoc consilio: Osorores venerabiles, tempus tribulationis nostre est. Saladinus, nostri virginalis pudoris inimicus, in promptu est. Manus eius evadere non potestis. Utamini ergo consilio in eo et quod fecero et vos faciatis! Quod dum ratum singule accepissent, ipsa abbatissa primitus et precipua naso se mutilavit, et singule postmodum voluntate spontanea sunt mutilate. Quo audito Saladinus vehementer confusus, admirans illarum constanciam et prudenciam obstupuit, et multum hoc factum et sue fidei tenacem constanciam approbavit.'*

³⁹ For the history of this establishment see Pringle, *Churches*, I, pp.123-137.

such as Scotland and France.⁴⁰ This section aims to assess the extent to which Thietmar's version is "original" to the Holy Land or whether it is representative of a transportation of traditions from the West to the Latin communities of the East. It will begin by assessing the Western versions of the legend before moving on to those versions which emerge in the East from the twelfth century onwards. It will show that Bethany represents the migration of sacred history to the peripheries of Catholic European settlement and into areas where the opportunity for acts of martyrdom at the hands of Latin Europe's external "enemies" was an attainable expectation.

The Heroics of Virginity and the West

The relationship between Christianity and the Body is a long and well documented one.⁴¹ One aspect of this relationship which has been particularly emphasised is the ascetic tradition aimed at the improvement of the Spirit at the expense of the Body. In the most extreme cases the Body served as an object to be sacrificed in order to preserve a spiritual cause or commitment. Saint Benedict, it was reported, threw himself into a bramble bush when assailed by impure thoughts.⁴² Saint Agatha is supposed to have had her breasts removed and Saint Lucy her eyes during the tortures aimed at forcing them to renounce vows of chastity and which led to their

⁴⁰ For a brief discussion of the other stories associated with the Holy Land see Pringle, *Churches*, IV p.74. For those outside of the Holy Land see J.T. Schulenburg, *Forgetful of their sex: female sanctity and society, ca. 500-1100*, (Chicago, 1998), pp.131-175.

⁴¹ Much work has been done of Christian attitudes to the body, particularly in recent years. Some of the classic works relating to the medieval period are P. Brown, *The body and society: men, women and sexual renunciation of early Christianity*, (London, 1989) G. Constable, *Attitudes to self-inflicted suffering in the middle ages*, (Brookline, 1982) and of course the outstanding work done by Caroline Walker Bynum represented in works such as *Fragmentation and redemption: essays on gender and the human body in medieval religion*, (New York, 1991), *The resurrection of the body in Western Christianity, 200-1336*, (New York, 1995), and most recently *Christian materiality: an essay on religion in late medieval Europe*, (New York, 2011).

⁴² F. Bottomley, *Attitudes to the Body in Western Christendom*, (London, 1979), p.104.

martyrdoms.⁴³ Similarly, John Moschus' *Pratum Spirituale* tells of a nun who removed her eyes in order to put to rest the amorous advances of a suitor.⁴⁴ As well as the self-mutilation involved in each such account, what links these together is that it is temptations or dangers associated with sex and sexuality that drive these individuals to such shocking acts. It is within this context that we should view Thietmar's account of Bethany.

What is interesting about Thietmar's story is that it does not appear in isolation. Schulenburg, who worked extensively on what she called the Heroics of Virginité, has highlighted a series of similar stories coming out of a mainland European context. One such relates a similar incident having occurred at the monastery of Coldingham in Scotland, in the year 867, the aggressors in this incident being Pagan Vikings and the abbess being Saint Abbe the Younger. Another is said to have occurred in Marseilles in 738 when the monastery of Saint Cyr was attacked by Arab raiders, with a certain Saint Eusebia as the abbess, and another at the Benedictine monastery of Saint Florentine of Ecija Spain.⁴⁵ A similar act is recorded as having been performed by Saint Oda of Hainault (d.1158) in her *Vita* and was threatened by Margaret of Hungary (d.1270).⁴⁶ The appearance of this nose-cutting trope in multiple European contexts presents the problem of whether the recording of such events at various times and in various places represents, as Schulenburg has questioned, 'fact, historical reality, or hagiographic models?'⁴⁷ Her eventual conclusion is that such a 'distinction is not all that important'

⁴³ *The golden legend*, pp.153-157 and D.H. Farmer, *Oxford dictionary of saints*, 5th ed., (Oxford, 2011), p.276.

⁴⁴ John Moschos, 'The Spiritual Meadow (*Pratum Spirituale*)', J. Wortley, [trans.], in *Cistercian studies series*, 139, (Kalamanzoo, MI, 1992), pp.46-47.

⁴⁵ Schulenburg, *Forgetful of their sex*, pp.131-175.

⁴⁶ Schulenburg, *Forgetful of their sex*, p.147-148. 'De Venerabili Oda', *Acta Sanctorum*, Apr. II, April 20, pp.770-778.

⁴⁷ Schulenburg, *Forgetful of their sex*, p.175.

and I am inclined to agree.⁴⁸ Whether all of these events occurred independently, whether they represent hagiographic reworking of a single event, a convenient model or a series of copycat acts based on such a model is perhaps unimportant, yet I do feel that it is vital that we try to judge at what point such models, if this is what they were, came to prominence.

The reason for this is that while Schulenburg would have us believe that the chronological evidence presents a picture of a pre-1000 development of such traditions, the textual evidence suggests that this development was a much later one. The *Vitae* Margaret of Hungary is a thirteenth-century text, as is the earliest account of the Coldingham incident which appears in Roger of Wendover's *Flores Historiarum*.⁴⁹ The textual record of the Ecija incident derives from the sixteenth century.⁵⁰ The evidence for Marseilles is even more complex. Schulenburg used, as the basis for her discussion of Marseilles, archaeological evidence (an effigy on the supposed tomb of Eusebia) which she interpreted as suggesting that this version of the story stems from an early medieval context. However, Hippolyte Delehaye understood this same judged the same material to be unconnected to the legend of Eusebia suggesting that the tomb stone had been misinterpreted by local communities to fit a tradition originating in the early modern period.⁵¹ Indeed, De Rey, the antiquarian expert on the saints of Marseilles, notes that the appellation of blessed was conferred on Saint Eusebia until the seventeenth century by the then Bishop of Marseilles Jean-Baptiste Guesnay. Furthermore, it was not until the eighteenth century that Belsunce, Bishop of Marseilles inaugurated her feast day (2nd October) and not until this point that she was recognised as a saint of the diocese. Indeed, it took until 21st June 1857 for a church

⁴⁸ Schulenburg, *Forgetful of their sex*, p.175.

⁴⁹ Roger of Wendover, *Flowers of history*, p.192.

⁵⁰ Schulenburg, *Forgetful of their sex*, pp.147 and 169.

⁵¹ H. Delehaye, *The legends of the saints*, D. Attwater, [trans.], (London, 1962), p.32.

dedicated to her to be constructed.⁵² The most problematic aspect of Schulenburg's argument is that the Office of Eusebia, which Schulenburg used as part of her evidence, was taken from De Rey's work and there is no evidence to suggest, as far as I can see, that it was of medieval origin.

Of the examples cited by Schulenburg, therefore, the twelfth-century *Vita* of Oda of Hainault stands as the earliest for which a textual record survives. Accordingly, the twelfth century, as opposed to the eighth, ninth or tenth, seems a more likely point of origin for traditions such as these. In support of this, the twelfth century saw the first uses of the related idiom 'Cut off your nose to spite your face'. One such usage appears in Peter of Blois' *De Hierosolymitana peregrinatione acceleranda* where we read: '*Male ulciscitur dedecus sibi illatum, qui amputat nasum suum.*'⁵³ A similar phrase can be found in the twelfth-century Old French epic *Garin le Loherain* where we read '*en coupant son nez on déshonore son visage.*'⁵⁴ While the appearance of such phrases could be coincidental there also appears in a commentary on Psalms 139.6, written by Peter the Chanter, the following example:

'Item sanctae moniales propre iherusalem cum subiugata esset illa regio a paganis exnaseverunt se ne commiscerentur libidinem incredulorum, sed nescio utrum hoc sit tradenum ad consequentiam'⁵⁵

While it is unclear when this commentary was written, it cannot have been produced later than Peter's death in 1196 and this passage clearly relates to the Holy Land. As such, while oral traditions could have been present before this point, it is not until the

⁵² G. de Rey, *Les saints de l'église de Marseille*, (Marseille, 1885), pp.225-238.

⁵³ Schulenburg, *Forgetful of their sex*, p.175.

⁵⁴ Schulenburg, *Forgetful of their sex*, p.175. Jean de Flagy, 'Garin le Loherain', Paris, A.P., [ed.], *Garin le Loherain: chanson de geste composée au XIIIe siècle par Jean de Flagy mise en nouveau langage*, (Paris, 1862), p.192.

⁵⁵ Baldwin, *Masters, princes and merchants*, vol. 1, p.256 and vol.2, p.183. The extract appears on p.183 of volume 2 and is taken from MS. Paris Bibliotheque Nationale, 12011, fol.199ra, rb.

twelfth and thirteenth century that such traditions appear in text and when they do they are not related to Scotland, Spain or Marseilles but rather the Holy Land. Schulenberg's arguments relating to the chronology of the occurrence of such traditions is difficult to sustain. All the more so because she appears oblivious to the fact that Thietmar and other later medieval pilgrims appear to report similar stories relating to the Holy Land.

Rhinotomy traditions in the Holy Land

The origins of the traditions relating to the Holy Land are equally complex and misunderstood by current scholarship. The origins of Thietmar's story will be dealt with in more detail shortly, but for now it suffices to say that it originated from the thirteenth-century Holy Land. Reinholt Röhricht, and consequently Denys Pringle, noted four other Holy Land communities about which similar stories of nasal mutilation were recorded in the Middle Ages: the nuns of Saint Anne's and the Poor Clares of Acre, Antioch and Tripoli.⁵⁶ However, the grouping to together of these stories is misleading for our understanding of this rhinotomy trope.

The Lanercost Priory chronicle, while containing a story of the martyrdom of a Poor Clare of Tripoli, does not contain any information regarding nasal mutilation. Instead it tells the tale of a captured sister, known as Luceta, who tricked an amorous Muslim Emir into decapitating her. This story was apparently brought to England by a certain Hugh, Bishop of Byblos, who had been present at Tripoli's fall.⁵⁷ This story does not, therefore, represent part of the same legendary corpus. Conversely, the incident

⁵⁶ Pringle, *Churches*, IV, p.74, R. Röhricht, 'Études sur les derniers temps: du royaume de Jérusalem', in *Archives de l'Orient Latin*, vol. 2, (Paris, 1884), pp.365-409.

⁵⁷ Anonymous, 'The chronicle of Lanercost', Maxwell, H., [trs.], *The chronicle of Lanercost, 1272-1346*, (Glasgow, 1913), pp.63-64, Anonymous, 'Chronicon de Lanercost', Macdowell, W., [ed.] *Chronicon de Lanercost, M.CC.I – M.CCC.XLVI, e codice cottoniano nunc primum typis mandatum*, (Edinburgh, 1839), pp.129-130. This incident also provides a fascinating insight into the ways in which information like this could flow from East to West.

relating to Saint Anne's is clearly related to the one told by Thietmar. This version appears in the pilgrimage account of Felix Fabri and situated within the context of Saladin's capture of Jerusalem in 1187. There are several intriguing aspects relating to the appearance of such a story within one of Fabri's accounts.⁵⁸ The first is the added link between his account and Thietmar's and while the attribution to Saint Anne's does not fit with Thietmar's 'between Bethany and Jerusalem', Thietmar's statement is vague enough that it could have been confused with Saint Anne. Irrespective of this, what is most significant about Fabri's account is that he declares: 'When the city was taken there was done in this monastery a deed worthy to be forever remembered, albeit some declare that it took place elsewhere in a convent of Clares.'⁵⁹ While he does not specify which convent, what is clear from this is that there was, in the late fifteenth century a similar tradition being circulated in Dominican circles relating to a convent of Clares

The only problem with the suggestion that a tradition relating to a convent of the Poor Clares of Acre being known within Dominican circles by Fabri's time is that there appears to be no reference within medieval texts to this being the case. The fourteenth-century Franciscan chronicler, John of Winterthur, tells that the Poor Clares of Acre were beheaded in 1291 when their monastery fell but there is no reference to nasal mutilation.⁶⁰ At the same time, the entry into the life of Dominican

⁵⁸ Felix Fabri, 'Evagatorium in terrae sanctae, Arabiae et Egypti peregrinationem', Hassler, K.D., [ed.], *Fratris Felicis Fabri Evagatorium in terrae sanctae, Arabiae et Egypti peregrinationem*, vol.2, (Stuttgart, 1843-1849), pp.132-133. For an undisclosed reason Aubrey Stewart in his English translation of Fabri reduced this story to a simple footnote which reads 'Here follows an account of how the nuns of St. Anne cut off their noses' otherwise omitting the story entirely from his translation. See Felix Fabri, 'The wanderings', p.136.

⁵⁹ Felix Fabri, 'The wanderings', p.136, Felix Fabri, 'Evagatorium', p.132. Latin reads: '*In ipsa autem captione civitatis contigit in hoc monasterio factum perenni memoria dignum, quamvis quidam referant alibi factum fuisse in quodam monasterio S. Clare.*'

⁶⁰ G. Wyss, [ed.] 'Johannis Vitodurani Chronicon: Die Chronik des Minorten Johannes von Winterthur', in *Archiv für Schweizerische Geschichte*, 11 (Zurich, 1856).

friar and Patriarch of Jerusalem, Nicholas Hanapes in Jacques Quéatif and Jacques Échard's *Scriptore ordinis Praedicatorum recensiti* mentions the rhinotomy of the Clares of Acre citing Anotonius Florentius, the fifteenth-century Dominican historian as their source.⁶¹ An investigation of Florentius' work has not uncovered any such reference.⁶² Nevertheless, this is once again suggestive of some knowledge within Dominican circles of such an event having occurred during the final years of the Crusader States at a convent of the Poor Clares. The existence of such a memory is further demonstrated by evidence pertaining to the Poor Clares of Antioch.

While no ostensibly medieval evidence of the event survives, it is recorded in Abraham Bzovius' continuation of Caesar Baronius' *Annales ecclesiastici a Christo nato ad annum 1198* written between 1588 and 1607,⁶³ as well as the *Annales Minorum* of Luke Wadding written between 1625 and 1654.⁶⁴ Abraham Bzovius was of course a Dominican and Luke Wadding a Franciscan suggesting a wider mendicant interest in the history of this story. What this shows is that in the eyes of mendicants in the later medieval or early modern period, traditions relating to nuns who cut off their noses were intrinsically connected with the Holy Land. Yet, Thietmar's interest in such ideas predates the mendicant one. Indeed, it coincides with Roger of Wendover's thirteenth-century account of the nuns of Coldingham, their two geographic focuses representing the peripheries of Latin Christendom (Scotland and the Holy Land). It is for this

⁶¹ J. Échard, and J. Quéatif, *Scriptores ordinis Praedicatorum recensiti*, vol. 1, (Paris, 1719).

⁶² Antoninus Florentinus, *Summa Theologica*, 4 vols., (Strasbourg, 1496), published digitally (Düsseldorf, 2011). Röhricht specified that this section could be found in Title 14, Chapter 9.2. Title 14 of the text deals with instructions on the administration of the sacraments, Chapter 9 dealing specifically with marriage and section two beginning *Sciendum quod Matrimo*. Unfortunately, having read the indicated section I have been unable to find anything ostensibly on the siege of Acre or the Poor Clares.

⁶³ Augusto Theiner, *Annales Ecclesiastici*, 37 vols., (Paris, 1870), 'Venerable Cesare Baronius', Catholic Encyclopaedia, available at <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/02304b.htm>.

⁶⁴ Röhricht, 'Études sur les derniers temps', p.392. 'Luke Wadding', *Catholic Encyclopaedia*, available at <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/15521d.htm>.

reason that they should be seen as only distantly related. Indeed, the presumed composition period of Roger's and Thietmar's text being so close to one another means that we can rule out influence on one another text's and can conclude that as with Saydnaya what we are witnessing here is Roger and Thietmar being influenced by the same trends in spirituality. However, if this is the case why the difference in location and antagonist (Vikings instead of Saracens)? One thing we do know is the some of Roger's information was derived from an earlier, now lost source from, Tynemouth. In this case, Roger and Thietmar are both building on earlier traditions which are representative of the development, in at least the twelfth century (but perhaps earlier) of a tradition of some nuns cutting off their noses to preserve their vows of chastity, with Oda of Hainualt being the earliest textual example of this trope. This tradition then spread across Europe and was redeployed or copied by others in various contexts well into the early modern period. While Roger should be connected to this unknown Tynemouth source, Thietmar's information should be understood to be closely connected to Peter the Chanter's. Yet, we should also recognise that Peter's information must have been supplemented from elsewhere to allow Thietmar's story to reach the stage that it was at. Therefore, the final question we must address is where did Thietmar learn of the rhinotomy of the nuns of Saint Lazarus of Bethany?

