

VISUAL CONSTRUCTS OF JERUSALEM



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CULTURAL ENCOUNTERS IN
LATE ANTIQUITY AND THE MIDDLE AGES

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VISUAL CONSTRUCTS OF JERUSALEM

Edited by

Bianca Kühnel, Galit Noga-Banai,
and Hanna Vorholt



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THE TRUE CROSS OF JERUSALEM IN THE LATIN WEST: MEDITERRANEAN CONNECTIONS AND INSTITUTIONAL AGENCY

Nikolas Jaspert

Ruprecht-Karls-Universität Heidelberg

After much debate, modern medievalists have rehabilitated Jerusalem as the prime goal of the first crusaders.¹ For some years, a largely academic controversy over a wider or narrower understanding of the term ‘crusade’ had relegated the holy places to a second plane, because crusading was defined as any war held on behalf of the pope against declared enemies of the

church.² But lately, the pendulum appears to have swung back, as many crusade historians once again concede an overriding importance to Jerusalem. Quite rightly so, for there can be little doubt that the holy places in Palestine held a particular appeal to contemporaries, not only to pilgrims but also to crusaders, as many sources show. But despite this recently achieved wider consensus, historians seldom ask precisely which places or objects within the Holy Land exerted this attraction. This paper will focus on one such object, the True Cross, in order to determine its role in enhancing mobility across the Mediterranean and in transferring sacred place from one side of that sea to the other. Special attention will be paid to both individual and institutional agency, given that institutions were particularly suitable for creating trans-Mediterranean networks.

One way of determining which places or objects stood out in contemporary piety and devotional practice is by surveying testaments, and especially those last wills that pilgrims or crusaders drew up before their departure to the Holy Land. By paying particular attention to the exact terms with which the trip’s goal was described, one might identify spiritual ‘centres of gravity’ to which Latin Christians of the High Middle Ages felt particularly drawn.³ Whilst there are a number of references

1 Hans Eberhard Mayer, *Geschichte der Kreuzzüge*, 10th edn, Urban-Taschenbücher, 86 (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2006), pp. 20–22; H. E. J. Cowdrey, ‘Pope Urban II’s Preaching of the First Crusade’, *History*, 55.184 (1970), 177–88 (pp. 186–88); Norman J. Housley, ‘Jerusalem and the Development of the Crusade Idea, 1099–1128’, in *The Horns of Hattin, Proceedings of the Second Conference of the Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East*, ed. by Benjamin Z. Kedar (Jerusalem: Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi, 1992), pp. 27–40; Paul Alphandéry and Alphonse Dupront, *La Chrétienté et l’idée de croisade*, Bibliothèque de l’Évolution de l’Humanité, 10 (Paris: Michel, 1995); Sylvia Schein, ‘Jerusalem: objectif originel de la première croisade?’, in *Autour de la première croisade: actes du Colloque de la Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East, Clermont-Ferrand, 22–25 juin 1995*, ed. by Michel Balard, *Byzantina Sorbonensia*, 14 (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1996), pp. 119–26; Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders, 1095–1131* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 7–9; John France, ‘Le rôle de Jérusalem dans la piété du XI^e siècle’, in *Le Partage du monde: échanges et colonisation dans la Méditerranée médiévale*, ed. by Michel Balard and Alain Ducellier, *Byzantina Sorbonensia*, 17 (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1998), pp. 151–62; Sylvia Schein, *Gateway to the Heavenly City: Crusader Jerusalem and the Catholic West (1099–1187)* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), pp. 9–10; Giles Constable, ‘The Dislocation of Jerusalem in the Middle Ages’, in *Norm und Krise von Kommunikation: Inszenierungen literarischer und sozialer Interaktion im Mittelalter: für Peter von Moos*, ed. by Alois Hahn, Gert Melville, and Werner Röcke, *Geschichte, Forschung und Wissenschaft*, 24 (Berlin: Lit, 2006), pp. 355–70 (pp. 356–58). Many thanks to Tobias Daniels and Richard Engl (Rome) for assistance in obtaining photographs and to Wolf Zöllner and Alexandra Cuffel (Bochum) for hints and corrections.

2 Ernst-Dieter Hehl, ‘Was ist eigentlich ein Kreuzzug?’, *Historische Zeitschrift*, 259 (1994), 297–336; Jean Flori, ‘Pour une redéfinition de la croisade’, *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale*, 42 (2004), 329–49; Norman Housley, *Contesting the Crusades* (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2006), XIII, 2–23; Mayer, *Geschichte der Kreuzzüge*, pp. 376–78; Giles Constable, ‘The Historiography of the Crusades’, in *Crusaders and Crusading in the Twelfth Century*, ed. by Giles Constable (Farnham: Ashgate, 2008), xi, 1–43 (pp. 17–32).

3 The following thoughts are expounded in more detail in Nikolas Jaspert, ‘Das Heilige Grab, das Heilige Kreuz, Jerusalem und das Heilige Land: Wirkung, Wandel und Vermittler

to Jerusalem pilgrims of the eleventh century in several European countries, no region can claim as many contemporary and extant charters referring to such trips as Catalonia in north-eastern Spain.⁴ As part of a larger project on Mediterranean mobility and spirituality at the time of the Crusades, I have compiled a collection of over one hundred such wills written in the medieval county of Barcelona and the other Pyrenean regions.⁵ An analysis of these documents of the eleventh and early twelfth century shows that two centres of attraction—one might call them ‘attractors’—stand out in particular: the Holy Sepulchre and the town of Jerusalem. Interestingly, one can also follow diachronic changes as far as these attractors’ popularity is concerned. While in this respect the Holy Sepulchre was undoubtedly in the forefront of Latin Christian collective imagination ever since the re-erection of the church in the 1030s,⁶

and it remained an extremely important attractor into the twelfth century, a certain shift in spirituality can be discerned already prior to the First Crusade. From about 1080 onward, personal penitence and the remission of sins are referred to more and more explicitly in the documents, and after the establishment of the crusader kingdom of Jerusalem, the holy city itself is named increasingly as the pilgrim’s or crusader’s goal.⁷ In other words, political changes and the existence of Christian lordships in the Levant clearly played an important role in the visual construction of Jerusalem and in the construction of sacred places, albeit iconic or narrative. These findings from medieval Catalonia both corroborate and differentiate the thoughts laid out some years ago by the late Sylvia Schein in her *Gateway to the Heavenly City: Crusader Jerusalem and the Catholic West*.⁸

Such a differentiation of Latin Christians’ goals leads to the object of the paper. What do Latin wills say concerning the so-called *Vera Crux*, the True Cross⁹ on which Jesus Christ is said to have died? What was its role as an attractor? And further, which objects and institutions might have enhanced the popularity of certain attractors and, more specifically, of the True Cross in the course of the eleventh to thirteenth centuries?

Devotion to the True Cross

The Catalonian survey conveys the impression that the cross was notably absent in contemporary thought during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, because it is very seldom referred to as a pilgrimage goal. One could argue that this is not surprising for two reasons: first, the famous Jerusalem fragment of the cross only came to light in the aftermath of the First Crusade, as it was—allegedly miraculously—found there in July 1099;¹⁰

hochmittelalterlicher Attraktoren’, in *Konflikt und Bewältigung vor 1000 Jahren: die Zerstörung der Grabeskirche in Jerusalem im Jahre 1009*, ed. by Thomas Pratsch, Millennium-Studien, 32 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2011), pp. 67–95.

4 Cf. the numbers in John France, ‘The Destruction of Jerusalem and the First Crusade’, *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 47 (1996), 1–17; the overview by Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders*, pp. 26–39; and the chart ‘Wallfahrten nach Jerusalem nach Jahrzehnten, 940–1099’ in Martin Biddle, *Das Grab Christi: neutestamentliche Quellen, historische und archäologische Forschungen, überraschende Erkenntnisse*, Studien zur biblischen Archäologie und Zeitgeschichte, 5 (Giessen: Brunnen, 1998), p. 97. Cf. also cases mentioned in Colin Morris, *The Sepulchre of Christ and the Medieval West: From the Beginning to 1600* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), pp. 134–79.

5 On Catalonian pilgrimage to Jerusalem: Josep Gudiol, ‘De peregrins i peregrinatges religiosos catalans’, *Analecta sacra tarraconensia*, 3 (1927), 93–120; Nikolas Jaspert, *Stift und Stadt: das Heiliggrabpriorat von Santa Anna und das Regularkanonikerstift Santa Eulàlia del Camp im mittelalterlichen Barcelona, 1145–1423*, Berliner historische Studien, 24 (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1996), pp. 69–79; Pierre Ponsich, ‘Roussillonnais, cerdans et catalans du haut moyen-âge sur les routes des grands pèlerinages’, *Cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa*, 31 (2000), 85–96; Pierre-Vincent Claverie, ‘La dévotion envers les Lieux saints dans la Catalogne médiévale’, in *Chemins d’outre-mer: études d’histoire sur la Méditerranée médiévale offertes à Michel Balard*, Byzantina Sorbonensia, 20 (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2004), pp. 127–37.

6 Concerning the destruction of the Holy Sepulchre in 1009 and its subsequent reconstruction see Robert Ousterhout, ‘Rebuilding the Temple: Constantine Monomachus and the Holy Sepulchre’, *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 48 (1989), 66–78; Biddle, *Das Grab Christi*, pp. 93–104; Martin Biddle and others, *Die Grabeskirche in Jerusalem: Zeugnisse aus 2000 Jahren* (Stuttgart: Belser, 2000), p. 46; Morris, *The Sepulchre of Christ*, p. 137; *Konflikt und Bewältigung*, ed. by Pratsch.

7 Jaspert, ‘Das Heilige Grab’, pp. 74–81.

8 Schein, *Gateway to the Heavenly City*.

9 On the term ‘Vera Crux’ see Gia Toussaint, ‘Die Kreuzreliquie und die Konstruktion von Heiligkeit’, in *Zwischen Wort und Bild: Wahrnehmungen und Deutungen im Mittelalter*, ed. by Hartmut Bleumer and others (Cologne: Böhlau, 2010), pp. 33–78 (pp. 43–45); Gia Toussaint, *Kreuz und Knochen: Reliquien zur Zeit der Kreuzzüge* (Berlin: Reimer, 2011), pp. 56–60.

