The Infrastructure and Mechanics of Pilgrimage to the Latin East in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries

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Abstract

This thesis explores the infrastructure and mechanics of Latin Christian pilgrimage to the Holy Land during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Jerusalem was an important religious site for Christians, though it did not gain large-scale popularity among pilgrims until the capture of the city by the crusaders in 1099. Despite the vast and ever expanding quantity of literature on the topic of medieval pilgrimage in Europe and to the Holy Land, the infrastructure and mechanisms for pilgrims has received little attention. This thesis addresses the following core questions: How did pilgrims maintain themselves en route to the Holy Land in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries? How important were pilgrimage infrastructure and mechanisms for pilgrims? How did the infrastructure develop over the course of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries? What impact did the changing political situation over the course of the crusades have on this network? Medieval pilgrim and travel narratives, canon law, cartularies, charters and other legal documents, chronicles, exemplars, hagiography, liturgical texts, and papal records are analysed to answer these questions. The thesis follows the pilgrim's journey to the Holy Land, starting with mechanisms of protection associated with preparations for pilgrimage, continuing on to investigate those who provided infrastructure and mechanisms to pilgrims along the way, before focusing on infrastructure within the Holy Land itself. It demonstrates the scale of the infrastructure, showing the intertwining nature of real world mechanisms of protections with those of a spiritual kind, and how everyone from every level of society could participate and benefit from providing aid to pilgrims. This network is ultimately reflective of concepts such as poverty and charity associated with twelfth-century western Christian spirituality. Indeed, charity was at the heart of pilgrimage infrastructure.

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Author's Declaration

I declare that, except where explicit reference is made to the contribution of others, this thesis is the result of my own work and has not been submitted for any other degree at the University of Glasgow or any other institution.

Signed: Aoife Haberlin

Introduction

'O wondrous Jerusalem, city more beautiful than others, forever desirable...,' so run the opening lines of *Iherusalem Mirabilis*, the liturgical song from the abbey church of Saint-Martial in Limoges in France, celebrating the capture of Jerusalem by the crusaders on 15th July 1099.[1] As a result of the capture of the city, Jerusalem grew into the most important pilgrimage centre for Christians.[2] This thesis examines the social, economic, and religious infrastructure and mechanisms available to Christians to maintain themselves en route to and travelling in the Holy Land during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. In view of the considerable numbers of pilgrims who went to the Holy Land during this period, this thesis is a study of one of medieval Europe's most important cultural exchanges, religious experiences, and economic transactions. Pilgrims could be easily taken advantage of as they passed through places with foreign languages. They could also get lost along the way, fall ill, or struggle with the exhaustion of the journey. The higher volume of pilgrim traffic meant that provision for hospitality and care needed to adapt, and infrastructures needed to develop to provide basic protections and comforts for pilgrims. Of course, a certain amount of suffering was an expected part of penitential pilgrimages, though mechanisms were put in place to guard pilgrims from those with sinister motives, such as robbers and murderers, who lay in wait on the roadsides and in the mountains. Attacks on unarmed pilgrims going to the Holy Land would no doubt have increased in the early twelfth century, as pilgrims passed by more frequently, making them more regular and profitable targets than previously, hence their need for pilgrimage infrastructure and mechanisms to help them on their journey.

What is pilgrimage?

Pilgrimage is a religious or spiritual journey taken for the welfare of the soul, and involves visiting shrines, tombs, and other places associated with important religious figures. For Jews, Christians, and Muslims, it is a journey with the purpose of 'appreciating, experiencing, and conveying' sacred places and being symbolically closer to

[1] M. Cecilia Gaposhkin, 'The echoes of victory: liturgical and para-liturgical commemorations of the capture of Jerusalem in the West,' *Journal of Medieval History*, Vol. 40, No. 3 (2014), pp. 237-59 (pp. 248-9).
[2] Bernard Hamilton, 'The Impact of Crusader Jerusalem on Western Christendom,' *The Catholic Historical Review*, Vol. 80, No. 4 (Oct., 1994), pp. 695-713 (p. 704).

God.[3] Jerusalem is a significant pilgrimage site for Jews, Christians, and Muslims. There are three pilgrimage festivals in the Jewish tradition, the Passover, Weeks and Tents. Before the fall of the Second Temple in Jerusalem in 70 A.D., it was obligatory for Jews in Judah to go on pilgrimage to Jerusalem during pilgrimage festivals. For Muslims, the Hajj pilgrimage to Mecca is one of the Five Pillars of Islam that every Muslim should take once in their life. Pilgrimage to Jerusalem is also important for Muslims as the Dome of the Rock was where Muhammad is said to have ascended into heaven on his 'Night Journey.' Jewish and Muslim pilgrims and travellers will appear in the thesis, though the research it is principally focused on Latin Christians due to the larger number of Christian primary sources available in western Europe.

The first concrete evidence of Christians going on pilgrimages to sites associated with Jesus and other Biblical figures comes from the reign of Emperor Constantine (306-37), though it is possible that such sites were preserved by various groups of pagans, Jews, and early Christians.[4] Constantine's control of Jerusalem and the rediscovery of the Holy Sepulchre, around 325, gave Christian pilgrims a place to worship.[5] The Pilgrim of Bordeaux is the oldest surviving itinerary which dates from 333. Christian pilgrimage was split into two main categories: major or minor pilgrimage. Major pilgrimage involved travelling to sites such as Rome, Compostela, or Jerusalem. Minor pilgrimage was to more local shrines or even lesser shrines on the way to major pilgrimage sites. Interest in pilgrimage to Rome began to grow in the eighth and ninth centuries.[6] Similarly, Compostela became a significant site after the body of Saint James was supposedly found there in the early ninth century.[7] The rise in the popularity of pilgrimage to Jerusalem in the eleventh century came about due to a number of reasons. Monastic reforms, for example, encouraged penitential and devotional acts which included pilgrimage, while the conversion of Hungary to Christianity and the expansion of the Byzantine Empire meant that more of the land route to these shrines was in Christian hands, and therefore was

[3] Palmira Brummett, ed. *The 'Book' of Travels: Genre, Ethnology, and Pilgrimage, 1250-1700* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), p. 2; Simon Coleman and John Elsner, *Pilgrimage: Past and Present in the World Religions* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995), p. 43.
[4] Joan Taylor, *Christians and the Holy Places: The Myth of Jewish-Christian Origins* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), p. 295-6; There had been a Jewish tradition of worshipping at the tombs of patriarchs, prophets, and martyrs in search of miracles and intersession, Colin Morris, *The Sepulchre of Christ and the Medieval West: From the Beginning to1600* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), p. 7.
[5] Morris, *The Sepulchre of Christ*, pp. 19-22.
[6] Diana Webb, *Pilgrims and Pilgrimage in the Medieval West* (London: I. B. Taruris, 2001), p. 11.
[7] Antón M. Pazoz, ed. *Translating the Relics of Saint James: From Jerusalem to Compostela* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2017); For more on Compostela and Rome see: *Unterwegs im Named der Religion II/ On the Road in the Name of Religion II. Wege und Ziele in vergleichender Perspektive – das mittelalterliche Europa und Asien/ Ways and Destinations in Comparative Perspective – Medieval Europe and Asia*, ed. Klaus Herbers and Hans Christian Lehner (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2016), pp. 101- 240.

perceived as safer for pilgrims to traverse.[8] The early twelfth-century chronicler John of Worcester noted that in 1058, Ealdred, having resigned as bishop of Wiltshire, went on pilgrimage to Jerusalem through Hungary, 'a thing that no archbishop or bishop of England is known to have done till then.'[9] Benedictine reforms during this period also saw a rise of interest in pilgrimage to the Holy Land among members of the order, in particular, those from Normandy.[10] This is highlighted by the fact that Benedictine monks ran the hospital of St. Mary of the Latins for pilgrims in Jerusalem from the mid eleventh century onward.[11] The eleventh century also marked the millennium of the death of Jesus and was believed by some to be the end of the world and the Second Coming.[12] The destruction of the Holy Sepulchre by al-Hakim bi-Amr Allah in October 1009 only added to the fear as the tomb was supposed to stand until the end of time.[13] The Burgundian monk Rodulfus Glaber (985-1047) wrote that large numbers of people set out on pilgrimage to the Holy Land from 1026-33 because of the hysteria linked with the approach of millennium of Jesus' death.[14] The Great German Pilgrimage took place shortly after this, between 1064-5, itself linked with the fact that Easter fell on March 27th, the date associated with the resurrection of Jesus.[15] These pilgrims brought back relics from the Holy Land which, in turn, increased interest in the Holy Land and Holy Sepulchre. With the loss of the actual Holy Sepulchre, replicas began to appear in the west. Neuvy-Saint-Sépulchre basilica in France, for example, was founded in 1042 and was designed to be a replica of the Holy Sepulchre, while the monastery of Villeneuve d'Aveyron was dedicated to the Holy Sepulchre after 1053.[16] Of course, these large scale pilgrimages to Jerusalem in the eleventh century, with apocalyptic overtones, were mostly isolated events. As Moshe Gil points out, Latin Christian pilgrims only accounted for a small number of pre-Crusade

[8] Hamilton, 'The Impact of Crusader Jerusalem,' p. 696.
[9] *The Chronicle of John of Worcester The Annals from 450-1066*, ed. R. R. Darlington and P. McGurk, 2 vols (Oxford: Oxford Medieval Texts, 1995), ii, pp. 584-5.
[10] Andrew Jotischky, 'Monastic Reform and the Geography of Christendom: Experience, Observation and Influence,' in *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, Sixth Series,* Vol. XXII, ed. Ian W. Archer (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), pp. 57-74 (p. 62).
[11] William of Tyre, *Willelmi Tyrensis Archiepiscopi, Chronicon*, ed. R. B. C. Huygens, *Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Medievalis, 63-63A* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1986), 18.5, p. 815; James G. Clark, *The Benedictines in the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge, Boydell Press, 2011), pp. 53-4; Bernard Hamilton, *The Latin Church in the Crusader States: The Secular Church* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016), p. 95.
[12] Richard Landes, *Relics, Apocalypse, and the Deceits of History: Ademar of Chabannes, 989-1034* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995), pp. 309-20.
[13] Daniel Callahan, 'Jerusalem in the monastic imagination of the early 11th century,' *Haskins Society Journal*, Vol. 6 (1995), pp. 119-27 (pp. 122-3).
[14] Rodulfus Glaber, *Historiarum Sui Temporis Libri Quinque Ab Electione Potissimum Hugonis Capeti In Regem Ad Annum Usque 1046*, ed. J. P. Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, Vol. 142 (Paris, 1853), 4:6, p. 680; Rodulfus Glaber, *The Five Books of the Histories*, ed. and trans. John France, (Oxford, OMT, 1989), 4:6, pp. 200-5.
[15] Einar Joranson, 'The Great German Pilgrimage 1064-1065,' in *The Crusades and Other Historical Essays Presented to D. C. Munro*, ed. Louis John Paetow (New York, 1928), pp. 3-43 (p. 12).
[16] Morris, *The Sepulchre of Christ*, p. 156, p. 160.

pilgrims.[17] It was not until after the First Crusade (1095-99), when the crusaders took control of territories in the Holy Land, that a regular flow of pilgrims began to go to Jerusalem. It is for this reason that this thesis will focus on the benefits and challenges of protection that faced pilgrims going to Jerusalem over the course of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, as the crusaders gained and lost territories.

Reasons for pilgrimage

Pilgrimage has always been a universal phenomenon, which cut across boundaries and even social norms as anyone anywhere could become a pilgrim.[18] It was a socially inclusive form of devotion which could see people from very different backgrounds travelling together for long distances.[19] Organised mass pilgrimages would no doubt have encouraged people to go on pilgrimage. However, there were several individual and personal motivations for going on pilgrimage, although seeking to cleanse one's sins was the most common reason for going to Jerusalem. Early Christian pilgrimages were for devotional reasons and were often made by those in search of healing miracles at shrines of saints. The penitential element associated with pilgrimage began to emerge in the seventh century, though, as mentioned above, it became more widespread in the eleventh century.[20] Penitential pilgrimages could be forced or voluntary. Forced pilgrimages were a form of punishment for those who committed grave sin such as killing a family member, fornication, incest, and adultery. In 1052, for instance, Sweyn Godwinson was sent barefoot to Jerusalem for killing his cousin Beorn, and died on the return home, while at Osney Abbey in 1203, a man was sentenced to go on pilgrimage to Jerusalem after he was found guilty of committing incest with his sister.[21] The Laws of Cnut from 1020 stated that anyone who killed a minister of the altar was to be outlawed and could only be forgiven if

[17] Moshe Gil, *A History of Palestine 634-1099*, trans. Ethel Broido (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 483.
[18] Victor Turner and Edith Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011), p. xxix, pp. 6-7.
[19] Marcus Bull, 'Pilgrimage,' in *The Oxford Handbook of Medieval Christianity*, ed. John H. Arnold (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), pp. 201-16 (p. 202).
[20] Under influence from the Irish Church, James A. Brundage, *Medieval Canon Law and the Crusader* (London: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1969), p. 7; *Sarah Hamilton, The Practice of Penance: 900-1050* (Suffolk: The Boydell Press, 2001), p. 173.
[21] *The Chronicle of John of Worcester*, ii, pp. 570-1; Webb, *Pilgrims and Pilgrimage*, p. 56; *Die Register Innocenz' III. 6, Volume 6: 1203/1204,* ed. Othmar Hagender, John C. Moore and Andrea Sommerlechner, (Vienna: VÖAW, 1995), No. 2, pp. 5-6.

he went on pilgrimage.[22] In 1171, the four knights who killed Thomas Becket went on pilgrimage to Jerusalem as penance.[23] Pilgrimage was also one of the penances prescribed to penitent heretics.[24]

There were also types of indirect forced pilgrimage. In the thirteenth-century *Orkneyinga Saga*, for example, during a struggle for power over Orkney, Earl Hákon held Earl Magnus (1080-1115) captive. In exchange for his life, Earl Magnus made three offers, one which included going on pilgrimage to Rome or Jerusalem never to return.[25] The risk of death was high for those who went on pilgrimage to the Holy Land, particularly before the twelfth century. Forced pilgrimage, either direct or indirect, could in essence be a death sentence or a dignified exile. An interesting sequence of documents from 1098 concerning Robert de Moncontour and his son Bertrand show that indirectly forced pilgrimage was also a great way of attempting to eliminate bothersome family members. In 1081, Robert had become a monk at the abbey of Saint-Trinity of Vendôme in France and gave all of his lands and possessions to the church, much to the displeasure of his son Bertrand. Robert put forward the idea that if his 'troublesome' son, Bertrand, set out to the Holy Land and returned he would be given 1800 shillings as inheritance.[26] In the subsequent document, Bertrand had received 'divine inspiration' to go to the Holy Land.[27]

Voluntary pilgrimage largely centred on the cleansing of sin and other personal reasons. The improvements made in pilgrimage infrastructure, especially in the area of transport in the twelfth century, allowed for voluntary pilgrimage to Jerusalem to become a viable option. An extreme case of personal guilt appears in 'A Story of Beyond the Sea,' written by Marie de France (1160-1215) sometime after 1187. A count went to the Holy

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[22] If the minister was the murderer, he was to be stripped of his title and sent on pilgrimage, *Councils and Synods with other Documents relating to the English Church*, eds. F. M. Powicke, Athur West Haddan, and C. R. Cheney, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964-81) i, pp. 491-3.
[23] Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, ed., William Stubbs, 4 vols (London: Longman, 1868-71), ii, p. 17; Nicholas Vincent, 'The Murderers of Thomas Becket,' in *Bischofsmord im Mittelalter/ Murder of Bishops*, eds. Natalie Fryde und Dirk Reitz (Göttingen: Vandenhoech & Ruprecht, 2003), pp. 211-272 (p. 262).
[24] Andrew Roach, 'Penance and the Making of the Inquisition in Languedoc,' *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, Vol. 52, No. 3 (July, 2001), pp. 409-33; In 1238, Raymond Roger, a suspected heretic, refused to go on pilgrimage for his suspected crimes, and was subsequently acquitted and not forced to go on pilgrimage, *Les Registres de Grégoire IX: Recueil des Bulles de ce Pape*, ed. Lucien Auvray, 4 vols (Paris: 1896-1955), ii, no. 4295, p. 988; In 1251, a number of Cathars were sent on pilgrimage to the Holy Land as punishment; M. Douais, *Documents pour servir à l'histoire de l'Inquisition*, 2 vols (Paris: Libraire de la Société de L'Histoire de France, 1900), ii, no. 81, p. 159.
[25] Earl Hákon refused this offer, *The Orkneyinga Saga*, ed. Joseph Anderson (Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas, 1873), p. 64.
[26] *Cartulaire de l'Abbaye Cardinal de la Trinité de Vendôme*, ed. C. Metais, 5 vols. (Paris: Libraires des Archives nationales et de la Société de l'École des Chartes, 1894-1905), ii, no. 360, pp. 104-5.
[27] *Cartulaire de l'Abbaye Cardinal*, ii, no. 361, pp. 105-7.

Land as self-imposed penance with his son and his son-in-law because of the growing guilt they all felt for playing a role in the execution of the count's daughter.[28] It was not uncommon for family tradition to play a part in a decision to go on pilgrimage. In September 1070, for example, a cleric named Gislerius was about to set out on pilgrimage to Jerusalem, something his brother Hubert had already done.[29] Another type of family associated pilgrimage came about as people tried to atone for the sins of dead relatives. Indeed, the story of the son of the recently deceased count of Pontoise in France, found among a thirteenth century collection of exemplars, concerns just this. The son asked those who visited the tomb of the sinful and gluttonous count to leave alms for the poor in his father's honour. When the son removed the stone from his father's tomb, he found a horrible toad on his father's neck, a sign of his father's gluttony. At this point the son renounced his inheritance and went on pilgrimage to the Holy Land in an effort to save not only his own soul, but also that of his father.[30]

The eleventh and twelfth centuries saw the rise of interest in affective piety which included *Vita Apostolica* and *Imitatio Christi*. The basic principles of *Vita Apostolica* involved imitating the apostles by focusing on a spiritual life of poverty and penance, showing love for fellow man by travelling and preaching, and living in a community of like minded people.[31] Pilgrims lived out *Vita Apostolica* as they set out as a small community on the physical and spiritual journey to the Holy Land, renounced worldly wealth, and followed in the footsteps of the apostles and Jesus. Of course, the act of forming a religious community outside of the accepted monastic standards and opting for one's own interpretation of the Bible ran the risk of being branded a heretic or dissenter.[32] Since the pilgrimage itself was a temporary act, a deeply individual experience, and a punishment for heresy, it would have been difficult to label it heresy. Early medieval *Imitatio Christi*, imitating Christ, was an attempt to reach spiritual perfection by withdrawing from the secular world, and living a monastic life. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries, however, *Imitatio Christi* shifted from focusing on Christ's divinity to Christ's

[28] Marie de France, 'A Story of Beyond the Sea,' in *Medieval Lays and Legends of Marie de France*, trans. Eugene Mason (New York: Dover Publications, 2003), pp. 163-196 (p. 179).
[29] *Cartulaire de l'Abbaye Cardinal*, i, no. 221, p. 354.
[30] *Liber Exemplorum ad usum Praedicantium Saeculo XII compositus a quodam fratre minore anglico de provincia Hiberniae*, ed. A. G. Little (Aberdeen: Typis Academicis, 1908), p. 92; Alexander Neckam, *De Naturis Rerum et Laudibus Divinae Sapientiae*, ed. Thomas Wright (London: Longman, 1863) Ch. 188, pp. 335-6.
[31] Ernest. W. McDonnell, 'The Vita Apostolica: Diversity or Dissent,' *Church History*, Vol. 24, No. 1 (Mar. 1995), pp. 15-31 (p. 15).
[32] McDonnell, 'The Vita Apostolica,' p. 19; Jerry B. Pierce, *Poverty, Heresy, and the Apocalypse: The Order of the Apostles and Social Change in Medieval Italy 1260-1307* (London: Continuum, 2012), p. 73.

humanity by placing an emphasis on his suffering and stigmata wounds. [33] The depiction of Jesus in human form allowed Christians to have greater compassion for his suffering, and therefore, could seek a superior union with God. [34] Generally, while some examples exist, early medieval accounts of the crucifixion of Jesus lack details of his suffering as they did not aim to provoke an emotional response from the reader.[35] The prominence in the shift to mentally sharing in the pain that Jesus endured is reflected in art from the eleventh century onward, such as the addition of drops of blood to crucifixes.[36] In sum, to imitate Christ or the apostles, Christians were to follow the path of Jesus just as the apostles did, which included personal meditation, suffering and self-sacrifice.[37] The First Crusade in particular presented people with a new opportunity to imitate Christ's suffering and self sacrifice, as the crusaders took up their crosses, like Christ, and risked martyrdom.[38] Interest in personal stigmata also rose in the twelfth century. While this could be attempts to replicate the wounds of Jesus, personal stigmata could also be marks of punishment or poverty.[39] For pilgrims affective piety meant experiencing pain from the hardship of the journey which gave them the chance to imitate the agony experienced by Jesus as they physically visited Jerusalem, the site of his suffering. There was thus a wide range of reasons for going on pilgrimage to the Holy Land, ranging from punishment, individual personal reasons, movements such as *Vita Apostolica* and *Imitatio Christi*, and even political motivations. These motivations ultimately reflect the diversity of those who shared the pilgrim's path to Jerusalem.

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[33] R. W. Southern, *The Making of the Middle Ages* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1953), p. 232; Giles Constable, *Three Studies in Medieval Religious and Social Thought: The Interpretation of Mary and Martha, The Ideal of the Imitation of Christ, The Orders of Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 169, pp. 199-200.

[34] Thomas H. Bestul, *Texts of the Passion: Latin Devotional Literature and Medieval Society* (Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia, 1996), p. 35.

[35] Bestul, *Texts of the Passion*, p. 34; The eighth century Anglo-Saxon poem *Dream of the Rood* depicts Jesus's suffering, Barbara Raw, *Anglo-Saxon Crucifixion Iconography and the Art of the Monastic Revival* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); Christina M. Heckman, 'Imitatio in Early Medieval Spirituality: The Dream of the Rood, Anselm, and Militant Christology,' *Essays in Medieval Studies*, Vol. 22 (2005), pp. 141-53.

[36] Stephen J. Shoemaker, 'Mary at the Cross, East and West: Maternal Compassion and Affective Piety in the Earliest *Life of the Virgin* and the High Middle Ages,' *The Journal of Theological Studies*, Vol. 62, Part 2 (Oct. 2011), pp. 570-606 (p. 571); Gerhard Lutz, 'The Drop of Blood: Image and Piety in the Twelfth and Thirtheenth Centuries,' *Preternature: Critical and Historical Studies on the Preternatural*, Vol. 4, No. 1 (2015), pp. 37-51 (p. 46).

[37] William J. Purkis, *Crusading Spirituality in the Holy Land and Iberia, c. 1095-c. 1187* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2008), p. 22; Bestul, *Texts of the Passion*, p. 35.

[38] William J. Purkis, 'Elite and Popular Perceptions of *Imitatio Christi* in Twelfth-Century Crusade Spirituality,' *Studies in Church History*, Vol. 42 (2006), pp. 54-64 (pp. 54-6). The link between *Imitatio Christi* and the crusader had faded among the elites by the Second Crusade, but remained strong in popular perceptions, pp. 58-9; Stephen J. Spencer, 'Piety, Brotherhood and Power: The Role and Significance of Emotions in Albert of Aachen's *Historia Ierosolimitana*,' *Literature Compass*, Vol. 13, No. 6 (2016), pp. 423-43 (pp. 425-6).

[39] Constable, *Three Studies*, pp. 199-200.

Historiography of Pilgrimage

The topic of medieval pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and various sites in Europe such as Rome and Compostela, has received a great deal of attention from historians.[40] Interest in the study of pilgrimage to Jerusalem has often coincided with the growth of crusade historiography. Critical editions, and sometimes translations, of chronicles and other sources in the eighteenth and nineteenth century concerning the crusades in turn led to translations of Jerusalem pilgrimage narratives. The nineteenth-century *Recueil des historiens des croisades* (1841-1906) contains a collection of crusade sources including Greek, Arabic and Armenian, while the nineteenth-century *Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society* (1886-97) gathered and translated thirty six medieval Christian (Latin and Greek) and Muslim pilgrimage and travel narratives dating from the fourth to fifteenth centuries.[41] These translations allowed for the expansion of scholarly analysis and debate of both the crusades in the early twentieth century as well as a merging of crusade studies with those of pilgrimage.[42] The 1928 *The Crusades and Other Historical Essays*, for example, begins with an essay on the Great German Pilgrimage of 1064-65, before moving on to an essay on the organisation of the First Crusade, thus placing the crusades in the context of pilgrimage.[43] Although crusade historiography continued to grow, a proper study of medieval pilgrimage did not emerge until the later twentieth century with works such as Jonathan Sumption's *Pilgrimage: An Image of Medieval Religion* in 1975.[44] Interest in medieval pilgrimage to the Holy Land slowly emerged with John Wilkinson, Joyce Hill and W. F. Ryan's *Jerusalem Pilgrimage 1099-1185* in 1988 which, following the tradition of the nineteenth-century *Palestine Pilgrim's Text Society*, focused on introducing and

[40] Taylor, Larissa J. et al. eds, *Encyclopedia of Medieval Pilgrimage* (Leiden: Brill, 2010), offers a good starting point for researching medieval pilgrimage in general.
[41] *Recueil des historiens des croisades* (Paris, 1841-1906); *Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society* (London, 1886-97).
[42] René Grousset, *L'Histoire des croisades et du royaume franc de Jérusalem est un livre d'histoire*, 3 vols (Paris: Libraire Plon, 1934-6); Steven Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1951-4); Jean Richard, *Le royaume latin de Jérusalem* (Paris, 1953).
[43] Joranson, 'The Great German Pilgrimage,' pp. 3-43; Frederic Duncalf, 'The Pope's Plan for the First Crusade,' in *The Crusades and Other Historical Essays Presented to D. C. Munro*, ed. Louis John Paetow (New York, 1928), pp. 44-56.
[44] Paul Alphandéry and Alphonse Dupront, *La Chrétienté et l'idée de Croisade. Les Premières Croisades; Recommencements Nécessaires (XIIe-XIIIe Siècle)* 2 vols (Paris: Éditions Albin Michel, 1954-1959); Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading* (London: Continuum, 2003 (1986)); Christopher Tyerman, England and the Crusades 1095-1588 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988); Jonathan Riley-Smith, ed., *The Oxford History of the Crusades* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999); Jonathan Sumption, *The Age of Pilgrimage: The Medieval Journey to God* (Mahwah: Hidden Spring, 2003), the original version was called *Pilgrimage: An Image of Medieval Religion* (London: Rowman and Littlefield, 1975).

translating nineteen pilgrim texts concerning the Holy Land, adding a brief overview of the pilgrimage sites there.[45]

It was not until the end of the twentieth and the beginning of the twenty-first century that the historiography of medieval pilgrimage in Europe and in the Holy Land began to expand substantially.[46] Part of this expansion included a rise of interest in the study of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem itself, the most significant pilgrimage site for Christian pilgrims.[47] In more recent years, the cultural encounters of the crusaders with the Byzantine, Muslim, and even Mongol worlds has received increasing attention, paralleling the rise in the study of pilgrims' encounters with these worlds, but also the concept of shared sites among pilgrims of other faiths.[48] Jerusalem was a site shared by Christian, Muslim, and Jewish pilgrims, though each had a separate focal point of worship within the city, as mentioned above. There were, however, other pilgrimage sites such as that of Our Lady of Saidnaya Monastery in Syria that developed into a shared Christian and Muslim

[45] *Jerusalem Pilgrimage 1099-1185*, ed. J. Wilkinson, J. Hill and W. F. Ryan (London: Hakluyt Society, 1988).

[46] Aryeh Graboïs, *Le pèlerin occidental en Terre sainte au Moyen Âge* (Paris: De Boeck University, 1998); Nicole Chareyron, *Les Pèlerins de Jérusalem au moyen âge: l'aventure du Saint Voyage d'après journaux et mémoires* (Paris, 2000)/ Nicole Chareyron, *Pilgrims to Jerusalem in the Middle Ages*, trans. W. Donald Wilson (New York Columbia University Press, 2005); Debra J. Birch, *Pilgrimage to Rome in the Middle Ages: Continuity and Change* (Woodbridge, The Boydell Press, 2000); Sarah Hopper, *To Be a Pilgrim: The Medieval Pilgrimage Experience* (Sutton, 2002), Webb, *Pilgrims and Pilgrimage*; Diana Webb, *Medieval European Pilgrimage c. 700-c. 1500* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002); Marcus Bull, 'Pilgrimage,' in *The Oxford Handbook of Medieval Christianity*, ed. John H. Arnold (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), pp 201-16 (202); For theoretical aspects of pilgrimage see: Turner and Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage*; For modern pilgrimage see: John Eade and Michael J. Sallnow, eds., *Contesting the Sacred: The Anthropology of Christian Pilgrimage* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2000 (1991)); Simon Coleman, 'Pilgrimage as Trope for an Anthropology of Christianity,' *Current Anthropology*, Vol. 55, No. 10 (Dec. 2014), pp. 281-291.

[47] Martin Biddle, *The Tomb of Christ* (Thrupp: Sutton Publishing, 1999); Colin Morris, *The Sepulchre of Christ and the Medieval West: From the Beginning to1600* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005).

[48] A. Davids, 'Routes of Pilgrimage,' in *East and West in the Crusader States: Context Contacts-Confrontations*, eds. K. Ciggaar, A. Davids and H. Teule (Leuven: Uitgeverij Peters, 1996), pp. 81-101; Carole Hillenbrand, *The Crusades: Islamic Perspectives* (New York: Routledge, 2000); Albrecht Classen, ed., *Meeting the Foreign in the Middle Ages* (New York: Routledge, 2002); Andrew Jotischky, 'Ethnographic Attitudes in the Crusader States: The Franks and the Indigenous Orthodox People,' in *East and West in the Crusader States: Context Contacts-Confrontations*, III, eds. K. Ciggaar, and H. Teule (Leuven: Uitgeverij Peters, 2003), pp. 1-19; Jonathan Harris and Catherine Holmes, eds., *Byzantines, Latins and Turks in the Eastern Mediterranean World after 1150* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012); Norman Housley, 'The Crusades and Islam,' *Medieval Encounter*, Vol. 13 (2007), pp. 189-208; Christopher MacEvitt, *The Crusades and the Christian World of the East: Rough Tolerance* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008); John Victor Tolan, *Sons of Ismael: Muslims through the European Eyes in the Middle Ages* (Gainesville: University of Florida, 2008); Sophia Menache, 'When Jesus met Mohammed in the Holy Land: Attitudes toward the 'Other' in the Crusader kingdom,' *Medieval Encounters*, 15 (2009), pp. 66-85; Jacob Lassner, *Jews, Christians, and the Abode of Islam: Modern Scholarship, Medieval Realities* (Chicago: Chicago Scholarship, 2012); Kurt Villads Jensen, Kirsi Salonen, Helle Vogt, *Cultural Encounters During the Crusades* (Odense: University Press of South Denmark, 2013); Paul Cobb, *The Race for Paradise: An Islamic History of the Crusades* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014); *Jerusalem, 1000-1400: Every People Under Heaven*, eds. Barbara Drake Boehm and Melanie Holcomb (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2016).

pilgrimage site.[49] While some of the pilgrims that will appear in the subsequent chapters reported sharing sites with pilgrims of other faiths, this aspect of pilgrimage must remain beyond the scope of this current study.[50]

Despite the more recent rise in pilgrimage historiography, there are still areas of pilgrimage that require further examination. Sumption's study covers the basics of pilgrimage such as motivations for pilgrimage, saints' cults, preparation for pilgrimage, and the dangers of the journey.[51] Diana Webb has covered pilgrimage in a similar fashion, though focusing almost exclusively on Europe.[52] Both authors, however, pay little attention to Jerusalem, preferring Rome as their case study. Sumption's short discussion of the pilgrimage experience in Jerusalem mostly concerns the later medieval period, although eleventh-century Jerusalem makes a brief appearance as he considers the impact of the First Crusade on pilgrimage to the Holy Land.[53] On the whole, Webb concentrates on the later middle ages.[54] This is in part due to the nature of the sources. Later medieval pilgrimage narratives tend to be more personalised that those of the twelfth or thirteenth century or before, hence have the potential to provide more personal detail of a particular pilgrim. This, nevertheless, does not mean that earlier narratives are void of use, as will be discussed below. Debra J. Birch's *Pilgrimage to Rome in the Middle Ages: Continuity and Change* similarly focuses on Rome, though like Sumption, she briefly considers the Jerusalem pilgrimage in the context of the First Crusade. She also highlights the important point that pilgrimage to Rome depended on the popularity of pilgrimage to Jerusalem.[55] During times of uncertainty in the Holy Land and indeed with the loss of Jerusalem in 1187 and eventually Acre in 1291, Rome received an influx of pilgrims. The study of pilgrimage to Compostela has gained popularity in recent years, possibly surpassing that of Rome.[56] The relationship between Compostela and Jerusalem has also been well covered,

[49] The healing oils obtained at the site were a major attraction to pilgrims, Benjamin Z. Kedar, 'Convergences of Oriental Christian, Muslim, and Frankish Worshippers: the Case of Saydnaya,' in *De Sion exibit lex et verbum domini de Hierusalem: Essays on Medieval Law, Liturgy, and Literature in Honour of Amnon Linder*, ed. Yitzhak Hen (Turnhout: Brepols, 2001), pp. 59-69.
[50] Franciscan friar Symon Semeonis noted that Christians and Muslims worshipped at the village of *Materia* north of Cairo, where the Mary, Jesus, and Joseph supposedly rested after their flight into Egypt, *Itinerarium Symonis Semeonis Ab Hybernia Ad Terram Sanctam*, ed. Mario Esposito, Vol. IV (Dundalk: Dundalgan Press Ltd, 2010), pp. 81-2.
[51] Sumption, *The Age of Pilgrimage*.
[52] Webb, *Pilgrims and Pilgrimage*; Webb, *Medieval European Pilgrimage*.
[53] Sumption, *The Age of Pilgrimage*, pp. 194-5, pp. 258-9.
[54] Webb, *Medieval European Pilgrimage*, pp. 44-77.
[55] Birch, *Pilgrimage to Rome*, p. 164; p. 205.
[56] Maryjane Dunn and Linda Kay Davidson, eds., *The Pilgrimage to Compostela in the Middle Ages: A Book of Essays* (New York: Routledge, 2000), this collection of essays addresses the cult of saints in northern Spain and Compostela's relationship with nearby shrines; Kathleen Ashley and Marilyn Deegan, *Being a Pilgrim: Art and Ritual on the Medieval Routes to Santiago* (Farnham: Lund Humphries, 2009).

given that the St. James' body came from the Holy Land, as well as the role of Spanish crusaders in the Holy Land.[57] Despite the wealth of literature on medieval pilgrimage, there still remained something of a gap concerning later twelfth and thirteenth century Jerusalem pilgrimage, though this has been addressed by Elizabeth Mylod in her thesis 'Latin Christian Pilgrimage in the Holy Land, 1187-1291.'[58] Prior to this, there have been two main studies on pilgrimage in the Holy Land during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, that of John Wilkinson *Jerusalem Pilgrimage 1099-1185* and Denys Pringle *Pilgrimage to Jerusalem and the Holy Land, 1187-1291*.[59] Both follow a similar format to the *Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society*, providing translations of pilgrimage narratives preceded by a brief contextualisation of the situation in the Holy Land. Outside of these works, as is the case with pilgrimage to Rome, studies in general are inclined towards early or late medieval pilgrimage.[60] While it is not the aim of this thesis to present a comprehensive study of twelfth and thirteenth century pilgrimage to the Holy Land, there will inevitably be some overlap with other studies. The primary focus will be the maintenance of pilgrims, the infrastructure and mechanisms that were put in place to allow pilgrims to complete their journey, as this had been the material which has been most revealing about the circumstances of pilgrims: it also convinced me of the necessity of looking at studies outside of pilgrimage literature itself, such as archaeological, medieval medical, and medieval maritime studies.

The topic of the infrastructure used to protect pilgrims has been briefly addressed, though as seen above, the literature has tended towards effort to protect those going to Rome, although Mylod includes a short overview of the dangers and efforts to protect pilgrims in the Holy Land in the thirteenth century.[61] The protection of pilgrims in the Holy Land appears consistently, though briefly, in other works relating to the military orders such as the Knights Templar and the Knights Hospitaller. The efforts of the Templars to protect pilgrims in the Holy Land are, for the most part, often quickly passed over or briefly summarised in association with the origins of the Order.[62] Denys Pringle

[57] Pazoz, ed. *Translating the Relics of Saint James*.
[58] Elizabeth J. Mylod, 'Latin Christian Pilgrimage in the Holy Land, 1187-1291' (University of Leeds, 2013).
[59] *Jerusalem Pilgrimage 1099-1185*; Denys Pringle, *Pilgrimage to Jerusalem and the Holy Land, 1187-1291, Crusade Texts in Translation* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012).
[60] Nicole Chareyron, *Pilgrims to Jerusalem*; Graboïs, *Le pèlerin occidental en Terre sainte*.
[61] Brundage, *Medieval Canon Law*, pp. 12-3; Birch, *Pilgrimage to Rome in the Middle Ages*, pp. 79-88; Mylod, 'Latin Christian Pilgrimage,' pp. 55-68.
[62] Malcolm Barber, *The New Knighthood: A History of the Order of the Temple* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 88; Adrian J. Boas, *Archaeology of the Military orders: A Survey of the Urban centres, rural settlements and castles of the Military orders in the Latin East* (c. 1120-1291) (Abingdon, Routledge, 2006), pp. 102-3; Helen Nicholson, *The Knights Templar: A Brief History of the Warrior Order*

has looked at the archaeology of Templar towers on the road from Jaffa to Jerusalem and on to the River Jordan, a place of high importance for Christian pilgrims, and their role in defending pilgrims going there.[63] He mixes this evidence with pilgrim narratives, such as that of the German pilgrim Theoderich, who went to the Holy Land around 1169, to provide a snap shot of the Templars' endeavours to protect pilgrims. Adrian Boas has produced a survey of the forts of the military orders in the Holy Land and their role in the defence of the Holy Land.[64] The archaeology of the military orders fits into a wealth of archaeological studies of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in the Holy Land. Pringle, for example, has also produced a number of other archaeological studies, covering crusader churches and pilgrimage sites, while others have examined the importance and positioning of crusader castles in the Holy Land.[65] This thesis will look at archaeological evidence presented in these studies to examine the road from Jaffa to Jerusalem, as inspected by Pringle, but to also complete the pilgrim journey by investigating the archaeology of the fortresses belonging to the Templars and Hospitallers on and near the road from Acre to Jaffa which joined up with the road from Jaffa to Jerusalem, the road most travelled by pilgrims to get to Jerusalem.

Hospitals were a major part of pilgrimage infrastructure. The medical practices of the Hospitallers have been thoroughly examined, most recently by Susan Edgington and Anthony Luttrell, which by default covers part of Hospitallers' role in caring for pilgrims since pilgrims were among their patients.[66] Such studies are part of the wider scholarship

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(London, 2010), pp. 33-4; Helen Nicholson, 'Charity and Hospitality in Military Orders,' in *As Ordens Militares. Freires, Guerreiros, Cavaleiros. Actas do VI Encontro sobre Ordens Militares*, ed. Isabel Cristina Ferreira Fernandes, Vol. 1 (Palmela: GEsOS/ Município de Palmela, 2012), pp. 193-206; Mathias Piana and Christer Carlsson, eds., *Archaeology and Architecture of the Military orders, New Studies* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2014) contains no discussion of pilgrims and the military orders at all; Webb, *Medieval European Pilgrimage*, pp. 22-3, p. 85, quickly references the military orders and pilgrimage to Jerusalem during the crusading period.

[63] Denys Pringle, 'Templar Castles on the Road to the Jordan,' in *The Military Orders: Fighting for the Faith and Caring for the Sick*, ed. Malcolm Barber (Aldershot: Variorum, 1994), pp. 148-166; Denys Pringle, 'Templar Castles between Jaffa and Jerusalem,' in *The Military Orders,Vol. 2. Welfare and Warfare*, ed. Helen Nicholson (Ashgate: Aldershot, 1998), pp. 89-109.

[64] Boas, *Archaeology of the Military Orders*.

[65] Adrian J. Boas, *Crusader Archaeology: The Material Culture of the Latin East* (Abingdon: Routledge, 1999); Ronnie Ellenblum, *Crusader Castles and Modern Histories* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007); M. Ehrlich, 'Crusaders' castles- the fourth generation: reflections on Frankish castle building policy during the 13th century,' *The Journal of Medieval History*, Vol. 29, no. 2 (2003), pp. 85-93; Hugh Kennedy, *Crusader Castles* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); Denys Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem: A Corpus*, 4 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993-2009).

[66] Susan B. Edgington, 'Administrative Regulations for the Hospital of St John in Jerusalem dating from the 1180s' in *Crusades*, Volume 4, eds. Benjamin Kedar et al, (Farnham: Ashgate, 2005), pp. 21-37; Susan B. Edgington, 'Oriental and Occidental Medicine in the Crusader States,' in *The Crusades and the Near East*, ed. Conor Kostick (Abingdon: Routledge, 2011), pp. 189-215; Anthony Luttrell, 'The Hospitallers' Medical Tradition: 1291-1530,' in *The Military Orders Volume 1: Fighting for the Faith and Caring for the Sick*, ed. Malcolm Barber (London: Routledge, 2016), pp. 64-8.

on medieval medicine and hospitals in the Holy Land.[67] Studies of the Orders' charitable acts towards pilgrims tend to focus mostly on western Europe, particularly in the case of the Templars, most likely due to the availability of sources.[68] This thesis will therefore, take a closer look at the mechanisms used by both Orders to physically protect pilgrims on the road, as well as a more in depth look at the charitable deeds of the Templars in the Holy Land. Building on the studies of how Hospitaller hospitals operated, it will also investigate other hospitals, particularly in the city of Acre.

Many pilgrims sailed to the Holy Land and the crusades allowed maritime trade between Mediterranean countries and the Holy Land to increase. Though there have been a number of extensive studies on the development of ships and sea travel during this period, such as those by David Abulafia and John Pryor in particular, these mention pilgrims in passing, if at all.[69] Their apparent absence is interesting as documents from thirteenth-century Marseilles, for example, show that pilgrims were a popular and profitable commodity.[70] David Jacoby has provided an excellent study on the role of the Hospitaller ships, particularly in the thirteenth century which addresses their and the Templars' involvement in the shipping of pilgrims to the Holy Land and their consequent conflicts with merchants from Marseilles and Italian cities.[71] The important role of sea trade and travel as part of the pilgrimage infrastructure has thus far been underestimated by scholars and some attempt to rebalance this will be made.

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[67] Monique Amouroux, 'Colonization and the creation of hospitals: The eastern extension of western hospitality in the eleventh and twelfth centuries,' *Mediterranean Historical Review*, vol. 14, no. 1 (1999), pp. 31-43; Peregrine Horden, 'The Earliest Hospitals in Byzantium, Western Europe, and Islam,' *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, Vol. 35, No. 3, *Poverty and Charity: Judaism, Christianity, and Islam* (Winter, 2005), pp. 361-89; Piers D. Mitchell, *Medicine in the Crusades: Warfare, Wounds and the Medieval Surgeon* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

[68] Alan J. Forey, 'The Charitable Activities of the Templars,' *Viator*, Vol. 34 (2003), pp.109-141; Malcolm Barber, 'The Charitable and Medical activities of the Hospitallers and Templars' in *A History of Pastoral Care*, ed. G. R. Evans (London: Cassell, 2000), pp. 48-68.

[69] David Abulafia, *The Great Sea: A Human History of the Mediterranean* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011); David Abulafia, *Mediterranean Encounters, Economics, Religious, Political, 1100-1550* (Ashgate: Aldershot, 2000); John H. Pryor, Geography, *Technology, and War: Studies in the maritime history of the Mediterranean 649-1571* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992) discusses the increase in ship capacity to carry pilgrims, pp. 20-2; John H. Pryor, 'A Medieval Siege of Troy: The Fight to the Death at Acre, 1189-1191 or The Tears of Ṣalāḥ al- Dīn,' in *The Medieval Way of War: Studies in MedievalMilitary History in Honour of Bernard S. Bachrach*, ed. Gregory I. Halfond (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015), pp. 97-115.

[70] *Documents Inédits sur le Commerce de Marseille au Moyen Age*, ed. Louis Blancard, 2 vols (Marseille, 1884-5); J. M Pardessused, 'The Statutes of Marseilles of 1253-55,' in *Collection de Lois Maritimes antérieures au XVIIIe siècle*, 6 vols (Paris: 1828-45).

[71] David Jacoby, 'Hospitaller Ships and Transportation across the Mediterranean,' in *Travellers, Merchants and Settlers in the Eastern Mediterranean, 11th-14th Centuries* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014), pp. 57-72.

Approaches

In this thesis, the term 'crusades' or 'crusading period' will refer to the crusades in the Holy Land between 1095-1291. When dealing with the Holy Land during this period, it can be difficult to distinguish between a pilgrim and a crusader. Indeed, it is difficult to know if pilgrims and crusaders saw a clear distinction between themselves. Christopher Tyerman has argued that one can be made based on the fact that a crusader needed far more money than a pilgrim, and that by 1200 Pope Innocent III stated that the poor should not take part in crusades.[72] In contrast, pilgrims were encouraged to travel in poverty.[73] Of course, the fact that poor, would-be crusaders were discouraged and that pilgrims were encouraged to be poor suggest that there were poor crusaders and wealthy pilgrims. Further confusion can arise as both travelled to the Holy Land and visited and worshiped at the same shrines. Robert the Monk's account of the First Crusade, written between 1107-20, suggests that there was something of a distinction in terms of how others saw crusaders and pilgrims. The ambassador of Babylon was sent by the Prince of Babylon in February 1098 to address concerns about crusaders who sought the Holy Sepulchre 'at swordpoint, something pilgrims should not do.'[74] The ambassador said that if they continued on their journey carrying 'staff and scrip,' they would be unmolested and given charity and protection. However, if they continued on as armed men, it would be deemed as an attack on the 'King of Persia.' For the purposes of this thesis, the term 'pilgrim' will refer to those who were unarmed on their journey, and consequently, unable to defend themselves. Of course, the crusaders themselves often went unarmed to sacred sites such as the Jordan, thus becoming unarmed pilgrims.[75] Occasional evidence will be taken from crusaders given that they shared the same path as pilgrims, but attention will be drawn to the fact that they were crusaders.

The following chapters are set out to reflect the pilgrimage's journey itself. Chapter 1 will begin with preparation for pilgrimage, while the final chapter will finish in

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[72] Christopher Tyerman, *How to Plan a Crusade: Reason and Religious War in the High Middle Ages* (St Ives: Penguin, 2015), p. 151; *Innocentii III Romani Pontificis Opera Omnia*, ed. J. P. Migne, *Patrologia Latina* (Paris, 1855), vol. 216, col. 1261, p. 159.

[73] Debra J. Birch, 'Jacques de Vitry and the Ideology of Pilgrimage,' in *Pilgrimage Explored*, ed. Jennie Stopford (Woodbridge: York Medieval Press, 1999), pp. 79-94 (pp. 81-4).

[74] *Robert the Monk's History of the First Crusade: Historia Iherosolimitana*, trans. Carol Sweetenham (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), 5:1, p. 137; Robert the Monk, Historia Iherosolimitana, in Recueil des Historiens des Croisades. Historiens Occidentaux, 5 vols (Paris: 1844-95), iii, pp. 717-882 (5:1, p. 791-2).

[75] After the Easter ceremonies in 1119, seven hundred crusaders left the Holy Sepulchre and went to the river Jordan unarmed, Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, *History of the Journey to Jerusalem*, ed. and trans. Susan B. Edgington (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2007), 12:33, p. 881.

Jerusalem, the main goal of the pilgrimage. Each chapter will deal with a separate part of the journey, and hence the different dangers and efforts to counter them. Accordingly, each will be thematic, but also contain a chronological dimension to examine the development of particular types of infrastructure or mechanism. A particular objective of my research is to highlight the increasing need to protect pilgrims and to improve infrastructure to aid them on their journey to the Holy Land during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and in so doing, to demonstrate the extent of pilgrimage to the Holy Land during this period. Pilgrims were not entities passing by unnoticed, but were part of a larger framework in which anyone, rich or poor, pilgrims themselves, and even the divine and saintly participated. The following principal research questions will be asked: How did pilgrims maintain themselves en route to the Holy Land in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries? How important were such infrastructure and mechanisms to pilgrims? How did the infrastructure develop over the course of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries? What impact did the changing political situation over the course of the crusades have on this network? It is important to ask these core questions as they give insight into the extent to which the system operated.

As each chapter will investigate different aspects of the pilgrimage infrastructure or mechanisms, there will consequently be additional questions unique to each chapter. Chapter 1 centres on preparations for pilgrimage. The first part examining efforts pilgrims made to protect their property and settle other legal matters before they set out to the Holy Land, raises the main question in this section: who could realistically afford to go on pilgrimage to the Holy Land? This section will mostly draw on legal material such as grants, wills and testaments, and commercial documents, though some chronicles, canon law, hagiography and pilgrim narratives will be consulted, but to a lesser extent. The second part of Chapter 1 will look at the steps that pilgrims took to protect themselves spiritually, such as taking part in the pilgrim blessing ceremony, which involved taking the staff and scrip, and how pilgrims gained the favour of saints to protect them on the road ahead. As might be expected, this part of the chapter will rely heavily on hagiography and liturgical evidence for pilgrim blessings.

Once pilgrims left their home, they faced multiple dangers on their journey to the Holy Land such as murder, robbery, illness, fatigue, and passing through lands affected by political unrest. Chapter 2 marks the beginning of the pilgrim's physical journey to the Holy Land. It will analyse the methods of transport used and the types of infrastructure and

mechanisms available for those travelling by road and by sea. The main questions will be centred on the logistics of each method, such as how far a pilgrim could walk in a day, and the advantages and disadvantages of travelling by sea. This chapter will seek to answer an important question: why did people make efforts to protect pilgrims? A mix of sources will be used in this chapter also, predominately pilgrim and travel narratives, as well as canon and civil laws, cartularies, maps and shipping documents in the main, but there will also be contributions from hagiography, exemplars, and archaeology. Chapter 3 discusses the infrastructure available to pilgrims as they arrived in the Holy Land. The main focus will be the city of Acre and how its hospitals developed to care for pilgrims, particularly in the thirteenth century. It accordingly draws principally on cartularies and archaeology of key sites relating to the Knights Hospitallers and other hospitals in Acre, such as that of the Order of Lazarus and the Breton Hospital. As in the first chapter, the emphasis will be on the mutual nature of practical and spiritual protection in so far as hospitals physically and spiritually cared for pilgrims.

Chapter 4 concerns the pilgrim's journey out into the Holy Land. The need for strong pilgrimage infrastructure reached its height as they left the safety of city walls. Chapter 4 will question the practical uses of pilgrim narratives and maps of the Holy Land and investigate how pilgrims could once again take responsibility for their own protection by tackling the issue of the language barrier. Building on findings in the second chapter, cartularies and statutes relating to the Knights Templar will be examined, as well as the archaeology of forts and towers belonging to the military orders on the main routes to Jerusalem and their role in protecting pilgrims. The final chapter will be based on Jerusalem and the River Jordan. This will mark the end of the pilgrims' spiritual journey and look at the Easter ceremonies in Jerusalem. It will ultimately combine aspects from previous chapters by looking at hospitals in Jerusalem and the role of the military orders in the protection of pilgrims in both Jerusalem and the road to the River Jordan.

Evidence: Opportunities and Problems

As noted above, this thesis draws on a diversity of source types to gain a better understanding of how pilgrims were protected including canon law, cartularies, charters and other legal documents, chronicles and annals, exemplars and moral stories, hagiography, liturgical texts and dramas, papal records, sagas and histories, and finally, pilgrim and travel narratives. For the most part these sources are of Latin Christian origin,

though occasional references will be made to Jewish and Muslim sources, particularly those pilgrim and travel narratives which follow a similar path as Christian pilgrims, but offer more detail than their Christian counterparts. Archaeological sources will also be consulted, along with manuscript art and other objects to a lesser extent.

Each source type presents its own opportunities and problems. Some problems can be combated by utilising different kinds of evidence to complement each other or fill in gaps. Of course, issues can arise when individual pieces of evidence contradict one another, though this was rarely seen over the course of this research. Christian pilgrimage narratives began to emerge in the fourth century as Christian pilgrims attempted to link Biblical places and events to the physical landscape they saw. Paul Zumthor and Catherine Peebles point out that until the thirteenth century, pilgrimage narratives were considered separate from non pilgrimage travel narratives and it is with the former genre that my work will primarily concern itself.[76] There are two main types of pilgrimage narratives; first-hand narratives by those who travelled to the Holy Land themselves and second hand descriptions of pilgrimage by others who edited the original pilgrimage accounts.[77] Pilgrimage narratives came in the form of pilgrimage itineraries or pilgrimage accounts. Itineraries consisted of short notices about sites and their significance, while pilgrim accounts tended to be longer, more descriptive and more personal, usually making them more reliable than itineraries.[78] Both present the opportunity to see the pilgrimage experience through the eyes of the pilgrim. This would obviously be highly valuable in pin pointing areas of difficulty and dangers on the journey, and therefore where pilgrims needed effective infrastructure to provide aid and protection. The pilgrim Theoderich who went to the Holy Land around 1169, for example, speaks extensively about the military orders and their efforts to protect pilgrims as well as threats he faced on his journey.[79]

There are a number of problems with the pilgrimage narrative genre. Pilgrim accounts and itineraries can provide a range of interesting and useful information, such as distances between cities and other landmarks, and cisterns and wells, which allowed a pilgrim to prepare the correct provisions for the journey ahead. Indeed, the author of the

[76] Paul Zumthor and Catherine Peebles, 'The Medieval Travel Narrative,' *New Literary History*, Vol. 25, No. 4, 25th Anniversary Issue (Part 2) (Autumn, 1994), pp. 809-824 (p. 810).
[77] Ayelet Oettinger, 'Making the Myth Real: The Genre of Hebrew Itineraries to the Holy Land in the 12th-13th Century,' *Folklore: Electronic Journal of Folklore*, Issue 36 (2007), pp. 41-66 (p. 46).
[78] Mylod, 'Latin Christian Pilgrimage,' p. 25; p. 49
[79] Theoderich, 'Libellus de locis sanctis,' in *Peregrinationes Tres: Saewulf, John of Würzburg, Theodericus*, Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis, ed. R. B. C. Huygens, 139 (Turnholt: Brepols, 1994), pp. 742-798 (pp. 175-7).

Pilgrim's Guide to Compostela, dating from 1140, declared that he listed the stages along the road so that pilgrims could plan their journey and estimate their expenses before they set out.[80] However, pilgrimage guides were not always accurate, truthful, or original. Some were not written by the pilgrims themselves. The ninth-century pilgrimage narrative of Willibald was written by a nun from the abbey of Heidenheim in Germany as he recounted his journey to her.[81] This leaves such narratives open to inaccuracies or embellishments by the writer, along with the pilgrim's potential to have a hazy memory about a particular event of the journey. In the case of the seventh-century narrative of the pilgrim Arculf, the author Adamnán claimed and reassured the reader that his text was faithful to what Arculf had dictated to him.[82] Adamnán mentioned that he was trying to avoid overlap and the repetition of information that appeared in other narratives concerning the Holy Land, perhaps in an effort to highlight the uniqueness of Arculf's journey.[83] This also shows that Adamnán was familiar with other works on the topic. Thomas O' Loughlin identified seventeen sources used by Adamnán to create the narrative, with the possibility of five other sources.[84] David Woods has questioned if Adamnán ever truly met Arculf or if Arculf even existed.[85] This would mean that the name 'Arculf' was used as a supposed eyewitness to legitimise Adamnán's own narrative rather than being a true description of Arculf's pilgrimage.[86] This problem is lessened in narratives written by the pilgrims themselves, as is more common in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, though issues persist.

The act of remaining anonymous was recurrent in medieval writing and was mostly done for stylistic reasons. This followed through in some pilgrimage narratives, particularly early medieval Christian narratives, which can make it difficult to ascertain the writer's or pilgrim's background. It is known that the *The Hodaeporicon of Saint Willibald*

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[80] *Liber Sancti Jacobi, Codex Calixtinus*, 3 vols, ed. Walter Muir Whitehill (Compostela, 1944), i, 5.3, p. 352.
[81] *Vita Willibaldi Episcopi Eichstetenis*, ed. O. Holder-Egger, in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptorum*, Vol. 15, part 1 (Hannover, 1887), pp. 86-106.
[82] Adamnán, *Arculfi Relatio de Locis Sanctis*, in *Itinera Hierosolymitana et Descriptiones Terrae Sanctae Bellis Sacris Anteriora et Latina Lingua Exarata Sumptibus Societatis Illustrandis Orientis Latini Monumentis*, eds. Titus Tobler and Augustus Molinier (Geneva, 1879), pp. 139-202 (Book 1, p. 143, Book 2, p. 169).
[83] Adamnán, *Arculfi Relatio de Locis Sanctis*, Book 1, p. 143, p. 156.
[84] Thomas O' Loughlin, 'The library of Iona in the late seventh century: the evidence from Adomnán's *De locis sanctis*,' *Ériu*, vol. 45 (1994), pp 33-52; Thomas O' Loughlin, 'Adomnán's *De locis sanctis*: a textual emendation and an additional source identification,' *Ériu*, Vol. 48 (1997), pp. 37-40.
[85] David Woods, 'Arculf's Luggage: The Sources for Adomnán's "De locis Sanctis," *Ériu*, Vol. 52 (2002), pp. 25-52 (p. 50).
[86] Thomas O' Loughlin, 'Adomnán and Arculf: the case of an expert witness,' *Journal of Medieval Latin*, Vol. 7 (1997), pp. 127-46.

was written by a nun named Hygeburg though her name is absent from the account.[87] In reality, there were a number of authors in any medieval writing ranging from the scribe himself, his sources, and future revisionists, translators, and compilers.[88] As such, by remaining anonymous, the writer allowed his work to be shared on a public and impersonal level with ease.[89] The absent author served another purpose in the case of the pilgrimage narrative. It helped to create a sense that there was nothing greater than the Holy Land within the texts in order to maximise the impact on those partaking in an imagined or meditative pilgrimage. The unknown, sometimes silent, author allowed readers to slot themselves into the itinerary effortlessly, making it their own personal journey rather than that of the original author. It should be noted that the majority of evidence taken from pilgrimage guides in this thesis comes from guides written by authors who made themselves known, at the very least, by name, such as Theoderich mentioned above.

A major issue with pilgrimage narratives is that authors sometimes drew on narratives written by others, blending them with their own experiences. Repeated copying has led to works that are of unknown or uncertain authorship.[90] This obviously raises a serious question regarding the trustworthiness of pilgrimage guides, particularly in cases where it is not clear if the author actually travelled to the Holy Land or not and how much of their writing is based on their own personal experiences. The pilgrim Theoderich and his contemporary John of Würzburg borrowed from earlier pilgrimage works.[91] Nevertheless, this type of copying or repetition of material was standard practice and was not seen as plagiarism. First of all, repetition was an inherent part of how history was recorded in the oral tradition and remained a component of the written tradition.[92] Secondly, copying the words of others was seen as a way to honour those deemed to be superior authors; it also added a sense of humility to the present writer, while showing he was well read and competent in choosing the correct and worthy sources.[93] Anonymous repetition did not necessarily mean that a writer was lazy or falsifying information. By copying from other

[87] *Vita Willibaldi Episcopi Eichstetenis*, pp. 86-106.
[88] Anthony Bale, 'From Translator to Laureate: Imagining the Medieval Author,' *Literature Compass*, Vol. 5, No. 5 (2008), pp. 918-34 (p. 919).
[89] J. A. Burrow, *Medieval Writers and their Work: Middle English Literature 1100-1500* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 37.
[90] Kathryn Blair Moore, 'The Disappearance of an Author and the Emergence of a Genre: Niccolò da Poggibonsi and Pilgrimage Guidebooks between Manuscript and Print,' *Renaissance Quarterly*, Vol. 66, No. 2 (Summer, 2013), pp. 357-441 (p. 358).
[91] R. B. C. Huygens, ed., *Peregrinationes Tres: Saewulf, John of Würzburg, Theodericus*, Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis, 139 (Turnholt: Brepols, 1994), p. 30.
[92] Constable Giles, 'Forgery and Plagiarism in the Middle Ages,' *Archiv für Diplomatik, Schriftgeschichte, Siegel-und Wappenkunde*, Vol. 29 (1983), pp. 1-41 (p. 13).
[93] Marilyn Randall, *Pragmatic Plagiarism: Authorship, Profit, and Power* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001), pp. 34-6; Giles, 'Forgery and Plagiarism,' p. 38.

sources, the writer was verifying universal knowledge, information put forward by previous writers, and passing on these details to the reader.[94] The implication here is that there had to be elements of truth within the work. In the case of the pilgrimage guide, the writers were verifying the basic layout of the Holy Land by copying other works. John of Würzburg noted that Jerusalem and its surrounding places were recorded by others before him, but since these writings were written a long time ago and there had been various wars and destruction in the Holy Land since, the details needed to be updated.[95] Here John of Würzburg gives insight into the writing process mentioned above. His narrative contains his own personal experiences, he implies that he is familiar with older works concerning the Holy Land, and he is revising these works to make them relevant to his current audience. Theoderich similarly noted that some place names found in the Bible had since changed.[96] Of course, with the crusades, more people went to the Holy Land which made these universal truths easier to confirm or rectify. It is within this updating that details of the pilgrimage infrastructure emerge. Guides could also contain information not found elsewhere. John Pryor, for example, notes that 'Saewulf's narrative of his voyages is the best description of voyaging by sea in the Mediterranean in the twelfth century to survive from the Latin West.'[97] Hazardous roads are often highlighted by pilgrims. The dangerous nature of the road to the River Jordan appears consistently in pilgrimage guides. Theoderich stressed his fear of travelling to and praying at the Jordan, but continuously pointed out the work of the Templars and Hospitallers in patrolling and protecting pilgrims in the area.[98] Late thirteenth-century pilgrim Riccoldo de Montecroce warned of the bandits on the road, while his contemporary Burchard of Mount Sion recommended taking an escort. [99] Naturally they do not discuss the military orders at the Jordan and they were long gone from there, hence updating the knowledge of the area and the lack of pilgrimage infrastructure.

[94] Randall, *Pragmatic Plagiarism*, p. 36; Giles, 'Forgery and Plagiarism,' pp. 38-9.
[95] John of Würzburg, 'Descriptio Terrae Sancte,' in *Peregrinationes Tres: Saewulf, John of Würzburg, Theodericus*, Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis, ed. R. B. C. Huygens, 139 (Turnholt: Brepols, 1994), pp. 79-141 (pp. 79-80).
[96] Theoderich, 'Libellus de Locis Sanctis,' p. 144.
[97] John H. Pryor, 'The Voyage of Saewulf,' in *Peregrinationes Tres: Saewulf, John of Würzburg, Theodericus*, Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis, ed. R. B. C. Huygens, 139 (Turnholt: Brepols, 1994), pp. 35-57 (p. 57).
[98] Theoderich, 'Libellus de Locis Sanctis,' pp. 175-7.
[99] Burchard of Monte Sion, 'Descriptio Terrae Sancte,' in *Peregrinatores medii aevi quatuor. Burchardus de Monte Sion, Ricoldus de Monte Crucis, Ordoricus de Foro Julii, Wilbrandus de Oldenborg*, ed. J. C. M. Laurent (Leipzig, 1864), pp. 19-94 (p. 62); Riccoldo da Montecroce, 'Liber Peregrinacionis,' in *Peregrinatores medii aevi quatuor. Burchardus de Monte Sion, Ricoldus de Monte Crucis, Ordoricus de Foro Julii, Wilbrandus de Oldenborg*, ed. J. C. M. Laurent (Leipzig, 1864), pp. 105-142 (p. 108).

There was a stylistic development in pilgrimage narratives with the emergence of the use of 'I' and 'we' which seemed to become more commonplace in twelfth-century pilgrimage guides. This use of personal pronouns was reflective of the shift towards the discovery of the individual in the eleventh and twelfth centuries and the importance of the individual experience for wider society.[100] Similarly, the First Crusade led to an interest in personal eyewitness accounts.[101] It was a new event in which no older texts could be called upon for current information. The last quarter of the twelfth century in particular saw a rise in personal and contemporary eyewitness accounts covering increasingly more topics than the crusades.[102] As such, an eyewitness pilgrim who claimed to have lived what he wrote about was preferable to an author who copied entirely from others. While some pilgrim authors remained anonymous in the twelfth century, more writers chose to name themselves, such as Theoderich and John of Würzburg, highlighting their individual experience of pilgrimage, adding to the knowledge of previous pilgrimage writers, and sharing their experiences with their audience. The pilgrim Saewulf inserted his voice in his own account as he corrected 'popular opinion' in favour of 'truth.'[103] Even the appearance of an author's name alone hinted that the person was well known to his intended audience and added authenticity to the narrative as far as the reader was concerned.[104]

Another possible reason for the use of 'I' in these narratives can be linked to the rise of affective piety. As a personal journey of suffering, imitating Christ's suffering, the use of 'I' highlight's the pilgrims experience and the reader's, particularly if the reader was able to imagine themselves as the 'I' in the narrative. The influence of affective piety can be seen in the opening of Theoderich's narrative. He addressed his readers saying that it was his intention for them to remember Jesus, love Jesus and in doing so would be moved with compassion for Jesus and his suffering. This pity was then to aid the reader to absolve his own sins, find grace, and reach heaven.[105] Another element of effective piety was the

[100] Colin Morris, *The Discovery of the Individual 1050-1200* (London: University of Toronto Press, 2004 (1972)), p. 158.
[101] Peter Ainsworth, 'Contemporary and 'Eyewitness,' in *Historiography in the Middle Ages*, ed. Deborah Mauskopf Deliyannis (Leiden: Brill, 2003), pp 249-76 (pp. 260-4); P. Damian- Grint, *The New Historians of the Twelfth-Century Renaissance. Inventing Vernacular Authority* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1999), p. 72.
[102] Ainsworth, 'Contemporary and 'Eyewitness,' p. 252.
[103] Saewulf, 'Relatio de peregrinatione Saewulfi ad Hyerosolymam et terram sanctam,' in *Peregrinationes Tres: Saewulf, John of Würzburg, Theodericus*, Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis, ed. R. B. C. Huygens, 139 (Turnholt: Brepols, 1994), pp. 59-77 (p. 65).
[104] Bale, 'From Translator to Laureate,' p. 927; Peter Ainsworth, 'Contemporary and 'Eyewitness,' p. 265.
[105] Theoderich, 'Libellus de Locis Sanctis,' p. 143.

act of crying. Spontaneous crying and crying out of pity was a sign of God's grace.[106] These divine tears aided in washing away sins.[107] Theoderich also detailed how pilgrims flogged themselves in order to mimic how Jesus was flogged.[108] This called upon the reader to have pity for both the pilgrims' and Jesus' suffering. If Theoderich was successful, his reader would be moved with pity on his meditative pilgrimage and would be blessed with divine tears, hence assisted on his way to heaven.

There has been a rise in the study of the genre of pilgrim narratives which analyses its true purpose.[109] The majority pilgrimage guides from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries were written by members of religious orders for other members of religious orders. Jerusalem represented a physical place where pilgrims could go, but it also represented a heavenly place and the soul.[110] Besides representing the physical journey, guides could be written as an imagined pilgrimage for meditative purposes. Theoderich wrote that his guide was written for those who desired to go to the Holy Land, but were unable to physically do so.[111] Writing about one century later, Burchard of Mount Sion similarly stated that his account was for those who desired to image the Holy Land but were not able to see it with their own eyes.[112] The only time narratives concerning the Holy Land provide highly detailed information is in relation to the layout of the city of Jerusalem. This makes sense as Jerusalem was supposed to be the central focus and goal of the pilgrimage. Since pilgrimage narratives were focused on the imagined pilgrimage, they were not bound to report detailed directions to sites for actual pilgrims. Hazy or inaccurate directions would not have been ideal for a pilgrim in the Holy Land, but they were not necessary to complete an imagined pilgrimage.[113] Ultimately, these narratives were best used as travel guides if a pilgrim was using them as part of his own mission to imitate Christ or follow the path of the apostles in meditative form, not physical form.

This does not mean that these narratives are wholly ineffective in providing real and practical information. Monasteries were supposed to be representations of Jerusalem,

[106] Piroska Nagy, 'Religious Weeping as Ritual in the Medieval West,' in *Ritual in Its Own Right: Exploring the Dynamic of Transformation*, eds. Don Handelman and Galina Lindquist (New York: Berghahn Book, 2004), pp. 119-137 (p. 123).
[107] Nagy, 'Religious Weeping,' p. 119.
[108] Theoderich, 'Libellus de Locis Sanctis,' p. 172.
[109] Moore, 'The Disappearance of an Author,' p. 358; Mary B. Campbell, *The Witness and the Other World: Exotic European Travel Writing, 400-1600* (London: Cornell University Press, 1988), p. 19.
[110] M. Cecilia Gaposchkin, *Invisible Weapons: Liturgy and the Making of Crusade Ideology* (London: Cornell University Press, 2017), pp. 32-3.
[111] Theoderich, 'Libellus de Locis Sanctis,' p. 143.
[112] Burchard of Monte Sion, 'Descriptio Terrae Sancte,' p. 20.
[113] John of Würzburg, 'Descriptio Terrae Sancte,' p. 99.

and therefore the monks did not need to go on pilgrimage to Jerusalem as they were already within the spiritual one.[114] Nevertheless, the growth of affective piety and the crusades saw an increase in the number of monks going to the physical Holy Land. This too is reflected in some pilgrimage narratives. John of Würzburg stated that his narrative had two functions. Its first function was as a helpful guide for his friend Dietrich so that if Dietrich ever visited the Holy Land, he would be familiar with the layout and be able to travel with greater ease. Its second function was a meditative one in case Dietrich could never physically reach the Holy Land but, could still enjoy the imagined journey.[115] Giving the first function of his guide, according to John, was to be practical aid for future pilgrims going to the Holy Land, it would not have been in John's interest to falsify information that could potentially put his friend's life at risk. While the narratives are largely silent concerning political events, perhaps to add longevity to the text in terms of future copiers and readers, there are occasional hints to the world outside the meditative pilgrimage. The majority of eleventh and twelfth-century narratives began with Jerusalem; however, post-1187 narratives often began in Acre reflecting the political situation and the lost of Jerusalem.[116] These narratives may have been of more practical use to pilgrims as Acre was the true starting point for many pilgrims newly arrived in the Holy Land. References to the locations of the military orders and other castles in the Holy Land, for example, served no purpose for a reader seeking a peaceful meditative pilgrimage.[117] Even with the apparent reluctance to discuss the crusades within these narratives, stylistic or otherwise, the mere mention of a Templar or Hospital fort was a reminder of the ongoing struggle in the Holy Land. As Theoderich's frequently referenced his fear of Muslim attacks in an attempt to make the reader feel pity for him as the suffering pilgrim, by highlighting the crusaders' presence in the Holy Land, he may have been attempting to make the reader feel pity for the crusaders. If this is the case, however, some such details seem out of place. John of Würzburg's mention of the Templar's damaged reputation after the Siege of Damascus in 1148, for example, would have been jarring for a reader as it appears mid way through a description of the layout of Templar property in Jerusalem.[118] It not only interrupts the flow of the imagined pilgrimage but, has the potential to confuse the reader with gossip when they sought piety. It seems more likely that this type of information was

[114] M. Cecilia Gaposchkin, *Invisible Weapons: Liturgy and the Making of Crusade Ideology* (London: Cornell University Press, 2017), p. 34.
[115] John of Würzburg, 'Descriptio Terrae Sancte,' p. 79.
[116] Thietmar, *Magistri Thietmari Peregrinatio*, ed. J. C. M. Laurent (Hamburg, 1857), p.1.
[117] Theoderich, 'Libellus de locis sanctis,' pp. 175-7.
[118] John of Würzburg, 'Descriptio Terrae Sancte,' p. 135.

given to add a sense of realism to the narrative, to prove that John was a true eyewitness, reporting news from the Holy Land.

Guides written after 1291 became more personal and secularised and some were written in the vernacular.[119] They provided increasingly more detail than their predecessors. Elements of the grandiose began to emerge also. Take for example the twelfth-century pilgrim Theoderich who opened with, 'Theoderich, the meanest of all monks,' while fourteenth-century Franciscan friar Simon Semeonis' began 'Having declined the highest honour...'[120] Indeed, part of the reason pilgrimage scholarship tends towards the later medieval is because of the greater information provided within the sources. This does not mean that guides from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries have inherently lesser value. First of all, they had a smaller target audience than the later medieval secular guides. Since this audience was primarily members of religious orders, the guides were naturally heavily focused on the spiritual, often full of serious Biblical references which the reader should have been instantly familiar with. Later medieval guides, particularly those of a secular nature, tended to focus more on entertainment value, something that a wider audience could relate to. Secondly, the main focus of guides from the twelfth century was Jerusalem and the lands immediately around it. After the late thirteenth century, Jerusalem guides were often contained within narratives written by merchants and Franciscan missionaries and diplomats concerning their travels beyond the Holy Land and into Asia.[121] Such narratives, whether religious or secular, would not have worked well for the monk who sought an imagined Jerusalem pilgrimage. Finally, later medieval pilgrimage narratives tend to complain about the discomforts and threats faced on the journey to a higher degree than those from the twelfth century. This may be an indication of the success of the infrastructure available to pilgrims in the twelfth century while Jerusalem was under crusader control. As such, they did not face quite as many threats as those who travelled to Jerusalem after 1187, when the infrastructure began to break down and alter, and after 1291, when all traces of the twelfth century infrastructure ceased to exist. It would seem, therefore, that the apparent extra detail within the later medieval guides is a reflection of the change in audience, purpose, and politics. While the twelfth and thirteenth-century guides used within this thesis may not be as elaborate as the later medieval narratives, they do contain enough detail on infrastructure to compliment

[119] Zumthor and Peebles, 'The Medieval Travel,' p. 811.
[120] Theoderich, 'Libellus de Locis Sanctis,' p. 143; *Itinerarium Symonis Semeonis*, p. 25.
[121] Kim M. Phillips, *Before Orientalism: Asian People and Cultures in European Travel Writing, 1245-1510* (Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia Press, 2014), pp. 28-40.

evidence found in other source types. In sum, despite the number of problems with trying to use pilgrimage narratives, their value should not be dismissed. The basic purpose of accounts and itineraries, whether imagined or real, was to serve as a blueprint of the journey to the Holy Land by highlighting places on interest along the way, and thus places of interest to focus on.

Pilgrims visited saints' shrines. As such, hagiography will be used in this thesis. Marcus Bull describes the close association of pilgrimage and the cult of saints as 'conceptual glue.'[122] A saint's cult could not exist or expand without pilgrims. Pilgrims did not have a place to visit without a saint's shrine. There was a process to developing such a cult. Cults depended largely on physical objects, such as relics, tombs, churches, pilgrim badges, and miracle stories.[123] Monasteries were generally rural. They turned to saints as their patrons and protectors. The best way for a monastery to gain this protection was to house a relic of a saint. This led to competition between those running saints' shrines. Methods of obtaining a relic ranged from buying one, receiving one as a gift, inventing one, or even stealing one.[124] New relics or saintly patrons attracted new pilgrims and donations, which led to greater income for those who housed the shrine, which in turn meant that they could invest in more relics or improve infrastructure for visiting pilgrims. Another way to attract pilgrims was to say Mass on feast days associated with a particular saint.[125] Miracle stories played a vital role in the growth and survival of a saint's cult. They were a sign of an active cult and, more importantly for pilgrims, an active saint who had performed miracles and may do so again.[126] Finally, a shrine needed a written *Life* to legitimise and circulate the miracles.[127]

The writers of hagiography were generally members of religious orders or scholars. Hagiography typically traces the life of the saint, beginning with his childhood, youth, and religious life, before turning to miraculous deeds performed by the saint while he was alive and/ or after his death. The miracle stories themselves also follow a general course: a

[122] Marcus Bull, 'Pilgrimage,' in *The Oxford Handbook of Medieval Christianity*, ed. John H. Arnold (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), pp. 201-16 (202).
[123] Rachel Koopmans, *Wonderful to Relate: Miracle Stories and Miracle Collecting in High Medieval England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010), p. 25.
[124] Patrick J. Geary, *Furta Sacra: Thefts of Relics in the Central Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), p. 57.
[125] Sarah Hamilton, *Church and People in the Medieval West, 900-1200* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2013), p. 133.
[126] Koopmans, *Wonderful to Relate*, p. 25; Turner and Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage*, p. 6
[127] Kathleen Ashley and Pamela Sheingorn, *Writing Faith: Text, Sign, and History in the Miracles of Sainte Foy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), p. 5.

problem, divine intervention, and then a solution.[128] Like pilgrimage guides, hagiography can be prone to copying and following a formulaic path. The formulaic nature can be problematic as material is often repeated, as in pilgrimage guides, which can limit the originality of the text.[129] On the other hand, it makes comparison easier as original material is easier to spot.[130] Miracle collections often start with the oldest known miracles and work up to the contemporary of the writer. This can be a reasonably straight forward process if the author of the *Life* knew the saint personally.[131] It can be problematic if the saint in question had been dead for centuries. If this is the case, an author attempting to create a new *Life* of an ancient saint had no choice but to copy older works. The scholar Bernard of Angers, writing around 1020, noted at the beginning of his *Passion of Sainte Foy* that non-Christians had not left a record of early Christian saints 'out of envy.'[132] He acknowledged that he gathered information about the early fourth-century Saint Faith from the writings of the Church Fathers and ancient poets. Similarly, in the introductory letter to the twelfth-century *Liber Sancti Jacobi*, the author stated that his information about Saint James came from the Bible and early Church Fathers.[133] Authors often claim unworthiness and try to emphasise their humility. However, hagiographers, like the authors of pilgrimage guides, needed to prove the worthiness of their sources and, in doing so, themselves. In a letter to the abbot and monks of Conques after completing the first part of the *Book of Sainte Foy*, Bernard referenced Sulpicius Severus, author of the *Life of Saint Martin of Tours*, as the best hagiographer of all.[134] The author of the *Pilgrim's Guide* to Compostela in *Liber Sancti Jacobi*, possibly written by cleric Aimery Picaud, similarly demonstrated that he was more than acquainted with the genre of hagiography and was well educated. He added a brief synopsis of the saints, their shrines, and their miracles en route to Compostela with a *Passion of St. Eutropius*, which he supposedly found on his travels to Constantinople and translated it from Greek into Latin.[135] Like pilgrimage guides, the act of referencing older texts in hagiography was an attempt to show that the authors knew the style and standard of the genre, they were well read on the subject matter, and were therefore competent writers.