The Nuns of Saint Lazarus of Bethany

There are, it would seem, two viable routes through which Thietmar came to a knowledge of this story. The first is that Thietmar was aware of the tradition in the West before his departure via Peter the Chanter or some similar source. Yet the brevity of Peter's account makes this unlikely. More persuasive a suggestion is that he came into contact with the legend whilst in the East and if this were the case, the most likely

candidates for this transmission would have been the community of Saint Lazarus itself or at least someone within the city of Acre.⁶⁵

The only issue with such an assumption is that there is no evidence which locates the community at the time when Thietmar visited the Holy Land. It goes without saying that they were displaced from Bethany in 1187, but our first real reference to the continuation of the community after 1187 comes in the 1260s. In 1256 the Hospitallers had obtained permission from Pope Alexander IV to assume nominal control over properties of the monastery of Saint Lazarus on the understanding that the monastery had been destroyed and was now in the hands of the Saracens. This decree was revoked in c.1261 when it came to attention that a community of around fifty nuns and an abbess, who represented a continuation of the Saint Lazarus community, were still in existence in Acre.⁶⁶ Making the fairly safe assumption that this community was in existence in Acre in 1217, Thietmar could well have heard the story from the nuns themselves during his numerous and lengthy stays in the city. Indeed, if the community was embroiled in some form of dispute with the Hospitallers already in 1217 then one can see why the community would have shared such a story. Not only would this tradition increase the spiritual prestige of the community, but in the context of the defeat at Hattin, which saw the execution of every member of the military orders unfortunate enough to be captured, the version of the tradition shared by Thietmar could well have been adapted to elevate the community's spiritual standing above that of the Hospitallers.

As we have seen, all of the other versions of the tradition, except the one found in the *Vita* of Oda of Hainault, resulted in the deaths of those involved. In contrast, the version recounted by Thietmar sees Saladin (the one responsible for the order to

⁶⁵ For a history of the community before 1187 see Pringle, *Churches*, I, pp.123-137.

⁶⁶ Pringle, *Churches*, I, p.124.

execute members of the military orders) applaud the community's faith and constancy and leave them unharmed.⁶⁷ Given the evidence it would seem likely that it was at Acre that Thietmar heard this story and that it was told to him by fellow Latin Christians, possibly even the community of Saint Lazarus themselves in an attempt to publicise their continued existence and prestige to the wider world. Although, it should be said that if this was their aim then they were unsuccessful, for if Thietmar did hear it from the community itself he was unaware of, or had forgotten, which community it was by the time he sat down to write his account. This of course could be representative of the fact that the story was told not by the nuns themselves but by another individual within Acre. Nevertheless, were this the case it still demonstrates that the tradition was in circulation in Acre around this time.

Quite apart from whether we will ever be able to truly ascertain if any or all of these events occurred, what is clear is that this was a story that was well known in the West and one which, because of imitations of an original act or because of redeployment of a tradition, was recycled time and again in different situations throughout Europe. Each of these situations had several things in common. They occurred in the peripheral areas of Europe where encounters with an aggressive 'pagan' 'Other' and the chance of martyrdom were more likely. Although Saracens are depicted in all but one version of the legend as perpetrators of the act, there is something deeper demonstrated about the psychology of Western Europe at this time by the fact that Vikings and Saracens made equally suitable antagonists for such stories. Furthermore, all of these traditions are intimately connected to ideas about female piety and the body prevalent in Catholic Europe at this time. Regardless of the geographical origin of this story, what is clear is that it was born out of Latin European culture. Therefore, in recounting this story Thietmar is not telling us about the Holy Land. There may have been a group of

⁶⁷ Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, p.115, Koppitz, p.152.

nuns who cut off their noses to save themselves from the fate of rape or enslavement (or both). Regardless, the only element of this story that has anything to do with the East is its location. It is a Latin Christian story, told by people from a Latin Christian cultural context, received by Latin Christian pilgrims and told to a Latin Christian audience. The irony in all this is that Thietmar had to go the Holy Land to experience it at all. What this shows is that pilgrimage experience was as much a creation of Thietmar's own cultural background as it was the cultural background of those he encountered whilst on pilgrimage. Consequently, this represents an intra-cultural encounter as opposed to the cross cultural encounter which we would stereotypically associate with Holy Land pilgrimage.

Saracens

The previous two sites which this chapter has dealt with have been sites with some form of religious association. Yet pilgrims encountered more than just the holy during their pilgrimage travels. In Thietmar's text, the most frequent diversion from discussion of things pertaining to the sacred landscape of the Holy Land comes in the form of his discussion of Islamic or Saracen (as he calls them) customs, society and religion. There are several moments in the text where tangential discussions on these topics appear. Primary amongst these are the sections relating to Damascus and Mecca, the first of which was visited by the pilgrim himself, the second being described at a distance. In what follows, we are not so much concerned with the specifics of what Thietmar describes. Especially in recent years there has been much discussion regarding the Western views of Islam in the medieval period based upon the foundational works of the Daniel and Southern,⁶⁸ and much of what Thietmar says

⁶⁸ The classic works are of course N. Daniel, *The Arabs and mediaeval Europe*, (London, 1975), N. Daniel, *Islam and the West: the making of an image*, (Edinburgh, 1960), J. Kritzeck, *Peter the venerable and Islam*, (Princeton, 1964), R.W. Southern, *Western views on Islam in the Middle*

about Islam can be attested in other sources. Crucially, in our discussion of Person, Place and Text, it is important to assess the extent to which Thietmar's discussion of Islam is based upon the extensive literary tradition which existed in the West regarding Islam in the early thirteenth century or his own experiences of Islam and Muslims in the Levant. This is especially important considering the polemical nature of many of these texts relating to Islam. In essence this section seeks to show whether Text (established Western polemical texts on Islam) or Person (Thietmar's own observations) played a more pronounced role in his understanding of Place (or in this case those who inhabited it).

Whereas the previous two examples have emphasised the role that local traditions had in providing Thietmar with information that aroused an interest grown out of contemporary Western devotional trends, this section will demonstrate the conflict between sight and tradition which oftentimes played such an immense role in the presentation of pilgrim experiences. In order to do so, this section will first inspect Thietmar's description of Damascus before moving on to his remote discussion of Mecca illustrating in both sections the conflict apparent in his understanding of these places. It will also demonstrate the ways in which ideas about an Islamic 'Other' were constructed by Western travellers in this period.

Ages, (Cambridge, 1962). See M. Di Cesare, 'Images of Muhammad in Western medieval book culture', in A. Shalam, [ed.], *Constructing the image of Muhammad in Europe*, (New York, 2013), D. Iogna-Prat, *Order and exclusion: Cluny and Christendom face heresy, Judaism and Islam (1100-1150)*, (New York, 2002), S. Kangas, 'Inimicus Dei et sanctae Christianitatis? Saracens and their prophet in twelfth-century crusade propaganda and Western travesties of Muhammad's life', in C. Kostick, *The crusades and the near East*, (London, 2011), pp.131-160, D. Nirenberg, 'Christendom and Islam' in M. Rubin, and W. Simons, [eds.], *The Cambridge History of Christianity: Christianity in Western Europe, c.1100-c.1500*, (Cambridge, 2009) pp.149-169, J.V. Tolan, *Saracens*, M. Uebel, 'Unthinking the monster' for some examples of new approaches, Tolan being chief amongst these. The chief works among crusade historians are B. Hamilton, 'Knowing the enemy: Western understanding of Islam at the time of the crusades', in *Journal of the royal Asiatic society of Great Britain and Ireland*, 7.3, (1997), pp.373-387 and B.Z. Kedar, *Crusade and mission: European approaches towards the Muslims*, (Princeton, 1984).

Damascus

Thietmar arrived in Damascus in the November of 1217 (around Saint Martin's day) and stayed there, by his admission, for six days.⁶⁹ As well as describing the city itself, Thietmar uses the discussion of Damascus as an opportunity to discuss the social and religious customs he experienced whilst there. Within all of this, his choice to discuss Ramadan at the same time is revealing. Ramadan in 1217 was in early December rather than in November, meaning that unless Thietmar's experience of Ramadan in Damascus occurred on his return from Saydnaya he appears to be shoehorning his discussion of Islamic practices into his discussion of an Islamic city. This highlights the extent to which his account represents an experiential construction rather than a strict diary of his travels. This issue of textual construction is of particular consequence considering the interplay between Thietmar's text and the Islamic polemical texts circulating in Europe at this time. Putting this to one side, following his description of his entrance into the city, including the tolls he had to pay, Thietmar's first concern was to describe the city itself. After associating the city with the place where Cain killed Abel, Thietmar goes on to say:

'It is not strongly fortified, but so abounds in people that have never seen a city so populous. It is rich beyond measure, full of noble, wonderful and diverse craftsmen, rich and delightful in farmland, both sown and arable, blooming and suitable for pasture, and improved by flowing streams and marvellous artificial aqueducts beyond human comprehension. For in every house and along every street pools or washing places... have been wonderfully provided through the folly and extravagance of the rich. Around the city are most pleasant gardens, watered by natural watercourses made lovely by the

⁶⁹ Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, p.101, Koppitz, p.135.

temperance of the weather, the playfulness of the birds, and the brightness of all the colours of the flowers. For the beauty of the whole of nature wanted to be visible in this place to such a degree that the place could be truly said to be another paradise...'⁷⁰

Such praise continues for several more lines and comprehensively demonstrates Thietmar's awe at the delights of the city. Indeed, regarding the city Thietmar has only good things to say. In spite of this, Thietmar's description is not necessarily simple hyperbole. If we turn to the account of the Muslim pilgrim Ibn Jubayr who was in Damascus 1184 we see remarkably similar sentiments:

'An account of the city of Damascus... She is the paradise of the Orient, the place where dawned her gracious and radiant beauty, the seal of the lands of Islam where we have sought hospitality, and the bridge of the cities we have observed. She is garnished with the flowers of sweet-scented herbs, and bedecked in brocaded vestments of gardens... with deep shade and delicious water. Its rivulets twist like serpents through every way, and the perfumed zephyrs of its flower gardens breathe life to the soul...Its ground is sickened with the superfluity of water, so that it yearns even for a drought, and the hard stones almost cry out to you... The gardens encircle it like the halo round the moon and contain it as it were the calyx of a flower. To the east, its green Ghutah stretches as far as the eye can see, and wherever you look on its four

⁷⁰ Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, p.101, Koppitz, pp.134-135. Latin reads: '*Non est quidem valde munita, sed populosa adeo, quod numquam vidi civitatem sic populosam; dives supra modum, nobilibus et mirabilibus et diversis artificibus plena, agro tam consito quam sacionali, tam florido quam pascuo commodo delectabilis et opulenta, fontibus irriguis et aqueductibus artificiosis et admirandis super humanum cogitatum nobilitata. In singulis enim domibus et per singulos vicus natatoria vel lavatoria quadrata rotunda, iuxta luxum vel stulticiam divitum preparata mirifice. In circuitu autem civitatis orti amenissimi, irriguis et aqueductibus artificiosis vel naturalibus irrigati, omni genere vel specie tam lignorum quam fructuum uberrimi, temporis temperie, avium lascivia, omnium colorum florum purpura venustati. Totius enim nature gracia in hoc loco voluit apparere, adeo ut iste locus vere dici possit altera paradysus.*'

sides its ripe fruits hold the gaze. By Allah, they spoke truth who said: 'If Paradise is on the earth then Damascus without doubt is in it...'⁷¹

Clearly, Thietmar's description of Damascus demonstrates not just his astonishment at the delights the city had on offer, but is also representative of an actual visual experience. This is especially pronounced in the emphasis both authors place on the amount of water to be found in the city. Essentially, his description of Damascus correlates precisely with what he saw. However, immediately following his glowing report on the city, Thietmar's tone changes from that of an overawed traveller to an ethnographic authority. The next phase of his description begins thus:

'I was in Damascus for six days and learnt certain things about the law and life of the Saracens. Their life is impure and their law corrupt. The Saracens please themselves as much as they can, licitly and illicitly, because, 'Jupiter declared to be honourable whatever he took pleasure in.' They have as many wives as it is possible to have according to this dictum: 'He is stronger who is able to have more.' In times of fasting they fast until dusk and from then onwards for the whole night they eat as much as they can. However, there are certain criers stationed in towers, who during the nights shout out like this: 'Arise, you who fast! Eat sumptuously, refresh yourselves!'⁷²

⁷¹ Ibn Jubayr, 'The travels of Ibn Jubayr', R.J.C. Broadhurst, [trans.], *The travels of Ibn Jubayr: a medieval Spanish Muslim visits Makkah, Madinah, Egypt, cities of the Middle East and Sicily*, (London, 2001), pp.271-272.

⁷² Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, p.101, Koppitz, pp.135-136. Latin reads: '*In Damasco fui per sex dies, et quedam intellexi de lege et vita Sarracenorum. Vita eorum est inmunda et lex corrupta. Sarraceni non minus quam possunt licite vel illicite sibi delectantur, quia Jupiter esse pium statuit quodcumque iuaret. Mulieres habent quo quis plures habere potest, iuxta illud: Fortior est plures si quis habere potest. Temporibus ieiuniorum ieiunant usque ad crepusculum, et extunc tota nocte vel quocienscumque possunt comedunt. Sunt autem quidam precones in turribus constituti, qui noctibus proclamant in hunc modum: Surgite, qui ieiunastis! laute comedite, reficite vos!*'

Thietmar here is presenting himself as an authority on Islamic culture so that he can, from a position of strength, rail against their way of life. First and foremost we see in this statement the representation of the common polemical trope of Islam as an unclean and lascivious religion.⁷³ This is achieved not just in the use of language like *inmuda* and *corrupta*, but also in representing Islam as a religion devoted entirely to pleasure. This is further emphasised by his depiction of the Ramadan fasts. Of course, the information Thietmar provides regarding the practicality of fasting is accurate enough. However, in a polemical fashion reminiscent of Peter the Venerable's approach to Islam, Thietmar uses this knowledge to challenge the validity of their religious practice, juxtaposing the periods of fasting with uncontrolled gluttony through the night.⁷⁴ As far as Thietmar is concerned Muslims fast, but not in the right spirit. In many ways, this is suggestive of Thietmar's later discussion of the Hajj. As we have seen previously, Thietmar states of this practice:

‘...Saracen pilgrims set out from abroad from different parts and distant regions - and as solemnly and in such numbers as Christians go in pilgrimage to the Lord's Holy Sepulchre. But neither rich nor poor are admitted unless they give a gold piece. There the deed finds more favour than the intention: gold is demanded more than a contrite heart.’⁷⁵

With pilgrimage, as with fasting, Saracens engage in correct practices, only in the wrong way and Thietmar uses his “knowledge” of such practices to undermine their way of life. The peculiar justifications Thietmar presents are also based in allusions to classical gods, sometimes associated in the Western traditions with Islamic practices.⁷⁶

⁷³ Iogna-Prat, *Order and exclusion*, p.337, 340-343, Kangas, ‘*Inimicus Dei et sanctae Christianitatis?*’ p.139, Tolan, *Saracens*, pp.13, 54, 70, 146, 156, 202.

⁷⁴ Iogna-Prat, *Order and exclusion*, pp.338-357.

⁷⁵ Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, p.130, Koppitz, p.170. For Latin see p.141 above.

⁷⁶ Kedar, *Crusade and mission*, pp.86-88.

Accusations of lasciviousness are enhanced by the idea that Saracens could have as many wives as they liked. Yet in all of this, there is an element of contradiction. On the one hand, Thietmar's description of the city was based purely on sight, however his description of the laws and life of the Saracens, supposedly derived from personal experience, seems to represent less his own observations, and more current Western thinking regarding Islamic practice. In this, we see an inherent conflict between the role of Text and Place in the formation of pilgrimage text and pilgrimage experience. This contradiction is observable again later in the account, in the section regarding Saracens, immediately following Thietmar's description of Mecca. During this section Thietmar once again turns to discussing Saracen marriage practices. Here he states:

'It should be noted moreover that every Saracen man is allowed to have seven legitimate wives, and is held to provide the expenditure necessary to support them. With his maidservants as with his female servants, though there be a thousand of them, he may freely sin, and he does not derive any guilt from it... I heard that there are some Saracens, albeit few, who have only a single wife.'⁷⁷

Disregarding for a moment this final statement, Thietmar's suggestion that Saracens could only have seven legitimate wives is in direct contradiction to his earlier statement that they could have 'as many wives as it is possible to have.'⁷⁸ These accusations, based as they were on Western understanding of Saracen marital practices, are thus moderated by Thietmar's own personal experiences in the Holy Land.⁷⁹ The final sentence of this quote is most demonstrative of this as the suggestion that some Saracens had just one wife is not only a far cry from the allegation of

⁷⁷ Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, p.130, Koppitz, p.171. Latin reads: '*Notandum etiam, quod cuilibet Sarraceno licebit ducere septem uxores legitimas, et necessariis expensis ipsis tenebitur providere. Cum ancillis suis sive cum sclavis, eciamsi mille essent, libere potent peccare, et non habet inde peccatum...* *Audivi, quod aliqui sunt Sarraceni, quamvis pauci, qui solam tantum habent uxorem.*'

⁷⁸ Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, p.101, Koppitz, pp.135-136.