10 See Albert of Aachen’s and Fulcher of Chartres’s description of the discovery: Albericus Aquensis, *Historia Ierosolimitana: History of the Journey to Jerusalem*, ed. and trans. by Susan B. Edgington (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2007), pp. 450–52 (Book 6, Chap. 38); Fulcher von Chartres, *Fulcheri Carnotensis Historia Hierosolymitana (1095–1127)*, ed. by Heinrich Hagenmeyer (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1913), pp. 309–10 (Book 1, Chap. 30, 4).

and second, Byzantium, or rather Constantinople, was known to hold the prime fragment of the True Cross. In the pre-crusade period, the main relic of the cross was therefore believed to be at the city on the Bosphorus.¹¹ Then again, the True Cross was also associated with Jerusalem from early Christianity onward, and even during the First Crusade, combatants are known to have travelled to the East with relics of the *Lignum crucis*.¹²

Indeed, since its supposed discovery by St Helena, Emperor Constantine's mother, in the fourth century and up to the Islamic conquest of the seventh century, the *Vera Crux* had been a central element of liturgy and spirituality in Jerusalem.¹³ The close relation between the cross and Golgotha, with all the eschatological and theological implications it entailed, by far transcended the topographical limits of Jerusalem and the Holy Land. Devotion to the True Cross in the early Middle Ages was therefore a widely spread phenomenon, as works by Cyril of Jerusalem or Hrabanus Maurus show¹⁴ and

11 Anatole Frolow, *La Relique de la Vraie Croix: recherches sur le développement d'un culte* (Paris: Institut français d'études byzantines, 1961); Bianca Kühnel, *Crusader Art of the Twelfth Century: A Geographical, an Historical, or an Art Historical Notion?* (Berlin: Mann, 1994), pp. 125–28; Jannic Durand, 'Reliquie e reliquiari depredati in Oriente e a Bisanzio al tempo delle crociate', in *Le Crociate: l'Oriente e l'Occidente da Urbano II a San Luigi, 1096–1270*, ed. by Monique Rey-Delqué (Milan: Electa, 1997), pp. 378–89; Holger A. Klein, *Byzanz, der Westen und das 'wahre' Kreuz: die Geschichte einer Reliquie und ihrer künstlerischen Fassung in Byzanz und im Abendland, Spätantike – frühes Christentum – Byzanz: Reihe B, Studien und Perspektiven*, 17 (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2004), pp. 104–232; *Byzance et les reliques du Christ*, ed. by Jannic Durand, Monographies/Centre de recherche d'histoire et civilisation de Byzance, 17 (Paris: Association des amis du Centre d'histoire et civilisation de Byzance, 2004); Enrico Morini, 'Il Levante della santità: i percorsi delle reliquie dall'Oriente all'Italia', in *Le relazioni internazionali nell'alto medioevo*, Settimane di studio della Fondazione Centro italiano di studi sull'alto Medioevo, 58 (Spoleto: CISAM, 2011), pp. 873–940, on Venetian imports from Constantinople.

12 Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders*, pp. 31–32; Morris, *The Sepulchre of Christ*, pp. 128–33, 150–153.

13 Frolow, *La Relique de la Vraie Croix*; Anatole Frolow, *Les Reliquaires de la Vraie Croix*, Archives de l'Orient chrétien, 8 (Paris: Institut français d'études byzantines, 1965); Jan Willem Drijvers, *Helena Augusta: The Mother of Constantine the Great and the Legend of Her Finding of the True Cross* (Leiden: Brill, 1992); Stefan Heid, *Kreuz, Jerusalem, Kosmos: Aspekte frühchristlicher Stauologie*, Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum; Ergänzungsband, 31 (Münster: Aschendorff, 2001); Klein, *Byzanz, der Westen und das 'wahre' Kreuz*, pp. 19–31; Barbara Baert, *A Heritage of Holy Wood: The Legend of the True Cross in Text and Image*, Cultures, Beliefs, and Traditions, 22 (Leiden: Brill, 2004).

14 Hrabanus Maurus, *In honorem sanctae crucis*, ed. by Michel

liturgical feasts like the *Inventio crucis* or the *Exaltatio crucis* (3 May and 14 September, respectively) corroborate.¹⁵ At the beginning of the High Middle Ages, the cult of the cross changed from that of victory to one of redemption, proclaiming the humanity of Christ and at times also picking up eschatological notions.¹⁶ This new

Perrin, *Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis* [henceforth *CCCM*], 100 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000); *The Cross in Christian Tradition: From Paul to Bonaventure*, ed. by Elizabeth A. Dreyer (New York: Paulist Press, 2000); Klein, *Byzanz, der Westen und das 'wahre' Kreuz*, pp. 69–81; Morris, *The Sepulchre of Christ*, pp. 78–79; Michael Embach, *Die Kreuzesschrift des Hrabanus Maurus 'De laudibus sanctae crucis'*, Mitteilungen und Verzeichnisse aus der Bibliothek des Bischöflichen Priesterseminars zu Trier, 23 (Trier: Paulinus, 2007). See the prayers held on the occasion: *Corpus orationum, 1: A–C*, ed. by Eugenio Moeller and Bertrandus Coppiters 't Wallant, *Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina*, 160 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1992), pp. 83–84, cf. Andrew Jotischky, 'The Christians of Jerusalem, the Holy Sepulchre and the Origins of the First Crusade', *Crusades*, 7 (2008), 35–57 (p. 54).

15 Joseph Szövérfy, "'Crux fidelis...': Prologomena to a History of the Holy Cross Hymns', *Traditio*, 22 (1966), 1–41; Stephan Borgehammar, *How the Holy Cross was Found: From Event to Medieval Legend*, *Bibliotheca theologiae practicae*, 47 (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1991), with edition of the 'Inventio Sanctae Crucis' on pp. 255–71; Ewald Volgger, 'Die Feier von Kreuzauffindung und Kreuzerhöhung: Ursprung, Verbreitung und Bedeutung unter besonderer Berücksichtigung als Hochfeste des Deutschen Ordens', in *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens*, ed. by Udo Arnold, *Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens*, 49 (Marburg: Elwert, 1993), pp. 1–50; Louis van Tongeren, 'Vom Kreuzritus zur Kreuzestheologie: die Entstehungsgeschichte des Festes der Kreuzerhöhung und seine erste Ausbreitung im Westen', *Ephemerides liturgicae*, 112 (1998), 216–45; Louis van Tongeren, *Exaltation of the Cross: Toward the Origins of the Feast of the Cross and the Meaning of the Cross in Early Medieval Liturgy*, *Liturgia condenda*, 11 (Leuven: Peeters, 2000); Baert, *A Heritage of Holy Wood*; Carla Heussler, *De Cruce Christi: Kreuzauffindung und Kreuzerhöhung; Funktionswandel und Historisierung in nachtridentinischer Zeit* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2006); Beverly Mayne Kienzle, 'Preaching the Cross: Liturgy and Crusade Propaganda', *Medieval Sermon Studies*, 53 (2009), 11–32 (pp. 14–19).

16 Etienne Delaruelle, 'Le Crucifix dans la piété populaire et dans l'art du VI^e au XI^e siècle', in *Études ligériennes d'histoire et d'archéologie médiévales*, ed. by René Louis (Auxerre: Société des fouilles archéologiques et des monuments historiques de l'Yonne, 1975), pp. 133–44; Dominique Iogna-Prat, 'La Croix, le moine et l'empereur: dévotion à la croix et théologie politique à Cluny autour de l'an mil', in *Haut Moyen-Âge: culture, éducation et société; études offertes à Pierre Riché*, ed. by Michel Sot (Nanterre: Publidix, 1990), pp. 449–75; Giles Constable, *Three Studies in Medieval Religious and Social Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 210–17; Sylvain Gouguenheim, *Les Fausses Terreurs de l'an mil: attente de la fin des temps ou approfondissement de la foi?* (Paris: Picard, 1999), pp. 193–98; Colin Morris, 'Memorials of the Holy

devotional phase was also linked to pilgrimage, as even before the Crusades, pilgrims returned from Jerusalem with relics of the True Cross which in turn influenced Holy Land devotion in the eleventh century.¹⁷ And of course, spirituality at the time of the Crusades was strongly marked by the cross, which became the movement's hallmark and, from the end of the twelfth century onward, its eponym.¹⁸ One can therefore safely postulate

Places and Blessings from the East: Devotion to Jerusalem Before the Crusades', in *The Holy Land, Holy Lands, and Christian History*, ed. by R. N. Swanson, Studies in Church History, 36 (Woodbridge: Boydell Press for the Ecclesiastical History Society, 2000), pp. 90–109 (pp. 97–99); Patrick Henriot, "Mille formis Daemon": usages et fonctions de la Croix dans l'Hispania des IX^e–XI^e siècles', in *Guerre, pouvoirs et idéologies dans l'Espagne chrétienne aux alentours de l'an mil: actes du colloque international*, ed. by Thomas Deswarte and Philippe Sénac, Culture et société médiévales, 4 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), pp. 163–90; Christopher Matthew Phillips, 'O Magnum Crucis Misterium: Devotion to the Cross, Crusading and the Imitation of the Crucified Christ in the High Middle Ages, c. 1050–1215' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Saint Louis University, 2006), pp. 20–22, 99–108.

17 Ludovic Lalanne, 'Des pèlerinages en Terre Sainte avant les croisades', *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, 7 (1845), 1–31; Reinhold Röhrich, 'Die Pilgerfahrten nach den Heiligen Stätten vor den Kreuzzügen', *Historisches Taschenbuch*, 5.5 (1875), 321–96; Edmond René Labande, 'Recherches sur les pèlerins dans l'Europe des XI^e et XII^e siècles', *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale*, 1 (1958), 159–69, 339–47; John Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrims Before the Crusades* (Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 1977); Richard Allen Landes, *Relics, Apocalypse, and the Deceits of History: Ademar of Chabannes, 989–1034*, Harvard Historical Studies, 117 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995), pp. 154–58; Aryeh Grabois, *Le Pèlerin occidental en Terre sainte au Moyen Âge*, Bibliothèque du Moyen Âge, 13 (Brussels: De Boeck Université, 1998), pp. 35–38; Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders*, pp. 26–39.

18 James A. Brundage, 'Crucesignari: The Rite of Taking the Cross in England', *Traditio*, 22 (1966), 289–310; Kenneth Pennington, 'The Rite of Taking the Cross in the Twelfth Century', *Traditio*, 30 (1974), 429–35; Alphonse Dupront, *Le Mythe de Croisade*, 4 vols (Paris: Gallimard, 1997), III, 1302–09; France, 'Le rôle de Jérusalem', pp. 157–58; Giles Constable, 'Jerusalem and the Sign of the Cross (with Particular Reference to the Cross of Pilgrimage and Crusading in the Twelfth Century)', in *Jerusalem: Its Sanctity and Centrality to Judaism, Christianity and Islam*, ed. by Lee I. Levine (New York: Continuum, 1999), pp. 371–80; Christina von Braun, 'The Symbol of the Cross', in *'Holy War' and Gender: Violence in Religious Discourses ('Gotteskrieg' und Geschlecht: Gewaltdiskurse in der Religion)*, ed. by Christina von Braun, Berliner Gender Studies, 2 (Berlin: Lit, 2006), pp. 55–74; Giles Constable, 'The Cross of the Crusaders', in *Crusaders and Crusading in the Twelfth Century*, ed. by Giles Constable (Farnham: Ashgate, 2008), XI, 45–91; William J. Purkis, *Crusading Spirituality in the Holy Land and Iberia, c. 1095–c. 1187* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2008), pp. 33–37; Nikolas Jaspert, 'Zeichen und Symbole in den christlich-islamischen Beziehungen des Mittelalters', in *Religiosità e civiltà: le comunicazioni simboliche*

that devotion to the True Cross did mark crusading spirituality from its very beginnings. But the fact remains that during the first decades after the establishment of the crusader states, the attraction exerted by the *Vera Crux* of Jerusalem could not compare to that of the Holy Sepulchre and the town itself.