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[128] Koopmans, *Wonderful to Relate*, p. 30.
[129] Marcus Bull, *The Miracles of Our Lady of Rocamadour: Analysis and Translation* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1999), p. 13.
[130] Bull, *The Miracles of Our Lady*, p. 10.
[131] Peter Ainsworth, 'Contemporary and 'Eyewitness,' in *History, in Historiography in the Middle Ages*, ed. Deborah Mauskopf Deliyannis (Leiden: Brill, 2003), pp. 249-76 (p. 252).
[132] *The Book of Sainte Foy*, trans. Pamela Sheingorn (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1996), p. 33.
[133] *Liber Sancti Jacobi*, i, pp. 1-3.
[134] Bernard of Angers, *Liber Miraculorum Sancte Fidis*, ed. A. Bouillet (Paris, 1897), 1:34, p. 84.
[135] *Liber Sancti Jacobi*, i, 5.8, pp. 362-74.

The sections of hagiography dealing with a saint's early life rarely stress the importance of eyewitnesses. This was likely due to the fact that major saints like Saint Faith and Saint James obviously did not have medieval eyewitnesses of their lives. Miracles, on the other hand, were a different matter. Proof of a miracle and its source was an issue that faced every hagiographer. Bernard of Angers hinted at the tradition of remaining anonymous within hagiographical writings. Bernard was very present throughout his miracle collection, but stated that he did so to further legitimise his work. In other words, he named himself so that anyone who questioned his narrative could find him.[136] He also noted that, although he could not give his work to the Bishop Fulbert to examine before he handed the book to the monks of Conques, he gave it to his old teacher at Tours and two canons of Saint-Quentin in Vermandois, providing further names to validate his work.[137] This may also be part of the reason he chose to only report contemporary miracles, naming the people who experienced or witnessed a miracle, so they too could be questioned by an unbeliever. Master Rufino was a canon regular and wrote the *Life of Raymond 'Palmario' of Piacenza* in 1212. Like Bernard, Rufino made himself known in the text and stated that he wrote the *Life* at the request of Raymond's son, got his information from trustworthy people, and stated that he knew Raymond personally stressing the familiar link to Raymond.[138] Reginald of Durham, who was a Benedictine monk in Durham Priory, was also a contemporary of Godric of Finchale, whose *Life* he wrote, and spent time with Godric.[139] *Liber Sancti Jacobi* went one step further and advised the reader that both Jesus and Saint James gave the book their blessing.[140] In essence, questioning the validity of the book would be to question the authority of Jesus and Saint James. Finally, by concentrating on contemporary miracles and witnesses, hagiographers were updating a saint's *Life*, just like those who updated information concerning the Holy Land in pilgrimage narratives. Indeed, the introductory letter to *Liber Sancti Jacobi* stated that it was the responsibility of those who read the book to fix the errors, demonstrating that the book was to be read and revised.[141]

[136] Bernard of Angers, *Liber Miraculorum*, 1:34, p. 84.
[137] Bernard of Angers, *Liber Miraculorum*, 1:34, pp. 85-6.
[138] Rufino, 'Vita et Miracula B. Raymundi Palmarii,' *Acta Sanctorum*, July, VI, ed. Peter van der Bosch (Paris, 1868), pp. 644-57 (645).
[139] Reginald of Durham, *Libellus de Vita et Miraculis S. Godrici, Heremitae de Finchale* (London: Surtees Society, 1847), p. 2, p. 315.
[140] *Liber Sancti Jacobi*, i, p. 3.
[141] *Liber Sancti Jacobi*, i, p. 1.

As noted above, hagiography played a key part in the propaganda of a shrine. This included competition with other saints' shrines.[142] The rivalry between shrines allowed for nuances within hagiographical texts.[143] The *Book of Sainte Foy* had the straight forward task of promoting the shrine of Saint Foy at Conques. Perhaps reflective of the intensity of competition between shrines by the twelfth century, Reginald of Durham was requested by Prior Thomas of Durham and Cistercian Abbot Aelred of Rievaulx to begin writing Godric's *Life* while Godric was alive.[144] One way to promote one's own saint, particularly a local and new saint, was to attach that saint to another well established saint. This could be done by linking the new saint to an well-known one by promoting stories of their friendship, have an older saint rescue the new saint, or have both work together to save worshippers.[145] St. Cuthbert appears frequently in the *Life* of Godric.[146] St. Cuthbert's tomb lay in Durham Cathedral and was a major pilgrimage shrine. Reginald of Durham had written a *Life* of Cuthbert, and as such, Godric's *Life* contains attempts to promote Godric as a modern Cuthbert, which intensified after the death of Thomas Becket and the subsequent rivalry of Thomas's shrine in Canterbury.[147] *Liber Sancti Jacobi* had multiply functions with a stronger political agenda than a standard saint's *Life*. The true author or authors of the book remain unknown.[148] It naturally worked to promote Compostela, but also stated the importance of following proper liturgy within the church and with visiting pilgrims.[149] The political side can be seen via a forged letter falsely attributed to Pope Calixtinus II at the beginning of *Liber Sancti Jacobi*. It was addressed to Cluny, the Patriarch of Jerusalem, and Diego the archbishop of Compostela. First of all, the link with Cluny may have helped to add legitimacy to the increasing number of Cluniac monasteries on the road to Compostela.[150] Similarly, the *Pilgrim's Guide* within the book shows a

[142] Bull, 'Pilgrimage,' p. 208; Koopmans, *Wonderful to Relate*, p. 43.
[143] Bull, *The Miracles of Our Lady*, p. 15.
[144] Reginald of Durham, *Libellus*, p. 269; Susan J. Riyard, 'Functions of a Twelfth-Century Recluse Revisited: The Case of Godric of Finchale,' in *Belief and Culture in the Middle Ages: Studies Presented to Henry Mayr-Harting*, eds. Ricard Gameson and Henrietta Leyser (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 236-50 (p. 237).
[145] Jean Théroude, *La Vie et L'office de Saint Adjuteur, patron de la noblesse et de la Ville de Veron en Normandie* (Rouen : Imprimerie de Henry Boissel, 1864), p. 8-9; p. 49.
[146] Reginald of Durham, *Libellus*, p. 53.
[147] Dominic Marner, *St. Cuthbert: His Life and Cult in Medieval Durham* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000), p. 34.
[148] *The Miracles of Saint James: Translations from the Liber Sancti Jacobi*, eds. Thomas F. Coffey, Linda Kay Davidson, and Maryjane Dunn (New York: Italica Press, 1996), p. xxxv; Klaus Herbers, 'The Miracles of St. James,' in *The Codex Calixtinus and the Shrine of St. James*, eds. John Williams and Alison Stones (Tübingen: Narr, 1992), pp. 11-36 (pp. 15-17).
[149] *Liber Sancti Jacobi*, i, p. 3.
[150] The forged letter claims that Pope Calixtus II compiled the book for the monastery at Cluny, the Patriarch of Jerusalem, and the bishop of Compostela, *The Miracles of Saint James*, p. xxxv.

strong preference for promoting French saints above others.[151] Secondly, has also been argued that the book could have been used to promote Spain as a legitimate frontier for crusade, which may explain why the Patriarch was addressed.[152] Finally, it was standard practice for hagiographers to address the person in charge of the saint's shrine in question; however, there may be another reason for addressing Archbishop Diego Gelmírez (1120-c. 1140). His efforts to increase pilgrim traffic to Compostela led to profit for those who lived on the roads to Compostela, but the influx of people had annoyed the citizen of Compostela to the point that they attacked the cathedral of Saint James in 1117 and 1136.[153] *Liber Sancti Jacobi* does not directly address this, but it was a major subject in *Historia Compostela* which celebrates Diego's deeds from 1095-1139.[154] Towards the end of the *Pilgrim's Guide*, the last book of *Liber Sancti Jacobi*, there are references to the dignity of the church at Compostela and that it could not be taken away by anyone, along with praises for Pope Calixtinus for putting Diego in a position to care for the church and Diego's efforts.[155] The book ends with a warning to those who harm pilgrims going to Compostela.[156] This, together with the fact that Diego had commissioned *Historia Compostela* himself, suggests that *Liber Sancti Jacobi* was not only working to promote Compostela to a large scale audience but, also to those within Compostela itself.

Besides reporting wonderful miracles, hagiography could be used to slight another saint. Pilgrims who were desperate to find a cure for an illness would have essentially toured shrines to find the right saint to cure them.[157] This process could be used by hagiographers to endorse one saint over another. Hagiography often recounts stories of sick pilgrims who visited several shrines in search of cure to no avail, until they finally visited a particular saint and were miraculously cured.[158] Godric supposedly performed miracles for pilgrims when Saint Andrew, Saint James, and Saint Thomas of Canterbury

[151] These included St. Genesius, St, Gilles, St. Saturninus, St. Faith, Mary Magdalene, Leonard of Limousin, St. Fronto, St. Martin of Tours, St. Hilary, and John the Baptist. Interestingly, of the eleven chapters of the *Pilgrim's Guide*, only one deals with Compostela itself, *Liber Sancti Jacobi*, i, 5.8, pp. 362-74: *The Miracles of Saint James*, p. 56, n. 79.
[152] Purkis, *Crusading Spirituality*, pp. 140-3.
[153] Despite their attacks, the citizens maintained reverence for Saint James highlighting that their problem was it Diego, not James, Christopher James Forney, 'Spaces of Exclusion in Twelfth-Century Santiago De Compostela,' *Comitatus: A Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, Vol. 42 (2011), pp. 55-88 (pp. 55-6, p. 60, p. 82).
[154] *Historia Compostellana*, ed. E. Falque Rey, Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis, LXX (Turnhout, 1998).
[155] *Liber Sancti Jacobi*, i, 5.9, pp. 385-6.
[156] *Liber Sancti Jacobi*, i, 5.11, pp. 388-9.
[157] Bull, 'Pilgrimage,' p. 203.
[158] Hamilton, *Church and People*, p. 258.

had failed them.[159] The *Pilgrim's Guide* in *Liber Sancti Jacobi* noted that Saint Martin of Tour's church in Tours was built in the likeness of Compostela which implies that Compostela was worth copying.[160] It also highlighted Martin's ability to raise the dead while he was alive, which Klaus Herbers suggests points to the fact that St. James raised the dead even after his own death, and was therefore superior to Saint Martin.[161] Within these three *Lives*, those of Saint Faith, Godric, and Saint James, differences can be seen. Bernard of Angers was only interested in straight forward endorsement of the established Saint Faith and her shrine at Conques, Reginald of Durham was tasked with promoting a new saint against competition from old saints and an increasing number of new saints, while *Liber Sancti Jacobi* had a multi layered agenda.

Authorship and proof of authority may have mattered in the ecclesiastical world, but would not have meant as much to the average pilgrim. Regardless of the formula, propaganda, and competition, the most important group that needed proof of miracles were lay pilgrims. For them, the proof of a miracle lay in whether their prayers were answered or their illnesses were healed. Early medieval writers of miracle stories, perhaps indicating their primary audience, usually included miracles witnessed by monks or there trusted friends. A slight shift in focus emerged in the mid-twelfth century as stories began to focus more on miracles involving and told by the laity.[162] While the author still had control over what he wrote, it was within these stories gathered from the laity, often locally, that originality could form in hagiography. An element of this idea can be seen in the *Book of Sainte Foy*. In his letter to the bishop of Chartres, Bernard of Angers stated that it was the 'common' people who kept the miracles of Saint Faith circulating, and to dismiss their stories as fiction was wrong.[163] Nevertheless, the majority of Bernard's collection of miracles were witnessed by members of a religious order, respected noblemen, or himself. The increasing interest in miracles told by the laity in the twelfth century is an indication of the rise of the cult of saints, pilgrimage, popular religion and the growing influence of affective piety. Social status, however, still played an important role in miracle stories. Poor people tended to appear in miracle stories about healing, while those of a higher social status tended to have visions. Given that physical illnesses could be proved while visions could not, this suggests that miracles involving those of a higher status were more

[159] Reginald of Durham, *Libellus Miraculorum*, p. 374, p. 426, pp. 442-3, p. 446.
[160] *Liber Sancti Jacobi*, i, 5.8, p. 370.
[161] Klaus Herbers, 'The Miracles of St. James,' in *The Codex Calixtinus and the Shrine of St. James*, eds. John Williams and Alison Stones (Tübingen: Narr, 1992), pp. 11-36 (p. 19).
[162] Koopmans, *Wonderful to Relate*, p. 4.
[163] Bernard of Angers, *Liber Miraculorum*, p. 2.

credible than those concerning the poor.[164] Nevertheless, it would appear that hagiographers acknowledged the importance of the laity in promoting their saint. This can be seen in attempts to sanctify an increasing number of lay people. Neither Godric of Finchale nor Raymond of Piacenza were members of religious orders. Godric was originally a merchant trader, while Raymond was a shoemaker. Their religious lives, however, echoed the sentiments of *vita apostolica* making them exemplary laymen.

Despite its flaws and formulaic nature, hagiography should be disregarded as entirely fictitious writings. In itself, the rise in saints who supposedly visited the Holy Land reflects the popularity of pilgrimage to the Holy Land in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, while, as with the pilgrimage narratives, hagiography needed to provide some plausible details to give authority to the account. In this regard, the saint was supposed to suffer, and a saint en route to and in the Holy Land presented the hagiographer with the opportunity to map the saint's suffering onto that of Jesus Christ in a more powerful way than if the saint suffered in his or her homeland. Miracles often deal with groups absent from other texts, such as the poor, and therefore, seem to fill in gaps.[165] Of course, blindness and paralysis are among the most common illnesses in miracle stories, but are not necessarily reflective of widespread illnesses.[166] It has been argued that it is often best to take miracle stories as social and cultural expressions rather than glimpses of medieval life.[167] Nevertheless, to attract pilgrims, potential pilgrims needed to believe that they had a chance of receiving a miracle at a particular shrine. Hagiography often contains details of everyday life of the ordinary person. The miracle stories needed to have an accessible quality set in a feasible context with realistic and relatable characters. To do so, hagiography can highlight some of the real dangers of pilgrimage. One miracle in Reginald of Durham's *Life* of Godric concerns a father's fears about his son who was missing, presumed dead, since he had not returned from his pilgrimage to Compostela.[168] Death on pilgrimage, particularly for those going to shrines far away like Jerusalem, was a consideration that all pilgrims much have faced. Miracles frequently involve saints performing sea rescues, reflecting the difficulty of sailing and the fear pilgrims may have had of death at sea. Besides real dangers, popular pilgrimage sites, routes, and ports often appear in hagiography, as well as preparation rituals for pilgrimage. The *Life of Raymond 'Palmario'* for example, contains an account of the pilgrim blessing ceremony that

[164] Koopmans, *Wonderful to Relate*, pp. 40-1.
[165] Bull, *The Miracles of Our Lady*, p. 12.
[166] Koopmans, *Wonderful to Relate*, p. 37.
[167] Bull, *The Miracles of Our Lady*, p. 16.
[168] Reginald of Durham, *Libellus*, p. 268.

Raymond and his mother took part in before setting out on pilgrimage to the Holy Land in 1160.[169]

The saints that appear in this thesis fall, for the most part, into two categories. The first category comprises of saints who went on pilgrimage to the Holy Land during their life, such as Saint Francis of Assisi, Godric of Finchale, Guy of Anderlecht, Heimerad, Hildegund, Raymond Palmario, Theotonius, and William Firmatus. Pilgrimage to the Holy Land became a common motif in eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth-century hagiography. In this sense, the pilgrim saint acted as a way to connect the saint with would-be pilgrims as they potentially shared similar experiences on the road. The second group centres on saints who frequently preformed miracles for pilgrims going to and from the Holy Land, such as Saint Nicholas, who was associated with sea travellers and hence pilgrims sailing to the Holy Land, and Saint James, the patron of pilgrims. Miracle stories of saints intervening when pilgrims were in danger, whether on land or at sea, were psychologically important to pilgrims. Of course, the pilgrim saint who visited the Holy Land might have been a more popular choice for pilgrims to pray to as the pilgrims might have heard stories that the saint experienced similar dangers. It is also more likely that the average pilgrim, particularly those who did not belong to a religious order, would have been more familiar with some saint's *Life* and miracles than pilgrim narratives mentioned above. Thus, hagiography can give insight into the thoughts and fears of pilgrims before they set out on pilgrimage.

There are also useful sermons and exemplars. Given that these were didactic in nature, sermons and exemplars concerning pilgrims often illustrate how pilgrims should and should not behaved while on pilgrimage. The *Veneranda Dies* sermon in *Liber Sancti Jacobi*, written around the 1140s, explains that the path of the pilgrim is narrow and difficult, while the road of sin is wide and easy.[170] Exemplars were simple stories used by clergy to preach to an unlearned audience.[171] Coupled with hagiography, a poor pilgrim could have a basic idea of pilgrimage to the Holy Land and what was expected of him. Indeed, saints occasionally appear in exemplars.[172] The simple stories often highlight the

[169] Rufino, 'Vita et Miracula,' p. 647.
[170] *Liber Sancti Jacobi*, i, 1.17, p. 150.
[171] Victoria Smirnova, 'Caesarius of Heisterbach Folling the Rules of Rhetoric (Or Not?)' in *The Art of Cistercian Persuasion in the Middle ages and Beyond: Caesarius of Heisterbach's Diaolgue on Miracles and Its Reception*, ed. Victoria Smirnova, Marie Anne Polo de Beaulieu and Jacques Berlioz (Leiden: Brill, 2015), pp. 79-96 (p. 80).
[172] Saint James appears in the exemplars of Caesar of Heisterbach, Caesarii Heisterbacensis Monachi Ordinis Cisterciensis, *Dialogus Miaculorum*, ed. Josephus Strange, 2 vols (Cologne: J. M. Heberle, 1851), i, Book 5, Ch. XXXIX, p. 324.

physical and spiritual dangers pilgrims faced and provide quick solutions for pilgrims in trouble or even punishments for those who misbehaved. There are no particular problems with sermons and exemplars as sources, as long as it is remembered that they are generic in nature and are written in such a way that they could be readily adapted and used by preachers elsewhere to make them relevant to any audience. They have a basic didactic aim, yet can represent potentially dangerous situations that might materialise on a pilgrimage.

Annals, chronicles, and histories can present a quick overview of significant events. Annals, naturally, are of limited use as they generally only discuss annual events which involved people of note within their own community. Chronicles and histories, too, can be restricted in their scope, and purposely leave out events that were not deemed of interest to the writer. On the other hand, annals, chronicles, and histories do tell when people of note went on pilgrimage to the Holy Land, and also record unusual events such as the Great German Pilgrimage of 1064-5.[173] Chronicles and histories, such as those written by Jacques de Vitry, who was elected Bishop of Acre in 1214, and William of Tyre (1130-86) record events on a larger scale and in a far more comprehensive and dramatic fashion than is typical of annals.[174] Histories generally set out in their title what particular event, or group of events they will discuss. The narrower focus allows for more detail on particular events, such as a crusade, to emerge. This does, however, allow for embellishment and even false information purely for entertainment purposes depending on how involved the author was in the actual events. Both Jacques de Vitry and William of Tyre were eye witnesses to some of the events they wrote about, which can simultaneously add credence and suspicions of bias to their accounts. The best way to combat this is obviously to combine such material with other source types which discuss the same events or some part thereof. A real issue can emerge if a significant event only appears in one chronicle or history, and in such cases the story provided should be treated with caution. Nevertheless, there are a number of documents concerning the crusades, particularly charters, mandates and other legal documents as well as archaeology, which can back up claims in chronicles and histories in some respects.

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[173] *Annala Uladh: Annals of Ulster otherwise Annala Senait, Annals of Senat; A Chronicle of Irish Affairs A.D. 431-1131: 1155-154*, ed. B. MacCarthy, 4 vols (Dublin, 1893), ii, p. 261; *Annales Altahenses Maiores*, ed. W. Giesebrecht, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum* (Hanover: Impensis Bibliopoli Hahniani, 1891), iv, pp. 66-9.

[174] Jacques de Vitry, *Histoire Orientale. Historia Orientalis*, ed. Jean Donnadieu, *Sous la Règle de saint Augustin*, 12 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008); William of Tyre, *Willelmi Tyrensis Archiepiscopi, Chronicon*, ed. R. B. C. Huygens, *Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Medievalis, 63-63A* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1986).

Charters and other legal documents relating to religious and secular rulers as well as documents from churches and shrines popular among pilgrims can also often provide a wealth of information concerning the founding of a church as well its particular patron who may well be a saint. Cartularies belonging to the military orders such as the Hospitallers and the Knights Templar illustrate the advantages and disadvantages of this type of source.[175] They depict the growth of the orders, acquisition of lands and the construction of castles, and supply other information that might help in understanding their role in protecting pilgrims, yet do not give an exact foundation date for either order. The incomplete nature of cartularies can be frustrating, particularly if there are no other documents or collections of documents relating to an institution elsewhere, leaving gaps in the understanding of an order's development. Canon law, papal decrees, and secular laws are also helpful in bringing to light the scale of particular dangers that pilgrims faced. Continuously reiterated laws, threats and punishments for those who harmed pilgrims would not have been necessary if such incidents were a rarity. Similarly, legislation commanding that pilgrims were to be given shelter and the offer of indulgences for those who aided pilgrims, often indicate what roads were taken by pilgrims and when certain shrines gained popularity.[176] The only problem with canon and secular laws is that they are normative, and their true impact or how well they were enforced is difficult to assess as pilgrims were still attacked on the roads they travelled.

Pilgrims appear in legal documents such as court cases, wills, and last testaments. Since these are secular documents, they can provide some insight into individual pilgrims who were not necessarily members of a religious order. Pilgrims typically appear in court cases which involve disputes over property before and after pilgrimage. The obvious issue with medieval court cases is that part of the proceedings could have been lost or damaged over the centuries, meaning that the conclusions to cases are often missing. Even such cases can, nevertheless, inform as to what type of job the pilgrim in question had, the types of threats to his possessions, and financial worries a pilgrim had to contend with while absent from his homeland. There are a great number of wills and testaments left by pilgrims who went or intended to go to the Holy Land. Wills are formulaic in nature. They usually open with the testator name followed by the purpose of the document, a reference

[175] *Cartulaire Général De L'Ordre Des Hospitaliers de S. Jean de Jérusalem,* ed. J. Delaville le Roulx, 4 vols (Paris, 1894-99); *Cartulaire Général de L'Ordre du Temple 1119-1150*, ed. Marquis D'Albon (Paris, Librairie Ancienne, Honoré Champion, 1913).
[176] *Concilia Aevi Karolini*, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*. *Legum III*, Vol. 2, Part 1, ed. Albertus Werminghoff (Hanover: Impensis Bibliopoli Hahniani, 1906), no. 15, p. 53; J. V. Pflugk-Harttung, *Acta Pontificum inedita*, 3 vols (Stuttgart, 1888), iii, p. 320.

to the testator's soul and God, where the testator wished to be buried, his remembrance, followed by a long lists of gifts for the benefit of the testator's soul or family members' souls which included donations to churches, and finally lists of gifts of a secular nature.[177] These lists present the opportunity to see the wealth of the pilgrim in question and to assess what socio-economic class the pilgrim might belong to. The main difficulty with such documents comes as the individual in question often disappear from the record afterwards, so it is unknown whether or not they ever made it to the Holy Land. Indeed, the will or testament may be the only evidence of the person's existence, meaning a damaged or brief will might not reveal much about the person at all. The other obvious problem with pilgrims' wills and testaments is that they are often found in cartularies which are scattered throughout hundreds of churches and archives. The cartulary of Trinité de Vendôme, a Benedictine abbey in northern France, will be used in this thesis. As noted above, Benedictine reforms led to an increasing number of members of the order going to the Holy Land. This, coupled with the abbey's links to the crusades in the Holy Land, makes it likely that pilgrims from the region would have been perhaps more aware of and interested in pilgrimage to the Holy Land.[178] Likewise, donations appear in the cartulary of the Benedictine Monastery of Sant Cugat del Vallés in Catalonia in Spain which also had crusade and pilgrimage links with the Holy Land.[179] To date there is no large collection comprised exclusively of pilgrim wills. Diana Webb's *Pilgrims and Pilgrimage in the Medieval West* contains fifty-four pilgrim wills, though none of these are drawn from the twelfth or thirteenth centuries.[180] Genoa was a popular pilgrimage port. Several pilgrims who appear in this thesis sailed from Genoa or on Genoese ships. Steven Epstein's survey of wealth in medieval Genoa from 1150-1250 contains twenty six wills made by potential pilgrims. Thirteen of these pilgrims were going to Compostela, one to Sicily; one pilgrim and two crusaders were going to the Holy Land, and seven other pilgrims' wills give no

[177] Alison J. Spedding, 'Hoc Est Testamentum: The Structure and development of Introductory clauses in Latin Testamentary Writing,' *Viator*, Vol. 45, No. 1 (2014), pp. 281-310 (p. 283).
[178] *Cartulaire de l'Abbaye Cardinal*, i, no. 221, p. 354, ii, no. 360, pp. 104-5, no. 361, pp. 105-7, Giles Constable, *Crusaders and Crusading in the Twelfth Century* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2008) p. 129-135, p. 138; Jonathon Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade, 1095-1131* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002) p. 114, p. 145; Jonathon Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading* (London: Continuum, 2003), p. 38, p. 47.
[179] *Cartulario del 'Sant Cugat' del Vallés*, ed. J. Ruis Serra, 3 vols (Barcelona, 1946-7) iii, no. 821, pp. 22-5, no. 863, p. 60, no. 1009, p. 181, no. 733, pp. 396-7; Simon Notthingham, 'From Tyrants to Soldiers of Christ: the nobility of twelfth-century León-Castile and the struggle against Islam,' *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, No. 44 (Jan., 2000), pp. 28-48 (p. 35); Paul E. Chevedden, '"A Crusade from the First": The Norma Conquest of Islamic Sicily, 1060-1091,' *Al-Masāq*, Vol. 22, No. 2 (2010), pp. 191-225 (p. 217).
[180] Of this collection, two eleventh century, one fourteenth century, and three fifteenth century wills refer to pilgrims from England, Germany and Spain going to Jerusalem, Webb, *Pilgrims and Pilgrimage*, pp. 44-5; pp. 133-47.

indication as to where they intended to travel.[181] Both Epstein's and Webb's assortment of wills show the wide dispersal of the documents, highlighting that there are no doubt many others to be uncovered, in addition to those that will appear in this thesis. Indeed, there are several pilgrim testaments among Louis Blancard's collection of documents from Marseilles, another popular pilgrimage port, some of which will appear in this thesis. [182]

In summary, this thesis will explore the physical and spiritual dangers that Christian pilgrims faced on their way to Jerusalem and how they tried to overcome them. Following the pilgrims' path from their homeland to the Holy Sepulchre and back, it will focus on the evolution of pilgrim infrastructure and mechanisms, and the efforts made by those who sought to protect pilgrims both physically and spiritually in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. This, in turn, will enhance our knowledge of twelfth and thirteenth-century western Christian spirituality, particularly the concepts and spiritual benefits of poverty and charity which were at the heart of pilgrim infrastructure.

[181] Steven A. Epstein, *Wills and Wealth in Medieval Genoa, 1150-1250* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984), p. 46.
[182] *Documents Inédits sur le Commerce de Marseille au Moyen Age*, ed. Louis Blancard, 2 vols (Marseille, 1884-5).

Chapter 1: Preparations for Pilgrimage: Self-Protection

Before setting off, and entering the wider pilgrimage infrastructure, there were a number of practical and spiritual procedures a pilgrim could do to ensure a smoother and safer journey to the Holy Land. A close study of these preparation rituals has been lacking. Those who have written on the topic of pilgrimage tend to ignore or quickly pass over the preparation of pilgrimage in favour of focusing on the concept of pilgrimage, reasons for pilgrimage, and the pilgrimage itself.[1] Pilgrimage blessings, for example, have largely been studied in light of crusaders rites rather than unarmed pilgrimage.[2] The preparation rituals accounted for a significant portion of the pilgrimage experience and their importance cannot be underestimated; they provided a degree of peace of mind for pilgrims on their long and dangerous journey. This chapter will, therefore, investigate the types of and the significance of the protections that these rituals provided. It will be split into two main sections: practical self-protection and spiritual self-protection. With the right preparations, pilgrims could not only help to ensure their own safe return, but also the safety of their possessions and family back in their homeland. These steps began months before pilgrims even set out for the Holy Land. Practical preparations included tasks such as organising what time of year to go on pilgrimage, the best method of transport, and hiring travel guides. Of course, class difference played a role in what other type of preparations were needed. This leads to the question of who could realistically afford to go on pilgrimage to the Holy Land? All pilgrims had to consider the possibility of death on their journey, but those with property needed to have their affairs in order before setting out so that their families and heirs could avoid lengthy court battles. As regards spiritual protection, religion and spirituality were at the centre of medieval pilgrimage, heightened for those going to the Holy Land, the place of the upmost importance for their faith. Hence, they were not to be taken lightly. Sermons and hagiography demonstrated to pilgrims that mocking a saint, ignoring a saint, or failure to complete aspects of pilgrimage rites before setting out for the Holy Land could have devastating consequences for their souls.[3] This chapter will explore how pilgrims defended themselves against forces of nature and supernatural forces of evil. It will consider how pilgrims gained the favour of God and the

[1] Diana Webb, *Pilgrims and Pilgrimage in the Medieval West* (London: I. B. Taruris, 2001); Diana Webb, *Medieval European Pilgrimage c. 700-c.1500* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002); A brief overview of these rituals can be found in Jonathan Sumption, *The Age of Pilgrimage: The Medieval Journey to God* (Mahwah: Hidden Spring, 2003 (1975)), pp. 239-4.
[2] M. Cecilia Gaposchkin, 'From Pilgrimage to Crusade: The Liturgy of Departure, 1095-1300,' *Speculum*, Vol. 88, No. 1 (Jan., 2013), pp. 44-91 (pp. 44-9).
[3] *Liber Sancti Jacobi, Codex Calixtinus*, 3 vols, ed. Walter Muir Whitehill (Compostela, 1944), i, 1.17, p. 145.

saints to help guard against such forces. Indeed, spiritual and practical mechanisms of protection were not always mutually exclusive. The intertwining nature of both is best seen in pilgrim blessing rites. The pilgrim's scrip and staff had practical and spiritual functions which will also be discussed in this chapter.

Part 1: Practical Self-Protection

Finance was a pressing concern shared by all pilgrims. The cost of pilgrimage naturally varied. It depended on what part of the world pilgrims were travelling from, what method of transport they were going to use, what type of guides they were going to hire, if any, among many other personal choices. This raises the fundamental question; who could realistically go on pilgrimage to the Holy Land? The simplest way to answer the question would be to calculate the general price of pilgrimage to the Holy Land; however, this is a difficult task. Those who have tried have focused on late medieval pilgrimage narratives.[4] Based on the accounts of two late fifteenth-century pilgrims, those of Greffin Affagart and Santo Brasca, Jonathan Sumption placed the cost of pilgrimage at about 200 Venetian ducats.[5] The 1384, the pilgrim Giorgio Gucci wrote a full list of the expenses of his pilgrimage, adding up to about 150 ducats.[6] In the 1360s, one Venetian ducat was worth about 74 Venetian shillings, and about 30 Genoese shillings in 1376.[7] For further context, the average income of a Genoese justice's consul between 1376 and 1450 was about £250, while a sailor expected to make per season £15-18, showing that late medieval pilgrimage to the Holy Land was limited to the wealthy.[8] Such details of expenditure, however, are rarely found in earlier narratives. It is difficult to apply these costs to pilgrims during the crusading period, as the situation in the late medieval Holy Land was obviously a very different one. This change was even reflected in the tone of late medieval pilgrimage narratives. Those written during before 1291 were generally fixated on the wonders of sacred sites particularly when they wrote about Jerusalem. By contrast, the description of Jerusalem in 1346 by the Franciscan friar and pilgrim Niccolò da Poggibonsi was overshadowed by accounts of the corruption of Muslim officials and their abuse and extortion of pilgrims at pilgrimage sites.[9] Indeed, a high percentage of expenses listed by Giorgio Gucci comprised of extortion fees, which were largely absent for pilgrims, or at least based on the surviving narratives, while the Holy Land was under crusader control.[10]

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[4] Adrian R. Bell and Richard S. Dale, 'The Medieval Pilgrimage Business,' *Enterprise & Society*, Vol. 12, No. 3 (Sept., 2011), pp. 601-627 (pp. 619-20); Sumption, *The Age of Pilgrimage*, pp. 289-90.
[5] Sumption, *The Age of Pilgrimage*, p. 289.
[6] Giorgio Gucci, 'Viaggio Ai Luoghi Sancti' in *Pellegrini Scrittori:Viaggiatori toscani del Trecento in Terrasanta*, ed. Antonio Lanza and Marcellina Troncarelli (Florence: Ponte Alle Grazie, 1990), p. 259-12 (pp. 305-12).
[7] Peter Spufford, *Handbook of Exchange* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 1986), p. 81, p. 114.
[8] Quentin Van Doosselaere, *Commercial Agreements and Social Dynamics in Medieval Genoa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), p. 216.
[9] Niccolo da Poggibonsi, 'Libro d'oltramare,' in *Pellegrini Scrittori: Viaggiatori toscani del Trecento in Terrasanta*, ed. Antonio Lanza and Marcellina Troncarelli (Florence: Ponte Alle Grazie, 1990), pp. 31-158 (pp. 39-40).
[10] Gucci, 'Viaggio Ai Luoghi Sancti,' pp. 305-12.

Ultimately, the lack of solid evidence for the cost of pilgrimage to the Holy Land during the crusading period presents a glaring obstacle in the path to figuring out exactly who could afford to go on pilgrimage. Still, this does not put an end to the discussion. The cost of a pilgrimage would always have depended on the distance the pilgrim had to travel and what comforts they could afford or were willing to pay for. After all, even if some twelfth and thirteenth-century narratives did provide the precise costs of pilgrimage, it would still be problematic to apply such information to the overall vast and varied pilgrim community.

Who could go on Pilgrimage in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries?

The majority of medieval pilgrimage narratives concerning the Holy Land during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries were written by clergy. This, however, did not mean that those who went to the Holy Land were exclusively clergy. The Great German Pilgrimage of 1064-5 was directed by bishops but, was comprised of 'a multitude' of nobles, royals, and poor.[11] In this situation, the wealthier nobles and lords may have provided the financial support to the poor they travelled with as an act of charity. Different social classes had different concerns before setting out. On the surface, it may appear as though members of religious orders were in a far better position to go on pilgrimage than most. Serfs and servants needed permission from their lords and masters.[12] A farmer had to leave crops and livestock in the hands of others, business owners had to entrust their businesses to others, and nobles needed to ensure their lands were guarded from external threats in their absence. Nonetheless, monks could not simply abscond from their monastery in the name of pilgrimage. Restrictions were placed on clergy seeking to go on pilgrimage from the eighth century as it was believed that pilgrimage could threaten their vows of chastity, provide a way to escape duties, and could undermine church authority and discipline.[13] The Council of Ver, held in Normandy in France in 755, stated that monks were not to go on pilgrimage without permission from their abbot.[14] This probably had two functions, to prevent monks from abandoning their duties, and to ensure they did not take money from the monastery to fund their pilgrimage at their own leisure.

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[11] *Annales Altahenses Maiores*, ed. W. Giesebrecht, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum* (Hanover: Impensis Bibliopoli Hahniani, 1891), iv, p. 66.
[12] Saint James rescued a serf on pilgrimage to Compostela, *Liber Sancti Jacobi, Codex Calixtinus*, 3 vols, ed. Walter Muir Whitehill (Compostela, 1944), i, 2.13, p. 274.
[13] Jessalynn Bird, 'Canon Law Regarding Pilgrims,' in *Encyclopedia of Medieval Pilgrimage*, ed. Larissa J. Taylor et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2010), pp. 78-81 (p. 78).
[14] *Capitularia Regum Francorum, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Legum Sectio II*, ed. Alfred Boretius, 2 vols (Hanover: Bibliopolii Hahniani, 1883) i, no. 10, p. 35.

Unfortunately, the majority of Christian pilgrimage narratives do not talk about how they were funded as many narratives from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries begin in the Holy Land.[15] It is possible that certain clergy could have afforded to go on local pilgrimages by themselves, but for a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, they would have most certainly needed the financial aid of a monastery, a religious order, or even a family member. In 1117, an Irishman named Diarmuid had made his way to Liège where he stayed in the Church of Saint John and the Cathedral of Saint Lambert.[16] It is not clear to which religious order Diarmuid belonged, but Raimbald, a canon of the church and cathedral, gave Diarmuid a letter of recommendation and funding for his pilgrimage to Jerusalem.[17] Churches and monasteries prioritised their finance. If, for whatever reason, they were low on funds and had not received many donations in any given year, they could not have afforded to send members of its order to the Holy Land. Conversely, if they had received large donations, they could perhaps afford to send out more of their members as pilgrims. Clergy were encouraged to remain at home and perform charitable acts in their locality. In the *Life of Raymond 'Palmario' of Piacenza*, written in 1212, Jesus appeared to Raymond and told him to stop his endless pilgrimages and care for the poor instead.[18] While at the Cathedral of Saint Lambert in 1117, Diarmuid gave a sermon about pilgrimage which had been written by canon Raimbald. In this sermon, Diarmuid invited the clergy to go with him to the Holy Land, but in a spiritual sense, not the physical by declaring that the true Jerusalem was only in heaven.[19] On the other hand, given that pilgrimage narratives were distributed and copied in other monasteries, this suggests that a monastery could have something of a claim to fame if one or more of its members completed a pilgrimage to Jerusalem and wrote about it.[20]

There had been a tradition among nobles and royalty of going to the Holy Land before the crusades. While they did not write about their journey themselves, evidence of their pilgrimages can be seen in charters and other legal documents, as well as in

[15] John of Würzburg, 'Descriptio Terrae Sancte,' in *Peregrinationes Tres: Saewulf, John of Würzburg, Theodericus*, Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis, ed. R. B. C. Huygens, 139 (Turnholt: Brepols, 1994), pp. 79-141 (p. 80); Theoderich, 'Libellus de Locis Sanctis,' in *Peregrinationes Tres: Saewulf, John of Würzburg, Theodericus*, Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis, ed. R. B. C. Huygens, 139 (Turnholt: Brepols, 1994), pp. 742-798 (p. 143).
[16] Reimbaldi Leodiensis, *Itineraria, Seu Exhortatoria Dermatii Cuiusdam Hybernensis, Proficiscentis Iherusalem*, in *Opera Omnia*, Corpus Christianorum, 336 vols (Turnholt: Typographi Brepols, 1966), iv, pp. 2-5; *Thesaurus Novus Anecdotorum: Complectens Regum ac Principum, Aliorumque Viroum Illustrium Epistolas et Diplomata bene multa*, 5 vols., eds. Edmund Martene and Ursin Durand (Paris, 1717), i, p. 340.
[17] Reimbaldi Leodiensis, *Itineraria*, p. 5; *Thesaurus Novus Anecdotorum*, i, p. 343.
[18] Rufino, 'Vita et Miracula B. Raymundi Palmarii,' *Acta Sanctorum*, July, Vol. VI, ed. Peter van der Bosch (Paris, 1868), pp. 644-57 (p. 650).
[19] *Thesaurus Novus Anecdotorum*, i, p. 342.
[20] The idea of visual or imagined pilgrimage will be discussed in Chapter 4.

hagiography, chronicles and, for Scandinavian elites, the sagas.[21] Nobility did not always, however, equate to wealth, and even nobles needed financial aid for their journey. This aid sometimes came from monasteries, particularly for penitent pilgrims. In 1075, the monks of Vendôme reluctantly gave the knight Guicher of Châteaurenard 20 *soldi* which he asked for in order to complete his pilgrimage to Rome and renounce his unjust and immoral ways.[22] It is not apparent if this tradition carried into the crusading period, or how far it was feasible for religious institutions to fund the growing number of pilgrimages to the Holy Land in this manner. Another way for nobles to fund their pilgrimage or crusade was to sell, lease, or mortgage some of their property to a religious institution in exchange for money.[23] In 1190, Peter Papillon gave the abbey of Vendôme the revenue of his land of Pezou in exchange for 30 *livres* and some silver to fund his journey to the Holy Land.[24] This particular type of funding system seemed sustainable as both the pilgrim and the Church benefited finically. The Knights Templar, who will be discussed in subsequent chapters, operated a similar system of financial assistance for pilgrims and crusaders. The Count of Ponthieu's journey to the Holy Land, which appears in Marie de France's late twelfth-century 'A Story of Beyond the Sea,' was funded by 'merchants and Templars, who lent him gladly of their wealth.'[25] The most common system the Templars used was the credit system, that is, a letter sealed by a prince, baron or bishop approving that the sum the pilgrim would pay back on their return.[26] This system was not exclusive to religious institutions. After the dying Young King Henry asked William Marshal to take his cross to the Holy Sepulchre, King Henry II gave William 'a hundred pounds in Angevin currency' for the journey.[27]

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[21] 'Vita S. Guilielmo Firmato Moritonii in Normannia,' in *Acta Sanctorum*, April, Vol. III, ed. Joanne Carbabdet (Paris, 1866), pp. 336-344 (1.1, pp. 336-7); *The Orkneyinga Saga*, ed. Joseph Anderson (Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas, 1873), p. 68; p. 131; Snorre Sturlason, *Heimskringla or The Lives of the Norse Kings*, trans A. H. Smith (Cambridge: W. Heffer & Sons, 1932), p. 512.

[22] *Cartulaire de l'Abbaye Cardinal de la Trinité de Vendôme*, ed. C. Metais, 5 vols (Paris: Libraires des Archives nationals et de la Société de l'École des Chartes, 1893), i, no. 251, pp. 396-7.

[23] Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading* (London: Continuum, 2003), p. 37-49; Christopher Tyerman, *England and the Crusades 1095-1588* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), pp. 196-8.

[24] It is not clear if Peter was a crusader or pilgrim, *Cartulaire de l'Abbaye Cardinal*, ii, no. 523, pp. 466-8.

[25] Marie de France, 'A Story of Beyond the Sea,' in *Medieval Lays and Legends of Marie de France*, trans. Eugene Mason (New York: Dover Publications, 2003), pp. 163-196 (p. 192).

[26] D. M. Metcalf, 'The Templars as bankers and monetary transfers between west and east in the twelfth century,' in *Coinage in the Latin East: The Fourth Oxford Symposium on Coinage and Monetary History* eds. P. W. Edbury and D. M. Metcalf (Oxford: Bar International Series 77, 1980), pp. 1-17 (p. 7).

[27] *The History of William Marshal*, ed. A. J. Holden, trans. S. Gregory, notes D. Crouch, 3 vols. *Text and Translation* (ll. 1-10031) (London: Anglo-Norman Text Society, 2002), ll. 6892-8, p. 351; ll. 7248-7253, i, p. 369; There are other incidences of people going on pilgrimage on behalf of others. Sometime between 1190-1215, Roger le Peytevin agreed to give his lands in Normanton near Wakefield to his brother Hugh, if Hugh went to the Holy Land in Roger's place, William Farrer, *Early Yorkshire Charters: Being a Collection of Documents Anterior to the thirteenth century made from the public records, monastic chartularies, Roger Dodsworth's manuscripts and other available sources*, 6 vols (Edinburgh: 1914-6), iii, no. 1573, p. 248;

Hagiography, charters, and testaments indicate that merchants were frequently among the pilgrims going to the Holy Land. Merchants who travelled around the Mediterranean with their goods and stock had the advantage of being accustomed to sea travel, and perhaps had sailed to cities such as Acre before, perhaps making the journey to the Holy Land a little less daunting. Indeed, Godric of Finchale (1065-1170), whose *Life* was written by his contemporary Reginald of Durham, began life as a local merchant and later traded in cities around Europe. He had sailed to the Holy Land on several occasions too before making a pilgrimage there.[28] A number of testaments made by merchants in Marseilles in 1248 provide an opportunity to look into the varying degrees of wealth of merchants as well as revealing tariffs for pilgrims. A buss ship called the *Saint Francis*, for example, left Marseilles in 1248 bound for the Holy Land, carrying pilgrims for 38s each.[29] In the same year, the owners of the buss *Saint Leonard* leased places for pilgrims to a tour operator for 45s per pilgrim.[30] Allowing for a tour operator to make a profit on the 45s, the cost of passage on a buss from Marseilles to the Holy Land in 1248 ranged from 38-50s. The two prices may reflect the different types of services available on both ships, though the cost may also reflect the time of year. The *Saint Francis* was to sail the end of March which was the busiest time of year for sailing, while the *Saint Leonard* set sail in mid-August. Also the tour operator for the *Saint Francis* did not agree on the price until 25th of March, suggesting it was a rushed deal and left him with little time to fill the spaces. The tour operator for *Saint Leonard*, however, made his deal with the owners in mid June, giving him a month to fill the spaces on board. Although these are only two prices for two ships on one particular voyage, they offer some sort of foundation for the price of passage to the Holy Land.

A testament made by a merchant named Peter of Saint Paul at Marseilles in March 1248 contains a detailed list of how his belongings were to be distributed upon his death.[31] Peter was about to set sail for the Holy Land, so his ability to finance a pilgrimage is not in question. The recurring issue of identifying whether this person was a crusader or pilgrim arises again, though, in this case it seems more likely that Peter was pilgrim. His age is not

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Substitute pilgrims also appear in wills of the dying person who was unable to go on pilgrimage but, had taken vows, Steven A. Epstein, *Wills and Wealth in Medieval Genoa, 1150-1250* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984), pp. 197-8.

[28] Reginald of Durham, *Libellus de Vita et Miraculis S. Godrici, Heremitae de Finchale* (London: Surtees Society, 1847), p. 54; Mary-Ann Stouck, ed., *Medieval Saints: A reader* (Peterborough: Broadview press, 1999), p. 412.

[29] *Documents Inédits sur le Commerce de Marseille au Moyen Age*, ed. Louis Blancard, 2 vols (Marseille, 1884-5), i, no. 165, p. 334.

[30] *Documents Inédits sur le Commerce*, ii, no. 914, pp. 248-9.

[31] *Documents Inédits sur le Commerce*, ii, no. 8, pp. 313-8.

given, though the tone of the document suggests that he was in old age or ill, as he expressed concern that he would die before he set sail. It is therefore, more likely that this man was a pilgrim who planned to go to and die in the Holy Land rather than a crusader. By adding up the list of donations to churches, charities, and heirs, Peter's wealth arrives to at over 230l plus whatever he set aside for his journey. Unfortunately, this document does not say how much his voyage was going to cost, though it is obvious that he could afford a 50s fare. Another merchant named Giraud de Cardallaco of Marseilles planned to donate a total of 126l 16s 6d to various churches, hospitals and his family members.[32] Giraud did not go on pilgrimage, though his testament gives insight into the varying wealth of merchants and of a class who could have afforded to go on pilgrimage to the Holy Land.

A testament made by a shop-keeper, Bernard Roux, in Marseilles in 1248 lists donations totalling 6l 5s 6d to various churches and hospitals.[33] Working on the assumption that the return voyage would cost about the same, the total sailing cost would be 76-100s. While Bernard Roux's wealth was less than that of the merchant Giraud, Bernard could, in theory, have afforded to go on pilgrimage, but travel expenses alone would equate to over half the possessions listed in his testament. Benjamin Kedar calculated the daily wage of a cook in Paris in 1248 to equate to 30d of Genoa, while a tailor made 10d daily.[34] For comparison, a study of Genoese journeymen wages in trades shows that the average cook in Genoa made 3l 12s in wages during the same period.[35] There is, however, a significant difference between wages based on the trade in question. Building craftsmen in southern England from 1264-1300 earned a wage with an average of 3d a day.[36] A smith in Genoa made the most at 18l 15s annually followed next by a dyer who made 13l 10s, with a draper's assistant at the bottom of the table making only 1l 10s. Based on these examples, the smith could afford passage, but it would take up to one quarter of his wages, while the draper's assistant's entire wages could not even cover a one way passage to the Holy Land. According to Quentin Van Doosselaere, a wool worker averaged 12-18l.[37] Taking the price of sailing to and from the Holy Land as 76-100s, the

[32] *Documents Inédits sur le Commerce*, ii, no. 18, pp. 321-3.
[33] *Documents Inédits sur le Commerce*, ii, no. 34, pp. 331-2.
[34] Benjamin Z. Kedar, 'The Passenger List of a Crusader Ship, 1250: towards the History of the Popular Element of the Seventh Crusade' in *The Franks in the Levant, 11th to 14th Centuries (*Aldershot: Variorum, 1993), XVI, pp. 267-279 (pp. 271-2).
[35] Steven A. Epstein, *Wage Labor and Guilds in Medieval Europe*, (London: University of North Carolina Press, 1991), p. 148; In 1248, one lira of Genoa was worth about 13 s 4d of Marseille 'mixed money,' Spufford, *Handbook of Exchange*, p. 108.
[36] E. H. Phelps Brown and Sheila V. Hopkins, 'Seven Centuries of Building Wages,' *Economica*, New Series, Vol. 22, No. 87 (Aug., 1955), pp. 195-206 (p. 197).
[37] Van Doosselaere, *Commercial Agreements*, p. 215.

wool worker would struggle to afford to go on pilgrimage to the Holy Land, as it could take up to one quarter of his annual income on transport alone. In January 1123, however, a wool worker named Maienna and her son from Barcelona did go on pilgrimage to Jerusalem.[38] Although a wool worker, Maienna also worked on a farm which gave her more income to fund her pilgrimage. In theory, ignoring personal circumstances such as family and work commitments, some merchants, shopkeepers, and certain craftsmen could afford to go on pilgrimage to the Holy Land without financial aid from others, while others clearly could not finance the journey by themselves.

Where does this leave people on the lower socio-economic scale? Marie-Luise Favreau-Lilie and Elka Weber have argued that pilgrimage to Jerusalem was exclusive for the upper classes because it was too expensive to get there.[39] This, however, does not seem to be accurate. As might be expected, those associated with social classes that could not read or write have not left personal written accounts of their pilgrimage. It has been noted that the increase in pilgrimage to the Holy Land in the tenth century was due to the conversion of Hungary, meaning that those who could not afford the sea fare could travel on foot.[40] As discussed in the introduction, the year 1033 was believed to mark the first millennium after the death of Jesus and thus, the end of world. The Burgundian monk Rodulfus Glaber (985-1047) noted the social disorder of the 1033 pilgrimage as the poor were leading the way, followed by the middle class, then the kings, counts and bishops, and finally rich and poor, and women.[41] The author believed that it was unusual to see the poor go on pilgrimage to the Holy Land and this may very well have been the first mass movement of poor pilgrims to the Holy Land.

Occasionally farmers and other manual labourers appear in charters and other legal documents. The 1250 passenger list of the crusader ship *St. Victor* set out from Messina Sicily carrying people from various social classes. Benjamin Z. Kedar pointed that that this 'undermines the notion that the sea-way to the East was a rich man's route' as 75.5% of the

[38] *Cartulario del 'Sant Cugat' del Vallés*, ed. J. Ruis Serra, 3 vols. (Barcelona, 1947), iii, no. 863, p. 60.
[39] Marie-Luise Favreau-Lilie, 'The German Empire and Palestine: German pilgrimages to Jerusalem between the 12th and 16th century,' *Journal of Medieval History*, Vol. 21, No. 4 (Dec., 1995), pp. 321-41; Elka Weber, *Traveling Through Text: Message and Method in Late Medieval Pilgrimage Accounts* (New York: Routledge, 2005), p. 48
[40] Richard Landes, *Relics, Apocalypse, and the Deceits of History: Ademar of Chabannes, 989-1034* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995), p. 156.
[41] Rodulfus Glaber, *Historiarum Sui Temporis Libri Quinque Ab Electione Potissimum Hugonis Capeti In Regem Ad Annum Usque 1046*, ed. J. P. Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, Vol. 142 (Paris, 1853), 4:6, p. 680; Rodulfus Glaber, *The Five Books of the Histories*, ed. and trans. John France (Oxford, OMT, 1989), 4:6, pp. 200-5.

passengers were not nobility.[42] The average annual income of a female servant in Genoa between 1226-1300 was 2-4l plus food.[43] Genoese male servants averaged 1l 14s which was similar to that of a servant's wages in England during the same period.[44] The average Genoese female servant would have needed to spend her entire annual income on shipping alone, which makes her ability to fund pilgrimage herself unlikely. On the other hand, the poor could serve onboard the ship as payment, such as a man named Pervit listed as a ship servant of *St. Victor*.[45] It stands to reason that those who were already had experience as servants would be hired to serve onboard.

Miserabiles Personae

Regardless of income, some hagiographical accounts suggest that even the extremely poor could go to the Holy Land of their own accord. St Guy of Anderlecht died in 1012 shortly after his return from pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and the *Vita S. Guidonis Confessoris*, written forty two years after Guy's death, reveals that he was from a poor family and lived as a farmer.[46] His poverty is noted as he was called 'the poor man of Anderlecht.' References to extremely poor pilgrims appear in other sources. Guibert of Nogent's version of the Pope Urban II's speech regarding the First Crusade in *Gesta Dei Per Francos*, written between 1107-8, spoke of attacks on poor pilgrims 'without anything more than trust in their barren poverty, since they seemed to have nothing except their bodies to lose.'[47] He made it abundantly clear that these were destitute pilgrims as he detailed how allegedly the Muslims, who did not believe they could truly be poor, cut the pilgrims open in case they had swallowed gold or silver. This leads to a number of questions. Were hagiographical accounts simply trying to highlight the piety of their saints by exaggerating their level of poverty? Was Guibert of Nogent merely attempting to evoke pity from his audience? Ultimately, the best way to respond to such questions is to examine if it was realistically possible for the truly poor to go on pilgrimage to Jerusalem and if the

[42] Kedar, 'The Passenger List of a Crusader Ship,' p. 271.
[43] Van Doosselaere, *Commercial Agreements*, p. 215.
[44] According to Epstein, a female servant only earned 5s annually, Epstein, *Wage Labor*, p. 148; John Langdon, 'Minimum Wages and Unemployment Rates in Medieval England: The Case of Old Woodstock, Oxfordshire, 1256-1357,' in *Commercial Activity, Markets and Entrepreneurs in the Middle Ages*, edited by Ben Dodds and Christian D. Liddy (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2011), pp. 25-44 (p. 31).
[45] Kedar, 'The Passenger List of a Crusader Ship,' p. 272.
[46] 'Vita S. Guidonis Confessoris,' in *Acta Sanctorum*, September, IV, ed. Joanne Carnandet (Paris, 1868), pp. 36-48 (p. 37).
[47] Guibert of Nogent, *Dei Gesta Per Francos et Cinq Autres Textes*, ed. Robert B. C. Huygens, CCCM, Vol. 127A (Turnholt, 1996), pp. 76-352 (Book 2, p. 116): August C. Krey, *The First Crusade; The Accounts of Eyewitnesses and Participants* (Princeton, 1921), p. 40.

crusading period had any impact on this. The answer may lie in the concept of 'miserabiles personae' or wretched people. This is an important and often overlooked aspect of pilgrimage. From early medieval times, the Church likened the protection of the poor to the protection of pilgrims. The Council of Ver stated that caring for pilgrims and the poor was like caring for God.[48] The Italian jurist Azo of Bologna (1150-1230) wrote in his *Summa Codicis et Institutionum* that 'miserabiles personae' were any people who incited pity in others.[49] It traditionally applied to widows, orphans and the poor, but the term was sometimes used quite loosely, and under Canon law, pilgrims were classed as 'miserabiles personae.'[50] Around 1245, Pope Innocent IV, in the first book of his *Apparatus*, clearly stated that those classified as 'miserabiles personae' were women, children, the blind, the mutilated, lepers, the terminally ill, and pilgrims.[51] Brenda M. Bolton points out that, in the twelfth century, 'considerable numbers of people appeared to be behaving strangely' as they renounced wealth and inheritance in favour of living in poverty and personal suffering like the apostles.[52] Pilgrims mimicked the poverty aspect of *Vita Apostolica* and *Imitatio Christi* by becoming 'miserabiles personae' themselves.[53]

The notion of equating the care of the poor or pilgrims to caring for God was played out in a variety of medieval sources, where Jesus and other Biblical figures appeared as a poor, sometimes destitute, pilgrim or a 'miserabilis persona.' The twelfth-century Sicilian version of the liturgical drama *Le Jeu Des Pèlerins D'Emmaüs*, dating from the reign of King Roger II (1130-54), contains the play *Officium Peregrinorum*.[54] In this, two pilgrims travelling in the Holy Land encountered a lost and hungry pilgrim who later reveals himself to be Jesus.[55] Poor pilgrim Jesus was a common character in hagiography also, such as in the *Life* of Raymond 'Palmario' of Piacenza.[56] An account of the French phase of the Children's Crusade (1212) from the *Anonymous canon of Laon*

[48] *Capitularia Regum Francorum*, i, no. 75, p. 60.
[49] Azo, *Summa codicis et Institutionum* (Venice: 1489), 3.14.1.
[50] R. H. Helmholz, *The Spirit of Canon Law* (University of Georgia Press: Athens, 2010), p. 129; James A. Brundage, *Medieval Canon Law and the Crusader* (London: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969), p. 12.
[51] *Commentari Innocentii Quarti Pont. Maximi Super Libros Quinque Decretalium* (Frankfurt, 1570), 1.29.38.
[52] Brenda M. Bolton, 'Paupertas Christi: Old Wealth and New Poverty in the Twelfth Century,' *Studies in Church History*, Vol. 14 (1977), pp. 95-103 (p. 96).
[53] Pilgrimage guides do not address *Vita Apostolica* or *Imitatio Christi* directly, though Theoderich talked about how pilgrims flogged themselves en route to the Holy Land, Theoderich, 'Libellus de locis sanctis,' p. 172.
[54] *Le Jeu Des Pèlerins D'Emmaüs*, ed. Marcel Pérès (Arles: Harmonia Mundi, 2004), p. 6; For a discussion on other versions of the *Peregrinus* play, see: Robert Bartlett, *Why Can the Dead do such Great Things? Saints and Worshippers from Martyrs to the Reformation* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013), pp. 417-8.
[55] *Le Jeu Des Pèlerins*, p. 19.
[56] Rufino, 'Vita et Miracula B. Raymundi,' p. 651.

states that it began after Jesus, dressed as a poor pilgrim, appeared to a shepherd boy from the village of Cloyes near Vendôme.[57] In the *Life of Andrea Gallerani of Siena*, who died in 1251, which Diana Webb has suggested was mostly likely a sermon written by a Dominican, Jesus similarly appeared as a poor pilgrim seeking shelter.[58] Poor pilgrim Jesus was turned away with 'great irritation' by Andrea's brother, though the pious Andrea willingly gave the pilgrim a room.[59] Similarly, the hagiography of St. Francis of Assisi contains stories of how the saint liked to dress as a poor pilgrim on occasion also. In Thomas of Celano's *The Remembrance of the Desire of a Soul*, written between 1245-7, St. Francis waited outside the hermitage of Greccio dressed as a pilgrim 'with a staff in his hand' and cried out for help, 'give alms to this poor, sick pilgrim' at Easter or Christmas. He sat on the floor to set an example to the other brothers who were dining lavishly, 'he was like the other pilgrim who was alone in Jerusalem on the same day.'[60] The image contrasts the brothers at Greccio who surrounded themselves with comforts and fine food with the struggles poor pilgrims in the Holy Land. Bonaventure of Bagnoregio's *The Major Legend of Saint Francis*, written 1260-3, contains the same story, but makes direct reference to Emmaus: 'he begged alms from the brothers, like a pilgrim and beggar, mindful of him who that day appeared in the guise of a pilgrim to his disciples travelling on the road to Emmaus.'[61] It is very clear from such sources that there is a strong connection between the concept of 'miserabiles personae' and pilgrims. In the end, sermons and hagiography such as the *Life of Andrea* must have made it awkward for its audience to turn poor pilgrims away, for to do so might run the risk of turning away Jesus himself. This concept also served to promote the idea of *Vita Apostolica* and *Imitatio Christi*. Stories of saints and Biblical figures, including Jesus himself, taking on the form of poor pilgrims to mimic characteristics of *Vita Apostolica* or *Imitatio Christi* may have

[57] J. F. C. Hecker, 'Child-Pilgrimage,' trans. Robert H. Cooke in *The Epidemics of the Middle Ages*, trans. B. G. Babington (London: Trübner & Co., 1859), pp. 345-60 (p. 349); Gary Dickson, *The Children's Crusade: Medieval History Modern Mythistory* (New York: Palgrave Macmilliam, 2008), pp. 32-4.
[58] *The Life of Andrea Gallerani of Siena*, trans. Diana Webb, in *Saints and Cities in Medieval Italy* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007), pp. 141-59 (p. 141).
[59] *The Life of Andrea Gallerani*, pp. 147-8; 'Vita B. Andrea de Galleranis,' in *Acta Sanctorum*, March, III , ed. Joanne Carnandet (Paris, 1865), pp. 53-58 (p. 54).
[60] Thomas of Celano, *Tractatus Secundus Super Vitam Sancti Francisci De Assisii Cum Miraculis*, (London, 1909), xlv, p. 34; Thomas of Celano, *The Remembrance of the Desire of a Soul* (The Second Life of Saint Francis) in *Francis of Assisi: The Founder. Early Documents Vol. II*, ed. Ragis J. Armstrong, J. A. Wayne Hellmann, William J. Short (London: New City Press, 2000), pp. 233-393 (2:31, pp. 287-8).
[61] Bonaventure of Bagnoregio, 'Vita Altera S. Francisci Confessoris,' in *Acta Sanctorum*, October, Vol. II, ed. Joanne Carnandet (Paris, 1866), pp. 742-798 (7: 97, p. 761); Bonaventure of Bagnoregio, *The Major Legend of Saint Francis*, in *Francis of Assisi: The Founder. Early Documents*, vol. II, ed. Ragis J. Armstrong, J. A. Wayne Hellmann, William J. Short (London: New City Press, 2000), 7:9, pp. 525-683 (p. 582).

helped to enhance acceptance and increase charity for pilgrims who attempted to live like the apostles or imitate Christ.

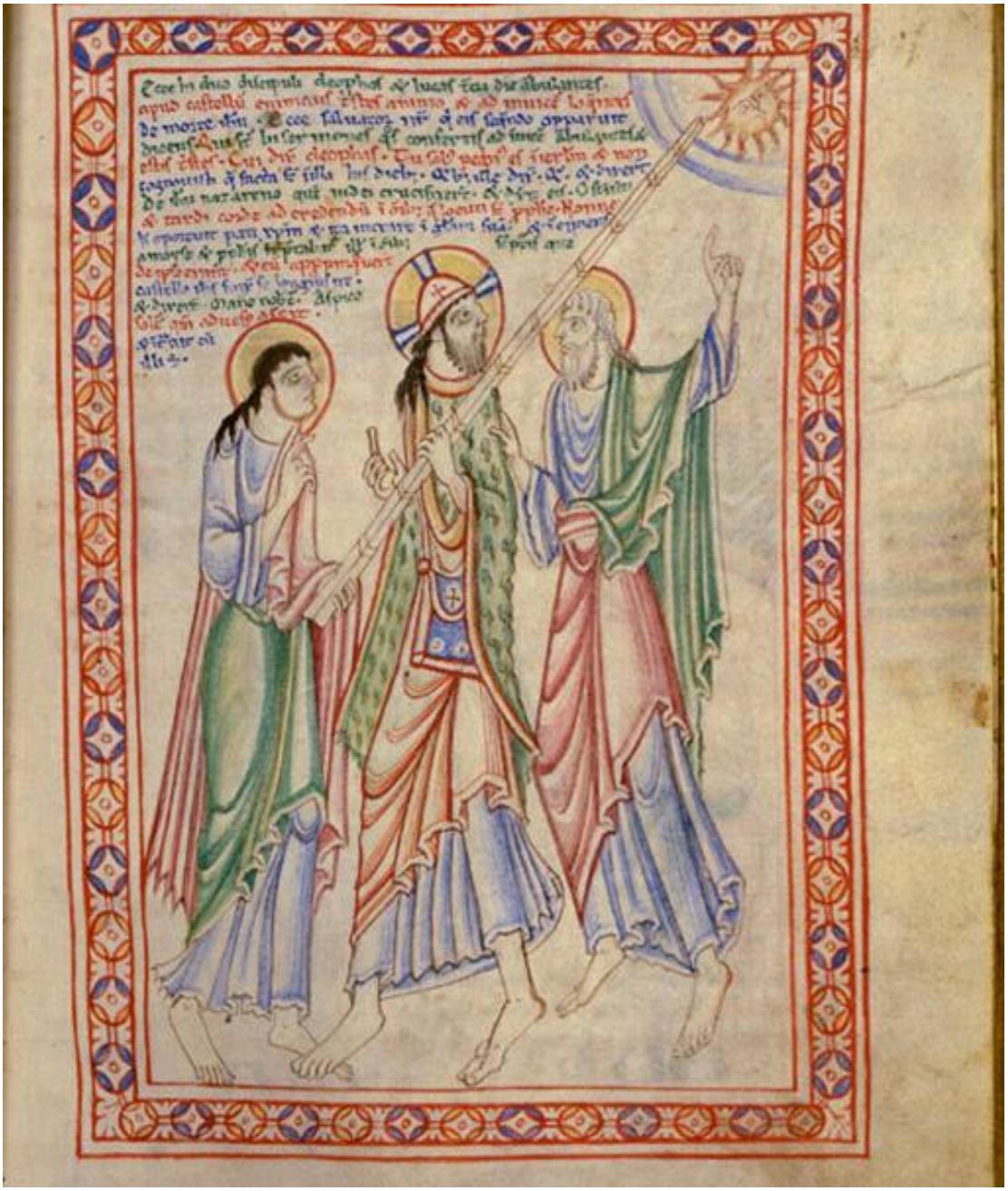

Fig 1.1 Jesus dressed as a pilgrim en route to Emmaus with a scrip and staff. Geoffrey de Gorham, Abbot of St. Albans, *St Albans Psalter* (Dombibliothek Hildesheim, St Godehard), f. 69, c. 1119-1146.[62] Permission to reproduce this image has been granted by Dombibliothek Hildesheim.

[62] <https://www.abdn.ac.uk/stalbanspsalter/english/commentary/page069.shtml> [accessed 27th of May 2017]

Guibert of Nogent noted that wealthy pilgrims were easy targets, 'forced to make payments and tributes almost every mile, to purchase release at every gate of the city, at the entrance of the churches and temples,' as well as buying their way out of prison.[63] Such predicaments had occurred during the mid eighth-century pilgrimage of Willibald, and ninth-century pilgrimage of Bernard the Wise.[64] Pilgrims were encouraged to bring as little as possible with them on their journey to Jerusalem and other pilgrimage sites. Regardless of their social status, they were to make themselves 'miserabiles personae' by travelling in poverty. If they were trying to follow *Vita Apostolica*, they would likely have embraced this idea. The *Veneranda Dies* sermon in the *Codex Calixtinus* said that pilgrims were to carry small scrip to minimise the amount of money they could carry.[65] Forced poverty had a spiritual and practical significance. Both are highlighted in Jacques de Vitry's undated sermon on pilgrimage, which stated that pilgrims were not to show any wealth in case of attracting thieves. [66] Similarly to *Veneranda Dies*, their scrip was to be small and open, signifying how little money they carried. Any money that they did bring with them was to be given to the poor, which meant that pilgrims were to trust in God to provide them with food and shelter.[67] Besides attracting robbers and increasing their risk of being assaulted or killed, both the *Veneranda Dies* and Jacques' sermon echo of the Gospel of Luke which stressed that the pilgrim who died with money in his pocket would not reach heaven.[68] The notion appears in other sermons also. Perhaps inspired by Jacques, a sermon given by Albert Suerbeer from Cologne while he was Archbishop of Armagh (1239-46) concerned three poor pilgrims who went to India to the tomb of St. Thomas the Apostle.[69] They found gold which they knew had been stolen from a local king. Two of the pilgrims believed that the gold was a reward from God because they were so poor. Even though the third pilgrim convinced them to return the gold to the king, the two pilgrims who wanted to take the gold were swallowed up by a hole in the ground.[70] Given that sermons were didactic

[63] Guibert of Nogent, *Dei Gesta Per Francos*, Book 2, p. 116
[64] *Vita Willibaldi Episcopi Eichstetenis*, ed. O. Holder-Egger, in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptorum*, Vol. 15, part 1 (Hannover, 1887), pp. 86-106 (p. 94); Bernard the Monk, *Itinerarium*, in *Itinera Hierosolymitana et Descriptiones Terrae Sanctae Bellis Sacris Anteriora et Latina Lingua Exarata Sumptibus Societatis Illustrandis Orientis Latini Monumentis*, eds. Titus Tobler and Augustus Molinier (Geneva, 1879), pp. 308-320 (pp. 311).
[65] *Liber Sancti Jacobi*, i, 1.17, p. 152.
[66] Debra J. Birch, 'Jacques de Vitry and the Ideology of Pilgrimage,' in *Pilgrimage Explored*, ed. Jennie Stopford (Woodbridge: York Medieval Press, 1999), pp. 79-94 (pp. 81-4).
[67] Birch, 'Jacques de Vitry,' p. 86.
[68] 'The pilgrim who dies with money on the route of the saints is certainly dislodged from the kingdom of true pilgrims,' *The Miracles of Saint James*, p. 30; *Liber Sancti Jacobi*, i, 1.17, p. 153. 'Do not seek what you are to eat and what you are to drink, nor be of anxious mind… Instead, seek his kingdom, and these things shall be yours as well,' Luke, 12:22-31.
[69] *Liber Exemplorum ad usum Praedicantium Saeculo XIII compositus a quodam fratre minore anglico de provincia Hiberniae*, ed. A. G. Little (Aberdeen: Typis Academicis, 1908), p. 88.
[70] *Liber Exemplorum*, p. 89.

speeches preached to a congregation, it is clear that by the thirteenth century at least, not only were pilgrims classed as 'miserabiles personae' but, refusal to accept and act as one could literately damn a pilgrim's soul and render the entire purpose of the pilgrimage in the first place as pointless. As such, the connection between poverty and pilgrimage acted both as part of *Vita Apostolica* an act of penance, via the hardship incurred by frugal living.

As 'miserabiles personae,' pilgrims were at the mercy of the charity of others to complete their journey to the Holy Land. While members of the lower classes and clergy may have received this label before, it must have been a strange concept to the wealthier of pilgrims such as nobles. If people of wealth had to travel in forced poverty to insure the salvation of their soul, there is no reason why genuinely poor people could not do the same. Undeniably, the twelfth and thirteenth centuries saw the rise of a 'charitable revolution' due to the rise in population, urbanisation, and a monetary society which highlighted the suffering of the poor.[71] If the wealthy genuinely heeded Jacques' warning and became poor pilgrims, arguably the journey could have been fractionally less demanding for poor people who were not accustomed to the comforts associated with nobility or royalty. The issue of crusaders displaying their wealth while on crusade was raised by Pope Eugene III in his *Quantum Praedecessores*, his call for a second crusade in 1145. He asked crusaders to travel without lavish clothing and other comforts, bringing only the bare essentials for war.[72] Nevertheless, the essentials for a pilgrim and the essentials for a crusader differed significantly. A crusading army could not realistically expect to make it to the Holy Land by surviving on charity.

It is possible that wealthy pilgrims involved in the mass pilgrimages of the eleventh century funded and took poorer pilgrims with them on pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Undoubtedly, the crusades did allow poorer people more freedom to go on pilgrimage to the Holy Land. Favreau-Lilie notes that it was possible to survive on Frankish alms in the Holy Land, and that the problem lay in the expense of making the journey itself.[73] However, using the aid available from churches and other charitable institutions, such as the Military Orders, a poor person could make their way to a port city. Scattered evidence

[71] Adam J. Davis, 'The Social and Religious Meaning of Charity in Medieval Europe,' *History Compass*, Vol. 12, No.12 (2014), pp. 935-50 (p. 935).
[72] *Monumenta Germaniae Selecta ab anno 768 usque ad annum 1250*, ed. M. Doeberl, 4 vols (Munich, 1890), iv, no. 16, pp. 40-1; Pope Gregory VIII repeated this in his *Audita Tremendi*, October 1187, adding that crusaders were not to travel with 'other that displayed ostentation and luxury,' Jessalynn Bird, Edward Peters and James M. Powell, eds., *Crusade and Christendom: Annotated Documents in Translation from Innocent III to the Fall of Acre, 1187-1291* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), p. 9.
[73] Favreau-Lilie, 'The German Empire,' p. 327.

shows that in certain cases, charities would fund pilgrims entirely. In January 1236, the Hospital of St. Nicholas in Portsmouth in England was ordered by any means possible to get one of their patients, Philip the Clerk who had leprosy, to the Holy Land.[74] From a port city, poor pilgrims could sail to the Holy Land on a ship belonging to the Knights Templars or the Hospitallers who offered free or cheaper transport to pilgrims, or they might offer their services as servants on board as payment.[75] The *Veneranda Dies* sermon encouraged pilgrims to give away any money they obtained on their journey in charity.[76] It is possible that pilgrims that had received money could have paid the fare of another pilgrim as an act of charity. Pilgrims giving aid to others can be seen in hagiography and exemplars. The *Vita Sancti Heimeradi Hasungensis*, written by Ekkebert of Hersfeld between 1072-1090, says that Saint Heimerad (970-1019) immediately gave away any money he received on his pilgrimage to Jerusalem to the poor.[77] Hildegund, the twelve year old virgin from Neuss near Cologne, who died in 1188, became destitute in Tyre after her father's death on their pilgrimage to Jerusalem. She was rescued by other German pilgrims who took pity on her, and cared and paid for her return journey.[78] In summary, the crusading period truly did offer poor people a chance to go to the Holy Land and back, something that was close to impossible before this period, when the pilgrimage infrastructure did not exist, and after the thirteenth century when it had broken down. In relation to the pilgrimage of 1033, Glaber explains that 'many of them desired to die before returning to their homeland.'[79] If these pilgrims truly believed that the end of the world was upon them, then it would not have mattered how ill prepared they were for the pilgrimage. Although this particular type of large scale pilgrimage was rare, death on pilgrimage was seen as a positive thing for the soul, a concept which carried through to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. In other words, a person may have struggled to finance a pilgrimage to Jerusalem and the journey may have diminished their income before they even reached the Holy Land, though as God's servants, the pilgrims who risked losing everything earthly including their own lives would receive an eternal heavenly reward in return.

[74] *Calendar of Patent Rolls of the Reign of* Henry III, 1232-1247 (London, 1906), p. 134.
[75] Kedar, 'The Passenger List of a Crusader Ship,' p. 272.
[76] *Liber Sancti Jacobi*, i, 1:17, p. 153.
[77] Ekkebertus Hersfeldensis, *Vita Sancti Heimeradi Hasungensis*, ed. Rudolfo Koepke, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores in Folio, Bd.* 10 (Hannoverae, 1852), pp. 598-607 (c. 5, p. 600).
[78] Caesarii Heisterbacensis Monachi Ordinis Cisterciensis, *Dialogus Miaculorum*, 2 vols. ed. Josephus Strange (Cologne: J. M. Heberle, 1851), i, 1:40, pp. 47-8.
[79] Rodulfus Glaber, *Historiarum*, 4:6, p. 680; Rodulfus Glaber, *The Five Books of the Histories*, 4:6, pp. 200-5.

Debts and Testaments

It was important for pilgrims to have their legal matters in order before they set out on pilgrimage. On December 1st 1145, Pope Eugenius III announced that the debts of those going on crusade would be frozen.[80] This also applied to pilgrims. It did not, however, make pilgrimage or crusade a way to shun one's debts. Whether a pilgrim or crusader, a person needed to prove that they actually went to the Holy Land.[81] Also, if a pilgrim died owing money, the pilgrim's family was left with the debt. Even if the pilgrim had come to an amicable arrangement concerning his debts, it was not always so straight forward. A 1308 court case held in Kildare in Ireland concerns the issue of whether or not the pilgrim William le Paumer's debts only came to light the day he left on pilgrimage or beforehand. William died on pilgrimage leaving Roger, his brother and potential heir, in a court battle with Thomas de Snyterby and William de Monte who had seized William's lands because of his debts.[82]

Pilgrims could seek legal protection for their property before going on pilgrimage. This was a secular concern, not a privilege for pilgrims.[83] Simple protection, which was most commonly given, meant that the king would watch over the pilgrim's lands and property. In 1218, Robert the abbot of St Mary's Abbey of York was given letters of protection for three years for his pilgrimage to Jerusalem by Henry III of England.[84] Similarly, in October 1240, Robert parson of the church of Hawton in Nottinghamshire was given 'simple protection' for three years to go to Jerusalem.[85] The 'clausae volumus' was sometimes added to simple protection. This prevented any form of legal action being brought against a person or their property in their absence.[86] A document signed at Dover in 1215, states that the justiciar of Ireland was given a mandate to prevent any case being brought against Donncadh, Archbishop of Cashel, until he returned from pilgrimage to

[80] *Monumenta Germaniae Selecta*, iv, no. 16, p. 43.
[81] Bird, 'Canon Law Regarding Pilgrims,' p. 80.
[82] *Calendar of the Justiciary Rolls or Proceedings in the Court of the Justiciar of Ireland, I to VII Years of Edward II* (Dublin: Stationary Office, 1905), p. 47; p. 83; The case had been ongoing since at least 1305, and its outcome is unknown, *Calendar of the Justiciary Rolls or Proceedings in the Court of the Justiciar of Ireland, Edward I, Part 2. XXXIII to XXXV Years*, ed. James Mills (London, 1914), p. 94.
[83] Danielle E. A. Park, *Papal Protection and the Crusader: Flanders, Champagne, and the Kingdom of France, 1095-1222* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2018), p. 21.
[84] *Calendar of Patent Rolls of the Reign of Henry III, 1216-1225* (London, 1901), p. 161.
[85] *Calendar of Patent Rolls of the Reign of Henry III, 1247-1258*, (London, 1908), p. 51.
[86] J. S. Critchley, 'The Early History of the Writ of Judicial Protection,' *Historical Research*, Vol. 45, No. 112 (Nov. 1972), pp. 196-213 (p. 196).