⁷⁹ Tolan, *Saracens*, pp.54, 165-166, 202.

unrestrained polygamy, but also based upon what Thietmar heard (*Audivi*) presumably while he was in the Holy Land. That a conflict existed in the recording of pilgrimage experience between the influences of Text and Place is clearly manifest in a contradiction such as this. It is important to note that in many ways this is representative of the changing nature of pilgrimage in the thirteenth century. Aryeh Grabois has argued that in thirteenth-century travel accounts we see the beginnings of a new phase which saw Western travellers approaching their experiences in an increasingly critical manner.⁸⁰

Without question we see this tendency expressed within the text. Following the Damascus sections of quasi-polemic, Thietmar continues to discuss various other customs of the Saracens. He discusses processes of ritual cleansing before prayers and to remit sins, the practice of praying four times a day, the use of minarets for calls to prayer, the fact that Muslims pray towards Mecca, the use of prayer mats, the act of prostration during prayer (though he overemphasises this suggesting Muslims 'beat the ground with their foreheads') and the veiling of women in public.⁸¹ All these things are said, though with a few misunderstandings, without any attempt to challenge or undermine such practices. If Thietmar possessed such laudable observational skills, one questions why was he so susceptible to citing the received traditions as well?

One reason is the demands of audience. It goes without saying that if Thietmar desired to produce an acceptable account he needed to placate the cultural preconceptions of his audience. In the tradition of Peter the Venerable, perhaps the most constructive of Western thinkers when it came to Islam, Thietmar was trying to engage with the religion of the Saracens by gathering information regarding their way of life in order to facilitate a more effective debate. The nature of this would also begin to change during

⁸⁰ Grabois, 'Christian pilgrims in the thirteenth century', pp.285-296

⁸¹ Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, pp.101-102, Koppitz, p.135-137.

this period moving away from dialogue founded on a desire to defend Christendom to a dialogue aimed towards conversion and mission which would see itself expressed in the likes of Riccoldo of Monte Croce.⁸² Consequently, Thietmar's discussion could never present a wholly neutral image of Islam. Furthermore, if current arguments regarding the West's relationship with Islam are to be believed, individuals like Thietmar had to undermine the strength of Islam's position in order to alleviate the West's concerns about its own position.⁸³ However, overall what we are witnessing is the process of movement, occurring in all types of travel accounts in this period, away from a world where Text dominated the experience of Place to one in which Person, one's own experiences with Place or the people resident there, influenced the way one thought about the places one was visiting.⁸⁴ Having said this, these instances of accurate observations are also heavily influenced by Text and represent one of the few moments when we find segments of Burchard of Strasbourg's text copied into the text of Thietmar.⁸⁵ Nonetheless, these additions to Thietmar's text are, as a rule, modified by Thietmar's own experience. A few examples will suffice to show the nature of this interplay between personal experience and textual tradition.

Regarding the veiling of Saracen women: '*The Saracen women go veiled and covered with linen cloths of buckram. The noblewomen are kept in the safest custody of eunuchs and never leave their dwellings except on the orders of their husbands.*'⁸⁶ And again, regarding the manner of prayer: '*They pray four times during the day and once in the night. In place of bells they make use of a crier, at whose call they are accustomed to come solemnly together to the church. The religious Saracens are accustomed to wash themselves at whatever hour with water, or with sand if water is lacking...Afterwards*

⁸² George-Tvrtković, *Riccoldo da Montecroce's, Kedar, Crusade and mission.*

⁸³ Iogna-Prat, *Order and exclusion*, pp.338-357, Uebel, 'Unthinking the monster', pp. 264-291.

⁸⁴ Grabois, 'Christian pilgrims in the thirteenth century', pp.285-296.

⁸⁵ Appearing in all the manuscripts of the text. See Chapter I, pp.74-76.

⁸⁶ Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, pp.101-102, Koppitz, p.136.

they go to pray, and they never pray without prostrating themselves. They do many prostrations, and pray to the south. They perform their prostrations on rectangular cloths...⁸⁷ Evidently, even in those moments when Thietmar presents to us the opinion of what seems to be a casual observer these observations are deeply rooted in text. Naturally, as we saw with the case of Saydnaya, Thietmar appends to this copied information something of his own knowledge and in this we may see more of an interplay between textual and observational information than a conflict. They worked together to construct the pilgrim's view of the world they encountered.

Mecca

This interplay can also be observed in Thietmar's discussion of Mecca. Thietmar never went to Mecca himself, his section on the city appearing as part of his omniscient discussion of the geographical region surrounding the Sinai Peninsula. What is more, Thietmar's interest in Mecca is not necessarily in the description of the place itself but the opportunity that a discussion of Mecca presents to once again enter in on a discussion of the Saracens and interestingly the prophet Muhammad. It is in this description that we see most clearly represented the textual traditions which Thietmar is under the influence of.

Muhammad, Thietmar informs us was:

⁸⁷ Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, pp.101-102, Koppitz, p.136.

‘a keeper of camels, poor and epileptic, from the tribe of the Bedouin. He was corrupted by a bitter heretic and hermit, bodily and carnally as well as spiritually, and was so instructed in wickedness that he became extremely powerful through necromancy.’⁸⁸

He then goes to discuss a single point of Muhammad’s teachings, namely the ‘carnal paradise’ before stating that ‘he preached many other things similar to these and full of silliness’.⁸⁹ In this we see many of the tropes familiar in the works of polemicists during the eleventh century. The carnal nature of paradise is found throughout the works of Christian polemical texts.⁹⁰ Suggestions that Muhammad was an epileptic can also be found in the ninth-century works of Theophanes as well as the eleventh-century work of Embrico of Mainz and those written by Guibert of Nogent and Gautier de Compiègne in the twelfth century.⁹¹ And ideas that he was taught by a heretical Christian are present in a multitude of works, even as early as those written by John of Damascus in eighth century.⁹² The presence of each of these ideas demonstrates that Thietmar here is writing within this tradition rather than stating anything directly relating to his own experiences. That being said, towards the end of his discussion of Muhammad’s doctrine Thietmar states ‘However, he taught people to have mutual compassion for one another and to give aid to anyone in affliction.’⁹³ The appearance of this element of the tradition demonstrates that Thietmar is writing, as previously

⁸⁸ Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, p.130, Koppitz, p.171. Latin reads: ‘*Maumet erat custos camelorum, pauper et epilepticus de genere Boidewinorum. Hic ab amaro heretico et heremita tam corporalibus et carnalibus quam spiritualibus corruptus est nequiciis et instructus adeo, ut per nigromantiam potentissimus esset.*’

⁸⁹ Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, p.130, Koppitz, p.171. Latin reads: ‘*et alia multa similia hiis plena stulticiis predicabat.*’

⁹⁰ Tolan, *Saracens*, pp. 64-67, 156, 165-166, 202. Kedar, *Crusade and mission*, p.86.

⁹¹ Tolan, *Saracens*, pp.64-67 and 140.

⁹² Tolan, *Saracens*, pp.52, 64-67, 139, 150, 156, Di Cesare, ‘Images of Muhammad’, pp.9-32.

⁹³ Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, p.130, Koppitz, p.171. Latin reads: ‘*Conpati sibi invicem et auxiliari pacienti docebat.*’

suggested, in the tradition of Peter the Venerable who also emphasised such positive aspects to Islam in his attempts to engage with and refute its teachings.⁹⁴ Do we then have any evidence for the interplay between Text and Place which our discussion of Damascus has uncovered?

We have already noted Thietmar's discussion of the practice of the Hajj as a pilgrimage improperly performed and this section appears immediately prior to the section of Muhammad and alongside Thietmar's report on Muhammad's tomb. Of the tomb Thietmar states:

'The tomb of Muhammad does not hang in the air, as some assert, but is on the contrary on the ground. And no more of his body is held there than his right foot, because the rest of his body was completely eaten by the pigs of the Christians. And about his life I have heard many trifles.'⁹⁵

There is a profound irony here in what Thietmar is saying. He rejects the notion of Muhammad's suspended tomb (which can also be found repeated by authors such as Embrico of Mainz, Gautier de Compiègne and Matthew Paris), but at the same time he whole-heartedly accepts the centuries old tradition, found in some of the earliest Eastern Christian polemical texts that Muhammad's body was devoured by pigs (or in some cases dogs) following his death.⁹⁶ This illustrates most poignantly the problems associated with the old reliance on textual traditions, the newfound ability to critique

⁹⁴ Iogna-Prat, *Order and exclusion*, pp.338-357.

⁹⁵ Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, p.130, Koppitz, p.171. Latin reads: '*Tumba illa Maumet non pendet in aere, ut quidam asserunt, immo super terram est. Et non habetur ibi amplius de corpore suo nisi dexter pes, quia reliquum corpus eius totum a porcis Christianorum devoratum est. De cuius vita plurimas turfās audivi.*'

⁹⁶ For the idea of the hanging tomb see Tolan, *Saracens*, p.143 and 147. Hamilton, 'Knowing the enemy', p.376. For the tradition of pigs or dogs devouring Muhammad's body see Tolan, *Saracens*, pp.91-92 and 143-143.

these in thirteenth-century travel accounts and the possibility of their co-existence.⁹⁷ While the thirteenth century did see a new ability to evaluate critically the traditions of the past, this ability was not used consistently. Whereas, in Latin pilgrimage accounts of the twelfth century and those preceding it we rarely, if ever, see individuals challenge the received traditions regarding Place, the thirteenth century begins to see the ushering in of a new age, but not a complete step away from the old. All of this means that we are able to witness the wonderfully and often ironically dichotomous blend of Text and Place influencing a Person's experience of the Holy Land. This is just as true of the sacred and the profane but most easily observable in Thietmar's treatment of Islam where we witness the blending of the strong cultural and textual traditions, which influenced so heavily Thietmar's view of the world, coupled with his own ability to observe the world around him often absent in pilgrimage accounts of the centuries preceding him.

⁹⁷ Grabois, 'Christian pilgrims in the thirteenth century', pp.285-296.

VI. Thietmar and the Miraculous

The way in which Thietmar talks about specific sites of the Holy Land and events of Holy Land history communicates the existence of a complex interplay between aspects of Person, Place and Text. Importantly, it needs to be recognised that, as the previous chapter has argued, Text and Place collided in Person to form the pilgrimage experience. While this represents the formative process of pilgrimage experience, in the case of Thietmar at least, there remains the question of the ways in which these experiences were subsequently preserved in the pilgrimage account or Text. As a part of this, we must consider the motivating factors, both conscious and unconscious, behind the textual preservation of certain elements of the sacred history of the Holy Land. More than anything, analysis of these discernible motivations highlights the ways in which Text and Thietmar's Latin Christian cultural background shaped the way in which he interpreted new information from the Holy Land. This is most clearly observable in Thietmar's interest in the miraculous.

Before all else, it must be stressed that Thietmar's keen interest in the miraculous is highly unusual for the genre of pilgrimage accounts of the early and high middle ages. Fundamentally, Holy Land pilgrims were interested in the single great miracle that the Holy Land commemorated, namely the redemptive story of Christian history. At Hebron, or sometimes at Calvary, pilgrims remembered the fall of Adam. At other places they remembered the events of the Old Testament. Pre-eminent, however, were those sites associated with the New Testament narrative and amongst these those sites which commemorated the birth, ministry, death, resurrection and post-resurrection miracles of Christ were of paramount importance. Alongside these were the places associated with the post-biblical phases of this salvation history from the age of the Apostles and beyond. Even the sites of the Holy Land related to the crusades could fit

into this grand narrative of Christian redemptive history. Naturally, many component parts of this history had direct connection to the miraculous, particularly those miracles performed by Christ during his ministry. Yet the greatest miracles which the Holy Land commemorated were the Incarnation and the events of the Passion, for what could be more miraculous than God taking human form without comprising his divine nature, and his sacrifice which ensured humankind could be absolved from their sins or the grand miracle of the Resurrection?¹ Sites like the empty tomb of the Holy Sepulchre or the church of the Nativity at Bethlehem allowed pilgrims to remember such miraculous events. Furthermore, their own attempts to use pilgrimage as an act granting absolution allowed pilgrims to participate in the continued miracle of salvation. Nevertheless, when we think of miracles and pilgrims our minds are drawn to the healing of the blind or lame, the punishment of ungrateful recipients of divine aid, rescue from shipwreck or imprisonment, or other such miraculous stories that filled the pages of *miracula* and saints' *Lives* throughout medieval Europe.² However, this is not surprising. On the one hand, *miracula* were designed to advertise the sanctity and efficacy of a shrine, something unnecessary for the majority of Holy Land pilgrimage sites that could boast the Bible and well-known apocryphal texts as their promotional material. Furthermore, with so many local, national and trans-national pilgrimage locations offering cures across Europe, coupled with the problems and difficulties associated with travelling to the Holy Land at the best of times, the Holy Land, rather than being a regular and obvious pilgrimage destination, was for most a once in a lifetime opportunity. In essence, Latin Christians went to the Holy

¹ B. Ward, *Miracles and the medieval mind: theory, record and events, 1000-1215*, (Aldeshot, Hants., 1982), p.124-125.

² Finucane, *Miracles and pilgrims*, pp.113-151. See also B. Nilson, *Cathedral shrines of medieval England*, (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 2001) and 'The medieval experience at the shrine', in J. Stopford, [ed.] *Pilgrimage explored*, (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 1999), pp.95-122, but also, R. Koopmans, *Wonderful to relate: miracle stories and miracle collecting in high medieval England*, (Philadelphia, 2010), pp.1-5 who presents arguments presenting the limitations of such ideas.

Land to verify the stories of Christianity's redemptive narrative and for penitential reasons, rather than alleviation of more commonplace problems arising from poor health or the vicissitudes of medieval life.³

Certainly, medieval Holy Land pilgrimage accounts were not devoid of such miraculous traditions. The previous chapter demonstrated the miraculous traditions recounted in the account of Arculf concerning the cloth that covered Christ's face at his burial. Arculf's account also contains several miraculous stories regarding an image of Saint George, at Diopolis, and an icon of the virgin at Constantinople, which Jews attempted to desecrate, both of which he was told while in Constantine's city.⁴

Otherwise, miraculous tales of this kind are rare indeed. The hagiographic pilgrimage account of Willibald, known as the *Hodoeporicon*, recounted how Willibald lost his sight during his pilgrimage and how it was later restored at the Holy Sepulchre.⁵ That being said, twelfth century pilgrimage accounts are lacking in such miraculous accounts, the only ostensible miraculous events being the annual appearance of the Holy Fire at the Holy Sepulchre on Easter Sunday, which can be found described in a number of pilgrimage texts.⁶ Yet the miracles recorded by Thietmar involved more "traditional" cures, miracles of defence and visions. The reason for this difference is derived from the basic differences in Thietmar's itinerary. In dealing with places whose sacred history was still to be written Thietmar acted as a vehicle by which communities could transmit evidence of divine favour back to the West. As such, Thietmar's inclusion of an abnormal number of miracles came as a direct result of his engagement with sites which were in the early stages of promoting sacred elements of

³ See Chapter III, pp.127-156.

⁴ Wilkinson, *Jerusalem pilgrims before the crusades*, pp.114-115.

⁵ Wilkinson, *Jerusalem pilgrims before the crusades*, pp.131-132.

⁶ A. Jotischky, 'Holy fire and Holy Sepulchre: ritual and space in Jerusalem from the ninth to the fourteenth centuries', in F. Andrews, [ed.], *Ritual and space in the middle ages. Proceedings of the Harlaxton symposium 2009*, (Donington, 2011), pp.44-60.

their site. At the same time, not all of the miraculous information found in Thietmar's text is derived from an Eastern context, some of it coming from pre-existing textual traditions or Latin Christian communities of the Holy Land.

The aim of this chapter therefore is to answer three questions. The first two are interconnected. Primarily, we will once again address the question of where Thietmar obtained this miraculous information and, connected to this, in those cases where it was gained from "local" sources, why it was that these communities wanted to pass on such information to pilgrims. The second question then relates to Thietmar's retelling of these traditions in his pilgrimage text. This necessitates a discussion of why it was that Thietmar retold these miraculous traditions and what it tells us about him as an individual and the cultural context within which he was writing. In order to do this we will look at a series of miracles, some of which we have discussed already. As well as returning at times to the events described as having happened at Bethany, we will also address in the full the miraculous traditions connected with the monastery of Saydnaya and with Mount Sinai.⁷ We should also mention at this point the fact that Thietmar believed that his release from prison in Jerusalem was divinely orchestrated (*et me miraculose conservavit*).⁸ While interesting in that it contains nothing that we might perceive as miraculous, it is important to recognise that Thietmar felt that it was so. This not only demonstrates that modern and medieval concepts of the miraculous are so often out of sync with one another,⁹ but also that Thietmar's experience of the Holy Land was intrinsically linked with a sense of the miraculous. For Thietmar the

⁷ See Appendix 1.

⁸ Koppitz, p.148.

⁹ For key texts relating to medieval concepts of the miraculous see R. Bartlett, *The natural and supernatural in the Middle Ages: the Wiles lectures given at Queen's University of Belfast, 2006*, (Cambridge, 2008), M. Goodich, *Miracles and wonders: the development of the concept of miracles, 1150-1350*, (Aldershot, 2007), S. Justice, 'Did the middle ages believe in their miracles?', *Representations*, 103.1, (2008), pp.1-29, Koopmans, *Wonderful to relate*, Ward, *Miracles and the medieval mind*, M. Bull, *The miracles of our lady of Rocamadour*, (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 1999). For its specific connection with pilgrimage, see Finucane, *Miracles and pilgrims*.

Holy Land was alive with the miraculous, with new evidence of God's hand in all things. His pilgrimage account is therefore a testament to an individual searching the Holy Land for miracles and, as we shall see, he found them aplenty.