Let us move from the beginning of the first crusader kingdom of Jerusalem to its end, the period of the battle of Hattin and its aftermath. Here, a brief glance suffices to reveal that the situation had changed radically. In 1187, the Latin Christians not only lost dominion of the holy city but were also bereaved of its most famous relic, the Jerusalem fragment of the Cross.¹⁹ The cries for help sent to the West immediately after the destruction of the army at Hattin already related the loss,²⁰ and it was also singled out by Pope Gregory VIII in his famous crusade bull, *Audita tremendi*.²¹ As the anonymous author of the

(*secoli IX–XIII*), ed. by Giancarlo Andenna (Milan: V&P, 2009), pp. 293–342.

19 Giuseppe Ligato, 'La cattura di Guido di Lusignano e della reliquia della vera croce ad Hattin (4 luglio 1187) in una miniatura dei "Chronica majora" di Matteo Paris: una combinazione di testo, immagine e propaganda', *Studi ecumenici*, 24 (2006), 523–61.

20 Benjamin Z. Kedar, 'Ein Hilferuf aus Jerusalem vom September 1187', *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters*, 38 (1982), 112–22 (p. 120): 'Qui sacrosanctam et vivificam crucem, unicum et peculiare salutis nostre subsidium, a Tracis capi permisit'; Rudolf Hiestand, "Plange, Syon et Iudea": historische Aussage und Verfasserfrage', *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch*, 23 (1988), 126–42; Hans Eberhard Mayer, "Zwei unedierte Texte aus den Kreuzfahrerstaaten", *Archiv für Diplomatie*, 47–48 (2001–02), 91–103 (p. 102): 'vivifica crux ludibrio Turchorum exposita'; and Nikolas Jaspert, 'Zwei unbekannte Hilfsersuchen des Patriarchen Eraclius vor dem Fall Jerusalems (1187)', *Deutsches Archiv*, 60 (2005), 483–516 (p. 512): 'Heu! heu!, domine Deus, propter peccata nostra fecisti nobis rem hanc, nec pepercit oculus tuus in indignatione tua, dum sacrosanctam et vivificam crucem in manus Sarracenorum permisisti devenire'. Some relevant texts are now accessible in translation: *The Conquest of Jerusalem and the Third Crusade: Sources in Translation*, ed. by Peter W. Edbury, Crusade Texts in Translation, 1 (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), pp. 158–63; *Letters from the East: Crusaders, Pilgrims and Settlers in the 12th–13th Centuries*, ed. by Malcolm Barber and Keith Bate, Crusade Texts in Translation, 18 (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), pp. 75–86.

21 *Quellen zur Geschichte des Kreuzzuges Kaiser Friedrichs I*, ed. by Anton Chroust, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores rerum Germanicarum [henceforth *MGH*, *SS*], n.s., 5 (Berlin: Weidmannsche, 1928), p. 7: 'capta est crux dominica'; cf. Ursula Schwerin, *Die Aufrufe der Päpste zur Befreiung des Heiligen Landes von den Anfängen bis zum Ausgang Innozenz IV.: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der kurialen Kreuzzugspropaganda und der päpstlichen Epistolographie*, Historische Studien, 301 (Berlin: Ebering, 1937), pp. 81–85; *Der Kreuzzug Friedrich Barbarossas 1187–1190: Bericht eines Augenzeugen*, trans. by Arnold Bühler (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2003), pp. 65–70.

Itinerarium peregrinorum put it, 'neither the capture of the Ark nor the captivity of the Kings of the Jews can compare with the disaster in our own time, when the King and the glorious Cross were led away captive together'.²² Furthermore, a great number of contemporary sources corroborate that the recovery of the *Vera Crux* became one of the major aims of the so-called Third Crusade.²³ In fact, this objective was of such overriding importance that one might term the Third Crusade a 'crusade of the True Cross'—a *Heiligkreuzkreuzzug*. The German army led by Friedrich I Barbarossa is repeatedly termed 'exercitus sanctae crucis' or 'exercitus vivificae crucis', 'army of the holy cross' or 'army of the living cross',²⁴ and English participants in the campaign, too, laid particular emphasis on the cross's loss as a motivation for their expedition.²⁵ Many preachers of this crusade and other expeditions at the turn of the thirteenth century, men such as Henry of Albano, Jacques of Vitry, Alain of Lille, or

Gilbert of Tournai, brought the message home with the help of highly emotional and imaginative metaphors, as Christoph T. Maier and Christopher Matthew Phillips have convincingly shown.²⁶ To cite the words of Henry of Albano:

Who does not deplore that the saving Cross has been captured and polluted by the infidels, the Lord's sanctuary has been profaned, alas, alas! [...] The adorable cross has been disgraced and abused, the cross that we all love so deeply, the cross that heals all wounds, that re-establishes health, sweet cross, symbol of life, and banner of knightly service to Christ.²⁷

Or to cite Jacques of Vitry: 'Like the human being swims in the form of the cross, as the ship sails in its form, as the bird flies in the form of the cross, in the same way you cannot cross the sea of temporality and reach the higher Jerusalem without the sign of the cross.'²⁸ Sermons and treatises such as the *Digressio, qua lamentatur auctor Jerusalem ab infidelibus captam* by Henry of Albano compared the True Cross with the Old Testament Ark of the Covenant and attributed a variety of interpretations and meanings both to the relic and to the sign of the cross in general. The abducted cross, Henry wrote, 'is the cure for all our sins, it is the cure of all wounds.'²⁹ Fired

22 'nec archa domini, nec reges Iudeorum captivati nostri casum temporis equiparare possunt, in quo gloriose cruci rex ducitur concaptivatus'; *Das Itinerarium peregrinorum: eine zeitgenössische englische Chronik zum dritten Kreuzzug in ursprünglicher Gestalt*, ed. by Hans Eberhard Mayer, *Schriften der Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, 18 (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1962), p. 259. Translation follows *Chronicle of the Third Crusade: A Translation of the Itinerarium peregrinorum et gesta Regis Ricardi*, ed. by Helen J. Nicholson, *Crusade Texts in Translation*, 3 (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), p. 33.

23 Jean Richard, '1187, Point de depart pour une nouvelle forme de la croisade', in *The Horns of Hattin: Proceedings of the Second Conference of the Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East; Jerusalem and Haifa, 2–6 July 1987*, ed. by Benjamin Z. Kedar (Jerusalem: Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi, 1992), pp. 256–60 (pp. 254–55); Penny J. Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades to the Holy Land 1095–1270* (Cambridge, MA: Medieval Academy of America, 1991), pp. 65–71; Penny J. Cole, 'Christian Perceptions of the Battle of Hattin (583/1187)', *Al-Masaq*, 6 (1993), 9–39.

24 *Quellen zur Geschichte des Kreuzzuges*, ed. by Chroust, pp. 38, 40, 55, 64, 78, 88–89, 93; *Die Urkunden Friedrichs I.*, ed. by Heinrich Appelt, 5 vols, *Die Urkunden der deutschen Könige und Kaiser*, 10 (Hannover: Hahn, 1990), iv, 301, 303; *Der Kreuzzug Friedrich Barbarossas*, ed. by Bühler, pp. 95–98.

25 Petrus Blesensis, *Tractatus duo: Passio Reginaldis principis Antiochie, Conquesto de nimia dilatione vie Ierosolimitane*, ed. by R. B. C. Huygens, *CCCM*, 194 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2002), 34–35; cf. the lament of an anonymous English participant: 'Illud eciam vivificum salutifere crucis lignum, in quo dominus ac redemptor noster pependit, in cuius stipitem pius Christi sanguis defluxit, cuius signum adorant angeli, venerantur homines, demones expavescent, cuius presidio nostri semper in bellis exstitero victores, heu, nunc ab hoste capitur'; *Das Itinerarium peregrinorum*, ed. by Mayer, p. 258; *Chronicle of the Third Crusade*, ed. by Nicholson, p. 33. On Crusade preaching by Baldwin of Canterbury (alias of Forde) and the usage of relics of the True Cross see Kienzle, 'Preaching the Cross', p. 20.

26 Christoph T. Maier, *Preaching the Crusades: Mendicant Friars and the Cross in the Thirteenth Century*, *Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought*, ser. 4, 28 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), esp. pp. 111–22; Christoph T. Maier, *Crusade Propaganda and Ideology: Model Sermons for the Preaching of the Cross* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); Phillips, 'O Magnum Crucis Misterium', pp. 179–191. Cf. also Kienzle, 'Preaching the Cross', p. 20.

27 'Quis Crucem salvificam captam non deploret, et conculcatam ab ethnicis et sanctorum Domini profanatum? Heu, heu! [...] Habetur contumeliis crux admirabilis, nostrorum curatio vulnerum, restitutio sanitarum, lignum dulce, signum vitae, vexillum militia Christianae'; Henricus de Castro Marsiaco [Henricus Albanensis], 'Epistolae', in *Clementis III, Epistolae et Privilegia*, *Patrologiae Cursus Completus: Series Latina*, 221 vols (Paris: Garnier, 1844–64) ed. by J.-P. Migne [henceforth: *PL*], 204 (1855), col. 249.

28 'Nam sicut homo in modum crucis natat, navis in modum crucis currit et avis in modum crucis volat, ita et vos sine cruce mare huius seculi non potestis transire nec ad supernam Ierusalem pervenire'; Maier, *Crusade Propaganda and Ideology*, p. 106.

29 'Ecce arca foederis Domini, arca testamenti novi, crux scilicet Christi, gloria populi Christiani, medicina peccatorum, curatio vulnerum, restitutio sanitarum, captiva ducta est in Damascum'; Henricus Albanensis, *PL* 204, cols 350–61 (col. 353; the 'Digressio, qua lamentatur auctor Jerusalem ab infidelibus captam' is the thirteenth part of the 'Tractatus de Peregrinante civitatis Dei'); cf. Valmar Cramer, 'Kreuzpredigt und Kreuzzugsgedanke von Bernhard von Clairvaux bis Humbert von Romans', *Das Heilige Land*, 17/20

by such words, the connection between holy cross devotion and religious strife against Muslim adversaries even transcended the geographical frame of the crusades to the Middle East, as Iberian examples show.³⁰ According to the author of the *Annalium Rotomagensium continuationes*, participants in the so-called Children's Crusade of 1212 called out and sang to God during their expedition so that he might give them back the True Cross.³¹ But nowhere was the zeal to regain it greater than in the crusader states. In the course of the Third Crusade and for some time thereafter, not only great military but also repeated diplomatic missions were undertaken in order to recover the lost relic. The second redactor of the *Itinerarium peregrinorum* (probably Richard of Holy Trinity), writing after 1215, describes the Christians' hopes and disappointment:

One person said: 'The Cross is coming now', another said: 'It has been seen in the Saracen army', but both of them were mistaken, for Saladin did not arrange for the Cross to be given back. For he hoped to win better terms by using the Holy Cross as a negotiating tool.³²

(1939), 43–204 (pp. 81–92). See also Christoph T. Maier, 'Crisis, Liturgy and the Crusade in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 48 (1997), 628–57; Christoph T. Maier, 'Kirche, Kreuz und Ritual: eine Kreuzzugspredigt in Basel im Jahr 1200', *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters*, 55 (1999), 95–115; Christoph T. Maier, 'Mass, the Eucharist and the Cross: Innocent III and the Relocation of the Crusade', in *Pope Innocent III and his World*, ed. by John C. Moore (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999), pp. 351–60; Michael Menzel, 'Kreuzzugsideologie unter Innocenz III', *Historisches Jahrbuch*, 120 (2000), 39–79 (pp. 125–37; Gilbert von Tournai).