Jerusalem.[87]A number of 'clausae volumus' were given by Henry III of England to crusaders in 1248, such as to Gerard de Rodes.[88] Of course, these protections were not always honoured by those who saw an opportunity to attack a pilgrim's lands in their absence. As such, wealthy pilgrims often designated a regent to protect their property in their absence.[89] Violation of the king's protection was, however, taken seriously. In 1167, Gilbert of Assailly, Grand Master of the Hospitallers, wrote to Louis VII, King of France calling on Louis to reprimand those who had 'burnt down' the property of pilgrim William of Dampierre while he was in Jerusalem, 'in such a way that anyone hearing of it will not dare to act in a similar fashion.'[90] Realistically, it was difficult for any king to watch over the lands of every pilgrim, which no doubt pilgrims were aware of. The king's protection did, nonetheless, give the pilgrim a powerful ally who not only shared the responsibly for shielding the pilgrim's property but, would also enact proper punishment.

Those who owned land and valuable possessions were wise to write wills or testaments before setting out on pilgrimage. In August 1089, Radmund, a knight from Barcelona, stated that he wrote his testament as he feared sudden death on pilgrimage to Jerusalem.[91] Pilgrims were well aware that the journey ahead was dangerous and potentially fatal. The production of a testament beforehand allowed for both peace of mind for the pilgrim and his family, or at least in theory. Testaments were designed to assign inheritors in order to prevent court battles and arguments among family members over inheritance. A miracle story in the *Book of Sainte Foy* concerned the pilgrim Raymond Le Bousquet who did not have a testament drawn up before he departed for the Holy Land shortly before 1009. This left his possessions in the hands of his morally questionable wife, which concerned Raymond's friend, Hugh Excafrid, who stepped in to protect the inheritance of Raymond's children from their wayward mother.[92] The story demonstrated

[87] *Calendar of Documents Relating to Ireland, 1171-1251*, ed. H. S. Sweetman (London, 1875), no. 648, p. 99; The *Annals of Ulster* state that Donncadh died in Rome in 1216. Presumably he went to Rome to attend the Fourth Lateran Council and had planned to go to Jerusalem after, *Annala Uladh: Annals of Ulster otherwise Annala Senait, Annals of Senat; A Chronicle of Irish Affairs A.D. 431-1131: 1155-154*, ed. B. MacCarthy, 4 vols (Dublin, 1893), ii, p. 261.
[88] *Calendar of Patent Rolls of the Reign of Henry III, 1247-1258*, p. 18.
[89] Park, *Papal Protection*, p. 21; F. Garrison, 'A propos des pèlerins et de leur condition juridique,' *Études d'histoire du droit canonique dédiées à Gabriel le Bras*, 2 vols (Paris, 1965), ii, pp. 1165-89 (p. 1181).
[90] *Letters from the East: Crusaders, Pilgrims and Settlers in the 12th-13th Centuries*, trans Malcolm Barber and Keith Bate, *Crusader Texts in Translation 18* (Surrey: Ashgate, 2010), p. 70; *Cartulaire Général De L'Ordre Des Hospitaliers de S. Jean de Jérusalem, 1100-1200*, ed. J. Delaville le Roulx, 4 vols (Paris, 1894-99), i, no. 307, p. 221.
[91] *Cartulario del 'Sant Cugat*,' iii, no. 733, pp. 396-7.
[92] Bernard of Angers, *Liber Miraculorum Sancte Fidis*, ed. A. Bouillet (Paris, 1897), 2:2, p. 94; Upon Raymond's return, Hugh, vassals and friends had to help him win his court battles, 2:2, p. 98.

the annoying court procedures needed to regain Raymond's possessions, which could have been avoided with a testament.

There are a number of extant testaments of pilgrim who went to the Holy Land. Many of them follow a simple format. The person stated that they were about to go on pilgrimage, named their inheritors, and what their inheritors were to receive. In January, 1123, the woolworker Maienna organised her last testament before setting out to Jerusalem with her son. She wanted to leave her sheep in the care of the Church of Sant Cugat near Barcelona, specifying that if she died on her journey, her son would take half the sheep on his return, though if they both died the church was to take possession of the sheep and her wool and linen.[93] The testament of merchant Peter of Saint Paul included what his daughter should do if she did or did not marry.[94]

The creation of a testament, however, did not always prevent court battles. The *Book of Sainte Foy* contains a purposely farcical example of this, emphasising just how ridiculous court cases could be. Raymond II, count of Rouergue died on pilgrimage. He had gifted the church of Sainte Foy with the hereditary rights to the estate of Pallas in Gothia which was challenged by a woman named Grassenda and her husband, Bernard the Hairy.[95] This particular miracle story appears to be deliberately ludicrous as the court descended into a confused racket. When an agreement was almost reached, the 'belligerent and bombastic' Pons appeared purely to incite violence and chaos, demanding the case to be solved by arms, though through Saint Faith, God struck him down with fire so that 'he left behind his burnt-up corpse.'[96] The appearance of such stories in hagiographical accounts not only show that saints were vengeful when sacred gifts from pilgrims were interfered with, but also suggests that this was something that could happen in real life. In this particular miracle story, Saint Faith sends a powerful and deadly warning to those who planned on challenging the gifts given by pilgrims to saints' shrines in worship and for protection on their pilgrimage.

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[93] *Cartulario del 'Sant Cugat' del Vallés*,' iii, no. 863, p. 60.
[94] *Documents Inédits sur le Commerce,* ii, no. 8, pp. 313-8.
[95] Bernard of Angers, *Liber Miraculorum Sancte Fidis*, ed. A. Bouillet (Paris, 1897), 1:12, pp. 41-2.
[96] Bernard of Angers, *Liber Miraculorum*, 1:12, pp. 44-6; *The Book of Sainte Foy*, trans. Pamela Sheingorn (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1996), 1:12, pp. 74-5; Pons may be a representation of the Antichrist, Stephen D. White, 'Garinde v. Sainte Foy: Argument, Threat, and Vengeance in eleventh-Century Monastic Litigation,' in *Religious and Laity in Western Europe 1000-1400: Interaction, Negotiation, and Power*, ed. Emilia Jamroziak and Janet Burton (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006), pp. 169-182 (p. 173).

Spouses

A pilgrim could not be certain how long his pilgrimage was going to take. Various delays en route and returning could occur arising from transport issues or illness. This presented a problem for spouses. The *Penitential* of Archbishop Theodore of Canterbury (688-90) stated that if a husband and wife had been separated or abandoned for five years, the husband could remarry.[97] Pilgrims who were absent for longer than expected, perhaps presumed dead, could return from the Holy Land to find that their wife had claimed she had been abandoned and had since remarried. In general, those accused of deserting their spouse were open to the accusations of bigamy if they remarried, though desertion or self-divorce was not uncommon in the middle ages.[98] Nevertheless, one of the biggest problems for runaway spouses was that the law was on the side of the faithful spouse.[99] On the other hand, it was difficult to bring accusations of bigamy against a woman when her first husband was absent in faraway lands or believed dead. Causa 34 of the 'Decreti Secunda' in *Decretum Gratiani,* the twelfth-century collection of canon law written by the jurist Gratian from Bologna, addressed this issue.[100] It explained that women who were left destitute by men, who had died or were captured in war, were not at fault for seeking financial or social protection by remarrying. Section 1 of Causa 34 demonstrated the complex issues that arose from such incidences through the example of a man who was captured during war. His wife presumed he was dead and she remarried. Her first husband, however, later returned to her. One question needed answering: which of the two marriages was valid? In such cases, the first marriage was deemed valid and the wife had to return to her first husband. There is no reason why Causa 34 could not apply to pilgrims, particularly those who went on the dangerous journey to the Holy Land where death was a possibility. Indeed, a late thirteenth-century copy of Bartholomew of Brescia's glossed version of *Decretum Gratiani* from central France has a striking image accompanying Causa 34. This depicts two pilgrims in robes with staffs and scrips on the left, a seated

[97] *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents relating to Great Britain and Ireland, IX. English Church During the Anglo-Saxon Period, A. D. 595-1066,* ed. Arthur West Haddan and William Stubbs, 3 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1871), iii, 2.12.9, p. 199.
[98] R. H. Helmholz, *Marriage Litigation in Medieval England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974), pp. 62-4.
[99] Sara M. Butler, 'Runaway Wives: Husband Desertion in Medieval England,' *Journal of Social History*, Vol. 40, No. 2 (Winter, 2006), pp. 337-359 (p. 340).
[100] Gratian, 'Decreti Secunda,' in Decretum Magistri Gratiani, Corpus Iuris Canonici (Leipzig, 1879), Causa 34, c. i, pp. 1255-6.

judge in the centre, and a woman and a man to the right of the judge.[101] It is obvious the woman is the wife of one of the pilgrims, while the man alongside her is her new husband. The artist unmistakably illustrated Causa 34 in action by depicting a recently returned pilgrim trying to reclaim his wife. A slightly later copy of the same manuscript contains a similar, though a somewhat more animated, version of the image accompanying Causa 34.[102] In this image, there is one pilgrim to the left in his robe with his staff and scrip in a pious stance. The judge in the centre looks confused or deep in thought, while the expression of the wife's face is something of shame, as her new husband looks rather annoyed. Causa 34 did not state the word pilgrim anywhere in its discussion, yet it is clear that at the very least, in the minds manuscript artists, Causa 34 and pilgrimage were linked.

[101] *Decretum with the Glossa Ordinaria by Bartholomew of Brescia, Royal 10 D VIII* (British Library), f. 308, <http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/ILLUMIN.ASP?Size=mid&IllID=31982> [accessed 25th of August 2016].
[102] *Decretum with the Glossa Ordinaria by Bartholomew of Brescia, Royal 11 D IX* (British Library), f. 334, <http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/ILLUMINBig.ASP?size=big&IllID=33336> [accessed 25th August 2016].

Fig 1.2 Returned pilgrim discovers that his wife has remarried in his absence, *Decretum with the Glossa Ordinaria by Bartholomew of Brescia*, *Royal 11 D IX* (British Library), f. 334. (CC0 1.0)

The issue of wives deserting pilgrims can also be seen in action in hagiography. The pilgrim Raymond of Le Bousquet from the *Book of Sainte Foy* had his pilgrimage to Jerusalem cut short when his ship hit a storm and was destroyed.[103] It was believed that only Raymond's servant survived and his wife quickly remarried. After fifteen years as a pirate, Raymond returned home dressed as a pilgrim and the court decided that Raymond should take back his wife.[104] Although not lawful, husbands and wives could come to a mutual agreement to self-divorce if both agreed not to bring legal action against each other. It was not uncommon for deserted people, whether unexpected or mutual, to remarry.[105] The testament made by the merchant Peter of Saint Pauls left the value of the dowry to his wife, as was customary, along with his business.[106] Of course, testaments only came into effect after the death of their creator. While Peter did not state that he was divorcing his wife and referred to her as 'my wife' throughout the document, it is clear that Peter did not plan on coming back from the Holy Land. He made it obvious that he was abandoning her, allowing her to remarry as quickly as she liked. He made arrangements to protect her dowry from any future husband who might try to take advantage of her.[107] In essence, this amicable divorce left his wife in a position to be financially independent, if she pleased. In sum, for those in an unhappy marriage, pilgrimage offered the chance for an amicable divorce, especially if the pilgrim did not plan on returning. At the same time, a pilgrim knew that he was protected by law if he found that his wife had run away in his absence.

[103] Bernard of Angers, *Liber Miraculorum*, 2:2, p. 94
[104] Raymond did not take his wife back as she tried to kill him, Bernard of Angers, *Liber Miraculorum*, 2:2, p. 98.
[105] Sara McDougall, *Bigamy and Christian Identity in Late Medieval Champagne* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012), p. 95.
[106] *Documents Inédits sur le Commerce*, ii, no. 8, p. 316.
[107] *Documents Inédits sur le Commerce*, ii, no. 8, p. 317.

Part 2: Spiritual Self-Protection

The spiritual protection of pilgrims was largely achieved by their own personal deeds. Just as with practical protection, pilgrims were responsible for their own spiritual protection. The French monk Adémar de Chabannes of the Abbey of Saint-Martial de Limoges wrote a prayer before he went on pilgrimage to Jerusalem in 1026 that ended by asking God to 'make the wanderers to return to their country.'[108] In the *Tonsuring Poem* on the subject of preparation for crusade, dated to around 1218, Gille-Brighde Albanach from Scotland called upon the Virgin Mary, 'Guard us from the cold and great heat,/ noble daughter of Joachim;/ protect us in the hot land.'[109] Personal prayers and pilgrim blessing ceremonies, however, were not enough. The Council of Châlons, 813, warned people that just because they were on pilgrimage and en route to be cleansed of sin, they did not have the right to sin on the way.[110] The Russian Abbot Daniel noted that performing charitable deeds at home was just as good as going on pilgrimage, citing that his own 'unworthy deeds' on pilgrimage, including sloth and drunkenness, may have put the spiritual rewards of his journey in doubt.[111] In sum, seeing a pilgrimage site was not the equivalent of experiencing it. The Council noted that perfect pilgrims were those who confessed their sins to their parish priest before setting off, received penance from that priest, and proceed by praying, almsgiving, and genuine reform. Only then would their journey be pure and commendable. An early thirteenth-century exemplar from the *Dialogus Miaculorum*, written by Cistercian monk Caesarius of Heisterbach, gave another more animated reason to remain pious on pilgrimage. Caesarius noted that the devil had a specific hatred for pilgrims and enjoyed leading them to sin.[112] The *Veneranda Dies* sermon stated that 'the demon barks against the man when he incites men's minds toward sinning by the barking of his suggestions.'[113] This sent a powerful message to prospective pilgrims. The pilgrimage was going to be a difficult journey, and if pilgrims were spiritually lacking or unprepared, they were putting themselves and their souls in serious jeopardy. This presented an obvious problem for many pilgrims. As one of the main reasons for pilgrimage was to be cleansed of sin, the majority of pilgrims could class themselves as

[108] Landes, *Relics, Apocalypse, and the Deceits*, p. 322.
[109] *The Triumph Tree: Scotland's Earliest Poetry AD 550-1350*, ed. Thomas Owen Clancy (Edinburgh: Canon Gate, 1998), l. 5, p. 265.
[110] *Concilia Aevi Karolini*, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*. *Legum III*, Vol. 2, Part 1, ed. Albertus Werminghoff (Hanover: Impensis Bibliopoli Hahniani, 1906), no. 45, pp. 282-3.
[111] Daniel the Abbot, 'The Life and Journey of Daniel, Abbot of the Russian Land,' in *Jerusalem Pilgrimage 1099-1185*, ed. J. Wilkinson (London: Hakluyt Society, 1988), pp. 120-171 (pp. 120-1).
[112] Caesarii Heisterbacensis, *Dialogus Miaculorum*, i, 5:39, p. 324.
[113] *Liber Sancti Jacobi*, i, 1.17, p. 149.

sinners and hence were spiritually lacking in some capacity. As sinners, pilgrims were therefore to be on high alert at all times. Succumbing to sin was easy to do. This leads to important questions; how might sinner pilgrims expect to be spiritually protected on their journey, and what steps could they take to achieve this?

The significance of confession before setting out was not to be underestimated. Confession was needed in order for the sinner to be given proper penance which would ultimately lead to absolution. Indeed, in a miracle in the *Book of Saint James*, a pilgrim failed to confess, highlighting that sin could not be easily eradicated.[114] This made the pilgrim's mind wander onto sin and provided the devil with an opening to attack and to persuade the pilgrim to do terrible things.[115] Canon 22 of the Fourth Lateran Council (1215) stated that physical sickness 'may sometimes be the result of sin.'[116] In this sense, the act of confession potentially cured physical illness, which would naturally make the pilgrim's journey a little easier, and removed any lingering secret guilt which in turn allowed the pilgrim to focus on the pilgrimage itself. It also meant that if a pilgrim died on pilgrimage, he had the chance to die with a clean soul. The 1117 sermon given by Diarmuid in Liège continued in a similar vein. The sermon asked those listening to metaphorically go to the Holy Land, using Babylon to represent the sinful secular world and Jerusalem to represent heaven.[117] Diarmuid warned that deviating from the path of the true cross and refusing to leave the mindset of Babylon could be fatal and could create more Babylons instead of reaching Jerusalem. Wayward pilgrims not only mocked God and made their supposed spiritual journey completely pointless, but could also draw the attention of the Devil upon themselves.

Pious pilgrims were in a better position to see the spiritual world at work. Biblical figures frequently physically interacted with pilgrims in the disguise of poor or lost pilgrims. Poor pilgrim Jesus, noted above, was common, though other Biblical figures acted in a similar fashion. This, however, must have caused some confusion for pilgrims. Hagiography and liturgical dramas often promoted the helping of strangers during

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[114] Ryan D. Giles, 'The Miracle of Gerald the Pilgrim: Hagiographic Vision of Castration in the *Liber Sancti Jacobi* and *Milagros de Nuestra Señora*,' *Neophilologus*, Vol. 94 (2010), pp. 439-50 (p. 449).
[115] *Liber Sancti Jacobi, Codex Calixtinus*, 3 vols, ed. Walter Muir Whitehill (Compostela, 1944), i, 2.17, pp. 278-82: The pilgrim is named Gerald which is a possible link to St. Gerard of Aurillac, Patron of bachelors, who struggled with erotic impulses himself, Giles, 'The Miracle of Gerald,' p. 446.
[116] H. J. Schroeder, *Disciplinary Decrees of the General Councils. Text, Translation, and Commentary* (London, 1937), pp. 263-4.
[117] *Thesaurus Novus Anecdotorum*, i, p. 342; Babylon is the biblical city of sin. Diarmuid's sermon echoes several biblical texts: Isaiah 48.20 'Go forth from Babylon,' Jeremiah 50: 8 'Flee from the midst of Babylon,' and Revelations 18:4 'come out of her, my people, lest you take part in her sin.'

pilgrimage, while exempla specifically warn against this.[118] Of course, in hagiography, saints and Biblical figures only appear to those deemed worthy enough. Essentially this tested the piety of the pilgrim or future saint. *The Life of Godric of Finchale* is a prime example of the meeting of the Biblical, the saint, and the pilgrim. While on pilgrimage to Rome with his mother, Godric met a beggar woman 'of great beauty' and allowed her to join them on their pilgrimage. She rewarded them by washing and kissing their feet.[119] A parallel could be drawn between the unnamed woman in the Gospel of Luke who kissed and washed Jesus' feet with her tears and dried them with her hair.[120] The unknown woman later appeared to Godric when he returned to London and revealed that she was his divine protector saying, 'Behold, by the grace of God you have escaped the dangers of this entire journey.'[121] Godric trusted the unnamed beggar woman and was rewarded with her protection, just as Chapter 7 of the Gospel of Luke ends, 'Your faith has saved you.'[122] The most powerful parallel comes at the end of the section. The writer revealed that the beggar woman was invisible to every other pilgrim who accompanied Godric, echoing Jesus' words 'Do you see this woman?'[123] This put the faith of the other pilgrims in question while elevating Godric as a true Christian. The other pilgrims could be likened to the Pharisee Simon who was not impressed to have the sinner woman with in his house.[124] Simon's arrogance meant that he was unable to see past the sins of the unnamed woman, while Godric's companions simply could not see her at all. Again, such hagiographical stories sent a vital message to pilgrims: you cannot expect spiritual protection if your spiritual eyes are closed.

There was another connection between pilgrims and Biblical figures. A prayer for embarking pilgrims from the *Missal of Vich* from 1038 begins, 'Oh Lord who brought Abraham your servant out of Ur of the Chaldees and guarded him through all the paths of his pilgrimage…'[125] Symon Semeonis, who set out on pilgrimage from Ireland in 1323, noted his desire to meditate with Isaac and follow the in footsteps of Abraham.[126] Abraham's journey to the land of Canaan was a response to God's call and was sometimes seen as the first pilgrimage, though *Codex Calixtinus* names Adam as the first pilgrim as he

[118] Caesarii Heisterbacensis, *Dialogus Miaculorum*, i, 7: 25, pp. 377-8.
[119] Reginald of Durham, *Libellus*, pp. 39-40.
[120] John 13:5; Luke 37-39.
[121] Reginald of Durham, *Libellus*, pp. 39-40; Stouck, *Medieval Saints*, Ch. 5, p. 413.
[122] Luke 7:50, p. 1058.
[123] Reginald of Durham, *Libellus*, pp. 39-40; Stouck, *Medieval Saints*, Ch. 5, p. 413; Luke 7:44.
[124] Luke 7:39.
[125] Webb, *Pilgrims and Pilgrimage*, p. 47.
[126] *Itinerarium Symonis Semeonis Ab Hybernia Ad Terram Sanctam*, ed. Mario Esposito, *Scriptores Latini Hiberniae*, Vol. IV (Dundalk: Dundalgan Press Ltd, 2010), p. 25.

was cast out of the safety of Eden and forced to wonder into an unknown world.[127] As such, pilgrims were symbolically replicating Abraham's and Adam's actions on their pilgrimage to the Holy Land. If pilgrims saw parallels between themselves and these Biblical figures it may have heightened their sense of spiritual duty and helped to retain their spiritual piety.

Staff and Scrip

The distinguishing features of pilgrims were the staff and scrip which they carried on their journey. Pilgrim blessings were evident from at least the eight century, thought the staff and scrip aspect did not appear until the eleventh century.[128] This liturgical process was taken by all pilgrims before departing. During this public ritual, the parish priest or bishop presented the prospective pilgrim with a staff and scrip. The staff was a symbol of God's support on the journey, while the scrip was a symbol of the pilgrim's poverty. The prayers said at these ceremonies exemplify that spiritual protection was present from the outset of the pilgrimage. The purpose of the ceremony was to signify that the person was now a pilgrim, to call upon divine powers to intercede for them, and to remind pilgrims of their pious duties.[129] It also notified others that the person was now a pilgrim and protected under law. A prayer for pilgrims from the 1038 *Missal of Vich* asks God for protection in emergences and shipwrecks, to provide refuge and shade from the heat, to be light in the darkness, and to be a staff on a slippery slope.[130] The staff had real world benefits as well as spiritual. The *Veneranda Dies* sermon noted the double function of the staff as it could be used as a defence against wolves and dogs, which of course could be Satan in disguise.[131] In the *Missal of Vich* blessing, the staff and scrip were given to the pilgrim, 'so that chastened and saved and corrected,' the pilgrim would complete his journey and return unharmed.[132] The Gospel of Luke calls upon the disciples of Jesus to rid themselves of worldly possessions and to provide themselves with purses 'that do not grow old, with a treasure in heaven that does not fail, where no thief approaches and no moth destroys. For

[127] *Liber Sancti Jacobi*, i, 1:17, p. 153; The pilgrim's cloak pilgrims symbolised Adam cast out from Eden, pilgrim piety represented Abel, penitential pilgrims were Cain, and as travellers they were Jesus on the road to Emmaus unnoticed, Derek A. Rivard, 'Pro Iter Agentibus: the ritual blessings of pilgrims and their insignia in a pontifical of southern Italy,' *Journal of Medieval History*, Vol. 27 (2001), pp. 365-98 (p. 383).
[128] Rivard, 'Pro Iter Agentibus,' p. 369.
[129] Rivard, 'Pro Iter Agentibus,' pp. 365-6.
[130] Webb, *Pilgrims and Pilgrimage*, p. 47.
[131] *Liber Sancti Jacobi*, i, 1:17, p. 153.
[132] Webb, *Pilgrims and Pilgrimage*, p. 48; When William Firmatus and his fellow companions became lost and dehydrated in the Holy Land, he used his staff, under the instruction of God, to hit and split open a rock to real fresh water for all the pilgrims, 'Vita S. Guilielmo Firmato,' 1:9, p. 338.

wherever your treasure is, there will your heart be also.'[133] As followers of Jesus, a pilgrim's scrip was only to be full of was a desire for God. In the *Life of Raymond 'Palmario' of Piacenza*, written in 1212, Raimondo Palmario and his mother received the blessing of the bishop of Piacenza in 1160 to go on pilgrimage to Jerusalem. In this ceremony, the bishop placed a red cross on the breast of both of them saying it was 'the sign which will guard you from all danger. May the most merciful Saviour lead you and bring you back safely.'[134]

Rivard's examination of a local liturgy for blessing pilgrims in thirteenth-century Italy also highlights spiritual protection for pilgrims. In this particular blessing, the cross and scrip are blessed and not the staff. The ceremony begins, 'The blessed Lord shall make a favourable journey for us today' followed by asking for safety, shelter, and aid on the road ahead.[135] The blessing of the scrip included a prayer for 'protection against the ambushes of all enemies, visible and invisible.'[136] This is a clear reference to the fact that pilgrims were supposed to travel in poverty to avoid attracting the attention of robbers laying in wait to ambush defenceless pilgrims. At first glance, it can be difficult to differentiate between pilgrim and crusader rites.[137] First of all, as seen above, there was no set pilgrimage rite, which allowed for local customs and preferences to come through in pilgrim and crusader rites.[138] It was not uncommon for crusader rites to be slotted into pre-existing pilgrimage blessings and it was easy to alter a crusader rite to form a pilgrimage rite, which only adds to the confusion. James Brundage has argued that they became

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[133] Luke 12:33.

[134] Rufino, 'Vita et Miracula B. Raymundi,' p. 647; *The Life of Raymond 'Palmario' of Piacenza*, trans. Diana Webb, in *Saints and Cities in Medieval Italy* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007), p. 68; The pilgrim Thietmar said he was 'signed with and protected by the cross,' Thietmar, *Magistri Thietmari Peregrinatio*, ed. J. C. M. Laurent (Hamburg, 1857), p.1; 'Thietmar,' in Denys Pringle, *Pilgrimage to Jerusalem and the Holy Land, 1187-1291, Crusade Texts in Translation* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), pp. 95-133 (xxiii, p. 95); The pilgrim Wilbrand received his blessing at Acre from the Patriarch Albert of Vercelli, Denys Pringle, 'Wilbrand of Oldenburg's Journey to Syria, Lesser Armenia, Cyprus, and the Holy Land (1211-1212): A New Edition,' in *Crusades*, Vol. 11 (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), pp. 109-137 (p. 131).

[135] Rivard, 'Pro Iter Agentibus,' p. 379; p. 392.

[136] Rivard, 'Pro Iter Agentibus,' p. 394.

[137] The term pilgrim and crusader were not always separate in meaning. Terms describing a journey to the Holy Land could often be applied to both and the crusader was likely to visit and pray at shrines like the pilgrim. For the complex issue of pilgrims and the First Crusade see: Léan Ní Chléirigh, 'Nova Peregrinatio: The First Crusade as a Pilgrimage in Contemporary Latin Narratives,' in *Writing the Early Crusades: Text, Transmission and Memory*, eds. Marcus Bull and Damien Kempf (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2014), pp. 63-74 (p. 64); Janus Møller Jensen, 'Peregrinatio sive expeditio: Why the First Crusade was not a Pilgrimage,' *Al-Masāq*, 15:2 (2003), pp. 119-137 and Christopher Tyerman, *God's War: A New History of the Crusades* (London: Penguin Books, 2007), p. 72. The rise of the word *crucesignatus* denoting a crusader, however, helped to end the confusion by the end of the twelfth-century, Michael Markowski, '*Crucesignatus*: its origins and early usage,' *The Journal of Medieval History*, Vol. 10, No. 3 (1984), pp. 157-65 (p. 157). Throughout this thesis, the term 'pilgrim' refers to those who were unarmed.

[138] M. Cecilia Gaposchkin, 'The Place of Jerusalem in Western Crusading Rites of Departure (1095-1300),' *The Catholic Historical Review*, Vol. 99, No. 1 (Jan., 2013), pp. 1-28 (p. 5).

separate by the end of the twelfth century, while Christopher Tyerman stated that the rites became increasingly 'satisfyingly and effectively blended.'[139] A clear distinction emerges, however, in the treatment of the significance of poverty in the crusader and pilgrim rites.

In some blessings it is easy to determine if it is a pilgrimage or crusader rite, as in the case of the more militaristic late twelfth-century crusader Lambrecht Rite.[140] In the absence of such military references, a closer look at the two rites can still reveal a distinction. Although they appear in crusader rites, the scrip and the staff were of little practical use to the crusader. The Lambrecht Rite added a militaristic aspect to the pilgrim staff. It provided support for the journey, as found in pilgrim rites, but here it was also to be used to 'overcome the troops of your enemies.'[141] This is only a slight change from the wolves and Satan that appear in pilgrimage rites, though it seems unlikely that unarmed pilgrims would not have been encouraged to fight enemy troops with their staffs. The most obvious difference is seen in relation to the scrip. As discussed earlier, the scrip was a symbol of the pilgrim's poverty. In the twelfth-century crusader blessing in the *Ely Pontifical* and the thirteenth-century *Coventry Pontifical*, the scrip does not have any particular unique function as seen in pilgrimage rites. The scrip works with the staff as an overall part of the spiritual protection of the crusader as a sign of pilgrimage rather than any actual poverty vows.[142] Similarly, the scrip is simply referred to as part of the 'pilgrimage habit' in the crusader Bari Rite, dating from the mid to late twelfth century, which again makes no reference to poverty.[143] The Lambrecht Rite, nevertheless, does try to form a link between poverty and the scrip. The scrip in this case does not represent the poverty of the crusader, rather the poverty of the Jesus, 'he who when he was rich was made a pauper and destitute for our sake.'[144] It was not practical for an army to travel with empty purses and expect to survive on the charity of others. This may explain why the scrip as a symbol of poverty so central to pilgrimage rites, is largely absent or altered in the crusader rites.

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[139] James A. Brundage, '"Cruce Signari": The Rite for Taking the Cross in England,' *Traditio*, vol. 22 (1966), pp. 289-310 (p. 291); Tyerman, *God's War*, p. 65.
[140] Here the Holy Spirit is 'present as their marshal,' Bird, Peters and Powell, eds., *Crusade and Christendom*, p. 44.
[141] Bird, Peters and Powell, eds., *Crusade and Christendom*, p. 46.
[142] *Ely Pontifical*: 'accipite has peras signum peregrinationis in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti.' Coventry Pontifical: 'Accipe hanc peram, habitum peregrinacionis tue, in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti,' Brundage, '"Cruce Signari",' pp. 304-5.
[143] Kenneth Pennington, 'The Rite of Taking the Cross in the Twelfth Century,' *Traditio*, Vol. 30 (1974), pp. 429-435 (p. 432).
[144] Bird, Peters and Powell, eds., *Crusade and Christendom*, p. 46.

A final question remains concerning the staff and scrip. Did the pilgrim 'uniform' act as a mechanism of protection in its own right? As a distinct indicator of pilgrimage, these symbols would have alerted robbers and slave traders that their potential targets were pilgrims and hence, unarmed and easy prey. Conversely, these symbols may have offered a form of protection, at least in the case of robbers: the stress placed on the concept of pilgrims as 'miserabiles personae' could have changed the robbers' perception of pilgrims from easy targets to unprofitable ones.

Fig 1.3 God looks upon a pilgrim, *W.41 Cologne Psalter-Hours* (Walters Art Museum), fol. 65v, late thirteenth century.[145] (CC0 3.0)

Fig 1.4 Saint James dressed as a pilgrim with scrip and staff, 'The Stowe Breviary,' *Stowe 12* (British Library), f. 279v, c. 1320s.[146] (CC0 1.0)

[145] < http://www.thedigitalwalters.org/Data/WaltersManuscripts/W41/data/W.41/sap/W41_000136_sap.jpg> [accessed 17th May 2017].
[146] <http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=stowe_ms_12_fs001r> [accessed 3rd May 2017].

False Pilgrims

Pilgrimage was supposed to be a pious or penitential activity. Nevertheless, it was the perfect system for thieves and others with malicious motivations to exploit.[147] As pilgrims had to travel long distances and encountered people who spoke different languages, they were easy targets to abuse. The pilgrim's uniform of the staff, scrip and cloak, were straightforward to replicate. False pilgrims not only presented a danger to true pilgrims, but also took advantage of charitable organisations designed to aid true pilgrims. The loose definition of 'miserabiles personae' allowed for this to happen.[148] Legislators were well aware of this from the early medieval period. The *Admonitio Generalis*, dated March 789, warned against vagabonds who pretended to be pilgrims in order to wander around aimlessly and take advantage of other people.[149] False pilgrims were also a threat to shrines. The *Life of Saint Trudo*, written between 784-91, told the story of a thief named Adalbert, who during the reign of King Pipin, dressed as a pilgrim to gain access to and steal the relics of Saint Trudo.[150] True pilgrims were faced with other concerns about strangers. False pilgrims were not necessarily human. As John Shinners has pointed out, demons and spirits represented the 'melting pot' of medieval popular religion.[151] The Synod of Friuli held in 795 advised abbesses and nuns not to talk to strange men while on pilgrimage as they could be Satan in disguise.[152] Perhaps in an attempt to prevent pilgrims from befriending strangers on their journey, stories and exempla involving Satan in disguise were circulated.

The public nature of the staff and scrip ceremony helped to identify real pilgrims from fake pilgrims.[153] While the public ceremony may have been a step towards discouraging false pilgrims, it is not clear how effective it truly was. It obviously would

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[147] Some parallels can be drawn between pilgrims and hermits. Hermits rejected worldly comforts and depended on the charity of others. There were, however, those who used charity to amass wealth. A poem by Payen Bolotin, an early twelfth-century canon from Chartres, highlighted the issue of hypocritical and false hermits who claimed to be poor but, were greedy and sought places of honour in courts and councils, Giles Constable, 'Eremitical Forms of Monastic Life,' in *Monks, Hermits and Crusaders in Medieval Europe* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1988), V, pp. 239-64 (p. 241, p. 245); Jean Leclercq, 'Le poème de Payen Bolotin contre les faux ermites', *Revue Benedictine*, Vol. 68, (1958), pp. 52-86.
[148] Helmholz, *The Spirit of Canon Law*, p. 129.
[149] *Capitularia Regum Francorum*, i, no. 79, pp. 60-1.
[150] 'Vita Trudonis Confessoris Hasbaniensis Auctore Donato,' in *Scriptores Rerum Merovingicarum, Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, (Hanover: Impensis Bibliopolii Hahniani, 1913), pp. 264-98 (vi, ch. 29, pp. 296-7).
[151] John Shinners, ed., *Medieval Popular Religion, 1000-1500: A Reader* (Peterborough, Broadview Press, 1997), p. 211.
[152] J. D. Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova et Amplissima Collectio*, Vol. 13 (Paris, 1902), ch. 12, pp. 850-1.
[153] Webb, *Pilgrims and Pilgrimage*, p. 21.

have worked for pilgrimages taken in nearby areas as the public may have known who had recently received the blessing. Letters of recommendation helped to identify true pilgrims, adding another layer of protection.[154] There is no indication, however, as to how people could distinguish a false pilgrim from a true pilgrim if they had travelled from a foreign land. Pilgrims en route to Jerusalem may have been able to detect false pilgrims from their own locality, but perhaps not those from elsewhere. In one of his *exempla*, Caesarius of Heisterbach wrote about a false pilgrim who joined a group of true pilgrims on the way to Compostela.[155] They stayed in the same hospital that night and the next day discovered that the false pilgrim had stolen one of their horses. Of course, in hagiography and exemplars evil is almost always punished. The thief Adalbert who stole the relics of Saint Trudo was later caught and crucified, just as the horse thief on route to Compostela and the servant pilgrim who stole the belongings of the virgin Hildegund at Tyre in Caesarius' stories were caught and hanged.[156] Perhaps the finest warning comes from *Veneranda Dies* sermon in *Codex Calixtinus* which notes that the roads to pilgrimage sites were guarded and watched by a long list of saints including Saint Peter.[157] False pilgrims who somehow escaped earthly punishment were given further warning. All saints would pass on information concerning false pilgrims to their friend Saint Peter, the one who would judge the false pilgrims upon their death.[158] In the end, there was little that pilgrims could do to avoid false pilgrims except be vigilant and remain pious themselves. At the same time, the fate of false pilgrims in exemplars and hagiography sent a strong message to true pilgrims. Divine justice was always close by and it was usually deadly.

How to Choose the Right Saint

Pilgrims could spiritually protect themselves by praying to saints and Biblical figures when they faced peril. Presumably, those going on pilgrimage believed in God and had some knowledge of the Bible. Throughout the Old Testament in particular, God intervened to save his people. God was also the saviour of pilgrims. During the Great German Pilgrimage, 1064-5, pilgrims captured at Tripoli under the 'barbarian commander' of the city were set free after a great sea storm arose, which the commander understood as

[154] Debra J. Birch, *Pilgrimage to Rome in the Middle Ages: Continuity and Change* (Woodbridge, The Boydell Press, 2000), p. 76.
[155] Caesarii Heisterbacensis, *Dialogus Miaculorum*, i, 7:25, pp. 377-8.
[156] 'Vita Trudonis Confessoris,' ch. 29, p. 297; Caesarii Heisterbacensis, *Dialogus Miaculorum*, i, 7:25, p. 378; i, 1:40, pp. 47-9.
[157] *Liber Sancti Jacobi*, i, 1:17, p. 163.
[158] *Liber Sancti Jacobi*, i, 1:17, pp. 167-8.

a warning from God.[159] A letter from Peter Damian to the Marquis Raniero in 1067 told the story of the monk Richard and his journey to Jerusalem. Richard faced many horrors, though his faith saved him and his men as, Peter explained, divine mercy was always near to offer protection to the devotee in need.[160] God also assisted the canon and medic William Firmatus (1026-1103) on many occasions as William and his fellow pilgrims got lost in the Holy Land and faced dehydration.[161] It was obvious that praying to God in times of trouble was good place to start, but it seemed that for a pilgrim in immediate danger it was best to pray to a saint. Pilgrims had made a vow to visit particular shrines during their pilgrimage blessings. Naturally, from a spiritual point of view, it would have been in saints' interest and their duty to protect these pilgrims. Likewise, from a non-spiritual aspect, those who profited from shrines needed to make pilgrims believe that the saint in question was the one who protected them in order to increase profit. St. James was commonly prayed to by pilgrims going to Compostela. Pilgrims going to the Holy Land did not seem to have a preference for any particular saint universally, but most likely called on a range of saints. Any saint could in theory hear a pilgrim's prayer, though quite often the quickest way to be rescued was to pray to a national saint, or better still, a local saint. Perhaps it was viewed that major saints were too busy or in too high of a demand to answer the prayers or pleas of lowly pilgrims. National saints could ensure safe passage while travelling within one's own country and sometimes beyond. Robert Bartlett has noted that national saints were prone to national prejudices.[162] Herman the Archdeacon's *The Miracles of St. Edmund*, written in the 1090s, included a miracle of how Saint Edmund protected the villein Wulmar and his companions on their way to Rome.[163] St. Nicholas of Myra (270-343), who will be discussed below, was often called upon during sea storms, though not exclusively, as other localised saints often mimicked his actions during sea rescues. Gille-Brighde Albanach (1200-30), who went on crusade between 1218-24, tells in his poem *Heading for Damietta* of how the crew on his ship, when caught in a storm, call upon Mary Magdalene and Jesus for help, but turned to Saint Bridget when the storm refuses to cease.[164]

[159] *Annales Altahenses Maiores*, p. 68.
[160] *Die Briefe des Petrus Damiani, No. 151-180 Register*, 4 vols., ed. Kurt Reindel, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* (Munich, 1993), iv, no. 151, pp. 1-5.
[161] 'Vita S. Guilielmo Firmato,' p. 338.
[162] Bartlett, *Why Can the Dead do such Great Things*, p. 227.
[163] Herman the Archdeacon and Goscelin of Saint-Bertin, *Miracles of St. Edmund*, ed. and trans. Tom Licence (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2014), p. 105.
[164] *The Triumph Tree*, p. 267.

Often the best saints to pray to were local saints, perhaps as they offered a more personal connection. Saint Heimerad (970-1019) actively watched over pilgrims from his locality on their way to the Holy Land without being called upon.[165] For monks and other clergy, their local saint was most likely the patron saint of their monastery or church. Arnoldus de Vohbourg's *De Miraculis Beati Emmerami* written in the 1030s, contains a miracle concerning the pilgrim Adalpert who was the custodian and doorkeeper of the Abbey of Saint Emmeram in Regensburg.[166] While on verge of death in the Holy Land, Adalpert prayed to Saint Emmeram of Regensburg and was rescued. Personal connections to saints could come in other forms. Gille-Brighde had a bond with Bridget through his name, which may be another reason why he called upon her. Similarly, Franciscan Friar Symon Semeonis would likely have prayed to Saint Francis, patron of his friary in Clonmel.[167]

The hagiography of some local saints suggests that it was generally not wise to bypass a local saint in favour of a more famous or popular saint. This was an obviously a way to promote a local saint. Hariulf of Oudenbourg (1060-1143) was a monk and chronicler at the Abbey of St. Riquier in the Somme. His *Libellus de miraculis Sancti Richarii* contains the miracle story of a crusader ship, carrying a variety of nationalities, bound for the Holy Land when it got caught in a storm.[168] This miracle depicts the failure of major French saints, including Saint Denis and Martin of Tours, to answer the prayers of the French crew. It was not until a man named Siguin from Ponthieu called upon his local saint and martyr, Saint Richard of Ponthieu (570-654) that the storm ceased.[169] This miracle illustrates the perceived importance of local saints and those of other regions: what is stressed here is that local saints were more inclined to look after their own people.

Local saints could also be used as a network to reach more famous saints. On the surface, it may appear as though Saint Richard of Ponthieu calmed the storm by himself. It is rare that sea storms were calmed by any saint other than Saint Nicholas. An earlier miracle in Hariulf's *Libellus* showed that Saint Richard did in fact have a connection with

[165] Ekkebertus Hersfeldensis, *Vita Sancti Heimeradi*, c. 32, p. 606.
[166] *Ex Arnoldi monachi S. Emmerami libris 1*, 9, ed. G. Waitz, MGH SS IV (1841), pp. 545-574 (p. 522); It is not certain what year Adalpert went on pilgrimage but, he was working at the abbey while Michael was bishop of Ratisbon (942-972), Françoise Micheau, 'Les itineraries maritimes et continentaux des pèlerinages vers Jérusalem,' *Actes des congrès de la Société des historiens médiévistes de l'enseignement supérieur public*, Vol. 9, No. 1 (1978), pp. 79-104 (p. 96).
[167] *Itinerarium Symonis Semeonis*, p. 25.
[168] Hariulf, 'Libellus de miraculis S. Richarii factis post ejus relationem,' in *Acta Sanctorum Ordinis S. Benedicti*, ed., L. d'Achery and J. Mabillon (Paris, 1668–1701), pp. 569-73 (v, p. 569).
[169] Hariulf, 'Libellus de miraculis,' p. 569.

Saint Nicholas.[170] Baldwin V, Count of Flanders and his wife Adele, married between 1028-67, wanted to build a church in Flanders to honour Saint Richard, but upon failing to obtain his relics, Baldwin ordered that the church be built in honour of the more famous Saint Nicholas instead. The miracle tells how Saint Nicholas stopped the building of the church and refused to answer their prayers until the shrine of Saint Richard was installed. This resulted in a shared shrine of the two saints, which may explain why Saint Richard was able the calm the storm as Saint Nicholas was closely associated with him at a local level. The power of local saints can be seen in other hagiographical accounts. Saint Adjutor was born in Vernon in France when Philip I was king of France (1059-1108). His hagiographer, Archbishop Hugh of Rouen, said that he joined the First Crusade in 1095 as soon as he was just the right age of knighthood, and noted that Saint Adjutor called upon Saint Bernard of Tiron from Abbeville (1046- 1117) when he was in danger.[171] The early connection between Saint Adjutor and Saint Bernard is not discussed in his hagiography, yet Adjutor was buried in Bernard's abbey in Tiron. The *Life* claimed that Bernard performed miracles with the aid of Mary Magdalene who intervened when Saint Adjutor was under Muslim threat.[172] When Adjutor was captured by the Muslim and tortured, he called upon the Virgin Mary for help, but to no avail. Nevertheless, local Saint Bernard of Tiron appeared with Mary Magdalene and rescued him.[173] Pilgrims could gain further protection from the saints' shrines they visited en route to their final destination. *Liber Sancti Jacobi* depicts a vast network of saints who were responsible for pilgrims while they travelled within the saint's locality.[174] Saewulf, for example, dealt with a series of misfortunes on his sea voyage to the Holy Land, but seemed to attribute his easy sailing from Myra to Xindacopo to Saint Nicholas as he had just worshipped at Nicholas' tomb.[175]

How to Gain the Favour of a Saint

One obvious way to gain the favour of a saint was to pray and/or leave donations at their shrine. The pilgrim Wulmar left a 'chuck of marble on the altar, replete with crystals'

[170] Hariulf, 'Libellus de miraculis,' p. 567.
[171] Jean Théroude, *La Vie et L'office de Saint Adjuteur, patron de la noblesse et de la Ville de Veron en Normandie* (Rouen : Imprimerie de Henry Boissel, 1864), p. 7. This would mean that Adjutor was born in the early to mid 1070s.
[172] Théroude, *La Vie et L'office de Saint Adjuteur*, p. 8-9; p. 49.
[173] Théroude, *La Vie et L'office de Saint Adjuteur*, p. 17.
[174] *Liber Sancti Jacobi*, i, 1:17, pp. 163-8.
[175] Saewulf, 'Relatio de peregrinatione Saewulfi ad Hyerosolymam et terram sanctam,' in *Peregrinationes Tres: Saewulf, John of Würzburg, Theodericus*, Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis, ed. R. B. C. Huygens, 139 (Turnholt: Brepols, 1994), pp. 59-77 (p. 61).

as an offering to Saint Edmund for his protection.[176] Similarly, Count Raymond II of Rouergue gifted the Abbey Church of Sainte Foy in Conques twenty-one silver vessels, along with other items, and the hereditary rights to the estate of Pallas in Gothia before setting out on pilgrimage.[177] Outside of hagiography, it can be difficult to find evidence of individual donations to saints for protection. This may be because donating in general was supposed to be a charitable act. To openly tell others of your charitable deeds could be interpreted as vanity which, as Caesarius of Heisterbach warned, would undermine the piety of the act and lead to damnation.[178] Donations to the patron saints of local churches can be seen in a number of grants and testaments made by pilgrims, though they do not specify they were seeking protection. Given that these were legal documents, listing gifts to be donated did not risk damning the soul. In 1213, Raymond Tedbal left property to the Church of Sant Cugat, the site of the martyrdom of Saint Cucuphas in Catalonia, before setting out as he feared death on pilgrimage.[179] Donations were commonly made for the souls of ancestors. In 1190, Rotrou IV, Count of Perche who was about to go on the Third Crusade to liberate Jerusalem, gave the monks of Saint-Denis at Nogent-le-Rotrou the rights to various tithes in his lands in memory of his ancestors.[180] Some pilgrims came to slightly different arrangements with churches. In July 1156, a noble woman named Nevia gave her possessions to the monastery of Saint Cucuphas in Catalonia. The agreement was that if she returned from pilgrimage to the Holy Land, the church would take her in and care for her until her death.[181] This was perhaps preferable for those who did not have any heirs.

The testament of the merchant Peter of Saint Pauls contained a long detailed list of donations to be given to various churches and hospitals including the Friar Minor, and the hospital of Holy Spirit of Montpellier, Hospital of Saint Mary, and various convents. [182] It is not clear if Peter regularly donated to the poor as charity and, as it was a testament, he did not identify any saint in particular who he had hoped would protect him on his journey. However, a clue may lie in the fact that he specified his body should be buried at the Church of Saint James in the Cathedral of Maguelone near Montpellier if he died before setting out on to the Holy Land. He set aside 50l for his burial and 100s to the prior who

[176] Herman the Archdeacon and Goscelin of Saint-Bertin, *Miracles of St. Edmund*, p. 105.
[177] Bernard of Angers, *Liber Miraculorum*, 1:12, p. 42.
[178] Caesarii Heisterbacensis, *Dialogus Miaculorum*, ii, 12:19, p. 329.
[179] *Cartulario del 'Sant Cugat*,' iii, no. 821, pp. 22-5.
[180] Charles Métais, *Saint-Denis de Nogent-le-Rotrou 1031-1789* (Vannes, Imprimerie et Librairie Lafolye, 1895), no. IX, pp. 35-6.
[181] *Cartulario del 'Sant Cugat*,' iii, no. 1009, p. 181.
[182] *Documents Inédits sur le Commerce*, ii, no. 8, pp. 313-4.

was his godfather.[183] It is possible that Peter had left donations for protection there before he set out.[184]

The amount donated to a shrine did not seem to have a bearing on the willingness of a saint to protect a pilgrim. Poor pilgrims were not excluded from the protection of saints simply because they could not donate large amounts or indeed, anything. Praying at a shrine was possibly of more benefit than relying on the act of donating as prayer brought the mind of the pilgrim to the spiritual world. Before embarking from Venice in 1323, the pilgrims and Franciscan friars Symon and Hugo the Illuminator prayed at the church of San Nicolò al Lido where, 'reposes the body of the blessed bishop Nicholas.'[185] Indeed, a pilgrim who did not pray to a saint ran the risk of angering him. Saint Heimerad became rather annoyed by local pilgrims who had set out for the Holy Land without praying at his shrine.[186] As revenge, and perhaps to remind them that they were spiritually lacking, Saint Heimerad delayed their ship in Laodicea with strong winds, causing the pilgrims to almost abandon their pilgrimage. Heimerad seemed to be further displeased by the fact that the pilgrims not only failed to pray to him, but they also ignored the shrine of a major saint in Laodicea, that of Saint George. A soldier in the group of pilgrims named Rouding had a vision of Heimerad, 'in shining white garments.'[187] Heimerad explained that if Rouding did not pray at the Church of Saint George neither he nor his companions would ever reach Jerusalem. The representation of Heimerad in shining white clothing and being able to command the sea closely parallels Saint Nicholas, though there is no known link between the two saints. It is not clear if it was just the author's stylistic choice, if he drew inspiration from a *Life* of St Nicholas, or if he was purposely trying to conjure up images of Saint Nicholas for his audience. A similarity could also be drawn between the pilgrims and the Biblical Jonah. When Jonah tried to avoid God by going to Tarshish, God sent a sea storm which prevented Jonah from sailing there.[188] The pilgrims were actively avoiding God be failing to pray at shrines, effectively avoiding the spiritual aspect of pilgrimage. Perhaps then Heimerad thought it best to appear to the wayward pilgrims in a

[183] *Documents Inédits sur le Commerce*, ii, no. 8, p. 314.
[184] The name of the 'honourable Peter de Sancta Paulo' appears in the *Cartulaire de Maguelone* in 1251 concerning an exchange between the Pierre de Conques, Bishop of Maguelone and the Hospitallers of Montpellier. Peter was not present because he was either still in the Holy Land or had since passed away, *Cartulaire de Maguelone*, eds. J. Rouquette and A. Villemagne, 7 vols. (Montpellier: Libraire Louis Valat, 1913), ii, pp. 693-4.
[185] *Itinerarium Symonis Semeonis*, p. 37. Relics of St. Nicholas were split between Venice and Bari at this point.
[186] Ekkebertus Hersfeldensis, *Vita Sancti Heimeradi*, c. 32, p. 606.
[187] Ekkebertus Hersfeldensis, *Vita Sancti Heimeradi*, c. 33, p. 606.
[188] Jonah, 1:1-15.

bright celestial colour to remind them of their spiritual deficiency. In the end, this miracle story demonstrates that prayers for protection were not to be taken lightly. They were a significant part of the pilgrimage process. Whether it was expected or not, at no point did Heimerad seek gifts from the pilgrims or advise them to leave gifts to other saints. He merely wanted them to pray.

What can the Divine do for Pilgrims?

A number of measures were taken to protect pilgrims travelling in Christian territories in Europe, which will be discussed in Chapter 2, though they did not fully deter attacks on pilgrims.[189] Saints are often presented in hagiography as pilgrim protectors. They filled in the gaps where earthly protections failed. Saint Cuthbert appeared to Godric of Finchale and told him to go on pilgrimage to Jerusalem; 'I am Cuthbert, and I will be your helper and patron in all things.'[190] Saints were not passive beings. They actively intervened to protect pilgrims in a variety of ways. Mary Magdalene frequently intervened when Saint Adjutor was under attack from Muslims and pagans, which usually resulted in the death of Adjutor's enemies.[191] In the *Book of Sainte Foy*, a pilgrim returning from Jerusalem was captured and tortured by Muslim thieves, and was then stripped him of his pilgrim's clothing, 'something that ought to be treated with reverence.'[192] The pilgrim cried out to Saint Faith who quickly interceded. As a result, when the Muslims attempted to burn his clothes, they failed and left the pilgrim unharmed. Thanksgiving for such miracles has often left a mark in the form of churches and chapels. Indeed, the Priory of Horsham St. Faith in Norfolk was founded in 1107 by Robert of Caen, Lord of Horsham and Horsford, and his wife Sybilla after they were freed from captivity while on pilgrimage to Rome after they prayed to St. Faith. [193]

The most common miracles performed by saints for pilgrims revolved around the sea. Sea storms and shipwrecks were a grim reality for numerous pilgrims. If pilgrims found themselves caught in a storm, they could pray to God or saints to rescue them. Actions taken by saints in hagiographical miracles often echo the actions of God, who in several parts of the Old Testament, both caused and calmed storms and brought sailors to

[189] Brundage, *Medieval Canon Law*, pp. 12-4.
[190] Reginald of Durham, *Libellus*, p. 53; Stouck, *Medieval Saints*, Ch. 8, pp. 414-5.
[191] Théroude, *La Vie et L'office de Saint Adjuteur*, p. 8-9; p. 49.
[192] Bernard of Angers, *Liber Miraculorum*, 3:19, p. 160; *The Book of Sainte Foy*, 3:19, p. 169.
[193] Donovan Purcell, 'The Priory of Horsham St. Faith and its Wallpaintings,' *Norfolk Archaeology*, Vol. 35, No. 4 (1973), pp. 469-473 (pp. 469-471).

their destination safely.[194] Sea storms were not something a pilgrim could easily avoid. Even Jesus got caught in storms.[195] The majority of sea miracles concerned desperate pilgrims calling for help amidst a sea storm. Saint Nicholas of Myra (270-343) was the saint most commonly associated with rescuing sailors and pilgrims.[196] He was well established in literature as such by the twelfth century.[197] The saint had two relic shrines at important Italian seaports, that of Bari from 1087 and Venice from 1098, which pilgrims could pray at before embarking on pilgrimage. *Miraculum S. Nicolai*, found in a collection of fourteenth-century miracles, recounts that in the year 1136, three pilgrim ships travelling to Jerusalem were caught in a storm.[198] When two ships sank, the crew of the third ship called on Saint Nicholas who drove the ship of one thousand pilgrims back to Bari safely. Another miracle which involved crusaders sailing to Cyprus from the Holy Land provides a vivid and horrifying description of the destruction their ship by a storm. The sail was torn, the mast broke and fell 'with a big crash,' the ship was tossed and turned in the ocean, and a hole formed in the side letting water in with no hope of escape.[199] Miligala, the Armenian captain, cried out to Saint Nicholas for help who appeared in his traditional form, with glistening white hair and clothing.[200] What makes this particular miracle a little different from others is that, in this incident, Saint Nicholas made the sign of the cross and calmed the storm. He also, however, raised the dead crew members and fixed the ship. In other miracles, dead sailors or pilgrims were not resurrected.[201] This must have been a particularly powerful image for scared pilgrims. No matter how desperate the situation, those who truly believed in God and those who interceded for him would be shown mercy and saved.

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[194] Psalm 107:25-30, p. 547.
[195] Matthew 8:24-26, p. 1005.
[196] Saint James rescued pilgrims returning from Jerusalem by ship in two separate miracles. Both pilgrims, one was a bishop, had fallen off the edge of the ship. The bishop who had fallen into the sea while singing psalms, while the other pilgrim was swept into sea when he was relieving himself over the side, *Liber Sancti Jacobi*, i, 2.8, 2. 10, pp. 270-1, pp. 272-3.
[197] *The Old English Life of St. Nicholas with the Old English Life of St. Giles*, ed. E. M. Traharne, *Leeds Texts and Monographs, New Series* 15 (Leeds: University of Leeds, 1997) ll. 186-196, p. 106; Wace, *La Vie de Saint Nicolas, Poème Religieux du XII Siècle*, ed. Einar Ronsjö (Lund, Études Romanes de Lund: Publiées par Alf Lombard V, 1942), ll. 227-274; William the Conqueror was rescued by Saint Nicholas on a winter's night at sea in 1067 in Orderic Vitalis, *Historiae Eccleciasticae Libri Tredecem*, ed. Augustus le Prevost, 4 vols (Paris: 1838-55), ii, 4:4, p. 178.
[198] *Catalogus Codicum Hagiographicorum Latinorum Antiquiorum saeculo XVI qui asservantur in Bibliotheca Nationali Parisiensi*, Socii Bollandiani, 4 vols (Brussels, 1890), ii, p. 405.
[199] 'Nam in tanto et tam horrendo discrimine, quis speraret evadere?,' *Catalogus Codicum Hagiographicorum*, p. 428.
[200] *Catalogus Codicum Hagiographicorum*, p. 429.
[201] *Catalogus Codicum Hagiographicorum*, p. 429.

Fig 1.5 Saint Nicholas calms a storm at sea, 'The Queen Mary Psalter,' *Royal MS 2 B VII* (British Library), f. 318r, c.1310-20.[202] (CC0 1.0)

Simple miracles comprised of incredible swift passage to the Holy Land and back. In a miracle which Caesarius of Heisterbach attributed to Saint James, a religious man named Winado wanted to go to the Holy Land for Easter, however it was getting too close to the date to make it there in time. Through a miracle, he made it from Liège to Jerusalem, just in time for the Easter ceremony, and back to Liege in one hour.[203] Another story of swift passage appears in the *Chronica* of Roger de Howden. In 1066, King Edward had given his ring to a beggar who was John the Evangelist in disguise.[204] The same day, a pilgrim in Jerusalem met John who gave him the ring to return to King Edward. The story continues 'although this seemed to be impossible' the pilgrim returned in England within the day to give the ring to the King.[205] These miracles of swift passage offered fantastic protection for pilgrims as they bypassed the need to suffer in any sea storms.

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[202] <http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=royal_ms_2_b_vii_f084> [accessed 3rd May 2017].
[203] Caesarii Heisterbacensis, *Dialogus Miraculorum*, ii, 10:2, pp. 218-9.
[204] Magistri Rogeri de Houedene, *Chronica*, 4 vols. ed., William Stubbs (London: Longman, 1868), i, p. 109.
[205] Magistri Rogeri de Houedene, *Chronica*, i, p. 109; *The Annals of Roger de Hoveden: Comprising the History of England and of other Countries of Europe from A. D. 732 to A. D. 1201*, 2 vols., trans. Henry T. Riley (London, 1853), i, pp. 131-2. This story was used to promote the relics of the king held in the Abbey of Westminster Paul Binski, *Westminster Abbey and the Plantagenets: Kingship and Representation of Power, 1200-1400* (London: Yale University Press, 1995), p. 55.

Pilgrim saints sometimes took control of the situation themselves though God. Saint Theotonius (1082-1162) was an Augustinian canon born in Ganfei in Portugal. On his second journey to Jerusalem, setting out from the port of Bari, 'storms like a watery mountain' descended onto the ship causing great damage.[206] This, however, was not a typical storm. It echoes the Book of Revelation in which the seventh seal of the Apocalypse contained a mountain of fire thrown into the sea, turning one third of the water to blood, killing one third of the creatures, and destroying one third of the ships.[207] The watery mountains may be a purposely inverted image of Revelation's mountain of fire reflecting the confusion of the ship's passengers. The similarities with Revelation continue as the crew prayed for death as they saw a 'terrible beast' with fiery eyes rising out of the water, like the dragon beast in Revelation.[208] Despite the fact that Theotonius set out from Bari, he did not call upon Saint Nicholas to save him. He said psalms and litanies instead until the apocalyptic style storm ceased.[209] Similarly, in Thomas of Celano's *First Life of S. Francis*, commissioned by Pope Gregory IX in 1228, Saint Francis' ship was caught in a storm on the way to the Holy Land.[210] The only provisions that remained on board were those of Francis who, with the help of God, performed a miracle which multiplied his food so that all the crew had enough food to wait out the storm and reach the port. Francis carried out a similar miracle for a pilgrim after his death. In Bonaventure of Bagnoregio's, *The Major Legend of Saint Francis* (1260-3), a pilgrim with 'an acute fever' sailing to the Holy Land prayed to Francis to refill his flask with fresh water.[211] The saint, of course, obliged. The same ship later got caught in a storm, at which point the sick pilgrim called on Francis once more, who then appeared and saved them all. For pilgrims, such miracle stories must have offered a great deal of comfort. Just because a dead saint did not answer them in time of need, it did not mean that they did not have a living saint in their company ready to rescue them all from danger.

It was inadvisable to disregard saintly protection when it was received. The pilgrim guide Peter, on the way to Jerusalem by sea, caught an eye infection, causing pain and fever. It healed when he vowed to offer one gold piece to Saint Foy at the Holy

[206] 'Vita S. Theotonio Canonico Regulari,' in *Acta Sanctorum*, February, III, ed. Joanne Carnandet (Paris, 1865), pp. 111-22 (3:11, p. 113).
[207] *Revelation*, 8:8-9, p. 1226.
[208] 'Vita S. Theotonio,' 3:12, p. 113; *Revelation*, 13:1, p. 1229
[209] 'Vita S. Theotonio,' 3:12, p. 114.
[210] Thomas of Celano, *Vita Prima S. Francisi Confessoris*, *Acta Sanctorum*, October, Vol. II, ed. Joanne Carnandet (Paris, 1866), pp. 683-723 (7:55, pp. 699-8).
[211] Bonaventure of Bagnoregio, 'Vita Altera S. Francisci Confessoris,' in *Acta Sanctorum*, October, Vol. II, ed. Joanne Carnandet (Paris, 1866), pp. 742-798 (26:4, p. 789).

Sepulchre.[212] When he demanded more proof that it was indeed a miracle, an annoyed Saint Faith made his boat appear as though it was caught in a storm.[213] The *Life of Christina the Astonishing* from St-Trond in Hasbania (1150-1224), written by the Dominican Thomas of Cantimpré, told of a noble woman who prayed and swore an oath to Christina for the safe return of her husband who was about to set out on pilgrimage.[214] Christina prayed for him and protected him. When the pilgrim's wife was not overjoyed to see her husband return, Christina became angry and the man died a few days later. It is clear that to challenge or hold the saving actions of a saint in contempt could have serious, sometimes deadly implications for a pilgrim.

Summary

The steps pilgrims took to protect themselves before setting out on pilgrimage were an important part of the pilgrimage experience. Practical protection focused on the concerns of the physical world and secular problems. These included finance, debts, last wills and testaments and other legal matters, and general worries of the logistics of pilgrimage to the Holy Land. To reflect on the main research questions: How did pilgrims maintain themselves en route to the Holy Land in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and how did the pilgrimage infrastructure develop over the course of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries? It is apparent that secular rulers and the Papacy made increasing efforts to protect pilgrim and crusader lands over the course of the crusades, by building on legislation in place since the Carolingian period. The increased protections for pilgrims' land and property reflect growing number of pilgrims and crusaders going to the Holy Land in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. It would not have been ideal for the court systems to have to deal with a mass of litigation on the return of thousands of pilgrims and crusaders. The act of having a king's protection concerning land and canon law protecting spouses may have lessened potential court cases, or at least made them more clear cut, and perhaps lessened the time needed in court.

The significance of the measures taken by pilgrims to ensure that their spiritual defences were in order before embarking, cannot not be underestimated. These defences not only protected pilgrims in body and soul but, also enabled pilgrims to enter the right

[212] Bernard of Angers, *Liber Miraculorum*, 2:3, p. 99.
[213] Bernard of Angers, *Liber Miraculorum*, 2:3, p. 99.
[214] Stouck, *Medieval Saints*, p. 445.

spiritual frame of mind. Of course, the practical and spiritual were not mutually exclusive. The staff and scrip and concepts like 'miserabiles personae' had realistic benefits, such as attracting charity and warding off thieves and wild animals, as well as benefits for the soul. The apparent increase in the number of hagiographical stories from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries involving saints who visited the Holy Land was no doubt due to the crusades and its impact on increased pilgrimage to the Holy Land. The average pilgrim may not have known the intricate details of how secular and canon law aimed to protection them, but moral stories such as those told by Caesarius of Heisterbach and knowledge of miracles performed by local saints en route and in the Holy Land may have put a prospective pilgrim's mind at some ease. To answer another core question: how important were both practical and spiritual mechanisms for pilgrims? The opening words of the sermon given by Diarmuid in 1117, 'go out of Babylon, go or return to Jerusalem,' captures the crossover of the secular and spiritual worlds.[215] Practical protection gave pilgrims a chance to organise the affairs of their own Babylon. As a result, they did not need to concern themselves with secular matters on their pilgrimage, which in turn allowed them to focus on the spiritual path to Jerusalem. When pilgrims focused on the steps to ensure spiritual protection, they then had the opportunity to help other pilgrims. The pilgrims Saint Heimerad, Saint William Firmatus, Saint Francis and the Germans who took pity on Hildegund all became protectors of pilgrims themselves. Spiritual protection, either through pilgrim blessings or gaining the favour of a saint, was also the first step to sharing the burden of protecting pilgrims once they left their home. It provided some reassurance that if the external network of secular pilgrim protectors failed in their task, the spiritual world also had a duty of care for its pilgrims. The devil was out there, but so were God and an army of saints. With all of these self-protections put in motion, a pilgrim was then in the right frame of mind to take the first steps towards Jerusalem.

[215] Reimbaldi Leodiensis, *Itineraria*, p. 2.

Chapter 2: Methods of Transport and Protection on the Road

As seen in the previous chapter, a significant portion of how pilgrims maintained themselves en route to the Holy Land began with the pilgrims themselves. Pilgrims, however, were not left to their own devices while travelling on the road. Attacks on pilgrims were common, but secular rulers and the Papacy were well aware of this. This chapter will trace the pilgrim's journey to the Holy Land, as he left his home and followed the path to a port city, before finally sailing across the sea to the Holy Land. It will explore the types of infrastructure and mechanisms available to pilgrims on the road. The chapter will ask the important question of why and who offered protection to pilgrims. Methods of transport will be examined. To get to the Holy Land, pilgrims could walk, use horses or donkeys, or take ships. Their means of transport naturally depended on their income, their geographical location, and what type of pilgrimage experience they wanted to have. Some pilgrims purposely chose to walk to endure maximum suffering, while those who were sent on pilgrimage as punishment were usually made to walk for the same reason.[1] This chapter will consider the logistics of walking long distances by calculating just how far a pilgrim could realistically walk per day.

Sailing to the Holy Land was a common method of transport. As such, a large portion of this chapter will focus on sea travel, centring on how the shipping of pilgrims operated. It has been argued that medieval pilgrims, particularly those who travelled to the Holy Land before the crusades, preferred to walk because sea travel was too dangerous and the ships were not equipped to handle the journey.[2] While this may be true, the more obvious reason was the lack of a direct shipping route from mainland Europe to the Holy Land before the crusades. Pilgrims who wished to sail to the Holy Land only had access to merchant ships and consequently travelled on trade routes.[3] The bulk of medieval pilgrimage narratives show that pilgrims did take ships to get to the Holy Land at some point in their journey, though pre-crusade pilgrims sailed to Alexandria or Constantinople. This leaves the question of how much of an impact did the crusades have on pilgrims' access to ships and ultimately the Holy Land?

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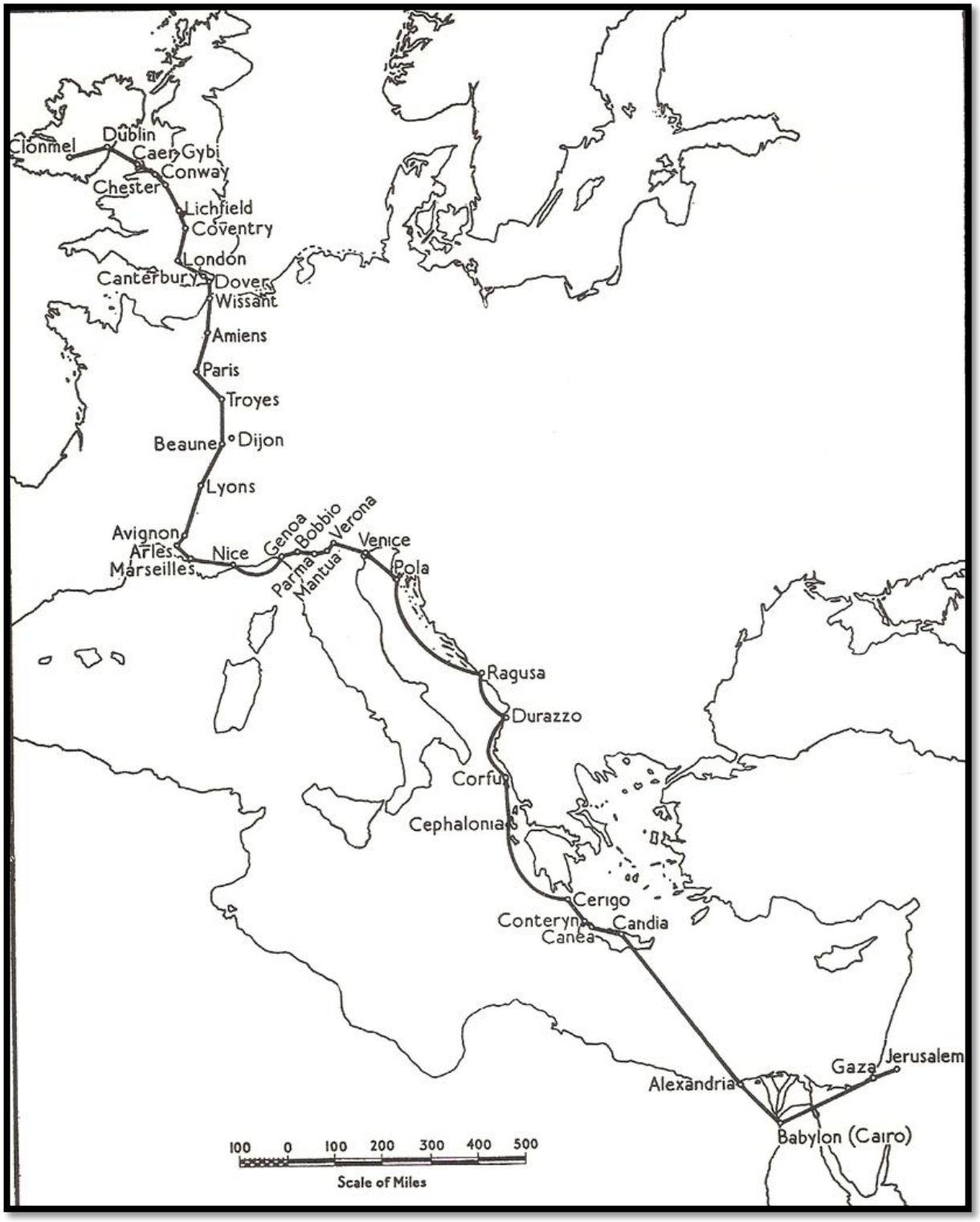
[1] Paul B. Newman, *Travel and Trade in the Middle Ages* (Jefferson: McFarland & Company, 2011), p. 12; Godric of Finchale chose to walk to capitalise on his personal suffering, Reginald of Durham, *Libellus de Vita et Miraculis S. Godrici, Heremitae de Finchale* (London: Surtees Society, 1847), pp. 54-5.
[2] Jean Verdon, *Travel in the Middle Ages*, trans. George Holoch (Notre Dame; University of Notre Dame Press, 2003), p. 15; Newman, *Travel and Trade*, p. 12.
[3] The majority of pre-crusade pilgrimage narratives show that pilgrims only occasionally sailed to Constantinople despite western and Byzantine trade links.



Map 2.1 Symon Semeonis' journey to the Holy Land in 1322/3.[4] Permission to reproduce this image has been granted by The School of Celtic Studies of the Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies.

[4] Taken from *Itinerarium Symonis Semeonis Ab Hybernia Ad Terram Sanctam*, ed. Mario Esposito, *Scriptores Latini Hiberniae*, Vol. IV (Dundalk: Dundalgan Press Ltd, 2010).

Part 1: On the Road

Pilgrim narratives, hagiography, and exemplars suggest that pilgrims generally travelled in a small group comprised of people that they knew, such as family members or friends. In September 1070, for example, the cleric Gislerius gave the monks of Saint-Trinity of Vendôme in France two arpents of vineyards which had previously been given to him by his brother Hubert before Hubert had gone on pilgrimage to the Holy Land.[5] The witnesses of the document were Reynard de Capella and Ranulf. Both men were going on pilgrimage with Gislerius to Jerusalem. Many pilgrim narratives, such as that of Theoderich and Franciscan friar Symon Semeonis, show that pilgrims belonging to religious orders tended to travel with clergy from the same monastery or order.[6] The obvious reason for travelling with family, friends, or fellow clergymen was that it offered a basic comfort and support. In essence, it was a way of bringing something familiar along on the unknown journey ahead or someone to talk to and face obstacles with together. Pilgrims also had a responsibility to watch out for one another. This is highlighted in exemplars and hagiography. In one of Caesarius of Heisterbach's exemplars, the devil was able to attack a pilgrim, named Godefridus, because Godefridus become separated from the main pilgrim group.[7] The devil broke Godefridus' staff in half, which must have been an incredibly powerful image for an audience to imagine. The staff, the symbol of pilgrimage and God's protection, was so easily destroyed by Satan, purely because the pilgrim lagged behind his companions. The devil was not finished there and caused further chaos which resulted in an argument breaking out among the pilgrims, leading them all to sin.[8] This exemplar seemed to be an attempt to compel pilgrims to stay together in one group. Lone pilgrims were venerable not only from attacks from thieves and highwaymen but also, perhaps a more horrifying thought for pilgrims, the devil himself. Indeed, Saint James chastised twenty eight pilgrims who had abandoned their sick companion en route to

[5] *Cartulaire de l'Abbaye Cardinal de la Trinité de Vendôme*, ed. C. Metais, 2 vols (Paris: Libraires des Archives nationals et de la Société de l'École des Chartes, 1893), i, no. 221, p. 354.
[6] Theoderich, 'Libellus de Locis Sanctis,' in *Peregrinationes Tres: Saewulf, John of Würzburg, Theodericus*, Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis, ed. R. B. C. Huygens, 139 (Turnholt: Brepols, 1994), pp. 742-798 (p. 147); *Itinerarium Symonis Semeonis*, p. 1.
[7] Caesarii Heisterbacensis Monachi Ordinis Cisterciensis, *Dialogus Miaculorum*, 2 vols. ed. Josephus Strange (Cologne: J. M. Heberle, 1851), i, 5:39, p. 324.
[8] The chaos was stopped by the intervention of God and the Saint James; In one account of King Richard I taking the scrip and staff at Tours, he supposedly leaned on the staff and broke it. This was seen as a bad omen for the journey ahead. Magistri Rogeri de Houedene, *Chronica*, ed., William Stubbs, 4 vols (London: Longman, 1868-71), iii, pp. 36-7; In another version, Richard received the staff at Vézelay without any problems, Roger of Howden, *Gesta Henrici II et Ricardi I*, ed. W. Stubbs, 2 vols (London: Longman, 1867), ii, p. 111.

Compostela saying, 'your prayers and your pilgrimage are displeasing.'[9] Pilgrims that failed to remain united and put themselves in needless danger, not only ran the risk of bringing the devil upon themselves, but could also jeopardise saintly protections by annoying the saints they sought security from. It is not clear exactly how many pilgrims per group was the norm, and it was not uncommon for pilgrims to join with other pilgrim groups at pilgrimage sites to form larger groups.[10] This creates the idea of a community of pilgrims, where social groups that did not normally mixed became intertwined.[11] Darlene M. Juschka, however, has argued that people would likely have remained within their own social groups on the journey.[12] The early fourteenth-century *LLibre Vermell de Montserrat*, depicts happy pilgrims from all walks of life, travelling and singing together on their pilgrimage to Santa Maria de Montserrat Abbey in Spain.[13] Twelfth and thirteenth-century pilgrimage narratives are largely silent on the topic of group dynamic. Larger groups of pilgrims were more likely to attract attention, but were less likely to be targeted by small bands of thieves than those travelling in smaller groups or four or five. Though a simple mechanism, a sizeable party of pilgrims was a type of protection in its own right.