The Origins of the Miraculous

In the example of Bethany we have seen how "local" communities could operate as transmitters of miraculous information, even if these communities represented groups originating from different cultural heritages. Chapter II has already shown the ways in which Saydnaya demonstrates how legendary material developed in the East could be transported to the West and altered in the process.¹⁰ At the same time the miracle of the phial of oil in the Sultan's pit in Damascus also shows the ways in which such miraculous material could be developed directly out of the pilgrim context.¹¹ All of this demonstrates that not only local communities but pilgrim visitors themselves were involved in the process of developing and disseminating these miraculous traditions.

Yet, Saydnaya also provides a fascinating insight into the ways in which such events could be very firmly rooted in an actual event. One of Thietmar's miracles relates how a Saracen woman went to Saydnaya desiring to obtain some of the holy oil. However on her arrival she realised she had not brought with her the means to carry any away. Wailing in sorrow at the mistake the Virgin Mary took pity on her and caused an ampulla to appear miraculously in her hand.¹² The miraculous receipt of an ampulla of Saydnaya oil by a Saracen woman is intriguing for a number of different reasons. The first is the possibility that Thietmar may have been present for the actual occurrence of the miraculous event. Of the miracle Thietmar states: *'tunc in continenti in festo*

¹⁰ See Chapter II, pp.81-121.

¹¹ See Appendix 1.1.4. Also Chapter II, p.111-112.

¹² See Appendix 1.1.5.

domine nostre.¹³ The feast of Our Lady was traditionally observed on 1st January and, given what we know regarding the dating of his itinerary, Thietmar could well have been at Saydnaya on this date.¹⁴ The possibility of his presence at the time is further suggested by the rather vague phrase *tunc in contienti* which Pringle renders as ‘forthwith’,¹⁵ but more generally is demonstrative of a certain immediacy to the occurrence of the miracle and could indicate that what Thietmar is describing is a miracle he witnessed first-hand.

Even more interesting is the description of the woman’s actions following her realisation that she had forgotten a vessel wherewith to take home some of the oil. She is described as filling ‘the whole church with loud wailing and lamentation’, a reaction which prompted the Virgin to intervene on her behalf.¹⁶ Previous research has already demonstrated the fact that Saydnaya represented a place of religious convergence for Muslims and various denominations of Christians.¹⁷ However, if we look more closely into the practice of Islamic “pilgrimage” to places like Saydnaya we begin to observe some interesting parallels. Such visits should be seen as part of the practice of *ziyāra*. Distinct from the *Hajj*, *ziyāra* involved the visitation of tombs as well as various other holy places, in order to pray and, some believed, obtain *baraka* or blessings.¹⁸ While *ziyāra* occupied an ambivalent position in the minds of many Muslim theologians, its practice was well attested throughout the medieval period. However, because of its

¹³ Koppitz, p.141.

¹⁴ See Chapter, III, p.126-127.

¹⁵ Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, p.106.

¹⁶ Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, p.106, Koppitz, p.141. Latin reads: ‘Unde planctu maximo et eiulatu totam replenit ecclesiam’.

¹⁷ Kedar, ‘Convergences’, pp.59-69.

¹⁸ J.W. Meri, ‘Ziyāra’ in H.A.R. Gibb, [ed.] *Encyclopaedia of Islam (new edition)*, vol. 11, (Leiden, 1960-2006), pp.524-529, J.W. Meri, *The cult of saints among Muslims and Jews in medieval Syria*, (Oxford, 2002), p.101-108.

sometimes questionable nature many Muslim jurists complained about its practice.¹⁹ Some went as far as to condemn *ziyāra* altogether, while others were untroubled by its performance on the understanding that it was performed in an appropriate manner.²⁰ Those adhering to such a view even composed treaties outlining the ways in which *ziyāra* should or should not be performed.²¹ Notably, the Syrian scholar Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīya (1292-1350) advised:

‘Should you see the fanatics of those who take [tombs] as places of feasting, they dismount from saddles and mount when they behold them from afar. They place their faces upon the tomb, kiss the ground, bare their heads and *their voices rise in a clamour. They cry almost weeping...* In approaching it, they pray two *rak‘as* near the tomb and believe that they obtain recompense... You see them prostrating, bending themselves, and seeking favour and satisfaction from the dead [only to fill their hands] with disappointment and loss. To other than God, rather to Satan, *their tears flow there and their voices rise.*’²²

Furthermore, the Egyptian Hadith scholar Ibn Uthman (d.1218) provided twenty rules for the correct performance of *ziyāra* which prohibited certain acts such as the kissing and touching of tombs (because these were erroneous Christian practices) alongside the prohibition against loud wailing (*niyāna*).²³ Indeed, Josef Meri has noted that when it came to women and *ziyāra*:

¹⁹ Meri, *The cult of saints*, pp.121-127.

²⁰ Meri, *The cult of saints*, p.127.

²¹ J.W. Meri, ‘The etiquette of devotion in the Islamic cult of saints’, in J. Howard-Johnston, and P.A. Hayward, *The cult of saints in late antiquity and the early middle ages: essays on the contribution of Peter Brown*, (Oxford, 1999) pp.263-286.

²² Meri, *The cult of saints*, p.134. My emphasis.

²³ Meri, *The cult of saints*, pp.145-146.

‘Theologians generally did not object to [them] visiting tombs, but urged that they observe the solemnity of the occasion by not wailing, screaming, and engaging in other reprehensible acts such as dressing immodestly.’²⁴

While such writings probably had little effect on the reality of the practice of *ziyāra*, what this shows is that wailing, screaming and weeping were perceived as common, if problematic, elements in its performance. Consequently, what Thietmar seems to be describing here is a miracle which at its centre relates to the way in which *ziyāra* was practised. This situates it not in some abstract world of the miraculous but in the actual performance of a devotional act, namely an authentic pilgrimage journey by a female Muslim taking part in the *ziyāra* tradition. Furthermore, the fact that this act was viewed and interpreted in a miraculous way is further indicative of Thietmar’s worldview and his expectations during pilgrimage. Whether the miracle itself occurred or not is of no consequence. What matters is that Thietmar *believed* the miracle to have occurred. Such a belief is all the more revealing if we accept that this miracle was one that Thietmar witnessed himself while at the shrine. The interplay between Place and Person is profound; Place acting as the stage for Person to witness events which could be understood as miraculous. That the actual experience of Person could at Place could create the miraculous.²⁵

Saydnaya is not the only example of miraculous events occurring while Thietmar was on pilgrimage. At Mount Sinai, Thietmar recounts a miraculous story of some oil stolen from a monk of Sinai, which turned to blood when the robbers tried to use it but appeared as oil when returned to the monk.²⁶ This miracle occurred, Thietmar tells

²⁴ Meri, *The cult of saints*, pp.168-173. Quote from p.168.

²⁵ See Chapter II, p.81-121.

²⁶ See Appendix 1.2.2.

us, 'while I was there'.²⁷ In this instance Thietmar was not himself present at the point of the miraculous occurrence and we must assume that he heard of it as the community themselves were receiving the miracle for the first time.

We can see much the same at Chariton, where Thietmar builds upon previous traditions with the help of an unknown source which we should presume came from local informants. The legends associated Chariton, as reported in Latin pilgrimage account, vary across the period leading up to Thietmar's account. The first (brief) mention of Chariton appears in the *Commemoratorium* (or *Memorandum*) on the Churches in Jerusalem written during the reign of Charlemagne around the year 808.²⁸ Taking, however, three accounts from the twelfth century we can see how divergent traditions relating to Chariton (whose body had at this point been transferred to Jerusalem) had become by this point. In the *Work on Geography*, written in the first half of the century, states: 'Four miles from Bethlehem on the way to Hebron is the church of Saint Chariton where, as he was passing from the world, the whole company that was with him all passed too in the same way.'²⁹ Conversely, John of Würzburg declared:

'From the Gate of Saint Stephen you go directly up along the side of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and a little way from it towards the north there is a small street, near which is a little church of the Syrians. The holy body of Saint Chariton the Martyr rests there, and is held in great reverence by the Syrian monks. The lid is lifted up and shown to the pilgrims who come. This holy

²⁷ Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, p.126, Koppitz, p.166. Latin reads: 'Tunc autem in continenti, cum ego essem ibi, contigit illic hoc insigne miraculum.' See Appendix 1.2.2.

²⁸ Wilkinson, *Jerusalem pilgrims before the crusades*, p.137.

²⁹ Wilkinson, *Jerusalem pilgrims before the crusades*, p.197.

father was with his monks in a monastery near River Jordan, and for confessing the name of Christ was killed by the Saracens.³⁰

And Theoderic noted:

‘And if you go up this road [i.e. from the place of Stephen’s martyrdom] and take a road to the left, that is to the east, you will find a church which belongs to the Armenians, in which a saint called Cariton rests. His bones are still covered in flesh as if he were alive.’³¹

Three different traditions are therefore associated with Chariton at this point. His uncorrupted body, the concurrent death of his followers and his martyrdom at the hands of Saracens. Apart from Thietmar’s description the only clear reference to the saint in Latin pilgrim accounts comes in the later-thirteenth century from Burchard of Mount Sion who stated:

‘More than a league from Bethlehem on the road that leads to Tekoa is the tomb of Saint Chariton the abbot with his monks, who all departed this life when he did. At one time there was a great pilgrimage to the place.’³²

³⁰ Wilkinson, *Jerusalem pilgrims, 1099-1187*, p.269, Huygens, *Peregrinationes Tres*, pp.79-138. Latin reads: ‘*Item de platea a Porta Sancti Stephani directa sursum ad latus aecclisae Sancti Sepulchri, non multum longe ab ea versus septentrionem, est parva platea, iuxta quam in quadam aecclisae Sirorum quiescit sancti Kariton martyris corpus, quod ibi a Syris monachis in magna veneratione habetur et fere adhuc integrum in quadam lignea arcellula reconditum elevato cooperculo peregrinis advenientibus ostenditur. Idem sanctus in cenobio suo iuxta flumen Iordanis sito una cum monachis suis pro confessione nominis Christi a Sarracenis fuit occisus, sicut supra retulimus.*’

³¹ Wilkinson, *Jerusalem pilgrims, 1099-1187*, p.302, Huygens, *Peregrinationes Tres*, pp.143-197. Latin reads: ‘*Per ipsam quoque viam cum aliquamdiu transieris, ad sinistram viam carpens versus orientem, ecclesiam quandam quam tenent Armenii repperies, in qua quidam sanctus nomine Kariton requiescit, cuius ossa acsi viveret carne teguntur.*’

³² Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, p.307, Laurent, *Peregrinatores medii aevi quatuor*, p.82. Latin reads: ‘*De Bethlehem una leuca et plus, uia, que ducit Tecuam, est sepulcrum sancti Karioth, abbatis cum suis monachis, qui omnes eo migrante migrauerunt. Et fuit quondam concursus magnus ad locum ipsum.*’

Hinting at the decline that Chariton as a pilgrimage site had experienced at this point.

And one manuscript of Philip of Savona's text notes:

'A mile from Tekoa and the fourth from Bethlehem is the church of the blessed abbot Chariton, father of many monasteries, who when the day of his death was near exhorted his monks to remain in the love of God and of their neighbour. And his monks, sorrowing over his death, in order to comfort the holy father asked him to request the Lord that when he died all of them might die with him: and so it happened.'³³

Comparing this to the account provided in Thietmar we see that his account represents a conflation and expansion of the various traditions already found in Western pilgrimage literature:

'Three miles from Bethlehem is the church of St Chariton. When he was abbot in that church and the day of his release was finally drawing near, his monks, seeing him dying, said to one another, "Without our father we do not wish to remain on earth!" And all the monks who were present died with the dying abbot; and they are still visible in the flesh as they appeared in agony at that time. The Saracens, however, threw fire over them in order to burn them, but the heat of the fire did not touch them. They were placed in the beautiful crypt of the same church.'³⁴

³³ Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, p.342. The manuscript in question is Munich, Clm. 18413, fols.238-52. See Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, p.51.

³⁴ Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, pp.114-115, Koppitz, p.151. Latin reads: '*Item a Bethleem ad tria miliaria est monasteriū in sancti Kariot. 194 Qui cum esset abbas in eadem ecclesia, et tandem instaret dies resolutionis eius, monachi ipsius, videntes ipsum agonizantem, dixerunt ad invicem: Post patrem nostrum superstites volumus esse super terram! et omnes in presenti cum abbate agonizante et monachi agonizabant, et adhuc eo modo carnaliter apparent, quo in agonia tunc temporis extiterunt. Sarraceni autem propter invidiam, ut ipsos incinerarent, ignem super eos proiecerunt, sed ardor ignis ipsos non tetigit. Qui in cripta pulchra eiusdem monasterii repositi sunt.'*

The Saracens are therefore retained as the antagonists and the incorruptibility of Chartion's body had been transferred to his followers and established by the an ordeal by fire inflicted upon their bodies by Saracens. The question is how did Thietmar come to know of this variant tradition? Greek pilgrimage literature offers little information on Chariton, but the Russian pilgrim Daniel explained:

‘And to the south of Bethlehem there is the monastery of Saint Chariton on the river of Etham already mentioned... all about the place was a wall and in the middle there are two churches in the larger of which is the tomb of Saint Chariton. Outside the wall there is a sepulchre beautifully fashioned and in this sepulchre lie holy fathers, their bodies as if still alive, and more than 700 lie here. Here lies Saint Cyriacus the Confessor, his body completely preserved; here lie John and Arcadius the sons of Xenophon and a miraculous sweet smell emanates from them. And we worshipped here in this holy place...’³⁵

This evidence goes some way to explaining what Latin pilgrims were actually seeing when they travelled to Wadi Khuraitun to see the body of Chariton. What it also demonstrates is that a series of traditions were being established surrounding the various holy corpses which were to be found in the valley by Orthodox communities which Daniel would have been better placed to access. And while we have no clear link to the suggest that Thietmar's miracle of Chariton's incombustible follower came out of an Orthodox milieu, we have nothing to suggest that it came out of a Latin one and it must therefore be presumed that what Thietmar is hear reporting is an Orthodox tradition. This once again demonstrates the heavy reliance Thietmar had on local communities for his sacred information.

³⁵ Wilkinson, *Jerusalem pilgrims, 1099-1187*, p.149.

Indeed, at Sinai Thietmar was entirely reliant on the information provided by the monastic community who acted as his hosts and guides while he stayed on the mountain. Furthermore, Thietmar explicitly tells us that other miracles which he relates were told to him by members of the community. At the beginning of the discussion of Saint Katherine's *translatio* miracle, he tells us that: 'When I asked, however, about the translation from the mountain into the church already mentioned, my guide (who took me up the mountain) told me...'³⁶ Evidently, so much of the miraculous which Thietmar records in his account represents information he received while on pilgrimage, as opposed to information he expected to find because of some pre-existing Western tradition. On the one hand this could be a product of the type of sites which Thietmar visited. On the other, the fall of much of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem in 1187 had undermined much of the pilgrimage infrastructure present during the twelfth century. As a result, what Thietmar shows us is that Latin pilgrims became increasingly reliant on the support of local populations to facilitate their pilgrimage travels. Therefore, an increase in miraculous information in Thietmar's text should be seen as the product of increased interactions with the local populations where these stories were being shared.

Sharing the miraculous

The miraculous traditions which appear in Thietmar, when looked at as a corpus, represent a group of miracles all aimed at establishing or defending the various sites' position or prestige. Naturally, all miracles are in some way designed, when shared, to

³⁶ Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, p.125, Koppitz, p.164-165. Latin reads: 'Notandum, quod, sicut narrat passio eiusdem virginis, corpus eius a sanctis angelis statim post martirium in supercilium eiusdem Sinai²⁹² est translatum et collatum. Cum autem quererem de translatione de monte in predictam ecclesiam, dixit mihi ductor meus.' See Appendix 1.2.1 for the full translation story which the guide told Thietmar.

increase and sustain the prestige of the community, shrine or individual in question.³⁷ However, of all Thietmar's miracles only one is related to healing and all others are concerned with the defence or establishment of the respective communities. This is unsurprising considering what we know about the role of miraculous tales in the development of a cult, whereby so-called 'protection' miracles appear in the initial phases of a site's development before a move to healing and visionary miracles occurs as the site becomes more established.³⁸ One thing all of these sites have in common is that in the period when Thietmar visited they were still (and some would remain so) relatively obscure sites. Accordingly, all of the miracles related by Thietmar can be grouped within this 'protection' miracles category.

Within this category are several observable sub-categories. First amongst these are those miracles connected with the idea that items of sanctity belonged in a certain place and could not, or rather should not, be moved. At Saydnaya this tradition appears in the death of the priest who attempted to move the icon; at Mount Sinai this tradition appears in the miracles surrounding the visit of Philip of Nablus.³⁹ Although similar, it is the differences between these two miraculous events which are most intriguing. On the one hand, the Saydnaya miracle depicts the reasons for the attempt to move the icon as wholly innocent. The priest's intention was to transport the icon to a 'respectful place' (*venerabilem locum*) at the specific request of the nun who had originally commissioned the purchase of the icon.⁴⁰ Moreover, the priest did not undertake the task lightly. The story recited by Thietmar describes how the priest prepared himself by putting on sacred vestments in advance of the attempted

³⁷ Koopmans, *Wonderful to relate*, p.5, Ward, *Miracles and the medieval mind*, p.131. See also the example of Thomas Cantilupe's cult in Finucane, *Miracles and pilgrims*, pp.173-188.