30 Christoph T. Maier, 'Mass, the Eucharist and the Cross'; Christoph T. Maier, 'Crisis, Liturgy and the Crusade'; Rocio Sánchez-Ameijeiras, 'La memoria de un rey victorioso: los sepulcros de Alfonso VIII y la fiesta del triunfo de la Santa Cruz', in *Grabkunst und Sepulkralkultur in Spanien und Portugal*, ed. by Barbara Borngässer, Henrik Karge, and Bruno Klein, *Ars iberica et americana*, 11 (Frankfurt a.M.: Vervuert; Madrid: Iberoamericana, 2006), pp. 289–315.

31 *Annalium Rotomagensium continuationes*, ed. Oswald Holder-Egger, in *MGH, SS*, 26 (1882), pp. 501–06; 'Domine Deus, exalta christianitatem et redde nobis veram crucem' (p. 501).

32 'Unus aliquis dixit, "Jam Crux venit"; alter aliquis, "Visa est in exercitu Saracenorum"; sed eorum uterque sic decentium fallebatur. Non enim procurabat Salahadinus Crucem reddi; immo obsides neglexit obligatos; seprabat enim, mediante Sancta Cruce, multo majoris negotii procurare processum.' *Itinerarium peregrinorum et gesta regis Ricardi*, ed. by William Stubbs, 2 vols, *Rerum Britannicarum medii aevi scriptores*, 38 (London: Kraus Reprint, 1964), I, 241; translation follows *Chronicle of the Third Crusade*, ed. by Nicholson, p. 229. On diplomatic negotiations concerning the Cross, see *Chronicle of the Third Crusade*, ed. by Nicholson,

Even thirty years later the restoration of the relic was being negotiated,³³ but after many decades of fruitless attempts the Latin Christians finally had to deal with the fact that, despite rumours that said the cross had been miraculously saved,³⁴ the famous *Lignum crucis* of Jerusalem had in fact been lost forever.³⁵ But until this truth was accepted, the *Vera Crux* played a much more important role in Christian thought than at the beginning of the crusader era a century earlier.

What had brought about this change? First of all, devotion to the cross was further developed by theolo-

pp. 219–20; *Itinerarium peregrinorum et gesta regis Ricardi*, ed. by Stubbs, pp. 231–34. On the author and the time of redaction see *Das Itinerarium peregrinorum*, ed. by Mayer, pp. 89–102, 104–06. Cf. Cole, 'Christian Perceptions of the Battle of Hattin'; David Jacoby, 'Diplomacy, Trade, Shipping and Espionage Between Byzantium and Egypt in the Twelfth Century', in *Polypleuros nous: Miscellanea für Peter Schreiner zu seinem 60. Geburtstag*, ed. by Cordula Scholz and Georgios Makris, *Byzantinisches Archiv*, 19 (Munich: Saur, 2000), pp. 83–102 (pp. 100–02).

33 *Letters from the East*, ed. by Barber und Bate, pp. 118, 125.

34 The continuation of the Chronicle of Weingarten contains the text of a letter read publicly, according to which Saladin had attempted in vain to burn the True Cross, which had jumped out of the fire unscathed: 'In presentia principum exercitus sui fecit eam [i.e., the Cross] in ignem vehementem prosterni, sed cum ilico egrediretur, stupefactus iussit eam in suo thesauro vehementer et reverenter custodiri': *Hugonis et Honorii Chronicorum Continuationes Weingartenses*, ed. by Ludwig Weisland, in *MGH, SS*, 21 (1869), p. 476; cf. Penny J. Cole, "O God, the heathen have come into your inheritance" (Psalm 78. 1): The Theme of Religious Pollution in Crusade Documents, 1095–1188', in *Crusaders and Muslims in Twelfth-Century Syria*, ed. by Maya Shatzmiller, *The Medieval Mediterranean*, 1 (Leiden: Brill, 1993), pp. 84–111 (p. 105).

35 It is telling that the tale of the miraculous discovery of a hitherto unknown piece of the True Cross in Acre was included in a later redaction of the 'Itinerarium peregrinorum': *Chronicle of the Third Crusade*, ed. by Nicholson, pp. 333–34 (Book 5, Chap. 54). A relic of the True Cross was indeed revered in Acre during the second kingdom of Jerusalem; as James of Vitry reported, 'in the past it had been cut from that part of the Lord's Cross that was previously lost in battle with the Saracens'; *Letters from the East*, ed. by Barber und Bate, p. 112. During King Louis IX's Crusade of 1249, the True Cross's power was once again said to have given the Christians additional strength: 'all our men would have been killed and cut to pieces, but they held firm on the shore and fought back so vigorously that their confinement on board amid the hardships and dangers of the sea seemed not to have caused them any suffering. This was due to the power of Jesus Christ and the True Cross, which the legate was holding above his head against the unbelievers'; Jeanette M. A. Beer, 'The Letter of Jean Sarrasin, Crusader', in *Journeys Toward God: Pilgrimage and Crusade*, ed. by Barbara Nelson Sargent-Baur (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications 1992), pp. 135–55; citation following *Letters from the East*, ed. by Barber und Bate, p. 149.

gians and other clergymen in the course of the twelfth century, by monastic, regular and secular clerics. These notions were directed mostly toward other adherents of the *vita religiosa* but were also transmitted to the laity via sermons and liturgy.³⁶ At the time, such general devotion to the Cross was flanked by more concrete references to the cross of Jerusalem. The very tangible developments and vicissitudes of the crusader states in the course of the twelfth century had a strong bearing upon this second, more material focus on the Cross. The relic of the True Cross found shortly after the conquest of Jerusalem in 1099 was the object of this more concrete form of devotion.

In the decades following its appearance, this relic had an impressive career in two senses. First, it quickly acquired an eminent political and military dimension. In the very year of its discovery, it was led into battle against a Muslim army at Ascalon on 12 August 1099, and the ensuing Christian victory was ascribed to its powers. Consequently, the cross acquired the function of a potent battle standard and was led to war on no fewer than thirty-nine occasions in the course of the twelfth century prior to its ultimate loss in 1187.³⁷

36 A very good overview on monastic and canonical thought on the matter is in Phillips, 'O Magnum Crucis Misterium', pp. 1–168.

37 Deborah Gerish, 'The True Cross and the Kings of Jerusalem', *Haskins Society Journal*, 8 (1996), 137–55; Giuseppe Ligato, 'The Political Meanings of the Relics of the Holy Cross among the Crusaders and in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem: An Example of 1185', in *Autour de la première croisade: actes du Colloque de la Society for the Study of the Crusades and Latin East, Clermont-Ferrand, 22–25 juin 1995*, ed. by Michel Balard (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1996), pp. 315–30; Alan V. Murray, "'Mighty Against the Enemies of Christ': The Relic of the True Cross in the Armies of the Kingdom of Jerusalem", in *The Crusades and Their Sources: Essays Presented to Bernard Hamilton*, ed. by John France and William G. Zajac (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), pp. 217–38; Giuseppe Ligato, 'La croce di Terra Santa, dalle origini alla Custodia francescana', in *In Terra Santa: dalla crociata alla custodia dei luoghi santi, Catalogo della mostra, Milano, Palazzo Reale, 17 febbraio–21 maggio, 2000*, ed. by Michele Piccirillo (Milan: ArtificioSkira, 2000), pp. 270–79; Nikolas Jaspert, 'Vergegenwärtigungen Jerusalems in Architektur und Reliquienkult', in *Jerusalem im Hoch- und Spätmittelalter: Konflikte und Konfliktbewältigung, Vorstellungen und Vergegenwärtigungen*, ed. by Dieter Bauer, Klaus Herbers, and Nikolas Jaspert, *Campus Historische Studien*, 29 (Frankfurt a.M.: Campus, 2001), pp. 219–70 (pp. 252–254); Fanny Caroff, 'L'affrontement entre chrétiens et musulmans: le rôle de la vraie Croix dans les images de croisade (XIII^e–XV^e siècle)', in *Chemins d'outre-mer: études d'histoire sur la Méditerranée médiévale offertes à Michel Balard*, 2 vols, ed. by Damien Coulon, *Byzantina Sorbonensia*, 20 (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2004), I, 97–112.

Second, and related to the latter phenomenon, the *Vera Crux* also became closely attached to the ruling house of the Latin kings of Jerusalem, therefore acquiring the function of a state symbol. The relic was housed in the cathedral church and remained under the control of the local patriarch, but the church itself was closely tied to the monarchy, and the patriarchs were key advisers to the kings during the twelfth century.³⁸ In this way, the cross of Jerusalem in fact experienced a career as a religious symbol, changing its principal connotation from relic of the Lord to a symbol of dynastic lordship and inter-religious strife. The concrete historical context of the first crusader kingdom of Jerusalem brought this change about.

These political and military functions of the *Vera Crux* were also visualized, for example in illustrated chronicles such as that of William of Tyre or his continuators, where the cross is repeatedly depicted as a battle standard, as Fanny Caroff has shown.³⁹ However, because such manuscripts appear to have been produced only in later periods, they cannot have triggered the devotion to the True Cross so prominent in and typical of the twelfth century. Other media did. Three instruments might be named.⁴⁰ First of all, travel descriptions and pilgrim guides operated as mental visualizations of Jerusalem and bear witness to the attraction both Christ's tomb and the cross exerted upon visitors to Jerusalem.⁴¹ A sec-

38 Charles Kohler, 'Histoire anonyme des rois de Jérusalem (1099–1187), composée peut-être à la fin du XIII^e siècle', *Revue de l'Orient latin*, 5 (1897), 213–53 (pp. 240–42); Deborah Gerish, 'The True Cross and the Kings of Jerusalem', *Haskins Society Journal*, 8 (1996), 137–55; Murray, 'Mighty Against the Enemies of Christ'; Nikolas Jaspert, 'Un vestigio desconocido de Tierra Santa: la Vera Creu d'Anglesola', *Anuario de Estudios Medievales*, 29 (1999), 447–75; Nikolas Jaspert, 'Vergegenwärtigungen Jerusalems in Architektur und Reliquienkult'.

39 Caroff, 'L'affrontement entre chrétiens et musulmans'.

40 Constable, 'The Dislocation of Jerusalem in the Middle Ages'; Anna Benvenuti, 'Le legende d'Oultremare: reliquie, trasfazioni, culti e devozioni della Terrasanta', in *Il cammino di Gerusalemme*, ed. by Maria S. Calò Mariani, *Rotte mediterranee della cultura*, 2 (Bari: Adda, 2002), pp. 529–46; Anna Benvenuti, 'Reliquie e identità cittadina: il ruolo delle memorie d'Oltremare nella costruzione del prestigio civico', in *Taumaturgia e miracoli tra alto e basso Medioevo: prospettive metodologiche generali e casistiche locali*, ed. by Patrizia Castelli and Salvatore Geruzzi (Pisa: Serra, 2008), pp. 101–18, focusing on saints's relics.