As mentioned above, some pilgrims walked all the way to the Holy Land, while others preferred a mix of walking and sailing. Unless a pilgrim lived in a port city, they were going to have to walk some part of their journey. Some chose to ride on donkeys or horses. A donkey was preferable as it was a greater sign of humility than a horse.[14] References to both can be found in exemplars and manuscript art, although they are generally absent from pilgrim narratives.[15] An important question to be asked to further understand the importance of the availability of protection for pilgrims is: how far did pilgrims travel per day? The answer, of course, depended on the method of transport, the

[9] Saint James demanded they receive new penance before continuing on their pilgrimage, *Liber Sancti Jacobi, Codex Calixtinus*, 3 vols, ed. Walter Muir Whitehill (Compostela, 1944), ii, 2.4, pp. 265-6; *The Miracles of Saint James: Translations from the Liber Sancti Jacobi*, eds. Thomas F. Coffey, Linda Kay Davidson, and Maryjane Dunn (New York: Italica Press, 1996), pp. 65-8.
[10] Saint Guy met other pilgrims at Rome from his homeland who were also bound for the Holy Land, 'Vita S. Guidonis Confessoris,' in *Acta Sanctorum*, September, IV, ed. Joanne Carnandet (Paris, 1868), pp. 36-48 (1:8, p. 43).
[11] Derek A. Rivard, 'Pro Iter Agentibus: the ritual blessings of pilgrims and their insignia in a pontifical of southern Italy,' *Journal of Medieval History*, Vol. 27 (2001), pp. 365-98 (p. 368).
[12] Darlene M. Juschka, 'Whose turn is it to cook? Communitas and pilgrimage questioned,' *Mosiac: A journal for the interdisciplinary study of literature*, Vol. 36, No. 4 (Dec. 2003), pp. 189-204.
[13] The abbey is about 50km west of Barcelona in Spain, 'Stella Splendes in Monte' in *LLibre Vermell de Montserrat: Cantigas de Santa Maria*, trans. John Sidwick (Paris, Opus Productions, 1995), p. 21.
[14] Jesus entered Jerusalem by donkey, *Liber Sancti Jacobi*, i, 1.17, p. 152.
[15] Horses appear frequently in the exemplar of Caesarius of Heisterbach concerning pilgrims on the road to Compostela. The pilgrims Sistappus and Godefridus from Cologne travelled by horse, while in another story pilgrims had their horses stolen, Heisterbacensis, *Dialogus Miaculorum*, i, 5:39, p. 324; 7:25, pp. 377-8; The pilgrim Symon Semeonis travelled on a camel in Egypt, *Itinerarium Symonis Semeonis*, p. 98.

terrain, the weather, and the health of the pilgrim. Pilgrims on horses or donkeys would have covered more ground than those walking the whole way. On the other hand, the pilgrim Saewulf stated that some pilgrims within his group walked while others travelled by donkey.[16] In order for his group to stay together, those on donkeys could obviously only travel at the same pace as those walking within the group. John Haldon has calculated that infantry could travel a distance of 11-32km per day, marching under 5km per hour on good roads and 3.2km on bad or hilly roads.[17] It is difficult to apply these distances to pilgrims as they could have walked faster in the absence of weapons and armour, or even moved at a slower pace as they lacked the urgency of a marching army.

Fig 2.1 Robert II of Normandy sets out on pilgrimage on a horse, wearing a pilgrim hat and carrying a scrip. 'Abrégé des histoires divines,' *MS M. 751* (The Pierpoint Morgan Library and Museum), f. 110v, c. 1300-10.[18] (CC0 3.0)

[16] Saewulf, 'Relatio de peregrinatione Saewulfi ad Hyerosolymam et terram sanctam,' in *Peregrinationes Tres: Saewulf, John of Würzburg, Theodericus*, Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis, ed. R. B. C. Huygens, 139 (Turnholt: Brepols, 1994), pp. 59-77 (p. 59).
[17] John Haldon, 'Roads and Communication in the Byzantine Empire,' in *Logistics of Warfare in the Age of the Crusades: Proceedings of a Workshop held at the Centre for Medieval Studies, University of Sydney, 30 September to October 2002*, ed. John H. Pryor (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), pp. 131-58 (pp. 141-2).
[18] <http://ica.themorgan.org/manuscript/page/220/115343> [accessed 3 November 2017].

The majority of Christian pilgrim narratives provide distances between locations in the Holy Land but, do not say how far the pilgrim in question travelled each day. However, the phrase 'a day's journey' was continuously used in the account of Jewish traveller Benjamin of Tudela. Benjamin's account begins in his home town of Zaragoza in Spain and charts every town and village he passed through on his way to the Holy Land. This allows for the distance of 'a day's journey' to be calculated, which for Benjamin consistently equates to 40-50km or 25-30 miles.[19] The phrase occurs sporadically in Christian pilgrim narratives, though the distance remains the same. Saewulf said that Monopli was a day's journey from Bari which again works out at about 40-45km.[20] Walking 40-50km per day required up to ten hours of walking at pace of 4-5km an hour, the same pace as army infantry. It would, therefore, seem that these distances were covered by those travelling by horse or donkey. Horses could travel up to 65-80km a day, while donkeys could travel up to 75-90km per day.[21] On the other hand, contemporary accounts of pilgrims walking the Camino state that pilgrims can average anywhere between 20-35km, with experienced hikers capable of 40km a day.[22] The general consensuses is that it is pilgrims should either average 20-25km a day consistently, or walk 40km one day, followed by a much shorter distance the next day. It may have been possible for the medieval pilgrim to cover 40km in a day, though not in successive days. The pilgrim Symon, for example, arrived at Chester on the 24th of March 1323. If he travelled at a rate of 40km per day, he would have reach Venice within eight to nine weeks. He did not reach Venice until the 28th of June, a total of fifteen weeks later.[23] Although pilgrims were supposed to suffer, on a logistical level it is unlikely that pilgrims set out early in the day, walked for 40km, and still managed to have time to visit sites, pray at shrines, talk to local people, and gain sufficient rest to do the same the next day. Pilgrims probably spent one

[19] Using Google Maps the 'one day's journey' between Beirut to Sidon equals 46km, one day between Acre and Tyre equals 45km, 'two day's journey' from Tortosa to Tarragona equates to 89km, two days from Tarragona to Barcelona equals 93.3km, and the three days from Girona to Narbonne equals 158km, *The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela*, trans. Marcus Nathan Adler (New York: Philipp Feldheim, Inc, 1907), pp. 1-2, p. 28, p. 32.
[20] Saewulf, 'Relatio de peregrinatione,' p. 59; *Anonymous Pilgrim I* stated that it was a three day's journey from Jerusalem to Mount Tabor, which works out at about 50km per day, 'Innominatus I,' in *Theoderici Libellus de Locis Sanctis editus circa A. D. 1172. Cui accedunt breviores aliquot descriptions Terrae Sanctae*, ed. Titus Tobler (Paris: Librairie A. Frank, 1865), pp. 113-8 (p. 114); *Anonymous Pilgrim IV* noted that Ramla to Jerusalem was a one day journey, working out again at about 50km 'Innominatus IV,' in *Theoderici Libellus de Locis Sanctis editus circa A. D. 1172. Cui accedunt breviores aliquot descriptions Terrae Sanctae*, ed. Titus Tobler (Paris: Librairie A. Frank, 1865), pp. 134-40 (p. 134).
[21] Haldon, 'Roads and Communication,' p. 142; Jeffrey R. Wigelsworth, *Science and Technology in Medieval European Life* (London: Greenwood Press, 2006), p. 43.
[22] Tony Kevin, *Walking the Camino: A Modern Pilgrimage to Santiago* (Carlton North: Scribe, 2009), p. 6, p. 8; Lee Hoinacki, *El Camino: Walking to Santiago de Compostela* (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania University Press, 2001), p. 59, p. 148; Randall St. Germain, *Camino de Santiago in 20 Days. My Way on the Way of St. James: St. Jean Pied de Port to Santiago de Compostela* (Surrey: Wolf Shield, 2011), p. 26, p. 38, p. 49.
[23] *Itinerarium Symonis Semeonis*, p. 25, p. 35.

day walking long distances and one day resting and visiting sites. Symon noted that he spent a number of days in London, while Muslim traveller Ibn Jubayr spent a week in Alexandria.[24] Of course, 'a day's journey' did not mean the journey had to be completed in one day. Benjamin of Tudela noted that the distance from Acre to Tyre was a day's journey.[25] Ibn Jubayr complained about this, noting the thirty miles distance, and opted to take a ship at Iskandarunah, which is about 16km from Tyre, and sail to Tyre from there rather than continue by road.[26] The distance, climate, and terrain between towns and villages would have had an impact on walking or riding pace of pilgrims. Ultimately, pilgrims could have travelled at a more leisurely pace if they knew the next inn or hospital was close by, whereas pilgrims most likely travelled at a quicker pace through wildernesses.

J. Stopford points out that there were a significant number of pilgrims going to Jerusalem in the fourth and fifth centuries, which resulted in the need for 'a massive physical infrastructure' to aid pilgrims on their journey.[27] Early Christian pilgrims had access to Roman roads which covered long distances for the purpose of quick travel by the Roman army. However, depending on where the pilgrim was travelling from, the roads were not necessarily easy to avail of or wholly usefully in reaching their desired destination. Many Roman roads were abandoned in the tenth and eleventh centuries meaning they were no longer maintained and, as a result, a new longer, more complex road network formed and connected more places than even before.[28] Although travel may have taken longer on these roads, as opposed to the Roman roads, they gave pilgrims a much better chance of being able to access any type of road to aid their journey. Roads needed repair after flooding or damage from natural disasters. It was also likely that pilgrims would cross rivers on their journey. To do so, they needed bridges. Wooden bridges were most common and needed constant upkeep or replacement after flooding, which could

[24] *Itinerarium Symonis Semeonis*, p. 27; *The Travels of Ibn Jubayr: A Mediaeval Spanish Muslim visits Makkah, Madinah, Egypt, cities of the Middle East and Sicily*, trans. Roland Broadhurst (New Delhi: Goodword Books, 2007), p. 35 .
[25] *The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela*, p. 32.
[26] He may have been particularly tired as Tyre was supposed to be the last place he would visit in the Holy Land. He was supposed to sail home from Tyre, though he found his ship at Tyre was too small, *The Travels of Ibn Jubayr*, pp. 319-20.
[27] J. Stopford, 'Some Approaches to the Archaeology of Christian Pilgrimage,' *World Archaeology*, Vol. 26, No. 1, Archaeology of Pilgrimage (Jun., 1994), pp. 57-72 (p. 59).
[28] Verdon, *Travel in the Middle Ages*, p. 19; For Muslims going to Mecca, the Hajj routes were simply paths with small markers, although some parts of the route had paved roads, bridges and milestones, largely due to necessity or royal prestige, Andrew Petersen, 'The Archaeology of the Syrian and Iraqi Hajj Routes,' *World Archaeology*, Vol. 26, No. 1, Archaeology of Pilgrimage (Jun., 1994), pp. 47-56 (p. 54).

again interfere with a pilgrim's journey.[29] Of course, pilgrims' access to roads and bridges was subject to the wealth of the land they passed through, political stability, and war.[30] The Nestorian pilgrim Rabban Sawma was unable to complete his pilgrimage to Jerusalem in the 1260s as he was told that the roads to Jerusalem were 'impossible for any man to use,' because of the ongoing war.[31] Similarly, the Franciscan pilgrim Symon and his friends were unable to take the direct route from Chatillon-sur-Seine to Lombardy in 1323 because of the war 'being waged by Milan against the Church allied with Robert, King of Jerusalem and Sicily.'[32] He travelled instead to the coast to Marseilles and onto Nice, which added up to an extra 400-550km to his journey. The pressure caused by the diversion can be seen clearly in the narrative as he mentioned the word 'hastened.' The attempt to make up for lost time may explain why he did not visit the nearby pilgrimage site of Montpellier while he was in Marseilles. Symon's account is largely accurate and geographically correct, though the sections covering the detour are full of errors. He travelled through Draguignan, Saint-Maximum and Brignoles offering no detail other than their name, which is unusual as he had something to say about every place he passed through up until that point. Other places are not in the order he would have met them first, while his greatest error was stating that Venerable Bede was buried in Nice.[33] The added distance would have had an impact on pilgrims who were less well prepared or physically struggling, though it is not clear what kind of impact this delay had on Symon and his companions besides adding extra time to their journey. Albrecht Classen has highlighted that even though it is certain that roads developed, medieval sources rarely discuss the state of roads or road building, which makes it difficult to define the true condition of medieval roads.[34]

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[29] Newman, *Travel and Trade*, p. 58.

[30] Building bridges could be a sign of prosperity but, also an attempt to claim territorial power, Nicholas Brooks, 'Medieval Bridges: A Window onto Changing Concepts of State Power,' *Haskins Society Journal*, Vol. 7 (1995), pp. 11-29 (p. 24).

[31] *The Monks of Kublai Khan Emperor of China or The History of the Life and Travels of Rabban Sawma, Envoy and Plenipotentiary of the Mongol Khans to the Kings of Europe, and Markos who as Mar Yahbh-Allaha III Became Patriarch of the Nestorian Church in Asia,* trans. E. A. Wallis Budge (London: Religious Tract Society, 1928), p. 30.

[32] He was supposed to travel from Châtillon-sur-Seine to Venice through Dijon and Lausanne which is about 900km taking the most direct route. As he did not travel this way, he did not provide details on the sites and towns he would have passed through. It is likely that he would have visited sites such as Bobbio regardless of the route he had taken due to its connections to Irish saint Columbanus. This route would have added an extra 100km to the journey, *Itinerarium Symonis Semeonis*, p. 31.

[33] *Itinerarium Symonis Semeonis*, pp. 32-3.

[34] Albrecht Classen, 'Roads, Streets, Bridges, and Travelers,' in *Handbook of Medieval Culture: Fundamental Aspects and Conditions of the European Middle Ages*, ed. Albrecht Classed, 3 vols (Berlin, 2015), iii, pp. 1511-34 (pp. 1511-34, p. 1519).

Legislation to Protect Pilgrims on the Road

Besides potential problems with infrastructure, pilgrims also faced the threat of attacks from robbers and highwaymen as well as tricksters and fraudsters. [35] Jacques de Vitry provided numerous exemplars on the matter, one of which concerned a scam run by a horse smith. The horse smith purposely drove nails into the feet of horses he had shoed for pilgrims. Later, after travelling along the road, the pilgrim would notice that his horse was lame and an agent of the smith would intervene. The agent then offered to buy the seemingly useless horse from the pilgrim. After buying the horse, the agent returned it to the smith, who in turn removed the nail and sold the horse for a higher price.[36] Even with the divine and saintly protections discussed in Chapter 1, pilgrims had to remain vigilant at all times to ensure they did not fall victim to such scams.

This chapter will only give an overview of the canon and secular laws which protected pilgrims as this has been covered in detail by James Brundage and Debra J. Birch.[37] Long before the crusading period, there were a number of laws put in place in an effort to protect pilgrims travelling to sites in mainland Europe. Pilgrims needed places to rest for the night. The Council of Bavaria, held sometime between 740-50, commanded that pilgrims were to be given shelter.[38] Monasteries offered hospitality to pilgrims, though they preferred to accommodate wealthy pilgrims as they were more likely to leave donations than poorer one.[39] A poorer pilgrim was more likely to stay in a hospice or hospital. By the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the increased numbers of western hospitals changed from places that provided purely rest to places which cared for the sick, the poor, and pilgrims.[40] The military orders, such as the Knights Hospitaller which will be

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[35] The *Veneranda Dies* sermon contains a long list of those who frequently harmed pilgrims in various ways. This included evil and greedy innkeepers, innkeeper's servants, money changers, false money changers, thieves, conmen, false pardoners, false pilgrims, toll collectors, wicket merchants, and other who sell faulty goods to pilgrims, *Liber Sancti Jacobi*, i, 1.17, pp. 161-7.

[36] In another story, an innkeeper purposely spilled a pilgrim's wine to force him to buy more, though the pilgrim spilled all the innkeeper's wine as 'spilling foretells great abundance,' *The Exempla or Illustrative stories from the Sermones Vulgares of Jacques de Vitry*, ed. Thomas Frederick Crane (London, 1890), CXCIII, pp. 80-81; CCCX, p. 269.

[37] James A. Brundage, *Medieval Canon Law and the Crusader* (London: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1969), pp. 12-3; Debra J. Birch, *Pilgrimage to Rome in the Middle Ages: Continuity and Change* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2000), pp. 79-88.

[38] *Concilia Aevi Karolini*, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*. *Legum III*, Vol. 2, Part 1, ed. Albertus Werminghoff (Hanover: Impensis Bibliopoli Hahniani, 1906), no. 15, p. 53.

[39] Robert Bartlett, *Why Can the Dead do such Great Things? Saints and Worshippers from Martyrs to the Reformation* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013), p. 436; Newman, *Travel and Trade*, p. 65.

[40] Bartlett, *Why Can the Dead*, p. 436; James William Brodman, *Charity and Religion in Medieval Europe* (Washington: The Catholic University of America Press, 2009), p. 45; For hospices on the road to Compostela see Kathleen Ashley and Marilyn Deegan, *Being a Pilgrim: Art and Ritual on the Medieval*

discussed in Chapter 3, also offered shelter and care to pilgrims. There were a number of Carolingian legislations designed to protect pilgrims. *The Capitulary of Pepin*, dating from 754-5, stated that pilgrims going to Rome or elsewhere were not to extract tolls from pilgrims crossing bridges or mountain passes, or while boarding ships.[41] People were warned also not to take pilgrims' personal items or demand toll from them. The Council of Ver in July 755 had a similar tone and stated that toll was not to be taken from pilgrims adding that caring for pilgrims was like caring for God.[42]

There was also legislation against physical attacks on pilgrims. *The Capitulary of Pepin of Italy*, 782/6, noted that anyone who killed a pilgrim was to pay sixty *solidi* to the palace which was then to be given to whoever the law saw fit, while Louis II's *Capitulary of Pavia* from 850 encouraged local lords to seize those who attacked pilgrims on the way to Rome.[43] Pope Nicholas II (1058-61) made the protection of pilgrims a papal obligation during the Council of Rome in 1059, threatening excommunication for anyone who robbed or harmed a pilgrim, cleric, monk, woman, or the undefended poor.[44] In a further Council of Rome held by Pope Gregory VII in 1075, excommunication was added for anyone who tried to seize the property of a pilgrim, priest or monk.[45] Laws protecting pilgrims continued to be a topic for legislators in the twelfth century with the First Lateran Council, 1123, stating that anyone who molested pilgrims was to abstain from communion for a period of time or be excommunicated.[46] The author of the *Pilgrim's Guide* to Compostela, written around 1140, had a nuanced approached to the excommunication process. He urged that anyone who aided those who harmed pilgrims in any way, such as priests who heard confessions of guilt and allowed the perpetrators to remain in churches, and lords who extracted or allow tolls to be unjustly extracted from pilgrims, were to be excommunicated not only by their own bishop but, also publically in front of pilgrims in the basilica of Saint

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Routes to Santiago (Farnham: Lund Humphries, 2009), pp. 74-80; For provision for pilgrims in Rome itself see Birch, *Pilgrimage to Rome*, pp. 123-50.

[41] *Capitularia Regum Francorum, Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Legum Sectio II*, ed. Alfred Boretius (Hanover: Bibliopolii Hahniani, 1883), i, no. 4, p. 32.

[42] *Capitularia Regum Francorum*, i, no. 10, p. 35; no. 75, p. 60.

[43] *Capitularia Regum Francorum*, i, no. 10, p. 193; *Capitularia Regum Francorum, Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Legum Sectio II*, ed. Alfred Boretius and Victor Kravse (Hanover: Bibliopolii Hahniani, 1897), ii, no. 1, p. 86.

[44] Brundage, *Medieval Canon Law*, p. 13; J. D. Mansi, ed., *Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova et Amplissima Collectio*, vol. 19 (1774), no. 15, p. 916.

[45] *Acta Pontificum Romanorum Inedita, Urkunden Der Päpste*, ed. Julius von Pflugk-Harttung, 3 vols (Stuttgart, 1884-88), ii, no. 15, p. 126.

[46] J. D. Mansi, ed., *Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova et Amplissima Collectio*, Vol. 21 (Venis, 1776), ch. 15, p. 285; *Disciplinary Decrees of the General Councils*, trans. H. J. Schroeder (London, 1937), p. 189.

James at Compostela.[47] The act of excommunicating these people in front of pilgrims added to a sense of justice for pilgrims who had fallen victim to crimes on their journey. It also would have been a powerful display of the canon laws designed to protect pilgrims acted out in public for all to witness and, more importantly, presided over by Saint James himself.

Why Care for Pilgrims?

Building bridges, developing roads, and offering shelter all clearly helped pilgrims on their journey. Vital questions still remain. Why was aiding pilgrims in such a manner seen as important? Why was improved infrastructure marketed as protecting pilgrims more so than merchants or others travelling on the same roads? The obvious answer lies in the fact that the shrines of saints were a source of income for their surrounding area. Churches that housed shrines benefited from donations, while the local people made profits by offering food and shelter to visitors.[48] Hence, it was in their interests to increase maintenance and protection of roads leading to pilgrimage sites as they helped to increase pilgrim traffic to those sites. The building of new churches and monasteries was reflective of the wealth of the local community, as well as the fear for one's soul associated with accumulating wealth.[49] There were a number of Cluniac monasteries on the road to Compostela offering shelter to pilgrims.[50] The Rule of St. Benedict (480-550) stated that the greatest care was to be shown to the poor and pilgrims.[51] Such monasteries gave lay people a place to donate their wealth to, while acts of charity gave monasteries justification for accumulating wealth. From a practical point of view, providing good hospitality only served to increase the renown of a monastery, hence increasing donations and their ability to carry out charitable works.[52] Unless they were of a high status, pilgrims did not normally stay within a monastery itself, but away from the majority of the Order's

[47] 'If any prelate should pardon them, either from benevolence or for his own profit, may he be struck with the sword of anathema,' *The Pilgrim's Guide. A 12th Century Guide for the Pilgrim to St James of Compostela*, trans. James Hogart (London: The Confraternity of St James, 1996), p. 20; *Liber Sancti Jacobi*, i, 5.7, pp. 360-1.
[48] Anne McCants, 'Donations and the Economics of Shrines,' in *Encyclopedia of Medieval Pilgrimage*, eds. Larissa J. Taylor et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2010), pp. 163-7 (p. 163).
[49] Sarah Hamilton, *Church and People in the Medieval West, 900-1200* (Abingdon, Routledge, 2013), p. 4.
[50] *The Miracles of Saint James*, p. xxxv; Cistercian houses provided hospitality, though they tended to be located in remote areas away from the main pilgrimage routes, Julie Kerr, *Monastic Hospitality: The Benedictines in England, C. 1070-c.1250* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2007), p. 6, p. 8.
[51] *The Rule of Saint Benedict*, ed. and trans. Bruce L. Venarde (London: Harvard University Press, 2011), 53.15, p. 174.
[52] Julie Kerr, 'Welcome the coming and speed the parting guest': hospitality in twelfth-century England,' *Journal of Medieval History*, Vol. 33, No. 2 (2007), pp. 130-146 (p. 132).

members in a hospice by the abbey gate.[53] Information on the type of care pilgrims received in these hospices is unclear as surviving evidence concerns conduct towards guests of high status or personal guests of the abbot within the monastery itself.[54] High status guests, particularly those who had given substantial donations, could become a problem for a monastery if they expected special treatment, lavish meals, or a lengthy stay for free on a regular basis.[55] Poorer pilgrims who were supposed to be suffering for their sins may only have expected basic food and shelter, which would have been easier for the monastery to finance than a constant flow of high status guests. No guest was expected to stay more than two nights. Perhaps in an attempt to limit potential abuse of their charity, monasteries could impose charges upon those who stayed longer.[56] Pilgrims travelling the road, especially if they were in a hurry to reach a port, would most likely only have stayed one night.

There was another reason for individuals to become involved in providing charity for pilgrims. The Gospel of Matthew discusses the importance of hospitality. It explains that upon judgment day, people will be separated like sheep from goats. The sheep represent those who were good and provided hospitality to those who sought it, 'for I was hungry and you gave me food, I was thirsty and you gave me drink, I was a stranger and you welcomed me, I was naked and you clothed me, I was sick and you visited me.'[57] These people will be rewarded with heaven, while those who refused hospitality to anyone were rewarded with 'eternal fire prepared for the devil and his angels.'[58] The final chapter of the *Pilgrim's Guide* contains a number of examples of those who faced the wrath of God for failing to care for pilgrims.[59] The last and most dramatic story concerned two French pilgrims who were denied hospitality by all in Poitiers, apart from one poor man. An entire street of houses went on fire, except the house of the poor, charitable man, 'Thus we learn that the pilgrims of St James, whether rich or poor, should be given hospitality and considerate reception.'[60] A story in *The Dialogues* of Pope Gregory I (590-604) express just how important charity was for the salvation of the soul. In Constantinople, a dying soldier witnessed an angel and a demon fighting over the soul of another dying man,

[53] Julie Kerr, *Monastic Hospitality*, p. 9; The Cistercians preferred to have separate chapels for the laity, Hamilton, *Church and People*, p. 133.
[54] Kerr, *Monastic Hospitality*, p. 126.
[55] Newman, *Travel and Trade*, p. 66.
[56] Kerr, 'Welcome the coming,' p. 143.
[57] Matthew 25.31-5.
[58] Matthew 25.41.
[59] *Liber Sancti Jacobi*, i, 5.11, pp. 388-9.
[60] *Liber Sancti Jacobi*, i, 5.11, pp. 389; *The Pilgrim's Guide*, p. 88.

named Stephen, on a bridge. The story explains that while Stephen was a sinner, and had previously been dragged to hell by accident and should have known better than to continue a life of sinning, he had also given considerable alms to the poor, which was why the angel tried to save him.[61] The significance of charity over simple faith was best summed up by the theologian Peter of Poitiers (1130-1205) who noted that even demons have faith, the difference being that demons do not perform acts of charity.[62] On a basic level, the act of giving to churches and monasteries was seen as charity, as they would redistribute the alms accordingly.[63] The rise of suffrage, interceding for dead relatives who may have ended up in Purgatory, included almsgiving to the poor in memory of the dead.[64] Even though canon and civil laws commanded that those who harmed pilgrims should be punished, they were not wholly effective. This may explain the rise in the emphasis on indulgences for those who helped to protect pilgrims. Indulgences were granted to people when their acts of charity, contrition, and devotion were increased.[65] It would have been more productive to reward charitable behaviour towards pilgrims than to discipline wrongdoers.

One way for a person to receive indulgences was to help build bridges, churches, hostels, and hospitals as these aided pilgrims to their destinations.[66] An anonymous writer in Metz in the mid thirteenth century pointed out that badly kept roads meant that the pilgrims' journey took longer which in turn put pilgrims in danger for longer. As a result, pilgrims would become angry and curse, thus committing sin, 'they would slander God and His holy saints most shamefully.'[67] In sum, good infrastructure aided pilgrims to avoid sin on their journey. On April 28th 1185, Pope Lucius III granted indulgences of thirty days to a hospital in Pisa, founded in 1155, which was seeking aid to build a bridge.[68] Pope

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[61] The witness did not know the fate of Stephen's soul, *The Dialogues of St. Gregory the Great, surnamed the Great: Pope of Rome & the first of that name*, trans. P. W. (London: Philip Lee Warner, 1911), Book 4, ch. 36, pp. 224-6.
[62] Peter of Poitiers, *Sententiarum Libri Quinque*, in *Patrologia Latina*, ed. J.P. Migne (1855), ccxi, 3:21, no. 211, p. 1090.
[63] Adam J. Davis, 'The Social and Religious Meaning of Charity in Medieval Europe,' *History Compass*, Vol. 12, No. 12 (2014), pp. 935-50 (p. 936).
[64] The other two were having a mass said for the person and general prayers. Jean-Claude Schmitt, *Ghosts in the Middle Ages: The Living and the Dead in Medieval Society*, trans. Teresa Lavender Fagan (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), p. 65. The Liturgy of the Dead developed in ninth century in the Carolingian period, which involved praying for the dead person on the third, seventh and thirteenth day after their death.
[65] Robert W. Shaffern, 'The Medieval Theology of Indulgences' *in Promissory Notes on the Treasury of Merits: Indulgences in Late Medieval Europe*. *Brill's Companions to the Christian Tradition: A series of handbooks and reference works on the intellectual and religious life of Europe, 500-1700*, Vol. 5, ed. R. N. Swanson (Leiden: Brill, 2006), pp. 11-36 (p. 15).
[66] Nikolaus Paulus, *Indulgences as a Social Factor in the Middle Ages*, trans. J. Elliot Ross (New York: The Devin-Adair Company, 1922), p. 68; Shaffern, 'The Medieval Theology of Indulgences,' p. 15.
[67] Paulus, *Indulgences*, pp. 70-1.
[68] *Acta Pontificum Romanorum Inedita*, iii, p. 320.

Boniface VIII (1294- 1303) confirmed forty days of indulgence for those who aided in the upkeep of the bridge in Fucecchio in Italy near the popular pilgrimage site of the Church of the Blessed Virgin in 1297 which was popular among pilgrims.[69] It opens by saying that whoever sheltered and refreshed the poor, sheltered and refreshed Christ, and whoever built bridges and eased a pilgrim's journey, was performing an act of true neighbourly love as it saved the life of another. This echoes the Gospel of Matthew discussed above.[70] Another bonus for those involved in such building was that they would be remembered in other people's prayers. Chapter 5 of the *Pilgrim's Guide* is titled 'Of the Names of those who repaired the Road to St James.'[71] The author prays for their souls and the unnamed men who worked with them.

The charitable networks and hospitality for pilgrims was rewarding for both the givers and the receivers. These, along with the road infrastructure and secular and papal protections which were developed to aid pilgrims, allowed the pilgrims to make their way across land and to shrines with some security. Most pilgrims had to travel to the sea ports to embark on their journey to the Holy Land, perhaps because the land route remained too long dangerous even after 1099. Sailing brought its own problems and a need for different types of infrastructure and mechanisms.

[69] *Les Registres de Boniface VIII*, ed. Antoine Thomas, 4 vols (Paris, 1884), i, n. 1780, p. 674. He mentions that it was a reconfirmation of what was set out previous by Pope Alexander IV and Clement IV.
[70] Matthew 25:31-5.
[71] *Liber Sancti Jacobi*, i, 5.5, p. 353; *The Pilgrim's Guide*, p. 11.

Fig 2.2 A man offers shelter to a Levite man, woman, and servant, who are dressed as pilgrims. 'The Crusader Bible,' *MS M.638* (The Pierpoint Morgan Library and Museum), f. 15v, c. 1240s.[72] (CC0 3.0)

[72] <http://www.themorgan.org/collection/crusader-bible/30#overlay-context=collection/crusader-bible/30> [accessed 28th October 2017]

Part 2: Pilgrims and Sailing

Pre-Crusade Sailing

Before the First Crusade, there were no direct or frequent sailing routes from ports such as those in Italy, Spain or France to ports in the Holy Land such as Acre, Ascalon or Tyre. Early medieval pilgrimage narratives tend be vague on the details of sailing and sometimes even a ship's destination. This was most likely due to the fact that the main focus was supposed to be on the religious aspect of the pilgrimage. Indeed, early medieval traders avoided naming their destinations and routes in an effort to prevent the passing on valuable information to their competitors or pirates, hence the lack of clarity in early medieval merchant documents.[73] In many cases, this leaves the pilgrimage narratives as the only source of travel routes during this period. The majority of these narratives show that sailing from Italy to Alexandria, or occasionally to Constantinople, was the main shipping route taken by pilgrims to get to the Holy Land. Arculf's seventh-century pilgrimage, written by his contemporary Adamnán, starts in the Holy Land. It does not give any details as to how he got to the Holy Land, whether he walked or sailed there, and if he sailed, to whither. For his return journey he did however, sail from Jaffa to Alexandria and then onto Crete and Constantinople.[74] Bernard the Wise's narrative, from the mid ninth century, offers more detail. He sailed from Bari in Italy to Alexandria on what can be assumed to be a merchant ship as there were Christian slaves on board.[75] It is difficult to deduce whether he sailed home from Alexandria or elsewhere as the text simply says 'returning then from Jerusalem, the holy city, we came to the sea.'[76] One exception to the use of Alexandria is the mid-eighth-century *Hodaeporicon of Saint Willibald* which states that Willibald sailed from Cajeta in Italy to Tartus on a merchant ship from Egypt and sailed back from Tyre.[77] He was frequently arrested and questioned as a spy at port cities.[78] While the text may have simply been trying to show the suffering of Willibald in the Holy Land, it may also suggest

[73] Armand O. Citarella, 'Patterns in Medieval Trade: The Commerce of Amalfi Before the Crusades,' *The Journal of Economic History*, Vol. 28, No. 4 (Dec., 1968), pp. 531-555 (p. 547).
[74] Adamnán, *Arculfi Relatio de Locis Sanctis*, in *Itinera Hierosolymitana et Descriptiones Terrae Sanctae Bellis Sacris Anteriora et Latina Lingua Exarata Sumptibus Societatis Illustrandis Orientis Latini Monumentis*, eds. Titus Tobler and Augustus Molinier (Geneva, 1879), pp. 139-202 (Book 2, p. 189; Book 3, p. 191).
[75] Bernard the Monk, *Itinerarium*, in *Itinera Hierosolymitana et Descriptiones Terrae Sanctae Bellis Sacris Anteriora et Latina Lingua Exarata Sumptibus Societatis Illustrandis Orientis Latini Monumentis*, eds. Titus Tobler and Augustus Molinier (Geneva, 1879), pp. 308-320 (p. 311).
[76] Bernard the Monk, *Itinerarium*, p. 318.
[77] *Vita Willibaldi Episcopi Eichstetenis*, ed. O. Holder-Egger, in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptorum*, Vol. 15, part 1 (Hannover, 1887), pp. 86-106 (p. 92; p. 101).
[78] *Vita Willibaldi Episcopi Eichstetenis*, p. 92; p. 101.

that the officials at these ports were not as prepared or used to dealing with pilgrims as those at Alexandria, and might explain why they might have eyed pilgrims with suspicion.

Pilgrimage narratives do reflect what is known about Italian trade routes before the crusades. The Italian Amalfitans led the way in opening up trade routes with Egypt in the tenth century.[79] They had economic ties to the Byzantine court in Constantinople from the ninth to the twelfth-centuries and a trade base in Egypt.[80] Such a base in Egypt allowed merchants to optimise sailing dates and acted as a secure place to stay in case storms delayed the return sailing.[81] The lack of interest in direct trade with the Holy Land seems to be due to the fact that it was easier, and perhaps safer, to trade at Alexandria and Constantinople. In essence, Italian merchants had access to goods from the Holy Land without the effort or risk of actually going there.

Sailing during the Crusading Period

David Jacoby has argued that pilgrims almost exclusively sailed to the Holy Land during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.[82] In 1102 Saewulf was unable to cross the open sea because there were no direct sailings to the Holy Land.[83]The crusades led to a change in trade routes and allowed for the commercial expansion of the Italian cities in the Holy Land.[84] Before the crusades, the Genoese and Pisan merchants traded with Alexandria, though the Pisans seemed far more interested in competing with Genoese merchants in Catalonia.[85] Once the crusaders began to take control of the Holy Land, pilgrims gained access to direct and more frequent sailings to the Holy Land on Genoese, Pisan and Venetian ships. Of the three, the Genoese were the first to get involved in the Holy Land, followed shortly by the Pisans. They provided support to the crusaders and then sought trade privileges at each newly captured coastal city. The Genoese, for example, were given

[79] Steven A. Epstein, *An Economic and Social History of Later Medieval Europe, 1000-1500* (Cambridge; Cambridge University Press, 2009), p. 74.
[80] Patricia Skinner, *Medieval Amalfi and its diaspora, 800-1250* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), p. 213.
[81] Skinner, *Medieval Amalfi*, p. 215.
[82] David Jacoby, 'Evolving Routes of Western Pilgrimage to the Holy Land, Eleventh to Fifteenth Century: An Overview,' in *Unterwegs im Named der Religion II/ On the Road in the Name of Religion II. Wege und Ziele in vergleichender Perspektive – das mittelalterliche Europa und Asien/ Ways and Destinations in Comparative Perspective – Medieval Europe and Asia*, ed. Klaus Herbers and Hans Christian Lehner (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2016), pp. 75- 97 (p. 83).
[83] Saewulf, 'Relatio de peregrinatione,' p. 59.
[84] Eugene H. Byrne, 'Commercial Contracts of the Genoese in the Syrian Trade of the Twelfth Century,' *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, Vol. 31, No. 1 (Nov., 1916), pp. 128-170 (p. 130).
[85] Silvia Orvietani Busch, 'Pisa and Catalonia Between the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries,' in *International Medieval Research, 1: Across the Mediterranean Frontiers. Trade Politics and Religion, 650-1450*, ed. Dionisius A Agius and Ian Richard Netten (Turnhout: Brepos, 1997), pp. 139-155 (p. 141).

houses in Antioch after its fall in June 1098 as a reward for their assistance.[86] The Venetians seems to have had a lack of interest in the Holy Land in the early stages of the crusades as they were slow to seek trade privileges there, and before the Venetian Crusade, 1122-4, they were more concerned with trade in southern Italy.[87] It was after the fall of Tyre in 1124 to the Venetians and crusaders, that Venice received trade privileges with Tyre.[88] As for the Amalfitan merchants, even though they had played a large role in early medieval trade, in particular with Egypt, and continued to have a physical present in the Holy Land itself, they appear not have had trade links with the Levant during the crusading period, and as such, Amalfitan ships are completely absent from pilgrim and travel narratives.[89]

Ports

Italian ports and ships, particularly the Genoese, dominate pilgrim narratives, perhaps because they received the trade privileges noted above or because it was a shorter sailing than from French ports like Marseilles. Barcelona would seem the obvious choice for pilgrims travelling from Spain, though it may have been difficult for pilgrims to reach before 1110 as the direct route to Barcelona entailed travelling through the territory of Taifa of Zaragoza. The rivalry between the Genoese and Pisans for trade with Catalonia and the various wars in Catalonia in the twelfth century did not seem to have too much of an impact on the transportation of pilgrims from Spain. In May 1167, Alphonso II king of Aragon and Count of Barcelona needed help from the Genoese to fight the Count of Toulouse and banned Pisan ships from landing at any port in the lands ruled by Alphonso, except for ships carrying pilgrims.[90] Interestingly, *The Pilgrim's Guide* does not highlight Barcelona as a port of interest. If a pilgrim followed the guide, they presumably headed to Marseilles by joining the road leading to the pilgrimage sites of Montpellier, St. Gilles, and then onto Arles, which is about 85km from Marseilles. Over the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, Marseilles had developed into a minor pilgrimage site. *The Pilgrim's Guide* tells

[86] David Abulafia, *The Great Sea: A Human History of the Mediterranean* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), p. 290. The crusaders captured the coastal cities of Caesarea and Jaffa in 1101, Acre in 1104, Sidon in 1110, Tyre in 1124 and Ascalon in 1153.
[87] David Abulafia, 'The Role of Trade in Muslim-Christian Contact,' in *Mediterranean Encounters, Economics, Religious, Political, 1100-1550* (Ashgate: Aldershot, 2000), pp. 1-24 (p. 5).
[88] Jonathon Riley-Smith, 'The Venetian Crusade of 1122-1124,' in *I Comuni Italiani nel Regno Crociato di Gerusalemme/ The Italian communes in the Crusading Kingdom of Jerusalem*, ed. Gabriella Airaldi and Benjamin Z. Kedar (Genoa, 1986), pp. 338-50 (p. 339).
[89] Skinner, *Medieval Amalfi*, p. 219.
[90] André Dupont, *Les relations commerciales entre les cités maritimes de Languedoc et les cités méditerranéennes d'Espange et d'Italie du Xème au XIIIème siècle* (Nimes, 1942), p. 90-7; Silvia Orvietani Busch, *Medieval Mediterranean Ports: The Catalan and Tuscan Coasts, 1000-1235* (Leiden: Brill, 2001), p 230.

the story of how Mary Magdalene, Maximinus, and other disciples left the Holy Land and sailed to Marseilles, giving the city a Biblical connection.[91] From 1297 it housed the body of St. Louis of Toulouse which became another pilgrim attraction in Marseilles.[92] Benjamin of Tudela, who would not have had any interest in Christian shrines in Marseilles, passed through Barcelona on his journey but, did not sail from there. He too joined the Camino road and took a ship from Marseilles.[93]

If a pilgrim chose to walk to Italy from Marseilles, Genoa was the first major Italian port that they would reach which is about 400km away from Marseilles. Benjamin of Tudela sailed from Marseilles to Genoa, where the sailors had 'command of the sea.'[94] Pilgrimage narratives often stated that the pilgrims sailed with Genoese sailors and captains. Caffaro di Rustico's *Annals of Genoa* draw attention to this. Caffaro di Rustico, Lord of Caschifellone, (1080-1166) joined the Genoese crusaders in 1100. He began to write the *Annals of Genoa* during this period, starting with the year 1099.[95] Caffaro's version of the origin of the First Crusade is an obvious effort to heighten the role played by the Genoese in the crusades, but it also provides details on pilgrimage. His account highlights that Alexandria was the main port that pilgrims sailed to before the crusades drawing attention to the lack of a direct sailing the Holy Land.[96] After preaching of the crusade in 1095, Pope Urban II sent the bishops of Grenoble and Orange to Genoa to encourage the Genoese people to open up the sea route to the Holy Land so that pilgrims could get to the Holy Sepulchre with ease.[97] Pilgrims sailed from other Italian ports such as Pisa, Venice, Bari and Brindisi. Benjamin eventually set out from Brindisi, while Saint Theotonius sailed from Bari for a number of weeks for the wind to carry the ship.[98] Despite this, it was the Genoese that appear most frequently in pilgrim and travel narratives in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

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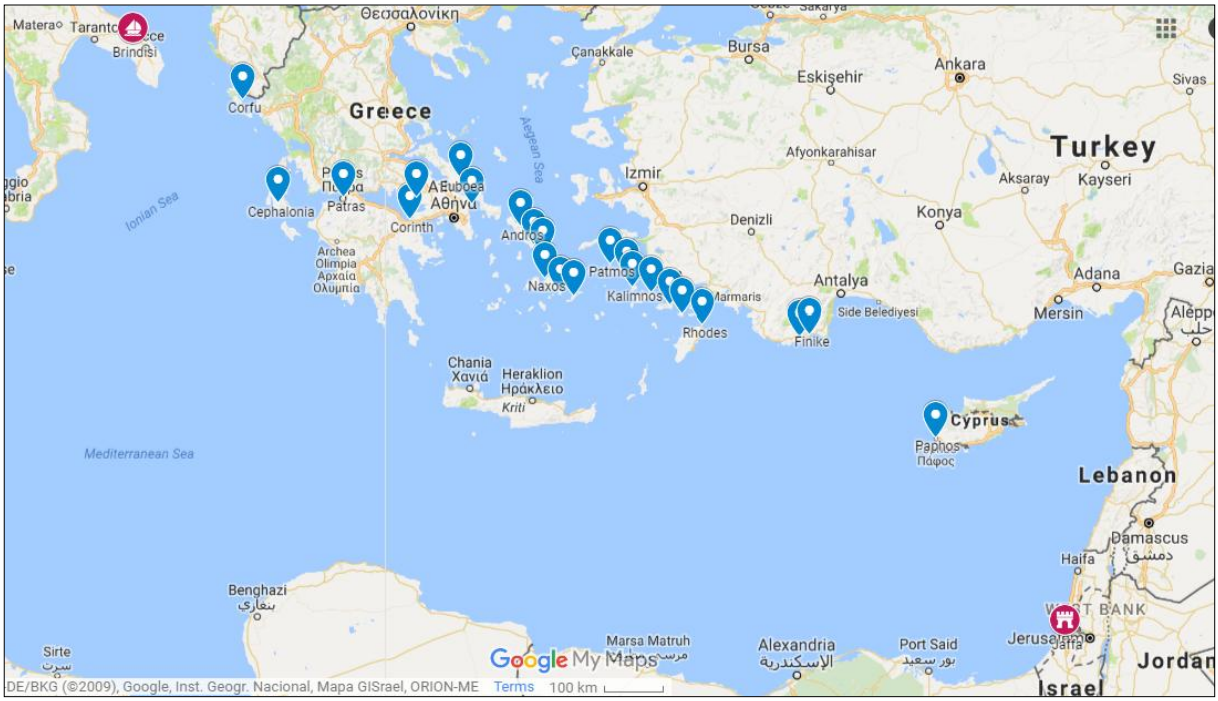
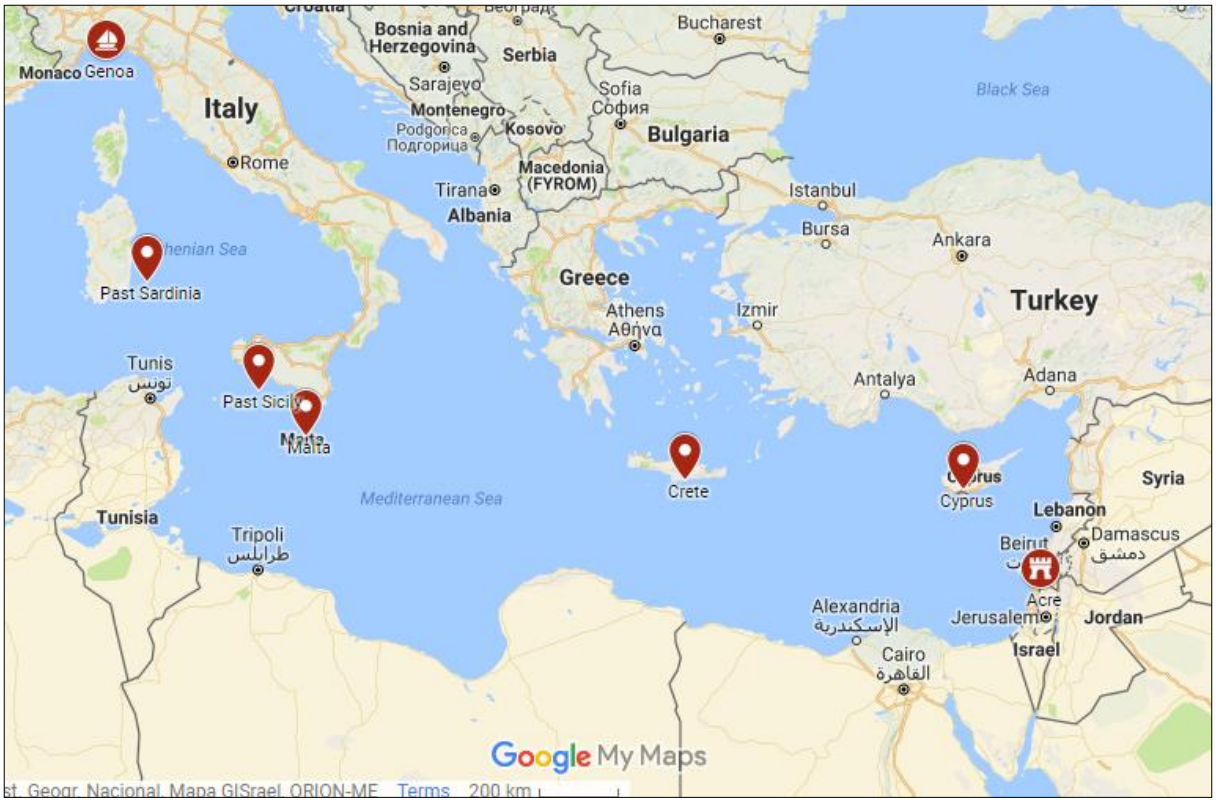
[91] *Liber Sancti Jacobi*, i, 5.8, pp. 365-6.
[92] St. Louis may have a special significance for Symon as they were both Franciscan Friars, *Itinerarium Symonis Semeonis*, p. 33.
[93] *The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela*, p. 2, p. 6.
[94] *The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela*, p. 7; Symon rushed to in Nice to get a boat to Genoa, *Itinerarium Symonis Semeonis*, pp. 33
[95] Martin Hall and Jonathan Phillips, *Caffaro, Genoa and the Twelfth-Century Crusades*. *Crusade Texts in Translation 26* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), p. 2.
[96] In this version of events, Godfrey of Bouillon and Count Robert I of Flanders had gone on pilgrimage to Jerusalem before the Crusades, sailing to and returned from Alexandria on a Genoese ship named Pomella, Hall and Phillips, *Caffaro*, pp. 107-8.
[97] Hall and Phillips, *Caffaro*, p. 110.
[98] *The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela*, p. 17; 'Vita S. Theotonio Canonico Regulari,' in *Acta Sanctorum*, February, III, ed. Joanne Carnandet (Paris, 1865), pp. 111-22 (3:11, p. 113); Members of the First crusade left from Brindisi and Otranto, Guibert of Nogent, *Dei Gesta Per Francos et Cinq Autres Textes*, ed. Robert B. C. Huygens, CCCM 127A (Turnholt, 1996), pp. 76-325 (Book 2, p. 135).



Map 2.2 Saewulf's sea journey from Brindisi to Jaffa in 1102.[99]



Map 2.3 Jacques de Vitry's journey from Genoa to Acre 1216.

[99] Interactive map available here: <https://www.google.com/maps/d/viewer?hl=en&hl=en&mid=1ffrwWosvIALfirMpt4AZLqtqw-c&ll=37.46230528503957%2C25.455614128418006&z=4>

Types of Ships

Roman style ships with two decks were common on the Mediterranean in early medieval period. The lower deck could be used for cargo or pilgrims.[100] Two major events that changed shipping in the Mediterranean were the Norman conquest of Sicily and the crusades.[101] The advancement in shipping technology, particularly in the twelfth century, meant that a larger number of pilgrims could be carried on ships than before. There were three dominant types of ship in the Mediterranean in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the *navis*, the galley, and the tarida. The *navis* was a large, broad-beamed cargo ships with triangular sails on two or three masts, while galleys were decked over and had oars with one to three masts and were mainly used for short journeys.[102] The tarida was a slow heavy galley with oars and two masts. There was another ship called a 'buss.' The pilgrim Theoderich travelled on a ship called a 'buss.'[103] Louis Blancard lists three hundred and twenty nine documents relating to ships that sailed from Marseilles to the Holy Land between 1200 and 1255.[104] There were nine different buss ships active in the Marseilles between 1248-9.[105] These included the Gerfaut, Saint-Antoine, Saint Jacobus, Saint-Julien, Saint-Leonard, two named Saint Nicholas, and three named Saint-Francois, all of which first appear in 1248. The naming of ships after saints was most likely an attempt to gain saintly protection, essentially making the saint a patron of the ship. The choice of saint may have come from the owner's personal devotions. In terms of protection at sea, invoking the name of Saint Nicholas seems like an obvious choice. The three Saint-Francois ships reflect the popularity of Saint Francis and his association with merchants.[106] Unfortunately, the documents do not give a clear description of a buss. The lack of archaeological finds in relation to Mediterranean busses makes it difficult to define exactly

[100] Newman, *Travel and Trade*, p. 135.
[101] Moshe Gil, 'Shipping in the Mediterranean in the Eleventh Century A. D. as Reflected in Documents from Cairo Geniza,' *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, Vol. 67, No. 4 (Oct. 2008), 247-292 (p. 247); For general information on medieval ships see Joe Flatman, *Ships and Shipping in Medieval Manuscripts* (London: The British Library, 2009).
[102] E. H. Byrne, *Genoese Shipping in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries* (Cambridge, 1930), pp. 5-6; John E. Dotson, 'Ship types and fleet composition at Genoa and Venice in the early thirteenth century,' in *Logistics of Warfare in the Age of the Crusades: Proceedings of a Workshop held at the Centre for Medieval Studies, University of Sydney, 30 September to October 2002*, ed. John H. Pryor (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), pp. 63-76 (p. 65).
[103] Theoderich, 'Libellus de Locis Sanctis,' p. 186.
[104] *Documents Inédits sur le Commerce de Marseille au Moyen Age*, ed. Louis Blancard, 2 vols (Marseille, 1884-5), ii, pp. 519-523.
[105] *Documents Inédits sur le Commerce*, ii, pp. 519-523.
[106] Rosanlind B. Brooke, *The Image of St. Francis: Responses to Sainthood in the Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 217-25.

what the buss or *bucius* was.[107] It is generally accepted to be a transport galley, with a greater capacity than a galley, twice the capacity of a *navis*, and had a smaller crew.[108]

The capacity of sailing ships grew in the mid-twelfth century as the Genoese built longer ships with two decks and a cabin, which by the thirteenth century had two to three masts.[109] It is not clear if this new type of sailing ship was in fact the buss. The business transactions do not show any marked difference between the buss and other types of ships.[110] However, within the Marseilles documents, the only clear references to pilgrims are seen in business transactions involving busses. Three of the busses, Saint Francis, Saint Nicholas and Saint Leonard, sailed to the Holy Land in 1248.[111] While it is not clear if the Saint Nicholas carried pilgrims, the Saint Francis was booked to carry up to four hundred pilgrims, while the Saint Leonard was to carry at least two hundred pilgrims. The size of the Saint Leonard is unknown, but the rights to one sixteenth of the ship was bought by Jacob de Lavania for 41l 2s 6 d.[112] Unfortunately, sale prices of galleys are lacking in the Marseilles documentation, nevertheless the details of *nave* and taridae are available. In 1248, three-sixteenths of a new *navis* was bought for 400l, while one-sixteenth of the *navis* the Pheasant was sold for 57l 6s.[113] Based on these two particular *naves*, the *navis* were more expensive than the buss. On the other hand, in comparison to tarida ships sold, the buss appears to have been the more expensive of the two. In 1248, one quarter of the tarida Santa- Margarita was sold for 50l, while a tarida named *Burgensis* was sold for 186l 13s 4d, and the newly built tarida, Bonne-Aventure, was sold for 500l.[114] Regardless of size or price, the busses Saint Jacobus and Saint Francis were armed and therefore, did not need to travel with an escort.[115] This is a feature absent from other ships in Marseilles in 1248. If

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[107] Richard W. Unger, *The Ship in the Medieval Economy, 600-1600* (London: Croom Helm, 1980), p. 144.
[108] John H. Pryor, ed., *Logistics of Warfare in the Age of the Crusades: Proceedings of a Workshop held at the Centre for Medieval Studies, University of Sydney, 30 September to October 2002* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), p. 293; Peter Spufford, 'Trade in Fourteenth-Century Europe', in *The New Cambridge Medieval History VI, C. 1300-1415*, ed. Michael Jones (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 155-208 (p. 185); Richard W. Unger, 'The Northern Crusades,' in *Logistics of Warfare in the Age of the Crusades: Proceedings of a Workshop held at the Centre for Medieval Studies, University of Sydney, 30 September to October 2002*, ed. John H. Pryor (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), pp. 251-74 (p. 262).
[109] Byrne, *Genoese Shipping*, p. 6.
[110] In the spring of 1248, the Gerfaut was used to transport 30l worth of drapery, 144 l worth of unidentified cheap goods, and nuts, *Documents Inédits sur le Commerce*, ii, no. 405, p. 23; no. 417, p. 29; no. 519, p. 77.
[111] *Documents Inédits sur le Commerce*, i, no. 165, p. 334; ii, no. 977, p. 284; no. 914, pp. 248-9.
[112] *Documents Inédits sur le Commerce*, ii, no. 991, p. 290. Working on the assumption that this one sixteenth was of equal value to the rest of the ship, the Saint Leonard would work out at a similar value to other busses used in Marseilles. In May 1248, a buss named Saint Nicholas was sold for 600 l, in June the buss Saint Jacobus was sold for 815 l., while in July the Saint Francis was sold in July for 500 l., *Documents Inédits sur le Commerce*, ii, no. 752, pp. 177-8; no. 923, pp. 257-8; no. 924, p. 258; no. 969, p. 279.
[113] *Documents Inédits sur le Commerce*, ii, no. 480, pp. 57-8; no. 584, p. 108.
[114] *Documents Inédits sur le Commerce*, i, no. 219, p. 335; ii, no. 954, p. 272; no. 974, p. 282.
[115] *Documents Inédits sur le Commerce*, ii, no. 923, pp. 257-8; no. 924, p. 258; no. 969, p. 279.

the galley did not generally travel long distances, the tarida was too slow and better equipped for use by crusader armies, and the *navis* too expensive, perhaps the buss was favoured by pilgrims during this period.

By the end of the thirteenth century, improved galleys were commonly used in the transport of pilgrims and crusaders to the Holy Land.[116] Later medieval pilgrim narratives tend to provide more details about the ships in which they travelled. In April 1346, for example, the Franciscan friar Niccolo da Poggibonsi set out from Venice on a ship that had two masts, while in 1384, Lionardo Frescobaldi travelled in a smooth ship, a brigantine with 16 oars.[117]

How Shipping Operated

To be a successful trader, merchants had to develop partnerships and contacts. The Genoese were involved in 'societates maris' which was the dominant form of association for trading with the Holy Land.[118] The merchants in Marseilles operated through a societas also, but not to a large extent. Between 1216 and 1292, there are thirty-six documents concerning societas transactions in Marseilles.[119] Societas meant that one person remained in the home city and supplied two-thirds of the capital, while the other person contributed one-third of the capital and sailed to the Holy Land using the money provided to cover expenses. Once the person returned from the Holy Land and the goods were sold, the profits were divided between both parties.[120] In the later twelfth century the 'accomendatio' became the more popular form of association. One party provided all the capital and remained in the city, while the other party sailed with the goods to the Holy Land and back and was given one-quarter of the profits.[121] The 'accomendatio' could in theory speed up sailing process as it only depended on one investor. It is obvious why pilgrims were a popular commodity. In both forms of association, pilgrims would have provided money up front and no investor had to worry about market prices. A merchant could buy or rent space of a ship long term. In 1248, William Giraudo bought one quarter

[116] Byrne, *Genoese Shipping*, pp. 5-6.
[117] Niccolo da Poggibonsi,'Libro d'oltramare,' in *Pellegrini Scrittori: Viaggiatori toscani del Trecento in Terrasanta*, ed. Antonio Lanza and Marcellina Troncarelli (Florence: Ponte Alle Grazie, 1990), pp. 31-158 (p. 34); Lionardo Frescobaldi, 'Viaggio in Terrasanta,' *Pellegrini Scrittori: Viaggiatori toscani del Trecento in Terrasanta*, ed. Antonio Lanza and Marcellina Troncarelli (Florence: Ponte Alle Grazie, 1990), pp. 167-215 (p. 173).
[118] Byrne, 'Commercial Contracts,' p. 136.
[119] *Documents Inédits sur le Commerce*, ii, p. 535.
[120] Byrne, 'Commercial Contracts,' pp. 136-7.
[121] Byrne, 'Commercial Contracts,' p. 152.

of a ship called Bonaventura for 140l.[122] This allowed merchants to ensure that they always had a place on board to carry their goods and did not have to worry about competition for places. In the documents concerning Marseilles, when a person bought a section of the ship, they tended to disappear from further documentation. This may be due to the fact that they own that part of the ship and did not have to negotiate a place on board. This makes it impossible to know if these sections of the ship were used exclusively for goods, sold to pilgrims, or even both.

Booking a place on Board

Improved ships and direct sailing in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries increased the number of pilgrims wanting to sail to the Holy Land. The two main sailing seasons were in spring time and early autumn. Symon, for example left Venice in August 1323.[123] Saewulf left Brindisi in July 1102 which may explain why he struggled to get a direct sailing to Jaffa.[124] The time of the year that merchants sailed happened to coincide with the time when pilgrims were most likely to want to travel to the Holy Land. Genoese merchant ships generally set out in September to be in the Holy Land for Christmas, which was usually a direct route, apart from stopping at Sardinia or Sicily, and returned in early summer after Easter, while a Venetian statute from 1233 stated that Venetian pilgrim ships had to leave Acre no later than the 8th of October.[125] A pilgrim who wanted to be in Jerusalem for Easter most likely took the late summer or autumn sailing to ensure they would arrive in plenty of time for the following Easter, which may explain why the Genoese appear more frequently in pilgrimage narratives.

In general, pilgrims needed to arrive early to a port to secure a place on a ship.[126] Given that pilgrims had to travel distances over land by foot or by horse or donkey, they could not be certain when they would arrive at the port as they could encounter any number of issues along the way. This made any attempt to buy a place on board a ship in advance difficult. Ibn Jubayr stated that he wasted eleven days in Tyre as the ship he

[122] *Documents Inédits sur le Commerce*, ii, no. 875, p. 233.
[123] p. 2; *Itinerarium Symonis Semeonis*, p. 37.
[124] Saewulf, 'Relatio de peregrinatione,' p. 60; John H. Pryor, 'The Voyage of Saewulf,' in *Peregrinationes Tres: Saewulf, John of Würzburg, Theodericus*, Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis, ed. R. B. C. Huygens, 139 (Turnholt: Brepols, 1994), pp. 35-57 (p. 36).
[125] Byrne, 'Commercial Contracts,' pp. 132-3; David Jacoby, 'A Venetian Sailing to Acre in 1282,' in *In Laudem Hierosolymitani: Studies in Crusades and Medieval Culture in Honour of Benjamin Z. Kedar*, ed. Iris Shagrir, Ronnie Ellenblum, and Jonathan Riley-Smith (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), pp. 395-410 (p. 404).
[126] Anne Wolff, *How Many Miles to Babylon?: Travels and Adventures to Egypt and Beyond, From 1300 to 1640* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, June 2013), p. 59.

planned on sailing home on was too small. Whether he spent the eleven days trying to get find a suitable ship at Tyre is not known, though in the end he returned to Acre.[127] Symon spent about seven weeks in Venice before he took a ship to the Alexandria, though it is not clear if this wait was because of his own detour or if the ship simply was not ready to sail.[128]

Pilgrims had to ensure they were booking ships that were going to the right destinations and had to make it clear where they wished to sail to. A document made by notary Pagano Durante while on board a Genoese ship off the coast of Crete in November 1283, concerns a group of annoyed passengers who were supposed to sail to the Holy Land via Cyprus, though the captain, Lanfranco of Savignone, appeared to have misunderstood and believed their destination to be the Byzantine Empire.[129] Genuine mistakes were not always the case. It would seem that some captains tried to take advantage of pilgrims by purposely sailing to the wrong port, hence demanding more money to carry them to the Holy Land. There could also have been more sinister motives. The thirteenth-century Cistercian chronicler Alberic of Trois-Fontaines recounted how, during the Children's Crusade (1212), two merchants from Marseilles took advantage of the children by bringing them to Alexandria and Bougie and sold them as slaves.[130] In February 1209, Pope Innocent III threatened the citizens and Doge of Venice with excommunication and the judgement of God if their captains continued to divert pilgrims, who were supposed to sail to the Holy Land, to Crete and other places they had not agreed to sail to.[131] If this particular scam was widely practiced among Venetian sailors, it may once again explain the popularity of Genoese ships among pilgrims.

By the thirteenth century, a pilgrim could book a place on board through a tour operator, which would have helped pilgrims to avoid mistakes due to language barriers or

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[127] *The Travels of Ibn Jubayr*, pp. 320-1.
[128] *Itinerarium Symonis Semeonis*, p. 37.
[129] Robert Sabatino Lopez and Irving W. Raymond, *Medieval trade in the Mediterranean World: Illustrative Documents* (New York, 1967), pp. 267-8.
[130] 'Chronica Albrici Monachi Trium Fontium,' ed. Paulus Scheffer-Boichorst, in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Scriptorum*, Vol. 23 (Leipzig: 1925), pp. 631-950 (p. 893).
[131] Gottlieb Lukas Friedrich Tafel and George Martin Thomas, *Urkuden zur älteren Handels-und Staatsgeschichte der Republik Venedig mit besonderer Beziehung auf Byzanz und die Levante. Vom neumten bis zum Ausgang des fünfzehnten Jahrhundert*, 3 vols (Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1964), ii, no. 202, pp. 87-8; On his second voyage to the Holy Land in 1483, the Dominican Felix Fabri wrote down the details of the contract made between the pilgrims and the captain, noting where the captain had agreed to take them. The contract also made the captain responsible for the pilgrims' safety on land and made him their guide to the River Jordan. This ensure that he could not leave them stranded in the Holy Land, Felix Fabri, *Evagatorium in Terrae Sanctae, Arabiae et Egypti Peregrinationem*, ed. Konrad Dieterich Hassier, 4 vols (Stuttgart: Sumtibus Societatis Literariae Stuttgardiensis, 1843-9), i, pp. 89-91.

lack of clarity. The rise of tour operators must reflect the high number of pilgrims going to the Holy Land and the need for organisation. As pilgrims often travelled in groups of family, friends or other clergy members, tour operators would have allowed large groups to secure places on board in one arrangement and may also have ensured that the groups' members shared beds in the one area. Tour operators were active in Marseilles which helped to attract pilgrims. In 1248 Andrea of Ventimiglia booked places on the ship called the Saint Francis. He came to an agreement on the 25th of March 1248 with two travel agents that he would assume all the expenses of the fare, 38s per pilgrim, the food and drink for the servants attending the pilgrims, at a rate of four servants per one hundred pilgrims and fifteen for four hundred pilgrims, in order to ensure they set sail by the end of the month. He would also pay the taxes to the commune of Marseilles, the deposit of warranty to the agents, and accompany the pilgrims on the ship at his own expense.[132] Such an arrangement must have been attractive to a prospective pilgrim. While it may have been more expensive to book through a tour operator, it removed the need for a pilgrim to do any searching and bargaining with ship owners themselves. On June 19th 1248, three managers of the ship Saint Leonard gave two hundred pilgrim places on their ship to tour operator Garnier de Marignino.[133] The competitive nature can be seen as they agreed not to make such a contract with anyone else for this voyage. Garnier was to pay whatever was owed to the ship owners by the sailing date in mid-August, presumably that he would cover the cost of the empty spaces he could not fill. Of course, booking a place via a tour operator had its advantages and disadvantages. It may have benefited a small group of pilgrims arriving late to the port if the tour operator was desperate to fill spaces. A large group of pilgrims most likely needed to arrive at the port in good time to avail of the tour operator's offer, unless they knew someone at the port who could book their places. Pilgrims Lionardo Frescobaldi, Simone Sigoli, Giorgio Gucci and Andrea Rinuccini, for example, set out for the Holy Land in August 1384 and their voyage seemed to have been arranged by Nofrio, bishop of Volterra, on their behalf.[134]

It was important for pilgrims to know the name of their ship in order to locate it, particularly for the return journey. The pilgrimage of Godfrey of Bouillon and Count

[132] *Documents inédits sure le Commerce*, i, no. 165, p. 334; Also discussed by David Jacoby, 'Hospitaller Ships and Transportation across the Mediterranean,' in *Travellers, Merchants and Settlers in the Eastern Mediterranean, 11th-14th Centuries* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014), pp. 57-72 (p. 63).
[133] *Documents inédits sure le Commerce*, ii, no. 914, pp. 248-9.
[134] When Lionardo wanted to deviate from the set route, he had some trouble finding a ship to meet his needs. The pilgrim ship leaving Venice was bound for Jerusalem, whereas Lionardo and his friends wanted to sail to Alexandria. He eventually was able to gather enough Florentine pilgrims convince a captain to sail a ship to Alexandria at a more expensive rate, Lionardo Frescobaldi, 'Viaggio in Terresanta,' pp. 170-1.

Robert I in Caffaro's *Annals*, set before the First Crusade, says that they sailed on a Genoese ship named Pomella.[135] Regardless of how true this story was, the fact that it states that Godfrey and Robert only stayed in the Holy Land for three days before they had to return home on the same ship, depicts a genuine issue that pilgrims faced, particularly those who travelled before the crusades. Pilgrims who were limited to merchant ships were at the mercy of how long the ships were going to be at the port. If they missed the return sailing, they risked being stranded. Pilgrims could grow tired of waiting on board a ship that could not leave port because of bad weather. Saint Theotonius had to wait at Bari for a number of weeks for a strong wind to carry his ship to the Holy Land.[136]At Acre, Ibn Jubayr reported on the awkwardness of waiting for his ship to set sail over a number of days and gave serious practical advice to travellers. He said that he and his friends preferred to stay ashore during the waiting period, which was to their own inconvenience as the ship set sail without them.[137]

Capacity

The number of pilgrims a ship could carry obviously depended on its size. Some ships purposely carried pilgrims only, while others carried a mix of pilgrims, merchants, and cargo. Ibn Jubayr noted 'more than two thousand' Christian pilgrims on his return voyage from the Holy Land on a Genoese ship, emphasising the image of a crowded ship.[138] The 1252 Statutes of Marseilles noted that the minimum space on board per pilgrim was to be about 25 inches by 65-70 inches wide, and did not allow the space to be rented to two people to sleep head to foot.[139] Subject to the size of the ship, Genoese merchant ships were limited to carrying fifty to one hundred pilgrims.[140] A document from 1248, concerning a Genoese ship called 'Oliva,' tells exactly how many passengers were on board. The owner of the ship sold one thousand one hundred places on the ship, which was sailing to Syria, and it required seventy-five mariners, with a cost of £2250 for provisions for four months.[141] The 1250 passenger list of the ship St. Victor listed four

[135] Hall and Phillips, *Caffaro*, pp. 107-8.
[136] 'Vita S. Theotonio Canonico Regulari,' 3:11, p. 113.
[137] They had to hire a long boat to catch up with the Genoese ship, *The Travels of Ibn Jubayr*, pp. 326-7.
[138] *The Travels of Ibn Jubayr*, p. 325.
[139] J. M Pardessus, 'Extrait du Statut de Marseille de 1253 a 1255,' in *Collection de Lois Maritimes antérieures au XVIIIe siècle*, 6 vols (Paris: 1828-45) iv, pp. 256-89 (p. 278); Rosalind Kent Berlow, 'The Sailing of the "Saint Esprit",' *The Journal of Economic History*, Vol. 39, No. 2 (Jun., 1979), pp. 354-62 (p. 350).
[140] Byrne, *Genoese Shipping*, p. 8.
[141] Byrne, *Genoese Shipping*, p. 22; doc XV, p. 81; doc. p. 86; doc. XVIII, p. 95; doc. XXIV, p. 96; doc. XXVII, p. 100; XXX, p. 107; doc. XXXII, pp. 115-6.

hundred and fifty three passengers comprised of crusaders, clergy, craftsmen, and other men and women.[142]

The Military Orders

The Military Orders could take pilgrims at a cheaper rate if their ships were not full by departure time, with the expectation that pilgrims would donate to their houses in the Holy Land.[143] It was therefore possible for a pilgrim to take a chance that a Hospitaller or Templar ship might not be at full capacity at the time of sailing and could try to travel on it. This may have been a tempting offer to pilgrims who could not afford to pay the fare on other ships or if their original ship could not sail due to damage or some other reason. David Jacoby has discussed the role of the Hospitallers and their transportation of pilgrims to the Holy Land. The earliest Hospitaller ship was mentioned in a business account of a Genoese merchant in 1156 and was most likely travelling to Acre because it was carrying spices.[144] A treaty from 1166 made between Narbonne and Genoa shows that Templar and Hospitaller ships were carrying pilgrims from Narbonne during this period.[145] The Military Orders received tax exemptions for the transport of pilgrims in a number of areas. In 1197, Empress Constance of Sicily granted the Hospitallers the right to transport goods and pilgrims to the Holy Land without paying taxes, while in 1210, King Hugh I of Cyprus granted the Order tax exemption on the island of Cyprus on any goods they traded and allowed them to dock in any port.[146] The Hospitaller *navis* called the Falcon was bound for Acre from Marseilles in April 1238.[147] An unnamed Templar ship sailed from Marseilles to Syria in August 1229 and 1235, and February 1240.[148] Ultimately, it is not clear how many or how often the Hospitallers and Templars carried pilgrims on their ships to the Holy Land.[149] No pilgrim or travel narratives mention travelling with either of them.

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[142] Benjamin Z. Kedar, 'The Passenger List of a Crusader Ship, 1250: towards the History of the Popular Element of the Seventh Crusade,' in *The Franks in the Levant, 11th to 14thCenturies* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1993) XVI, pp. 267-279 (p. 271).
[143] Jacoby, 'Hospitaller Ships,' p. 63, p. 70; Helen Nicholson, *The Knights Hospitaller* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2001), p. 213.
[144] Jacoby, 'Hospitaller Ships,' p. 57.
[145] C. Devic and J. Vaissete, *Histoire Générale du Languedoc: Avec des Notes & les Piéces Justificatives*, Vol. 8 (Toulouse, 1879), no. 1, pp. 263-4.
[146] Eduard Winkelmann, *Acta imperii inedita, saeculi XIII et XIV: Urkunden und Briefe zur Geschichte des Kaiserreichs und des Konigreichs Sizilien*, 2 Vols (Innsbruck, 1880), i, no. 71, pp. 66-7; *Cartulaire Général De L'Ordre Des Hospitaliers de S. Jean de Jérusalem, II, 1201-1260*, ed. J. Delaville le Roulx (Paris, 1897), no. 1354, pp. 121-2, however, there is no mention of pilgrims or any people in this grant.
[147] *Documents Inédits sur le Commerce*, i, no. 80, pp. 121-2; no. 101, pp. 162-3; The Grifona sailed to Acre with money and cloth in August 1248, no. 345, p. 405.
[148] *Documents Inédits sur le Commerce*, i, no. 22, p. 28; no. 68, pp. 102-3; no. 87, pp. 135-136.
[149] Jacoby, 'Hospitaller Ships,' pp. 70-1.

The Military Orders came into conflict with the people of Marseilles concerning the transport of pilgrims. In 1178 the Hospitallers were given tax exemption for the transit and trade of goods in the areas of Marseilles owned by Bertrand of Marseilles and his nephews the viscounts of Marseilles.[150] In March 1216, Hugh I of Baux and his wife Baralle confirmed a charter that granted the Hospitallers the right to build or anchor ships in Marseilles and its territory that were bound for the Holy Land or Spain to defend Christianity. Such a ship could transport goods, pilgrims, crusaders, merchants and money tax free.[151] Of course, the community of Marseilles were not pleased with the privileges granted to the Orders as they had an impact on their trade profits. In 1233, they managed to place limitations on the activities of the Military Orders there. The Templars and Hospitallers were limited to loading and unloading two ships each twice a year in Marseilles, one each in August and one each at Easter, carrying a maximum of one thousand five hundred pilgrims.[152] The people of Marseilles were still clearly unhappy with the arrangement as, in 1246, they cancelled the agreement of 1233, thought it was reinstated by 1253.[153] The Templar ship called the Falcon had been bought from the Genoese and was one of the largest shipping vessels in the Mediterranean.[154] It may have been in the interest of the Military Orders to have larger ships. With increased sanctions from communes like Marseilles, having larger ships ensure that the Orders could achieve the maximum numbers and make the journey worthwhile.

At sea

It took about six weeks to sail from an eastern Italian port to the Holy Land in good weather.[155] Jacques de Vitry sailed from Genoa to Acre in five weeks.[156] The length of time could vary greatly depending on storms and how many ports the ship had to stop at along the way. Ships travelling to the Holy Land preferred to sail across the northern coast of the Mediterranean because of its high coasts, landmarks, and bays.[157] The pilgrim

[150] *Cartulaire Général De L'Ordre Des Hospitaliers de S. Jean de Jérusalem, I, 1100-1200*, ed. J. Delaville le Roulx (Paris, 1894), no. 542, p. 369.
[151] *Cartulaire Général*, ii, no. 1464, p. 186.
[152] *Cartulaire Général*, ii, no. 2607, p. 462-4.
[153] Jacoby, 'Hospitaller Ships,' p. 66.
[154] Jacoby, 'Hospitaller Ships,' p. 67.
[155] Sailing west from the Holy Land could take up to two months, John H. Pryor, *Geography, Technology, and War: Studies in the maritime history of the Mediterranean, 649-1571* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), p. 3.
[156] *Lettres de Jacques de Vitry*: (1160/1170-1240) évéque de Saint-Jean-d'Acre, ed. R. B. C. Huygens (Leiden: Brill, 1960), no. 2, p. 80.
[157] The north coast of Africa was too treacherous, rocky and shallow Pryor, *Geography, Technology, and War*, p. 21.

Symon left Venice on the 18th of August and reached Alexandria on the 14th October meaning his sailing time was about eight weeks, while Ibn Jubayr had a rather short sailing time, leaving Sicily on the 18st of March in good weather and he arrived at Alexandria on the 26th of March.[158] Saewulf, on the other hand, left Brindisi on the 22nd of July 1102 and did not reach Jaffa until the 12th of October, which was nearly thirteen weeks later.[159]

When a pilgrim finally boarded a ship, they placed their lives in the hands of the sailors, the captain, and the sea. Jacques de Vitry gave an animated account of his sea journey to Acre, describing the difficulty he had trying to drink as he struggled to keep his balance with one hand and hold his cup with the other.[160] The Jewish pilgrim and writer Juhad Halevi from al-Andalus, who travelled to the Holy Land in 1140, described in detail how his expectation of a glorious pilgrimage was ruined by sea sickness. Comparing the unsettled sea to 'storms like my bowels,' in Poem 23, he addressed the crammed feeling on board:

> 'Interred alive in a wooden box,
> a place too small even to call a space.
> No room to stand, and lying down, no room
> to stretch his feet; no choice but sit.'[161]

Such cramped spaces, with no place for passengers to escape to, allowed disease to spread rapidly on board ships adding more hardship for pilgrims. 'The Life of Raymond 'Palmario' of Piacenza' tells the story of how Raymond became so ill on his return journey that the sailors thought he was dying.[162] There was superstition that if anyone died on board the ship it was doomed. They were about to throw Raymond overboard, though his mother intervened and saved him.

Pilgrims also faced lice, fleas, and noise which made sleeping difficult.[163] On a more sinister note, pilgrims could fall victim of foul play on board. The early fourteenth-century pastoral manual *Memoriale Presbiterorum* from England informs confessors how

[158] *Itinerarium Symonis Semeonis*, p. 47; Ibn Jubayr's return sail from Acre to Sicily took just over six weeks *The Travels of Ibn Jubayr*, pp. 28-9, p. 326; p. 333.
[159] Saewulf, 'Relatio de peregrinatione,' pp. 60-1.
[160] *Lettres de Jacques de Vitry*, no. 2, pp. 81-2.
[161] Raymond P. Scheindlin, *The Song of the Distant Dove: Judah Halevi's Pilgrimage* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 223.
[162] Rufino, 'Vita et Miracula B. Raymundi Palmarii,' *Acta Sanctorum*, July, Vol. VI, ed. Peter van der Bosch (Paris, 1868), pp. 644-57 (p. 647).
[163] Wolff, *How Many Miles*, p. 59.

to handle different types of people during confession. The section named 'Concerning Sailors' warns the confessor to be cautious and zealous when dealing with sailors as, 'the pen scarcely suffices to write the sins in which they are involved. For so great is their malice that it exceeds the sins of all other men.'[164] It goes on to cite nearly every sin imaginable which included attacking pilgrims and taking their belongings. Jacques de Vitry similarly discussed the violence of sailors towards pilgrims, such as those who starved pilgrims on board or sold them as slaves.[165] He also spoke of sailors who only pay rent for a ship if it reached shore safely. These sailors would purposely sink the ship near the coast to avoid paying and left the pilgrims to drown, though in reality, it is not clear how often this happened. On a basic level it would not have been good for business to be linked with ships and crews that actively harmed or drowned pilgrims. If abandoning ships with pilgrims was a regular occurrence, it does raise the question of whether it was safer for pilgrims to sail on merchant ships, as more merchants had stakes in the ship's survival and safe return, rather than those carrying predominately pilgrim. Such incidents do not appear in pilgrim or travel narratives. They often speak in a positive manner about their ship's captain and crew. Gille-Brighde Albanach's poem *Heading for Damietta* begins by highlighting the experience of the 'lad who takes the helm,' who travelled to many 'unknown lands' and many harbours praising the tough decisions the captain had to make in the face of a storm.[166] Ibn Jubayr similarly commended a Genoese captain for his command of the ship as well as the actions of the crew when part of one of the masts fell into the sea.[167] Overall, it is difficult to determine how crews treated pilgrims on the whole. Pilgrim and travel narratives suggest that they had confidence in their ship's crew, although, pilgrims who drowned have obviously not left an account of their journey.