³⁸ Ward, *Miracles and the medieval mind*, p.67 and 84.

³⁹ See Appendix 1.2.3.

⁴⁰ Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, pp.104-105, Koppitz, p.140.

translation and that he was an individual 'endowed with honesty of character and greater worthiness' (*honestate morum predictum tam quam digniorem*).⁴¹ In theory, there should have been no impediment to the priest moving the icon. Yet, in a fashion not unusual in miracle stories of this kind the icon did not wish to be moved and the priest necessarily suffered a fate akin to that suffered by Uzzah who was struck down when attempting to prevent the ark of the covenant from overbalancing.⁴²

On the other hand, the Sinai miracle regarding certain 'nobleman of Petra', or Philip of Nablus, involved a far from innocent attempt to remove the body of Saint Katherine from the mountain. We are told that he arrived with the intentions of performing a 'work of darkness' (*opus...tenebrarum*) in carrying the body of the saint away and that he was accompanied by a 'large company of men' (*multo...comitatu*).⁴³ Nevertheless, his fate was far less severe than the one experienced by the Saydnaya priest. Though this nobleman was afflicted with whirlwinds and earthquakes so immense that the 'mountains tumbled down' he survived the ordeal and was able to repent of his decision to remove the body of Saint Katherine. His now penitent attitude was subsequently illustrated by his giving to the monastery extensive estates which, according to the miracle, the monks still owned to that day.⁴⁴ The reality of such a gift is corroborated by a letter of Honorius III in the area in and around Karak and Monreal, but there is no evidence to suggest whether Philip was or was not responsible for the giving of said gift.⁴⁵ Therefore, just as with the miracles of the wailing Saracen women, this miraculous story was clearly grounded in actual historical events. Despite this, what is clear is that this story is once again representative of the protection

⁴¹ Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, pp.104-105, Koppitz, p.140.

⁴² 2 Samuel 6.6-7.

⁴³ Koppitz, p.166.

⁴⁴ See Appendix 1.2.3.

⁴⁵ Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, p.127.

miracle trope. More precisely, the role of God's hand (*manu Dei*) in preventing Philip from taking away the body shows that this defence came in the form of protection against outside agents trying to move or relocate an item which was fundamental (or least becoming fundamental) to the sites spiritual prestige.⁴⁶ What is more, that the target of this divine protective attack was a Latin Christian pilgrim is suggestive of the important interest Latin Christians were beginning to show in the shrine. It is further suggestive of the fact that the monastery was concerned about, and arming itself against, the possibility of Catholic European interest in Saint Katherine leading to the sacred theft of her body after the manner of Saint Nicholas' and Saint Mark's removal by the Venetians and, for Saint Nicholas, a group of sailors from Bari. Generally, both these miracles demonstrate communities in the process of deploying miracles which occurred at their shrines for the purpose of warding off unwanted attention and maintaining their privileges (including the possession of certain sacred objects). It also evidences their concerns: the possibility that individuals might try to circumvent divine will and steal such sacred objects from their ordained place of rest.

Indeed, all of the protection miracles which Thietmar relates tell us much about the concerns of the communities which he had the opportunity to engage with during his pilgrimage travels. Such concerns could, in one sense, be quite practical in nature. That two of the miracles recorded from Sinai involve robbers stealing goods from members of the monastery show that theft of property must have been a very real concern and perhaps that these miracles became part of the miraculous repertoire told to travellers in the hope that such knowledge would deter future attempts. The two Marian miracles at Sinai are indicative of the inhospitable nature of the community's surroundings (evidenced by the plague of fleas) and the problems and importance of

⁴⁶ Koppitz, p.166.

having sufficient oil to maintain the levels of lighting within their churches (evidenced by the miraculously filled jar of oil).⁴⁷ Both of these issues, therefore, appear as major concerns for this particular monastic community. That being said, these Marian miracles were intended to emphasise the community's right to dwell on the mountain as evidenced by the Virgin's efforts to keep them there.

One of the chief concerns exhibited in the miracles and Saydnaya, Mount Sinai, Bethany and Chariton is the relationship between these sites of Christian sacred history and the local and invading Saracen populations of the Holy Land. Concern about Saracens exhibits itself on a number of different levels. One element expressed relates to potentially damaging or aggravating encounters with the Saracens. It must be remembered that Sinai, Saydnaya and Chariton, after the fall of the Latin Kingdom, found themselves isolated from local or more trans-geographic Christian support networks. Left to fend for themselves, anxieties about vulnerability, especially in regards to Saracens, can be seen expressed in, for example, the identification of the one group of Sinai robbers as Saracens (*Saraceni*).⁴⁸ Similar concerns can be observed in Thietmar's addition of the following to his copied information regarding Saydnaya:

'It should be known, however, that in the town where they have the icon of Our Lady a Saracen does not dare to reside or spend the night, because, when the land was lost, the Saracens determined to occupy and fortify it, but for a year they were unable to live there.'⁴⁹

⁴⁷ See Appendix 1.2.5 and 1.2.6.

⁴⁸ Koppitz, p.167.

⁴⁹ Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, p.106, Koppitz, p.141. Latin reads: '*Sciendum autem, quod in oppido hoc, ubi habetur ycona domine nostre, Sarracenus stacionarius esse, vel pernoctare non presumit, quia, cum terra fuit perdita, Sarraceni decreverunt illum occupare et munire, sed ad annumibi vivere non potuerunt.*'

Quite apart from whether such a tradition was true, what it reveals is that the community of Saydnaya were propagating a story apparently aimed at dissuading Muslim settlement into what was a predominately Eastern Christian area thereby discouraging potential confrontations. Furthermore, the casting of Saracens as those who tried to burn the body of Chariton's followers is also demonstrative of a trend to portray these communities as protected against aggressive or damaging attacks from Saracens. However, these miraculous stories do not simply evidence a desire to avoid detrimental interactions with Saracens, but to foster, at least in the case of Saydnaya, mutually beneficial interactions.

Chief amongst these was the promotion of the shrine as a viable pilgrimage location for non-Christians. Evidence for this can be seen in the miracle of the blind sultan's healing. As well as advocating the healing properties of the shrine, the miraculous healing of the blind sultan served as a reminder of ties which Saydnaya had forged with Muslim political leaders in Damascus. This miracle was not one told directly by Thietmar, but one that had entered into the narrative at the earliest phases of the Saydnaya legend's creation in around the 1180s although most versions of the miracle situate the miracle slightly earlier, during the reign of Nur ad-Din (1118-1174). In all versions however, the legend relates how after the unnamed Sultan had been cured of his blindness he made a donation for the lighting of the Church equivalent to sixty jars of oil.⁵⁰ The presence of this miracle in the early stages of the legend's development, roughly at the same time that the community seemed to be distancing itself from Constantinople,⁵¹ highlights the community's desire to solidify its position with political powers able to more directly affect the monastery's standings for either good or ill. It is also suggestive of a hope that wider knowledge of it would stimulate further

⁵⁰ See Appendix 1.1.3.

⁵¹ See Chapter II, p.92-98.

Islamic pilgrimage to the shrine and cement Saydnaya in the Islamic spiritual landscape of the Holy Land.

In suggesting this I am not trying to intimate that such traditions were therefore political and pragmatically inspired inventions. Rather these communities were putting to use miraculous occurrences at their shrines in an attempt to validate their position and ensure their continued existence and popularity. What is interesting is that the same positive connections are not evidenced in the Sinai miracles. As previously mentioned, Thietmar himself observed the visit of the king of Cairo (*rex Babilonie*) while at Sinai, so this lack of such connections is not because of a lack of Muslim interest in the spiritual worth of Sinai.⁵² Instead, the absence of such positive protection miracles is demonstrative of Sinai's use of differing tactics to ensure its survival. Naturally, Sinai possessed a much more impressive spiritual heritage than Saydnaya and could rely, as many other places of the Holy Land, on its appearance in the Bible to stimulate interest. That being said, its remote location and the fact that the Sinai peninsula represented a no man's land between political powers, such as the Fatimids, Abbasids and later the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem, meant Sinai's position was often precarious. Recognition of this fact by the community can be seen in the way in which they interacted with various political forces which they came into contact with. For example, according to various traditions, the community managed to avoid the destruction wrought upon a great many Christian holy places by the Caliph al-Hākim (996-1021) by constructing a mosque within the walls of their monastery.⁵³ Indeed, this maintenance of good relations with local Islamic powers is illustrated by the receipt in 1134 of a *firmān* from the Fatimid Caliph al-Hāfiz which confirmed the monastery's rights and privileges and the previously discussed visit of Sultan Al-Adil I

⁵² Koppitz, p.164.

⁵³ Pringle, *Churches*, II, p.51.

while Thietmar was present in the shrine.⁵⁴ On the other hand, when in either 1115 or 1116, as Albert of Aachen reports, Baldwin I made his intentions to visit the monastery clear following a sortie from Monreal to Aqaba he was met on route by messengers from the monastery requesting that he stay away as his visit could have potential disastrous repercussions for them. The community at Sinai was much more focused on keeping certain groups at arm's length to preserve their position than Saydnaya who maintained a more inclusive strategy.

Recording the miraculous

It is hard to see Thietmar as a conscious agent in the promotion of these communities in the same light as they would desire to be depicted. While Thietmar's miraculous information, for the most part, was clearly derived from information obtained in the East and while this information was initially shared with pilgrims with a specific purpose in mind, Thietmar's reasons for recording these miracles reveals to us much more about himself and his own cultural preoccupations than the Eastern context out of which they are derived. Even those miracles which appear in early texts, like the majority attached to Saydnaya, are for the most part derived from information from the East and retold in the West often with certain alterations to adapt the miracles to Latin Christian cultural expectations.⁵⁵ Furthermore, the very fact that Thietmar felt it appropriate to repeat these miracles demonstrates that they still maintained their cultural currency in the early thirteenth century and were of interest to both him and, as far as he was concerned, his audience. Roughly speaking, when considering the miracles as a corpus, there appears within them three themes which govern Thietmar's interest: female saints and piety, materiality and the body, and Islam.

⁵⁴ Pringle, *Churches*, II, p.51, Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, p.125, Koppitz, p.164.

⁵⁵ See for example the discussion on the alterations evident in Guy Chat's account of the Saydnaya incarnation legend. Chapter II, p.100-107.

I. Female saints and piety

One of the more puzzling preoccupations of Thietmar's pilgrimage text and itinerary is with sites associated with female models of piety and female saints. A fundamental part of this is Thietmar's special relationship with Saint Katherine, but in Thietmar's interest in the miraculous there exists a discernible interest in Marian shrines and miracles, not to mention his inclusion of the unusual events that occurred in Bethany. Having already discussed at length Thietmar's devotion to Saint Katherine, it remains for us to assess his attitude to Mary as revealed through the miracles attributed to her in his text. In the discussion of Mary, Thietmar's text emphasises primarily her ability to assist in times of trial and tribulation. This appears most obviously in the miracles affected at Mount Sinai by the Virgin. In both instances, the Virgin is involved in rescuing the monks from a problematic set of circumstances. In the second miracle, she is not only helping the monks resolve their problems but acceding to a specific request.⁵⁶ Intriguingly, the plague which caused the problem in the initial miracle was caused, as Thietmar understood it, 'by God's permission... in order that His goodness and power might become manifestly greater'.⁵⁷ The fact that this miracle was therefore wrought by God's mother is evidence of the ways in which Mariology was developing in this period. This is further demonstrated by the miracle of the Saracen woman at Saydnaya and by looking at the attributes and actions ascribed to Mary during the course of the miracle. Primarily, the appellation used here to describe Mary, namely the 'Mother of Mercy' (*Mater ergo misericordie*) was a relatively new term to describe the Virgin having been coined by John of Salerno when composing his Life of Odo of Cluny, in around 945, and increasing in popularity from then on.⁵⁸ Thietmar's use elsewhere of Blessed Virgin (*beato virgo*) is perhaps more traditional, but he also uses

⁵⁶ See Appendix 1.2.6.

⁵⁷ Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, p.127, Koppitz, p.167. Latin reads: '*Jam sepe dicti monachi mirabili plaga permissione Dei, ut eius eo amplius palam fieret bonitas et potentia, sunt percussi.*'

⁵⁸ H. Graef, *Mary: a history of doctrine and devotion*, (London, 1985), p.203.

the appellation Our Lady (*domina nostra*), the use of which only became known in the twelfth century and would not come to prominence until the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.⁵⁹ The use of such terminology shows Thietmar exhibiting current Catholic European beliefs about Mary. At the same time, the use of the specific term *Mater Misericordie* in this instance emphasises the Virgin's condescension in helping the Saracen woman. Indeed, the whole miracle emphasises Mary's role as compassionate helper of the distressed.⁶⁰

This of course is also reminiscent of the trend found in Western miracle collections of Mary assisting those who are 'without merit' but believers in the Virgin's power. Any number of examples could be given in this regard. The Virgin Mary after all was renowned for the help she provided for the undeserving.⁶¹ In all of this we see echoed the preoccupation with the Virgin prevalent in the West at this time. Furthermore, the fact that in both of the Sinai miracles Mary appears bodily (*corporaliter*) indicates that Thietmar held to even the newest ideas of Latin Christian Mariology. Current historiography has shown that it was in the late-twelfth century that ideas regarding Mary's bodily assumption came to afore in the West. Belief in the reality of this assumption was further enhanced by the visions of Elizabeth of Schönau between 1156 and 1159.⁶² Thietmar's close connection to such ideas demonstrates clearly how Thietmar's cultural background shaped his pilgrimage experience even if much of the miraculous material he used was derived from information gained in the East.

⁵⁹ M. Warner, *Alone of all her sex: the myth and the cult of the Virgin Mary*, (London, 1985), pp.153-154. For Thietmar's usage of these terms in his miracles stories see Appendix 1.1.5, 1.2.5 and 1.2.6.

⁶⁰ Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, p.106. For Latin see Appendix 1.1.5.

⁶¹ See H. Mayr-Harting, 'The idea of the Assumption of Mary in the West, 800-1200', in R.N. Swanson, [ed.], *The Church and Mary, Studies in Church history*, 39, (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 2004), p.100 and Ward, *Miracles and the medieval mind*, p.142-156.

⁶² See primarily Mayr-Harting, 'The idea of the Assumption of Mary in the West'. Also Graef, *Mary: a history*, p.226-229, Rubin, *The mother of God*, pp.136-139, Warner, *Alone of all her sex*, p.89.

In this case, as with Saint Katherine, we can ask the question of why Thietmar sees so much of Mary in the Holy Land? Certainly, there were any number of locations which commemorated Mary's life in the Holy Land. As we have seen, Thietmar did have a profound experience at one such site, namely Bethlehem.⁶³ However, other key sites associated with Mary's life are largely neglected. There is no mention, for example, of the empty tomb of the Virgin in the Kidron valley and the only mention of her in connection with Mount Sion runs: 'There the blessed Virgin Mary gave up her spirit to God surrounded by the Apostles.'⁶⁴ Furthermore, his discussion of Nazareth, the place of the Annunciation, reads 'I also passed through Nazareth, a city of Galilee, where the Annunciation of the Lord was made and where the Lord was brought up and spent His boyhood.'⁶⁵ Mary is in this instance entirely absent. At the same time, Thietmar does mention, alongside Saydnaya and the miracles on Sinai, Al-Matariyya though this section is copied from Burchard of Strasbourg. Accordingly, it would seem that Thietmar was less interested in Mary and more interested in sites that held some extra-biblical Marian association. Indeed, though female saints connect Thietmar's visits to Sinai and Saydnaya so too does the presence of effluvial relics at both of these locations. The reasons for his interest in such sites may not devolve so simply from an interest in female saints.

Of course, one other explanation for Thietmar's interest in these site (including of course the incident recounted at Bethany) is that there was the expectation that his text would be read by a female audience.⁶⁶ The self-mutilation of the nuns of Saint

⁶³ Chapter IV, p.222.

⁶⁴ Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, pp.112-113, Koppitz, p.149. Latin reads: '*Ibi beata virgo Maria in medio apostolorum Deo reddidit spiritum*'.

⁶⁵ Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, pp.112-113, Koppitz, p.129. Latin reads: '*Transiens quoque civitatem Galilee Nazareth, ubi annunciatio Domini facta est et ubi Dominus nutritus est et in puericia conversatus*'.

⁶⁶ See Chapter III, p.166-172.

Lazarus would have served as an interesting lesson in fulfilling one's vows of chastity for any female religious which Thietmar may have had in mind when composing his account. What is clear is that Thietmar carried this range of cultural and personal expectations with him to the Holy Land and that they had a profound impact on his pilgrimage experiences.

II. Materiality and the body

Another preoccupation clearly observable in Thietmar's discussion of the miraculous is with the idea of materiality and the body.⁶⁷ This is nowhere more observable than in Thietmar's description of the incarnated icon of Saydnaya. It goes without saying that the concept of an incarnate icon is extremely expressive of this interest in the materiality and the body, but the manner of the incarnation is, in and of itself, intriguing. Of course, the incarnation is preceded by the emission of oil. Following this the legend describes how the icon slowly sent forth breasts of flesh (*carnis mammillas paulatim emitter*) and thereafter was clothed in flesh from the breasts down (*a mammillis deorsum carne videtur induta*).⁶⁸ Once clothed in flesh, the oil continued to be emitted from the icon, only now it came specifically from the incarnated flesh.⁶⁹ The icon, which was already holy matter, transformed becoming holy matter with a specific bodily aspect which enhanced its sacred qualities. This new matter also retained the generative attributes which the original icon had possessed, producing more holy matter in the shape of the holy oil which itself possessed miraculous qualities.