41 Sabino De Sandoli, *Itinera Hierosolymitana Crucesignatorum (saec. XII–XIII): textus latini cum versione italica*, 4 vols, Publications of the Studium Biblicum Franciscanum, 24 (Jerusalem: Franciscan Printing Press, 1980), II: *Temporae Regnum Francorum (1100–1187); Jerusalem Pilgrimage 1099–1185*, ed. by John Wilkinson, with

ond important group of sources are liturgical texts. The Jerusalemite liturgy celebrated by the canons of the Holy Sepulchre, for example, underlines the importance that the cross had in crusader Jerusalem during processions, masses, and other forms of movement and bodily participation in the public sphere.⁴² Third, and finally, the True Cross was also visualized in a very material sense of the word, via fragments of the relic that were worked into reliquaries of the *Vera Crux*, so-called *staurothekai*. The second part of this article is devoted to these objects, which effectively translocated sacred place—both in the stricter sense of the Holy Sepulchre and in the wider one of the holy city—from one side of the Mediterranean to the other.

Joyce Hill and W. F. Ryan (London: Hakluyt Society, 1988); *Peregrinationes tres: Saewulf, John of Würzburg, Theodericus*, ed. by R. B. C. Huygens, CCCM, 139 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1994); Grabois, *Le Pèlerin occidental en Terre sainte*; Ursula Ganz-Blätler, *Andacht und Abenteuer: Berichte europäischer Jerusalem- und Santiago-Pilger*, Jakobus-Studien, 4 (Tübingen: Narr, 2000); *Croisades et pèlerinages: récits, chroniques et voyages en Terre Sainte, XI^e–XVI^e siècle*, ed. by Danielle Régnier-Bohler (Paris: Laffont, 2002); and Nicole Chareyron, *Pilgrims to Jerusalem in the Middle Ages*, trans. by W. Donald Wilson (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005).

42 Charles Kohler, 'Un rituel et un bréviaire du Saint-Sépulchre de Jérusalem (XII^e–XIII^e siècle)', *Revue de l'Orient latin*, 8 (1900–01), 384–499 (pp. 412–414, 424); Albert Schönfelder, 'Die Prozessionen der Lateinier in Jerusalem zur Zeit der Kreuzzüge', *Historisches Jahrbuch*, 32 (1911), 578–98 (pp. 584–86, 596); Hugo Buchthal, *Miniature Painting in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, with Liturgical and Paleographical Chapters by Francis Wormald* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957); John F. Baldwin, *The Urban Character of Christian Worship: The Origins, Development, and Meaning of Stational Liturgy*, *Orientalia Christiana analecta*, 228 (Roma: Pont. Institutum Studiorum Orientalium, 1987); Carol Heitz, 'Architecture et liturgie: le Saint-Sépulchre et l'Occident', *Cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa*, 22 (1991), 43–55; Anna-Marie Legras and Jean-Loup Lemaître, 'La Pratique liturgique des Templiers et des Hospitaliers de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem', in *L'Écrit dans la société médiévale: divers aspects de sa pratique du XI^e au XV^e siècle; textes en hommage à Lucie Fossier*, ed. by Caroline Bourlet and Annie Dufour (Paris: CNRS, 1991), pp. 77–137; Kaspar Elm, 'La Liturgie de l'Église latine de Jérusalem au temps des croisades', in *Le Crociate: l'Oriente e l'Occidente da Urbano II a San Luigi*, ed. by Rey-Delqué, pp. 243–45; Paul F. Bradshaw, 'The Influence of Jerusalem on Christian Liturgy', in *Jerusalem: Its Sanctity and Centrality to Judaism, Christianity, and Islam*, ed. by Levine, pp. 251–59; and Cristina Dondi, *The Liturgy of the Canons Regular of the Holy Sepulchre of Jerusalem: A Study and a Catalogue of the Manuscript Sources* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004), pp. 146–75. See also Ewald Volgger, 'Die Feier von Kreuzauffindung und Kreuzerhöhung: Ursprung, Verbreitung und Bedeutung unter besonderer Berücksichtigung als Hochfeste des Deutschen Ordens', in *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens*, ed. by Udo Arnold, *Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens*, 49 (Marburg: Elwert, 1993), pp. 1–50.

'Staurothekai' between the Holy Land and the Latin West

Long before the Crusades, *staurothekai* had been fabricated and sent to the Latin West, the most famous of these stemming from Constantinople and the Levant; and long after the end of the crusader states, such objects continued to be produced and venerated.⁴³ But their heyday was without a doubt the period of the crusader kingdom of Jerusalem, in which a great number of such precious containers were produced.⁴⁴ Half a century ago, the Byzantinist Victor Frolow undertook the herculean task of attempting to identify all known relics and reliquaries of the True Cross.⁴⁵ His studies published in 1960 and 1965 unite references to many hundreds of objects and remain ground-breaking works that enable us to grasp both the intensity and the geographic range of medieval devotion to the *Vera Crux*. Based on Frolow's work and applying notions borrowed from network theory, one can trace networks of Holy Land spirituality, networks formed by nodes and spokes—that is, by points with a particularly high density of relics, which one could term 'nodes', and the connections between such centres, whether by personal communication or by transferring objects of sanctity, which one could term 'spokes'.⁴⁶

43 Berent Schwineköper, 'Christus-Reliquien-Verehrung und Politik: Studien über die Mentalität der Menschen des frühen Mittelalters, insbesondere über die religiöse Haltung und sakrale Stellung der früh- und hochmittelalterlichen deutschen Kaiser und Könige', *Blätter für deutsche Landesgeschichte*, 117 (1981), 183–281; Kühnel, *Crusader Art of the Twelfth Century*, pp. 125–53; Ferdinando Molteni, *Memoria Christi: reliquie di Terrasanta in Occidente* (Florence: Vallecchi, 1996); Benvenuti, 'Le legende d'Oultremare'; Morris, 'Memorials of the Holy Places and Blessings from the East', esp. pp. 97–99; Jaspert, 'Vergegenwärtigungen Jerusalems in Architektur und Reliquienkult'; Pietro Dalena, 'Gli itinerari delle reliquie della passione', in *Militia Sancti Sepulcri: la storia, i luoghi, gli itinerari*, ed. by Pietro Dalena and Cosimo Damiano Fonseca (Bari: Adda, 2006), pp. 63–85; Toussaint, *Kreuz und Knochen*.

44 The crusaders' take-over led to a meaningful re-evaluation of Jerusalem as the source of the relic. Jerusalem was now regarded as the chief supplier of the relic of the True Cross, thus replacing Constantinople: Schein, *Gateway to the Heavenly City*, p. 84.

45 Frolow, *La relique de la Vraie Croix*; Frolow, *Les Reliquaires de la Vraie Croix*.

46 Cilja Harders, 'Dimensionen des Netzwerkansatzes: Einführende theoretische Überlegungen', in *Die islamische Welt als Netzwerk: Möglichkeiten und Grenzen des Netzwerkansatzes im islamischen Kontext*, ed. by Roman Loimeier, *MISK*, 9 (Würzburg: Ergon, 2000), pp. 17–51; Markus Schroer, *Räume, Orte, Grenzen: auf dem Weg zu einer Soziologie des Raums* (Frankfurt a.M.: Suhrkamp, 2006); Alex Cowan, 'Nodes, Networks and Hinterlands',

Within such a network of Holy Land devotion, relics of the True Cross played a role worthy of note. They formed nodal points that connected different regions across the Mediterranean because they not only transferred sacred material but also translocated sacred place; they effectively brought Jerusalem to other lands. They also served as a means for Christians to 'dwell' upon distant places they yearned for.⁴⁷ Such objects enhanced ties across large distances and therefore need to be taken into account by those interested in trans-maritime medieval connections. If one does not want to reduce Mediterranean connectivity to the exchange of commodities, then relics and reliquaries also merit our attention.

An enamel casket-reliquary from southern France lavishly produced at the very end of the twelfth century graphically shows how a relic of the True Cross was acquired from a monastery in Jerusalem and how it reached its final destination, the church of St Sernin in Toulouse.⁴⁸ The abbot of the monastery of St Mary of

Jehoshaphat gave it to a visitor from southern France in exchange for the latter's promise to pray for the community, as expressed by a charter signed 'oremus' that he entrusted to the abbot. Such confraternal relations formed yet another trans-Mediterranean network.⁴⁹ After a long voyage by sea the relic was safely ensconced in its new abode, the monastery of St Sernin. The casket from Toulouse not only illustrates that the artist went to great pains to underline such objects' authenticity with artistic means but also demonstrates that relics were indeed a typically medieval means of connecting the shores of the Mediterranean (and other regions farther afield) to the Holy Land.

Not surprisingly, such forms of Holy Land devotion as veneration of the True Cross were marked not only by political events but also by social and economic developments. Here again, historical contexts led to shifts in religious practice. The creation of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem and the discovery of the Jerusalemite relic, for example, opened up vast new potential in this respect. The establishment of the crusader states suddenly increased the contact areas between the Middle East and Latin Europe. Now it was not only pilgrims who travelled: settlers moved to the conquered territories, traders established bases there and regularly crossed the Mediterranean Sea, the newly established territories attracted warriors and nobles, and clergymen also made careers for themselves there. All this had an impact on devotion to the True Cross of Jerusalem. As mentioned previously, this treasure was put in the charge of the patriarch of Jerusalem and his chapter, that is to say, the canons of the Holy Sepulchre. These canons donated fragments of the cross to high-ranking visitors or to pilgrims who were particularly close to the chapter for one reason or another, either due to personal contacts or to

in *Cities and Cultural Exchange in Europe, 1400–1700*, ed. by Donatella Calabi and Stephen Turk Christensen, *Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Europe*, 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 28–41; Manuel A. Vásquez, 'Studying Religion in Motion: A Networks Approach', *Method and Theory in the Study of Religion*, 20.2 (2008), 151–84; Steffen Albrecht, 'Netzwerke und Kommunikation: zum Verhältnis zweier sozialwissenschaftlicher Paradigmen', in *Netzwerkanalyse und Netzwerktheorie: ein neues Paradigma in den Sozialwissenschaften*, 2nd edn, ed. by Christian Stegbauer, *Netzwerkforschung*, 1 (Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 2010), pp. 165–78.

47 On the concept of 'dwelling' in a comparative perspective and centred on the present see Thomas A. Tweed, 'On Moving Across: Translocative Religion and the Interpreter's Position', *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*, 70.2 (2002), 253–77; Thomas A. Tweed, *Crossing and Dwelling: A Theory of Religion* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006).