Acre

Pilgrims going to Jerusalem most often sailed to Acre and, to a lesser extent, Jaffa. Some pilgrims, particularly Muslim pilgrims, preferred to sail to Alexandria as it was

[164] Among the list of sins were lack of care, weak faith, habitual swearing, perjury, atheism, piracy, fornication and even killing clergy, Michael Haren, 'The Interrogatories for Officials, Lawyers and Secular Estates of the Memoriale Presbiterorum: Edition and Translation,' in *Handling Sin: Confession in the Middle Ages*, eds. Peter Biller and Alastir J. Minnis (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1998), pp. 123-164 (p. 151).
[165] *The Exempla or Illustrative stories*, CCCXII, p. 130.
[166] Thomas Owen Clancy, ed., *The Triumph Tree: Scotland's Earliest Poetry AD 550-1350* (Edinburgh: Canon Gate, 1998), p. 267.
[167] *The Travels of Ibn Jubayr*, p. 327.

closer to Mecca.[168] There is little evidence of Muslim naval attacks on crusader sea ways, and after the battle of Ascalon in 1123, the Egyptian fleets ceased to be a concern as the Egyptians fleets lost access to the port.[169] In the thirteenth century, the Italian cities made commercial treaties with the sultan of Egypt, with Venice and Pisa doing so in the first half of the century followed by Genoa in 1290.[170] They were obviously aware of the number of pilgrims sailing to Alexandria. In 1208 Venice made a treaty with the Sultan of Egypt which asked that the Sultan would protect pilgrims travelling on Venetian ships to Alexandria and onward to Jerusalem.[171] Pilgrims do not appear in the subsequent treaties of 1238 and 1254 between Venice and the Sultan which, as Pierre Moukarzel points out, was most likely due to the drop in the number of pilgrims going to Alexandria as Acre grew more popular.[172] Adrian J. Boas explains Acre's popularity, as Jaffa was a small and dangerous port, Ascalon did not have a harbour, while Caesarea was small and had become silted by the twelfth century.[173] Acre's status grew among Italian merchants in the mid twelfth century because it was the best port to gain to overland routes such as to Damascus and became their main base in the Holy Land after the capture of Acre in 1104.[174] As a result, ships sailing to Acre were more frequent which meant that more pilgrims would be carried there.

The harbour at Acre was to the south-east of the city where it was sheltered from north-westerly winds, although sailings was only possible when there was a strong enough east wind for returning.[175] The lack of direct trade with the Holy Land in the earlier medieval period may account for the problems that sailors faced at ports such as Acre in the early stages of the crusading period. Details supplied by Genoese notaries in 1154 show the intermittent commerce of the Genoese with the Holy Land.[176] Byrne notes that there is only a record of five Genoese merchant ships sailing to the Holy Land between

[168] Ibn Jubayr sailed on a cargo ship to Alexandria with a number of other Muslims who were 'on their way to discharge a religious duty,' *The Travels of Ibn Jubayr*, p. 26, p. 31; Judah Halevi also sailed to Alexandria, Scheindlin, *The Song of the Distant Dove*, p. 99
[169] Abulafia, 'The Role of Trade,' p. 5; Pryor, *Geography, Technology, and War*, p. 113.
[170] Pierre Moukarzel, 'Venetian Merchants in Thirteen-Century Alexandria and the Sultans of Egypt: an Analysis of Treaties, Privileges and Intercultural Relations,' *Al-Masāq*, Vol. 28, No. 2, pp. 187-205 (p. 188).
[171] Tafel and Thomas, *Urkuden zur älteren Handels-und Staatsgeschichte*, ii, no. 244, p. 187.
[172] Moukarzel, 'Venetian Merchants,' p. 195.
[173] Adrian J. Boas, 'Archaeological Sources for the History of Palestine: The Frankish Period: A Unique Medieval Society Emerges,' *Near East Archaeology* (Sep., 1998), Vol. 61, No. 3, pp. 138-173 (p. 145).
[174] Abulafia, 'The Role of Trade,' p. 6; Abulafia, *The Great Sea*, p. 291.
[175] Denys Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem*: *A Corpus, The Cities of Acre and Tyre with Addenda and Corrigenda to Volumes I-III* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), iv, pp. 4-5.
[176] Byrne, 'Commercial Contracts,' p. 130.

1154 and 1164.[177] The pilgrim Theoderich, who went to the Holy Land c. 1169, stated that harsh sea made the harbour at Acre 'difficult and dangerous to access when the wind blows from the south and the shores tremble under the continual shocks that they receive from the waves.'[178]

When it was recaptured by the crusaders in 1191, Acre became not just an important port but, also a key place for Christian pilgrims to gather after the loss of Jerusalem. Jacques de Vitry, writing his *Historia Orientalis* just a few decades later, described Acre with a different tone than that of Theoderich. Acre, he said, was a good harbour, convenient for the receiving pilgrims, and offered a safe haven for ships.[179] Wilbrand of Oldenburg, who went on pilgrimage in 1212, noted that Acre had a 'good and stable harbour, guarded by a fine tower,' while late thirteenth-century Burchard of Mount Sion described it as a good roomy harbour where ships moored.[180] This suggests that by the thirteenth century, with better knowledge and perhaps ships, sailors were far more comfortable landing at Acre. The harbour was not without its problems. Its central depth was only about 1.5 meters making it impossible for large ships to dock.[181] Larger ships, which would have included pilgrim ships, had to anchor in the open bay where the water was deeper and pilgrims were then carried inside the harbour on small boats.[182] Theoderich stated that all ships were obliged to repair to the harbour at Acre.[183] Acre seemed to be the official port for returning home as all pilgrim ships, regardless of what port they landed at, or at least up until 1291.

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[177] Byrne, 'Commercial Contracts,' p. 132.
[178] Theoderich, 'Libellus de Locis Sanctis,' pp. 185-6.
[179] Jacques de Vitry, *Histoire Orientale. Historia Orientalis*, ed. Jean Donnadieu, *Sous la Règle de saint Augustin*, 12 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008), ch. 25, p. 178.
[180] Denys Pringle, 'Wilbrand of Oldenburg's Journey to Syria, Lesser Armenia, Cyprus, and the Holy Land (1211-1212): A New Edition,' in *Crusades*, Vol. 11 (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), pp. 109-137 (116); 'Wilbrand of Oldenburg,' in Denys Pringle, *Pilgrimage to Jerusalem and the Holy Land, 1187-1291*, *Crusade Texts in Translation* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), pp. 61-94 (xxiii, p. 62); Burchard of Monte Sion, 'Descriptio Terrae Sancte,' in *Peregrinatores medii aevi quatuor. Burchardus de Monte Sion, Ricoldus de Monte Crucis, Ordoricus de Foro Julii, Wilbrandus de Oldenborg*, ed. J. C. M. Laurent (Leipzig, 1864), pp. 19-94 (p. 23).
[181] John H. Pryor, 'A Medieval Siege of Troy: The Fight to the Death at Acre, 1189-1191 or The Tears of Ṣalāḥ al- Dīn,' in *The Medieval Way of War: Studies in Medieval Military History in Honour of Bernard S. Bachrach*, ed. Gregory I. Halfond (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015), pp. 97-115 (p. 99).
[182] Ruthy Gertwagen, 'The Crusader Port of Acre: Layout and Problems of Maintenance,' in *Autour de la Première Croisade: Actes du Colloque de la Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East*, ed. Michel Balard (Paris, 1996), pp. 553-82 (pp. 575-6); Ibn Jubayr talks about taking a long boat to reach his homeward bound ship at Acre, *The Travels of Ibn Jubayr*, pp. 326-7.
[183] Theoderich, 'Libellus de Locis Sanctis,' p. 186.

Post-1291 Shipping

After the fall of Acre in 1291, the Papacy made a number of decrees to limit and prohibit trade with the Muslim Levant in general.[184] Embargos helped to regulate the contact between Christians and Muslims in the Holy Land.[185] Genoa made similar decrees shortly after, though Venice moved only to prohibited the trade of war materials with the Levant.[186] This may account for why Venice is more frequently mentioned in post-1291 pilgrimage narratives than any other port in Italy. The Venetian government had the strongest opposition to sanctions and punishments against those who broke the decrees.[187] Perhaps due to the various sanctions on the Holy Land itself, in the early 1320s, Alexandria began to appear more frequently in pilgrimage narratives. In 1320 the Papacy banned all trade with Syria and lands in control of the Sultan of Cairo, while in 1323 the government of Venice made a general ban on trade with Syria and Egypt, with a fine to half the value of the goods to be sold if it was breached.[188] Despite these decrees, trade did still occur though on a smaller scale. Symon Semeonis, for example, sailed to Alexandria in 1323 on a Venetian ship.[189] Trade licences could be obtained for a time period, though they were often issued through favouritism or nepotism, or if they could be linked to the crusade efforts or other pious motivations.[190]

With ever changing political instability in Persia and threats on other alternative trade routes, from 1344 the Papacy began to relax its decrees and embargos on trade in Syria and Cairo and allowed Venice to send six galleys and four round ships to the lands of Mamluks over five years.[191] Realistically, merchants needed to trade with Muslims to make a living.[192] In 1346, Franciscan friar Niccolò da Poggibonsi said that he spent a number of days in Nicosia and Famagosta trying to find a ship fast enough and willing to take him to the Holy Land. He found one that would take him and other pilgrims to Jaffa

[184] Eliyahu Ashtor, *Levant Trade in the Later Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983), p. 4.
[185] Mike Carr, 'Crossing boundaries in the Mediterranean: papal trade licences from the Registra supplicationum of Pope Clement IV (1342-52),' *Journal of Medieval History*, Vol. 41, No. 1 (2015), pp. 107-129, p. 108.
[186] Ashtor, *Levant Trade*, p. 14, p. 17.
[187] Ashtor, *Levant Trade*, p. 19.
[188] Ashtor, *Levant Trade*, p. 44.
[189] *Itinerarium Symonis Semeonis*, p. 47.
[190] Carr, 'Crossing boundaries,' pp. 113-4, pp. 116-9.
[191] In 1345, the Sultan of Egypt's commercial treaty stated that there had not been Venetian ships in Alexandria in twenty three years, Ashtor, *Levant Trade*, p. 45; p. 66.
[192] Carr, 'Crossing boundaries,' p. 120.

for four bezants each.[193] He sailed back from Alexandria to Cyprus.[194] While he may have had a genuine interest in seeing Alexandria, he may have chosen sail home from there because he would be guaranteed that a ship would be leaving at some point rather than trying to bargain with a sailor at a different port. Organised pilgrim ships began to reappear in the later fourteenth century perhaps because the Papal sanctions were lifted.[195]

Summary

To return to the research questions: how did pilgrims maintain themselves en route to the Holy Land in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and how important were these infrastructures and mechanisms to pilgrims? It is obvious that laws, improved roads, and hospitality were vital for pilgrims to complete their journey. Canon and civil laws set out to protect pilgrims could only do so much. The protection of pilgrims on the road could only work if there were enough people willing to partake in it. The act of offering spiritual rewards for those who built bridges, roads, and other infrastructure would have had an impact on the willingness of people to participate. As mentioned above, the improved infrastructure over the course of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries not only aided and protected pilgrims on their journey, but also gave temporal rewards for those who owned inns and hostels and offered other services to pilgrims along the road. Roads and bridges may have been expensive to upkeep, but by encouraging people to repair them out of charity, along with the monetary gains of those living near pilgrimage sites and routes both through the pilgrims and trade in general, no doubt sparked a community effort to maintain them. How far a pilgrim walked each day ultimately depended on the quality of the roads and bridges they encountered as well as the distance between lodgings. Without such infrastructure, pilgrims would have been unable to travel as far as they did. Indeed, if pilgrims were left to wander in the wilderness continuously without any protection, they would have been far more open to attacks from robbers and other with malicious intent, and so, neither the pilgrims nor the shrines they wanted to visit would have benefited.

A partial answer to the question concerning the impact of the changing political situation over the course of the crusades on the network of infrastructure can be seen in the development of shipping and pilgrims' access to ships. In general, the pilgrim narratives

[193] Niccolo da Poggibonsi, 'Libro d'oltramare,' p. 38.
[194] Niccolo da Poggibonsi, 'Libro d'oltramare,' p. 150.
[195] Pilgrim ships left Venice in 1384, Frescobaldi, Lionardo, 'Viaggio in Terrasanta,' p. 171.

reflect the main trade routes of Italian merchants as one might expect. Pilgrims sailing before the crusades had to sail to Alexandria, or Constantinople to a lesser extent, as they had little other choice. The growing trade routes between Italy and the Holy Land during the Crusades gave pilgrims the opportunity to use the frequent sailings to their advantage. The need for bigger ships to transport crusaders to the Holy Land, combined with advances in ship-building technologies, meant that there were bigger ships to carry more pilgrims. While pilgrims could still sail to Alexandria during the crusades, for Christian pilgrims, Acre under crusader control would have been more inviting than Muslim Alexandria. Unfortunately, because documents relating to ships only discuss one particular business deal, pilgrims are rarely mentioned. As a result, it can never be known exactly how many pilgrims travelled by ship to the Holy Land. Finally, regarding protection on the sea, there was little a pilgrim could do to protect himself. Sailors could do their best to avoid storms, but they were always a real threat that was difficult to avoid. This may explain the large amount of stories concerning saints rescuing pilgrims from sea storms as discussed in Chapter 1, where the supernatural was called upon to calm the natural. In sum, when at sea, pilgrims returned to spiritual mechanisms. Despite the numerous setbacks and dangers that a pilgrim could face on the road and at sea, several pilgrims managed to make it to the shores of the Holy Land, though tired, possibly ill, and in need of rest.

Chapter 3: Arriving at the Holy Land

As mentioned in Chapter 2, disease could spread quickly on board ships due to the cramped conditions. Besides diseases, pilgrims could also arrive at ports dehydrated and malnourished. Sea storms, such as those discussed in Chapter 1, pushed ships off course. Ships could also become trapped at sea due to a lack of wind. In both cases, the ship's crew and passengers could run out of food and water leading to starvation and death. Thomas of Celano's *First Life of St. Francis*, commissioned by Pope Gregory IX in 1228, states that while he was sailing to the Holy Land, Saint Francis performed a miracle on board and provided enough supplies for the entire crew so that they could wait out the storm and reach port safely.[1] The following chapter will focus on the pilgrims' arrival on the shores of the Holy Land, in particular those in need of a place to rest or medical care after the long and difficult sea journey. The city of Acre came under Frankish control in May 1104. Although it was surrendered to Saladin in 1187, it was retaken by Richard I and King Philip II Augustus of France in 1191 and held by the crusaders until 1291. This chapter will, therefore, centre on Acre, in particular post 1187, as it was one of the most popular ports used by pilgrims and the last major crusader stronghold in the Holy Land.[2] The chapter will take a close look at the hospitals and the hospitality available to pilgrims in Acre, largely focusing on the Knights Hospitaller, with other military orders examined to a lesser extent, and the hospitals that aimed to shelter pilgrims from specific regions of origin. It covers the foundation of the Knights Hospitaller and discusses the Order's privileges which specifically aided and protected pilgrims. It also explores how the Order's main hospitals in Jerusalem and Acre were run by offering a critical analysis of the twelfth-century Old French *Administrative Regulations* for the Hospital in Jerusalem and the fictional thirteenth-century *Récuits d'un ménestrel de Reims* which concerns the Hospital in Acre. This will ultimately aid the understanding of just how central the Hospitallers and other hospitals were to the pilgrimage infrastructure in Acre and the Latin East as a whole.

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[1] Thomas of Celano, 'Vita Prima S. Francisi Confessoris,' in *Acta Sanctorum*, October, Vol. II, ed. Joanne Carnandet (Paris, 1866), pp. 683-723 (7:55, pp. 699-8); *The Major Legend of Saint Francis*, 1260-3, recounts the miracle of a pilgrim with 'an acute fever' sailing to the Holy Land who had run out of water and called on Francis to refill his flask, Bonaventure of Bagnoregio, 'Vita Altera S. Francisci Confessoris,' in *Acta Sanctorum*, October, Vol. II, ed. Joanne Carnandet (Paris, 1866), pp. 742-798 (26:4, p. 789).

[2] In the story of the Count of Ponthieu's journey to the Holy Land with his son and son-in-law, Jerusalem is not mentioned, only Acre, Marie de France, 'A Story of Beyond the Sea,' in *Medieval Lays and Legends of Marie de France*, trans. Eugene Mason (New York: Dover Publications, 2003), pp. 163-196 (p. 179); Landing at Jaffa would have been the most direct route to Jerusalem, but Acre became the busier of the two ports. Arwad was held until by the crusaders until 1303, though it was not in a position to accommodate pilgrims.

The Origins of Hospitals

Early western hospitals and hostels grew with the rise of monastic charity and as a response to pilgrims' need for shelter at and en route to pilgrimage sites, as discussed in Chapter 2. Early hospitals and hostels were places to spend the night rather than to receive medical treatment. Hospitals began to provide medical care by the twelfth century, which was most likely due to the increased contact with people in the Holy Land combined with the influences of earlier Byzantine hospitals like those at Antioch, Caesarea and Constantinople dating to the fourth century.[3] Both western and eastern hospitals drew their medical methods from Classical Roman and Greek teachings on medicine.[4] Peregrine Horden also points out that both western and eastern hospitals influenced one another through contacts and knowledge sharing with each other.[5] By the twelfth century, hospitals had developed into a recognisable format. There were three types of medical professionals: the physician or doctor, the druggist who sold medicine sometimes under doctor's orders, and the surgeon who performed manual treatments which included being a barber or a dentist.[6] Medical practitioners in the Crusader States were regulated. They had to prove their ability before they could practice. This must have been particularly important in the Crusader States as medical professionals came from several places and would have had different training and skills. The *Assises de Jérusalem*, for example, stated that foreign doctors in Jerusalem had to be approved by the bishop to practice. If they were deemed unfit they were asked to leave, but if they chose to stay, they could not practice. If they were found practicing without the bishop's permission, they would be beaten and made to leave Jerusalem.[7]

Acre grew as a destination for pilgrims after the recapture of the city in 1191. The increase in pilgrim traffic brought with it an increased in the number of diseases. Pilgrims faced a variety of new diseases and illness as they arrived in the Holy Land along with

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[3] Monique Amouroux, 'Colonization and the creation of hospitals: The eastern extension of western hospitality in the eleventh and twelfth centuries,' *Mediterranean Historical Review*, Vol. 14, No. 1 (1999), pp. 31-43 (p. 32); Timothy S. Miller, *The Birth of the Hospital in the Byzantine Empire* (London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997), pp. 21-2, p. 69.
[4] Susan B. Edgington, 'Oriental and Occidental Medicine in the Crusader States,' in *The Crusades and the Near East*, ed. Conor Kostick (Abingdon: Routledge, 2011), pp. 189-215 (p. 189).
[5] Peregrine Horden, 'The Earliest Hospitals in Byzantium, Western Europe, and Islam,' *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, Vol. 35, No. 3, *Poverty and Charity: Judaism, Christianity, and Islam* (Winter, 2005), pp. 361-89.
[6] Edgington, 'Oriental and Occidental Medicine,' p. 190.
[7] *The Assises de Jérusalem ou Recueil des Ouvrages de Jurisprudence Composés pendant le XIIIc Siècle dans les Royaume de Jérusalem et de Chypre: Assis de la Cour des Bourgeois*, ed. Auguste-Arthur Beugnot, 2 vols (Paris: Imprimerie Royale, 1843) ii, ch. 238, p. 169.

those they acquired while at sea. Common illnesses in the Holy Land included malaria, trachoma leading to blindness, and scurvy.[8] Jacques de Vitry warned of another threat. In one of his exempla he told the story of an evil Christian in Acre who purposely sold bad food to pilgrims to the extent that, when he was captured by the Muslims, he argued for his release as he 'killed more than a hundred pilgrims' a year by selling bad food, hence being a Muslim ally.[9] Acre needed hostels and hospitals to provide accommodation for the growing number of people, who were tired and/or sick and in need of shelter and care. *Les Pardouns de Acres*, written 1258-63, lists fourteen different hospitals belonging to different religious orders.[10] The number of hospitals reflects how the city tried to deal with the heavy pilgrim traffic post 1191.

The Foundation of the Knights Hospitaller

The Order of the Knights of the Hospital of Saint John of Jerusalem, whose members are better known as the Knights Hospitaller, was founded sometime around 1099 to care for the poor, the sick, and pilgrims. The exact foundation date is not clear. One of the earliest grants to the Hospitallers came from Godfrey de Bouillon in 1099/1100.[11] There had been a hospital in Jerusalem which cared for Christian pilgrims long before the creation of the Hospitallers. This earlier hospital had been commissioned by Pope Gregory I in 603.[12] It was destroyed by Caliph al Hakim in 1005. [13] As can be seen, the Hospitallers were born out of a long tradition of caring for pilgrims in Jerusalem.

According to William of Tyre's *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*, written in the 1180s, Italian merchants from Amalfi and Salerno received permission in the year 1023 from Caliph Ali az-Zahir to rebuild the hospital in Jerusalem on the site of the monastery of Saint John the Baptist.[14] They founded the abbey of St. Mary of the Latins. It

[8] Piers D. Mitchell, *Medicine in the Crusades: Warfare, Wounds and the Medieval Surgeon* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), p. 2; A pilgrim guide named Peter developed an eye infection on the way to Jerusalem by sea, Bernard of Angers, *Liber Miraculorum Sancte Fidis*, ed. A. Bouillet (Paris, 1897), 2:3, p. 99

[9] *The Exempla or Illustrative stories from the Sermones Vulgares of Jacques de Vitry*, ed. Thomas Frederick Crane (London, 1890), CCCX, p. 202.

[10] 'Les Pardouns de Acre' in *The Complete Harley 2253 Manuscript*, Vol. 2, ed. and trans. Susanna Fein (Kalamazoo, Medieval Institute Publications, 2014), art. 39.

[11] *Cartulaire Général De L'Ordre Des Hospitaliers de S. Jean de Jérusalem, 1100-1200*, ed. J. Delaville le Roulx, 4 vols (Paris, 1894), i, no. 1, p. 1.

[12] Adrian J. Boas, *Jerusalem in the Time of the Crusades: Society, Landscape and Art in the Holy City under Frankish Rule* (London: Routledge, 2001), p. 26

[13] There were no Muslim hospitals in Jerusalem before the crusades, Horden, 'The Earliest Hospitals,' p. 379.

[14] William of Tyre, *Willelmi Tyrensis Archiepiscopi, Chronicon*, ed. R. B. C. Huygens, *Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Medievalis, 63-63A* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1986), 18.5, p. 815.

became known for its hospitality to pilgrims from the West and relied on donations to maintain itself.[15] To accommodate pious women pilgrims, 'a little convent' in honour of Mary Magdalene was established.[16] A similar account was given by Jacques de Vitry in his *Historia Orientalis* dating from 1219. According to Jacques, the monks of St. Mary the Latin 'thought it unbecoming that they should lodge women pilgrims' and proceeded to build the convent St. Mary Magdalene for women exclusively.[17] However, even with another building to accommodate pilgrims, the abbey was still struggling to cope with the demand for space. The increasing numbers of 'wretched and helpless' pilgrims, caused the clergy of St. Mary of the Latins to build the Hospital of St. John to accommodate all pilgrims whether ill or well, 'lest they be found strangled by night on the streets.'[18] Neither William of Tyre or Jacques de Vitry make it clear when the Hospital of St. John became a military order, though presumably it was after the First Crusade. Jonathon Riley-Smith argued that it was most likely in the 1120s, as the Order may have been partly inspired by the Knights Templar to militarise, and also due to the fact that a number of references can be found to knights leaving horses and weapons to the Order in Hospitaller documents in the 1120s, which would have been odd if it was not a military order at that point.[19]

The figure most associated with the foundation of the Knights Hospitallers was Gerard, referred to as head of the Hospital in Pope Pascal II's 1113 confirmation of the Order.[20] William of Tyre briefly and vaguely mentions Gerard as 'a man of upright life' who preceded Raymond du Puy as Master of the Hospitallers.[21] It is probable that Gerard died around 1120 as this was the year that Raymond du Puy became Master of the Hospitallers. Marino Sanudo Torsello, writing around 1321 and influenced by the writings of William of Tyre, wrote that Gerard had worked at the pre-existing hospital in Jerusalem. He formed the Knights Hospitallers with a group of other men after seeking permission from the abbot. These men, 'adopted a regular manner of life and placing a white cross on the shoulders of their clothes swore to rules while making a solemn profession and these

[15] Jonathan Riley-Smith, 'The Latin Clergy and the Settlement in Palestine and Syria, 1098-1100,' *The Catholic Historical Review*, Vol. 74, No. 4 (Oct., 1988), pp. 539-57 (p. 545).
[16] William of Tyre, *Willelmi Tyrensis Archiepiscopi, Chronicon*, 18.5, p. 816.
[17] Jacques de Vitry, *Histoire Orientale. Historia Orientalis*, ed. Jean Donnadieu, *Sous la Règle de saint Augustin*, 12 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008), ch. 64, p. 256.
[18] William of Tyre, *Willelmi Tyrensis Archiepiscopi, Chronicon*, 18.5, p. 815; William of Tyre, *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*, trans. Emily Atwater Babcock and A. C. Krey, 2 vols (New York: Columbia University Press, 1943), ii, p. 244.
[19] Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Knights Hospitaller in the Levant, c. 1070-1309* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), pp. 28-9.
[20] *Cartulaire Général*, i, no. 30, p. 29.
[21] William of Tyre, *Willelmi Tyrensis Archiepiscopi, Chronicon*, 18.5, p. 817.

brothers are called Hospitallers.'[22] Whatever the exact foundation date may have been, it is clear that the Hospitallers were born out of the need to protect and care for pilgrims, something that had been part of a centuries' long tradition in Jerusalem, but which had taken on a renewed significance following the retaking of Jerusalem in 1099.

Privileges Granted to the Hospitallers

The Hospitallers received several privileges which aided them in the task of protecting pilgrims. On 15th February 1113, Pope Pascal II gave protection to all Hospitaller assets in order to help the pilgrims and poor and exempted the Hospitallers from paying tithes, a tax usually paid in tenths payable to the Church based on harvest on cultivated lands in their possession.[23] This allowed the Order to use these extra resources to fund charitable activities within the Order, such as caring for the poor and sick pilgrims. Since the Hospitallers' early days, senior churchmen pushed for the Order's exemption from paying tithes in the Holy Land. In 1112, Arnoul de Roeux, Patriarch of Jerusalem, exempted the Hospitallers from paying tithes in Jerusalem, while in July of the same year the archbishop of Caesarea exempted the Hospitallers from paying tithes in his province.[24] In 1125, both the bishop of Nazareth and Philip of the church of Tripoli exempted the Hospitallers from paying tithes in their dioceses.[25] By April 1135, the bishop of Acre had exempted them from tithes in Acre.[26] Within the first forty years after 1099, the Order was free from paying tithes in many of its key areas, such as Jerusalem and Acre. Occasionally the Hospitallers were given the right to tithes as gifts. In 1112, Archbishop Heuremarus gave the Order his tithes and casals, while in 1146, the bishop of Acre donated tithes of a mill and lands to the Order. [27] Secular authorities also granted tithes. For example, in May 1122 Balian constable of Jaffa endowed the Hospitallers in Nablus the tithes of the five churches.[28] Exemptions from the payment of tithes in large section of Hospitaller property and the gifting of tithes to the Order in the Holy Land lessened the financial pressure on the Order. In summary, what the Order should have been paying in tithes was now freed to finance their hospitals and help to provide for the poor and sick pilgrims in their care.

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[22] Marino Sanudo Torsello, *The Book of the Secrets of the Faithful of the Cross: Liber Secretorum Fidelium Crucis. Crusade Texts in Translation*, Volume 21, trans. Peter Lock (Surrey: Ashgate, 2011), p. 283
[23] *Cartulaire Général*, i, no. 30, p. 29.
[24] *Cartulaire Général*, i, no. 25, p. 25; p. 28.
[25] *Cartulaire Général*, i, no. 72, pp. 68-9.
[26] *Cartulaire Général*, i, no. 112, pp. 94-5.
[27] *Cartulaire Général*, i, p. 28; no. 166, p. 132.
[28] These were Mirabel/Majdal Yaba, Luceri/Khirbet Susya, *Marsecalcie*, Rentie/Rantiya and Kafreherre/ Kilf Haris, *Cartulaire Général*, i, no. 59, p. 49.

The Hospitallers received a number of other privileges. By 1154, they were basically free from the jurisdiction of the patriarch of Jerusalem and other clergy and were answerable only to the Pope.[29] The Order's endeavour to help pilgrims did not go unnoticed. As a reward from the efforts the defence of the Holy Land and in their protection of pilgrims, in March 1182/1183, Pope Lucius III called for a ban on the rise of Hospitaller property taxes in certain areas.[30] The following August he ordered the arrest or excommunication of anyone who interfered with the work of the Hospitallers, a measure which, in theory, allowed the Hospitallers to carry out their duties without hindrance. [31]

Patronage of the Order

The Hospitallers required large amounts of income to sustain their hospitals in the Holy Land. The Order faced financial problems at times. As the Order became more militarised, so did its need for castle building which was costly. Grand Master Gilbert of Assailly's (1163-1170) extensive castle building and buying in the 1160s lead to a serious strain on the Order's finances to the point that Gilbert fell into a depression and resigned.[32] William of Tyre stated that he left the Hospitallers with a debt amounting to one hundred thousand pieces of gold.[33] It is not clear what kind of impact this debt had on the Order's ability to care for pilgrims. The account of John of Würzburg, who visited the Holy Land in the 1160s, does not show any marked reduction in the care of pilgrims. In fact, John of Würzburg noted a very busy hospital at Jerusalem where an 'enormous multitude of sick people' were cared for by the Hospitallers, though he did note that it was done at great expense.[34]

Several popes engaged in fundraising for the Order. On 15th February 1113, Pope Pascal II sent out a plea to all the Christian people to donate to the Hospitallers in order to aid those going on pilgrimage.[35] Similarly, between 1119 and 1124, Pope Calixtus II cited the good work that Master Raymond of the Hospital had done to aid pilgrims and poor, but stressed that the Order was in need of aid to continue such works or else pilgrims would

[29] Helen Nicholson, *The Knights Hospitaller* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2001), p. 6.
[30] *Cartulaire Général*, i, no. 628, p. 429.
[31] *Cartulaire Général*, i, p. 431.
[32] Riley-Smith, *The Knights Hospitaller*, pp. 34-6.
[33] William of Tyre, *Willelmi Tyrensis Archiepiscopi, Chronicon*, ed. R. B. C. Huygens, *Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Medievalis, 63-63A* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1986), 20.5, pp. 917-8.
[34] John of Würzburg, 'Descriptio Terrae Sancte,' in *Peregrinationes Tres: Saewulf, John of Würzburg, Theodericus*, Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis, ed. R. B. C. Huygens, 139 (Turnholt: Brepols, 1994), pp. 79-141 (p. 131).
[35] *Cartulaire Général*, i, p. 30.

not be able to visit Jerusalem.[36] He also encouraged Christians to donate by saying 'he who gives to the poor, gives to the Lord.'[37] In other words, anyone who donated physically helped the poor and pilgrims, but also received their own spiritual reward, just as discussed in Chapter 2. The Hospitallers received several donations of land and money. A record of donations to Hospitallers in Jerusalem dating from 1123 listed 42 separate donations to the Hospitallers.[38] Between 1119 and 1124, Master Raymond du Puy issued a note of gratitude to the prelates and those who gave alms to maintain the Hospital.[39] Over a century later, while donations to the Templars declined, the Hospitallers continued to receive a steady flow of donations.[40] It is clear that the upkeep of the Hospital was important to its donors and patrons, helping the Hospitaller to carry out their daily duties and care for pilgrims.

The Hospitallers in Acre

The presence of the Hospitallers in coastal areas was significant for pilgrims as the Hospitallers not only offered a place for pilgrims to rest after a long journey, but also a place to recover from any illnesses they acquired while travelling by sea. In 1134, Bernard the first Latin Patriarch of Antioch gave the Hospitallers a house and church in Acre.[41] Denys Pringle points out that their main city house, owned by 1172, was probably already attached to a hospital which could have accommodated the large numbers of western pilgrims arriving at Acre.[42] The pilgrim John Phocas from Crete described Acre in 1177 as being more populated than any other city due to the merchant ships and pilgrims. He also noted that the air was corrupted and foul smelling because of 'the great crowds who arrive there' which resulted in the spread of various diseases and often led to death.[43] This could only have become worse after 1191 when the crusaders regained the city and the population expanded. Acre became the Hospitaller Headquarters in 1191 which lead to an increase in donations to the Order in the city. As the demand for pilgrim care increased, the Hospitallers were able to adapt to cope with it. They were granted more streets to allow

[36] *Cartulaire Général*, i, no. 46, pp. 39-40.
[37] *Cartulaire Général*, i, no. 46, pp. 39-40.
[38] *Cartulaire Général*, i, pp. 50-9.
[39] *Cartulaire Général*, i, no. 45, pp. 38-9.
[40] On 27th October 1231 Bohemond IV, Prince of Antioch, gave the Hospitallers 873 bezants from the revenues of Antioch and 310 bezants from the revenues of Tripoli, J. Delaville le Roulx, *Cartulaire Général, De L'Ordre Des Hospitaliers de S. Jean de Jérusalem, 1201-1260*, 4 vols (Paris, 1897), ii, p. 428; p. 429.
[41] *Cartulaire Général*, i, p. 89.
[42] Denys Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem: A Corpus*: The Cities of Acre and Tyre, 4 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), iv, p. 83.
[43] Joannes Phocas, 'A General Description of the Settlements and Places Belonging to Syria and Pheonicia on the Way from Antioch to Jerusalem, and of the Holy Places of Palestine,' in *Jerusalem Pilgrimage 1099-1185*, ed. J. Wilkinson, J. Hill and W. F. Ryan (London: Hakluyt Society, 1988), pp. 315-36 (p. 319).

people to cross from one Hospitaller possession to another unmolested.[44] Their hospital building was to the south of their Church of St John the Baptist. It was a large structure, measuring 22.5m east-west by 27m north-south.[45] It is probable that there was a level of expectation among pilgrims that they would receive provisions upon their arrival to Acre, as the Hospitallers had a duty to care for pilgrims and the poor. As such, the boost in Hospitaller possessions may have been reassuring to pilgrims as it was a clear sign of the Order's growth, stability, and ability to finance and continue to provide care for pilgrims.

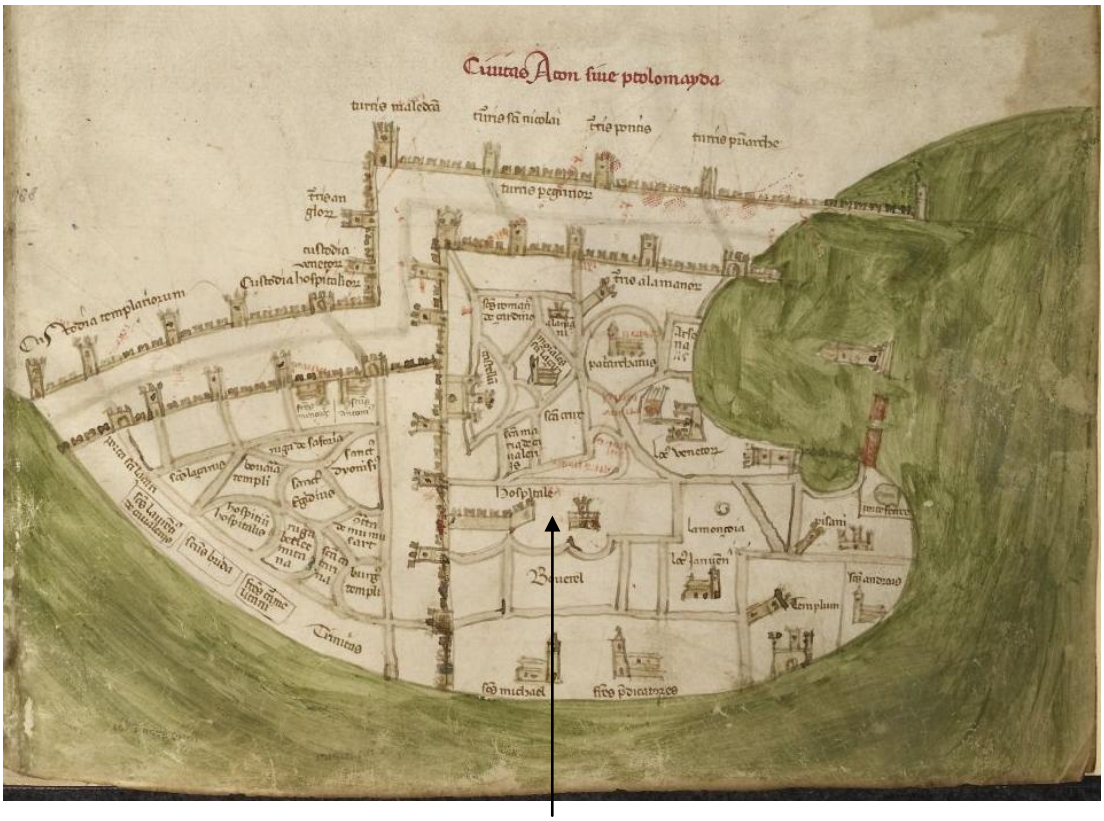

Fig 3.1 Map of Acre. Marino Sanudo Torselli, 'Liber Secretorum fidelium crucis,' *Add. MS 27376* (British Library), f. 190, c. 1320-5.[46] (CC0 1.0)

[44] Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom*, iv, p. 83.
[45] Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom*, iv, p. 101.
[46] < https://www.bl.uk/collection-items/pp-maps-of-jerusalem-and-acre> [accessed 29th March 2016]

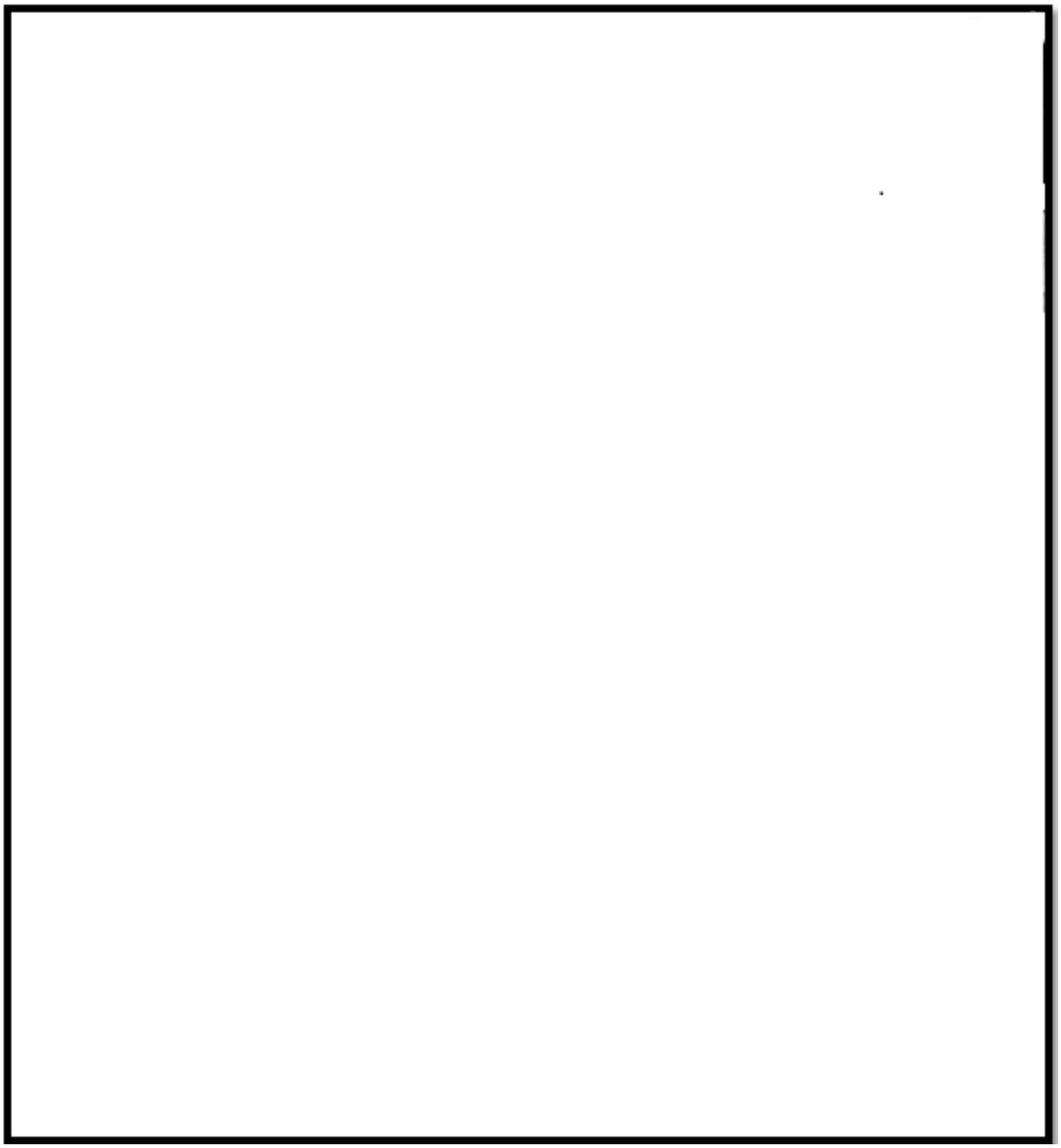

Fig 3.2 Layout of Hospitallers' Quarter in Acre.[47] (Has been removed due to Copyright restrictions)

[47] Taken from Adrian J. Boas, *Crusader Archaeology: The Material Culture of the Latin East* (Abingdon: Routledge, 1999), p. 40.

The Care of Pilgrims

The Hospital in Acre was run similarly to that of the Hospital of Jerusalem.[48] The rules of Master Raymond du Puy, dated sometime between 1145-53, stated that members of the Hospitaller Order were to serve the poor, be chaste, and obedient to their master.[49] The rules of Master Raymond give some insight into the care of pilgrims, however, the Old French *Administrative Regulations* for the Hospital of St John in Jerusalem also provide excellent detail of the daily routine set out for the members of the Hospital in Jerusalem. Dating from around 1181, the regulations were most likely related to the rule of Roger des Moulins, Grand Master of the Hospital from 1177-87.[50] The lengths to which the Hospitallers were willing to go to care for their patients is also indicated in the *Récuits d'un ménestrel de Reims*, composed sometime in the 1260's, which tells the legendary story of Saladin's stay at the Hospital in Acre.[51] Although fictional, this story offers the opportunity to observe the experience of a pilgrim in the care of the Hospital in Acre from a pilgrim's point of view.

Pilgrims' Reception into the Hospital

Both the rules of Master Raymond du Puy and *Administrative Regulations* for the Hospital of St John in Jerusalem set out the procedure for admitting patients into the Hospital in Jerusalem, and it is likely that the Hospitals elsewhere followed a similar process. Rule 16 of Master Raymond's rule was something of a summary and basis for the later *Administrative Regulations*.[52] Both rules declare that the sick first had to be confessed and given communion, before taking them to their bed to await a sergeant.[53] Receiving communion and confession may have been a privilege for pilgrims. Guibert of Nogent's *On saints and their Relics*, written around 1125, stated that although taking the Eucharist was important, it was not necessary for piety, for there were 'many martyrs and hermits,

[48] Riley-Smith, *The Knights Hospitaller*, p. 71.
[49] *Cartulaire Général*, i, no. 70, pp. 62-3.
[50] Susan B. Edgington, 'Administrative Regulations for the Hospital of St John in Jerusalem dating from the 1180s' in *Crusades*, Volume 4, eds. Benjamin Kedar et al, (Farnham: Ashgate, 2005), pp. 21-37 (p. 21).
[51] *A Thirteenth-Century Minstrel's Chronicle (Récuits d'un ménestrel de Reims)*, trans. Robert Levine (Lewiston: Mellen Press, 1990).
[52] *Cartulaire Général*, i, no. 70, pp. 62-3.
[53] *Cartulaire Général*, i, no. 70, pp. 62-8; The Administrative Regulations stated further that a patient first went to the Church of St. John in Jerusalem and await the arrival of the chaplain before confession, Edgington, 'Administrative Regulations,' p. 27.

some of whom never received, others only once or twice.'[54] It would seem that receiving communion regularly was not common practice for lay people in particular. Indeed, ninety years after Guibert of Nogent's *On saints and their Relics*, the Fourth Lateran Council stipulated in Canon 21 that Christians were to receive communion and confession at least once a year, 'at least at Easter.'[55] Presumably confession was seen as highly important at the point when the Hospitallers received a patient as they might not have been able to tell how seriously ill or injured the person was at that stage. Therefore, hearing confession meant that if the patient was grievously ill and died soon after, they would have died with a clean soul, increasing their chances of getting into Heaven. Interestingly, Canon 21 of the Fourth Lateran Council states that the priest listening to confession was to act like a 'skilled physician.' He was to find the source of the wound, or sin, try 'different tests to heal the patient' and then apply the correct 'remedy.'[56] As mentioned in Chapter 1, Canon 22 notes that physical sickness 'may sometimes be the result of sin.' [57] It advises that it is best to confess a sick person first in order to evaluate the health of the patient's soul. Failure to address spiritual sickness before physical sickness could endanger the soul of the patient. In essence, the Hospitallers had being carrying out Canon 22 about seventy years before the Fourth Lateran Council, confessing their patients before handing them over to medical staff.

Confession only applied to Christian patients. In the *Récuits d'un ménestrel de Reims,* a poor man, who was Saladin in disguise, arrived at the hospital in Acre with a staff, wallet, and cape, the traditional symbols of a pilgrim.[58] He was not asked to confess or take communion, perhaps it was obvious that he was Muslim. The Hospitallers did not care for Christian pilgrims exclusively, but also Muslims and Jews.[59] In Jerusalem, the Hospitallers had a second kitchen which suggests they were equipped to deal with the different dietary requirements of Jews and Muslims for the preparation of kosher and halal meals.[60] The Jewish pilgrim Benjamin of Tudela noted four hundred Hospitallers at

[54] Guibert of Nogent, *De Pignoribus Sanctorum*, in *Venerabilis Guiberti Abbatis S. Mariae de Novigento Opera Omnia*, ed. J. P. Migne, *Patrologia Latina* (Paris, 1880), vol. 156, pp. 607-80 (1:1, p. 613); Guibert of Nogent, *On Saints and their Relics*, trans. Thomas Head, in *Medieval Hagiography: An Anthology*, ed. Thomas Head (London: Routledge, 2000), pp. 339-428 (p. 406).
[55] H. J. Schroeder, *Disciplinary Decrees of the General Councils. Text, Translation, and Commentary* (London, 1937), p. 259.
[56] Schroeder, *Disciplinary Decrees*, p. 260.
[57] Schroeder, *Disciplinary Decrees*, pp. 263-4.
[58] *A Thirteenth-Century Minstrel's Chronicle*, p. 53.
[59] Riley-Smith, *The Knights Hospitaller*, p. 22.
[60] Riley-Smith, *The Knights Hospitaller*, p. 71.

Jerusalem who cared for the sick and kept lodgers.[61] A German visitor to the Hospital in Jerusalem in the late twelfth century also noted that Muslims and Jews were welcomed.[62]

The *Administrative Regulations* state that after confession patients were to be taken to the karavane, a type of cloak room, and undressed, 'their clothes tied up tightly and shown to the sick so that each one can recognize his own bundle when he wants to leave.'[63] The tight bundle suggests an attempt to make space, perhaps hinting at the vast numbers of patients within the hospital. This section of the *Administrative Regulations* demonstrates just how much deliberation went into making the regulations. Every possible scenario was given a possible solution. If the pilgrim was unable to find his clothes, the Hospital compensated him for the loss. If the Hospitallers found him untrustworthy, the patient was 'made to say on his pilgrimage how much the lost clothing was worth, and if he lost it in the house.'[64] Those who could not find their clothes were given clothes left by those who had died. After the patients had undressed at the karavane, the karavannier then gave each patient a pair of linen sheets, a cover, a pillow, a goblet, a spoon, and a barrel for wine.[65] The *Administrative Regulations* suggest that the Order had an efficient manner of admitting patients in Jerusalem and paid attention to basic patient worries such as bedding and caring for their belongings. It is not clear if the same procedure was carried out in other hospitals, though it is most likely. In the case of Saladin in the *Récuits*, he simply arrived at the Hospital in Acre, was met by 'the man who welcomed the sick,' given a place to sleep, and was made as comfortable as possible.[66]

Before entering the actual Hospital, a sergeant made the patient lie down, hand over any valuables for safe keeping, and offered the patient a chance to make a testament if he chose.[67] A document from 1175 stated that the Order was not entitled to the possessions of a dead patient unless the patient had changed his will within seven days of arriving at the hospital.[68] It was therefore in the interests of the Hospitallers to encourage a patient to make a testament in favour of the Hospital shortly after arrival. On October 18th 1221, physicians Bertrand and Peter Maurinus were listed as witness to the will of the crusader

[61] *The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela*, trans. Marcus Nathan Adler (New York: Philipp Feldheim, Inc, 1907), p. 36. It is not clear if Benjamin stayed there himself.
[62] Benjamin Z. Kedar, 'A Twelfth Century Description of the Jerusalem Hospital,' in *The Military Orders, Welfare and Warfare*, vol. 2, ed. Helen Nicholson (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), pp. 3-25 (p. 18).
[63] Edgington, 'Administrative Regulations,' p. 27.
[64] Edgington, 'Administrative Regulations,' p. 35.
[65] Edgington, 'Administrative Regulations,' p. 27.
[66] *A Thirteenth-Century Minstrel's Chronicle*, p. 53.
[67] Edgington, 'Administrative Regulations,' p. 29.
[68] *Cartulaire Général*, i, no. 471, pp. 323-4.

Count Henry I of Rodez as he lay sick in the care of the Hospitallers in Acre.[69] In general, there are not many examples of testaments made by pilgrims while in the care of the Hospital. This is most likely due to two reasons. First of all, truly poor pilgrims may not have had enough possessions or property to make a testament worthwhile, and secondly, it appears that most people settled their affairs before setting out on pilgrimage as discussed in Chapter 1. One person who did appear to have written a testament while in the care of the Hospitallers in Tripoli was Bernard William of Fraine. It is not clear if he was a pilgrim or crusader. A charter dated 14th March 1126 contains the confirmation by two Italian men, Raimbald of Rauca and Raymond Pandulfi, of the donation made by Bernard to the Hospitallers while he was in the Hospital, which plainly stated 'everything he owned in Olibana.'[70] The vague terms of the testament perhaps suggest that Bernard was close to death upon entering the Hospital and perhaps did not have time to be more precise. The testament issued by Count Henry I of Rodez in the Hospital in Acre and that of Bernard in the Hospital in Tripoli provide clear evidence that the *Administrative Regulations* of the Hospital in Jerusalem, or at least some form of them, also applied to Hospitaller institutions outside of Jerusalem.

Patients occasionally left donations to the Hospital after they were healed, though surviving evidences mostly comes from crusaders rather than pilgrims. The crusader Clarembald de Noyers fell sick, or was perhaps injured, at the siege of Acre in 1190. When he returned to France he granted the Hospitallers of Arbonne an annual rent of 100 francs for the lands between S. Virtutes and Noiers in France because of the 'good' care he received from the Hospitallers.[71] Similarly, in August 1240, the crusader Lord Andreas de Vitre gave the Hospitallers an annual rent of fifteen *livres tuournis* for caring for him in the Hospital.[72] Poor pilgrims may not have been in a position to grant lands or large sums of money as a way of thanking the Hospitallers for their care. Pilgrims who were members of the clergy may not have had property or possession to offer the Order either. Perhaps they prayed for the Hospitallers instead. In the story of the *Récuits*, as a result of their kindness to him, Saladin granted the Hospitallers in Acre one thousand besants of gold 'for shrouds and blankets to cover the sick' every year on the feast of John the Baptist, 'even if there is

[69] *Documents Historiques relatives à la vicomté de Carlat: recueillis et publiés par ordre de S. A. S. le prince Albert. Collection de Documents Historiques* (Monaco, 1900), p. 19.
[70] *Cartulaire Général*, i, no. 75, p. 72; Reinhold Röhricht, ed., *Regista Regni Hierosolymitani 1097-1291* (Innsbruck, 1893), p. 8, no. 113a.
[71] *Cartulaire Général*, i, no. 901, p. 571.
[72] *Cartulaire Général*, ii, p. 581.

war between us and the Christians.'[73] Though this story is fictional, it does perhaps reflect that it was seen as good practice for former patients to reward and finance the work of the Hospitallers when possible.

Food for Pilgrims in the Hospital

Pilgrims may have been concerned about the food available to them while on pilgrimage. Their food choice was limited to that which was offered to them in charity as they were supposed to travel in poverty. While fasting and modest meals could be seen as part of the spiritual journey, in reality, to travel to and in the Holy Land pilgrims needed to be in good health. They therefore needed substantial nourishment. Pilgrims travelling from the west with little knowledge of the Holy Land may also have been apprehensive about the type of food or how much was available there. As Susan Edgington has shown in her translation of the *Administrative Regulations,* the Hospitallers seemed to tackle many of these concerns.[74]

Feeding up to one thousand patients a day would not have been an easy task for the Hospitallers.[75] Edna J. Stern has noted that the number of mass-produced 'uniform shape' bowls found in the Hospitaller courtyard in Acre were used by pilgrims and patients of the Hospital, and of course the Hospitallers themselves.[76] The mass-produced bowls points to the large scale nature of the operation. It should be noted that it is not clear what the level of sanitation was in the hospital's kitchens. An examination of a thirteenth-century latrine of the Hospitallers of Acre by Piers D. Mitchell and Yotam Tepper found that whipworm, roundworm, and fish tapeworm were present.[77] The parasites arise from contaminated water, undercooked food, or food prepared in unhygienic ways. This may suggest that the Hospital's kitchen in Acre was not quite up to standard, or reflect the contemporary lack of knowledge of sanitation. If the presence of parasites were caused by undercooked food, it perhaps says something about the demand placed on the Hospitaller kitchens. Staff may have had to rush and serve undercooked food to deal with the high number of daily

[73] *A Thirteenth-Century Minstrel's Chronicle*, p. 55.
[74] Edgington, 'Administrative Regulations,' pp. 25-31.
[75] John of Würzburg claimed to have been told that there were two thousand sick people in the Hospital in Jerusalem, John of Würzburg, 'Descriptio Terrae Sancte,' p. 131.
[76] Edna J. Stern, 'The Hospitaller Order in Acre and Manueth: The Ceramic Evidence' in *The Military Orders: History and Heritage*, ed. Victor Mallia-Milanes, Vol. 3 (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), pp. 203-11 (pp. 207-11).
[77] Piers D. Mitchell and Yotam Tepper, 'Intestinal parasitic worm eggs from a crusader period cesspoll in the city of Acre (Israel),' *Levant*, Vol. 39, No. 1 (2007), pp. 91-5 (p. 93).

patients. On the other hand, the parasites identified by Mitchell and Tepper were common in northern Europe signifying that they came from western pilgrims and crusaders. In other words, the pilgrims may have carried the parasites with them to the Holy Land, rather than being infected in the Hospital. Whatever the source of the parasites, they could cause serious damage to a patient. They affected their host's body by competing for food, causing anaemic, and in extreme cases caused death from starvation and painful intestinal blockage.[78] Such parasites made completing a pilgrimage incredibly difficult and perhaps impossible. It is likely that infected pilgrims, especially if they were weakened by another illness or disease, would not have made it beyond the Hospital in Acre.

The Hospital had varied meal plans for its patients which allowed it to accommodate the needs of pilgrims of different religions. Several donations to the Order reflect the types of food they could provide. One such donation to the Hospital in Jerusalem, made by Guilemus Alpherici and his family on 7th September 1101-1119, included a vineyard and a tenth of the bread, wine and flesh from his own lordship.[79] The *Administrative Regulations* make it clear that the Hospitaller possessions of casale Mount Gabriel, *Sareth*, *Tuisinat*, St. Mary, *Caphear* and Chola produced fruit, goats, sheep, pigs, and hens to aid the sick in Jerusalem only and were not for profit.[80] The casal of St. Mary had been sold to the Hospitallers in 1167 by Baldwin de Mirabel.[81] On 29th November 1175, Baldwin of Ramesis sold casal Caphaer to the Hospitallers with most of its appurtenances for 400 bezants.[82] By 1176 the Grand Master had set aside the revenue from St. Mary and Caphaer to make white bread for the sick at the hospital.[83]After been admitted, each patient was to receive 'half a soft loaf and sufficient house-bread, and the same wine as the convent.'[84] Bread was the stable of a patient's diet. White bread was offered daily to patients.[85] White bread was expensive and generally associated with the upper classes, while coarse bread was for the poor and working classes.[86] Coarse bread was more difficult to digest which may explain why patients were given white bread. The

[78] Mitchell and Tepper, 'Intestinal parasitic worm,' pp. 93-4.
[79] *Cartulaire Général*, i, no. 7, p. 12.
[80] Edgington, 'Administrative Regulations,' p. 27; Places cannot be identified, Anthony Luttrell, 'The Hospitallers' Medical Tradition: 1291-1530,' in *The Military Orders Volume 1: Fighting for the Faith and Caring for the Sick*, ed. Malcolm Barber (London: Routledge, 2016), pp. 64-81 (p. 67).
[81] *Cartulaire Général*, i, no. 371, pp. 254-5.
[82] *Cartulaire Général*, i, p. 336.
[83] *Cartulaire Général*, i, no. 494, pp. 339-40.
[84] Edgington, 'Administrative Regulations,' p. 25.
[85] Edgington, 'Administrative Regulations,' p. 29.
[86] Melitta Weiss Adamson, *Food in Medieval Times* (London: Greenwood Press, 2004), pp. 2-3, p. 133.

importance of bread to the Hospitallers can be seen in one of the earliest grants to the Order, dating from 1099/1100, which included two ovens at Jerusalem.[87]

On 19th January 1194, Pope Celestine III exempted the Hospitallers from paying taxes on fruits from their trees, gardens, and animals in the Holy Land.[88] The Hospitallers' own regulations state that one third of the produce from their fruit trees were to be given to the sick and poor.[89] The Hospitallers had strict rules on what food was to be given to patients at any given time. The doctors of the Hospital were first to observe their patients and diagnose their illness. The doctors could only give patients syrups until their illness could be properly diagnosed. Afterwards, only foods appropriate for their condition such as broths, vegetable dishes, barley flour and 'other foods suitable for the sick' were given.[90] Eels, cheese, lentils, bean, cabbage and foods 'contra-indicated for the sick' were prohibited. Presumably the five hundred eels from the pond at Antioch bought from Bernard of the abbey of Mount Tabor for 130 bezants in 1183 were for members of the Order only.[91] Food provided to the sick depended on the day and season. Between Easter and Michaelmas they were given chicken and other fowl, goat, lamb and sheep, while from Michaelmas to Lent they were also allowed to eat pork on the advice of their doctor.[92] Fish was eaten three times a week during Lent. In 1142, Raymond II, count of Tripoli gave the Hospitallers the right to the fishery at Emmas, Krak, and the house of Boquee.[93] On Sunday, Tuesday, and Thursday, the patients ate pork or mutton. Chicken was prepared 'in a good sauce, very well seasoned and done with saffron' for those who did not want pork or mutton.[94] As a Muslim, Saladin requested mutton in the *Récuits*.[95] Those who did not choose any of the above were given 2 deniers and a different dish from the Hospitaller.[96] In the evening they were given fine bread, while the frail were given ground almonds, almond milk or another light food. All patients were given diluted wine.[97] Presumably this was to make the wine easier for the sick to handle but, also to limit any drunkenness among patients. On Wednesdays and Saturdays patients had salads for supper, while on Monday,

[87] *Cartulaire Général*, i, no. 1, p. 1.
[88] *Cartulaire Général*, i, p. 606.
[89] Edgington, 'Administrative Regulations,' p. 25.
[90] Edgington, 'Administrative Regulations,' p. 25.
[91] *Cartulaire Général*, i, p. 441; Eels were seen as a suitable substitute for other meat during Lent, see Constance H. Berman, 'Reeling in the eels at la Trinquetaille near Arles,' in *Ecologies and Economies in Medieval and Early Modern Europe: Studies in Environmental History for Richard C. Hoffman*, ed. Scott G. Bruce (Leiden: Brill, 2010), pp. 149-63 (p. 157).
[92] Edgington, 'Administrative Regulations,' p. 25.
[93] *Cartulaire Général*, i, no. 144, pp. 116-8.
[94] Edgington, 'Administrative Regulations,' p. 29.
[95] *A Thirteenth-Century Minstrel's Chronicle*, p. 54.
[96] Edgington, 'Administrative Regulations,' p. 29.
[97] Edgington, 'Administrative Regulations,' p. 31.

Wednesday, Friday and Saturday patients were offered chickpeas, almonds or lacuna followed by four eggs. Again anyone who did not want these was offered 1 denier from the Hospitaller or another dish. It is clear that the Hospitallers were willing and able to accommodate the dietary requirements of anyone of any religion. For western pilgrims, the food available was similar to that which they consumed in their homeland. No doubt this was something that appealed to pilgrims. The Hospitallers offered a place to stay and an abundance of food, all for free.

The statement in the *Administrative Regulations* that 'as for the frail should be prepared whatever they ask for,' is put to the test by Saladin in *Récuits d'un ménestrel de Reims*.[98] The Hospitaller in the story echoes the *Administrative Regulations* saying to Saladin, 'do not hesitate to ask for anything, for the Hospitallers here have such great charity that no sick person has ever failed to get what he wants here, if it could be had for gold or silver.'[99] Saladin investigates the extent to which this statement is true, stating that he would eat if he saw the right foot of Morel, a highly valued horse of the Grand Master of the Hospitaller, cut off before him, declaring, 'now you have heard my madness.'[100] Despite the odd request and perhaps bound by the rules, the Grand Master agreed, but before the horse could be maimed, Saladin requested mutton instead. Though fictional, it reflects the belief, at least in French society, that the Hospitallers went to great lengths to care for their patients. This is certainly something that mirrors the detail and flexibility of the *Administrative Regulations*.

Medical Care/ Wards

The Hospitallers were not only providers of food and shelter, but also one of the main sources of medical care for pilgrims. Pilgrims travelling from faraway lands put their immune systems at risk as they encountered new viruses and diseases, such as malaria, leprosy, trachoma and scurvy.[101] The Byzantine Konstantinos Manasses went on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem in the late twelfth century. In one of his poems, he detailed the 'very painful suffering' he endured as a result of contracting a venereal disease in Cyprus,

[98] Edgington, 'Administrative Regulations,' p. 31.
[99] *A Thirteenth-Century Minstrel's Chronicle*, p. 53.
[100] *A Thirteenth-Century Minstrel's Chronicle*, p. 54.
[101] Mitchell, *Medicine in the Crusades*, p. 2.

which he saw this as a punishment for being impious on his pilgrimage.[102] For the most part, the writers of pilgrimage narratives do not mention illnesses of their own besides seasickness. This may simply be because they did not contract any diseases or viruses, or because they were too focused on the pilgrimage journey and did not want to detract from the Holy Land itself. Many twelfth and thirteenth-century Christian pilgrimage narratives were written by clergymen. In the case of venereal diseases, it is plausible that members of the clergy kept their vows and did not contract such diseases, or if they did, were unlikely to write about it. Apart from diseases, pilgrims also had to deal with exhaustion from travel and adapt to a perhaps new and very different climate which could cause fatigue and weakness. As with the provision of food, the *Administrative Regulations* detail how the sick were to be cared for and who was in charge of different responsibilities. The Hospital would have been able to run smoothly if the rules were followed and enforced.

New doctors had to swear an oath upon joining the Order. It is possible that there was another oath available to non Christian doctors, allowing them to serve in the Hospital.[103] The Hospitallers were not always medically trained themselves. The Hospitallers in charge of the sick were given 1500 bezants each to hire doctors and to give almonds to the sick.[104] The Hospital in Jerusalem was broken down into different wards which perhaps made things more manageable for the medical staff. Presumably this model was followed in their other Hospitals. In Jerusalem, each ward had twelve sergeants who made the beds, prevented the sick from soiling themselves, and helped them to the privies.[105] At night, sixteen sergeants kept watch in shifts, covering patients who became uncovered and offering water.[106] A sick pilgrim did not have to be worried about being abandoned by medical staff at night. The constant supervision would have certainly been a comfort to the ill.

The *Administrative Regulations* show that the Hospitallers had a strong awareness of the need for adaptability. They state that from Easter to the Feast of the Holy Cross, more sergeants were to be hired and two of the Hospitaller brothers were to keep watch

[102] W.J. Aerts, 'A Byzantine Traveller to One of the Crusader States,' in *East and West in the Crusader States: Context- Contacts-Confrontations*, III, eds. K. Ciggaar, and H. Teule (Leuven: Uitgeverij Peters, 2003), pp. 165-221 (p. 205).
[103] Mitchell, *Medicine in the Crusades*, p. 68.
[104] Edgington, 'Administrative Regulations,' p. 27.
[105] Edgington, 'Administrative Regulations,' p. 25. For a study on the latrines in Acre see Piers D. Mitchell, Jacqui P. Huntley, and Eliezer Stern, 'Bioarchaeological Analysis of Latrine Soil from the Thirteenth-Century Hospital of St. John at Acre, Israel,' in *The Military Orders: History and Heritage*, ed. Victor Mallia-Milanes, Vol. 3 (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), pp. 213-23.
[106] Edgington, 'Administrative Regulations,' p. 31.

over the sick at night.[107] This was probably due to the increase in pilgrim traffic during Easter. The two Hospitaller brothers also aided the sergeants in certain tasks during this period. Patients who could not get out of bed to use the privy, and would therefore soiled themselves, were to be clean and have their sheets replaced each time, 'not only the sergeants but the brothers themselves should do it willingly.'[108] It is possible that the increased number of pilgrims from various nations and cultures could have led to the threat of violence within Hospital wards. Pilgrims shared a hospital with the poor, the sick, crusaders, and pilgrims of other religions and countries. The *Administrative Regulations* do not make it clear if people of different religions were segregated. It is plausible that cultural and religious differences caused tension among patients. Injured crusaders may not have taken kindly to the presence of Muslim patients in the Hospital, while pilgrims coming from the west might have been ignorant of seemly strange customs. With increased pilgrim traffic during Easter, this could only have gotten worse. Though not addressed specifically within the *Administrative Regulations*, the reference to 'untrustworthy' patients in regards to karavannier suggests that the Hospitallers were well aware that they had to care for a variety of personalities, and in reality not all of their patients were pilgrims in search of salvation.[109] The fact that they had a karavannier suggests an attempt, not only to organise and create space, but also to prevent theft within the wards. In this light, it would therefore appear that the two Hospitaller brothers mentioned in the *Administrative Regulations* who were not medical staff were present to protect the patients from each other.

The Hospital hired physicians. Each frail person was to be appointed a physician.[110] The *Administrative Regulations* clearly indicate that the frail were a high priority. In *Récuits d'un ménestrel de Reims,* Saladin, who pretended to be seriously ill, was checked on daily. When he refused to eat or drink for three days, the Hospitaller in charge said, 'we shall be blamed if you die here because of our failure to take care of you.'[111] The *Administrative Regulations* state that after every morning Mass, the sergeant offered wine or sugar to the sick, while at breakfast, the Hospitaller and his colleagues gave 'the best and finest foods' of the house to the weakest patient.[112] This suggests that the seriously ill,

[107] Edgington, 'Administrative Regulations,' p. 27.
[108] Edgington, 'Administrative Regulations,' p. 33.
[109] Edgington, 'Administrative Regulations,' p. 27.
[110] Edgington, 'Administrative Regulations,' p. 33.
[111] *A Thirteenth-Century Minstrel's Chronicle*, p. 53.
[112] Edgington, 'Administrative Regulations,' p. 29.

and perhaps close to death were treated with dignity and respect and not simply left to die in favour of the patients who were more likely to survive.

Water was highly important for the Hospitallers and their patients. Besides being a basic need, water was essential for cleaning and washing the sick. The patients were washed daily after breakfast.[113] Patients' linen sheets were changed twice a month, unless the patient was prone to soiling and therefore, had their sheets replaced regularly and washed up to several times a day.[114] The Hospitallers were granted numerous cisterns. In 1129, Baldwin II confirmed the cistern in Jerusalem as belonging to the Hospitallers.[115] It is probable that the Hospitaller bathhouse at Jerusalem was used by their patients.[116] The Order was granted baths by Raymond I, prince of Antioch, in July 1146.[117] A charter issued by Queen Melisende in 1149 references the Hospitaller baths on the street of St. Leonard at Acre.[118] While water was obviously used by the Hospitallers themselves and for their animals, access to large amounts of water was also incredible important in order for the Hospitaller staff to provide proper care for the sick who needed regular baths and clean bed clothes.

Prayers and Processions

Pilgrims that fell ill or took a late summer/autumn sailing to the Holy Land could stay in the Hospital over the winter. They were given a pair of slippers, winter covers, and rugs.[119] In the *Récuits*, Saladin supposedly granted the Hospital one thousand bezants of gold 'for shrouds and blankets to cover the sick' annually.[120] Easter, however, was still the busiest time for pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and hence the busiest time for the Hospitallers. As mentioned above, with a higher number of people, came a higher number of diseases and illnesses. No doubt it would have been disappointing for a pilgrim to make the

[113] Edgington, 'Administrative Regulations,' p. 29.
[114] Edgington, 'Administrative Regulations,' p. 31.
[115] *Die Urkunden Der Lateinischen Könige Von Jerusalem*, Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Diplomata Regum Latinorum Hierosolymitanorum, Pars I-III, ed. Hans Eberhard Mayer, altfranzösische Texte Erstellt Von Jean Richard (Hannover: Hannsche Buchhandlung, 2010), i, p. 272; In March 1256, Bohemond VI, Prince of Antioch gave them a concession to use water on their garden in Gloriette, *Cartulaire General*, ii, p. 808; In July 1269, Philippe de Montfort, lord of Tyre gave the Hospital use of the water from the fountain of N. Seigneur, J. Delaville le Roulx, *Cartulaire Général De L'Ordre Des Hospitaliers de S. Jean de Jérusalem, 1261-1300*, 3 vols (Paris, 1899), iii, p. 202.
[116] Adrian J. Boas, *Archaeology of the Military Orders: A survey of the urban centres, rural settlements and castles of the military orders in the Latin East (c. 1120-1291)* (London: Routledge, 2006), p. 46.
[117] *Cartulaire Général*, i, p. 134.
[118] *Die Urkunden Der Lateinischen Könige*, i, p. 354.
[119] Edgington, 'Administrative Regulations,' p. 31.
[120] *A Thirteenth-Century Minstrel's Chronicle*, p. 55.

dangerous journey to the Holy Land for the Easter celebrations, only to fall ill upon arriving at Jerusalem. The Hospitallers ensured that such pilgrims could still take part, in some small way, in the Easter celebrations. On Ash Wednesday, for example, the Hospitallers held a procession through the hospital, sung psalms, and gave the patients ashes.[121] Sick pilgrims did not miss out on Mass or prayers either. Prayers were said daily in the Hospitals and pilgrims were encouraged to participate. Jacques de Vitry noted that, as Bishop of Acre, it was his duty to visit the sick in the city of Acre every day as long as he stayed there.[122] *Les Pardouns de Acres* stated that pilgrims who visited the Hospital received eight years of indulgences, but could gain forty extra days for each time they went around the Palace of the Sick, along with a special two hundred and forty days indulgences for taking part in the Sunday procession.[123] This was no doubt a strong incentive for pilgrims to visit the sick. Indeed, *Les Pardouns de Acres* were in essence echoing and encouraging pilgrims to act on the words of the Gospel of Matthew which state that the act of visiting the sick was part of basic hospitality and charity which was of benefit to the soul.[124]

A late twelfth-century prayer from the Hospital of Acre came in the form of a list, and each individual prayer began by inviting the 'sick lords' to pray for the Hospitallers, Christians as a whole, various rulers, and clergy.[125] The 'sick lords' were of course the patients of the Hospitallers. The term appears in Rule 16 of Master Raymond's rules.[126] One particular section of the prayer invites the sick to pray for other pilgrims lying within the Hospital, but also for pilgrims who were travelling 'by sea or by land,' asking God to bring both their bodies and arms safely to the Holy Land.[127] The reference to arms suggests that the prayer refers to crusaders as well as non-combatant pilgrims. A prayer list from the Hospital in Cyprus dating from the same period contains the same prayer. The prayer from Cyprus does, however, contain another prayer for pilgrims. It asks God to lead all Christians travelling by sea to the 'right port.'[128] Although they were sick and perhaps bedridden, the patients of the Hospital could now play a part in the caring for fellow

[121] *Cartulaire General*, ii, no. 2213, pp. 536-6; Edgington, 'Administrative Regulations,' p. 33.
[122] *Lettres de Jacques de Vitry*: (1160/1170-1240) évéque de Saint-Jean-d'Acre, ed. R. B. C. Huygens (Leiden: Brill, 1960), no. 2, p. 88.
[123] 'Les Pardouns de Acre,' art. 39.
[124] 'for I was hungry and you gave me food, I was thirsty and you gave me drink, I was a stranger and you welcomed me, I was naked and you clothed me, I was sick and you visited me,' Matthew 25:35
[125] Lèon le Grand, 'La prière des malades dans les hôpitaux de l'ordre de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem,' in *Bibliothèque de l'école des Chartes*, Vol. 57, No. 1 (1896), pp. 325-83 (pp. 333-6).
[126] 'let him be carried to bed as if he were a Lord.'*Cartulaire Général*, i, no. 70, pp. 62-3.
[127] le Grand, 'La prière des malades,' p. 335.
[128] le Grand, 'La prière des malades,' p. 337.

pilgrims. These prayers partly resonance the pilgrims' prays of self-protection discussed in Chapter 1. In a sense, the act of praying for their safety allowed the patients to become spiritual protectors of other pilgrims. Since Acre was one of the main pilgrim ports and Cyprus is an island, it is clear why its patients would have prayed for the safe travel of other pilgrims, particularly by sea, as the majority of the patients would have taken that particular route themselves.