⁶⁷ In recent years there has been much work done on such ideas but I cite simply the recent work of Caroline Walker Bynum which has most profoundly shaped my thinking in this matter. See specifically Bynum, *Christian materiality*.

⁶⁸ Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, p.105, Koppitz, p.140. See also Appendix 1.1.2.

⁶⁹ See Appendix 1.1.2.

When combined with the miracle of the incarnated oil in the knight's prison of Damascus we are able to draw some interesting conclusions regarding the ideas which this collection of miracles displays. Carrying through the ideas of the generative powers of the incarnated icon, it is fascinating that not only the icon itself had become incarnate, but the oil which the icon produced also became incarnate.⁷⁰ Furthermore, the fact that the incarnate oil bled when the knight who possessed it attempted to mix the two disparate substances in the phial together demonstrates that the incarnate oil was not some unknown, flesh-like substance but that it, like its generative source, had itself become literal flesh.⁷¹ Taking this analysis into more abstract realms of medieval theoretical thinking about the body it is significant that the legend places such a profound focus on the breasts as the specific part of the incarnate icon. Medieval physiology believed that, following the ideas of Galen and Hippocrates, during pregnancy a child was formed around the seeds of the man and the woman using blood from the woman's womb, the womb acting as an oven and cooking the foetus until properly prepared.⁷² Some further believed that following birth, the woman's body continued to convert this blood, usually released during menstruation, into to milk to be used during breastfeeding so that the baby could be nourished from the same substance from which it was created.⁷³ Consequently, ideas of blood, the formation of bodies and breast milk were closely related as far as the medieval physiologist was concerned. It should also be noted that milk and oil were oft-connected effluvial substances in hagiographic texts. It is no coincidence that Saint Katherine, for example, whose neck exuded milk rather than blood when beheaded,

⁷⁰ See Appendix 1.1.4.

⁷¹ See Appendix 1.1.2 and 1.1.4.

⁷² F.E. Sinclair, *Milk and blood: gender and genealogy in the 'Chason de Geste'*, (Bern, 2003), pp.33-35.

⁷³ Bynum, *Holy feast and holy fast*, pp.65, 179, 270, Sinclair, *Milk and blood*, pp.26-37, Warner, *Alone of all her sex*, pp.40-41.

should also produce oil-exuding relics.⁷⁴ Some Syrian Christians even claimed that the Saydnaya icon exuded milk rather than oil.⁷⁵ With this in mind, connecting these abstract principles to these two miracle accounts, we see the subconscious expression of such medieval ideas of matter and the body.

Importantly, in the Saydnaya incarnation miracle the oil flows from the incarnated breasts of the icon. Considering the apposite nature of milk and oil in hagiographic literature of the period, then effusion of oil from the breasts could be seen as reminiscent of an effusion of milk. Furthermore, considering the relationship between breastmilk, blood and flesh, the alteration of the phial of Saydnaya oil could be seen as a logical transformation process according to medieval understandings of body and matter; the synonymous oil turning to flesh just as it was believed its blood/milk counterparts could. Overall, it speaks of the generative power of matter and the body. Indeed, this analysis may be taken a step further. Taking into account that the icon was Marian, then the oil was being symbolically or perhaps literally produced by the flesh, more specifically perhaps the breasts of the Virgin. By extension then, the bleeding-oil-turned flesh could be symbolically (or again perhaps literally) seen as representative of the Incarnation, of Christ's flesh itself. Just as Mary had "formed" Christ's human body, Mary was likewise responsible for the formation of the incarnated oil. In this case, there appears a distinct connection between the bleeding oil of Saydnaya and any number of Eucharistic miracles in which people bore witness to having seen the host bleed following consecration.⁷⁶ It is also interesting to note the important association in Western thinking from the thirteenth century between Mary's milk and her powers of intercession (as witnessed in the miracle of the Saracen

⁷⁴ *The golden legend*, vol.2, p.339. Several more similar examples can be found in Bynum, *Holy feast and holy fast*, pp.123-145.

⁷⁵ Bynum, *Christian materiality*, p.151.

⁷⁶ Bynum, *Holy feast and holy fast*, pp.60-63, 272-273, Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, pp.116, 122, 142.

woman) and healing (as witnessed by the miracle of the blind sultan).⁷⁷ The generative, miraculous aspects attributed to this bodily holy matter are also distinctly positive and are indicative of the ways in which medieval people were beginning to think about such subjects. Holy matter and holy bodies held generative power and had a certain agency of themselves. They were vessels not only of power, but also indicators of God's will as seen through the immovability of the icon or the oil/flesh bleeding in protest at being disturbed.

Perhaps less theoretical a connection between such miracles appears in a comparison of the miracles of the knight's prison with that of the stolen oil from Mount Sinai. In both of these cases, the oil which serves as the subject of the miracle, when disturbed, bleeds in protest. This is representative of a miraculous trope becoming increasingly prominent in Catholic European circles around the start of the thirteenth century.⁷⁸ As we see in the miracles of the stolen and phials of oil, this trope appears particularly in cases where a holy item was attacked or abused in some way.⁷⁹ All of this demonstrates once again the ways in which Western devotional trends profoundly affected Thietmar's experience of pilgrimage. These Latin preoccupations forced him to interpret Eastern information through certain lens and all of this speaks of the ways in which, in this context, Text or traditions from the West influenced Person and forced to understand information encountered at the shrine in ways that made sense to him. Bethany is also indicative of this trend, speaking of how his interest in the Body and Female piety and possibly his audience shaped his experience and the way he described it.

⁷⁷ Warner, *Alone of all her sex*, p.200.

⁷⁸ Bynum, *Wonderful blood*.

⁷⁹ Bynum, *Christian materiality*, pp.139-144, 183-184, Bynum, *Holy feast and holy fast*, p.249, Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, pp.121-128.

An easy answer for why Thietmar demonstrates such a remarkable interest in issues relating to the Body relates to the pressures which Catholic Europe was experiencing in the face of the threat of dualist Cathars.⁸⁰ While the existence of Cathars as a real threat is debated,⁸¹ what is clear from the response of Latin Europe during this period that they felt that this threat was real. One of the responses was an increase in attempts to defend doctrines such as the Incarnation and an increasing view of the material world in a positive light.⁸² Mary as the *Theotokos* or *Mater Dei* played an integral role in establishing doctrines of the Incarnation and the positives of the material world, Mary serving, as she had in the past, as a champion against heresy.⁸³ Interest in the Body, as a result of Cathars, would also once again connect Thietmar with the schools of thinking which culminated in Innocent III's reactions to the Cathars in Languedoc and the calling of the Albigensian Crusade. Again, another example of how Thietmar carried Latin preoccupations with him to the Holy Land.

⁸⁰ Much has been written in regards to Catharism, but among the most important works are M. Barber, *The Cathars: dualist heretics in Languedoc in the High Middle Ages*, (Harlow, 2000), P. Biller, *Inquisitors and heretics in thirteenth-century Languedoc: edition and translations of Toulouse inquisition depositions, 1273-1282*, (Leiden, 2011), M. Lambert, *Medieval heresy: popular movements from the Gregorian reforms to the Reformation*, (Oxford, 2002), R.I. Moore, *The formation of a persecuting society*, 2nd ed., (Oxford, 2007), M. Pegg, *A Most Holy War: The Albigensian Crusade and the Battle for Christendom*, (New York, 2007), M. Pegg, 'Albigenses in the antipodes: an Australian and the cathars', *Journal of religious history*, 35.4, (2011), pp.577-600.

⁸¹ See, for example, M. Pegg, 'Albigenses in the antipodes', pp.577-600 and P. Biller, 'Cathars and the natural world', in P. Clarke, and T. Claydon, [eds.] *God's bounty? The churches and the natural world*, *Studies in church history*, 46, (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 2010), pp.89-110.

⁸² For ideas relating to the defence of the Incarnation see A.S. Abulafia, 'Bodies in the Jewish-Christian debate', in C.H. Berman, [ed.], *Medieval religion: new approaches*, (New York, 2005), pp.320-333, Bynum, *Christian materiality*, pp.189, 225, Bynum, *Holy feast and holy fast*, pp.251-253, Bynum, *Jesus as mother*, pp.130. For the changes in ideas of the body see Abulafia, 'Bodies in the Jewish-Christian debate', pp.322-323, Bynum, *Christian materiality*, pp.128-138, E. Freeman, 'Wonders, prodigies and marvels: unusual bodies and the fear of heresy in Ralph Coggeshall's *Chronicon Anglicanum*', *Journal of medieval history*, 26.2, (2000), pp.138-142.

⁸³ Graef, *Mary: a history*, p.111, Rubin, *The mother of God*, p.164.

Interest in the body, as a result of the influence of Catharism, was also derived from the biblical symbolism of the church itself as a body.⁸⁴ Naturally, one approach to the idea that the church was itself the body of Christ was to follow the example of the nuns of Bethany and the teachings of the gospel of Matthew and cut out any malign part of said body.⁸⁵ More commonly, Catholic European authors were constantly concerned with maintaining the integrity of this body.⁸⁶ Indeed, the miracle of Chariton, as shared by Thietmar speaks for a concern for the maintenance and preservation of this symbolic body. In this miracle, the Saracens represent the external threats to the body of the Christian church as represented by the bodies of Chariton's followers. The implicit message in the miracle is that though the Saracens are able to attack these bodies, able to set them aflame, they are preserved, intact and undamaged.⁸⁷ In the same way, despite the various attacks which the body of Christ might be required to endure it lives on. Just as the incarnate oil of Saydnaya demonstrates that it lives by bleeding, or the Eucharistic host in any number of miracles, Christ lives and so too does his body both literally and symbolically. It was precisely this message which Thietmar, in recounting such miraculous events, wished to convey. And in so doing, he demonstrated clearly the intellectual tradition of which he was a part and also the societal concerns which he felt. His profound interest in Mary, who, it should be

⁸⁴ 1 Corinthians 12.12. See also, Abulafia, 'Bodies in the Jewish-Christian debate', pp.327-329, D. Iogna-Prat, 'The creation of a Christian armoury against Islam', in C.H. Berman, [ed.], *Medieval religion: new approaches*, (New York, 2005), pp.300-319, M. Uebel, 'Unthinking the monster', pp.264-291.

⁸⁵ See Chapter V, p.264-282. See Matthew 5.29 and 18.9.

⁸⁶ Ideas about Christianity unity are problem best expressed by the decrees of the Fourth Lateran Council, see *Decrees of the ecumenical councils*, vol.1, pp.227-271. See also Abulafia, 'Bodies in the Jewish-Christian debate', pp.327-329, Bynum, *Christian materiality*, pp.129-177, G. Constable, *The Reformation of the twelfth century*, (Cambridge, 1996), p.174, Iogna-Prat, 'A Christian armoury against Islam', Iogna-Prat, *Order and exclusion*, Kangas, '*Inimicus Dei et sanctae Christianitatis?*', pp.131-160, Moore, *The formation of a persecuting society* and Uebel, 'Unthinking the monster', pp.264-291. As an interesting comparison outside of the context of relations with heretics and Islam see A.S. Abulafia, 'Saint Anselm and those outside the church', in D. Loades, and K. Walsh, [eds.], *Faith and identity: Christian political experience, Studies in Church history*, subsidia 6, (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 1990), pp.11-37.

⁸⁷ See Chapter V, p.245-264.

remembered, was a symbol of the church according to the traditional interpretations of the book of Revelations, also demonstrates this commitment to ideas about Christian unity. That an exposition of such concerns appears in the context of the Holy Land demonstrates the way in which Place could be used by Person in order to satisfy cultural needs and expectations. This is nowhere more true than in those miracles which involve Saracens as key components of the miraculous events Thietmar describes.

III. Saracens

Connected to these concerns about the integrity of Christ's symbolic body is the interest which Thietmar exhibits in Islam in his miraculous stories. Of course, current historiography has highlighted the ways in which Islam, in many regards, was part of this same narrative of the unity of Christianity.⁸⁸ While definitions of Islam among Christian authors varied widely, they were compartmentalised into two broad categories of seeing Islam as either a pagan religion or the penultimate heresy before the advent of the Antichrist.⁸⁹ However, within the academic tradition which Thietmar was writing in, the latter of the two was prevalent. Consequently, just as the Cathars represented an internal threat to Christian unity to be dealt with as all heresies had in the past, Islam, a religion whose adherents could be found both within and outside the bounds of Catholic Europe, presented a similar if not even more hazardous threat to the maintenance of Christian unity.⁹⁰

In this context, it is unsurprising that Muslims make repeat appearances in the miracles of Thietmar's account. Their appearance has much to do with the messages

⁸⁸ Kangas, *'Inimicus Dei et sanctae Christianitatis?'*, pp.131-160.

⁸⁹ Tolan, *Saracens*, pp.135-169 and Iogna-Prat, *Order and exclusion*, p.356.

⁹⁰ Tolan, *Saracens*, p.135-169 and Iogna-Prat, *Order and exclusion*, p.356.

these miracles were supposed to relay to their audience. If we take the two miracles involving Saracens at Saydnaya for example we see that Thietmar's usage of Islamic characters is intended to do much more than discredit rival religious ideologies. This miracle is more about the Virgin's 'boundless compassion' (*affectus multitudinem*) than the Saracen woman's lack of merit. It tells us little about Thietmar's view of Islam, except to say that the underserving criminals (another threat to the integrity of a community) and Saracens could be used in the same analogous contexts. Similarly, the miracle of the blind sultan also tells us very little about Thietmar's actual views on Islam. The miracle demonstrates a certain hopeful belief, even if only subliminally, in the possibilities of Muslim converts to Christianity. Primarily, this is expressed in the suggestion that 'even though he was a pagan' the sultan had 'faith in the Lord' (*fidem habens in Domino*).⁹¹ Naturally, veneration of Christ as a prophetic figure was a well-known aspect of Islamic doctrine even in the middle ages. That being said, the language used here is suggestive of more than simple veneration, but of genuine belief. Furthermore, that the miracle is couched in light-seeing symbolism (the first thing the *blind* sultan sees after being healed is the light of one of the shrine's lamps) is further suggestive of the fact that the author of this miracle is thinking in terms of conversion and implies the sultan to be an almost crypto-Christian.

Such sentiments would have certainly appealed to an individual like Thietmar, and indeed people of the late-twelfth century, when ideas of the possibility of conversion of Muslims and the first Christian missions to the Holy Land were beginning to be organised.⁹² Evidently, this miracle also tells us less about Islam and more concerning Christianity's hopes and beliefs at this time. That is not to say that Thietmar is not interested or worried about Saracens or Islam; his discourses in Damascus and

⁹¹ Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, p.106, Koppitz, p.141.

⁹² See George-Tvrtković, *Riccoldo da Montecroce* and Kedar, *Crusade and mission*.

regarding Mecca show that he clearly was. Rather Thietmar's concern with Islam is indicative of a much wider concern with Christianity's position in a world beset with internal and external threats to Christian unity.

Fundamentally, while Thietmar clearly is interested in Islam and there is a specific desire, at times, to undermine the religion, such inclinations are secondary to a wider motive which is to present for his readers signs of Christianity's strength, divine sanction and ultimate triumph. The miracles involving Islamic characters demonstrate the Virgin's paramount power and mercy, hopes for conversion of non-Christians, the strength that can be found in the rejection of the body and also that the body of Christians cannot be destroyed by their enemies. Above all, they bear witness to the fact that although the Christian church and its members may be subjected to abuse and trials, ultimately they will endure and that their beliefs and ideas are sufficient to see them through. In the end, while the subject matter Thietmar and other pilgrims were working with could certainly be derived from the East, their deployment of such miraculous traditions was done in a way that only a Latin Christian could. So while Place could certainly influence Person, it was the cultural preconceptions of Person which worked to validate and interpret the information provided by Place.

Thietmar's interest in the miraculous, therefore, provides a much more nuanced view of the creation of a pilgrimage experience. Certainly, Thietmar is clearly interested in these sites and events because of societal, cultural and devotional tendencies derived entirely from his background. Yet, what he sees or rather what he is told is still very much rooted in the concerns of those living in the Holy Land and the reality of such an existence. Thietmar's view of the Holy Land is telescopic; the lenses formed by his own culture and the texts which that culture creates. Consequently, Thietmar still sees a

real image of the Holy Land, even if that image is blurred, out of focus, and sometimes narrow-minded. In many ways, Bowman is right in understanding Holy Land pilgrimage experiences as defined by interpretations placed on the sacred spaces and events. Nevertheless, at the same time, certainly in Thietmar's case, there is more of the Holy Land in the substance of what he experienced. Rather than moulding his own imaginative heritage onto the "blank" landscape of the Holy Land, Thietmar appears to be taking on the landscape of the Holy Land, very much populated by ideas and traditions of local communities, and moulding it to fit his preconceived ideas. Clearly, the understanding of Christian pilgrimage relies on all three conceptual elements of Text, Person and Place. In Thietmar, what we see is the collision in Person of Text and Place, these two being forged together by the individual to create the pilgrimage experience. Necessarily, in order to understand pilgrimage, we must try to appreciate all three elements, recognising that as Text and Place changed, and as the societal influences on Person also changed, these combinations, this fusion of ideas, realities and interpretations could vary extraordinarily. While there are certainly many universal qualities to pilgrimage we must appreciate the immensely diverse experience which pilgrim encounters with the holy and mundane could produce.