48 Marie-Madeleine Gauthier, 'Reliquaires du XIII^e siècle entre le Proche-Orient et l'Occident latin', in *Il Medio oriente e l'Occidente nell'arte del XIII secolo*, ed. by Hans Belting, *Congresso internazionale di storia dell'arte*, 24 (Bologna: CLUEB, 1979), pp. 55–69 (p. 57); Dominique Watin-Grandchamp, Patrice Cabau, Daniel and Quitterie Cazes, 'Le coffret reliquaire de la Vraie Croix de Saint-Sernin de Toulouse', *Cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa*, 38 (2007), 37–46, which interprets the charter as a pilgrim's 'passport', p. 39, and identifies the protagonists, pp. 40–42. Illustrations in *Die Kreuzzüge: kein Krieg ist heilig*, ed. by Hans-Jürgen Kotzur and Brigitte Klein (Mainz: Zabern, 2004), pp. 220–21 (figs 122–24), see in the same volume Avinoam Shalem, 'Reliquien der Kreuzfahrerzeit: Verehrung, Raub und Handel', pp. 212–27 and Kat. no. 69, pp. 406–07; Gia Toussaint, 'Die Kreuzzüge und die Erfindung des Wahren Kreuzes', in *Hybride Kulturen im mittelalterlichen Europa: Vorträge und Workshops einer internationalen Frühlingschule, =Hybrid Cultures in Medieval Europe: Papers and Workshops of an International Spring School*, ed. by Michael Borgolte and Bernd Schneidmüller, *Europa im*

Mittelalter

, 16 (Berlin: Akademie, 2010), pp. 151–70 (pp. 160–63); *Treasures of Heaven: Saints, Relics, and Devotion in Medieval Europe*, ed. by Martina Bagnoli and others (Baltimore: Walters Art Museum; distributed by Yale University Press, 2010), cat. no. 62, pp. 122–23.

49 Cf. Nikolas Jaspert, 'Pro nobis, qui pro vobis oramus, orate': die Kathedralskapitel von Compostela und Jerusalem in der ersten Hälfte des 12. Jahrhunderts', in *Santiago, Roma, Jerusalem: actas del III Congreso Internacional de Estudios Jacobeos*, ed. by Paolo Caucci von Saucken (Santiago de Compostela: Xunta de Galicia, 1999), pp. 187–212; Nikolas Jaspert, 'Peregrinos gallegos a Palestina y las relaciones entre los cabildos de Compostela y Jerusalén en el siglo XII', *Potestas*, 1 (2008), 149–69; Nikolas Jaspert, 'Gedenkwesen und Erinnerung des Ordens vom Heiligen Grab', forthcoming in *Wider das Vergessen und für das Seelenheil: Memoria und Totengedenken im Mittelalter*, ed. by Rainer Berndt and Ursula Vones-Liebenstein (Frankfurt a.M.: Erudiri Sapientia).

individual events.⁵⁰ We even know that expert craftsmen, silver- and goldsmiths, worked in close proximity to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre under the auspices—and by order—of the patriarchs.⁵¹ In rare cases, the outcome of their labours has come down to us.

Over twenty-five years ago, Heribert Meurer published a seminal article in *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* in which he identified three groups of *staurothekai* that he convincingly proved to have been fabricated in the patriarchs' workshops in Jerusalem during the twelfth century.⁵² Contrary to many earlier reliquaries of the True Cross, these objects were meant to be seen.⁵³ One

such group consists of golden crosses with an opening to hold a large piece of the True Cross; it comprises such examples as those housed at Denkendorf, Scheyern, and Barletta. Another group is characterized by two openings for the particles of the cross and a depiction of an arch at the foot of the *staurotheke*'s obverse side, probably hinting at the Holy Sepulchre.⁵⁴ The reliquaries of Conques and Kaisheim form this group. Less spectacular than these two clusters of golden cross-reliquaries, but equally important from this paper's perspective, is a third group identified by Meurer that comprises the *staurothekai* of Paris, Carboeiro in Spanish Galicia, and Agrigento in Sicily (Figs 21.1, 21.2, and 21.3).⁵⁵ These simply wrought, not overly large pieces (about 16 × 9 cm) worked from silver plates with the help of punching tools bear a very close resemblance to one another and form a distinct group. Characteristic elements are the two openings at the intersections of the arms, the round symbols of the evangelists in the arms of the reliquary on the obverse, sometimes a praying figure and—particularly important—the depiction of the sepulchre at the foot of the cross. The latter is marked by a crossed arch, a hanging lamp, and the representation of the grave showing openings, or *oculi*, just as contemporary texts describe it. The images of the Holy Sepulchre are the ultimate sign that the Jerusalemite *staurothekai* truly functioned as visual constructs of Jerusalem, effectively enhancing the 'repeatability'⁵⁶ of the holy city in the Latin West. The reliquaries translocated two attractors, Jerusalem and the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, simultaneously: via the physical transfer of sacred material (the wood) and via iconographic citation.

Since Meurer's time, art historical research on the crusader states has greatly advanced; one need mention only Jaroslav Folda and Bianca Kühnel.⁵⁷ We know a lot

50 Franz Ludwig Baumann, *Das Kloster Allerheiligen in Schaffhausen*, Quellen zur schweizer Geschichte, 3.1 (Basel: Schneider, 1881), pp. 146–57; Anselmi Cantoris S. Sepulcri, *Epistola ad Ecclesiam Parisiensem*, PL, 162 (1889), cols 729–32; Geneviève Bautier, 'L'Envoie de la relique de la Vraie Croix à Notre-Dame de Paris en 1120', *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, 129 (1971), 387–97 (in this case the particle originated from a relic different from the one kept by the cathedral chapter); *Die Zwiefalter Chroniken Ortliebs und Bertholds*, new edn, ed. by Luitpold Wallach, Erich König, and Karl Otto Müller, Schwäbische Chroniken der Stauferzeit, 2 (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1978), pp. 113, 196; Kühnel, *Crusader Art of the Twelfth Century*, pp. 129–37, 147–48; Edina Bozóky, 'Le trésor de reliques de l'abbaye de Zwiefalten: un précieux témoignage des échanges culturels entre Orient et Occident', in *Les Échanges culturels au Moyen Âge*, Actes des congrès de la Société des historiens médiévistes de l'enseignement supérieur public, 32 (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2002), pp. 117–33; and Gia Toussaint, 'Jerusalem: Imagination und Transfer eines Ortes', in *Jerusalem, du Schöne: Vorstellungen und Bilder einer heiligen Stadt*, ed. by Bruno Reudenbach, *Vestigia bibliae: Jahrbuch des Deutschen Bibel-Archivs Hamburg*, 28 (Bern: Lang, 2008), pp. 33–60.

51 Frolow, *La relique de la Vraie Croix*; Frolow, *Les Reliquaires de la Vraie Croix*; Bautier, 'L'Envoie de la relique'; Heribert Meurer, 'Zu den Staurotheken der Kreuzfahrer', *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 48 (1985), 65–76; Jaroslav Folda, *The Art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land, 1098–1187* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 68, 83, 99–100, 290, 391, 509; Jaspert, 'Vergegenwärtigungen Jerusalems in Architektur und Reliquienkult', pp. 254–56; Jaroslav Folda, *Crusader Art in the Holy Land: From the Third Crusade to the Fall of Acre, 1187–1291* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 48–52; Kelly Holbert, 'Relics and Reliquaries of the True Cross', in *Art and Architecture of Late Medieval Pilgrimage in Northern Europe and the British Isles*, ed. by Sarah Blick and Rita Tekippe, *Studies in Medieval and Reformation Traditions*, 104 (Leiden: Brill, 2005), pp. 337–63 (pp. 353–57); and Heribert Meurer, 'Andenken und Geschenke der Kreuzfahrer und Jerusalem-pilger in der Zeit der ersten Kreuzzüge', in *Transfer: Innovationen in der Zeit der Kreuzzüge; Akten der IV. Landauer Staufertagung*, 27.–29. Juni 2003, ed. by Volker Herzner and Jürgen Krüger (Speyer: Pfälzischen Gesellschaft zur Förderung der Wissenschaften, 2006), pp. 39–49.

52 Meurer, 'Zu den Staurotheken der Kreuzfahrer'.

53 Toussaint, 'Die Kreuzreliquie und die Konstruktion von Heiligkeit'; Toussaint, *Kreuz und Knochen*, pp. 88–139.

54 Kühnel, *Crusader Art of the Twelfth Century*, pp. 143–45.

55 Meurer, 'Zu den Staurotheken der Kreuzfahrer', pp. 68–75; Serafín Moralejo Álvarez, 'Lignum Crucis de Carboeiro', in *Santiago, camino de Europa: culto y cultura en la peregrinación a Compostela* (Santiago de Compostela: Xunta de Galicia, 1993), pp. 352–53; Claudia Guastella, 'Scheda n. IV.10', in *Nobiles officinae: perle, filigrane e trame di seta dal Palazzo di Palermo*, ed. by Maria Andaloro, 2 vols (Catania: Maimone, 2006), I, 290–91; Jannic Durand, 'La Relique et les reliquaires de la Vraie Croix du trésor de la Sainte-Chapelle de Paris', in *La Croce: iconografia e interpretazione: secoli I–inizio XVI*, ed. by Boris Ulianich with Ulderico Parente, 3 vols (Naples: De Rosa, 2007), III: *La croce nella liturgia*, pp. 341–68. My thanks to the Ufficio per i Beni culturali della Diocesi di Agrigento for permission to reproduce the figure.

56 Benvenuti, 'Le legende d'Oultremare', p. 532.

57 Bianca Kühnel, *From the Earthly to the Heavenly Jerusalem:*



Figure 21.1. Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des Objets d'Art, no. OA 3665, *staurotheke* (obverse), Jerusalem, twelfth century (photo: Musée du Louvre).



Figure 21.2. Santiago de Compostela, Museo de la Catedral, 'Cruz de Carboeiro' *staurotheke* (obverse), Jerusalem, twelfth century (photo © Museo Catedral, Santiago de Compostela).

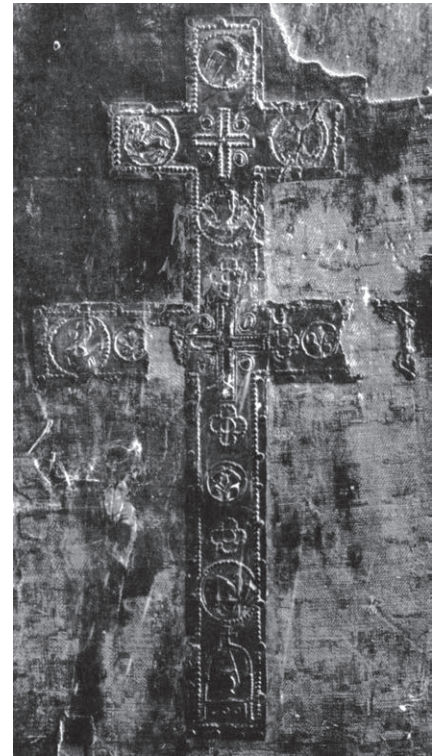


Figure 21.3. Agrigento, Museo Diocesano, 'Altarolo dei Crociati' *staurotheke* (obverse), Jerusalem, twelfth century (photo: Gabinetto Nazionale di Fotografia, Roma, no. 1119, reproduced with permission).

more about the patriarchs' craftsmen, about the artistic production of the crusader states, and about the elements that were either adapted there or were exported from the Holy Land to the Latin West. At the end of his contribution, Meurer expressed his conviction that more of these easily fabricated *staurothekai* might crop up over time, and, true enough, some years ago a hitherto unknown piece that had gone unnoticed in the parish church of Anglesola in rural Catalonia was presented and analysed (Fig. 21.4).⁵⁸ It also shows the traits just mentioned: the *Agnus Dei* and floral decorations, the symbols of the

evangelists, the praying figure, and the sepulchre. Lately, two further *staurothekai* fabricated in the patriarchal workshops have been identified, although these findings have not yet attracted the attention of most art historians of the Latin East. One is to be found in the sanctuary of Santa Maria ad Rupes in Castel Sant'Elia close to Nepi (Viterbo), the other in Troia (Foggia) in southern Italy (Figs 21.5 and 21.6).⁵⁹ Both undoubtedly can be added

Representations of the Holy City in Christian Art of the First Millennium (Rome: Herder, 1987); Kühnel, *Crusader Art of the Twelfth Century*; Folda, *The Art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land, 1098–1187*; Antonio Cadei, 'Gli Ordini di Terrasanta e il culto per la Vera Croce e il Sepolcro di Cristo in Europa nel XII secolo', *Arte Medievale*, n.s., 1 (2002), 51–70; Folda, *Crusader Art in the Holy Land*.