Other Military Orders in Acre

There were a number of other military orders in Acre that participated in the protection of pilgrims by providing medical care. The Order of St. Thomas of Acre was first mentioned by Ralph of Diceto in his *Imagines Historiarum*, written towards the end of the twelfth century.[129] It was founded sometime around the Third Crusade (1189-92) by Ralph of Diceto's chaplain, crusader Hubert Walter, though King Richard I of England became the most associated figure with its foundation.[130] A charter from February 1192, mentioned that the 'brothers of Saint Thomas' were near the gate of St. Nicholas in Acre.[131] The Order coupled itself with the patronage of Thomas Becket reflecting the rise in Becket's cult during this period.[132] It had its own cemetery in Acre and focused on taking care of the poor, burying casualties of war and disease.[133] It originally followed the rules of the canons regular but, became a military order in the 1220 and followed the rule of the Teutonic Knights.[134] In March 1236, Pope Gregory asked the Order to change its symbol which was a staff and two black cloaked soldiers to a white and red cross, a symbol more recognisable as that of a military order.[135]

The Teutonic Knights, or Order of the House of St. Mary of the Germans in Jerusalem, was founded in Acre around 1190. It began as a German field hospital which aided wounded crusaders during the Siege of Acre (1189-91). Jacques de Vitry noted that

[129] A. J. Forey, 'The Military Order of St Thomas of Acre,' *The English Historical Review*, Vol. 92, No. 364 (Jul., 1977), pp. 481-503 (p. 481); Radulfi de Diceto Decani Lundoniensis, *Opera historica*, ed. W. Stubbs, ii (London: Longman, 1876), pp. 80-81. Ralph of Diceto was archdeacon of Middlesex (1152) and dean of St. Paul's Cathedral London (1180-99).
[130] A document dated February 1236 stated that it was founded by King Richard, *Les Registres de Grégoire IX: Recueil des Bulles de ce Pape*, ed. Lucien Auvray, 4 vols (Paris: 1896), ii, no. 2944, p. 254.
[131] *Tabulae Ordinis Theutonici: Ex Tabularii Regii Berolinensis Codice Potissimum*, ed. Ernestus Strehlke (Berolini: Weidmannos, 1869), pp. 23-4.
[132] Forey, 'The Military Order of St Thomas,' p. 487.
[133] Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom*, iv, p. 162.
[134] *Les Registres de Grégoire IX*, ii, no. 2944, p. 254.
[135] *Les Registres de Grégoire IX*, ii, no. 3005, p. 282.

the Order could trace its roots to the German Hospital of Mary in Jerusalem which had been built by an 'honourable and religious Teuton' after he noticed German pilgrims were unable to speak the local language.[136] Around 1190, Guy, King of Jerusalem granted the German Hospital in Acre houses and lands.[137] In February 1191, Pope Clemens III gave the Teutonic Order papal protection.[138] The Order was receiving grants and lands in Acre by the following year, including possessions from the Hospitallers and Guy, King of Jerusalem.[139] It became a military order in Acre in 1198, following the Hospitallers in hospital duties and the Templars in war duties.[140] It is not clear if their hospital was preferred by German pilgrims or was used by all pilgrims. The Knights Templar held a castle and chapel in Acre, however, their infirmaries were not open to non Templars, and therefore were not used by pilgrims.[141]

The Order of St. Lazarus

Leprosy was a common disease in the Holy Land and was seen as incurable. It is unknown how many pilgrims were infected with the disease.[142] Perhaps due to the contagious nature of leprosy, pilgrim narratives rarely made reference to the Order of St. Lazarus or its works, though it is not clear how much fear truly surrounded the disease.[143] *Les Pardouns de Acre* state that there were two leper hospitals in Acre, one being the Church and Hospital of St. Lazarus of the Knights and the other the Leper Hospital of St. Bartholomew of Beirut.[144] The crusading Order of St. Lazarus of Jerusalem was founded around the 1130s by crusaders in the Latin East.[145] The aim of the order was to care for and treat those with leprosy. They had a house outside the walls of Jerusalem. A twelfth-century seal from the Domus Leprosorum in Jerusalem depicts a bishop giving a blessing on one side of the seal, while a leper is shown on the other side with blemishes on his face

[136] Jacques de Vitry, *Histoire Orientale*, ch. 66, p. 270.
[137] *Die Urkunden Der Lateinischen Könige*, ii, p. 824.
[138] *Tabulae Ordinis Theutonici*, p. 280.
[139] *Tabulae Ordinis Theutonici*, pp. 23-4; *Die Urkunden Der Lateinischen Könige*, ii, p. 835.
[140] Jacques de Vitry, *Histoire Orientale*, ch. 66, p. 268.
[141] Piers D. Mitchell, 'The infirmaries of the Order of the Temple in the Medieval kingdom of Jerusalem,' in *The Medieval Hospital and Medical Practice. AVISTA Studies in the History of Medieval Technology, Science and Art*, ed., Barbara S. Bowers, vol. 3 (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), pp. 225-234 (p. 229).
[142] The skeleton of a twelfth century pilgrim buried in the Leprosarium of St. Mary Magdalen in Winchester, England showed signs of leprosy, Simon Roffey, Katie Tucker, Kori Filipek-Ogden, et al., 'Investigation of a Medieval Pilgrim Burial Excavated from the Leprosarium of St. Mary Magdalen Winchester, UK,' *PloS Neglected Tropical Diseases*, Vol. 11, No. 1 (2017), pp. 1-27 (p. 2).
[143] F. O. Touati, *Maladie et Société au Moyen Âge. La lèper, les lèpreux et les lèproseries dans le province ecclésiastique de Sens jusqu'au milieu du XIVe siècle* (Bruxelles: DeBoeck Université, 1998), p. 52, p. 276.
[144] 'Les Pardouns de Acre,' art. 39.
[145] Malcolm Barber, 'The Order of Saint Lazarus and the Crusades,' *The Catholic Historical Review*, Vol. 80, No. 3 (Jul., 1994), pp. 439-456 (p. 440).

holding a clapper. This most likely represents the 'dual nature' of the Order, the clergyman being the Church of St. Lazarus while and the leper represented the convent of the sick.[146] The image of the sick person is unusual as such illustrations of illness do not appear on the seals of other hospitaller type orders.[147] The pilgrim narrative of *The City of Jerusalem* said that hospital for the Lepers of Jerusalem was near the Gate of St. Stephen.[148] One of the first references to the Order comes from a document issued by William I, Patriarch of Jerusalem dated between 1130-45. An Armenian monk named Abraham gave the Order of St. Lazarus a cistern on the condition that they would allow him to use it during his life time and that they would provide food and clothing to him.[149] A document dated 1106-1135 and attributed to Henry I, King of England concerns the Order of Lazarus in England.[150] Charles Savona-Ventura argues that the document should be attributed to Henry II of England as it was witnessed by Galfredo, son of Henry II, hence dated sometime between 1158-86.[151]

It is not clear when the Order became a military order. Malcolm Barber argues that there is nothing in twelfth-century documents to suggest that the Order of St. Lazarus was a military order and that the first definite evidence of the Order being militarised does not appear until 1234.[152] On the 14th January 1234, Pope Gregory IX made an appeal for aid for the Order to help them defend the Holy Land.[153] Surviving documents from before 1155 referred to Order using terms such as the church, convent, house or brothers of Lazarus. However, a document issued by Henry II in 1155 specifically refers to the 'Chevaliers et Freres de Saint-Ladre de Jherusalem.'[154] This clearly points to the military aspect of the order. Another document from 1155 concerns Amalric, count of Ascalon and a donation to the Order of Lazarus and their master Hugues de Saint-Paul.[155] This is also the oldest known reference to a master of the Order, a rank more commonly used by the

[146] C. Savona-Ventura, *The Sigillography and Commemorative Artifacts (medallions, medals, stamps, plates) of the Order of Saint Lazarus* (Torri ta' Lanzun Malta: The Office of the Grand Archivist & Historian Military & Hospitaller Order of St. Lazarus of Jerusalem, 2014), p. 6
[147] Rafaël Hyacinthe, '*De Domo Sancti Lazari milites leprosi*: Knighthood and Leprosy in the Holy Land,' in *The Medieval Hospital and Medical Practice. AVISTA Studies in the History of Medieval Technology, Science and Art*, ed., Barbara S. Bowers, Vol. 3 (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), pp. 209-224 (p. 212).
[148] 'La Citez Iherusalem,' in *Les Églises de la Terre Sainte*, ed. Melchior de Vogüé (Paris, 1859), pp. 436-451 (p. 441).
[149] *Order of Saint Lazarus, Cartulary, Volume 1: 12th-14th Century*, ed. Charles Savona-Ventura, (San Gwann: Office of the Grand Archivist & Historian, 2014), p. 7.
[150] Pierre Edme Gauiter de Sibert, *Histiore des Ordres Royaux, hospitalliers-militaires Notre-Dame du Mont-Carmel et de Saint-Lazare de Jerusalem* (Paris: Imprimerie Royale, 1772), p. ii-iii.
[151] *Order of Saint Lazarus*, p. 3.
[152] Barber, 'The Order of Saint Lazarus,' p. 448.
[153] *Order of Saint Lazarus*, p. 79.
[154] *Order of Saint Lazarus*, p. 26.
[155] *Order of Saint Lazarus*, p. 24.

military orders than standard clergy. It is possible that the Order of Lazarus became military with the increase of Templars seeking its aid. Rule 443, dated from between 1165-77 allowed Templars who contracted leprosy to stay and transfer to the Order of Lazarus.[156] It is not known how many Templars transferred to the Order of St. Lazarus. Other skin diseases were often confused with leprosy.[157] If a Templar believed he had contracted leprosy, but had in fact a completely different disease, he may have been able to fight for the Order of St. Lazarus for longer than a knight who was genuinely afflicted with leprosy. Links between the Templars and the Order of St. Lazarus can be seen throughout the *Rules of the Templars.* Rule 97 stated that the Master of the Templar was to give unwanted clothes to lepers, while Rule 198 set out the role of the almoner in giving clothes to the lepers.[158] *The Templar of Tyre* mentioned that in 1258, Thomas Berard the Master of the Templars went to stay with the Knights of Lazarus to avoid the conflict between the Genoese and Venetians at Acre.[159]

The Church and Hospital of St. Lazarus of the Knights was first mentioned in Acre in 1161.[160] The Order was originally outside the wall of the city, as it was in Jerusalem, in the twelfth century, but as the city expanded it became enclosed.[161] In 1240, the master of the Temple rented a site on Mount Musard in Acre to the Order of Lazarus which was located in the English quarter, north of the house of Thomas the Martyr for 15 bezants annually.[162] Interestingly, to visit the Order of Lazarus only gave a pilgrim 600 days of indulgence while the Leper Hospital of St. Bartholomew offered four years and 160 days. It is possible that the Order of Lazarus, being a military order and having more donations and lands than that of St. Bartholomew's, may have attracted more people with leprosy than St. Bartholomew's. As a result, it would have had a higher number of patients with leprosy. Offering fewer indulgences to pilgrims for visiting the Order of Lazarus in Acre may have been a way to reduce unnecessary exposure to the contagious disease.

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[156] *The Rule of the Templars: The French Text of the Rule of the Order of the Knights Templars*, trans. J. M. Upton-Ward (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1992), p. 118.
[157] Touati, *Maladie et Société*, pp. 220-2.
[158] *The Rule of the Templars*, p. 43; p. 67.
[159] 'Les Gestes des Chiprois, III: Chronique du Templier de Tyr,' in *Les Gestes des Chiprois: Recueil de Chronique Françaises ècrites en Orient au XIIIe & XVIe siècles*, ed. Gaston Raynaud (Geneva: Imprimerie Jules-Guillaune Fick, 1887), pp. 139-334 (p. 153); *The 'Templar of Tyre,'* ed. Paul F. Crawford, *Crusade Texts in Translation* (Surrey: Ashgate, 2003), p. 27.
[160] Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom*, iv, p. 121.
[161] Boas, *Archaeology of the Military Orders*, p. 7.
[162] *Order of Saint Lazarus*, p. 83.

Other Hospitals in Acre

There were a number of hospitals in Acre that were not run by the military orders. *Les Pardouns de Acre* mention the Hospital of St. Stephen, the Hospital of the Holy Spirit, the Hospital of Bethlehem, the Hospital of St. Giles, the Hospital of St. Katherine, the Hospital of St. Bridget, the Hospital of St. Marin of the Bretons, the Leper Hospital of St. Bartholomew, the Hospital of St. Anthony, the Hospital of St. Denis.[163] Unfortunately, in most cases, there is little known about these hospitals apart from their foundation dates. Some of the hospitals had their origins in Jerusalem or other pilgrimage sites and moved to Acre after 1191. The Church and Hospital of St Stephen of Hungary in Acre had been established in Jerusalem between 1131-62.[164] The Hospital of the Brothers and/or Sisters of Bethlehem had previously run a hospital for pilgrims at Bethlehem.[165] Other hospitals were founded in Acre often with precise pilgrims in mind. The House of the Magdalenes or Convertite Sisters, for example, was founded in the thirteenth century as a 'Houses for penitent prostitutes.'[166] This would have been used by women who funded their pilgrimage through prostitution. It allowed the women to be cleansed of their sins and refocus their mind on the spiritual world before continuing on their pilgrimage.

Hospitals in Acre were frequently aimed at pilgrims from specific locations of origin. A document from 1227 stated that the Hospital of the Holy Spirit in Acre, located in the Pisan quarter of the city, was directed by the congregation of Cruciferi of Bologna and had been given to them by the King of England at the capture of Acre.[167] Presumably the document was referring to Richard I of England's siege of Acre, making the foundation date of the Hospital of the Holy Spirit around 1191. The Hospital of the Holy Spirit was a dependent of the Fratres Cruciferi which was established in Bologna while Alexander III was pope, 1159-81.[168] As for the Hospital of St. Bridget, it most likely was aimed at pilgrims from Ireland, Scotland, and Wales where Saint Bridget was most popular. The Scot Gille-Brighde Albanach went on crusade between 1218-24. In his poem *Heading for Damietta*, he tells of how his ship got caught in a storm after setting out from Acre. The crew called upon Mary Magdalene and Jesus for help, but turned to Saint Bridget when the

[163] 'Les Pardouns de Acre,' art. 39.
[164] Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom*, iv, p. 161.
[165] Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom*, iv, pp. 44-5.
[166] Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom*, iv, p. 58.
[167] Röhricht, *Regista Regni Hierosolymitani*, no. 982, p. 258.
[168] Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom*, iv, p. 54.

storm refuses to cease.[169] It is not clear if Gille-Brighde Albanach spent time at the Hospital of St. Bridget as its foundation date it unknown, though it is possible given that he called upon St. Bridget instead of St. Andrew the patron saint of Scotland or St. Patrick the patron saint of Ireland where Gille-Brighde spent most of his life.

Region based hospitals allowed pilgrims to meet other pilgrims from the same areas as themselves. It could provide a piece of familiarity in a strange new land, particularly in a busy port city like Acre. These hospitals must have been even more significant for pilgrims who had lost most or all of their companions along the way to illness, shipwreck, or any other horror. They gave pilgrims a chance to form a new or larger pilgrimage group among people who spoke the same language as them. It is also possible that at this point pilgrims, particularly those who were resting rather than seeking medical care, could band together and agree to share the cost of hiring an interpreter and travel guide.

The Breton Hospital of St. Martin of Tours

One hospital of which some of its documentation has survived is that of the Breton Hospital of St. Martin of Tours of Acre. It served pilgrims from the region of Tours in France. Archbishop Giles of Tyre (1253-66) petitioned to have the Breton Hospital of St. Martin recognised by the 1254. It was confirmed by Odo, a papal legate and bishop of Tusculum, on 29th of August 1254.[170] The Breton Hospital bought buildings from the Hospitallers in Acre. In June 1255, a house formerly rented by Thomas Cordarius from the Hospitallers had been sold to the Breton Hospital for four hundred bezants.[171] The purpose of this building was to receive and accommodate the poor. In the same year Joannes Brisebacin sold another house in the same area by 'English street' to the Breton Hospital which had also previously been rented from the Hospitallers.[172] Perhaps an indication that the Breton Hospital wanted to remain small or was attempting to create income, they rented out this particular house for five bezants instead of using it for themselves.[173] They did not, however, allow it to be rented by anyone. Those forbidden to rent it were members

[169] *The Triumph Tree: Scotland's Earliest Poetry AD 550-1350*, ed. Thomas Owen Clancy (Edinburgh: Canon Gate, 1998), p. 267.
[170] J. Delaville le Roulx, *L'Hopital Des Bretons a Saint-Jean D'Acre au XIIIc Siècle* (Nantes, Sociétè des Bibliophiles Bretons et de l'Histoire de Bretagne, 1880), p. 8.
[171] Delaville le Roulx, *L'Hopital Des Bretons*, p. 16.
[172] Delaville le Roulx, *L'Hopital Des Bretons*, p. 16.
[173] Delaville le Roulx, *L'Hopital Des Bretons*, p. 17.

of any religious order, clerks, soldiers, servants or anyone in a confraternity or community. Perhaps the small and new hospital wanted to avoid conflicts over rent and ownership with other religious orders and powerful confraternities and other communities. Clerks, soldiers, and servants may have been seen as unreliable sources of income. Clerks may have moved about with their employer, servants may not have had the money to pay the rent, while an active soldier ran the risk of dying in battle before the rent was due. The Breton Hospital also made it clear that it was not going to pay for damages caused to the house by earthquakes, fire, water or any other accident or natural disaster.[174]

In March 1256, Pope Alexander IV wrote to the archbishop of Tyre, confirming and acknowledging that the aim of the Breton Hospital was to care for poor and sick pilgrims from Tours.[175] By May 1256, Pope Alexander had set out the dress code for the Breton Order which consisted of a habit with an image of the fourth-century St. Martin of Tours dividing his cloak on it.[176] Although they were not a military order, the Breton Hospital had a patron saint who was a former soldier, who was, 'rather taken for a monk than a soldier.'[177] Sulpicius Severus was a disciple of St. Martin, who wrote *Vita Sancti Martini*, stated that Martin said, 'I am a soldier of Christ and cannot fight.'[178] The image that Pope Alexander said should be put on the habit of the Breton Order comes from one of St. Martin's miracles, where in winter he encountered a poor beggar and cut his cloak in two with his sword to give warmth to the poor man.[179] As John Edward Damon points out, Martin became a 'soldier of Christ, using a tool made for bloodshed as a means of relieving the suffering of an unfortunate.'[180]

By March 1258, Pope Alexander praised the work and devotion of the Order as it dealt with the frequent flow of sick and infirm that arrived in Acre.[181] This shows that the small hospital had become quite busy, and is perhaps an indication of the number of pilgrims travelling from Tours if it remained exclusively for people from there. In praise of this work, the Apostolic See granted the Order the privilege of granting sacraments to its

[174] Delaville le Roulx, *L'Hopital Des Bretons*, p. 17.
[175] Delaville le Roulx, *L'Hopital Des Bretons*, pp. 13-4.
[176] Delaville le Roulx, *L'Hopital Des Bretons*, pp. 18-9.
[177] Sulpice Sévère, *Vie de Saint Martin, Disciple de Saint Martin*, trans. M. Richard Viot (Tours, 1861), ii, p. 18.
[178] Sulpice Sévère, *Vie de Saint Martin*, iv, p. 21.
[179] Sulpice Sévère, *Vie de Saint Martin*, iii, p. 19.
[180] John Edward Damon, *Soldier Saints and Holy Warriors: Warfare and Sanctity in the Literature of Early English* (Kearney: Ashgate, 2003), p. 15.
[181] Delaville le Roulx, *L'Hopital Des Bretons*, p. 19.

patients as long as they were not excommunicated or public usurers.[182] It did not state that the order could not accept or treat the excommunicated. In March 1260, Pope Alexander extended the rights of the Order to bury the sick, disabled, and poor in their own cemetery if they chose as long as they were not excommunicated, public usurers or under interdict.[183] By 1261, the small hospital appeared to be struggling to cope with the number of people availing of it services. As a response, in November 1261, Pope Urban IV called upon the people to give alms to the Hospital stressing Godly rewards for their kindness.[184] *Les Pardouns de Acre* (1258-63) offered four years and forty days of indulgences for anyone who visited the hospital.[185] This may have encouraged visitors to go and leave donations at the hospital.

Acre as a Pilgrimage Site

Acre was more than just a port for pilgrims. Although it did not originally have any major pilgrimage sites, its significance for pilgrims grew after 1187 with the loss of Jerusalem.[186] Pilgrims were banned from visiting Jerusalem when it was under Muslim control, with the threat of excommunication.[187] This did not, however, mean that pilgrims could not receive remission for their sins just because they could not visit Jerusalem or the River Jordan. After 1191, many of the churches and houses that had been in Jerusalem before 1187 relocated to Acre, such as the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, the Abbey Church of St. Anne, the Abbey Church of St. Mary Latin.[188] *Les Pardouns de Acre* list 39 churches, houses and hospitals and the indulgences a person could receive for visiting each of them. To do a circuit of the edge of the city alone gave four years and forty days of indulgences. If each church, house and hospital was visited, a pilgrim could total over one hundred and eighty years of indulgences. On the other hand, it seems more likely that a pilgrim would only visit some buildings, not every one that was listed. There was a House of the Franciscans which was associated with Francis himself from 1220 which may have been of

[182] Delaville le Roulx, *L'Hopital Des Bretons*, p. 20.
[183] Delaville le Roulx, *L'Hopital Des Bretons*, p. 21.
[184] Delaville le Roulx, *L'Hopital Des Bretons*, p. 22.
[185] 'Les Pardouns de Acre,' art. 39.
[186] Acre was mentioned in the Old Testament giving it some religious importance for pilgrims, though nothing significant.
[187] 'La Citez Iherusalem,' p. 441; There were also embargos placed on the trade of war related materials, Mike Carr, 'Crossing boundaries in the Mediterranean: papal trade licences from the Registra supplicationum of Pope Clement IV (1342-52),' *Journal of Medieval History*, Vol. 41, No. 1 (2015), pp. 107-129 (p. 108).
[188] 'Les Pardouns de Acre,' art. 39. Others included the Abbey Church of St. Mary of the Valley of Jehoshaphat, the Cathedral Church of the Holy Cross, the Church and Monastery of St. Lazarus of Bethany, the Abbey Church of St. Mary Magdalene outside of Jerusalem and the Church of St. George of Lydda.

interest to some Christian pilgrims.[189] It was worth three hundred days of indulgences to visit. In general, visiting the hospitals of the military orders could offer the highest pardons. While the Abbey Church of St. Mary Magdalen offered one of the higher indulgence of the churches, eleven years, the Church and Hospital of St. Thomas the Martyr offered fifteen years with seven years for each Tuesday. On 13th December 1226, Pope Honorius III granted twenty days of indulgences for those who visited the church and Hospital of St. John the Baptist in Acre.[190] Thirty years or so later, *Les Pardouns de Acre* demonstrated that the reward had become significantly higher. It listed eight years of pardons plus forty days for every time a person went around the Palace of the sick along, that is another year for every nine to ten circuits, with six *karantaines* for each Sunday procession. In times when pilgrims could not access Jerusalem, Acre was treated like a type of substitute, offering spiritual benefits to those who visited. This substitute came with the added protection and hospitality of the Hospitallers and others in the safety of one city.

Summary

In summary, the medical infrastructure of Acre provided a good number of hospitals to give care and shelter to newly arrived pilgrims, particularly in the thirteenth century. It is obvious in this chapter that changing political situation over the course of the crusades had a direction impact on the development of hospitals for pilgrims in the Holy Land. The First Crusade saw a need for an expansion in hospital care in Jerusalem, while the events of 1191 both allowed and forced Acre to advance its network of care for pilgrims which increased over the course of the thirteenth century in particular. The dual nature of protection in spiritual and practical form, a theme seen in previous chapters, continued to follow pilgrims on their arrival in the Holy Land. On the extent of how did pilgrims maintain themselves in the Holy Land and the importance of infrastructure and mechanisms for pilgrims, hospitals offered both spiritual and practical mechanisms, as they were charitable religious institutions that provided shelter, food and medical care for pilgrims in need. The Hospitallers were clearly well known as an institution that provided care for pilgrims illustrated by the fact that their charity and capacity for compassionate appears in fictional stories like the *Récuits d'un ménestrel de Reims*. It is clear from the *Administrative Regulations* of the Hospital and the *Récuits* that the Hospitallers did their best to accommodate pilgrims of all religions by providing for a variety of dietary wants

[189] Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom*, iv, p. 48.
[190] *Cartulaire Général*, ii, p. 357.

and needs. This no doubt gave some comfort to pilgrims setting out on the long and dangerous journey to the Holy Land. The Hospitallers also offered spiritual protection for Christian pilgrims which was important for anyone on pilgrimage which was, after all, a spiritual journey. Prayers, confession, masses, and sacraments were basic needs of any Christian pilgrim, echoing the efforts pilgrims made to spiritually protect themselves as discussed in Chapter 1. The *Administrative Regulations* show a detailed and well planned out process for caring for patients in the Hospital of Jerusalem no matter how sick they were. The *Récuits* also strongly suggests that there was no discrimination in the level of medical care given to non-Christian pilgrims, marking out the Hospital as a safe place for all pilgrims to seek aid and hospitality.

The hospitals that took in pilgrims from specific regions provided another type of mechanism. First of all, they eased the pressure on the Hospitallers to a certain degree. These smaller hospitals may also have been less daunting for pilgrims to attend than that of the Hospitallers'. Besides medical care, they offered pilgrims a chance to meet people from the same country or area as themselves. This must have been of great value to newly arrived pilgrims who were faced with a busy city full of different languages and peoples. These regions of origin based hospitals presented pilgrims with the perfect opportunity to join with other pilgrims from the same area and travel to Jerusalem together, offering something familiar and perhaps mildly comforting on the increasingly dangerous road ahead.

Chapter 4: The Military Orders and the Road to Jerusalem

When pilgrims were fully rested and recovered, it was time for them to leave the safety of the walls of Acre. In order to visit pilgrimage sites in the Holy Land, pilgrims had to travel out into dangerous and foreign lands. Accounts of attacks on pilgrims may have caused fear, but did not deter pilgrims from completing their task. Throughout the medieval period, pilgrim narratives talk of hiring armed escort and interpreters to guide them through the hazardous Holy Land, with varying degrees of success. However, a change came with the First Crusade. Given that one of the reasons cited for the First Crusade was the lack of protection available for Christian pilgrims travelling to the Holy Sepulchre, it is not surprising that a framework of protection developed.[1] This included increased hospitals, fortresses, armed escort, and the military orders. Logically, the success of such infrastructure depended on how much control the crusaders had in the Holy Land at any given time. Ascalon, for example, only fell to the crusaders in 1153. The events of 1187 caused it serious damage to it, forcing sections of the network to adapt or cease to exist. The author of *The Condition of the City of Jerusalem*, written around 1220, made it clear that 'other pilgrimages which are to far-off places,' including Tortosa and Beirut, were distinct to pilgrimage to Jerusalem and its surrounding 'Holy Land of Promise.'[2] The following chapter will, therefore, focus on the efforts made to create infrastructure and mechanisms for pilgrims to maintain themselves in the land to the south of Acre leading to Jerusalem as this was the main pilgrimage route. The first part of the chapter will question the realistic uses of pilgrim narratives and maps of the Holy Land for pilgrims, followed by mechanisms for pilgrims to tackle the issue of the language barrier. The second part will centre largely on the Knights Templar and Hospitaller as fortresses belonging to other military orders, such as the Teutonic Knights and other which developed after 1187, were largely located to the north of Acre. In contrast to their military and strategic functions, the role of the fortresses of the military orders in the infrastructure and protection of pilgrims travelling in the Holy Land has often been neglected. As mentioned in the Introduction, the topic has usually been discussed briefly, in summary form, or ignored entirely.[3] Jacques de

[1] Guibert of Nogent, *Dei Gesta Per Francos et Cinq Autres Textes*, ed. Robert B. C. Huygens, CCCM, Vol. 127A (Turnholt, 1996), pp. 76-352 (Book 2, pp. 115-6); Martin Hall and Jonathan Phillips, *Caffaro, Genoa and the Twelfth-Century Crusades*, Crusade Texts in Translation 26 (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), p.108, in this version Godfrey of Bouillon was punched in the face by a Muslim while visiting the Holy Sepulchre.
[2] 'La Citez Iherusalem,' in *Les Églises de la Terre Sainte*, ed. Melchior de Vogüé (Paris, 1859), pp. 436-451 (p. 450).
[3] Malcolm Barber, *The New Knighthood: A History of the Order of the Temple* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 88; Helen Nicholson, *The Knights Templar: A Brief History of the Warrior Order* (London, 2010); Works on the charity of the Orders in relation to the protection of pilgrims tends to focus

Vitry's account, dating from 1219, of the foundation of the Templars states that the Order was created by knights who 'bound themselves to defend pilgrims' going to Jerusalem from thieves and highwaymen who ambushed and often killed pilgrims.[4] Both Templar and Hospitaller towers and fortresses were not only found along important public roads, but also near pilgrimage routes and sites. The following chapter will explore these towers and fortresses and examine just how important such infrastructure was to pilgrims before 1187, and how it tried to adapt after 1187.

Maps and Pilgrim Narratives

A pilgrim could wander off in any direction in the Holy Land, though it was not sensible to do so. It usually ended with the pilgrim's death or capture. William Firmatus (1026-1103) and his fellow pilgrims nearly died from dehydration after getting lost in the Holy Land.[5] In around 1217, the pilgrim Thietmar 'made a detour' to avoid the danger of Jerusalem on the way to Bethlehem which resulted in his arrest.[6] Pilgrim narratives could not only be a source for inspiration, but could also provide useful information for pilgrims travelling in the Holy Land. They often highlighted places of danger that should be avoided or areas to be passed through quickly and with caution. They sometimes listed distances between cities and other landmarks, such as cisterns and wells, which allowed a pilgrim to prepare the correct provisions for the journey ahead.[7] As discussed in the Introduction, the repetition of information can be problematic in understanding the true practical value of pilgrimage guides, though it can indicate how much manuscripts and information within them were circulating. John of Würzburg clearly stated that his narrative was providing an update of the layout of the Holy Land since the old texts he knew of, or was copying from, were inaccurate due to their age.[8] Nevertheless, information presented in these travel narratives could vary from incredibly accurate to extremely

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mostly on Europe. See also: Alan J. Forey, 'The Charitable Activities of the Templars,' *Viator*, Vol. 34 (2003), pp.109-141; Malcolm Barber, 'The Charitable and Medical activities of the Hospitallers and Templars' in *A History of Pastoral Care*, ed. G. R. Evans (London: Cassell, 2000), pp. 48-68.

[4] Jacques de Vitry, *Histoire Orientale. Historia Orientalis*, ed. Jean Donnadieu, *Sous la Règle de saint Augustin*, 12 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008), ch. 65, p. 262.

[5] 'Vita S. Guilielmo Firmato Moritonii in Normannia,' in *Acta Sanctorum*, April, Vol. III, ed. Joanne Carbabdet (Paris, 1866), pp. 336-344 (1:1, p. 338). The pilgrim Thietmar ran out of drinkable water on the way to Mount Sinai after it became soiled with worms, Thietmar, *Magistri Thietmari Peregrinatio*, ed. J. C. M. Laurent (Hamburg, 1857), xvii, p. 40.

[6] Thietmar, *Magistri Thietmari Peregrinatio*, viii, pp. 25-6; William Firmatus was also captured, 'Vita S. Guilielmo Firmato,' 1:11, p. 338.

[7] *Liber Sancti Jacobi, Codex Calixtinus*, 3 vols, ed. Walter Muir Whitehill (Compostela, 1944), i, 5.3, p. 352.

[8] John of Würzburg, 'Descriptio Terrae Sancte,' in *Peregrinationes Tres: Saewulf, John of Würzburg, Theodericus*, Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis, ed. R. B. C. Huygens, 139 (Turnholt: Brepols, 1994), pp. 79-141 (pp. 79-80).

vague. As discussed in the Introduction, itineraries and accounts concerning the Holy Land were not always as useful as they were not obliged to be accurate. Theoderich, for example, offered helpful information and directions leading to sites directly linked to Jesus, 'four miles from Tabor towards the west, on the road that leads to Acre, stands the most glorious city of Nazareth.'[9] Conversely, he dedicated a chapter to Damascus and its regions, but did not clearly explain how to get there.[10] Ultimately, these narratives were only useful as travel guides if a pilgrim was in a position to follow the path linked to Jesus. Although, this was standard practice for Christian pilgrims in the Holy Land, the narratives were somewhat problematic for this use as they often began in Jerusalem or Nazareth. The twelfth-century *Anonymous Pilgrim II* gave a very hazy account of the layout of the Holy Land beginning with Nazareth, 'Then comes the city of Sebaste…' and Neapolis followed by, 'From there the journey takes us to the Holy City.'[11] At no point are distances or even directions offered. The *Anonymous Pilgrim VIII*, from around 1185, is even less clear, taking much larger jumps. It opens in Nazareth then jumps, 'after this you will come to the city of Jerusalem.'[12]

Post 1187 narratives often begin in Acre reflecting the political situation and the lost of Jerusalem.[13] These narratives may have been of more practical use to pilgrims as Acre was the true starting point for many pilgrims newly arrived in the Holy Land. Nevertheless, the only time narratives concerning the Holy Land provide highly detailed information is in relation to the layout of the city of Jerusalem. This makes sense as Jerusalem was supposed to be the central focus and goal of the pilgrimage. Despite all of this, these narratives have not failed as travel guides for pilgrims in the Holy Land. As set out in the Introduction, their primary function was to act as an aid in the imaged pilgrimage experience not a real one. The sermon given by Diarmuid at Liège in 1117, before he went on pilgrimage to Jerusalem, urged his audience in the Cathedral of Saint Lambert to partake in an imagined pilgrimage, rather than a real one.[14] Theoderich stated that his guide

[9] Theoderich, 'Libellus de locis sanctis,' in *Peregrinationes Tres: Saewulf, John of Würzburg, Theodericus*, Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis, ed. R. B. C. Huygens, 139 (Turnholt: Brepols, 1994), pp. 742-798 (p. 192).
[10] Theoderich, 'Libellus de Locis Sanctis,' p. 194.
[11] 'Innominatus II,' in *Theoderici Libellus de Locis Sanctis editus circa A. D. 1172. Cui accedunt breviores aliquot descriptions Terrae Sanctae*, ed. Titus Tobler (Paris: Librairie A. Frank, 1865), pp. 118-28 (pp. 118-9).
[12] Innominatus VIII, '*De Terra Ultra Maris*,' in *Descriptoines Terrae Sanctae ex saeculo VIII, IX, XII et XV*, ed. Titus Tobler (Leipzig, 1874), pp. 193-6 (p. 193).
[13] Thietmar, *Magistri Thietmari Peregrinatio*, p. 1.
[14] Reimbaldi Leodiensis, *Itineraria, Seu Exhortatoria Dermatii Cuiusdam Hybernensis, Proficiscentis Iherusalem*, in *Opera Omnia*, Corpus Christianorum, 336 vols (Turnholt: Typographi Brepols, 1966), iv, pp.

was for those who wanted to experience the sights and sounds of the Holy Land, but were unable to do so.[15] Writing about one century later, Burchard of Mount Sion similarly stated that his account was for those who desired to witness the Holy Land, but were not able to see it with their own eyes.[16] As such, the use of 'I' became more commonplace in twelfth-century pilgrimage guides, adding authenticity and realism to the narrative through the supposed eye-witness, making it easier for the reader to connect with the images presented by the pilgrimage narrative.[17] Pilgrimage narratives focused on the imagined pilgrimage were not bound to accurately detail directions to sites for pilgrims. Knowing that Hebron was 'a little towards the south' of Jerusalem may not have been the precise information a lost pilgrim needed to actually reach Hebron, but it was more than enough detail for an imagined pilgrimage.[18]

Medieval maps of the Holy Land were available. Members of the clergy may have been familiar with them through reading pilgrim narratives before setting out but, it is not clear how many pilgrims made use of them on their journey. It is unlikely that they brought large manuscripts with them to the Holy Land. Small scale maps in books were rare.[19] No pilgrim narratives used in this thesis make reference to the use of maps as a guide. Whether these pilgrims made use of practical maps that have not survived is unknown. This may also be because the practical use of surviving Holy Land maps can be called into question as they were often distorted to emphasize important sites such as Jerusalem.[20] This matches the pilgrim narratives which make Jerusalem the central focus. The only clear references to the use of maps on the way to the Holy Land come from merchants and sailors. The first concrete evidence of crusaders using world maps does not appear until Louis IX's expedition in 1270, though the map belonged to the ship's crew, not Louis or his men.[21] It

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2-5; *Thesaurus Novus Anecdotorum: Complectens Regum ac Principum, Aliorumque Viroum Illustrium Epistolas et Diplomata bene multa*, 5 vols., eds. Edmund Martene and Ursin Durand (Paris, 1717), i, p. 340.
[15] Theoderich, 'Libellus de Locis Sanctis,' p. 143.
[16] Burchard of Monte Sion, 'Descriptio Terrae Sancte,' in *Peregrinatores medii aevi quatuor. Burchardus de Monte Sion, Ricoldus de Monte Crucis, Ordoricus de Foro Julii, Wilbrandus de Oldenborg*, ed. J. C. M. Laurent (Leipzig, 1864), pp. 19-94 (p. 20).
[17] Peter Ainsworth, 'Contemporary and 'Eyewitness,' in *Historiography in the Middle Ages*, ed. Deborah Mauskopf Deliyannis (Leiden: Brill, 2003), pp 249-76 (pp. 260-4); P. Damian- Grint, *The New Historians of the Twelfth-Century Renaissance. Inventing Vernacular Authority* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1999), p. 72.
[18] John of Würzburg, 'Descriptio Terrae Sancte,' pp. 79-141 (p. 99).
[19] P. D. A. Harvey, 'The Holy Land on Medieval World Maps,' in *The Hereford World Map: Medieval World Maps and Their Context*, ed. P. D. A. Harvey (London: The British Library, 2006), pp. 253-67 (p. 246).
[20] Phillip John Usher, 'Maps and Plans,' in *Encyclopedia of Medieval Pilgrimage*, ed. Larissa J. Taylor et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2010), pp. 366-73 (p. 367).
[21] Benjamin Z. Kedar, 'Reflections on maps. Crusading, and logistics,' in *Logistics of Warfare in the Age of the Crusades: Proceedings of a Workshop held at the Centre for Medieval Studies, University of Sydney, 30 September to October 2002*, ed. John H. Pryor (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), pp. 159-84 (p. 161).

has been argued that the pilgrim Symon Semeonis had access to coasting charts on his voyage in 1323 based on his descriptions of islands and distances at sea.[22] Ultimately sea charts had no realistic purpose for pilgrims as they did not control where ships sailed to and the charts were of no value to the pilgrim on land.

The varied degree of accuracy made the maps difficult to use by themselves. Cities and towns were altered to fit onto the page giving the impression that they are close to one another, when in reality they could be a long distance apart. The map of the Holy Land accompanying Benedictine monk Matthew Paris' *Chronica Majora* from 1250 makes Acre the dominant city in the Holy Land.[23] The level of distortion can be seen as width of Acre on the map spans more than the distance from Acre to Damietta. The actual distance between the two cities is about 500km. A pilgrim who attempted to plan a day's journey based entirely on Matthew Paris' map could quickly run into trouble. The map shows that Arsuf is inland and closer to Jerusalem than Jaffa, while it is actually on the coast and about 20km further from Jerusalem than Jaffa. Similarly, Mount Tabor is drawn closely behind Bethlehem making Mount Tabor appear closer to Bethlehem than Bethlehem is to Jerusalem. In reality Mount Tabor is about 170km north of Bethlehem, while Bethlehem is 7km from Jerusalem. Benjamin Z. Kedar has noted that it was possible that crusader Stephen de Blois's (1045-1102) underestimation of how long it would take to travel from Nicaea to Jerusalem may have come about as a result of looking at warped world maps.[24] Roads were often missing from the maps or grossly inaccurate. This too would make it difficult and even hazardous for a pilgrim to plan how far they would travel each day. The thirteenth-century Peutinger Map does contains road markings, though they are Roman roads as it was a copy of a Roman map dating to the reign of Emperor Diocletian (285-305).[25] The roads are distorted and the map makes Antioch the dominant city in the Holy Land. Jerusalem is a lesser city and easy to miss on the map. The best information that these maps could offer a pilgrim was a list of towns, cities, and pilgrimage sites to take note of for their journey as long as the pilgrim was aware that the places were most likely out of sync with reality.

[22] *Itinerarium Symonis Semeonis Ab Hybernia Ad Terram Sanctam*, ed. Mario Esposito, *Scriptores Latini Hiberniae*, Vol. IV (Dundalk: Dundalgan Press Ltd, 2010), p. 7, p. 45.
[23] Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora, Royal MS 14 C vii* (British Library), f. 5, <http://www.bl.uk/onlinegallery/sacredtexts/mparis_lg.html> [accessed 10/01/2015].
[24] Kedar, 'Reflections on maps,' p. 183.
[25] Richard J. A. Talbert, *Rome's World: The Peutinger Map Reconsidered* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 133-66.

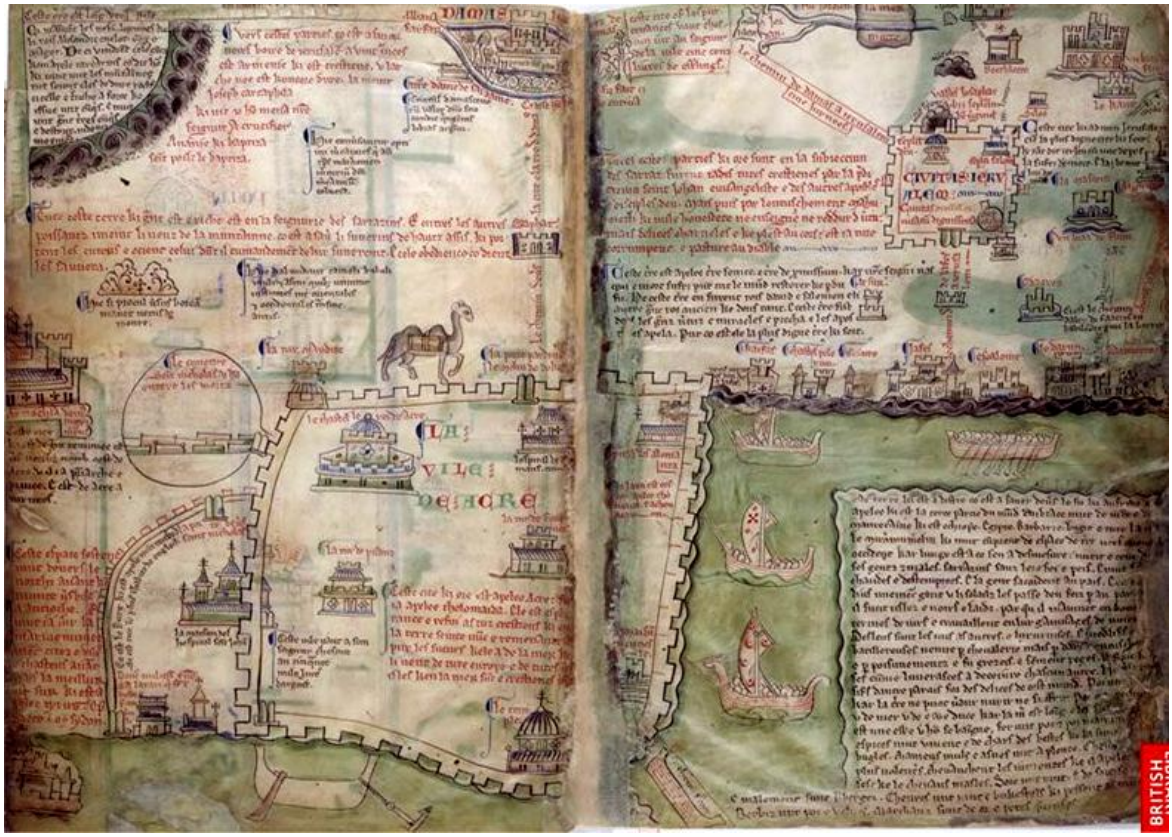

Fig 4.1 Matthew Paris's Map of the Holy Land, *Chronica Majora*, *Royal MS 14 C vii* (British Library), f. 5, c. 1250.[26] Permission to reproduce this image has been granted by British Library © British Library Board.

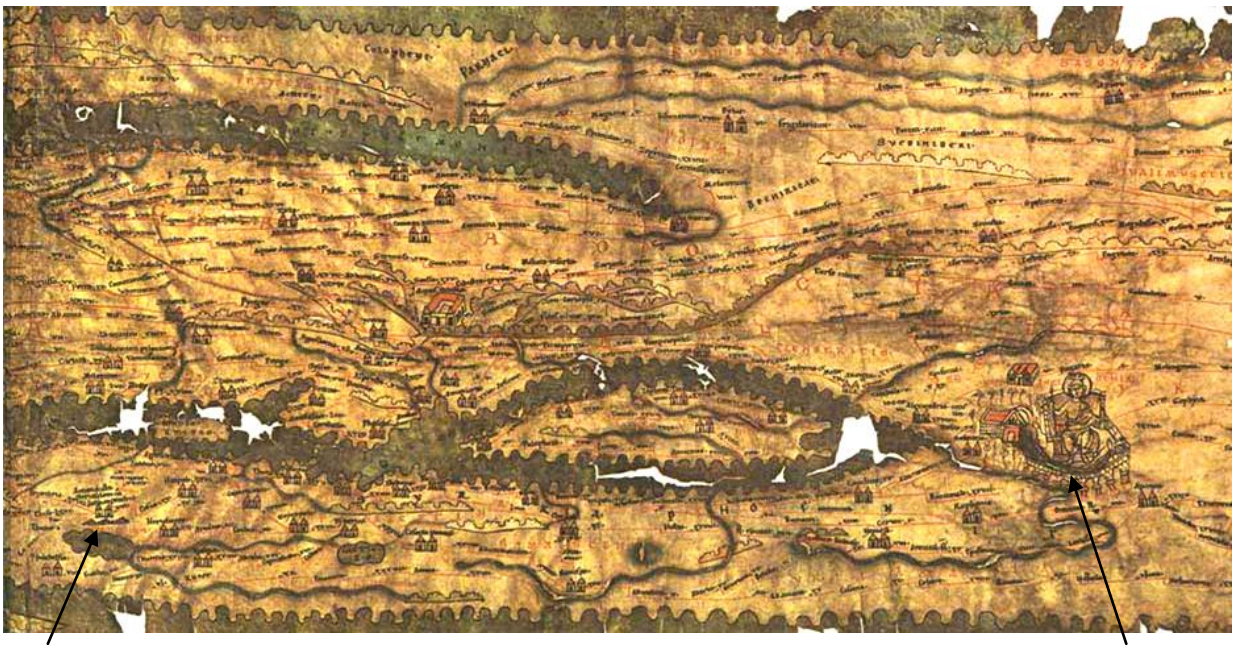

Fig 4.2 *Tabula Peutingeriana*, *Cod. 324* (Österreichische Nationalbilbiothek Wien), Segments IX, c. 1250.[27] Permission to reproduce this image has been granted by Österreichische Nationalbilbiothek.

[26] <http://www.bl.uk/onlinegallery/sacredtexts/mparis_lg.html> [accessed 10th of January 2015]
[27] <http://manuscripta.at/m1/hs_detail.php?ID=9722> [accessed 3rd August 2017]

Even over the course of the crusades, with better knowledge of the world and the Holy Land from crusaders and pilgrims, maps did not increase in practical detail. Instead more iconography and Biblical stories were added to emphasise Biblical geography in place of contemporary geography.[28] It has been argued that such maps, like that of Matthew Paris's, were meant for meditation purposes to allow people to go on an imagined pilgrimage rather than a real one.[29] As a result, the maps did not need to be accurate as they were not intended to be actual travel maps. These maps complimented the imagined pilgrimage set out by pilgrim narratives. Maps did, however, have another function that could not quite be achieved by pilgrim narratives, particularly after the crusaders lost control of Jerusalem. As Ingrid Baumgärtner points out, to draw a map is to claim ownership of that land.[30] Matthew Paris' map was 'interactive,' leading the monks of St. Albans to the unavailable but, imaginable Jerusalem.[31] While pilgrim narratives often showed anger or annoyance over the loss of Jerusalem, the maps did not reflect this. In the end, these maps were of little practical use to pilgrims, yet allowed pilgrims to travel to the safe and imagined Jerusalem which could never be owned by anyone.

Language Barrier

Pilgrims going to the Holy Land had to face the fact that they would encounter languages they never heard before. Merchants used phrasebooks to aid them in their trade with people in and from other countries. A Genoese manual from 1303 lists common Persian and Cumanic phrases and trade words beside their Latin version.[32] These books may have been of interest to Muslim pilgrims. One way a Muslim pilgrim could fund his journey was to bring and trade goods en route.[33] Needless to say, as these books were primary concerned with trade terms, they were not functional as general language books

[28] Maria Eurydice de Barros Ribeiro, 'A Cartografia Medieval. O Mundo Dos Homens E O Mundo De Deus,' *OPSIS: Revista do Departamento de História e Ciências Sociais*, Vol. 10, No. 2 (Jul. 2010), pp. 27-42 (p. 33).
[29] Daniel K. Connolly, 'Imagined Pilgrimage in the Itinerary Maps of Matthew Paris,' *The Art Bulletin*, Vol. 81, No. 4 (Dec., 1999), pp. 598-622; Daniel K. Connolly, *The Maps of Matthew Paris, Medieval Journeys through Space, Time and Liturgy* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2009), p. 39.
[30] Ingrid Baumgärtner, 'Burchard of Mount Sion and the Holy Land,' *Peregrinations: Journal of Medieval Art & Architecture*, Vol. 4, No. 1 (Spring, 2013), pp. 5-41 (p. 6).
[31] Connolly, 'Imagined Pilgrimage,' p. 598.
[32] Robert Sabatino Lopez and Irving W. Raymond, *Medieval trade in the Mediterranean World: Illustrative Documents* (New York, 1967), pp. 346-8.
[33] Quentin Van Doosselaere, *Commercial Agreements and Social Dynamics in Medieval Genoa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), p. 54.

for pilgrims. Bilingual phrasebooks did develop for pilgrims going to the Holy Land.[34] Of course, the true value of such books depended on a pilgrim's ability to read, making them somewhat useless for those of a lower social class who were unlikely to be able to read them. At the same time, there is no reason why they could not be taught words and phrases by someone else within their community. Unfortunately, there are no references to language books within pilgrim narratives, so it is not clear how popular they actually were.

A way to combat the language barrier or map problem was to hire a travel guide and interpreter. Travel guides knew the local landscape, could have offered useful advice to pilgrims, and brought pilgrims to sites and other places more securely than if pilgrims decided to travel by themselves. Presumably, local travel guides were more aware of the local political situation than newly arrived pilgrims, helping them to avoid new dangers. The seventh-century Burgundian monk named Peter who was 'living a solitary life' in the Holy Land became the travel guide of the pilgrim Arculf.[35] Peter advised Arculf not to stay more than two nights at Nazareth, and not more than one at Mount Tabor.[36] For the most part, guides are at best simply named and the focus returns to the pilgrimage itself. Peter the 'aged monk' was mentioned by the Venerable Bede in his *Concerning the Holy Places*, written around 720, during his discussion on Arculf's pilgrimage.[37] The Russian Abbot Daniel said it was not possible to explore the holy Land without a good guide and interpreter.[38] He was guided by an old monk from the monastery of Saint Saba, while the Dominican monk Riccoldo, who travelled to the Holy Land in the late thirteenth century, was guided by nameless hermits.[39] Travel guides also appear in hagiography. While on his way to Jerusalem, Saint Guy met other pilgrims at Rome who were also bound for the

[34] Robert Bartlett, *Why Can the Dead do such Great Things? Saints and Worshippers from Martyrs to the Reformation* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013), p. 437.
[35] Adamnán, *Arculfi Relatio de Locis Sanctis*, in *Itinera Hierosolymitana et Descriptiones Terrae Sanctae Bellis Sacris Anteriora et Latina Lingua Exarata Sumptibus Societatis Illustrandis Orientis Latini Monumentis*, eds. Titus Tobler and Augustus Molinier (Geneva, 1879), pp. 139-202 (Book 2, p. 184); A hermit on an island near Sardinia gave cabbage and berries to Jacques de Vitry and his companions, *Lettres de Jacques de Vitry*: (1160/1170-1240) évéque de Saint-Jean-d'Acre, ed. R. B. C. Huygens (Leiden: Brill, 1960), no. 2, p. 80.
[36] Adamnán, *Arculfi Relatio de Locis Sanctis*, Book 2, pp. 184-5.
[37] Venerable Bede, *De Locis Sanctis*, in *Itinera Hierosolymitana et Descriptiones Terrae Sanctae Bellis Sacris Anteriora et Latina Lingua Exarata Sumptibus Societatis Illustrandis Orientis Latini Monumentis*, eds. Titus Tobler and Augustus Molinier (Geneva, 1879), pp. 213-234 (p. 232). Peter's hospitlatity is also praised in the anonymous *Arculfi Relatio Altera*, in *Itinera Hierosolymitana et Descriptiones Terrae Sanctae Bellis Sacris Anteriora et Latina Lingua Exarata Sumptibus Societatis Illustrandis Orientis Latini Monumentis*, eds. Titus Tobler and Augustus Molinier (Geneva, 1879), pp. 203-210 (p. 210).
[38] Daniel the Abbot, 'The Life and journey of Daniel, Abbot of the Russian Land,' in *Jerusalem Pilgrimage 1099-1185*, ed. J. Wilkinson (London: Hakluyt Society, 1988), pp. 120-171 (p. 121).
[39] Riccoldo da Montecroce, 'Liber Peregrinacionis,' in *Peregrinatores medii aevi quatuor. Burchardus de Monte Sion, Ricoldus de Monte Crucis, Ordoricus de Foro Julii, Wilbrandus de Oldenborg*, ed. J. C. M. Laurent (Leipzig, 1864), pp. 105-142 (p. 108); Thietmar used guides when he travelled to and up Mount Sinai, Thietmar, *Magistri Thietmari Peregrinatio*, xix, p. 43, xxi, p.45, xxvii, p. 50

Holy Land, including a man named Wonedulphus who was from the same place as Guy.[40] Guy then acted as a guide to other pilgrims. Wilbrand of Oldenburg, who went on pilgrimage around 1212, was assigned a guide at Tarsus, one day away from Caesarea, though he does not mention the guide beyond this.[41]

Overall, sources show a preference for hiring travel guides before setting out to the Holy Land. This allowed a pilgrim to hire someone they knew or could get to know before they placed their trust in them. Those who found guides along the way, the Frankish Arculf found a Burgundian guide and Wondedulphus who hired Guy who was from his locality, placed their trust in people from a similar homeland to their own, as these guide once again offered some comfort by familiarity. Interpreters were also highly important. Jacques de Vitry used interpreters at Tripoli in 1217 to assist in his preaching.[42] Interpreters could obviously help the pilgrims communicate with different people in the Holy Land, but were also used by pilgrims to get out of dangerous situations. During the Great German Pilgrimage on 1064-5, an interpreter was used to talk to the sheik of Tripoli in an attempt to negotiate freeing the pilgrims.[43]

The concept of saints and Biblical figures appearing as pilgrims, as examined in Chapter 1, would have had a particular significance for pilgrims in the Holy Land. The twelfth-century *Officium Peregrinorum* section of the Easter liturgical drama *Le Jeu Des Pèlerins D'Emmaüs* concerns two pilgrims who encountered another pilgrim while travelling in the Holy Land. The two pilgrims insist that the stranger should join their company before the dangers of nightfall, 'the setting sun contraineth thee to accept our hospitality.'[44] As might be expected in an Easter play, the new pilgrim tests the faith of the two pilgrims before breaking bread at Emmaus and revealing himself to be Jesus. Pilgrims meeting Jesus at Emmaus can be seen in manuscript illuminations also. 'The Grandisson Psalter' dating from 1275 depicts Jesus breaking bread with two people either side of him

[40] 'Vita S. Guidonis Confessoris,' in *Acta Sanctorum*, September, IV, ed. Joanne Carnandet (Paris, 1868), pp. 36-48 (1:8, p. 43).
[41] Denys Pringle, 'Wilbrand of Oldenburg's Journey to Syria, Lesser Armenia, Cyprus, and the Holy Land (1211-1212): A New Edition,' in *Crusades*, Vol. 11 (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), pp. 109-137 (p. 132).
[42] *Lettres de Jacques de Vitry*, no. 2, p. 92.
[43] *Annales Altahenses Maiores*, ed. W. Giesebrecht, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum* (Hanover: Impensis Bibliopoli Hahniani, 1891), p. 69; Earl Rognvald of Norway, who was born in 1103, asked Bishop William of Orkney, a Parisian scholar, to go with him as an interpreter to Jerusalem in 1151, *The Orkneyinga Saga*, ed. Joseph Anderson (Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas, 1873), p. 131.
[44] *Le Jeu Des Pèlerins D'Emmaüs*, ed. Marcel Pérès (Arles: Harmonia Mundi, 2004), p. 19.

at Emmaus.[45] On closer inspection of the image, it is apparent that all three figures are carrying bags. If it is accepted that these bags are in fact pilgrim scrips, the message the image is sending becomes far more vivid. The bag that Jesus carries is white with a red cross on it, perhaps representing Jerusalem. The figure to the left of Jesus wears a hat and carries a bag with three scallop shells attached, an undeniable linked to the pilgrimage site of Compostela. The other pilgrim, to the right of the image has a blue bag with an x or saltire on it outlined in white. It is not clear if this is just an artistic decoration, though if Jesus represents Jerusalem, one pilgrim represents Compostela, it stands to reason that the third person represents Rome.[46] The notion of Jesus as a lost pilgrim in the Holy Land given shelter by other pilgrims creates a sense of duty for pilgrims to assist other pilgrims in the Holy Land. The pilgrims may not speak the same language as each other, but the easy to recognise pilgrim uniform would have alerted pilgrims to fellow pilgrims in need.

Fig 4.3 Jesus with pilgrims at Emmaus, 'The Grandisson Psalter,' *Additional MS 21926* (British Library), f. 22v. Permission to reproduce this image has been granted by the British Library © British Library Board.

[45] The Psalter came into the ownership of John Grandisson, bishop of Exeter from 1327 to 1369, 'The Grandisson Psalter,' *Additional MS 21926* (British Library), f.22v <http://www.bl.uk/onlinegallery/onlineex/illmanus/other/011add000021926u00022v00.html> [accessed 19th March 2015].

[46] It is possible that the x is a simplified version of the crossed keys associated with St. Peter and Rome.

Danger on the Road

Several pilgrimage narratives, hagiographical accounts and other sources speak of the dangers of travelling in the Holy Land, particularly on the road to Jerusalem. During the Great German Pilgrimage of 1064-5, Bishop Gunther's letter from Latakia told not only of the horrors they had endured themselves, but also the stories from other pilgrims coming back from Jerusalem who had lost members of their group to ambushes and attacks by 'blood thirsty' Muslims.[47] The road to Jerusalem was a harsh mountainous terrain. The *Life* of William Firmatus (1026-1103) spoke of the confusion on the road due to many junctions, the desolate wilderness, hot weather, and endless thirst.[48] Saewulf provided a vivid description of the terror awaiting pilgrims on the road from Jaffa to Jerusalem. Not only were there wild beasts, but Muslims took advantage of the terrain by hiding in hollows and caves, setting traps for small groups of pilgrims 'or those who have lagged behind.'[49] The extent of the misery is illustrated by Saewulf's dismay of the ever increasing number of unburied Christian pilgrim corpses found along the road. They remained unburied because any pilgrim who stopped to bury them would literary be digging his own grave, 'If he did so, he would be making ready a grave for himself rather than for his companion.'[50] Usama Ibn Munqidh's *The Book of Contemplation* written in 1183 tells the story of a group of Christian pilgrims who got lost and ended up in Shaizar only to be captured and killed by the towns people.[51] Jacques de Vitry even spoke about how fear of the Muslims in the Holy Land delayed him from visiting holy sites there.[52] The presence of the military orders on the roads which pilgrims travelled on and near the pilgrimage sites which they visited, offered pilgrims both physical and psychological security. In a foreign land, pilgrims would have felt safer knowing they were close to a castle or hospital of a military order. These military orders might have offered a place to rest or obtain fresh water before continuing on, as well as acting as a type of landmark.

[47] *Annales Altahenses Maiores*, p. 67.
[48] 'Vita S. Guilielmo Firmato,' 1:9, p. 388; Saewulf discussed thirst and the dangers of drinking too much water, Saewulf, 'Relatio de peregrinatione Saewulfi ad Hyerosolymam et terram sanctam,' in *Peregrinationes Tres: Saewulf, John of Würzburg, Theodericus*, Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis, ed. R. B. C. Huygens, 139 (Turnholt: Brepols, 1994), pp. 59-77 (p. 64).
[49] Saewulf, 'Relatio de peregrinatione,' pp. 63-4.
[50] Saewulf, 'Relatio de peregrinatione,' p. 64.
[51] Shaizar is to the north east of Tortosa, Usama Ibn Munqidh, *The Book of Contemplation Islam and the Crusades*, trans. Paul M. Cobb (London: Penguin Classics, 2008), pp. 141-2.
[52] *Lettres de Jacques de Vitry*, no. 2, p. 88.

The Knights Templar and the Protection of Pilgrims

The exact foundation date of the Knights Templar is unknown, though it was most likely sometime around 1120.[53] Jacques de Vitry said that the Order was created specifically to defend pilgrims on their way to Jerusalem and did so by keeping 'guard over the public roads.'[54] The Primitive Rule of the Templars, dating from 1129, stated that the Knights were to protect 'the poor, widows, orphans and churches.'[55] Standard knightly duties essentially involved protecting the 'miserabiles personae.' Unless this was understood to include pilgrims, the Primitive Rule did not make any specific reference to the protection of pilgrims. Nevertheless, a number of charters from this period do clearly state that the Templars were directly involved in the efforts to protect pilgrims. A charter from 1125, confirming donations from Baldwin Brochet to the Templars, mentioned the Templars' work in the defence of the Holy Land and those visiting holy sites.[56] Similarly, a charter issued by Bishop Elbert of Chalons in 1132 specifically praised the Templars for protecting pilgrims going to the Holy Sepulchre, one of the most important Christian pilgrimage sites.[57] Outside of the Holy Land people were making donations to the Order, some of which acknowledged the Templars as protectors of pilgrims. In September 1137 William, castellan of St. Omer and his son Osto granted the tithes of Sclippes and Leffinges in Flanders to the Templars specifically for the defence of the Holy Land and pilgrims.[58] In 1139, Pope Innocent II officially recognised the Templars as defenders of the Church, though Pope Celestine, in 1144, was the first to state they protected pilgrims from 'attacks of pagans as they go on their journeys to aid from holy places.'[59] Whether or not the founding knights of the Templars truly saw the protection of pilgrims as their main goal originally, it is evident from other sources that at least soon after, it became an important aspect of the Order, making the Templars an important feature of pilgrimage infrastructure.

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[53] Barber, *The New Knighthood*, p. 9.
[54] Jacques de Vitry, *Histoire Orientale*, ch. 65, p. 262.
[55] *The Rule of the Templars: The French Text of the Rule of the Order of the Knights Templar*, trans. J. M. Upton-Ward (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1992), p. 19.
[56] *Cartulaire Général de L'Ordre du Temple 1119-1150*, ed. Marquis D'Albon (Paris, Librairie Ancienne, Honoré Champion, 1913), p. 2.
[57] *Cartulaire Général de L'Ordre du Temple*, p. 35.
[58] *Cartulaire Général de L'Ordre du Temple*, p. 99 ; Osto was later listed as a member of the Templars in Flanders, *Cartulaire Général de L'Ordre du Temple*, p. 143.
[59] Papsturkunden für Templer und Johanniter, ed. R. Hienstand, 2 vols (Göttingen, 1972), i, no. 3, pp. 204-10, no. 8, pp. 214-15; *The Templars Selected Sources*, eds. and trans. Malcolm Barber and Keith Bate (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002), no. 8, pp. 64-5.

The Hospitallers possessed a number of castles, lands, and hospitals throughout the Holy Land. Their lands were concentrated in certain regions, between Hebron and Ascalon, west of Jerusalem and the Sea of Galilee, around Crac des Chevaliers and Margat, and the west bank of the River Orontes.[60] As the Templars became more involved in the crusades, they did not cease to protect pilgrims.[61] The Templars were given numerous castles and land on which to construct them, usually on or near important roads or pilgrimage sites. Their first fortresses in the Latin East were in the northern part of the Crusader states in the Amanus Mountains.[62] Among these was Baghras on the route from Asia Minor to Syria and its main purpose was to defend Antioch.[63] However, given that Baghras and the nearby Templar castles of Darbsaq, Roche Roussel, Port Bonnel and Roche Guillaume were a good distance away from the more popular pilgrim routes, it was unlikely that they played a major role in the protection of pilgrims. The same can be said of northern Hospitaller forts such as Crac des Chevaliers.

The Templars and Hospitallers had a number of coastal fortresses and property in coastal cities. These were most likely the first Templar forts that pilgrims saw in the Latin East. For the Templars these included Tartus, Arwad, Acre, Jaffa, Beirut, Tyre, Ascalon, Sidon, Le Destroit, Pilgrims' Castle and Dor. The Hospitallers had Margat, Cafarlet, Castrum Rubrum and Coliath, and held property in several coastal cities Acre, Beirut, Tripoli, Tyre and briefly Arsuf and Ascalon. They did not all, of course, exist at the same time and pilgrims would have most likely only seen the forts in Acre and south.[64]As many pilgrims travelled by ship to the Holy Land, the possibility of shipwreck was a fear and a reality for some. The pilgrim Theoderich said that the Templars castle on Mount Carmel 'enables mariners to recognize the mainland from a distance.'[65] For pilgrims, coastal forts

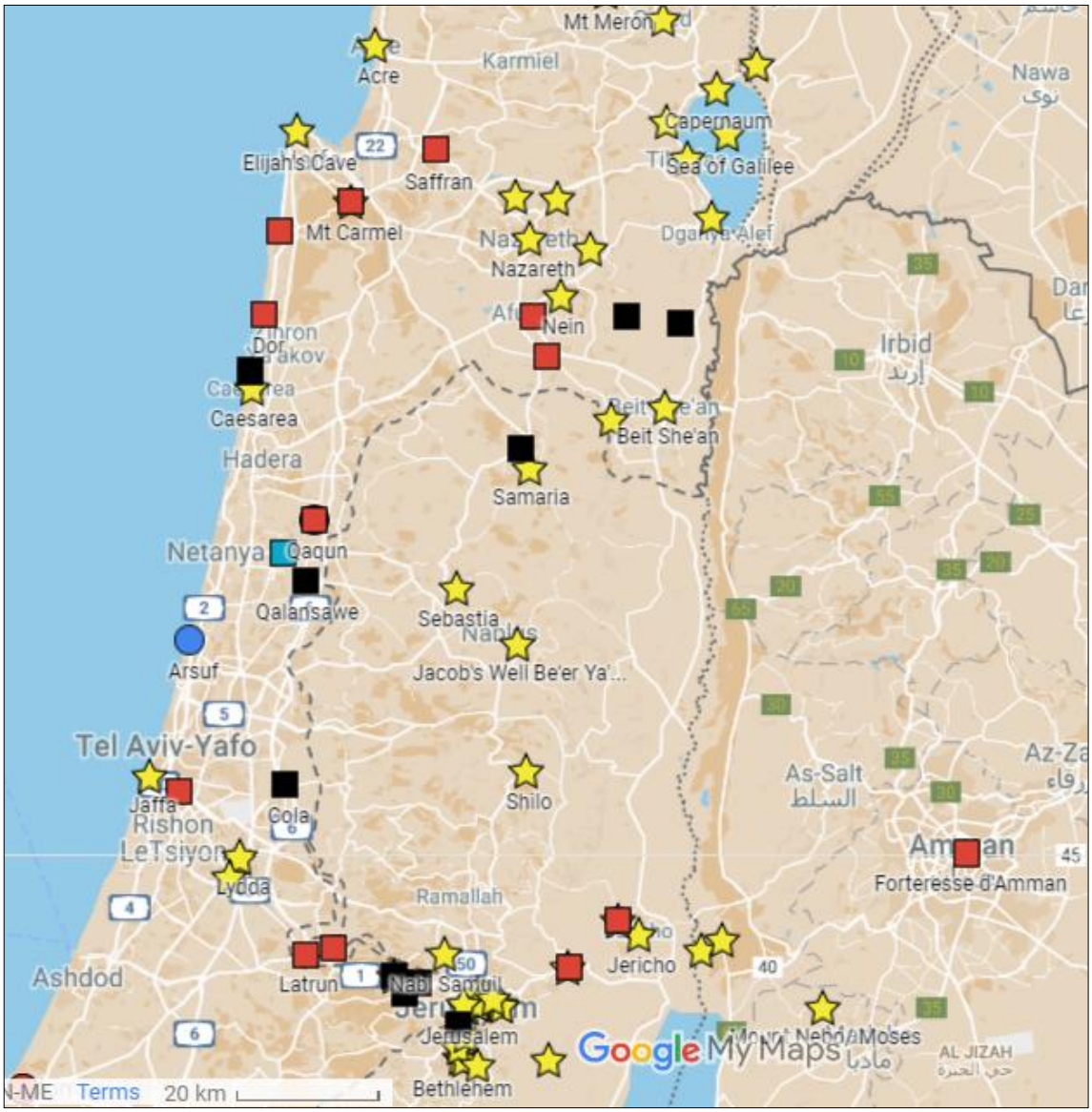
[60] Jonathon Riley-Smith, *The Knights Hospitaller in the Levant, c. 1070-1309* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), p. 173.
[61] Barber, *The New Knighthood*, p. 88.
[62] Nicholson, *The Knights Templar*, p. 58.
[63] A.W. Lawrence, 'The Castle of Baghras' in *The Cilician Kingdom of Armenia*, ed. T. S. R. Boase (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1978), pp. 34-83 (p. 37).
[64] Tortosa, built around 1152, and nearby Chastel Blanc, for example, would have been too far north for the majority of pilgrims, Jonathan Riley-Smith, 'Templars and the Castle of Tortosa in Syria: An Unknown Document concerning the Acquisition of the Fortress,' *The English Historical Review*, Vol. 84, No. 311 (Apr., 1969), pp. 278-84 (p. 278); Adrian J. Boas, *Archaeology of the Military orders: A Survey of the Urban centres, rural settlements and castles of the Military orders in the Latin East* (c. 1120-1291) (Abingdon, Routledge, 2006), p. 112.
[65] Theoderich, 'Libellus de Locis Sanctis,' p. 185.

were not only a defensive feature but, may have also been like a beacon of hope, marking the end of a difficult sea journey, as they moved closer to land.

In the early stages of the crusades, pilgrims relied on crusaders to provide them safe escort to holy sites. According to Albert of Aachen in his *Historia Ierosolimitana*, seven thousand men from England and Belgium arrived at Jaffa in 1106 and wanted to visit the Holy Sepulchre. King Baldwin I of Jerusalem granted them 'an escort of brave, armed men who led them, safe from all attack or ambush' to various holy sites.[66] The Russian pilgrim Daniel gained Baldwin's protection as far as Tiberias.[67] Similarly, Jacques de Vitry was given an escort by knights from Tyre to Sarepta, and he then sent word ahead to Beirut asking for more knights to come and escort him through Muslim territory in 1216.[68] The positioning of Templar and Hospitaller forts on popular pilgrim routes offered security to pilgrims. As Alan Forey points out, the true function of these forts were, 'never precisely described,' though they were likely to be places of refuge for pilgrims with a small garrison protecting the locality.[69] Templar Statute 121, dating from 1165, states that ten knights were to guard pilgrims on their way to the river Jordan.[70] The main problem in trying to examine how Templar escorts worked elsewhere in the Holy Land is that rules and guidelines for other places have either not survived or never existed. According to Oliver of Paderborn, who wrote between 1217-22 while on the Fifth Crusade, Destroit was built to defend pilgrims on the road to Jerusalem from bandits.[71] Templar Destroit could house up to twenty men with horses.[72] Based on Statute 121, Destroit would need to send out half of its knights to patrol the roads. The size of each Templar tower had an impact on how many knights it could lend to patrols or escorts. This may explain the lack of an overarching rule for all towers concerning patrols as the number on patrol depended on the number of knights available at the tower in question. Evidence of Templar escorts appears infrequently in other sources. In 1216, Jacques de Vitry was escorted by the Templars from their Chastel Blanc at Safita to Tortosa, which would be a distance of about 30km.[73] Jacques, as Bishop of Acre, was of course an important person so was likely to receive an

[66] Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana, History of the Journey to Jerusalem*, ed. and trans. Susan B. Edgington (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2007), 10: 1, p. 719.
[67] Daniel the Abbot, 'The Life and Journey,' pp. 154-5.
[68] *Lettres de Jacques de Vitry*, no. 2, pp. 91-2.
[69] Forey, 'The Charitable Activities,' p. 123.
[70] *The Rule of the Templars*, p. 49.
[71] Oliver of Paderborn, *Historia Damiatina* in *Die Schriften des Kölner Domscholasters, späteren Bischofs von Paderborn und Kardinal-Bischofs von S. Sabina, Oliverus*, ed. O. Hoogeweg (Tübingen, 1894), ch.6, p. 169.
[72] Barber, *The New Knighthood*, p. 88.
[73] *Lettres de Jacques de Vitry*, no. 2, p. 93; The castle was given to the Templars around 1171 and rebuilt around 1200, Hugh Kennedy, *Crusader Castles* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 138.

armed escort when he required one. As a result, it is not clear how ordinary pilgrims availed of such escorts. They may have sent letters ahead announcing their arrival and asking for assistance like Jacques de Vitry. This would seem like a chaotic system if the Templars were to provide an escort for thousands of pilgrims. It is possible that the Templars had some sort of continuous armed escort service going back and forth from their own towers and major cities. If this was the case, then pilgrims could wait in a safe location for the Templars to return and guide them out. On the other hand, this type of system required a number of knights and resources making it rather impractical. Given the close proximity of some Templar towers, Mount Carmel being about 15km from Destroit, and Destroit being about 12km from Dor, it is likely that Templar patrols would have made these sections of roads safe enough to travel without an escort. Pilgrim narratives describe attackers hiding and waiting to ambush pilgrims. It is therefore, likely that the presence of a military order's fortress, patrol, or escort would have deterred such tactics. A pilgrim therefore, upon approaching a Templar or Hospitaller castle, may have been at ease and it may also explain why forts and towers belonging to the military orders, particularly the Templars, appear more frequently in pilgrim narratives than other crusader forts and towers.



Map 4.1 Overview of the location of the military orders and pilgrimage site on the road from Acre to Jerusalem. Pilgrimage sites are marked with yellow stars, Templar towers and forts marked with red squares, and Hospitaller towers and forts marked with black squares.[74]

[74] An interactive map is available here: https://www.google.com/maps/d/viewer?mid=14ZHLzWF3tcpnSsFCP2oQ89vBYNA&ll=32.44304398482811%2C35.640269498046905&z=9

Templar and Hospitaller fortresses and towers on the roads from Acre to Jerusalem up to 1187[75]

Acre-Jerusalem
Coast road
|20km
Haifa
|11km
Mount Carmel
|15km
Destroit
|12km
Dor
|11km
Turris Salinarum
|3km
Caesarea
|40km
|
|
|
Arsuf
|20km
Jaffa
|5km
Casale Balneorum
|13km
Ramla
|18km
Latrūn /Toron des Chevaliers
|5km
Chastel Arnoul
|13km
Abu Ghosh
/ 5km \
Belveer and **Belmont**[79]
\ 12km

Acre-Jerusalem
via Nazareth
| 20km
Saffran
|20km
Nazareth
|13km
Mount Tabor
|18km
La Feve
|7km
Le Petit Gerin
|13km
Khirbat Bal'ame
|5km
Samaria
|23km
Sebaste
/ \

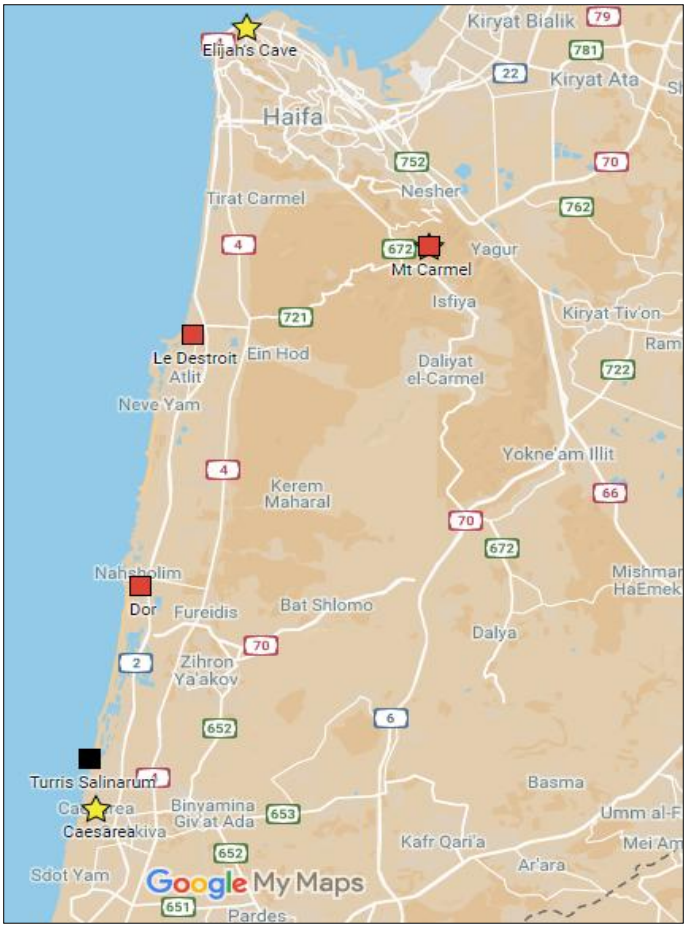
Toward coast road
|20km
Qaqun and **Qalansawe**[77]
|4km
Red Tower[78]
/ 25km

Continue straight[76]
|85km
|
|
|
|
|
|
|
/

Jerusalem

[75] Based on Google Maps. *Italic*= Templar fort or tower, **Bold**= Hospitaller fort or tower.
[76] Sebaste to Jerusalem appears frequently in pilgrimage narratives, though seems an unlikely route to actually take as there are no defences or other pilgrimage sites of major significance to Christian pilgrims on this road.
[77] The road passes Qaqun and Qalansawe, one either side of the road, about 10km from each other.
[78] Khirbet Bergth, became a Hospitaller possession around 1189.
[79] Pass by both, one either side of the road, about 5km from each other.

Certain pilgrimage routes were co-defended by the Templars and Hospitallers, such as the River Jordan which will be discussed in Chapter 5, where the Hospitallers patrolled and escorted pilgrims to the river as the Templars did.[80] The road from Acre to Jaffa to Jerusalem was also well defended by Hospitallers and Templars. Excluding the villages they passed through on the way, pilgrims on this road were on average about 13km away from a major city or a tower, or fortress belonging to either the Templars or Hospitallers. Based on 'a day's journey' of 40-50km discussed in Chapter 2, 13km meant that pilgrims were nearly always less than half 'a day's journey' from a safe location on the road.13km would take about three to four hours to walk. Pilgrims who arrived at Acre most commonly followed the coast road, passing the cities of Caesarea and Arsuf, before reaching Jaffa and turning inland toward Jerusalem. Coming out of Acre and heading south to Haifa which would take four or five hours to walk, one of the first fortresses belonging to the Templars that a pilgrim might see was by Mount Carmel, which Theoderich said could be seen from the sea.[81] Next came the Templar Destroit about 15km from Mount Carmel, then Dor which was about 12km from Destroit, then 11km to Hospitaller Turris Salinarum. Hospitaller Turris Salinarum was on the outskirts of Caesarea.



Map 4.2 Overview of the road from Haifa to Caesarea

[80] Theoderich, 'Libellus de Locis Sanctis,' p. 175.
[81] Theoderich, 'Libellus de Locis Sanctis,' p. 185.

Caesarea to Arsuf was about 40km, the longest walk a pilgrim would make without encountering a tower belonging to one of the military orders on the road. However, both Templar Qaqun and Hospitaller Qalansawe were on the inner coast road about 12km from the coast. The Templars held Qaqun from1169-1180.[82] Qalansawe was about 10km south of Qaqun. It had been granted to the Hospitallers in April 1128 by Geofrey de Flujeac.[83] They held it from 1128-87. Qalansawe was most likely the Hospitaller castle mentioned in the mountains on the way from Caesarea to Arsuf in *The Condition of the City of Jerusalem* c. 1220.[84] The road heading inland and leading past Qaqun and Qalansawe would have intersected the coast road from Caesarea to Arsuf about 26km south of Caesarea. The 40km distance may have been difficult for the military orders to patrol from one of their towers. There is a possibility that they had some sort of encampments along the way to aid pilgrims. Late twelfth-century Anonymous Pilgrim V.2 claimed that the all Templars lived in tents.[85] This is, of course, somewhat inaccurate. On the other hand, there are roughly twenty Templar statutes concerning tents. Templar Statute 140 noted that each Templar knight was to own a tent and tent peg.[86] Sergeants were the only members of who could not own tents.[87] Both Templar Qaqun and Hospitaller Qalansawe had under floor cisterns.[88] It would have been a large operation, but it is possible that water was drawn from these cisterns to temporary encampments on the road from Caesarea to Arsuf. It is not clear if pilgrims had access to water from Templar or Hospitaller towers as the orders would have needed it for their own men and horses. Pilgrims may have been able to acquire water from villages along the way and so, would not have needed it from the military orders. Templar Rule 121 stated that the Commander of the Templars was to carry a tent, food, lead pack animals to carry pilgrims on if necessary as well as care for any 'nobleman in need' by giving him alms.[89] This, of course, was a rule specific to pilgrims going to the Jordan. However, since Jacques de Vitry and Oliver of Paderborn discuss the Templars giving armed escort and protecting pilgrims on the road in places other than the Jordan, it is possible that elements of Rule 121 were carried out elsewhere in the Holy Land, altered to suit each location and its resources.