Conclusions

To begin the end of this discussion of Thietmar, let us turn to how one recent work has described his experience. Susanne Lehmann-Brauns, in her interesting discussion of the role of pilgrimage accounts in what she has termed spiritual pilgrimage, said of Thietmar's pilgrimage account:

‘Despite all of the political changes since the end of the twelfth century, the spiritual goal of the pilgrimage account remained the same. Thietmar, like his predecessors John of Würzburg and Theoderic, expressed the desire to visit the same places in which Jesus and the saints had been present in the flesh. He felt a burning need to see personally what he had so often learnt from the usually oblique phrasing and mysterious passages of the Bible. Thietmar thought it worthwhile to write down what he himself had seen or what he had heard from reliable witnesses.’¹

Such analysis expresses many truths regarding Thietmar's intentions. The connection with Thietmar of ideas of the visual verification of text squares precisely with what we have suggested already regarding Thietmar's text. Furthermore, Lehmann-Brauns is right to suggest that limits placed upon Thietmar at Jerusalem led to him to focus on ‘any evidence of Christian existence in the Holy Land, surviving monasteries or communities as well as every trace of sacred history’.² Nevertheless, despite accurately

¹ Lehmann-Brauns, *Jerusalem sehen*, pp.192-193. ‘Trotz aller politischen Veränderungen seit dem ausgehenden 12. Jh. ist das spirituelle Ziel des pilgerberichts gleich geblieben. Thietmar formuliert wie seine Vorgänger Johann von Würzburg und Theodericus das Anliegen, selbst die Orte aufzusuchen, an denen Jesus und die Heiligen körperlich gewirkt hatten. Er verspürt ein glühendes Bedürfnis, persönlich zu sehen, was er so oft aus den häufig dunkel formulierten und geheimnisvollen Passagen der Bibel erfahren hat. Thietmar hält es für nützlich, das, was er selbst sieht oder von zuverlässigen Zeugen hört, niederzuschreiben.’

² Lehmann-Brauns, *Jerusalem sehen*, p.192. ‘Umso wichtiger nimmt der Pilgerautor jeden Hinweis auf christliches Leben im Heiligen Land, noch existierende Klöster und Gemeinschaften sowie jegliche Spur der Heiligeschichte.’

describing many of the idiosyncrasies of Thietmar's text, Lehmann-Brauns' analysis still desires to see Thietmar's text as a part of a larger whole. Certainly, Thietmar's desire to see and to believe *is* indicative of a long-standing and long-recognised motivation for Holy Land pilgrimage. However, the texts which Thietmar was attempting to verify in his pilgrimage account were not biblical; his pilgrimage experience hardly comparable with that of John of Würzburg and Theoderic.

Of course, Lehmann-Brauns' intention here was not to equate John, Theoderic and Thietmar's pilgrimage experience in their entirety. Rather what she intended to do was to demonstrate the similarities, in the motivations behind the composing of their accounts.³ But this quest for finding within pilgrimage accounts strands of continuity over centuries, obscures the fact that pilgrimage accounts and pilgrimage experience was concurrently similar and diverse. Indeed, I believe reading the accounts of John, Theoderic and Thietmar comparatively reveals a wealth of differences. John's account, and we can assume pilgrimage experience, were inseparable from the Gospel narratives and Christ's passion. And while Theoderic's account can be viewed as equally expressive of the Christocentric attitude so apparent in the twelfth century, his account reveals a pilgrimage experience heavily influenced by the presence of the Military Orders in the Holy Land and those grand ritual experiences of *communitas* which Theoderic participated in while in the Levant.⁴

Thietmar's pilgrimage account and pilgrimage experience, on the other hand, were clearly unique and it is within this unique nature that we find its greatest worth. Our analysis of his text has allowed us to not only learn more about this particular pilgrim,

³ A point we agree on and something discussed in full in Chapter III, see p.128-136.

⁴ Note those ritual experiences Theoderic had at Calvary, the Jordan and in the Holy Sepulchre during the rituals surrounding the miracle of the holy fire. Wilkinson, *Jerusalem pilgrims, 1099-1187*, pp.282-283, 286, 304.

but also the practice of pilgrimage in the early-thirteenth century. In order to conclude our discussion, let us briefly revisit ideas of Text, Place and Person before drawing our analysis to a close with some general thoughts and ideas about directions for future research.

Text

Throughout this thesis, Text has been broken down into two distinct categories:

Thietmar's own pilgrimage account and the texts which we are able to assume he read before he set off on his pilgrimage travels. In terms of Thietmar's own Text, we have been able to reaffirm the position of Hamburg Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. in scrinio, 143, b as the premier version of Thietmar's account. That being said, it should also be recognised that any future edition of the text would need to take serious consideration of the other, previously unused group A manuscripts, Berlin Staatsbibliothek Ms. theol. lat. fol. 291 and Würzburg, Ms. ch. f.39 as well as the variations evident within the group B manuscripts, Berlin Staatsbibliothek, Ms. lat. quart. 277 and Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 42.3, Aug. 2°. The Saydnaya legend, though copied from elsewhere, should be considered an integral part of the original text, based upon the exclusive information found in Chapter VI of Thietmar's text. However, maintaining this position also means that the section pertaining to Al-Matariyya, copied from Burchard of Strasbourg, must also be considered in the same light. Accordingly, the legend of Saydnaya and Burchard of Strasbourg's text should be seen as key in informing Thietmar about the Holy Land prior to his departure.

Additionally, the *Tractatus de locis et statu terre ierosolmitane*, undefined information relating to Saint Katherine and Christian apologetic and polemical writings about Islam (possibly in the tradition of Peter the Venerable), should be understood to have heavily influenced Thietmar before his embarkation on pilgrimage. Importantly, his

pilgrimage experience seems to suggest that it was these texts that Thietmar was trying to verify, not, as was conventionally the case, biblical or quasi-biblical texts.

Furthermore, as well as highlighting Thietmar's cultural attitudes, it is also suggestive of those intended as the audience of his text, who were most certainly clerical and possibly, though this is a less sustainable idea, a female monastic audience. Quite apart from this, Thietmar's engagement with these textual influences in his own text is less suggestive of Place as a religious void, rather it is suggestive of pilgrimage, at least in Thietmar's case, as an opportunity to verify these textually constructed cultural attitudes by submitting them to observational testing. Consequently, for pilgrims who did not deploy textual knowledge critically, Place *could* represent a religious void upon which attitudes of Text could be implanted. When textual sources were used critically, as they sometimes are in Thietmar's account, then Place, as we have seen, was able to nullify textual crutches. Indeed, current research suggests that the late-twelfth (if we take the example of Burchard of Strasbourg) and the entirety of the thirteenth century saw European travellers beginning to do just that.⁵ Just one example of this was Thietmar's challenging of information found in the *Tractatus* based upon his own discussions with a Greek bishop. Evidently, while Text could certainly fashion a pilgrim's expectations and beliefs, pilgrims were not necessarily restricted by these ideas.

Place

This change in attitudes, I believe, has much to do with the situation which the Holy Land found itself in during the thirteenth century. The trauma of the conquests of 1187 had fundamentally altered the way in which Latin Christian pilgrims experienced the holy places, a trauma which they would only begin to recover from towards the

⁵ Grabois, 'Christian pilgrims in the thirteenth century', pp.285-296.

beginning of the fourteenth century. Ultimately, it was not until the Franciscan custody that this recovery was complete. Accordingly, pilgrims to the Holy Land in this period did not find it how they expected and were required to negotiate differences between expectations and the reality of the situation. Thietmar demonstrates, to some extent, the effects that such changes had on Latin Christian's experiences of Place. The problems resultant from this changed relationship led to an expansion of the Holy Land, to the inclusion of places such as Saydnaya and Sinai which beforehand had been merely peripheral concerns for more "conventional" Holy Land pilgrims. Of course, this was not the only coping mechanism developed by such pilgrims. The thirteenth century saw the translations of traditions to accessible sites such as Mount Sion and the identification of new sites with alternative events from the Gospel narratives. The Holy Land in the thirteenth century was an adapting and mutable geographical concept. Another fundamental change was increasing necessity for interaction with indigenous populations of the Holy Land.

Some of this came about because of increasing interest in ideas of mission during this period; Riccoldo of Monte Croce and Jacque de Vitry are prime examples of this tendency. Nevertheless, the provision of simple logistical requirements and the sharing of stories and traditions with pilgrims fell, or at least Thietmar's experience suggests it did, once a pilgrim had left the confines of the reduced geographical parameters of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, to Greek and other Orthodox communities in the Holy Land. It would be interesting to see the extent to which this remained the case during the period 1229 and 1244 when Jerusalem was in Christian hands following the truce organised between Sultan al-Kamil and Frederick II. However, there are no pilgrimage accounts from this fifteen-year period which could provide us with such information, meaning it would have to be sought elsewhere. That being said, the increased

interaction with local communities evidenced in Thietmar's account meant that, at least for him, the Holy Land was no religious void, but replete with competing traditions and narratives. As we have seen, Thietmar often drew on such traditions, using them to supplement the information and knowledge he had obtained from the textual and oral histories he had been exposed to in the West. When it came to the relating of legendary and miraculous traditions these divergent narratives were able to support and sustain one another, leading to Thietmar's ability to catalogue new and fascinating events of sacred history. Contrastingly, when it came to his discussion of these indigenous groups, especially Muslims, his textual knowledge seems to have conflicted with his experienced visual image of these groups requiring the reconciliation of Text and sight. More often than not, Text won through. Nevertheless, we do at times see an extraordinary blend of information originating from Text and Place which Thietmar, as Person, was required to resolve in writing his account.

Person

Therefore, Person not Place represented the ideological battleground in which a pilgrim's experience of the holy was forged. Thietmar's experiences as a pilgrim were inseparable from issues of Place imposed upon him by the geography, topography, architecture, politics and the communities of the Holy Land, just as it was inherently tied together with his Textual constructed predilections. His decision to visit Katherine and Saydnaya, to neglect Jerusalem, to preserve in writing the stories of Bethany and Chariton and his experiences with Muslims and Eastern Christians alike were derived both from the situation of the Holy Land and the devotional landscape of Europe in 1217. That aside, despite him explicitly saying so little about himself we are able to conclude, with varying degrees of confidence, that he came from Germany, that he was keenly aware of and complicit with shifting Western intellectual and devotional

currents, that his pilgrimage experience was closely tied up with ideas of crusading, that he felt a profound personal devotion to Saint Katherine and displayed a more general interest in sites associated with female religious figures. Furthermore, he was clearly well educated and certainly a member of the clergy. As we have already stated in this conclusion, it is unclear who his intended audience was, but the main appeal of his account was its association with Saint Katherine, and the memory of his identity preserved several fantastical ideas regarding his character. Above all, analysis of his text has shown him to be an intriguing example of a pilgrim to the Holy Land in this period. Thietmar was no vague abstraction or anonymous individual, but a real person who at times wore his heart on his sleeve and whose pilgrimage account reveals an individual who could be passionate and dispassionate, brave and scared, credulous and incredulous about the things which he encountered and experienced during his pilgrimage.

Person, Place and Text in thirteenth-century Holy Land pilgrimage

At this point, it is only appropriate at this point to acknowledge several challenges which could well be levelled against this research. Certainly, this research could be construed as having a too narrow focus. Yet, in many ways this is the point, with the hope being that such a concentrated approach will awaken scholarship to so many of the possibilities of Holy Land pilgrimage, particularly during the middle ages. Nonetheless, I have tried, where possible, to support my analysis of Thietmar with recourse to the works of his contemporaries and predecessors. One thing I would have like to have done would have been to have made more reference to what came after the fourteenth century. Unfortunately, the sources from the fourteenth century are far too numerous for me to have been able to do this effectively and my hope is that the comparisons I have been able to draw upon will suffice. The greatest concern relates to

the argument that Thietmar's ideas are expressive of wider cultural developments in Catholic Europe in this period. To have been able to sufficiently deal with the scholarship of all of the themes touched upon in the thesis would have been impossible. Nevertheless, I hope that I have been able to provide sufficient coverage and that I have not underplayed or neglected to mention too many other significant themes which might also have been addressed or indeed overplayed those which I have discussed.

Additional to these problems, there remains several unanswered questions. While the relationship between pilgrimage and crusading may never be resolved satisfactorily, especially because of the seemingly endless recycling of crusading definitions within scholarship, there still is great scope for expanding our understanding of ideas surrounding pilgrimage during middle ages, particularly in reference to the usage of terms for pilgrim and pilgrimage. Such a project would require the cooperation of scholars from across the field of medieval studies, not just those interested in pilgrimage, but also crusade historians, historians of monasticism and hagiography as well as those better acquainted with the chronicle and charter evidence which historians of Holy Land pilgrimage (myself included) seldom engage with. Perhaps more important for our understanding of pilgrimage in the period c.1000-1300 is the creation of more narrative accounts of Holy Land pilgrimage from the eleventh to the thirteenth century which are able to demonstrate the ways in which this devotional act adapted over these formative centuries. While I have questioned the usefulness of such works, their presence would inspire, judging by the development of scholarship for the later and earlier periods, more people to conduct increasingly nuanced work along the lines of what I have accomplished here and which are sadly lacking at this moment in time. Similar approaches as the ones I have taken to the key works of Burchard of Mount Sion, Wilbrand of Oldenburg (probably in conjunction with Burchard of

Strasbourg), John of Würzburg, Theoderic and Saewulf would significantly advance our understanding of Holy Land pilgrimage in the period 1099-1291.

With all this having been said, it is my hope, first and foremost, that the value of analysing pilgrimage in microcosm through application of the triad of Person, Place and Text to a single pilgrimage account is clear. Nevertheless, while the value of this approach is obvious, the understanding of Place as a religious void facilitating the comprehension of itself in a way suited to the cultural predilections of Person is, at least in this context, an oversimplification. Certainly, a cult or shrine was able, as Eade and Sallnow have suggested, to ‘entertain and respond to plurality’, indeed ‘the sacred centre [is] a vessel into which pilgrims devoutly pour their hopes, prayers and aspirations.’⁶ However, it is this very process which prevents a cult, shrine or, more generally, Place from acting as a blank canvas. Over generations, as pilgrims enact this process alongside custodians of sites and local communities, they form layer upon layer of sacred tradition which subsequent pilgrims are required to navigate in order to forge or create a sacred narrative which accommodates their expectations. It is of course plausible, as has been the case in some time periods, that Person rejects these layers of traditions entirely in order to make room for their own beliefs. In these circumstances, Place does assume the characteristics of a religious void. Indeed, some groups will instinctively reject traditions laid down by other groups who advocate competing ideologies. However, despite the ways in which pilgrims interact with these layers, in adapting, supplementing and erasing these traditions they are themselves involved in this same process, creating an image of a shrine or cult for future pilgrims to engage with. It is this process which truly creates the pilgrim experience.

⁶ *Contesting the sacred*, p.15.

This is also why pilgrimage as a devotional act can appear so diverse and yet so unchanging. Irrespective of the time in which pilgrimage occurs or the context from which a pilgrim originates, much of the fabric of pilgrimage experience is already present at any given pilgrimage destination. Place is not, as some would argue, devoid of intrinsic meaning. Rather Place and Text both impact Person and their pilgrimage experience. It is up to each pilgrim, on arrival at the shrine, to mould this fabric as they see fit and as befits their cultural preoccupations. For many this moulding process creates the same results as their fellow pilgrims, resulting in generalised conclusions from scholars regarding the nature of pilgrimage. For some, as with Thietmar, something different and very special occurs, which when studied demonstrates just how beautifully nuanced the practice of pilgrimage really is.

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Appendix 1 – The Miraculous in Thietmar

1. Miracles of Saydnaya

1. The death of the priest

Making ready a respectful place where she might place the icon, the nun asked a certain priest endowed with honesty of character and greater worthiness to take it and place it in the prepared place. The priest put on the sacred vestments and went to the icon; but when he touched the image, his hands withered and after being sick in his whole body for three days he departed from the world. Afterwards no one presumed to touch it or to move it.

[Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, pp.104-105]

Sanctimonialis vero preparans venerabilem locum, ubi yconam reponeret, rogavit quendam presbiterum honestate morum preeditum tam quam digniorem, ut eam assumeret et in preparato loco reponeret. Et induens se sacerdos sacris vestibus, ad yconam accessit; et cum ymaginem tangeret; arefacte sunt manus eius, et toto corpore infirmatus post triduum migravit a seculo. Postea vero nullus eam presumebat tangere vel movere.

[Koppitz, p.140]

2. The incarnation of the icon of Saydnaya

The nun prepared a vase beneath the icon in which the liquid trickling from the image was received. However, little by little the image of the mother of God began to send out breasts of flesh and to be clothed in flesh. For the image – as the brothers who have seen it testify, such as Brother Thomas, who also touched it with his finger, and many others who saw it – is seen, we declare, to be clothed in the flesh from the breasts downwards. From there trickles the fluid of the flesh. The brothers of the Temple, who come there by virtue of their prayers when they have truces with the pagans, take the liquid away from there to their houses.

[Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, p.105]

Sanctimonialis vero subter yconam vas preparavit, in quo liquor manans ab ymagine recipitur. Cepit autem Dei genitricis ymago carnis mammillas paulatim emittere, carne vestiri. Nam ymago eadem, ut a fratribus testantibus, qui viderunt, scilicet a fratre Thoma, qui eciam eam digito palpavit, et ab aliis quam pluribus, qui eam viderunt, didicimus, a mammillis deorsum carne videtur induta. De qua carnis liquor emanat. Quem liquorem ibidem fratres templi ad domos suas deferunt, gracia orationum illuc venientes, quando cum paganis treugas habent.

[Koppitz, p.140]

3. The healing of the blind sultan

It happened, however, that a certain sultan of Damascus, who had only one eye, became sick in the eye with which he could see and losing his sight became blind. Hearing, however, of the image of the mother of God and how many miracles God was performing through it, he came to where the icon was venerated and entered the chapel, having faith in the Lord, even though he was a pagan, so that through the image of His mother health might be restored to him; and he threw himself on the ground and prayed. Getting up from prayer and still being suspicious, he saw a light burning in the lamp that had been placed before the image. Then seeing everything else he glorified God, as did all who were there. And because he had seen the light

burning in the lamp for the first time, he vowed to God that each year he would give in revenue for lighting the same church sixty jars of oil. Up to the time of Coradin, sultan of the city of Damascus, these were received by those serving that church.

[Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, p.105]

Contigit autem, quod quidam Soldanus Damascenorum, qui monocus fuerat, oculo, cum quo videbat. infirmabatur, et amittens visum factus est cecus. Audiens autem de ymagine Dei genitricis, quanta Deus pro ea operaretur miracula, venit, ubi venerabatur ycona, et intravit in oratorium, fidem habens in Domino, quamvis paganus esset, ut per ymaginem sue genitricis ei sanitatem reddere potuisset, et proiecit se in terram et oravit. Surgens autem ab oratione atque suspiciens, vidit ignem ardentem in lampade, que ante ymaginem posita erat. Deinde cetera omnia videns, glorificavit Deum ipse et omnes, qui aderant. Et quia primum viderat ignem ardentem in lampade, vovit Domino, quod annuatim redderet in redditibus ad luminaria eiusdem basilice LX metretas olei, quales usque ad tempus Coradini,¹⁰⁸ Damascene civitatis Soldani, ecclesie illius habuerunt servitores.

[Koppitz, p.140]

4. The incarnate phial of oil and the knights' prison in Damascus

In AD 1204, on the Tuesday before Easter, it happened that in the knights' prison in the sultan's pit in Damascus a certain knight was drawing a phial of oil of St Mary of Sardenay out of the case in which it had been placed, in order to have a look at it, and he saw that the oil had become flesh but was divided into two parts, so that one part of the oil was in the lower part of the phial and the other in the upper. He took up a knife and tried to join the upper part to the lower with its point; and as the blade of the knife touched the oil that was suspended in the upper part of the phial, drops of blood immediately flowed from it in the presence of the chaplains and knights who were there and of all the other prisoners. There are many other miracles that have been wrought through the image of His holy mother, Mary, by almighty God, to whom be honour and glory and power and might for ever and ever, Amen.

[Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, pp.105-106]

Anno MCCIV ab incarnatione Domini, feria tertia ante Pascha, contigit in carcere militum in fovea Soldani de Damasco, ut quidam miles extraheret phialam unam de oleo sancte Marie de Sardanaia armiolo, in quo reposuerat, ad videndum, et vidit, quod oleum esset incarnatum, sed in duas partes divisum, ita quod una pars olei in inferiore parte phiale, et altera in superiore. Et accipiens cultellum, cum acumine cultelli voluit coniungere superiorem partem inferiori; et ut acie cultelli tetigit oleum, quod in superiori parte phiale pendebat, statim inde gutte sanguinee effluerunt coram capellanis et militibus, qui aderant, et ceteris captivis universis.

[Koppitz, p.141]

5. The wailing Saracen woman

In this place there happened forthwith on the feast of Our Lady a miracle in this manner. Take note. When a multitude had flocked together to the place already mentioned above on account of the oil and prayers, and some individuals had already received the oil in their small vessels, it happened that a certain matron did not have a vessel in which to put the oil. She therefore filled the whole church with loud wailing and lamentation, because through lack of a jar she would be without so precious a thing. The mother of mercy, having pity on the weeping women, not because of her merit (because she was a Saracen) but on account of her boundless compassion and the

woman's belief in the help coming from the oil, did not deny the matron what she desired but miraculously caused a full ampulla of oil to appear in her hand.

[Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, p.106]

Hoc id loco accidit tale miraculum tunc in continenti in festo domine nostre. Nota. Cum multitudo copiosa ad iam dictum locum gracia olei et orationum confluxisset, et singuli iam oleum in vasculis suis recepissent, accidit, ut quedam matrona vasculum, in quo reponeret oleum, non haberet. Unde planctu maximo et eiulatu totam replenit ecclesiam, quod pro carencia vasis re preciosa caruisse debuisset. Mater ergo misericordie, miserans lamentantem, non propter meritum, (quia Sarracena fuit) sed propter affectus multitudinem et credulitatem salutis de ipso oleo provenientis matronam desiderio suo non fraudavit, sed ampullam oleo plenam in manu eius miraculose invenit.

[Koppitz, p.141]

2. Miracles at Mount Sinai

1. The translation of Saint Katherine

...a certain hermit, sitting alone in that part of Mount Sinai, on another height from that where the body of the holy virgin Katherine was brought by the angels, frequently saw, as much by day as by night, fire and great brightness of light in and around the place where the holy body was. Wondering therefore what it might be and not knowing the answer, he went down to the church at the foot of the mountain and indicated to the bishop of the place and to the monks the visions that he frequently saw and the place where he had seen them. After a fast had been declared and completed, humbly and prayerfully they went together in procession up the mountain pointed out by the hermit. When they arrived there they indeed found a body, but were left earnestly wondering as to whose it was, where it had been taken from, and why, when and how it had been deposited there – because of these things they were completely ignorant. However, while all stood thus, wondering and ignorant, there appeared a hermit from Alexandria of mature age and venerable character, who was miraculously conveyed there to Mount Sinai by God's grace, in the same manner as the prophet Habakkuk was to Daniel in the lions' den, albeit not by his hair. He convinced the doubters and informed them in a clear voice that this was the body of Saint Katherine and that it had been placed there by the hands of angels. On his persuading moreover, the venerable and devout men, the bishop and his monks, translated the said body into their church, because the place where the body had been placed by the angels was virtually inaccessible and uninhabitable on account of the lack of water. The holy body is located above the choir on the south.

[Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, pp.125-126]

...Quod quidam heremita, sedens solitarius in eadem parte montis Sinai, in alio colle ab illo, ubi corpus sancte virginis Katerine ab angelis collatum est, vidit frequenter tam die quam nocte ignem et multam luminis claritatem in loco et circa locum, ubi sanctum corpus erat. Ammirans igitur, quidnam esset, et ignorans, descendit ad ecclesiam in pede montis sitam, et episcopo loci illius et monachis visiones, quas frequenter vidit, et locum, ubi viderat, indicavit. Qui indicto ieiunio et completo in processione humiliter et suppliciter montem heremita indice conscenderunt. Quo cum pervenissent, corpus quidem invenerunt, sed cuius, vel unde ablatum, vel quare vel quando vel quomodo ibi depositum sit vehementer ammirantes, quia penitus ignorabant. Cum autem universi sic starent ammirantes et ignorantes, affuit quidam heremita etatis mature, persona venerabilis, de Alexandria, quemadmodum Abacuc propheta ad Danielelem in lacum leonum etsi non per capillos, huc ad montem Sinai Dei gracia et miraculose

transmissus. Qui dubios certificavit, et hoc esse corpus beate Katerine clara voce edocuit, et per manus sanctorum angelorum illuc locatum. Ad cuius eciam persuasionem viri venerabiles et devote, episcopus et eius monachi, iam dictum corpus in suam transtulerunt ecclesiam, quia locus, in quem ab angelis corpus positum fuerat, erat quasi inaccessibleis et propter aque caristiam inhabitabilis. Est autem sanctum corpus locatum super chorum versus meridiem.

[Koppitz, pp.164-165]

2. The stolen oil miracle

Indeed, while I was there, this remarkable miracle happened in the vicinity. A certain monk of that cloister who was bringing oil on camels for the use of the convent was journeying through the desert and fell among thieves, who robbed him of one of his camels with its entire load. But when they had gone off some distance from the monk with the camel, they untied an oilskin in order to take part of the oil to make of it with their meal. And behold! purest blood came out instead of oil. When they saw this, the robbers tied up the oilskin and quickly took the camel and the loot back to the monk, asking him to give them a portion of the oil. The monk assented and untied the oilskin that they had untied and from which blood had previously flowed out, and behold! they received from the hand of the monk the truest and purest oil instead of the blood that they had earlier poured from the same oilskin, and they went away amazed and confused.

[Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, p.126]

Tunc autem in continenti, cum ego essem ibi, contigit illic hoc insigne miraculum. Quidam monachus illius claustrum, ad opus conventus in camelis adducens oleum, fecit iter per desertum, et incidit in latrones, qui unum camelorum cum integra sarcina depredati sunt. Cum autem a monacho per aliquod spacium cum camelo elongati essent, solverunt utrem, ut partem olei ad opus comedendi acciperent. Et ecce! sanguis purissimus pro oleo emanavit. Quo conspecto predones utrem religantes predam et camelum festinanter ad monachum reduxerunt, rogantes, ut ipsis daret olei aliquam portionem. Monachus annuens soluit utrem, quem et illi solverant, de quo sanguinem ante effuderant., et ecce! oleum verissimum et purissimum per manus monachi vice sanguinis, quem antea veraciter de eodem utre emiserant, acceperunt, et ipsi stupidi recesserunt et confusi.

[Koppitz, p.166]

3. The Philip of Nablus miracle

A certain nobleman of Petra, or al-Shawbak (*Scobach*) (which place I have dealt with above), wanting to transfer the body of Saint Katherine elsewhere at the suggestion of a certain monk, made preparations for carrying it off and had come almost up to the church with a large company of men; but miraculously and mercifully for him he was driven back by the hand of God. For, to prevent him completing the work of darkness that he had embarked upon, a powerful dark whirlwind seized him with palpable shadows both in mind and in body and took possession of him. There also occurred an earthquake so great that the mountains tumbled down, all but dragging the same perpetrator of crime into danger and ruin. The ruins of the mountains and rocks, however, are still to be seen up to the present time; in them it is made clear what standing the blessed virgin Katherine, distinguished martyr, has with the Creator. The robber himself, swayed by the evil, confused and distracted, with stumbling step barely arrived at the church. There, when he had considered the matter in his mind, he (not surprisingly!) repented greatly of his sin and was ashamed of his foolish presumption, trembling before Almighty God and fearing the Punisher and Defender. To the remedy

of reconciliation therefore, for the sake of God as much as of His Virgin Mother, he conferred to the same church in honour of God and Saint Katherine extensive estates, which the monks serving there enjoy fully and freely today.

[Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, pp.126-127]

Quidam nobilis de Petra vel Scobach, (de quo loco supra habitum est,) suggestione cuiusdam monachi cupiens corpus beate Katerine alias transferre, preparatas ad auferendum fere usque ad eandem ecclesiam cum multo pervenerat comitatu; sed manu Dei mirabiliter et ad se misericorditer est re percussus. Turbo enim validus et tenebrosus, ne opus perficeret tenebrarum, quod ceperat, ipsum tenebris palpabilibus occupavit tam mente quam corpore, et involuit. Terre motus eciam adeo magnus factus est, ut montes ruerent, ipsum auctorem sceleris fere trahentes in periculum et ruinam. Ruine autem moncium et petrarum adhuc manifeste sunt usque in hodiernum diem. Ibi claruit, cuius meriti beata virgo Katerina, martir eximia, apud suum sit crea-torem. Ipse vero male suasus predo confusus et amens gressu titubante ad ecclesiam vix pervenit. Ubi dum se recepisset in mentem, plurimum ipsum (nec mirum!) penituit peccati, piguit presumptionis fatue, Deum omni-potentem horrens etreverens vindicem ac defensorem. Ad antidotum igitur reconciliationis causa tam Dei quam sue virginis ac matris ad honorem Dei et sancte Katerine eidem ecclesie larga contulit predia, quibus adhuc ipsi monachi ibi deservientes libere perfruuntur.

[Koppitz, pp.166-167]

4. The stolen cloths miracle

While a certain monk of Saint Katherine's was charged with bringing some cloths from a certain city to the brothers in order to clothe them, some Saracen robbers pursued him and stole the cloths. When they had carried them away, the monk went back to the judge of the city and told him what had happened. The thieves, struck with mental blindness and lack of discernment, were unable to get away until they had restored the cloths in person.

[Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, p.127]

Quidam claustrensis sancte Katerine dum de quadam civitate deberet ducere pannos fratribus ad induendum, quidam Sarraceni latrones ipsum insequentes pannos abstulerunt. Quibus ablates claustrensis rediit ad iudicem civitatis, significans ei quod acciderat. Latrones vero, mentali cecitate percussi et acrisia, effugere non potuerunt, usque in propria persona pannos iudici retulerunt.

[Koppitz, p.167]

5. The Virgin Mary and the fleas

It occurred in this manner. At that time by God's permission the monks were often afflicted by a wondrous plague, in order that His goodness and power might become manifestly greater. For in an earlier time the fleas in that place had grown in such a way and to such an extent that no one was able to remain there. Therefore by common resolution and consent all the monks were preparing to leave to escape from the fleas and the intolerable plague. It is their custom, however, that when they arranging to change location for whatever compelling reason, after closing their church and cloister and firmly locking them, they replace the keys in the church of Moses on the summit of Mount Sinai and depart. In accordance with this custom, because of the immediate need, after closing the church and cloister they were hastening to replace the keys in the aforesaid church so that they might leave. But when they arrive at the third part of the mountain where the chapel is built the Blessed Virgin Mary appeared to them in

bodily form and asked them why they were making ready to go. And after being told the reason for the departure, she said to them, 'Go back! For the plague has passed and will not come back again.' They therefore went back and no flea has appeared any more in that place.

[Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, pp.127-128]

...hoc modo: Jam sepe dicti monachi mirabili plaga permissione Dei, ut eius eo amplius palam fieret bonitas et potentia, sunt percussi. Quodam enim tempore pulices tales; ac tante in illo loco succreverant, ut nullus posset ibi permanere. Communi igitur consilio et voluntate universitas claustralium parabat abire et pulices et plagam intollerabilem declinare. Est autem consuetudo eorum, ut, cum locum necessitate aliqua cogente mutare disponunt, monasterio suo et curia clausis et clavibus firmiter seratis claves ipsas in summitate montis Sinai in monasterio Moysi reponunt et abscedunt. Juxta quam consuetudinem propter instantem necessitatem monasterio clauso et curia claves in predicto monasterio, ut abirent, reponere festinabant. Cum vero ad tertiam partem montis pervenissent, ubi capella constructa est, ibi apparuit eis beata virgo Maria corporaliter, querens, quo iter pararent et accepta causa itineris dixit eis: *Redite! plaga enim sublata est, non amplius reditura*. Illi ergo redierunt, nec pulex amplius conparuit in illo loco.

[Koppitz, pp.167-168]

6. The Virgin Mary and the oil

One time when they had no oil for lighting the church or the other lamps, the decision was again taken to leave. For the custom of the Greek is that in their churches they have many lamps, countless numbers in fact, because it seems that they are not capable of serving God worthily without a large number of lamps. When they saw therefore that their lamps were deficient, they decided to disperse and when, in the same way as before, they came to the place where they had seen and heard Our Lady face to face, Our Lady, the Blessed Virgin Mary, appeared to them bodily a second time. When she had learnt the reason for their departure, she said to them, 'Go back, for you will find the jar in which you were accustomed to put the oil filled with oil that will not fail. You shall therefore never see oil to be lacking from that.' They therefore returned and, just as Our Lady had said they found the jar instantly full of oil. I later saw this jar and the oil from it, and it is held in great veneration.

[Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, p.128]

Quodam tempore cum oleum non haberent ad illuminationem monasterii vel alia lumiari, iterum abscedere propositum. Moris enim Grecorum est, ut in ecclesiis suis plurima habeant luminaria, immo infinita, quia videtur, quod sine multis luminariibus Deo digne non valeant deservire. Cum igitur laminaria sua deficere viderunt, discedere proponebant; et dum eodem modo, quo prius, ad locum, ubi dominam nostram facie au faciem viderant et audierant, pervenissent, domina nostra, beata virgo Maria iterato corporaliter eis est conspecta. Que dum intelixisset causam discessus eorum, dixit eis: *Redite, quia ydriam, in qua oleum deponere consuevistis, invenetis oleo indeficiente repletam. Numquam enim oleum ab illa ydria videbitis defecisse*. Redierunt ergo et iuxta verbum domine nostre ydriam oleo fecundam iugiter invenerunt. Hanc igitur ydriam vidi, et de eius oleo habui, et in magna veneratione habetur.

[Koppitz, p.168]