⁵⁸ Jaspert, 'Un vestigio desconocido de Tierra Santa'; Jaspert, 'Vergegenwärtigungen Jerusalems in Architektur und Reliquienkult', pp. 247–51, 265–68.

⁵⁹ Sofia Di Sciascio, 'Reliquie della Vera Croce in Puglia e Basilicata fra XI e XV secolo', in *Medioevo mediterraneo: l'Occidente, Bisanzio e l'Islam: Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi, Parma, 21–25 settembre 2004*, ed. by Arturo Carlo Quintavalle, I Convegni di Parma, 7 (Milan: Electa, 2007), pp. 360–70 (pp. 360–63); Margherita Spinucci, 'La stauroteca medievale di Castel Sant'Elia', *Nel Lazio: guida al patrimonio artistico ed etnoantropologico*, 2 (Rome: Bretschneider, 2011), pp. 47–51 (many thanks to the author for providing illustrations of the *staurotheke*). One might also add a reference in passing to the cross of Gerace. It is at least closely related to a second, older group of golden *staurothekai* which bear two openings, an empty arch, and quatrefoil decorations



Figure 21.4. Anglesola, Església Parroquial, *staurotheke* (obverse), Jerusalem, twelfth century (photo: author).



Figure 21.5. Castel Sant'Elia, Santa Maria ad Rupes, *staurotheke* (obverse), Jerusalem, twelfth century with eighteenth-century additions (photo: Margherita Spinucci, reproduced with permission).

to the ther, better-known pieces, as we recognize the characteristic traits already pointed out: the arched replica of the Holy Sepulchre, the two openings, the simple stamped decoration, and so on. The group identified by Meurer has thus effectively doubled in size.

Important as identifying pieces from the patriarchs' workshop may be, it remains to be clarified who brought the relics and reliquaries to France, Spain, and Italy. Who were the agents of this form of Mediterranean translocational mobility? The fact that they are now kept in museums like the Louvre, in cathedral treasuries, or in parish churches might divert our attention from the

fact that initially these pieces were often preserved in regular monastic institutions. Closer scrutiny reveals that in many cases the transmitters of these *staurothekai* were definitely or at least very probably the canons of the Holy Sepulchre. The cathedral chapter of Jerusalem that was restructured in 1114 as a community of canons regular acquired a number of subsidiary houses—commanderies, priories, and chapels—in many regions of Latin Europe.⁶⁰ The communities of these overseas branches

with encrusted gems: Corrado Bozzoni and Salvatore Gemelli, *La Cattedrale di Gerace: il monumento, le funzioni, i corredi* (Cosenza: Effesette, 1986), pp. 238–49; Antonio Cadei, 'Gli Ordini di Terrasanta', pp. 51–70; and Valentino Pace, 'Staurotheken und andere Reliquiare in Rom und in Süditalien (bis ca. 1300): ein erster Versuch eines Gesamtüberblicks', in *'Das Heilige sichtbar machen': Domschätze in Vergangenheit, Gegenwart und Zukunft*, ed. by Ulrike Wendland, Arbeitsberichte des Landesamtes für Denkmalpflege und Archäologie Sachsen-Anhalt, 9 (Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2010), pp. 137–60 (p. 144).

60. J. Hermens, *Der Orden vom Heiligen Grabe* (Düsseldorf: S. 1867); Wilhelm Hotzelt, 'Die Chorherren vom Heiligen Grabe in Jerusalem', *Das Heilige Land in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart: gesammelte Beiträge und Berichte zur Palästinaforschung*, 2 (1940), 107–36; Hotzelt, *Kirchengeschichte Palästinas im Zeitalter der Kreuzzüge 1099–1291*, Kirchengeschichte Palästinas von der Urkirche bis zur Gegenwart, 3 (Cologne: Bachem, 1940); Valmar Cramer, *Der Ritterorden vom Hl. Grabe von den Kreuzzügen bis zur Gegenwart*, Palästinahefte des Deutschen Verein vom Heiligen Lande, 46–48 (Cologne: Bachem, 1952; repr. 1983); Geneviève Bresc-Bautier, 'Bulles d'Urbain IV en faveur de l'ordre du Saint-Sépulchre (1261–1264)', *Melanges de l'École française de Rome, Moyen-Âge – Temps modernes*, 85.1 (1973), 283–310; Zuster Hereswitha,



Figure 21.6.
Troia, Museo Diocesano,
staurotheke (obverse),
Jerusalem, twelfth century
(photo: Archivio Storico
Capitolare di Troia).

maintained close ties to their mother house until the end of the crusader states in 1291. One way of maintaining these ties was via material visual constructs of Jerusalem in the form of reliquaries. In some cases, as in that of Paris, Denkendorf, or Scheyern, we have written texts

Orde van het Heilig-Grav, Inleiding tot de geschiedenis van het kloosterwezen in de Nederlanden (Introduction à l'histoire monastique aux Pays-Bas), A: Orden ontstaan in de Middeleeuwen, II:1:F (Brussels: Archives et bibliothèques de Belgique, 1975); Geneviève Bresc-Bautier, 'Dévotion au Saint-Sépulchre et histoire hospitalière (x^e–xiv^e siècles)', in *Assistance et Assistés jusqu'à 1610: actes du 9^e Congrès National des Sociétés Savantes, Nantes 1972, section de philologie et d'histoire jusqu'à 1610* (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1979), pp. 253–76; *Le Cartulaire du chapitre du Saint-Sépulchre de Jérusalem*, ed. by Geneviève Bresc-Bautier, Documents relatifs à l'histoire des Croisades, 15 (Paris: Geuthner, 1984); María Concepción García Albares, *Bibliografía de la Orden del Santo Sepulcro* (Zaragoza: s.n., 1991); María Concepción García Albares, *Bibliografía de la Orden del Santo Sepulcro: addenda* (Zaragoza: Capítulo Noble de Aragón, Cataluña y Baleares de la Orden de Caballería del Santo Sepulcro, 1995); María Concepción García Albares, *Bibliografía de la Orden del Santo Sepulcro*, Biblioteca de la Orden del Santo Sepulcro, 4 (Zaragoza: Centro de Estudios de la Orden del Santo Sepulcro, 2007); *Militia Sancti Sepulcri, idea e istituzioni: atti del colloquio internazionale tenuto presso la Pontificia Università del Laterano, 10–12 aprile 1996*, ed. by Kaspar Elm and Cosimo Damiano Fonseca (Vatican City: s.n., 1998); and Kaspar Elm, *Umbilicus mundi: Beiträge zur Geschichte Jerusalems, der Kreuzzüge, des Kapitels vom Hlg. Grab in Jerusalem und der Ritterorden*, Instrumenta canonis-sarum regularium Sancti Sepulcri, 7 (Sint-Kruis [Brugge]: Sint-Trudo-Abdij, 1998). Wolf Zöllner (Bochum) is currently working on a doctoral dissertation on the Canons of the Holy Sepulchre.

that corroborate such consignments from Jerusalem across the Mediterranean;⁶¹ in others, we can safely trace the *staurothekai* back to the order's priories.

For example, the Galician *staurothekai* now kept at the cathedral archive of Santiago de Compostela came from Carboeiro, where the canons held a subsidiary,⁶² and not far from Agrigento, in Piazza Armerina, lay the order's main Sicilian house.⁶³ The cross of Anglesola, too, although now preserved at a parish church, very probably originated from a chapel that the canons of the Holy Sepulchre maintained in this Catalonian location until the middle of the thirteenth century.⁶⁴ Finally, even the newly identified *staurotheke* of Troia fits perfectly into the pattern: a priory of the order can be identified in this same town from the first half of the twelfth century onward, and it remained an important centre of those

61 Reinhold Röhrich, *Regesta regni Hierosolymitani (1097–1291)* (Oeniponti [Innsbruck]: Wageriana, 1893), p. 81; Bautier, 'L'Envoie de la relique'; Werner Fleischhauer, 'Das romanische Kreuzreliquiar von Denkendorf', in *Festschrift für Georg Scheja zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. by Albrecht Leuteritz (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1975), pp. 64–68; Kaspar Elm, 'St. Pelagius in Denkendorf: das älteste deutsche Propstei des Kapitels vom Hlg. Grab in Geschichte und Geschichtsschreibung', in *Landesgeschichte und Geistesgeschichte: Festschrift für Otto Herding zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. by Kaspar Elm, Eberhard Gönner, and Eugen Hillenbrand, Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Geschichtliche Landeskunde in Baden-Württemberg, Reihe B, 92 (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1977), pp. 80–130 (pp. 107–10); Anselm Reichhold, *Das Heilige Kreuz von Scheyern* (Scheyern: Benediktinerabtei, 1981), pp. 15–16; *Die Urkunden und die ältesten Urbare des Klosters Scheyern*, ed. by Michael Stephan, Quellen und Erörterungen zur bayerischen Geschichte, n.s., 36.2 (Munich: Beck, 1988), pp. 28–30; Folda, *The Art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land, 1098–1187*, pp. 97–100, 290–94; Irmgard Siede, 'Urkunde über Stiftung und Herstellung eines Kreuzes', in *Konfrontation der Kulturen? Saladin und die Kreuzfahrer: wissenschaftliches Kolloquium in den Reiss-Engelhorn-Museen Mannheim zur Vorbereitung der Ausstellung 'Saladin und die Kreuzfahrer', 3. bis 4. November 2004*, ed. by Heinz Gaube, Bernd Schneidmüller, and Stefan Weinfurter (Mainz: Zabern, 2005), pp. 409–10; and Toussaint, *Jerusalem: Imagination und Transfer eines Ortes*.

62 Hipólito de Sa Bravo, *El monacato en Galicia*, 2 vols (La Coruña: Librigal, 1972), II, 211–16; Jaspert, 'Pro nobis, qui pro vobis oramus, orate', pp. 199–200.

63 Litterio Villari, *Il protopriorato di Sicilia dell'Ordine del S. Sepulcro di Gerusalemme: chiesa di S. Andrea in Piazza Armerina*, Accademia angelica Costantiniana di lettere, arti e scienze, 4 (Rome: s.n., 1996); Tancredi Bella, *S. Andrea a piazza Armerina: priorato dell'Ordine del Santo Sepulcro; vicende costruttive, cicli pittorici e spazio liturgico* (Caltanissetta: Lussografica, 2012).