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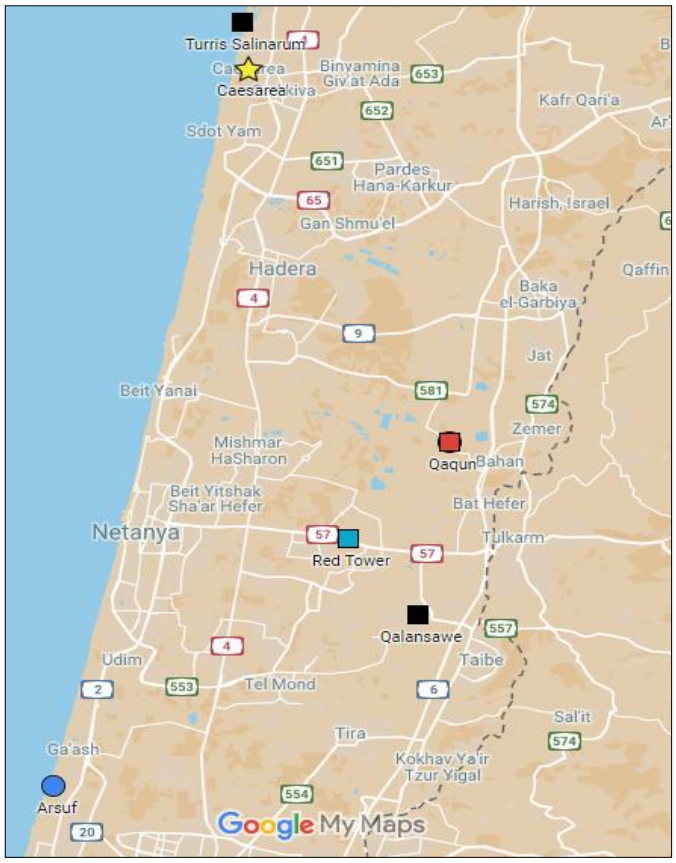
[82] Rita George-Tvrtković, *A Christian Pilgrim in Medieval Iraq: Riccoldo da Montecroce's Encounter with Islam* (Turnhout: Breplos, 2012), p. 179.
[83] *Cartulaire Général De L'Ordre Des Hospitaliers de S. Jean de Jérusalem, 1100-1200*, ed. J. Delaville le Roulx, 4 vols (Paris, 1894), i, p. 78.
[84] 'La Citez Iherusalem,' p. 445.
[85] *Innominatus V*, ed. W. A. Neumann, *Österreichische Vierteljahresschrift für Katholische Theologie*, Vol. 5 (1866), pp. 211-82 (p. 266).
[86] *The Rule of the Templars*, p. 54. There are different rules concerning tents during campaigns, see rule 375 p. 103.
[87] *The Rule of the Templars*, p. 54; Rule 169 stated that their own Turcopliers had tents, p. 61.
[88] Kennedy, *Crusader Castles*, p. 99.
[89] *The Rule of the Templars*, p. 49.

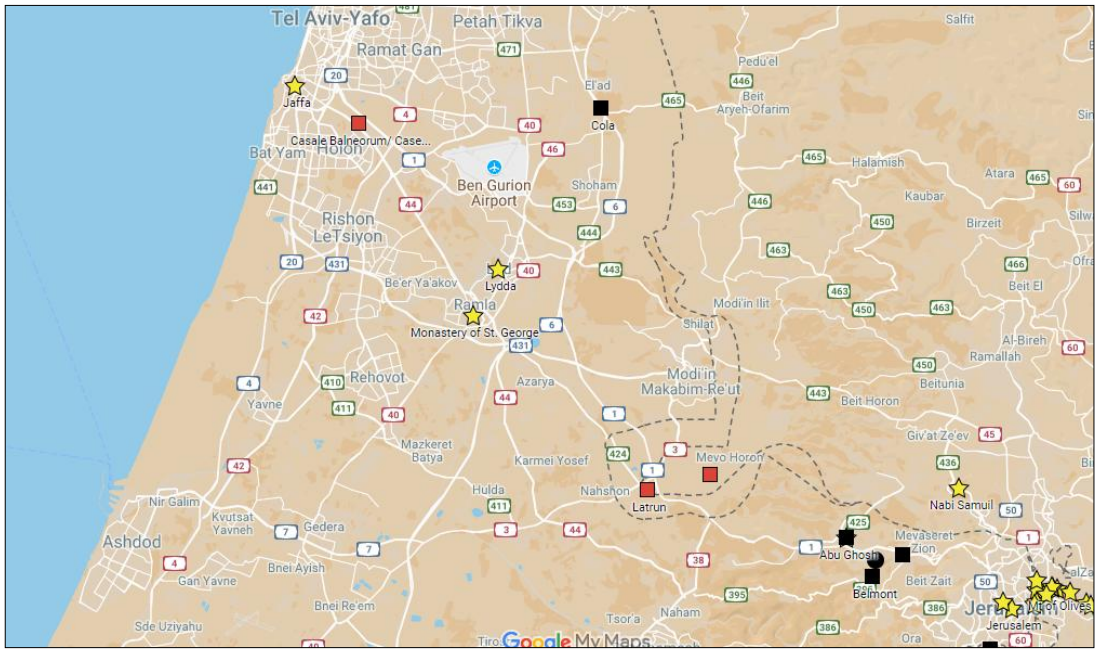


Map 4.3 Overview of the road from Caesarea to Arsuf

After Arsuf, Jaffa was the next major city a pilgrim would encounter. Jaffa itself another popular arrival port among pilgrims. The first Templar castle that most pilgrims travelling on the main road from Jaffa to Jerusalem would have seen was Yāzūr, just about 5km outside of Jaffa. Denys Pringle has discussed Templar castles on the road from Jaffa to Jerusalem in depth. Yāzūr was also called Casale Balneorum, Casel des Plains or Casellum de Templo.[90] The first reference to a Templar presence there dates from before 1191.[91] According to the Norman poet and chronicler Ambroise, King Richard I rebuilt the tower with the Templars in 1191 as 'it was thought that this was absolutely essential for the safety of pilgrim traffic.'[92] Moving on about 13km from here, pilgrims would pass the pilgrimage sites of Ramla and Lydda. Ramla had a monastery dedicated to Saint George from at least 518 where the saint was buried.[93] The pilgrim Daniel noted that pilgrims could rest by the springs and get fresh water there, but did so in fear as it was a deserted

[90] The tower measures 12.8 x 12.6m with walls 2.8 m thick, Denys Pringle, 'Templar Castles between Jaffa and Jerusalem,' in *The Military Orders Vol. 2. Welfare and Warfare*, ed. Helen Nicholson (Ashgate: Aldershot, 1998), pp. 89-109 (p. 92).
[91] *Le Cartulaire du chapitre du Saint-Sépulcre de Jérusalem*, ed. G. Bresc-Bautier, *Documents Relatifs a l'Histoire Des Croisades*, 15 (Paris, 1984), pp. 136-8.
[92] Helen J. Nicholson, *Chronicle of the Third Crusade. A Translation of the Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1997), 4: 29, p. 268.
[93] Denys Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem: A Corpus*, Denys Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem: A Corpus*, 4 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), ii, p. 9.

place and prone to attacks from raiders from Ascalon.[94] Lydda appears in the Bible with its church respected by Muslims as they believed, 'Christ would appear and slay the dajjāl, or forerunner to the end of days,' though it was destroyed by caliph al-Hākim in 1010.[95] Lydda was in Frankish possession by 1099 and houses there were granted to the Hospitallers by Bishop Roger in 1110.[96] The presence of the military orders in the area would have put the minds of pilgrims like Daniel at ease. The parallel inner road from Acre to Ramla was defended by Qaqun and Qalansawe and Hospitaller Cola to the north.



Map 4.4 Overview of the road from Jaffa to Jerusalem

If pilgrims walked another 18km from Ramla towards Jerusalem, the next Templar castle they would have approached was Latrūn, located on a small hill south of 'Amwās, where the south road through Bāb al-Wād departed from the main Ramla to Jerusalem road, and both roads met the road leading to Ascalon. [97] 'Amwās or Emmaus was the site that pilgrims associated with the appearance of Christ after his resurrection. As a result, it was a highly important pilgrimage site and would have seen a large number is pilgrims visit it. There was also a village at 'Amwās which may have supplied and provided facilities for pilgrims.[98] Latrūn castle, or Toron of the Knights, began as a keep and

[94] Daniel the Abbot, 'The Life and journey,' p. 126.
[95] Mukaddasi, *Description of the Province of Syria, including Palestine*, trans. Guy le Strange, *Palestine Pilgrims Text Society* (London, 1886), p. 59.
[96] Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom*, ii, p. 11.
[97] Pringle, 'Templar Castles,' p. 94.
[98] Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom*, i, p. 52.

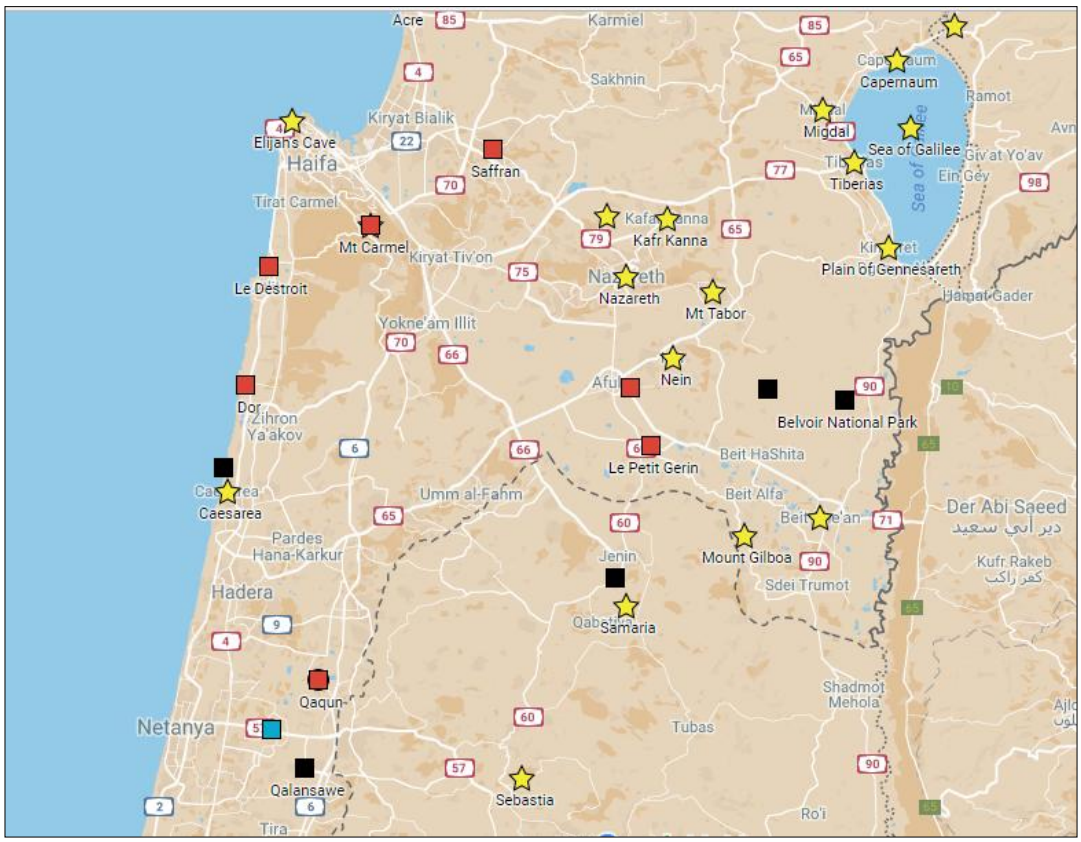
bailey.[99] It had been built between 1150-70, on a strategic position overlooking the main routes from Jerusalem to Jaffa and Ascalon, specifically for the defence of travellers and pilgrims on the road to Jerusalem.[100] Given its small size, it may have been an outpost, though it could have provided refuge for pilgrims or a road station, as well as been a place for Templar patrols stop or to head out from and protect the road from attacks.[101] This again was something of high value to pilgrims and travellers in general after travelling long distances.

The next Templar castle on the road to Jerusalem that pilgrims encountered was Castel Arnold, or Yālu, which was held by the Templars from 1150.[102] It was about 5km away from Latrūn. William of Tyre said that Castle Arnold was built by the patriarch and citizens of Jerusalem 'to ensure the safety of pilgrims passing' through the narrow mountain pass on the way to Lydda and Jerusalem.[103] With the castle, William stated, the way to Jerusalem less perilous for pilgrims. Pringle points out that since Yāzūr, Latrūn and Yālu were on the main road from Jaffa to Jerusalem, they clearly functioned as protection for travellers using the road even before the arrival of the Templars.[104]

From Castel Arnold to Jerusalem, the rest of the fortresses on the road belonged to the Hospitallers which included Hospitaller Belmont and Belveer. Latrūn was about 15km or so away from the first Hospitaller fort on the road, that of Abu-Gosh. Abu-Gosh served as a Hospitaller road-station.[105] A church was built at after twelfth century with the ability to cater for pilgrims. It had a rectangular caravanserai to the east of the church 29m by 33m in measurement, masonry tanks, an open court surrounded by a covered walkway and rooms to the south and east.[106] It was modified in the twelfth century though still had a hostel for travellers to the shrine. The Hospitallers rented land here from 1141, though it was abandoned in 1187.[107] The Hospitallers held Belmont from 1150-87. It was close to Abu Gosh, Belveer and Aqua Bell. Nearby Belveer was granted to the Hospital in 1166 by

[99] It had a central tower 14m squared with walls 3-4m thick and an outer wall 72m east-west by 55m north-south which were 3m thick, Pringle, 'Templar Castles,' p. 95.
[100] Barber, *The New Knighthood*, p. 88; Pringle, 'Templar Castles,' p. 94.
[101] Forey, 'The Charitable Activities,' p. 123; Pringle, 'Templar Castles,' p. 108.
[102] The castle was spur and was 50x 40m wide, Pringle, 'Templar Castles,' p. 107.
[103] William of Tyre, *Willelmi Tyrensis Archiepiscopi, Chronicon*, ed. R. B. C. Huygens, *Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Medievalis, 63-63A* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1986), 14.8, pp. 639-40.
[104] Pringle, 'Templar Castles,' p. 108.
[105] Early and first Crusade accounts place Biblical Emmaus at 'Amwas, while in the twelfth century with was associated with Abu-Gosh, Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom*, i, p. 250.
[106] Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom*, i, pp. 14-5.
[107] Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom*, i, p. 53.

Hugh lord of Caesarea.[108] Denys Pringle noted that Aqua Bella had a small infirmary which could hold about twenty beds, though was most likely used by the members of the Hospitaller Order itself rather than for pilgrims as it was a few kilometres off the main road, especially with the hospital at Jerusalem close by.[109] It is possible, however, that it was used as an emergency infirmary for sick pilgrims picked up on Hospitaller patrols. Even if Jerusalem was close by, Aqua Bell was closer, being about 2km off the main road. With the increase of pilgrims during Easter time, the Hospitallers may have been glad of the extra beds. It also appears that the infirmary was part of the 'primitive ambulance' type service provided by the German hospital of St. Mary in Jerusalem, which was owned by the Hospitallers, to carry those who were too ill to make it to Jerusalem without assistance.[110]



Map 4.5 Overview of road from Acre to Nazareth

[108] *Cartulaire Général*, i, p. 243, no. 350.
[109] The infirmary chapel was mentioned in a Hospitaller charter in from 1163-9, *Cartulaire Général*, i, p. 222-3; Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom*, i, p. 239; Denys Pringle, 'Aqua Bella: The Interpretation of a Crusader Courtyard Building,' in *The Horns of Hattin*, ed. B. Z. Kedar (Jerusalem: Varioum, 1992), pp. 147-67 (p. 167).
[110] Riley-Smith, *The Knights Hospitaller*, p. 72; Benjamin Z. Kedar, 'A Twelfth-Century Description of the Jerusalem Hospital,' in *The Military Orders, vol. 2, Welfare and Warfare*, ed. Helen Nicholson (Aldershot, 1998), pp. 3-25 (p. 18).

Acre to Jerusalem via Nazareth

The three most important sites for medieval Christian pilgrims were the Church of the Annunciation, Church of the Nativity, and the Holy Sepulchre.[111] Nazareth was associated with the angel Gabriel and the Annunciation, the starting point of the story of Jesus. The Cathedral Church of the Annunciation had most likely existed since the time of Constantine or before 337.[112] The Church of the Annunciation was 68m x 30m and sloped to include the cave on the northside.[113] This made it one of the largest churches in the Crusader kingdom.[114] Other churches there included the Orthodox Church of St Gabriel, and the Abbey Church of St Zacharias.[115] There was also a former Synagogue, turned into a Church, which was linked with stories of Jesus' childhood. Due to the importance and popularity of the site, the Augustian canons there ran a hospital for pilgrims.[116] Nazareth was under crusader control from 1099-1187.

The roads leading to Nazareth were defended by the Templars from the west and by Hospitaller castles such as Forbelet and Belvoir from the south east. Similarly to the road from Acre to Jerusalem by the coast road, the road from Acre to Jerusalem via Nazareth featured towers and fort and pilgrimage sites on an average of about 15km intervals. As before, pilgrims were never more than three or four hours from the military orders or a pilgrimage site. Leaving Acre and heading to Nazareth, the first fort a pilgrim encountered was Templar Saffran which 'occupied a significant position' on the road passing through Sepphoris, about 20km from Acre.[117] It was associated with the birth place of St James and St John the Evangelist. It was believed to be where Anne and Joachim lived and where Mary was born.[118] Some pilgrims said that Mary and her mother Anne were born in Sepphoris, though John of Würzburg also offered Nazareth as birth place of Mary.[119] In the mid to late twelfth century, a crusader church was built in Sepphoris and dedicated to Anne. It had a rectangular shape with thick walls suggesting it may have been used as a

[111] Doran Bauer, 'Church of the Annunciation, Nazareth,' in *Encyclopedia of Medieval Pilgrimage*, ed. Larissa J. Taylor et al., (Leiden: Brill, 2010), pp. 108-9 (p. 108).
[112] Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom*, ii, p. 116, the Basilica claimed to have relics of Mary's clothes from 570.
[113] Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom*, ii, p. 123.
[114] Bauer, 'Church of the Annunciation,' p. 109.
[115] Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom*, ii, p. 144.
[116] Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom*, ii, p. 118.
[117] Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom*, ii, p. 301.
[118] Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom*, ii, p. 211.
[119] John of Würzburg, 'Descriptio Terrae Sancte,' p. 80.

fortress like the Hospitaller church in Abu-Gosh.[120] The Templars held the fort of Saffran until 1187. The importance of Sepphoris, for pilgrims can be seen as there was a living rock, to identify the holy site for pilgrims, to the north of the church, which possibly marked the house of Anne.[121] From Saffran, pilgrims walked another 20km to Nazareth and then another 13km south to another major pilgrimage site, Mount Tabor.

The road south of Nazareth and Mount Tabor was defended by both military orders. Moving on about 18km from Mount Tabor, La Fève was the next Templar Castle a pilgrim would have encountered. It was on the main crossroads of the Jezreel Valley, on the south-western foot of Little Hermon.[122] It was also on the main valley road from Acre to Beth Shean, the road from 'Ara Pass to Lajjūn, and the road north to Nazareth and Tiberias. It was possibly in Templar possession before 1146 and could hold about sixty knights.[123] There are the remains of a cistern 150m from the castle.[124] Again, it is not clear if pilgrims had access to this cistern. La Fève was also close to Nein, the place associated with a miracle performed by Jesus when he raised a young man from the dead. Hospitaller Forbelet and Belvoir Castle were directly east of La Fève. Forbelet was about 13km from La Fève and Belvoir was about 7km east of Forbelet. Belvoir Castle was sold to the Hospitallers in 1168 by Ivo Velos for 1400 besants.[125] It is possibly the Hospitaller castle Theoderich mentions as being near Beit She'an which defended against 'treacherous attacks of Noradin.'[126] They held it until 1189.[127] Pilgrims would not have had any reason to pass either Forbelet or Belvoir, but the tower and castle played a part in defending the road nearby which pilgrims travelled on. Leaving La Fève, Le Petit Gerin was next Templar possession along the road at a short distance of 7km. The final fortress belonging to a military order on that road was Hospitaller Castelleum Beleismum, or Khirbat Bal'ame, about 13km south of Le Petit Gerin. Castellum Beleismum held a twelfth-century castle and church of St. Job. It was associated with where St. Job supposedly lived. It was

[120] Jaroslav Folda, 'The Church of Saint Anne,' *The Biblical Archaeologist*, Vol. 54, No. 2 (Jun., 1991), pp. 88-96 (p. 90).
[121] Folda, 'The Church of Saint Anne,' p. 92.
[122] Benjamin Z. Kedar and Denys Pringle, 'La Fève: A Crusader Castle in the Jezreel Valley,' *Israel Exploration Journal*, Vol. 35, No. 2/3 (1985), pp. 164-79 (p. 164).
[123] Kedar and Pringle, 'La Fève,' p. 167. The castle was 80-90m x 110-120, built on the highest western part of the mound, surrounded by a ditch 30-35m wide, p. 174, p. 177.
[124] Kedar and Pringle, 'La Fève,' p. 178.
[125] *Cartulaire Général*, i, p. 228, no. 317.
[126] Theoderich, 'Libellus de Locis Sanctis,' p. 189; 1239, Castle Belvoir is listed in 1239 as once having been in Hospitaller possession, *All the Land that the Sultan Retains*, trans. Denys Pringle in *Pilgrimage to Jerusalem and the Holy Land, 1187-1291, Crusade Texts in Translation 23* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), pp. 181-6 (p. 183).
[127] It was a rectangular concentric castle defended with rectangular towers with a small inner ward, Denys Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom*, i, p. 121.

located about 20 km south of Nazareth, close to the pilgrimage site of Samaria. It was in Hospitaller possession by 1187.[128] From here it was most likely that pilgrims visited the city of Sebaste where they could have found refreshments and supplies before rejoining the inner or outer coast road. If pilgrims decided to rejoin the coast road they would have walked about 20km from Sebaste before they passed Qaqun and Qalansawe and a further 10km to reach the coast road. The other possible route for pilgrims to take was to continue to walk south of Sebaste until they reached Jerusalem, though this would have been 85km on undefended roads without any pilgrimage sites of significance for Christian pilgrims.

Places guarded by Hospitallers Only

Certain roads and pilgrimage sites were guarded by only one of the military orders. The road to Bethlehem was also only guarded by the Hospitallers. About half way between Jerusalem and Bethlehem, was the fortified town of Bethasaphace or Bait Safafa. It came into Hospitaller possession in 1100.[129] It was close to the pilgrimage sites of Rachel's Tomb, a significant site for Jewish pilgrims. Bethlehem, a major pilgrimage site for Christians and Muslims as it was the birthplace of Jesus, was about 5km south east of Bait Safafa. The Church of St. Mary or the Holy Nativity was first built by Constantine I and Empress Helena in 339, destroyed by fire in the sixth century and rebuilt soon after. As Jesus is a prophet in Islam, the Church of the Nativity was left for Christian use by the conquering Muslim armies in 637. Pringle points out that this was probably why it was not destroyed when other churches were during the caliphate of al-Hakim.[130] Marino Sanudo Torsello, writing in 1321, said that 'The Saracens respect all churches dedicated to the blessed glorious Virgin, but this one in particular.'[131] The crusaders created new buildings at the site with some providing hospitality for pilgrims. The Hospital of the Brothers and/or Sisters of Bethlehem served the hospital for pilgrims in Bethlehem itself and later managed hospitals elsewhere in the Latin East.[132] Besides the birth of Jesus, Bethlehem contained other pilgrimage sites such as the tomb of St. Jerome, St. Paula and Eustochium, tomb of Holy Innocents, body of Joseph of Arimathea from 1130s on, the cistern where the Star fell, and the table where the Wise Men placed their gifts.

[128] Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom*, iv, p. 257.
[129] Reinhold Röhricht, ed., *Regista Regni Hierosolymitani 1097-1291* (Innsbruck, 1893), no. 57, pp. 12-3.
[130] Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom*, i, p. 138.
[131] Marino Sanudo Torsello: *The Book of the Secrets of the Faithful of the Cross: Liber Secretorum Fidelium Crucis*. Crusade Texts in Translation Volume 21, trans. Peter Lock, (Surrey: Ashgate, 2011), p. 412.
[132] Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom*, iv, pp. 44-5.

Only two roads leading to the pilgrimage site of Hebron were guarded by the Hospitallers, the road from the west and the road from the north. Both were guarded by a castle in Bethgibelin and a castle in Bethsura. Bethgibelin castle was probably built around the year 1134.[133] It was built by King Fulk of Anjou to defend against raids from the Egyptian Fatimid which threatened traffic on the road to Jerusalem.[134] King Fulk had granted it to the Hospitallers by in 1136.[135] Bethgibelin was in the ruined city of Eleutheropolis which was at an important meeting point of the roads from Jerusalem, Hebron, Ascalon and Gaza.[136] It was located about 37km east of Ascalon and about 30-35km west of Hebron on the Ascalon to Hebron road. For pilgrims, this Hospitaller castle was the only presence of any military order on this road. Bethsura was located on the road from Jerusalem to Hebron, about 17km south of Bethlehem and 7km north of Hebron. It was given to the Hospitallers by the lord of Hebron in 1136.[137] As with Bethgiblein, the Hospitallers were the only military order guarding the road into Hebron to Jerusalem, a busy road for pilgrims as both Hebron and Jerusalem were significant pilgrimage sites for Jews, Christians, and Muslims. Hebron, where the patriarchs were buried, had been a busy pilgrimage site from the early medieval period, and as a result, by the sixth century a construction was built around the side of the Cathedral Church of St. Abraham with a screen in the middle to separate Christians and Jews.[138] Mukaddasi's tenth-century account spoke of a mosque court with rest-houses for pilgrims by the Sanctuary, while the Sanctuary itself contained a 'public guest-house' whose staff 'present a dish of lentils and olives oil to every poor person who arrives.'[139] Hebron was taken by Godfrey of Bouillon in 1100. It is not clear what sort of provisions, if any, were laid out for pilgrims who visited the site while it was under crusader control. A cave was discovered underneath in 1119 with the 'supposed bodies of the Patriarchs' which was recorded by Augustine canons seventeen years later.[140] This led to a rise in status of Hebron among Christian pilgrims and in turn, the need for the Hospitallers to guard the road leading to Hebron.

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[133] Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom*, i, p. 95.
[134] Riley-Smith, *The Knights Hospitaller*, p. 30.
[135] *Cartulaire Général*, i, pp. 97-8, no. 116.
[136] Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom*, i, p. 95.
[137] *Cartulaire Général*, i, pp. 97-8, no. 116; A small tower remains, 15x11.9m, Denys Pringle, *Secular Buildings in the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem: An Archaeological Gazetteer* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 41.
[138] Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom*, i, p. 224.
[139] Despite showing concern that such services could be taken advantage of, he concluded that 'I know of no charity or almsgiving that is better regulated than is this one,' Mukaddasi, *Description*, p. 51, p. 52.
[140] Brett E. Whalen, 'The Discovery of the Holy Patriarchs: Relics, Ecclesiastical Politics and Sacred History in Twelfth-Century Crusader Palestine,' *Historical Reflections/ Réflexions Historiques*, Vol. 27, No.1 (Spring 2001), pp. 139-76 (p. 152).

Post 1187

With the loss of Jerusalem 1187 came a significant change for the military orders, the protection of pilgrims, and the pilgrimage infrastructure as a whole. Fortresses and towers along the Jaffa to Jerusalem road were lost to the Muslims, such as Templar Latrūn and Yālu, and Hospitaller Belmont, Abu- Gosh, Belveer, and Aqua Bell. This left pilgrims undefended on the road. Besides Jerusalem, the pilgrimage sites of Nazareth, Bethlehem, and Hebron were also taken by Saladin. In 1192, Saladin allowed two Latin priests and deacons to return to celebrate mass for pilgrims at Nazareth as was requested by Hubert Walter, bishop of Salisbury.[141] The roads to Acre and Nazareth were back under Christian control by 1229 along with full control of Nazareth by 1241. Though the crusaders lost Nazareth again in 1263, the treaty between King Hugh of Jerusalem and Baybars in 1272 allowed Christians to visit Nazareth, but only the Cave of the Annunciation was left intact.[142] Saladin permitted two Latin priests and two deacons to return to Bethlehem and serve with Syrian clergy there after 1192.[143] As for Hebron, the cathedral was converted to a mosque, though it was regained by Richard I soon after. In 1244 the Turks destroyed the town, but the tombs were untouched. In 1266 the Mumluks forbade Jewish and Christian pilgrims from entering Hebron, though it was not strictly enforced. The Hospitallers managed to regain some of their possessions. They held Qalansawe from 1191-1265 and Bethgibelin from 1240-4. Templar Saffran changed ownership frequently after 1187, though came under Templar control again in 1250. The Templars lost it to Sultan Baybars in 1260s.[144]

Coastal cities belonging to the crusaders south of Tyre were also taken by Saladin which included the popular pilgrimage ports of Acre and Jaffa. The *Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi* tells that when Saladin captured Acre in July 1187, merchant and pilgrim ships sailing to Acre who were unaware of the unfolding events, 'were glad to have avoided shipwreck, but they fell on to swords; exhausted from the journey, they expected to find peace, and they found pursuit.'[145] Acre and Jaffa were

[141] Nicholson, *Chronicle of the Third Crusade*, 5:34; *The History of the Holy War. Ambroise's Estoire de la Guerre Sainte*, eds. Marianne Ailes and Malcolm Barber, trans. Marianne Ailes, 2 vols (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2003), i, ll. 12136- 44, p. 196.
[142] George-Tvrtković, *A Christian Pilgrim*, p. 178.
[143] Nicholson, *Chronicle of the Third Crusade*, 5:34.
[144] It came under Frankish once more from 1272-91.
[145] It is difficult to determine who the author was as it draws on a number of sources including Ambroise and Richard de Templo, though he was mostly likely an English crusader, Nicholson, *Chronicle of the Third Crusade*, 1:6, p. 35.

regained by Richard I by 1191, which would have allowed pilgrims to travel to Acre once more with some ease. The Treaty of Ramla and the Treaty of Jaffa made between Saladin and Richard I in September 1192, emphasised that Christian pilgrims should be allowed to enter Jerusalem freely, while the coast and its cities from Tyre to Jaffa were to remain under crusader control.[146] Wilbrand of Oldenburg, who went on pilgrimage around 1211-2, spent the majority of his narrative discussing the lands north of Acre and the various locations of military orders there.[147] To get to Jerusalem, Wilbrand took the same route as pilgrims before him, Acre to Jaffa to Jerusalem. However, even though the road was under crusader control, the tone was different than narratives before 1187. He passed Haifa, 'a small city with its walls destroyed' and continued to Caesarea and Arsuf which he said were in ruin and uninhabited.[148] The pilgrim Thietmar, who travelled to the Holy Land from 1217-18 continued on the same note. He despaired at the destruction of the coastal cities such as Arsuf and Jaffa which he described as 'desolate.'[149] The sense of fear for Thietmar as a pilgrim can be seen as he had to travel from Acre to Mount Carmel, which had previously been guarded by the Templars, 'dressed as a Georgian monk and with a long beard, I pretended to be what I was not.'[150] Pilgrimage sites such as Jerusalem and Bethlehem became less attractive for pilgrims as they had to pay to visit them and face Muslim guards.[151] For fear of funding the enemy Muslims, who charged up to thirty bezants to enter the Holy Sepulchre, the Papacy banned pilgrims from visiting such sites with the threat of excommunication.[152]

Ibn Shaddad noted that Saladin gave 'every assistance and sent escorts' to protection Christian pilgrims on their way to Jerusalem after 1187. His hope was that if the pilgrims completed their journey unmolested, they were return to their own country, 'leaving the Muslim safe from their wickedness.'[153] It is not clear how this might have impacted pilgrims in the immediate aftermath. There are no known pilgrim narratives

[146] As part of the truce, Ascalon was destroyed and abandoned for three years, *The History of the Holy War*, i, ll. 11740-56, p. 190; ii, p. 186; Christopher Tyerman, *God's War: A New History of the Crusades* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006), p. 471.
[147] Pringle, 'Wilbrand of Oldenburg's Journey,' pp. 117-25. Thietmar's narrative also begins by going north and across to Damascus first.
[148] Pringle, 'Wilbrand of Oldenburg's Journey,' p. 132.
[149] Thietmar, *Magistri Thietmari Peregrinatio*, vii, pp. 23-4.
[150] Thietmar, *Magistri Thietmari Peregrinatio*, vii, p. 20; 'Thietmar,' in Denys Pringle, *Pilgrimage to Jerusalem and the Holy Land, 1187-1291, Crusade Texts in Translation,* pp. 95- 134 (p. 107). Mount Carmel was under the ownership of Georgian and Syrian monks during this period.
[151] Thietmar, *Magistri Thietmari Peregrinatio*, ix, p. 26.
[152] 'La Citez Iherusalem,' p. 441.
[153] *The Chronicles of Ibn al-Athir for the Crusading Period from al-Kamil fi'l- Ta' rikh. Part II, The Years 541-589/1146-1193, The Age of Nur al-Din and Saladin*, trans. D. S. Richards (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), p. 232.

between 1187 and 1211, just before the Fifth Crusade (1213-21). This may have been because of the loss of Jerusalem, hence Christian pilgrims tried to avoid the city, or because such narratives have not survived. The crusaders made a number of treaties between 1187 and 1291 with various Muslim leaders. A treaty between Sultan Baybars and the Latin Kingdom in 1283, regarding Nazareth, agreed that pilgrims visiting the site 'from Acre and the coastlands' were to be protected.[154] However, an agreement or truce did not necessarily mean safety for pilgrims. Robbers and highwaymen were already working outside the law and were unlikely to take heed of truces. The Sixth Crusade (1228-29), for example, had resulted in a treaty by which the area belonging to Jerusalem, Nazareth, Sidon, Jaffa and Bethlehem were returned to the crusaders. Nevertheless, Eustroge of Montaigu, Archbishop of Nicosia, and vicar of the Patriarch of Jerusalem wrote to Theobald, King of Navarre in October, 1238 telling of how 'more pilgrims have been killed or taken prisoner during this truce than at any time since the Holy Land was lost.'[155] In 1238, Pope Gregory IX wrote to the Templars concerning the road between Caesarea and Jaffa which was not properly protected.[156] Pilgrims were kidnapped, robbed and killed on the road. As a result, Pope Gregory gave Walter, Count of Brienne and Jaffa, the right to take two *sous tournois* from each pilgrim requiring a Templar escort on the route from Jaffa to Caesarea. Such actions taken by the Papacy suggest that the Templars were struggling to defend pilgrims in the Holy Land in the aftermath of 1187. The accounts of their failure to aid pilgrims during this period echo the reports of attack on pilgrims seen before the crusades, such as those of the Great German Pilgrimage of 1065. It may also explain why the Templars are largely absent from pilgrimage narratives that discuss the Acre to Jerusalem route during this period.

Château Pèlerin

As M. Ehrlich points out, fortifications built in the Latin East after 1192 rarely had any links with the borders of the Latin Kingdom.[157] Château Pèlerin and Monfort were built in the thirteenth century in remote areas which 'neither defended the kingdom nor

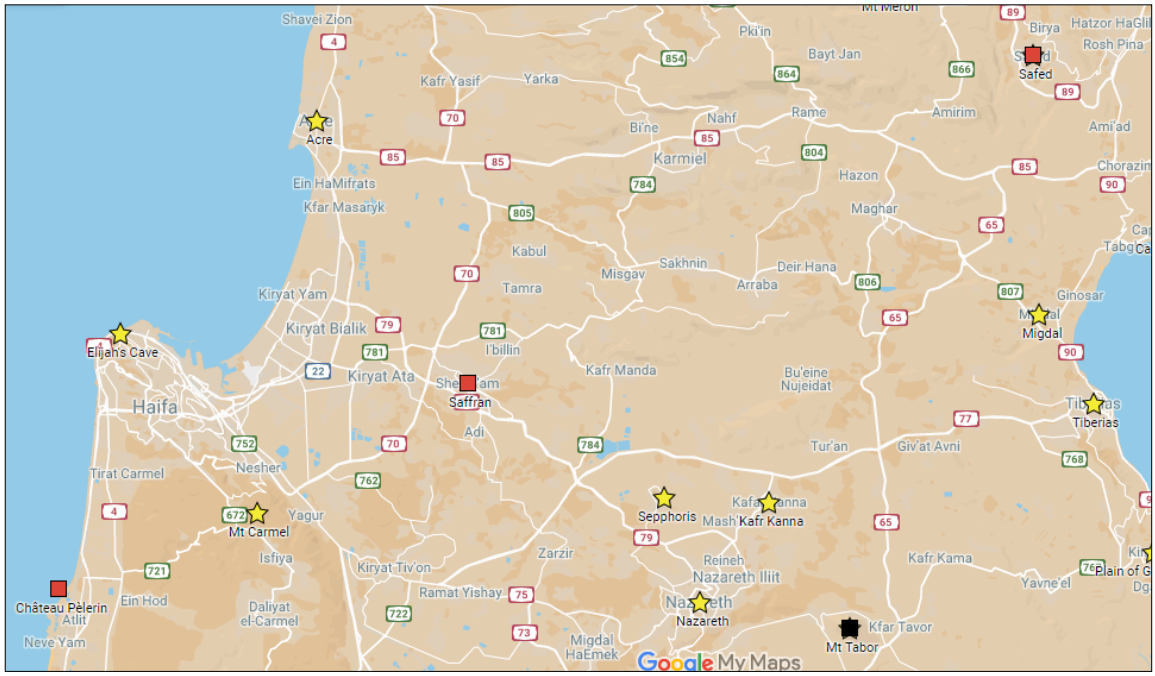
[154] P. M. Holt, *Early Mamluk Diplomacy, 1260-1290: Treaties of Baybars and Qalāwūn with Christian Rulers* (Leinden: Brill, 1995), p. 86.
[155] *Letters from the East: Crusaders, Pilgrims and Settlers in the 12th-13th Centuries*, trans. Malcolm Barber and Keith Bate, *Crusader Texts in Translation 18* (Surrey: Ashgate, 2010), p. 136.
[156] *Les Registres de Grégoire IX: Recueil des Bulles de ce Pape*, ed. Lucien Auvray, 4 vols (Paris: 1896), ii, p. 912, no. 4129.
[157] M. Ehrlich, 'Crusaders' castles- the fourth generation: reflections on Frankish castle-building policy during the 13th century,' *The Journal of Medieval History*, Vol. 29, no. 2 (2003), pp. 85-93 (p. 86).

provoked any visible threat against the Muslims.'[158] The castle mentioned most frequently by pilgrims during its existence was Château Pèlerin, or Pilgrim's Castle, which the Templars began to build in 1218 and became their principal base after they left Acre. Oliver of Paderborn wrote that Château Pèlerin was built by the Templars who could no longer remain in the 'sinful city' of Acre.[159] They were aided by Lord Walter of Avesnes, pilgrim helpers, and the Teutonic knights.[160] Ehrlich has argued that it was unlikely that Château Pèlerin was part of a strategy to fortify the road from Acre to Jerusalem, as nearby Destroit was better suited to that strategy.[161] If the purpose of Destroit, however, had been to defend the road from Acre to Jerusalem, it stands to reason that the new and larger Château Pèlerin would retain the same function even if it was somewhat off the main road. Since Templar Destroit could hold up to twenty men with horses, naturally the larger Château Pèlerin was capable of garrisoning far more troops than Destroit, and could therefore provide more or larger patrols and escorts for pilgrims. Oliver of Paderborn claimed that the original Templar plan was to refortify the existing tower of Destroit which had built to defend pilgrims travelling on the road to Jerusalem.[162] It is likely that the new Château Pèlerin was to serve the same function. Oliver stated that when the Templars were digging they found the walls of an old fort with 'coinage unknown to modern times,' of which structure they then used instead of Destroit.[163] Château Pèlerin had two massive walls, rectangular towers, and rock cut ditches which separated the fort from the mainland.[164] The fort was in a strategic position, with shallow water on three sides except the east, which was heavily defended.[165] Oliver noted that there was no Muslim fortress on the road between Acre and Jerusalem, making this new Templar castle an object of fear, causing local Muslims to leave their farm land.[166]

A number of pilgrims seemed interested in Château Pèlerin such as the author of *The City of Jerusalem*, written around c. 1220.[167] Riccoldo, travelling in the late thirteenth century, referred to it as the famous castle of the Knights Templar.[168] Perhaps because of

[158] Ehrlich, 'Crusaders' castles,' p. 87.
[159] Oliver of Paderborn, *Historia Damiatina* , ch. 5 and 6, pp. 168-9;Jacques de Vitry claimed that it was Raymond of Toulouse who had Pilgrims' Castle built, Jacques de Vitry, *Histoire Orientale*, ch. 33, pp. 188-90.
[160] Oliver of Paderborn, *Historia Damiatina*, ch. 5 and 6, pp. 168-9.
[161] M. Ehrlich, 'Crusaders' castles,' p. 87.
[162] Oliver of Paderborn, *Historia Damiatina* , ch. 6, pp. 169-70.
[163] Oliver of Paderborn, *Historia Damiatina*, ch. 6, p. 170; ch. 52, p. 254.
[164] Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom*, i, p. 69.
[165] Boas, *Archaeology of the Military Orders*, p. 135.
[166] Oliver of Paderborn, *Historia Damiatina*, ch. 6, p. 171.
[167] 'La Citez Iherusalem,' p. 445.
[168] Riccoldo da Montecroce, 'Liber Peregrinacionis,' p. 107.

its name, pilgrims seemed to have had a particular interest in the castle. The various facilities at such fortresses made life easier not only for their residence and also their important guests and crusaders.[169] The small village that grew beside the castle had a bathhouse which contained a dressing room and central basin, along with a cold room and a hot room.[170] It is not clear if pilgrims were allowed to use this. Château Pèlerin became a type of pilgrimage site in its own right as it acquired relics. The castle chapel, for example, supposedly contained relics of St Euphemia in 1231.[171] In 1222, Pope Honorius granted twenty days of indulgences to those who helped to fund the construction of Château Pèlerin.[172] This may have made it attractive to pilgrims. They could leave small donations at the site and receive spiritual reward. Fortresses such as Château Pèlerin offered security and stability which encouraged local farming and the economy to grow, which in turn allowed for merchants and pilgrims to pass through safely.[173] The more relics it housed, the more pilgrims it attracted, and the more the local economy benefited. Château Pèlerin was abandoned by the Templars in 1291.



Map 4.6 Overview of the road from Acre to Nazareth around 1260s

[169] Queen Margaret stayed in Pilgrims' Castle during Louis IX's crusade 1249-50, Kristian Molin, 'The non-military functions of crusader fortifications, 1187-circa 1380,' *Journal of Medieval History*, Vol. 23, No. 4 (Dec. 1997), pp. 367-388 (p. 374).
[170] Boas, *Archaeology of the Military Orders*, p. 35.
[171] Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom*, i, p. 71.
[172] *Regesta Honorii III*, ed. Pietro Pressutti, 2 vols (Rome, 1895), ii, n. 4098, p. 88; *Calendar of Papal Registers Relating to Great Britain and Ireland*, ed. W. H. Bliss, Vol. 1, 1198-1304 (London, 1893), pp. 88-9.
[173] Molin, 'The non-military functions of crusader fortifications,' p. 388.

Mount Tabor

Mount Tabor was an important pilgrimage site for Christians. From the fourth century it was identified as the place of the Transfiguration of Jesus. It was about 8km from Nazareth. Pringle describes it as isolated which attracted pilgrims who were seeking 'a life of solitude and devotion on Mount Tabor.'[174] It changed possession over the course of the crusades, being under crusader control until 1187 when its inhabitants fled to Acre. In 1212, al-Malik al-'Adil began a fortification on Mount Tabor which was on the main road between Egypt and Syria, close to Crusader Acre.[175] It was sieged by the crusaders in December 1217 which caused the Muslims to destroy their own defences. In 1256, Latin monks of the Abbey of Mount Tabor, who had lived there since the 1230s, asked the pope to allow them to join with the Hospitallers.[176] The change from the monastic to military order increased pilgrimage to Mount Tabor. The Hospitallers were not only in control of a strategic position but, were also defending the sacred site of the Transfiguration of Jesus.[177] The site, therefore, represented both the spiritual and military aspect of the Order. In 1263 Henry, Archbishop of Nazareth, confirmed the Hospitallers ownership of Mount Tabor.[178] However powerful the image of the Hospitallers at Mount Tabor may have been for pilgrims, it was short lived as it was lost to them in 1263 and destroyed by Sultan Baybars.

Saphet

The Templar castle of Safad or Saphet, which Theoderich called Sapham, was built to defend against the Muslims from Damascus.[179] Saphet was particularly symbolic for crusaders as it stood on the ruins of a mosque and a synagogue.[180] Saphet had originally been in Templar possession from the 1160s, but lost in 1188. Burchard of Mount Sion noted that the castle, once owned by the Templars, was the most beautiful and strongest castles he had ever seen.[181] The territory was regained in 1240. It was in the 1260s that Saphet became something of much more importance to pilgrims than it had ever been before.

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[174] Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom,* ii, p. 64.
[175] Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom*, ii, p. 66.
[176] *Cartulaire Général,* ii, p. 815.
[177] Molin, 'The non-military functions of crusader fortifications,' p. 387.
[178] *Cartulaire Général,* iii, p. 67.
[179] Theoderich, 'Libellus de Locis Sanctis,' p. 189
[180] Molin, 'The non-military functions of crusader fortifications,' p. 387.
[181] Burchard of Monte Sion, 'Descriptio Terrae Sancte,' p. 34.

The Monastery Church of Our Lady of Saidnaya was outside the Crusader Kingdom, just north of Damascus. It became popular among pilgrims in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, particularly after the loss of Jerusalem.[182] The monastery was founded in 547 and held an icon of Mary painted by Apostle Luke.[183] The pilgrim Thietmar said that the church had been built by a woman in honour of Mary as well as a house to aid pilgrims who visited.[184] The 1220 *The City of Jerusalem* noted that the church had twelve nuns and eight monks.[185] Ludolph von Suchem, who visited the Holy Land from 1336 to 1341, wrote about the miracle of the icon which involved a matron who was saved from a lion attack because she was holding the image of Mary.[186] Perhaps because of its close proximity to Damascus, Saidnaya was popular among Muslim pilgrims also. *The City of Jerusalem* stated the Muslims came at feasts of Mary in August and September where 'they prayed, worshipped, and made offerings.'[187]

The connection between Saphet and Saidnaya may not be obvious at first glance, given that they were over 100km apart. Saidnaya had miraculous oil which was popular among pilgrims. A Templar legend that claimed, during a truce in 1185, Saladin released the Templar prisoner Walter of Marengiers, who then went to Saidnaya and brought the holy oil back to Jerusalem, hence promoting the site and its popularity.[188] Thietmar echoes this saying that during truces, the Templars visited Saidnaya and took, 'the liquid away from there to their houses.'[189] As it was difficult for Christian pilgrims to travel to, they sometimes relied on the Templars to gather the oil at Saidnaya instead. The Templars rebuilt Saphet somewhere between 1260-63. The initial concern was that building such a castle would be a violation of the truce made with the Sultan of Damascus, which could have resulted in the loss of safe passage to the Church of Our Lady of Saidnaya.[190] The bishop of Marseille argued that it was best to build it while the truce lasted and cared little

[182] Bernard Hamilton, 'Our Lady of Saidnaiya: An Orthodox Shrine Revered by Muslims and Knights Templar at the Time of the Crusades,' *Studies in Church History*, Vol. 36 (2000), pp. 207-215 (209).
[183] Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom*, ii, p. 219. The image of Mary reportedly had healing powers, 'La Citez Iherusalem,' p. 450.
[184] Thietmar, *Magistri Thietmari Peregrinatio*, V, p. 14.
[185] 'La Citez Iherusalem,' p. 450.
[186] Ludolph von Suchem, *De Itinere Terrae Sanctae Liber*, ed. Ferdinand Deycks (Stuttgart: Literarischer Verein, 1851), xliv, pp. 100-1.
[187] 'La Citez Iherusalem,' p. 450; Benjamin Z. Kedar, 'Convergences of Oriental Christian, Muslim, and Frankish Worshippers: the Case of Saydnaya,' in *De Sion exibit lex et verbum domini de Hierusalem: Essays on Medieval Law, Liturgy, and Literature in Honour of Amnon Linder*, ed. Yitzhak Hen (Turnhout: Brepols, 2001), pp. 59-69 (p. 67).
[188] Hamilton, 'Our Lady of Saidnaiya,' pp. 210-1.
[189] Thietmar, *Magistri Thietmari Peregrinatio*, V, p. 17; 'Thietmar,' p. 105.
[190] *De Constructione Castri Saphet: Construction et fonctions d'un château fort franc en Terre Sainte*, ed. R. B. C. Huygens (Amsterdam: North-Holland Publishing Company, 1981), p. 35.

about upsetting the Muslims at Damascus.[191] *De Constructione Castri Saphet* promoted the castle as a supreme protector of pilgrims. It claimed that the castle was built to protect the road from the River Jordan to Acre.[192] The pilgrim narrative attached to the *De Constructione Castri Saphet* appeared to be more of an advertisement about the castle than a traditional pilgrim narrative, endorsing Saphet itself as a new tourist place. It said that pilgrims were able to visit famous sites within the district of the castle such as the Cistern of Joseph, Capharnaum where Jesus performed miracles, the table of the Lord, 'where there is a church and solemn pilgrimage,' and near where Jesus appeared after the resurrection to the disciples, to name a few.[193] It also names major pilgrimage sites such as Nazareth, Mount Tabor, Cana in Galilee and others which were now safe to visit because castle Saphet offered the comfort of protection to Christian pilgrims.[194] In reality, it seems unlikely that the castle had such power that it could protect sites such as Nazareth which was over 30km away. It is unknown how far out Templar patrols travel on the road from Saphet to Nazareth. On the other hand, given that Mount Tabor, which is a short distance from Nazareth, was under Hospitaller control at the time, the road may very well have been well defended by patrols from both orders. Of course, the Hospitallers at Mount Tabor are not mentioned in *De Constructione Castri Saphet* most likely because the author was trying to promote Saphet above all else. At the same time, the exact date of the construction of the castle is not known. If it was not complete by 1263, the Hospitallers may have already left Mount Tabor by the time Saphet was fully functional. The protection offered by Saphet was almost as short lived as that of Hospitallers of Mount Tabor as it was lost in 1266.

Sinai

Mount Sinai was not under crusader control, but became increasingly popular among pilgrims in the thirteenth century. It was where Moses received the Ten Commandments and had a Christian presence since the fourth century.[195] St. Mary's church was built there by Justinian in 548-69.[196] As discussed in the Introduction, saints'

[191] *De Constructione Castri Saphet*, p. 38.
[192] *De Constructione Castri Saphet*, p. 43.
[193] *De Constructione Castri Saphet*, pp. 43-4.
[194] *De Constructione Castri Saphet*, p. 44, 'propter contructionem castri Saphet possunt liberius et securius visitari.'
[195] Helena, Emperor Constantine's mother, had the Chapel of the Burning Bush built there, Pringle, *The Churches*, Vol. 2, p. 49; Israel Finkelstein and Asher Ovadiah, 'Byzantine Monastic Remains in the Southern Sinai,' Dumbarton Oaks Papers, Vol. 39 (1985), pp. 39-79.
[196] Pringle, *The Churches*, Vol. 2, p. 50.

cults benefited greatly when they had relics for pilgrims to visit. Around 800, the monks of St. Mary's supposedly found the body of Catherine of Alexandria, a popular medieval saint, on a neighbouring mountain, which supported claims made by her *Passio* that she was buried on Mount Sinai.[197] There were no relics from the early stages of Catherine's cult, as it is unlikely that she ever existed, therefore having a body helped to promote her cult and pilgrimage to Mount Sinai, highlighted by the fact that the monastery changed its name to St. Catherine's by the twelfth century.[198] Mount Sinai did not feature heavily in pre-1187 pilgrim narratives. They tended to make passing reference to it, usually in terms of its distance from the Jordan, rather than actually visiting it.[199] The route to Mount Sinai was a desert, which may have deterred pilgrims from travelling to it.[200] After 1187, however, it appears as though an increasing number of pilgrims were willing to make the journey. The monastery of St. Catherine's, perhaps because of its distance from Jerusalem, remained untouched by the events of the crusades. The early fourteenth-century pilgrim Symon mentioned that Greek monks at the church of St. Michael the Archangel in Cairo offered advice, directions, and letters of recommendation to pilgrims going to Mount Sinai, as there was a monastery at Mount Sinai run by Greek monks.[201] Thietmar recounted the difficulty of the journey to Mount Sinai in 1217. The desert was hot, prone to flooding, it was full of lions, snakes, robbers, it was easy to get lost, and Thietmar became ill after drinking tainted, worm filled water.[202] Nevertheless, when Thietmar made it to the monastery, he seemed to be well looked after and stayed with the monks for four days.[203] It provided hospitality to followers of Christians, Muslims, and Jews.[204] Ludolph von Suchem noted how the monks, even though they struggled with their own needs, offered food to pilgrims and gave bread and beans to pilgrims before they left.[205] The increasing

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[197] Christine Walsh, *The Cult of St Katherine of Alexandria in Early Medieval Europe* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), pp. 39-40.
[198] Walsh, *The Cult of St Katherine*, p. 40.
[199] The guides usual note that Mount Sinai was an eighteen days from the Jordan, 'Innominatus I,' in *Theoderici Libellus de Locis Sanctis editus circa A. D. 1172. Cui accedunt breviores aliquot descriptions Terrae Sanctae*, ed. Titus Tobler (Paris: Librairie A. Frank, 1865), pp. 113-8 (p. 115); Joannes Phocas, 'A General Description of the Settlements and Places Belonging to Syriaand Pheonicia on the Way from Antioch to Jerusalem, and of the Holy Places of Palestine,' in *Jerusalem Pilgrimage 1099-1185*, ed. J. Wilkinson (London: Hakluyt Society, 1988), pp. 315-36 (p. 331); Saewulf, 'Relatio de peregrinatione,' p. 73; John of Würzburg, 'Descriptio Terrae Sancte,' p. 101; Theoderich, 'Libellus de Locis Sanctis,' p. 178.
[200] Anne Wolff, How Many Miles to Babylon?: Travels and Adventures to Egypt and Beyond, From 1300 to 1640 (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2013) pp. 195-6.
[201] *Itinerarium Symonis Semeonis*, p. 88.
[202] Thietmar, *Magistri Thietmari Peregrinatio*, xvii, pp. 40-1, xviii, p. 41.
[203] Thietmar, *Magistri Thietmari Peregrinatio*, xxi, p. 45.
[204] Maud Burnett McInerney, 'Catherine of Alexandria,' in *Encyclopedia of Medieval Pilgrimage*, ed. Larissa J. Taylor et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2010), p. 89; The monks built a mosque in the monastery in 1106. Pringle suggests that this was built in an effort to prevent the destruction of the monastery, Pringle, *The Churches*, Vol. 2, p. 51.
[205] Ludolph von Suchem, *De Itinere Terrae Sanctae Liber*, xxxv, p. 65, p. 67.

interest in Mount Sinai is reflective of the loss of access to other sites for Christian pilgrims. Although the journey was difficult, reports of the generosity of the monks would have perhaps put pilgrims' minds at some ease as they knew they would be cared for once they reached the site.

Summary

In terms of how pilgrims maintained themselves, the Templars and Hospitallers played an important role in the pilgrimage infrastructure as they offered both physical and psychological protection. Several of their castles defended busy roads, meaning that their purpose was not just to protect pilgrims but, also the Holy Land in general. However, the fact that some castles appear at actual pilgrim sites suggests a deliberate attempt to protect those sites and pilgrims visiting them. Besides their physical defensive function, fortresses, and towers reassured pilgrims from a distance that they were on the right road and close to security. They were essentially sign posts to Jerusalem and other important sites. This would have been invaluable to tired pilgrims who had travelled long distances and were now in a strange and dangerous land. The increase of castle building and acquiring on the main road to Jerusalem in twelfth century, naturally, allowed these protections to develop. Any pilgrim travelling on this road before 1187 could have done so securely. With or without a guide, logically the safest and perhaps quickest way to reach a pilgrimage site was to follow the main road where the military orders and others who protected pilgrims were more likely to be found.

It is obvious that the events of 1187 brought political change in the Holy Land which had negative impact on the network designed to provide mechanisms of protection to pilgrims, as was the case in Chapter 3. The loss of Jerusalem in 1187 along with the forts of the military orders on the Jaffa to Jerusalem road severely restricted, or even put a stop to, their ability to protect pilgrims in the Holy Land in the immediate aftermath. This most likely partly contributed to the drop in pilgrimage narratives for a short period after 1187. It is, nevertheless, clear that while the Hospitallers concentrated their efforts in Acre after 1191, the Templars were expected to continue to protect pilgrims on the road as seen by Pope Gregory IX's 1238 letter and *De Constructione Castri Saphet*'s repeated connection between the Templar castle and the protection of pilgrims. The echo of this obligation can be seen in later medieval pilgrim narratives. Attempts to promote Acre, Saidnaya and Saphet as pilgrimage sites and the increase of interest in Mount Sinai after

1187 appear to be a method to cope with the loss of control and access to other major pilgrimage sites. In essence, it was a mechanism which provided alternative sites for pilgrims. After the loss of the Holy Land in 1291, which forced the entire pilgrimage infrastructure offered by the military orders to cease in the Holy Land, and even after the trial of the Templars in the early fourteen century, the Templars and their castles continued to appear in pilgrim narratives.[206] In 1323, for example, Symon Semeonis praised the aid he and his companions received from guides in Cairo, one of which included a former Templar named Peter.[207] While the number of pilgrims going to Jerusalem dropped after 1291, Mount Sinai, which had never been under crusader control, continued to see a steady and increasing stream of pilgrims. This ultimately reflects the impact of the loss of the pilgrimage infrastructure on the road to Jerusalem for pilgrims.

It is clear that the pilgrim's journey to Jerusalem was a difficult task in the twelfth century, which only became worse in the thirteenth century. In spite of all the dangers that faced pilgrims from the outset of their journey, the ever growing obstacles in their path such as illness, fatigue, robbery, sea storms, or even attacks from the devil himself, with the help of the various infrastructures, mechanisms and pilgrim protectors they met along the way, pilgrims eventually made their way to Jerusalem.

[206] Ludolph von Suchem's account from around 1350 made several references to the Templars, one being a heroic tale of how a Templar captured a crocodile, which he said was told to him by a Knight Templar, Ludolph von Suchem, *De Itinere Terrae*, xxxiii, p. 59.
[207] *Itinerarium Symonis Semeonis*, p. 96; This becomes a rather powerful image when it is remembered that one of his companion's, Hugo the Illuminator, had given evidence against the Templars during the trial in Ireland, *The Proceedings Against the Templars in the British Isles*, ed. Helen J. Nicholson, 2 vols (Surrey, 2011), ii, pp. 365-6.

Chapter 5: Jerusalem and the River Jordan

Jerusalem and the River Jordan were two of the most important pilgrimage sites in the Holy Land. Jerusalem contained several pilgrimage sites of significance for Jews, Christians, and Muslims, while the River Jordan played a central role in cleansing the sins of Christian pilgrims, the entire purpose of their pilgrimage. This chapter will examine the Holy Sepulchre and the Easter celebrations in the city of Jerusalem, along with the shelter and care that the city offered to pilgrims who visited it before and after 1187. The charity and hospitality provided by the Hospitallers in Jerusalem has been well researched, though discussions on Templar charity have largely focus on Western Europe, briefly touching on or ignoring Jerusalem.[1] This makes sense given that the most commonly used evidence concerning Templar charity comes from the Templar trials, which began one hundred and twenty years after the Templars had left Jerusalem. As such, none of the Templars interrogated during the trials could have served in Jerusalem. Nevertheless, it is worth taking into account what charity they might have provided for pilgrims in Jerusalem. Questions to be considered in this chapter will be: how did the care and infrastructure offered to pilgrims in Jerusalem change over the course of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, in particular post 1187, and how did it impact upon pilgrims ability to maintain themselves? Jerusalem marked the end of pilgrimage and sometimes even the lives of the pilgrims. As a result, the cemeteries and burial available to pilgrims will be explored. The defences created to protect pilgrims going to the River Jordan will also investigated, given the site's importance to Christian pilgrims. Ultimately, this chapter will bring together many of the elements discussed in previous chapters, as Jerusalem and the River Jordan were spiritual centres that also needed to provide physical mechanisms of protection for the pilgrims visiting them.

[1] Malcolm Barber, 'The Charitable and Medical activities of the Hospitallers and Templars,' in *A History of Pastoral Care*, ed. G. R. Evans (London: Cassell, 2000), pp. 148-168; Alan J. Forey, 'The Charitable Activities of the Templars,' *Viator*, Vol. 34 (2003), pp.109-141; Helen Nicholson, 'Charity and Hospitality in Military Orders,' in *As Ordens Militares. Freires, Guerreiros, Cavaleiros. Actas do VI Encontro sobre Ordens Militares*, ed. Isabel Cristina Ferreira Fernandes, Vol. 1 (Palmela: GEsOS/ Município de Palmela, 2012), pp. 193-206.

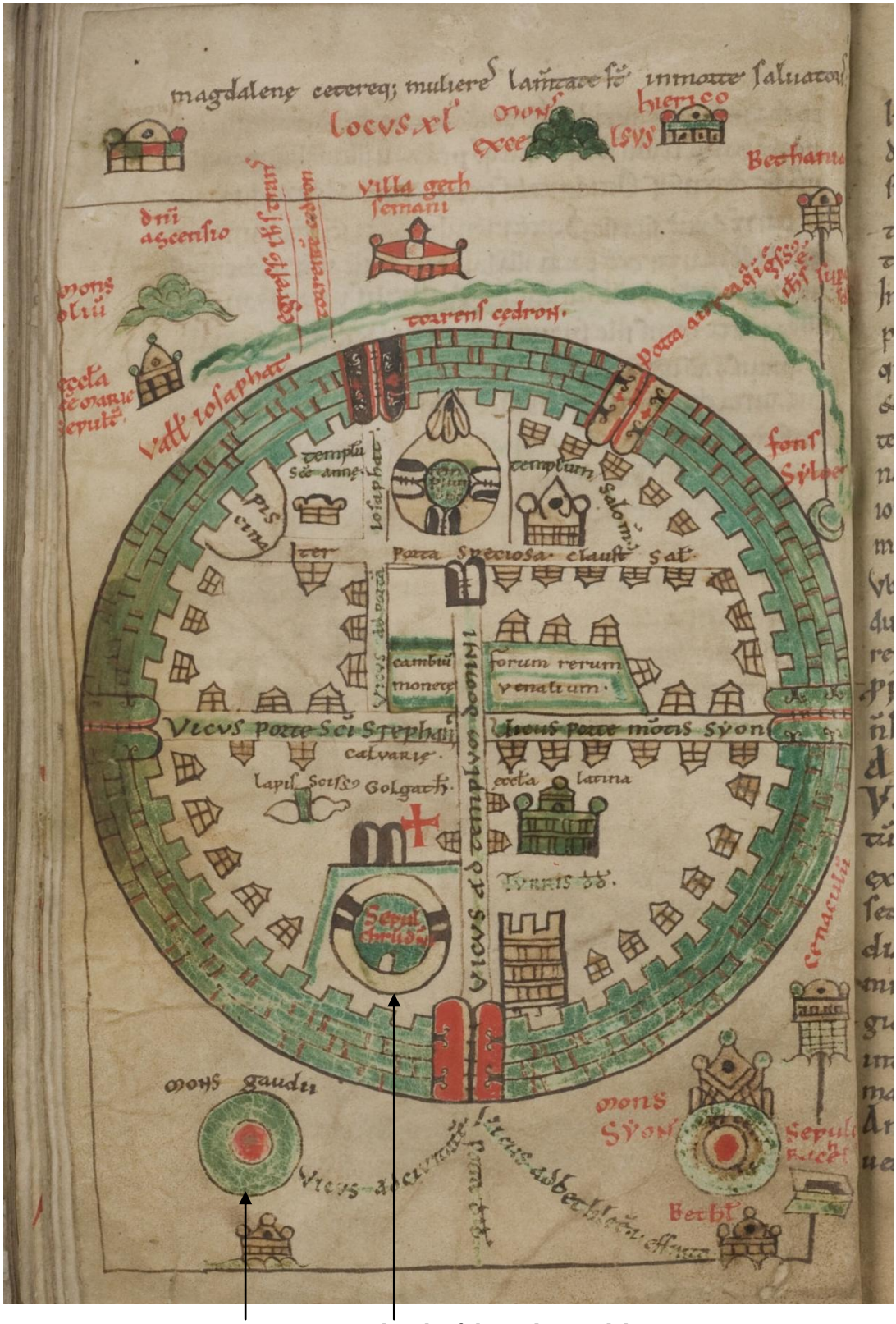
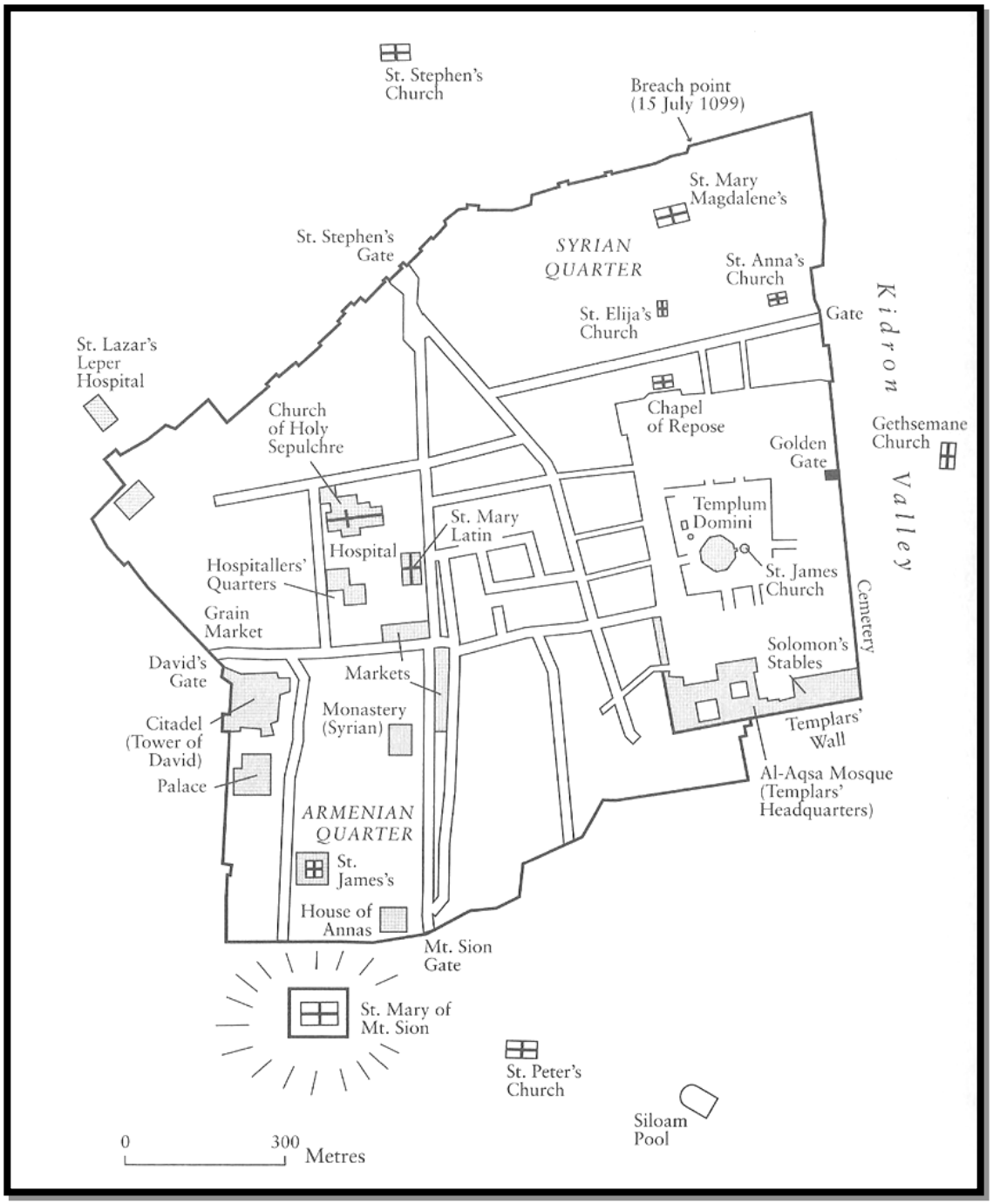


Fig 5.1 Twelfth century map of Jerusalem, 'Gesta Francorum Iherusalem expugnantium' in *Genealogia nobilissima Francorum ymperatorum et regum dictate a Karolo rege, Compendiensis loci restauratore, post bina incendia, MS. 776* (Saint- Omer, Bibliothèque d'agglomération), f. 50 v.[2] Permission to use this image has been granted by Bibliothèque d'agglomération de Saint- Omer. © BAPSO

[2] < http://bibliotheque-numerique.bibliotheque-agglo-stomer.fr/viewer/1366/?offset=4#page=56& viewer =picture> [accessed 7th October 2017].



5.2 Layout of Crusader Jerusalem.[3] Permission to reproduce this image has been granted by Profile Books.

[3] Taken from Michael Haag, *The Templars History and Myth* (London: Profile Books, 2009), p. 90

Entering Jerusalem

Jerusalem represented the meeting point of the spiritual and the temporal world. Jerusalem was promoted as a heavenly city.[4] Reaching this heavenly city was the primary goal of many pilgrims. In order to reap the benefits of the journey, Christian pilgrims had to be spiritually ready to enter the city. The pilgrim Theoderich noted that pilgrims first set eyes on Jerusalem at Mountjoy which was two miles outside Jerusalem. Similarly, the thirteenth-century *Continuation of William of Tyre* stated that King Richard I and his men also stopped at Mountjoy as, 'It was custom for all pilgrims who are going to Jerusalem to worship there, since the Templum Domini and the Holy Sepulchre now come into view.'[5] There was an early twelfth-century Premonstratensian monastery there, dedicated Saint Samuel, which provided a way-station for pilgrims.[6] This place gave pilgrims a chance to refocus their minds on the spiritual preparations they had undertaken, as examined in Chapter 1, before entering the holy city. The idea of the pilgrims as 'miserabiles personae' is at its strongest and most crucial here. The Russian pilgrim Daniel told how pilgrims dismounted at Mountjoy, placed crosses there, and bowed in the direction of the Church of the Resurrection.[7] Theoderich similarly stated, pilgrims laid 'down their crosses' and removed their shoes in order to make themselves humble.[8] Ambroise, who stopped at Mountjoy in September 1192, also noted the humility among pilgrims who fell to their knees.[9] The Biblical imagery drawn by Theoderich is of particular significance as it echoes

[4] Bernard Hamilton, 'The Impact of Crusader Jerusalem on Western Christendom,' *The Catholic Historical Review*, Vol. 80, No. 4 (Oct., 1994), pp. 695-713 (p. 699).
[5] Peter W. Edbury, 'The Old French Continuation of William of Tyre, 1184-97,' in *The Conquest of Jerusalem and the Third Crusade. Sources in Translation* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), pp. 11-145 (Ch. 132, p. 111); Simon Yarrow, 'Pilgrimage' in *The Routledge History of Medieval Christianity 1050-1500*, ed. R. N. Swanson (London: Routledge, 2015), pp. 159-71 (p. 169); In the early fifteenth century, Margery Kempe nearly fell off her donkey at Mountjoy in awe of the sight before her, *The Book of Margery Kempe*, trans. and ed. Lynn Stanley (London: Norton, 2001), Ch. 28, p. 50; A comparable ritual took place at Lavamentula, two miles outside Compostela, in which pilgrims removed their clothes and bathed in the river Sar by Monte del Gozo or Mount of Joy, *Liber Sancti Jacobi, Codex Calixtinus*, 3 vols, ed. Walter Muir Whitehill (Compostela, 1944), i, 5.6, p. 354.
[6] Adrain J. Boas, 'Three Stages in the Evolution of Rural Settlement in the Kingdom of Jerusalem during the Twelfth Century,' in Laudem *Hierosolymitani: Studies in Crusades and Medieval Culture in Honour of Benjamin Z. Kedar*, ed. Iris Shagrir, Ronnie Ellenblum, and Jonathan Riley-Smith (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), pp. 77- 92 (p. 91); Adrian J. Boas, Domestic Settings: Sources on Domestic Architecture and Day to Day Activities in the Crusader States (Leiden: Brill, 2010), p. 37, p. 322; Denys Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem: A Corpus*, 4 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993-2009), ii, p. 86.
[7] Daniel the Abbot, 'The Life and journey of Daniel, Abbot of the Russian Land,' in *Jerusalem Pilgrimage 1099-1185*, ed. J. Wilkinson (London: Hakluyt Society, 1988), pp. 120-171 (p. 127).
[8] Theoderich, 'Libellus de Locis Sanctis,' in *Peregrinationes Tres: Saewulf, John of Würzburg, Theodericus*, Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis, ed. R. B. C. Huygens, 139 (Turnholt: Brepols, 1994), pp. 742-798 (p. 186).
[9] *The History of the Holy War. Ambroise's Estoire de la Guerre Sainte*, eds. Marianne Ailes and Malcolm Barber, trans. Marianne Ailes, 2 vols (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2003), i, ll. 11987-9, p. 194.

the Gospels of Matthew and Luke which state that the poor would be rewarded with the kingdom of heaven.[10] These pilgrims purposely made themselves poor in order to enter Jerusalem, the physical representation of the kingdom of heaven. The importance of poverty is emphasised further by Theoderich as he says the ritual at Mountjoy Church was performed in order to remind pilgrims that Jesus made himself 'humble and poor' for their sake.[11] It again mixes Biblical imagery with pilgrimage, resonating 2 Corinthians, 'For you know the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, that though he was rich, yet for your sake he became poor, so that by his poverty you might become rich.'[12] These pilgrims were in essence symbolically renewing their pilgrimage vows by preparing themselves to enter Jerusalem, reminding themselves of the suffering of Jesus, and picking up their crosses once more before going into the city.[13]

As it was the central point of Christian pilgrim narratives, Jerusalem naturally received the most attention from pilgrim writers. The order in which pilgrimage sites were to be visited depended on which gate a pilgrim entered the city through first. Entering from the north on the side of the Valley of Josaphat, a pilgrim first encountered the Church of St. Mary, while entering from the west from the road to Bethlehem, a pilgrim would first have come across the Tower of David.[14] Saewulf, who passed through the Gate of David, declared that the Church of the Holy Sepulchre had to be visited first, 'not only because of the direction of the streets, but because it is more celebrated than all the other churches.'[15] This is largely true of most pilgrim narratives. They moved quickly onto describing the Church of the Holy Sepulchre after entering Jerusalem, regardless of the gate they came through, because of its significance for Christians.

The Holy Sepulchre

The Church of the Holy Sepulchre, where the body of Jesus lay before the Resurrection, was built by Emperor Constantine in the fourth century. The Church of the Holy Sepulchre and the structure around the sepulchre of Jesus itself has been altered over

[10] Matthew 5:3, 'Blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven'; Luke 6:20, 'Blessed are you poor, for yours is the kingdom of God.'
[11] Theoderich, 'Libellus de Locis Sanctis,' p. 186.
[12] 2 Corinthians 8:9
[13] The crosses are used again during the Easter fire ceremony on Mount Calvary, Theoderich, 'Libellus de Locis Sanctis,' p. 155.
[14] Theoderich, 'Libellus de Locis Sanctis,' pp. 145-6.
[15] Saewulf, 'Relatio de peregrinatione Saewulfi ad Hyerosolymam et terram sanctam,' in *Peregrinationes Tres: Saewulf, John of Würzburg, Theodericus*, Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis, ed. R. B. C. Huygens, 139 (Turnholt: Brepols, 1994), pp. 59-77 (p. 64).

time due to attacks, earthquakes and stylistic changes.[16] There are thirteen different representations of the tomb in art from 325/35 to 1009 alone.[17] The Rotunda and its forecourt, the Holy Garden, were reconstructed around 1030 by the Imperial court of Constantinople after an agreement was reached with the Fatimid Caliph Ali Al-Zāhir around 1127/8.[18] An account of this appears in Snorre Sturlason's *Heimskringla* written around 1225. According to this, in 1036, 'the Emperor of Greece' put Harald Hardrada, King of Norway from 1046-66, in charge of a band of soldiers who were to protect the builders while they restored the Church of Holy Sepulchre.[19] It was completed by Constatine Monomachus in 1048, though much of it was still in a ruinous state by the time of the First Crusade. The eleventh-century *Anonymous Pilgrim I* simply referred to the Sepulchre as a church 'splendidly built' by Emperor Constantine and offered little other description.[20] The Holy Sepulchre was the most important pilgrimage site for Christian pilgrims and the main objective of the First Crusade.[21] Some later accounts of the First Crusade claimed that its leaders were inspired to call for a crusade because of bad personal experiences they had at the Holy Sepulchre. Albert of Aachen's *Historia Ierosolimitana*, written between 1125-50, claimed that Peter the Hermit was motivated to call a crusade because he had gone on pilgrimage to the Holy Sepulchre beforehand and witnessed the ill treatment of Christian pilgrims by Muslims there, while Caffaro di Rustico's (1080-1166) *Annals of Genoa* stated that during Godfrey of Bouillon's pilgrimage to Jerusalem, Godfrey hesitated to pay one bezant to enter the Holy Sepulchre which resulted in him been punched in the neck by the Muslim guard.[22]

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[16] The tomb of Jesus was originally exposed, Charles Coüasnon, *The Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem*, trans. J. P. B. and Claude Ross (London: Oxford University Press, 1974), p. 21. The Church of the Holy Sepulchre built by Emperor Constantine was attacked by the Persians in 614, burnt, rebuilt, and came under Muslim control from 638. Caliph al-Hakim ordered the church of the Resurrection to be destroyed in 1008, though it was rebuilt and al-Hakim was persuaded to give Christians protection. After his death his sister, a Christian, negotiated with Basil II to have the church rebuilt, Denys Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem: A Corpus*, 4 vols., *The City of Jerusalem* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), iii, p. 11.