64 Jaspert, 'Un vestigio desconocido de Tierra Santa'; Jaspert, 'Vergegenwärtigungen Jerusalems in Architektur und Reliquienkult', pp. 265–68.



Figure 21.7. Vic, Arxiu Capitular de Vic, calaix 37, no. 5/19, seal of the chapter of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem (obverse on left, reverse on right), Jerusalem, 1157/58–80 (photos: author).

canons right up to the later Middle Ages.⁶⁵ In all probability, the simply fabricated reliquaries were regularly sent by the patriarch and canons from Jerusalem across the Mediterranean to their ‘overseas branches’.

There the *staurothekai* and their contents were put to several uses. The canons needed them in order to raise money and perhaps also to recruit men for their order. It is no coincidence that some of the preserved crosses rest on hollow feet that enabled the canons to attach them to poles and carry them in processions or other performances, such as public sermons, thus effectively structuring sacred space.⁶⁶ A series of recent studies has effectively shown the functional dimension of relics’ visibility in the Middle Ages, and the *staurothekai* are a case in point.⁶⁷ We know from written sources that these relics were employed during such public acts, substantially elevating the solemnity of the occasion and greatly enhanc-

ing the canons’ visual repertoire.⁶⁸ By visualizing both the True Cross and the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, the reliquaries underlined the two sacred objects that the canons, the *custodes sanctissimi Sepulcri*, guarded. Furthermore, the crosses not only played an important part in liturgy within the town of Jerusalem but also in the filiations that the Jerusalemite chapter maintained in every kingdom of Latin Christendom. In this way, the display of relics in the Latin West, whether in public spaces outside the monastic compound during processions or within the church building during the liturgy, regularly visualized Jerusalem far from the Holy Land. The Jerusalemite liturgy, in which relics of the True Cross played an important role, helped bring Jerusalem back to the minds of the devout on a recurring basis. Such formalized, sequenced, and repeated rituals moved in a circular time-frame of their own that transcended the present by repeatedly recalling the past while looking ahead to the future.⁶⁹

65 Bresc-Bautier, *Le Cartulaire du chapitre du Saint-Sépulchre de Jérusalem*, no. 7, pp. 44–46; no. 9, pp. 49–51; no. 12, pp. 54–58; no. 16, pp. 63–67; no. 50, pp. 292–96; no. 151, pp. 297–300; no. 154, pp. 303–04; no. 155, p. 305; no. 167, pp. 319–20; no. 170, pp. 323–28.

66 Meurer, ‘Zu den Staurotheken der Kreuzfahrer’, pp. 72–73; Peter Springer, *Kreuzfüße: Ikonographie und Typologie eines hochmittelalterlichen Gerätes*, *Bronzegeräte des Mittelalters*, 3 (Berlin: Deutscher Verlag für Kunstwissenschaft, 1981).

67 Christof L. Diedrichs, *Vom Glauben zum Sehen: die Sichtbarkeit der Reliquie im Reliquiar; ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Sehens* (Berlin: Weissensee, 2001); Toussaint, ‘Die Kreuzreliquie und die Konstruktion von Heiligkeit’, pp. 55–63; *Das Heilige sichtbar machen*, ed. by Wendland; *Reliquiare im Mittelalter*, 2nd edn, ed. by Bruno Reudenbach and Gia Toussaint, *Hamburger Forschungen zur Kunstgeschichte*, 5 (Berlin: Akademie, 2011).

68 Payment for the carriers of the Barcelona relic during processions: Barcelona, Arxiu Diocesà de Barcelona, Fons de Santa Anna, RD 2, f. 44 (1383). The *staurotheke* (*creu de Santa Anna*) participated in the major urban processions in Barcelona: *Llibre de les solemnitats de Barcelona: Edició completa del manuscrit de l’Arxiu Històric de la Ciutat*, 1: 1424–1546, ed. by Agustí Durán i Sanpere and Josep Sanabre (Barcelona: Institució Patxot, 1930), pp. 17, 148–49. See in general Benvenuti, ‘Reliquie e identità cittadina’; Toussaint, ‘Die Kreuzreliquie und die Konstruktion von Heiligkeit’, pp. 55–63.

69 Michael Meyer-Blanck, ‘Liturgie als Erinnerungsform’, *Jahrbuch für Biblische Theologie*, 22 (2007), 359–78 (pp. 364–67); Jörg Sonntag, *Klosterleben im Spiegel des Zeichenhaften: symbolisches Denken und Handeln hochmittelalterlicher Mönche zwischen Dauer*

A similar use of visual constructs of Jerusalem can be observed in the case of the order's seals, which also functioned as conveyors of meaning, as *Bedeutungsträger*. The twelfth-century seals of the patriarch and the chapter of Jerusalem repeated elements found on the *stau-rothekai*, specifically depictions of the sepulchre and the double-barred cross. The seal of a letter accompanying the dispatch of a *stau-rotheke* to the West between 1155 and 1157 is a well-known case.⁷⁰ A hitherto unpublished piece newly discovered at the cathedral archive of Vic in Catalonia can now be added to the list of known seals (Fig. 21.7).⁷¹ Issued by Patriarch Amalric (r. 1157/58–80), it too shows the patriarchal cross and a clear reference to Christ's tomb.⁷²

und Wandel, Regel und Gewohnheit, Vita regularis, Abhandlungen, 35 (Berlin: Lit, 2008); Annette Kehnel and Mirjam Mencej, 'Representing Eternity: Circular Movement in the Cloister, Round Dancing, Winding-Staircases and Dancing Angels', in *Self-Representation of Medieval Religious Communities: The British Isles in Context*, ed. by Anne Müller and Karen Stöber, Vita regularis, Abhandlungen, 40 (Berlin: Lit, 2009), pp. 67–98; Jörg Sonntag, 'Tempus fugit? La circolarità monastica del tempo e il suo potenziale di rappresentazione simbolica', in *Religiosità e civiltà: le comunicazioni simboliche (secoli IX–XIII); atti del convegno internazionale, Domodossola, Sacro Monte e Castello di Mattarella, 20–23 settembre 2007*, ed. by Giancarlo Andenna (Milan: Vita e pensiero, 2009), pp. 221–42.

⁷⁰ Munich, Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv KU Scheyern, no. 9, cf. Reichhold, *Das Heilige Kreuz von Scheyern*, p. 19 (illustration); Hans Eberhard Mayer, *Das Siegelwesen in den Kreuzfahrerstaaten*, Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Phil.-hist. Klasse, Abhandlungen, n.s. 83 (Munich: Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1978), p. 34 and pl. 1, fig. 6; and *Die Urkunden und die ältesten Urbare des Klosters Scheyern*, ed. by Stephan, 28–30.

⁷¹ Vic, Arxiu Capítular de Vic, calaix 37, no. 5/19. On the recto, the seal bears the circumscription 'Sigillum canonicorum' with the inscription 'Ihesus Christus Nika' on the cross; on the verso one can read 'Sanctissimi Sepulcri'. It is practically identical to the seal on the donation charter of Henry the Lion for the Holy Sepulchre from 1172 (Wolfenbüttel, Niedersächsisches Landesarchiv STAWO 1, Urkunde 4): <http://kulturerbe.niedersachsen.de/viewer/fullscreen/isil_DE-1811-HA_STAWO_1_Urk_Nr_4/2/> [accessed 25 June 2013]; Kühnel, *Crusader Art of the Twelfth Century*, p. 144.

⁷² Gustave Schlumberger, Ferdinand Chalandon, and Adrien Blanchet, *Sigillographie de l'Orient latin*, Bibliothèque de l'Archiv Historique, 37 (Paris: Geuthner, 1943), pp. 73–80; Mayer, *Das Siegelwesen in den Kreuzfahrerstaaten*, pp. 9, 12; Stephen Lamia, 'Souvenir, Synaesthesia, and the Sepulchrum Domini: Sensory Stimuli as Memory Strategems', in *Memory and the Medieval Tomb*, ed. by Elizabeth Valdez del Alamo with Carol Stamatidis Pendergast (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000), pp. 19–41; Klaus-Peter Kirstein, *Die lateinischen Patriarchen von Jerusalem: von der Eroberung der Heiligen Stadt durch die Kreuzfahrer 1099 bis zum Ende der Kreuzfahrerstaaten 1291*, Berliner historische Studien, 35 (Berlin:

Mobile artefacts such as seals and the *stau-rothekai* created by ecclesiastic institutions of the crusader states heightened Mediterranean connectivity and devotion to the Holy Land; they were agents of mobility that drew attention to Jerusalem and to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre through their mere presence and their liturgical use. The popularity of certain attractors could be enhanced by such translocations of sacred place, which helps explain variations in devotional practice observable in the eleventh through thirteenth centuries. Visual constructions of Jerusalem were not only created in the architectural, cartographic, pictorial, and textual fields, and these were not the only ones to evoke the sepulchre and the topography of the holy city. Reliquaries of the *Vera Crux* also transferred sanctity and sacred place from the Levant to the Latin West; they too functioned as mnemonic devices and played a part in regularly calling Jerusalem to mind within Christian society. And all this was due to the institutional networks established in their day by largely forgotten religious agents—the canonical orders of the crusader states.

Duncker & Humblot, 2002), pp. 280–81, 491; Stephen Lamia, 'Erit sepulchrum ejus [...] gloriosum: Verisimilitude and the Tomb of Christ in the Art of Twelfth-Century Île-de-France', in *Art and Architecture of Late Medieval Pilgrimage*, ed. by Blick and Tekippe, pp. 365–81. Likewise, we know that public crusade sermons were often carried out in the supportive presence of such relics: Schwerin, *Die Aufrufe der Päpste*; Cramer, 'Kreuzpredigt und Kreuzzugsgedanke'; Paul B. Pixton, 'Die Anwerbung des Heeres Christi: Prediger des Fünften Kreuzzuges in Deutschland', *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters*, 34 (1978), 166–91; Herbert E. J. Cowdrey, 'The Gregorian Papacy, Byzantium and the First Crusade', in *Byzantium and the West c. 850–c. 1200: Proceedings of the XVIII Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Oxford, 30th March–1st April 1984*, ed. by James D. Howard-Johnston, Byzantinische Forschungen, 13 (Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1988), pp. 145–69; Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades to the Holy Land*; Maier, *Preaching the Crusades*; Maier, *Crusade Propaganda and Ideology*. In general on the presentation of relics during fundraising, see Pierre André Sigal, 'Les voyages de reliques aux XI^e et XII^e siècles', in *Voyage, quête, pèlerinage dans la littérature et la civilisation médiévales* (Aix-en-Provence: C.U.E.R.M.A., 1976), pp. 75–104; and Edina Bozóky, 'Voyages de reliques et démonstration du pouvoir aux temps féodaux', in *Voyages et voyageurs au Moyen Âge: 26^e Congrès de la S.H.M.E.S., Limoges-Aubazine, mai 1995*, Série histoire ancienne et médiévale, 39 (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1996), pp. 267–81. On contemporary criticism of this practice see Reinhold Kaiser, 'Quêtes itinérantes avec des reliques pour financer la construction des églises (XI^e–XII^e siècles)', *Le Moyen Âge*, 101 (1995), 205–25.



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