[17] These representation included a rock cut tomb, an empty sarcophagus, a two story tomb structure, and a single story structure with a conical roof and lattice grilles, Martin Biddle, *The Tomb of Christ* (Thrupp: Sutton Publishing, 1999), p. 21.

[18] Coüasnon, *The Church of the Holy Sepulchre*, p. 54; Yaacov Lev, *State and Society in Fatimid Egypt* (Leiden: Brill, 1991), p. 40.

[19] Snorre Sturlason, *Heimskringla or The Lives of the Norse Kings*, trans A. H. Smith (Cambridge: W. Heffer & Sons, 1932), p. 512.

[20] 'Innominatus I,' in *Theoderici Libellus de Locis Sanctis editus circa A. D. 1172. Cui accedunt breviores aliquot descriptions Terrae Sanctae*, ed. Titus Tobler (Paris: Librairie A. Frank, 1865), pp. 113-8 (p. 114).

[21] Robert the Monk, *Historia Iherosolimitana,* in *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades. Historiens Occidentaux*, Vol. 3 (Paris, 1866), pp. 721-822 (5:11, p. 799); *Robert the Monk's History of the First Crusade: Historia Iherosolimitana*, trans. Carol Sweetenham (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), 5:11, p. 137.

[22] In Jerusalem he quizzed the orthodox Patriarch Symeon II as to why he allowed Christian pilgrims to be treated so badly, Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana, History of the Journey to Jerusalem*, ed. and trans. Susan B. Edgington (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2007), 1:3, p. 5; Martin Hall and Jonathan Phillips,

After Jerusalem fell to the crusaders on 15th July 1099, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre became part of a 'major project of church building.'[23] The crusaders, however, did little to change the structure around the tomb.[24] The construction of the church acted as a form of physical and spiritual protection for the Sepulchre of Jesus itself. The church protected by enclosing the tomb physically, and venerated the places associated Jesus by placing them under one roof.[25] William of Tyre stated that Godfrey de Bouillon established the canons in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre 'a few days after he was elected head of the kingdom,' that is, late July 1099.[26] Albert of Aachen's *Historia Ierosolimitana* added that Godfrey appointed twenty 'brothers in Christ' to the Temple of the Holy Sepulchre, who would sing hymns and praises every hour.[27] Theoderich noted the Choir of the Canon Regulars who 'most gracefully sing praises there.'[28] These canons became Canon Regulars in 1114.[29]

The major changes by the crusaders came in the attitude towards the Holy Sepulchre, as it switched from the burial place of Jesus to the more joyous place of his resurrection.[30] The links between the Sepulchre and celebration can be seen in the annual commemoration of 15th of July 1099 in the liturgy of the Canons of the Holy Sepulchre, which was revised in 1149 for the fiftieth anniversary and led to a double celebration on

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Caffaro, Genoa and the Twelfth-Century Crusades, Crusade Texts in Translation 26 (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), p. 108.

[23] Adrian J. Boas, *Crusader Archaeology: The Material Culture of the Latin East* (Abingdon: Routledge, 1999), p. 22.

[24] Biddle, *The Tomb of Christ*, pp. 92-3.

[25] Anastasia Keshman, 'The Church of the Holy Sepulchre, Jerusalem,' in *Encyclopedia of Medieval Pilgrimage*, ed. Larissa J. Taylor et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2010), pp. 110-1 (p. 110).

[26] William of Tyre, *Willelmi Tyrensis Archiepiscopi, Chronicon*, ed. R. B. C. Huygens, *Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Medievalis, 63-63A* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1986), 19.4, p. 869; William of Tyre, *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*, trans. Emily Atwater Babcock and A. C. Krey, 2 vols (New York: Columbia University Press, 1943), ii, p. 301.

[27] Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, 6:40, p. 455.

[28] He also spoke of the 'Syrians' who sang their hymns outside or at another apex of the church after the Latin services were over, Theoderich, 'Libellus de Locis Sanctis,' p. 150.

[29] They received privileges from Pope Paschal II in 1118. Peter and William, canons of the Holy Sepulchre appear in a document from Pope Paschal dated 1118 with Arnulf of Chocques who was Patriarch of Jerusalem (1112-8) and Aschetino who was bishop of Bethlehem (1110-23), *Cartulaire de l'église du Saint-Sépulchre de Jérusalem*, ed. M Eugène de Rozière (Paris: L'Imprimerie Nationale, 1849), no. 11, pp. 11-13; no. 12, pp. 13-14; Cristina Dondi dates it to before 1114, while Colin says it was around 1105, Cristina Dondi, *The Liturgy of the Canon Regular of the Holy Sepulchre of Jerusalem: A Study and Catalogue of the Manuscript Sources. Bibliotheca Victorina XVI* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004); Colin Morris, *The Sepulchre of Christ and the Medieval West: From the Beginning to 1600* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), p. 195; Wolf Zöller, 'The regular canons and the liturgy of the Latin East,' *Journal of Medieval History*, Vol. 43, No. 4 (2017), pp. 367-383 (373).

[30] Sylvia Schein, *Gateway to the Heavenly City: Crusader Jerusalem and the Catholic West* (1099-1187) (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), p. 70; M. Cecilia Gaposchkin, *Invisible Weapons: Liturgy and the Making of Crusade Ideology* (London: Cornell University Press, 2017), p. 158.

the 15th of July.[31] The crusaders built a Romanesque choir, chapels, a cloister and a bell tower to the Rotunda, and began to expand it in 1143.[32] The Rotunda of the Holy Sepulchre contained a number of sites of interest to pilgrims, mostly connected with the events of Easter. Not every pilgrim mentioned every site, though the ones most commonly cited were Mount Calvary, High Altar, the Chapel of the Flagellation, the Chapel of John the Baptist, the Chapel of St. Helena where the True Cross was supposedly found, the canons' cloister above the Chapel of St. Helena, the Chapel of Christ's Prison, the Chapel of the Apparition, Golgotha, the altar of St. Nicholas, an Armenian chapel of St. Mary of Egypt, and a Greek chapel.[33] Sylvia Schein notes that while under crusader control, Jerusalem change emphasised from the 'city of the Holy Sepulchre' to the more positive image of the 'city of the Life of Christ,' reflected in the interest and the building and rebuilding of churches in Jerusalem.[34] The walls of Jerusalem enclosed the majority of pilgrimage sites in the locality. This offered pilgrims the chance to visit these sites in relative ease, sheltered by these walls. Nevertheless, one noteworthy site was outside the walls, that of the Mount of Olives. Mount Sion was also partially outside the city walls. The Church of the Ascension in the Abbey of the Mount of Olives was believed by pilgrims to have been the site of Jesus' Ascension. Besides the Ascension, the site also claimed to have Jesus' footprints. The Church of the Lord's Prayer was a cave church on the Mount of Olives where Jesus preached to his disciples. It was in ruins by eleventh century and so a new church was built.[35] The Mount of Olives was located about 2km outside of the city's walls. This, however, did not mean that it was undefended. Theoderich noted that the Church of the Ascension was 'strongly fortified against the infidels' and was patrolled at night. [36] Theoderich did not explain who patrolled it, though his statement suggests that it was not safe to travel even a short distance outside the city walls at night, emphasising the security of being in the city itself. At the same time, Theoderich's account demonstrates that the crusaders actively made efforts to protect the important pilgrimage sites on the Mount of Olives.

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[31] Gaposchkin, *Invisible Weapons*, p. 134, p. 137, p. 157.
[32] Boas, *Crusader Archaeology*, p. 22.
[33] Pilgrims could also visit the tombs of the kings of Jerusalem.
[34] Schein, *Gateway to the Heavenly City*, p. 20, p. 66.
[35] Other churches on the Mount of Olives included, the Chapel of the Repose or the House of Annas, where Jesus was kept prisoner, the Abbey Church of St Mary which was restored by Julian in 530, had an Augustinian Priory and Syrian monks installed in twelfth century. An important place concerning Easter celebrations for pilgrims was Bethphage on the Mount of Olives. It was believed to be the site where Jesus used the stone to mount a donkey on Palm Sunday, Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom*, iii, p. 118, p. 132, p. 316; i, p. 157.
[36] 'Syrians' sang their hymns outside or at another apex of the church after the Latin services were over, Theoderich, 'Libellus de Locis Sanctis,' p. 174.

Easter Celebrations

The aim of most Christian pilgrims was to reach Jerusalem in time for the Easter ceremonies. Public processions began on Palm Sunday.[37] Theoderich noted that Golden Gate was only open on Palm Sunday and on the Exaltation of the Cross.[38] Some sort of crowd control was needed to manage, and keep safe, the large influx of people who all wanted to go to the same sites at the same time. Guards stood at the entrance to the church on Mount Calvary to designate the numbers of pilgrims allowed to enter at any given time in order to avoid 'crushing or danger to life.'[39] It is not clear if there were any other regulations concerning conduct at the sites. Pilgrims visiting the monastery at Montserrat near Barcelona in Spain, for instance, were asked to only sing righteous and pious songs at the night vigil, and those who chose to sing and dance during the day were asked to be respectful of those praying quietly.[40] Presumably a similar level of respect and reverence were expected at pilgrimage sites in Jerusalem.

The fire ceremony on Holy Saturday was particularly important as it represented the light of God returning to the world after the suffering and crucifixion of Jesus on Good Friday. This is the event most discussed by pilgrims in Jerusalem during the Easter celebrations. The fire could appear at any time of day on Holy Saturday and so, pilgrims and clergy had to wait patiently. Theoderich discussed the unpredictability of the fire's appearance. The year he was in the Holy Sepulchre, it appeared 'after the ninth hour.'[41] The fire was not guaranteed to materialise in the Holy Sepulchre. It could also appear in the Temple of the Lord or the Church of St. John. The fire miracle was supposed to happen regardless of who held political power in Jerusalem as an act of triumph or defiance.[42] To

[37] For details of the procession in the twelfth century see: Iris Shagrir, 'Adventus in Jerusalem: the Palm Sunday celebration in Latin Jerusalem,' *Journal of Medieval History*, Vol. 41, No. 1 (2015), pp. 1-20 (pp. 6-8)
[38] Theoderich, 'Libellus de Locis Sanctis,' p. 167.
[39] Theoderich, 'Libellus de Locis Sanctis,' p. 155; Daniel the Abbot, 'The Life and journey,' p. 167.
[40] *LLibre Vermell de Montserrat: Cantigas de Santa Maria*, trans. John Sidwick (Paris, Opus Productions, 1995), p. 18. The manuscript dates from the late fourteenth century.
[41] Theoderich, 'Libellus de Locis Sanctis,' p. 152; In 1101, it did not appear until Easter Sunday, Hall and Phillips, *Caffaro*, p. 52; A story developed that the Easter fire refused to be extinguished by Saladin after he took control of the city. As a result, he believed that he would die within the year, at next Lent, and so he did, Helen J. Nicholson, *Chronicle of the Third Crusade. A Translation of the Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1997), 5:16, p. 297.
[42] Andrew Jotischky, 'Holy Fire and Holy Sepulchre: Ritual and Space in Jerusalem from the Ninth to the Fourteenth Centuries,' in *Ritual and Space in the Middle Ages. Proceedings of the 2009 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. Frances Andrews (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2011), pp. 44-60 (p. 54).

ensure the miracle happened annually, it was faked using mercury.[43] Pilgrims were actively involved in some aspects of the ceremony. The twelfth-century narrative of *Anonymous Pilgrim II* stated that pilgrims saw the three crosses at Mount Calvary on Holy Saturday as sign that they have accomplished their vow.[44] By being at the site of the crucifixion of Jesus, 'where Christ suffered,' the pilgrims could map the difficulties they endured on the journey to Jerusalem onto that of the suffering of Jesus and marked the end of penitent part of the pilgrimage. Theoderich added that crosses brought by pilgrims were burned in the Easter fire on Mount Calvary, an act by which the pilgrims could be symbolically cleanse of their own sins in the new and pure Easter flame.[45] For these pilgrims, Holy Saturday and the fire ceremony marked the completion of their pilgrimage goal.

Easter Sunday was a joyous occasion for pilgrims. As well as masses and hymns, the liturgical drama *Visitatio Sepulchri* or *Quem quaeritis* was performed by the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. The drama itself dated back to the tenth century.[46] It focused on the 'Three Marys' who visited the tomb of Jesus on Easter Sunday and found it empty. The version of the drama that appears in the twelfth-century Breviary of Barletta outlined how the play was to be performed by canons of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. In most versions of the play three young clerics were supposed to dress as the 'Three Marys' behind the altar while the liturgy was being sung.[47] Due to the 'multitude of pilgrims' the young clerics at the Holy Sepulchre were not expected to do so. This particular sentence has been interpreted to mean that the play was not performed in Jerusalem.[48] However, given that role of the three clerics continues to be outlined, it seems more likely that it simply meant they were unable to change into costume. The role of the Patriarch is also

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[43] Jay Rubenstein, 'Holy Fire and sacral kingship in post-conquest Jerusalem,' *Journal of Medieval History*, Vol. 43, No. 4 (2017), pp. 470-484 (p. 472, pp. 477-9).

[44] 'Innominatus II,' in *Theoderici Libellus de Locis Sanctis editus circa A. D. 1172. Cui accedunt breviores aliquot descriptions Terrae Sanctae*, ed. Titus Tobler (Paris: Librairie A. Frank, 1865), pp. 118-28 (p. 119).There are crosses carved into the walls of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre leading to the Chapel of Saint Helena, supposedly carved by pilgrims during the crusades, Helen C. Evans, 'The Armenian Presence in Jerusalem,' *Jerusalem, 1000-1400: Every People Under Heaven*, eds. Barbara Drake Boehm and Melanie Holcomb (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2016), pp. 237-40 (p. 239).

[45] Theoderich, 'Libellus de Locis Sanctis,' p. 155.

[46] Nils Holger Petersen, 'Les texts polyvalents du *Quem quaeritis* à Winchester au Xe siècle,' *Revue de Musicologie*, Vol. 86, No. 1 (2000), pp. 105-118 (p. 105).

[47] Iris Shagrir, 'The Visitatio Sepulchri in the Latin Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem,' *Al-Masāq*, Vol. 21, No. 1 (2010), pp. 57-77 (pp. 66-7); The twelfth century version in the *Fleury Playbook*, belonging to the monastery of St. Benoît-sur-Loire, at Fleury in Northern France used actresses for the role, *Visitatio Sepulchri (The Visit to the Holy Sepulchre): An acting version of a 12th century Liturgical Music-Drama for Easter from the 'Fleury Playbook,'* trans. W. L. Smoldon (London: Oxford University Press, 1964), p. iv.

[48] J. Prawer, *The Crusaders' Kingdom: European Colonialism in the Middle Ages* (New York: Praeger, 1972), pp. 180-1; 'Quod dum cantatur, sint parati tres clerici iuvenes in modum mulierum retro altare, iuxta consuetudinem antiquorum, quod non facimus modo propter astantium peregrinorum multitudinem. Interim, finite scilicet responsorio. Procedunt inde, preeuntibus candelabras et turibulis…,' Shagrir, 'The Visitatio Sepulchri,' p. 66.

mentioned in the text which, Iris Shagrir has pointed out, was an odd inclusion if the play was not performed in Jerusalem.[49] While the pilgrims were not actors in the drama, they became part of the Easter story. As the play progressed, the pilgrims at the Holy Sepulchre discovered the tomb of Jesus was empty just as the 'Three Marys' do. Liturgy could represent the local, the universal, the contextual, and the conversation between humans and God.[50] *Visitatio Sepulchri* allowed pilgrims to be at the place of the resurrection under the security of crusader control of Jerusalem and witness the resurrection at the site of the original event, the event that inspirited many pilgrims to go the Holy Land in the first place, thereby closing the gap between God and humans.

Hospitals in Jerusalem

Jerusalem was at its busiest during the Easter period. Albert of Aachen stated that there were one thousand five hundred pilgrims in Jerusalem for Easter in 1119.[51] By the time John of Würzburg and Theoderich went on pilgrimage, between 1160s-70, this number matched the number of patients in the Hospital in Jerusalem alone.[52] John of Würzburg also stated that the Hospitallers cared for just as many outside who 'do not lodge' in the Hospital by giving them food. This in itself gives an indication that the numbers of pilgrims in Jerusalem for Easter time was in the thousands. Theoderich claimed that the number exceeded sixty thousand.[53] Though the number may seem high, it might not be entirely inaccurate. Theoderich saw thirty ships at Acre during Easter week.[54] As discussed in Chapter 2, ships during this period could carry up to one thousand five hundred pilgrims.[55] Of course, of the eighty ships, Theoderich could not have known which had carried pilgrims or how many travelled on each ship. If, however, only ten of these ships carried between one thousand and one thousand five hundred pilgrims, this would mean that at least between ten thousand and fifteenth thousand pilgrims arrived at Acre that particular sailing period. It should be remembered that Acre, even though it was

[49] Shagrir, 'The Visitatio Sepulchri,' p. 72.
[50] Iris Shagrir and Cecilia Gaposchkin, 'Liturgy and devotion in the crusader states: introduction,' *Journal of Medieval History*, Vol. 43, No. 4 (2017), pp. 359-366 (p. 362).
[51] Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, 12:10, p. 839.
[52] John of Würzburg, 'Descriptio Terrae Sancte,' in *Peregrinationes Tres: Saewulf, John of Würzburg, Theodericus*, Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis, ed. R. B. C. Huygens, 139 (Turnholt: Brepols, 1994), pp. 79-141 (p. 131); Theoderich, 'Libellus de Locis Sanctis,' p. 156.
[53] Theoderich, 'Libellus de Locis Sanctis,' p. 177.
[54] Theoderich, 'Libellus de Locis Sanctis,' p. 186.
[55] This was the limit placed on Templar and Hospitaller ships sailing from Marseilles, *Cartulaire Général De L'Ordre Des Hospitaliers de S. Jean de Jérusalem, 1100-1200*, ed. J. Delaville le Roulx, 4 vols (Paris, 1894-99), ii, no. 2607, p. 462-4.

the most popular pilgrimage port, it was not the only one. Even to assume that only ten other pilgrimage ships arrived at other ports such as Jaffa or Tyre in total, again carrying ten to fifteen thousand pilgrims, the combined number of pilgrims who sailed to the Holy Land that year would be between twenty and thirty thousand. When pilgrims who came by foot, those who came from other parts of the Holy Land and Muslim pilgrims who walked from northern Africa, pilgrims in the Holy Land since the previous August or September, as well as those who lived close to Jerusalem itself, a number close to sixty thousand pilgrims does not appear grossly inaccurate. As discussed earlier, the higher numbers of people gathered in one location naturally aided the spread of disease and other illnesses. Even within the walls of heavenly Jerusalem, the ultimate destination for pilgrims, they still needed shelter, medical care, and protection.

In Chapter 3 it was noted that there had been a long tradition of having a hospital to care for Christian pilgrims in Jerusalem, though the twelfth century saw an increase in the amount of hospitals. The Abbey Church of St Mary Latin dated back to the ninth century.[56] In 1023, according to William of Tyre, Italian merchants from Amalfi and Salerno received permission from Caliph Ali az-Zahir to rebuild the hospital in Jerusalem on the site of the monastery of Saint John the Baptist.[57] The Abbey became 'well known' for its hospitality to Western pilgrims.[58] This was not the only church to provide such care. The Church of St Mary of the Valley of Jehoshaphat, where Mary's body lay, was rebuilt during the crusading period along with a hospital built by the Abbot Hugh between 1108-12, which provided food, care and rest for pilgrims.[59] John of Würzburg stated that the German Hospital in Jerusalem and church 'newly built in honour of St. Mary' were built exclusively for German pilgrims who could not speak the local languages.[60] Jacques de Vitry similarly noted that German Hospital was built after a German man found that German pilgrims were unable to speak the local languages.[61] There were two leper hospitals in Jerusalem by 1187, one for women by David's Gate and one for men by St.

[56] Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom*, iii, p. 236.
[57] William of Tyre, *Willelmi Tyrensis Archiepiscopi, Chronicon*, ed. R. B. C. Huygens, *Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Medievalis, 63-63A* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1986), 18.5, p. 816.
[58] Jonathan Riley-Smith, 'The Latin Clergy and the Settlement in Palestine and Syria, 1098-1100,' *The Catholic Historical Review*, Vol. 74, No. 4 (Oct., 1988), pp. 539-57 (p. 545). As discussed in Chapter 3, it expanded in 1080 with two daughter houses, the nunnery of Saint Mary the Great and the Hospital of Saint John.
[59] Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom*, iii, p. 290.
[60] John of Würzburg, 'Descriptio Terrae Sancte,' p. 133.
[61] Jacques de Vitry, *Histoire Orientale. Historia Orientalis*, ed. Jean Donnadieu, *Sous la Règle de saint Augustin*, 12 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008), ch. 66, p. 270.

Stephen's Gate.[62] Other hospitals included a Greek hospice by the Gate of St. Lazarus, and the Church and Hospital of St Stephen of Hungary, founded by King Stephen of Hungary in the eleventh century.[63]

Jerusalem was the birth place of the Hospitallers and Templars. It was also the original headquarters of the two major military orders. The Hospitallers were located in the north-west corner of Jerusalem.[64] The mid-twelfth-century Icelandic pilgrim Abbot Nicolas described the Hospitallers hospital in Jerusalem as, 'the most magnificent in the whole world.'[65] Similarly, the twelfth-century *Pilgrim's Guide* to Compostela lists it as one of God's 'three columns most necessary for the support of the poor.'[66] The Hospital of Jerusalem was a busy place as can be seen in the Statutes discussed in Chapter 3. John of Würzburg claimed there were two thousand sick people in there.[67] Although Jerusalem did not quite have the same number of hospitals that Acre would later have, pilgrims could rest assured that the institutions in Jerusalem would provide care and protection for them in the twelfth century.

The Knights Templars and the Poor

While the Templars did not officially provide shelter to pilgrims, they did offer alms. John of Würzburg saw the Templars gave 'considerable alms' to the poor, though he noted that it was only matched about one tenth of that given to the poor by the Hospitallers.[68] The Grand Master of the Templars Jacques de Molay (1292-1314) argued that keeping the Templars and Hospitallers as separate orders was to the advantage of pilgrims as they had access to 'refreshments, comfort, help or succour' from two orders

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[62] Adrian J. Boas, *Archaeology of the Military Orders: A Survey of the Urban centres, rural settlements and castles of the Military Orders in the Latin East (c. 1120-1291)* (Abingdon, Routledge, 2006), p. 65. On 24th February 1174, Amalric, King of Jerusalem donated forty bezants payable in four instalments from the revenue in Acre and the assisse of Walter of Beirut to the Order outside the walls of Jerusalem, *Order of Saint Lazarus, Cartulary, Volume 1: 12th-14th Century*, ed. Charles Savona-Ventura (San Gwann: Office of the Grand Archivist & Historian, 2014), p. 52.

[63] Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom*, iii, p. 380; Theoderich, 'Libellus de Locis Sanctis,' p. 173.

[64] Boas, *Archaeology of the Military Orders*, p. 43.

[65] Joyce Hill, 'From Rome to Jerusalem: An Icelandic Itinerary of the Mid-Twelfth Century,' *The Harvard Theological Review*, Vol. 76, No. 2 (Apr., 1983), pp. 175-203 (p. 180).

[66] The other two hospitals were Mont-Joux and Santa Cristina, *Liber Sancti Jacobi, Codex Calixtinus*, 3 vols, ed. Walter Muir Whitehill (Compostela, 1944), i, 5.4, pp. 352-3. The author explains that all three were, 'holy places, houses of God, places of refreshment for holy pilgrims, of rest for the needy, of comfort for the sick, of salvation for the dead, of help for the living,' *The Pilgrim's Guide*, p. 9.

[67] John of Würzburg, 'Descriptio Terrae Sancte,' p. 131.

[68] John of Würzburg, 'Descriptio Terrae Sancte,' p. 135.

rather than one.[69] There are several Templar rules regarding the poor. As pilgrims were classed as 'miserabiles personae,' it is likely that they were included among the 'poor' to whom the Templars gave charity. The care of the poor seemed to have been an important aspect of Templar daily activities. Statute 29 of the Rule states that after every meal, the remains of broken bread were to be given to the poor daily after supper, and that it was the duty of the Almoner to give one tenth of the bread to the poor.[70] Statute 29 also cites the first Beatitude from the Sermon on the Mount given by Jesus, which states 'the reward of the poor, which is the kingdom of heaven.'[71] This stressed the fact that giving to the poor was spiritually beneficial. The act of giving away possessions also encouraged poverty among members of the Order as Statute 29 states, 'the Christian faith doubtless recognises you among them.' It can also be seen as a link to the original name of the Order, the Poor Fellow-Soldiers of Christ. Presenting charity to the poor was often used to mark an event within the Order. Statute 94 states that when the Master was in the house of the Temple, five paupers were to eat the same food as the Templars in the house.[72] After the death of a brother, Statute 62 required the Order to provide one poor person with 'meat and wine for forty days in memory of the dead brother, just as if he were alive.'[73] Similarly, Statute 65 states that if a knight serving in the Order for a fix amount of time 'out of pity' died during his term, one poor person was to be fed for a week.[74] This was perhaps for the salvation of the soul, as suggested in statute 29, and remembrance of the deceased. The Statutes also declare that the alms provided by the Order were subject to the level of income of each preceptory. No doubt after battles in which several Templars lost their lives, it may have been difficult to fulfil these demands.

It is not clear how many poor pilgrims received alms from the Templars. Presumably the hospitals in Jerusalem would have been glad for pilgrims who were in good health to have found food elsewhere. Given that the Easter period in particular Jerusalem saw a high quantity of pilgrims visit, it is likely that some pilgrims would have received the daily leftovers from the Templars. In the case of specific alms given to a limited number of people by the Templars, such as meat and wine given to one poor person for forty days after the death of a member of the Order, it is uncertain how the poor person

[69] Barber, 'The Charitable and Medical activities,' pp. 148-9.
[70] *The Rule of the Templars: The French Text of the Rule of the Order of the Knights Templars*, trans. J. M. Upton-Ward (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1992), p. 27.
[71] *The Rule of the Templars*, p. 27; *Matthew*, 5:3.
[72] *The Rule of the Templars*, p. 43.
[73] *The Rule of the Templars*, p. 34.
[74] *The Rule of the Templars*, p. 35.

was chosen or if there was some sort of selection process. There were, however, guidelines for choosing poor people to participate in rituals. Statute 97, which concerned the Master washing of the feet of thirteen poor on Holy Thursday, stated that the candidates had to be free of disease.[75] This suggests some sort of screening in the selection process. Holy Thursday was part of the Easter celebrations when the number of pilgrim in Jerusalem was at its highest. It was, therefore, likely that pilgrims could have been among those chosen in the washing of the feet. Statute 97 also says that the chosen thirteen were to be given a shirt, breeches, two loaves of bread, two deniers, and a pair of shoes each.[76] All items would have been of use to poor in general, but the inclusion of shoes is perhaps a hint towards pilgrims who were walking long distances and in greater need of shoes. Earlier pilgrims were often barefooted as leather shoes became damp in wet weather, though there had been improvements in footwear in the twelfth century.[77] The dryer climate in the Latin East may have made it more suitable for pilgrims to wear shoes there. The *Life* of Godric of Finchale (1065-1170) provided a graphic account of the state of Godric's feet due to the fact that he purposely did not remove the shoes he set out with until he got to the River Jordan in order to achieve maximum suffering.[78] The pilgrims Theoderich travelled with wore shoes.[79]

The documents of the Templars trials provide some more detail on the extent to which the Templars cared for 'miserabiles personae.' One of the accusations made against the Templars during the trials was 'that charitable gifts in the said Order were not made as they ought, nor was hospitality offered.'[80] This appeared as Article 93 in the trial of the Templars in Cyprus in 1310. Every Templar denied this accusation. It was also, in most cases, the most expanded upon answer given by the Templars in comparison with questions concerning religious practices. This was most likely due to the fact that the act of alms giving was a visible one and, of course, not linked in any possible way to heresy. When questioned on Article 93, the standard answer was usually that the Templar in question witnessed the Order give one tenth of their bread, money and meat to the poor

[75] *The Rule of the Templars*, p. 43. Washing of the feet could be seen as part of *Imitatio Christi*, Giles Constable, *Three Studies in Medieval Religious and Social Thought: The Interpretation of Mary and Martha, The Ideal of the Imitation of Christ, The Orders of Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 185.
[76] *The Rule of the Templars*, p. 43.
[77] Paul B. Newman, *Travel and Trade in the Middle Ages* (Jefferson: McFarland & Company, 2011), p. 12.
[78] Reginald of Durham, *Libellus de Vita et Miraculis S. Godrici, Heremitae de Finchale* (London: Surtees Society, 1847), 15:41-2, pp. 55-7; 'the skin of his feet had worn away, and the bleeding flesh scarcely clung to the bones,' Mary-Ann Stouck, ed, *Medieval Saints: A reader* (Peterborough: Broadview press, 1999), p. 414.
[79] Theoderich, 'Libellus de Locis Sanctis,' p. 187.
[80] Malcolm Barber, *The Trial of the Templars* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), p. 250.

every week in chapels in Cyprus and other Templar houses. Of course, the trials do not discuss Templar charity in Jerusalem, but they do, however, strongly suggest that the act of alms giving was standard practice in the Order as set out by the Statutes and, therefore, was likely to be carried out in Jerusalem before 1187. Fourteen of the seventy-six Templars questioned in Cyprus claimed to have witnessed other Templars giving charity in Acre. While all fourteen may have been present in Acre and witnessed the act of alms giving sometime before 1291, only two of the fourteen Templars were in the Order long enough to have been active members in Acre before 1291.[81] Whether the other twelve were recipients of alms themselves at one point or simply observers is unclear. Four of the Templar sergeants questioned in Cyprus were almoners who were in charge of giving charity to the poor. Brother John of Lisivis, former preceptor of Limassol, and member of the Order for seven years, said that as the almoner, he gave one tenth of the bread and leftovers to the poor three times a week.[82] This was in line with Statute 29 of the Templar Rule.[83]

Non-Templars witness also gave evidence on the act of Templar alms-giving. As with the Templar answers, non-Templar answers to article 93 were often longer than those concerning other questions. Perhaps as the distribution of alms was an act that the public could see and partake in, non-Templars witnesses could comment more accurately on the topic than other questions such as the rituals involved in becoming a member of the Order. These witnesses also had plenty to say about Templar alms-giving in Acre. Lord Simon of Mountolive, a knight of Nicosia and Paphos, recalled that he had witnessed the poor being given charity in Acre and Cyprus since his childhood.[84] Lord Bernard of Aquilano, another knight, remembered that before the fall of Acre, he had seen the master and brothers of the Temple give bread, meat, money, dishes of food, and clothing to the poor, knights, widows, young noble women, and others several times a week.[85]

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[81] These were two sergeants in the Order, Brother Peter of Tripoli who had joined the Order at Roche Guillaume in Armenia twenty-two years before the trial and Brother Bernard of Resencher, who had served in the Order for twenty-four years, *The Trial of the Templars in Cyprus: A Complete English Edition*, trans. and ed. Anne Gilmour-Bryson (Leiden: Brill, 1998), p. 137; p. 394.

[82] *The Trial of the Templars in Cyprus*, p. 263. Templar Brother Hugh Oliver of Vahosca stated that besides bread, meat and money, the Order gave leftover material that had been used to make surcoats to the poor, widows, young ladies, knights and others in Cyprus. While the poor and widows fell under 'miserabiles personae,' the inclusion of knights is probably a reference to caring for poor knights who evacuated Acre after 1291, p. 310.

[83] 'we ordain that a tenth part of the bread be given to your Almoner,' *The Rule of the Templars*, p. 27.

[84] *The Trial of the Templars in Cyprus*, p. 420; A knight named Lord James of Plany had witnessed 'great charitable works' done by the Order in Acre, p. 58.

[85] *The Trial of the Templars in Cyprus*, pp. 427-8; Brother Lord John of Cahors, treasurer of Paphos, said that he had seen the Order give bread, meat and money to the poor at the house of the Temple in Acre and

Part of article 93 included whether or not the Templars provided hospitality. The Rule of the Templars does not require the Order to provide hospitality, but the Templar Brother Hugh Oliver of Vahosca said that he often saw 'many foreigners given hospitality' in the house of the Temple.[86] It is not clear if any of these foreigners were pilgrims, though it is possible. Brother John of Lisivis, former preceptor of Limassol, said that while the Order was under no obligation to provide hospitality, it often did, but clarified that houses of the Order were not hospices for the sick.[87] This was essentially the common answer that most Templars gave. The Templars did not provide medical care like a hospital, but did occasionally provide lodging, usually for people of a certain status such as members of the clergy or nobility.[88] Queen Margaret, for example, stayed in Château Pèlerin during Louis IX's crusade 1249-50.[89] It does seem for the most part that the Templars were willing to accommodate special guests, though is it not clear if these ever included pilgrims.

Two interesting testimonies came from Lord Simon of Mountolive and Lord Henry of Biblio. Lord Simon stated that the best evidence of the Templars providing hospitality that he could give was the fact that he himself had been 'given lodging frequently in these houses.'[90] He also stated that he saw this since childhood. It is not clear if he meant that he lodged with the Templars since childhood or simply witnessed others doing so. Statute 14 of the Templar Rule noted that although it was standard practice for religious orders to accept children into a religious life, the Templars were advised against it, arguing that a person could only join the order if they were 'able to bear arms with vigour.'[91] This does not, however, say that the order could not care for children in another capacity either out of charity or if they were accompanying an adult lodging there. It does raise the question of whether or not there was some truth in the story of St. Hildegund and the Templars. In one thirteenth-century version of the *Life* of St. Hildegund who died around 1188, it was claimed that after she was abandoned in the Holy Land as a child upon the death of her father there, she stayed with Templars in the Jerusalem, disguised as a boy named

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Tortosa, while Lord Andrew Busatus, burgher of Famagusta and merchant said he saw the Order give charity at their houses in Acre and Limassol several times a week, pp. 415-6; p. 426.

[86] *Der Untergang des Templer-Ordens*, ed. Konrad Schottmüller, 2 vols (Berlin, 1877), ii, p. 337.

[87] *The Trial of the Templars in Cyprus*, p. 263.

[88] The testimony of Brother Baldus of Acre, a sergeant in the order, 'if any persons came to a house of the Temple to eat, or, to sleep and be lodged, they were received generously and honourably according to the status of the person. The other hospitality concerning sick paupers was not observed because they were not obliged to,' *The Trial of the Templars in Cyprus*, p. 401; p. 356; For a discussion on Templar hospitality in the west see: Forey, 'The Charitable Activities of the Templars,' p. 128.

[89] Kristian Molin, 'The non-military functions of crusader fortifications, 1187-circa 1380,' *Journal of Medieval History*, Vol. 23, No. 4 (Dec. 1997), pp. 367-388 (p. 374).

[90] *The Trial of the Templars in Cyprus*, p. 420.

[91] *The Rule of the Templars*, p. 23.

Joseph.[92] Unfortunately, there are no other references to childhood in the trials at Cyprus or the Templar Statutes so the answer remains unknown. The other witness, Lord Henry of Biblio, stated that in addition to the charity he had seen, the Templars offer hospitality to 'pilgrims and other paupers' in Acre.[93] This is a departure from the testimonies given by others who stated that the Templars only gave hospitality to those of a higher social status. This is the only obvious reference to pilgrims in the trial records which makes it difficult to determine if Henry evidence was accurate. It was not unusual for people to confuse the duties of Templars with those of the Hospitallers who did provide hospitality for pilgrims. This might explain the story that appears in the *Life* of St. Hildegund. However, it seems unlikely that the two witnesses, Lord Simon of Mountolive and Lord Henry of Biblio, made such a mistake sense they both had personal experiences with the Templars.

For the most part, Templar and non-Templar witnesses did not name the specific people that they had witnessed in the act of giving charity to the poor. However, Perocius, son of Lord George Cofini of Acre, remembered that he had seen William of Beaujeu, Master of the Temple until his death at the siege of Acre in 1291, give alms to the poor frequently.[94] William of Beaujeu appears in the fourteenth-century chronicle the *Templar of Tyre*, whose author had been employed by William, and attested that William 'gave great and generous alms to many good people, both privately and openly, as anyone who cares to find out knows.'[95] The reference to giving alms privately stressed that Master William was not just giving alms publicly for all to see and to meet the requirements of the Order, but also due to his own good nature. The *Templar of Tyre* documented events up until 1314 and included an account of the Templar trials. It would therefore seem that the words 'as anyone who cares to find out knows' highlight that the act of questioning if the Templars performed acts of charity was unnecessary, and perhaps an insult, as it was clearly visible to Templars and non-Templars.

[92] 'Vita S. Hildegunis,' in *Acta Sanctorum*, April, Vol. II, ed. Joanne Carbabdet (Paris, 1866), pp. 780-8 (1:7, p. 781).
[93] *The Trial of the Templars in Cyprus*, p. 433.
[94] *The Trial of the Templars in Cyprus*, p. 431.
[95] 'Les Gestes des Chiprois, III: Chronique du Templier de Tyr,' in *Les Gestes des Chiprois: Recueil de Chronique Françaises ècrites en Orient au XIIIe & XVIe siècles*, ed. Gaston Raynaud (Geneva: Imprimerie Jules-Guillaune Fick, 1887), 139-334 (p. 331); *The 'Templar of Tyre,'* ed. Paul F. Crawford, *Crusade Texts in Translation* (Surrey: Ashgate, 2003), p. 181.

The Burial of Pilgrims

Emperor Frederick Barbarossa wrote to his son Henry in November 1189 saying that during his journey to the Holy Land he had, 'lost more than a hundred pilgrims who have gone to the Lord, dying a natural death.'[96] Due to the high level of diseases and other illnesses that threatened pilgrims, death on a pilgrimage was a factor to consider. Pilgrims' last testaments, as discussed in Chapter 1, demonstrate that they were well aware of this. St. Guy of Anderlecht's pilgrim companion, Wonedulphus, died from a fever in the Holy Land.[97] Of course, from a pilgrim's point of view, it was not necessarily a bad thing to die on pilgrimage. The Gospel of Matthew encourages people to take up their cross and follow Jesus. Whoever died in the process would gain eternal life.[98] Those who had taken pilgrimage vows and followed the path of Jesus to Jerusalem were performing the words of Matthew. The concept of death on pilgrimage as a guaranteed way to enter into heaven can be seen in a number of moral stories. An interesting exemplar titled 'The Cunning of the Devil, and of the Secret Judgments of God' appears in *Gesta Romanorum*, dating from thirteenth or early fourteenth century, in which a hermit who decided to return to the secular world met and travelled with an angel.[99] Along the way to a city, the angel carried out a series of seemingly wicked deeds, one of which included drowning a pilgrim.[100] The angel justified killing the pilgrim saying that he saved the pilgrim's soul, 'had he proceeded much further, he would have fallen into a mortal sin.'[101] Since the pilgrim died as a good Christian, he was assured admission into heaven. Angels appear in other exemplars concerning dying pilgrims. In two of Jacques de Vitry's exemplars, angels arrive to console and escort two pilgrims who had died alone and friendless 'in foreign parts' to heaven.[102] In the case of the second exemplar, the pilgrim's admission into heaven was in question as his character was morally questionable. The angel interceded and argued that since the sinner was a pilgrim, as in he was seeking forgiveness for his wrong

[96] *Letters from the East: Crusaders, Pilgrims and Settlers in the 12th-13th Centuries*, trans Malcolm Barber and Keith Bate, *Crusader Texts in Translation 18* (Surrey: Ashgate, 2010), p. 89.
[97] Guy was asked to take Wonedulphus's gold ring back to his family, 'Vita S. Guidonis Confessoris,' in *Acta Sanctorum*, September, IV, ed. Joanne Carnandet (Paris, 1868), pp. 36-48 (1:10, p. 43).
[98] 'If any man would come after me, let him deny himself and take up his cross and follow me, For whoever would save his life will lose it, and whoever loses his life for my sake will find it,' Matthew 16: 24-5.
[99] *Gesta Romanorum: or, Entertaining Moral Stories*, trans. Charles Swan, 2 vols (London, 1824), i, p. 275; *Gesta Romanorum*, ed. Herman Oesterley (Berlin: 1872), 80, p. 396; Part of the exemplar can be found in Jacques de Vitry's sermons, *The Exempla or Illustrative stories from the Sermones Vulgares of Jacques de Vitry*, ed. Thomas Frederick Crane (London, 1890), CIX, pp. 50-1.
[100] The angel also murdered a baby, stole from people and rewarded a sinful man, *Gesta Romanorum: or, Entertaining Moral Stories*, i, pp. 277-8; *Gesta Romanorum*, ed. Herman Oesterley, 80, pp. 397-9.
[101] *Gesta Romanorum*: *: or, Entertaining Moral Stories*, i, p. 279; *Gesta Romanorum*, ed. Herman Oesterley (Berlin: 1872), 80, p. 399,
[102] *The Exempla or Illustrative stories*, pp. 59-60.

doings in his life he should therefore be allowed to enter into heaven.[103] These moral stories illustrate that all sinners who made a genuine effort to seek forgiveness for their sins had a good chance of going to heaven, even if they died before completing their pilgrimage.

It was not uncommon for people to go to the Holy Land with the aspiration to die in Jerusalem. The Jewish pilgrim Juhad Halevi from al-Andalus travelled to the Holy Land in 1140 with the specific aim of dying in Jerusalem, while according to Caesarius of Heisterbach, the crusader Theoderico de Rulant prayed for death at the Holy Sepulchre as he did not want to return home to commit more sin.[104] His prayers were answered, in essence echoing the explanation given by the killer angel in *Gesta Romanorum*. Pilgrimage sites associated with healing ran the risk of disappointing and frustrating pilgrims or causing them to question the reasons for their continued suffering if they were not healed quickly or at all.[105] Jonathan Riley-Smith points out that Jerusalem was a penitent shrine not a healing shrine.[106] In this sense, Jerusalem could not fail as a shrine, as physical healing was not its advertised purpose. Indeed, if it was widely believed that dying there would be a fast track to heaven, it might explain why physical healing was not necessary or expected of the site, as well as the lack of healing miracles associated with Jerusalem. Pilgrims would have passed several other pilgrimage sites on their way to the Holy Land and may have sought healing for illness there.

For those who had planned to die in Jerusalem and had successfully made it there, they could opt to be buried in a certain cemetery by becoming a parishioner or confrater in the associated church.[107] For the average pilgrim and those who only planned to spend a short time in Jerusalem, however, this process seems unlikely. Theoderich's fellow

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[103] *The Exempla or Illustrative stories*, p. 60.
[104] Raymond P. Scheindlin, *The Song of the Distant Dove: Judah Halevi's Pilgrimage* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 4, p. 15; Caesarii Heisterbacensis Monachi Ordinis Cisterciensis, *Dialogus Miaculorum*, ed. Josephus Strange, 2 vols (Cologne: J. M. Heberle, 1851), ii, 11:24, p. 291. In an earlier miracle, the same Theoderico managed to save Christian hostages from Muslims in Acre, dispute being severally injured and bleeding heavily, ii, 10:12, p. 226-7.
[105] Robert Bartlett, *Why Can the Dead do such Great Things? Saints and Worshippers from Martyrs to the Reformation* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013), pp. 360-5.
[106] Jonathan Riley-Smith, 'The Death and Burial of Latin Christian Pilgrims to Jerusalem and Acre, 1099-1291,' in *Crusades*, eds. Benjamin Z. Kedar, Jonathon Philips, and Jonathon Riley-Smith, Vol. 7 (Farnham: Ashgate, 2008), pp. 165-79 (p. 165).
[107] Riley-Smith, 'The Death and Burial,' p. 165; Roger of Howden noted that the knights who had murdered Thomas Becket were buried in the graveyard of the Templars in Jerusalem, Magistri Rogeri de Houedene, *Chronica*, 4 vols. ed., William Stubbs (London: Longman, 1868), ii, p. 17; Nicholas Vincent, 'The Murderers of Thomas Becket,' in *Bischofsmord im Mittelalter/ Murder of Bishops*, eds. Natalie Fryde und Dirk Reitz (Göttingen: Vandenhoech & Ruprecht, 2003), pp. 211-272 (p. 262).

pilgrim, Adolf from Cologne died in Jerusalem and was buried in Acheldemach by the church of St. Mary on Palm Sunday.[108] Acheldemach was a burial ground purely for pilgrims. It was most likely initially cared for by the Canons of the Holy Sepulchre but, William I, Patriarch of Jerusalem gave the church at Acheldemach and its lands to the Hospitallers in 1143.[109] This was another form of spiritual protection which the Hospitallers could then provide, that is, a proper Christian burial. Benjamin of Tudela noted this when he said that the Hospitallers cared for the sick 'in life and in death.'[110] The Hospitallers had a large charnel house to the south-west of Jerusalem by Acheldemach.[111] It was a vaulted structure combined with a natural cave. Bodies were lowered into the chamber through nine holes in the roof.[112] John of Würzburg claimed that it was a daily occurrence for the Hospitallers to bury up to fifty people who had died in their care in Acheldemach as 'fresh ones keep continually arriving.'[113] This image highlights how busy and relentless the Hospitallers were in their task of caring for pilgrims in life and death. It is not clear what impact the loss of Jerusalem in 1187 had on the burial of pilgrims in Jerusalem. The Franciscan friar Symon Semeonis travelled to the Holy Land in the 1320s with a fellow Irish friar Hugo the Illuminator. When Hugo died in Cairo in 1323, Symon transported his body about 95km away to be buried at the church of St. Martin by the monastery run by Coptic nuns under the rule of St. Macarius, the only trace of Christianity free from Muslim watch he could find in Egypt.[114] It is not apparent if other pilgrims went to such extreme lengths to find churches to bury their dead companions in the Holy Land. The monk Riccoldo da Montecroce, who went to the Holy Land in the late thirteenth century, stated that the cemetery was still being used as a graveyard of pilgrims at that point.[115] In Jerusalem at least, pilgrims still had a final place to rest.

Acre became the headquarters of the Hospitallers in 1191. Perhaps because of this, in April 1200, Theobaldus, Bishop of Acre, gave the Hospitallers a cemetery next to the

[108] Theoderich, 'Libellus de Locis Sanctis,' p. 147.
[109] Riley-Smith, 'The Death and Burial,' p. 167; *Cartulaire Général*, i, no. 150, pp. 121-2.
[110] *The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela*, trans. Marcus Nathan Adler (New York: Philipp Feldheim, Inc, 1907), p. 36.
[111] Boas, *Archaeology of the Military Orders*, p. 49.
[112] Boas, *Crusader Archaeology*, p. 236.
[113] John of Würzburg, 'Descriptio Terrae Sancte,' p. 131.
[114] *Itinerarium Symonis Semeonis Ab Hybernia Ad Terram Sanctam*, ed. Mario Esposito, *Scriptores Latini Hiberniae*, Vol. IV (Dundalk: Dundalgan Press Ltd, 2010), p. 87.
[115] Riccoldo da Montecroce, 'Liber Peregrinacionis,' in *Peregrinatores medii aevi quatuor. Burchardus de Monte Sion, Ricoldus de Monte Crucis, Ordoricus de Foro Julii, Wilbrandus de Oldenborg*, ed. J. C. M. Laurent (Leipzig, 1864), pp. 19-94 (p. 108).

city with its enclosure and chapel, that of St. Michael's.[116] According to Riley-Smith, it never reached the same level of importance as Acheldemach did for pilgrims as cemeteries were used by everyone in Acre.[117] Of course, the Hospitallers were not the only hospital that buried their patients. In March 1260, the Breton Hospital, for example, received rights from Pope Alexander IV to bury the sick, disabled and poor in their own cemetery if they chose, as long as they were not excommunicated, public usurers or under interdict.[118] The cemetery of St. Nicholas was also used to bury pilgrims in Acre. The Duke of Burgundy, Hugh III, was buried here after he died at the siege of Acre (1189-91).[119] The cemetery of St. Nicholas appears in *Les Pardouns de Acre* which granted pilgrims four years indulgences for visiting it.[120] It was the only cemetery mentioned in *Les Pardouns de Acre*. This particular cemetery must have had a certain degree of fame as it appeared in the fictional *Récuits d'un ménestrel de Reims* which claims that Saladin converted to Christianity on his deathbed and was buried in the cemetery of St. Nicholas with his mother.[121] For Christians, the Hospitallers and other hospitals at Jerusalem and Acre offered them a good Christian burial, which may have put them at some ease as they lay in a ward, uncertain of their future. The late twelfth-century prayer from the Hospital of Acre, discussed in Chapter 3, prayed for the safety of pilgrims on their journey.[122] The inclusion of indulgences for those who visited the cemetery of St. Nicholas in *Les Pardouns de Acre* also gave pilgrims a chance to reflect on their own journey and pray and honour the souls of their departed fellow pilgrims.

Jerusalem Post 1187

The loss of Jerusalem for the crusaders resulted in the loss of the infrastructure and protections that Jerusalem offered to pilgrims. More importantly, they no longer had ease of access to the Holy Sepulchre. Bahā' al-Dīn Ibn Shaddād's *History of Saladin*, written

[116] *Cartulaire Général*, i, no. 1113, pp. 689-90. Mass for the dead in Acre was said by a priest in the church of St. Michael, iii, no. 3075, pp. 75-7. It is likely that the Hospitaller cemetery at Ascalon was also used to bury dead patients. Although not a pilgrim, around the year 1178 Constance, Countess of S. Gilles, asked to the buried in the Hospitaller cemetery at Ascalon. This shows that the cemetery was not exclusively for members of the Order, *Cartulaire Général*, i, pp. 373-4.
[117] Riley-Smith, 'The Death and Burial,' p. 173.
[118] J. Delaville le Roulx, *L'Hopital Des Bretons a Saint-Jean D'Acre au XIIIc Siècle* (Nantes, Sociétè des Bibliophiles Bretons et de l'Histoire de Bretagne, 1880), p. 21.
[119] Edbury, 'The Old French Continuation of William,' Ch. 132, p. 111.
[120] 'Les Pardouns de Acre' in *The Complete Harley 2253 Manuscript*, Vol. 2, ed. and trans. Susanna Fein (Kalamazoo, Medieval Institute Publications, 2014), art. 39.
[121] *A Thirteenth-Century Minstrel's Chronicle (Récuits d'un ménestrel de Reims)*, trans. Robert Levine (Lewiston: Mellen Press, 1990), p. 54.
[122] Lèon le Grand, 'La prière des malades dans les hôpitaux de l'ordre de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem' in *Bibliothèque de l'école des Chartes*, Vol. 57, No. 1 (1896), pp. 325-83 (pp. 333-6).

between 1195 and 1216, described the negations between King Richard I of England and Saladin. An envoy was sent to Saladin by King Richard in October 1191 to ask for peace and the return of Jerusalem as it was the Christian 'the centre of our worship.'[123] Saladin's reply was that Jerusalem was just as important to Muslims as it was to Christians, 'for us it is greater than it is for you.'[124] It was eventually agreed that the Holy Sepulchre should have one priest in it, and pilgrims could enter as long as they were unarmed.[125] A slight variation of this agreement appears in Ambroise's *The History of the Holy War* which stated that Hubert, bishop of Salisbury settled with Saladin that two Latin priests and two deacons would be placed in the Holy Sepulchre.[126] Either way, pilgrims did not have the same level of freedom they had in Jerusalem when it was under crusader rule. The main grievance given by a number of pilgrims was that they had to pay to enter the Holy Sepulchre. According to Ambroise, those who visited the Holy Sepulchre during the truce of 1192 gave offerings to French and Syrian prisoners in Jerusalem to prevent the Muslims from taking the offerings.[127] Wilbrand of Oldenburg, who travelled to Jerusalem between 1211-12, described how he and his fellow pilgrims were watched, pushed along, 'counted like sheep,' and had to pay 8 ½ *drachmas* to enter the Holy Sepulchre.[128] Worse still, this was only site they were allowed to visit in Jerusalem. The pilgrim Thietmar, who visited the Holy Sepulchre in 1217, gave a similar account, stating that the Holy Sepulchre could only be accessed by 'the considerable favour of a pilgrim offering payment.'[129] In light of the Fifth Crusade which began in 1217, Pope Honorius III forbade pilgrims from visiting Jerusalem as the money handed over by pilgrims was to the benefit of the Muslims.[130] Thietmar said he had attempted to avoid Jerusalem on the way to Bethlehem, but was arrested imprisoned in Jerusalem.[131] As such, Thietmar's first impression of the city was not one of wonder and awe like his predecessors, but rather one of fear and hopelessness. During the truce of 1272, made between Sultan Baybars and the Kingdom of Jerusalem,

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[123] Bahā' al-Dīn Ibn Shaddād, *The Rare and Excellent History of Saladin, or al-Nawādir al-Sulṭāniyya wa 'l-Maḥāsin al-Yūsufiyya*, trans. D. S. Richards, Crusader Texts in Translation (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), p. 186.
[124] Ibn Shaddād, *The Rare and Excellent History*, p. 186.
[125] Ibn Shaddād, *The Rare and Excellent History*, p. 197.
[126] *The History of the Holy War*, i, ll. 12136-44, p. 196.
[127] *The History of the Holy War*, i, ll. 12010-19, p. 194.
[128] Denys Pringle, 'Wilbrand of Oldenburg's Journey to Syria, Lesser Armenia, Cyprus, and the Holy Land (1211-1212): A New Edition,' in *Crusades*, Vol. 11 (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), pp. 109-137 (p. 133).
[129] Thietmar, *Magistri Thietmari Peregrinatio*, ed. J. C. M. Laurent (Hamburg, 1857), ix, p.26; 'Thietmar,' in Denys Pringle, *Pilgrimage to Jerusalem and the Holy Land, 1187-1291, Crusade Texts in Translation* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), pp. 61-94 (p. 112).
[130] Hans Eberhard Mayer, 'Two Crusaders out of Luck' in *Crusades*, eds. Benjamin Z. Kedar, Jonathan Philips and Jonathan Riley-Smith, Vol. 11 (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), pp. 159-71.
[131] Thietmar, *Magistri Thietmari Peregrinatio*, viii, pp. 25-6.

the Holy Sepulchre was in Christian hands and still cost 40 silver *gros tournois* to enter.[132] Ludolph von Suchem, who visited the Holy Land from 1336 to 1341, reported similar issues and stated that the Papacy warned pilgrims not to buy or sell anything in the Holy Land and only to bring what they needed or face the threat of excommunication.[133]

Besides the papal ban, the military orders no longer had a presence in Jerusalem after 1187, perhaps making it less attractive to the average pilgrim. Death was obviously still a possibility, though a proper Christian burial may have been more difficult to find. The *Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi* described the capture of Jerusalem in September 1187, detailing the 'unspeakable action' of the Muslims violently removing the cross from the roof of the Hospitaller church, destroying it, and dragging it through dung pits.[134] The destruction of the Hospitaller church and property received just as much attention from the author as that of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, highlighting the significance of the loss of the Hospitallers' presence in the city. For pilgrims, the network of care they expected to find in Jerusalem and protection en route to the city ceased to exist. According to Roger of Howden, in 1188, Terricius, Master of the Templars sent a letter to King Henry II of England explaining that Saladin has given permission for ten Hospitallers to remain in the Hospital in Jerusalem for one year to attend the sick.[135] It cannot be determined if the Hospitallers took up Saladin's offer. Ibn Shaddād noted that in 1192 Saladin ordered him to remain in Jerusalem until Saladin returned to build a hospital there.[136] It was built in the Church of Saint Mary Major.[137] There was no mention of the Hospitallers or what happened to their former buildings afterwards. The Mamluk Sultan Baybars increased the number of hospices in Jerusalem, the earliest been at Haram al-Sharif or Temple Mount around 1267-8 for pilgrims going to Jerusalem.[138] It is not apparent if these were open to Christian pilgrims. Around 1350, Ludolph von Suchem recorded the existence of a hospital in Jerusalem. He said that this hospital was once run by the Hospitallers and had now become 'the common hospital for pilgrims' that could accommodate one thousand pilgrims.[139] It is not clear if this was the hospital that Saladin

[132] Mayer, 'Two Crusaders out of Luck,' p. 163.
[133] Ludolph von Suchem, *De Itinere Terrae Sanctae Liber*, ed. Ferdinand Deycks (Stuttgart: Literarischer Verein, 1851), i, p. 3.
[134] Nicholson, *Chronicle of the Third Crusade*, 1:9, pp. 38-9.
[135] Magistri Rogeri de Houedene, *Chronica*, ii, pp. 346-7.
[136] Ibn Shaddād, *The Rare and Excellent History of Saladin*, p. 236.
[137] Barbara Drake Boehm and Melanie Holcomb, 'Patronage in Jerusalem,' *Jerusalem, 1000-1400: Every People Under Heaven*, eds. Barbara Drake Boehm and Melanie Holcomb (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2016), pp. 225-39 (p. 228).
[138] Boehm and Holcomb, 'Patronage in Jerusalem,' p. 229.
[139] Ludolph von Suchem, *De Itinere*, xxxviii, p. 81.

had built or if it was actually at the original Hospitaller site. Either way, this hospital was not for the poor. Ludolph said that it provided everything, though it did so for a fee, 'every pilgrim should pay two Venetian pennies for the use of the hospital' regardless of his length of stay.[140] Ultimately, pilgrims who visited the Holy Land after 1187, no longer enjoyed the free care once offered by the Hospitallers and other hospitals in the city of Jerusalem.

The River Jordan

Another pilgrimage site of great significance for Christian pilgrims was the River Jordan. It was the site identified with the baptism of Jesus. The River Jordan offered pilgrims the chance to be fully cleansed of their sins as they could bathe in the same river that Jesus was baptised in. Indeed, the main area of focus in the hagiography of saints who travelled to the Holy Land was often the River Jordan and the rituals carried out there.[141] The Holy Sepulchre was usually referenced in passing, if it is mentioned at all in these accounts. A large section of Godric of Finchale's second pilgrimage to the Holy Land in Reginald of Durham's *Life* of Godric is dedicated to how Godric bathed his feet in the River Jordan.[142] The river features heavily in events recorded in Norse sagas concerning the Holy Land. Snorre Sturlason's *Heimskringla* gives an account of King Sigurd I, who went on crusade in the summer of 1110, and rode to the River Jordan with King Baldwin of Jerusalem.[143] The accompanying rhyme sums up the importance of the Jordan and the cleansing of the soul, 'All sin and evil from him flings/ In Jordan's wave: for all his sins/ he pardon wins.'[144] Similarly, in *The Orkneyinga Saga*, stories of earls on pilgrimage in the Holy Land focused largely on bathing and other rituals in the River Jordan such as that of Earl Rognvald of Norway who went on pilgrimage to Jerusalem in 1151. This account centred on how Rognvald and Sigmund Ongull swam across the River Jordan and tied knots on some shrubs.[145]

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[140] Ludolph von Suchem, *De Itinere*, xxxviii, p. 81.
[141] The account of the Great German Pilgrimage of 1064-5 pay very little attention to Jerusalem, *Annales Altahenses Maiores*, ed. W. Giesebrecht, *Monumentis Germaniae Historicus, Rerum Germanicarum* (Hanover: Impensis Bibliopoli Hahniani, 1891), pp. 67-70.
[142] Reginald of Durham, *Libellus*, 14:40, 15:41-2, pp. 55-7; Stouck, *Medieval Saints*, p. 414.
[143] Snorre Sturlason, *Heimskringla or The Lives of the Norse Kings*, Ch. 10, p. 611; Caffaro made sure to point out that the Genoese went to the River Jordan during Holy Week in 1101 before returning to Jaffa, Hall and Phillips, *Caffaro*, p. 53.
[144] This may have been where Sigurd was baptised, Snorre Sturlason, *Heimskringla: A History of the Norse Kings*, trans, Rasmus B. Anderson and Samuel Laing, 3 vols (Norroena Society, London, 1907), iii, Ch. 10, p. 857.
[145] *The Orkneyinga Saga*, ed. Joseph Anderson (Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas, 1873), p. 148. In the case of Earl Hákon, it says he went to Jerusalem, 'according to the custom of the palmers, and brought away

Pilgrims had to take the road passing through Jericho to get to the River Jordan. The parable of the Good Samaritan preached by Jesus was set on the road from Jerusalem to Jericho. Several pilgrim narratives pointed this out, highlighting its long history as a highly dangerous road. According to Burchard of Mount Sion, there was frequent bloodshed on the road. He said, 'it is horrible to behold, and exceeding dangerous, unless one travels with an escort.'[146] Riccoldo de Montecroce, who went to the Holy Land in the late thirteenth century, said that the road was deserted, dangerous and full of bandits.[147] A number of efforts were made to protect the road over the centuries. Adummin or the Red Cistern about located on the road to Jericho about 12km outside of Jerusalem. There had been a fortress at this site since 331 to defend travellers on the road.[148] In 1036, according to the *Heimskringla*, Harald Hardrade had also attempted to make the road to the Jordan safe for pilgrims. He 'freed the way right out to the Jordan and slew robbers and other unpeaceful folk' and secured the banks of the river.[149] After the First Crusade, the duty of protecting the road to the Jordan fell to the Templars. They gained possession of Red Cistern, which Theoderich described as a strong Templar castle.[150] The fort was spacious and capable of accommodating both pilgrims and a garrison.[151] There was another crusader tower at Bait Jubr At- Tahtani less than 7km from Red Cistern, though little is known about it or even who had possession of it.[152] Jericho was about 10km away from the Red Cistern. Slightly northwest of Jericho, about 3km, was the Templar fort at Mount Quarantana. Mount Quarantana was an important Christian pilgrimage site where it was believed that Satan tempted Jesus for forty days. The twelfth-century *Anonymous Pilgrim II* stated that Mount Quarantana was 'defended by religious persons.'[153] This Templar fortress was near the road leading from Jericho to the River Jordan and Theoderich names it as one of their strongest fortresses.[154]

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sacred relics, and bathed in the river Jordan,' p. 68. In 1036, Harald Hardrade, went to the river Jordan 'and bathed himself where other palmers are wont to bathe,' Snorre Sturlason, *Heimskringla or The Lives of the Norse Kings*, Ch. 12, p. 512.

[146] Burchard of Monte Sion, 'Descriptio Terrae Sancte,' p. 62.

[147] Riccoldo da Montecroce, 'Liber Peregrinacionis,' p. 108.

[148] Denys Pringle, 'Templar Castles on the Road to the Jordan' in *The Military Orders Volume 1: Fighting for the Faith and Caring for the Sick*, ed. Malcolm Barber (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1994), pp. 148-166 (p. 153).

[149] He slew treacherous men 'on both banks of the Jordan'… / They suffered ill from the prince,' Snorre Sturlason, *Heimskringla or The Lives of the Norse Kings*, Ch. 12, p. 512.

[150] Theoderich, 'Libellus de Locis Sanctis,' p. 175.

[151] Barber, 'The Charitable and Medical,' p. 157;

[152] Pringle, 'Templar Castles on the Road to the Jordan,' pp. 162-5.

[153] 'Innominatus II,' p. 125; Daniel dined in the Monastery of the Transfiguration on Mount Tabor, Daniel the Abbot, 'The Life and journey,' p. 162.

[154] Theoderich, 'Libellus de Locis Sanctis,' p. 176.

Jericho is less than 10km from the site of Jesus' baptism in the River Jordan. As discussed in Chapter 4, the Templars were able to patrol the roads to help keep pilgrims safe from their fortresses. The only clear reference to the protection of pilgrims in the Rule of the Templars concerns pilgrims going to the river Jordan. Indeed one of the proposed origins of the Templars is that they arose after the attack on seven hundred 'virtually unarmed' weak and tired pilgrims who had left the Holy Sepulchre after the ceremony of the fire and went to the river Jordan in 1119.[155] The King and the Patriarch of Jerusalem called on men to attack the raiders, but by the time they had arrived, the raiders had escaped and had 'become fugitives and had entered the walls of Tyre and Ascalon.' Templar Statute 121, dating from 1165, states that the Templar Commander of the City of Jerusalem was to have ten knights with him 'to lead and guard the pilgrims who come to the river Jordan.'[156] The Commander was to carry a round camping tent, food, lead pack animals and bring back pilgrims on those animals if necessary and personally care for any 'nobleman in need' by bringing him to his tent and serving him with the alms of the Order. Rule 121 also states that the Commander was to carry the piebald banner.[157] This was a symbol of the Order which would have been easily recognisable to pilgrims in need. The Templar castle by the Jordan appears in a charter issued by King Baldwin IV in 1179.[158] Theoderich talked about the Hospitaller and Templar towers in the plain of the Garden of Abraham out of which they both sent patrols to escort pilgrims who were going to and from the nearly River Jordan from Muslim attackers.[159] It is not clear where the Hospitaller tower by the Jordan was located.[160] The military orders also watched over those who spent the night there.

As it associated with the baptism of Jesus and John the Baptist, the road to the river Jordan had a high volume of pilgrim traffic which heightened during Christian festival times, particularly during Easter. One night, Theoderich said he saw sixty thousand people standing by the river.[161] Even within the short description of the pilgrims by the Jordan, Theoderich made the reader fully aware of the constant Muslim threat to pilgrims. As it was dark and perhaps as part of the procession, the pilgrims were using candles.

[155] Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, 12:33, p. 881.
[156] *The Rule of the Templars*, p. 49.
[157] *The Rule of the Templars*, p. 49.
[158] *Die Urkunden Der Lateinischen Könige Von Jerusalem*, Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Diplomata Regum Latinorum Hierosolymitanorum, Pars II, ed. Hans Eberhard Mayer, altfranzösische Texte Erstellt Von Jean Richard (Hannover: Hannsche Buchhandlung, 2010), p. 703.
[159] Theoderich, 'Libellus de Locis Sanctis,' p. 175, p. 177.
[160] Pringle, 'Templar Castles on the Road to the Jordan,' p. 152.
[161] Theoderich, 'Libellus de Locis Sanctis,' p. 177.

Theoderich pointed out that this made it incredibly easy for 'infidels from the mountains of Arabia beyond Jordan' to see them.[162] This highlights just how important the 'strong castle of the Templars' and the Hospitaller and Templar patrols at the bordering Garden of Abraham by the banks of the Jordan must have been to Theoderich and other pilgrims. Regardless of how well equipped these particular castles may have been, they seemed to at least provide psychological protection for pilgrims going to and partaking in rituals by the Jordan. While the enemy was lurking somewhere in the dark, the Templars and Hospitallers were literally standing beside the pilgrims protecting them.

Summary

Arriving at and exploring Jerusalem was the culmination of the pilgrimage experience. The Easter celebrations in Jerusalem allowed Christian pilgrims to experience their religion on a whole new level, witnessing the re-enactment of the events of Easter in the locations in which they first occurred. To return once more to the core research questions, Jerusalem provided practical and spiritual infrastructure and mechanisms for pilgrims to maintain themselves, which reached its highest point for Christian pilgrims in particular, between 1099 and 1187. The walls of the city offered a physical boundary, like Acre, providing a sense of safety for those inside the city. The rise and development of the military orders and hospitals in Jerusalem was obviously linked to the crusades and the increase of pilgrim traffic to Jerusalem. Before 1187, Jerusalem was home to the headquarters of the two major military orders and pilgrim protectors, the Templars and Hospitallers, which the pilgrims would have encountered previously on their way to Jerusalem, as set out in Chapter 3 and 4. This may have added to pilgrims' sense of psychological protection, who may have expected the Hospitaller headquarters in particular to be well equipped to meet their needs. The Hospitallers, as discussed in Chapter 3, were seen as the providers of a safe place for pilgrims of all religions to seek food, shelter and medical aid. The act of alms-giving to the 'miserabiles personae' was clearly important to the Templars also as it was highlighted not only their *Rules*, but also attested to by both Templars and non-Templars during the trials. Templar charity towards pilgrims also helped to ease the burden of alms-giving by the Hospitallers. For the thousands of pilgrims in Jerusalem during the Easter celebrations, this charity must have been greatly welcomed.

[162] Theoderich, 'Libellus de Locis Sanctis,' p. 177.

Like the preparations and self-protections discussed in Chapter 1, the security provided by institutions in the city of Jerusalem left pilgrims free to immerse themselves in the pilgrimage itself. It allowed many pilgrims to complete their pilgrimage task, which in turn gave them the chance to gain remission from their sins. The cleansed soul was the ultimate form of protection as it guaranteed that the pilgrim would go to heaven. The pilgrims who died in Jerusalem, whether out of choice, illness, or otherwise, could take comfort in the knowledge that they would be given a proper Christian burial in the cemetery of Acheldemach. Indeed, for the patients of the Hospital of Jerusalem, they knew the Hospitallers would care for them in life and death. As for the River Jordan, the co-protecting of routes by the Hospitallers and the Templars, like in Chapter 4, created an added sense of psychological protection for pilgrims as well as physical protection. Based on the account given by the pilgrims Theoderich, this was particularly poignant at the River Jordan, which was a vital, yet exposed pilgrimage site. Witnessing the fortresses of two famous Military Orders in close proximity must have been a major comfort to pilgrims.

Unlike Acre, after 1187, the network of care in Jerusalem was lost to pilgrims and so, it was unable to develop any further in the thirteenth century. The change in the political situation in Jerusalem in 1187 meant that the city would remain in Muslim control during most of the remainder of the crusades. As a result, the military orders and other hospitals could never return to Jerusalem to care for pilgrims as they once did. Indeed, pilgrimage narratives reflect this change as fear and a hasten pilgrimage dominate post 1187 descriptions of Jerusalem pilgrimage.[163] Yet, Ludolph von Suchem noted some one hundred and sixty years after the Hospitallers had left Jerusalem, 'Near the Church of the Holy Sepulchre once dwelt the brethren of St. John of Jerusalem, and their palace is now the common hospital for pilgrims.'[164] This indicates that, despite their absence, the resonating memory of the Hospitallers in Jerusalem and the infrastructure and mechanisms of care they provided for pilgrims there lived on long after the crusaders had left the Holy Land.

[163] 'Wilbrand of Oldenburg,' pp. 85-6.
[164] Ludolph von Suchem, *De Itinere*, xxxviii, p. 81.

Conclusion

The song 'Stella Splendens in Monte,' found in the early fourteenth-century *LLibre Vermell de Montserrat*, depicts happy pilgrims completing their pilgrimage to Santa Maria de Montserrat Abbey in Spain; 'let all behold this sight, adorn it with their joy and leave here absolved.'[1] A pilgrim's journey, however, did not end when he was absolved of his sins. For the pilgrim who wished to return to his homeland, the difficult journey was in reality only half over. Pilgrims faced the same dangers and needed the same infrastructure and mechanisms as they did on their way to Jerusalem. Indeed, many pilgrim and crusade narratives recount the terrors encountered on the way home, the majority of which involve the sea. In the *Book of Saint James*, for example, three of the four sea miracles concern the return sailings from the Holy Land.[2] Pilgrims that had recently been cleansed of sin, and had entered a state of grace, may have been more likely to receive a divine favour from saints on the return journey. Nevertheless, some pilgrims endured hardship and even death without rescue from saintly beings. *The Life of Raymond 'Palmario' of Piacenza* tells the story of how Raymond became so ill on his return voyage that the sailors thought he was dying, while the count, his son, and Thibault in 'A Story of Beyond the Sea' were captured by Muslim warships.[3] Similarly, Ambroise's *Estoire de la Guerre Sainte* tells of the return journey from Acre that 'some died at sea, where they had a bitter shroud.'[4]

The Return Home

Despite the difficulties and dangers, a significant number of pilgrims did manage to return home to tell of and write about their experiences. The physical toll of the journey can be seen on the bodies of some pilgrims found by archaeologists. The skeleton of a twelfth-century pilgrim, buried in the cemetery of St. Mary Magdalen leprosarium in

[1] 'Stella Splendes in Monte' in *LLibre Vermell de Montserrat: Cantigas de Santa Maria*, trans. John Sidwick (Paris, Opus Productions, 1995), p. 22.
[2] *Liber Sancti Jacobi, Codex Calixtinus*, 3 vols, ed. Walter Muir Whitehill (Compostela, 1944), i, 2.7, 2.8, 2. 10, pp. 270-3.
[3] Rufino, 'Vita et Miracula B. Raymundi Palmarii,' *Acta Sanctorum*, July, Vol. 6, ed. Peter van der Bosch (Paris, 1868), pp. 644-57 (p. 647); Marie de France, 'A Story of Beyond the Sea,' in *Medieval Lays and Legends of Marie de France*, trans. Eugene Mason (New York: Dover Publications, 2003), pp. 163-196 (p. 180).
[4] *The History of the Holy War. Ambroise's Estoire de la Guerre Sainte*, eds. Marianne Ailes and Malcolm Barber, trans. Marianne Ailes, 2 vols (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2003), i, ll. 12172-3, p. 196; ii, p. 192; Narrating the horror of the same story, the *Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi* says, 'their allotted cemetery was the vastness of the sea,' Helen J. Nicholson, *Chronicle of the Third Crusade. A Translation of the Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1997), 6: 35, p. 379.

Winchester, and the late medieval Worcester pilgrim both show signs of damage to the feet and legs associated with walking long distances.[5] The Worcester pilgrim also had damage to his right hand, arm, and shoulder consistent with injury caused by putting constant pressure on a staff while walking. It is obvious that once a pilgrim was safely home, he no longer had need of the physical infrastructure he required on the road. As for spiritual protection, it is likely that the pilgrim would continue a devotion to the saint or saints that seemingly provided protection during the course of the pilgrimage. Besides the staff and scrip, a pilgrim might have acquired another mechanism of spiritual protection for the return journey in the form of a pilgrimage sign. These signs included pilgrimage badges, which signified the shrine or site the pilgrim visited, or ampullae, which contain holy water or holy oil from a shrine. Badges from Compostela, for example, were in the shape of scallop shell, while those who visited Martin of Tours' shrine received badges usually depicting Saint Martin wearing armour on his horse and cutting his cloak to give to a beggar.[6] The only surviving badges that have been positively identified as originating from Jerusalem come from the later medieval period.[7] Pilgrims did, however, take palm branches back from the Holy Land, which the *Veneranda Dies* sermon stated was to triumphantly show, 'that they have mortified all vices.'[8] A twelfth-century mural in the Crypt of St. Nicholas in Tavant in France depicts a returned pilgrim with a staff, scrip, white hat, long boots, and branch of palm.[9]

A somewhat complicated question still remains. What happened to these spiritual objects after the pilgrimage was complete? A number of pilgrimage badges and ampullae have been found in a watery context in Britain, France, Belgium and the Netherlands.[10] This has led to a debate as to whether they were purposely or ritually placed there or if it

[5] Simon Roffey, Katie Tucker, Kori Filipek-Ogden, et al., 'Investigation of a Medieval Pilgrim Burial Excavated from the Leprosarium of St. Mary Magdalen Winchester, UK,' *PloS Neglected Tropical Diseases*, Vol. 11, No. 1 (2017), pp. 1-27 (p. 2); Diana Webb, *Pilgrimage in Medieval England* (London: Hambledon and London, 2000), p. 212.
[6] Brian Spencer, *Pilgrim Souvenirs and Secular Badges: Medieval finds from Excavations in London*: 7 (London: The Stationary Office, 1998), p. 41; p. 228.
[7] *Cl. 12476*, (Musée de Cluny, Musée National du Moyen Âge, Paris) <https://www.photo.rmn.fr/archive/06-508490-2C6NU0BX2FZD.html> [accessed 15th of September 2017].
[8] Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana, History of the Journey to Jerusalem*, ed. and trans. Susan B. Edgington (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2007), 6:53, p. 474; *Liber Sancti Jacobi*, i, 1.17, p. 153; *The Miracles of Saint James*, pp. 34-44, p. 48; William J. Purkis, *Crusading Spirituality in the Holy Land and Iberia*, c. 1095-c. 1187 (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2008), p. 61.
[9] Nurith Kenaan-Kedar, 'Pictorial and Sculptural Commemoration of Returning or Departing Crusaders,' in *The Crusades and Visual Culture*, eds. Elizabeth Lapina, April Jehan Morris, Susanna A. Throop and Laura J. Whatley (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015), pp. 91-104 (pp. 94-5).
[10] Brian Spencer, 'King Henry VI, Windsor and the London Pilgrim,' in *Collectanea Londoniensia: Studies Presented to Ralph Merrifield*, eds. J. Bird and H. and Clark Chapman, (London Middlesex Archaeology Special Papers 2, 1978), pp. 235-64 (p. 238).

was due to the accident of time.[11] In defence of the ritual theory, it has been argued that it was a way to mark of the end of the journey.[12] There is concrete evidence that some pilgrims did in fact relinquish their badges and ampullae by donating them to churches to be used for healing by the wider community.[13] Chloé M. Pelletier has likened the act of tossing the badges and ampullae into rivers to the casting of badges into bells in the later medieval period. Both, she argues, allowed for the healing power associated with the badge and ampullae to be dispersed into the local environment.[14] It is possible that pilgrims purposely dispose or gift their badges once they no longer planned on taking future pilgrimages. In 'The Life of Pier Pettinaio of Siena,' Pier noted that it was not wise to brag about pilgrimage.[15] It would have been rather unfortunate for the pilgrim who had untaken the harsh journey to the Holy Land to be cleansed of sin, only to succumb to the sin of pride after a safe return home. In light of the fears and consequences associated with false pilgrims, as discussed in the first chapter, it may have been family member who passed on the signs of pilgrimage once the former pilgrim had died. This would have prevented the pilgrimage badge from being wrongly inherited or taken by someone who had not earned it through pilgrimage of their own. The twelfth-century pilgrim found in the cemetery of St. Mary Magdalen was buried with a scallop shell, the symbol of Compostela.[16] Since he had died of illness and showed signs of leprosy, he was still in need of its healing power to the point of death, which may explain why he was buried with the shell.

Some of the badges found were broken or defaced.[17] This could of course have happened over time naturally, but broken blessed objects lost their spiritual power.[18] If the badges were purposely defaced, it may indicate that spiritual defences were only supposed to last while the person was a pilgrim. As Theoderich burned his cross during the Easter celebrations on Mount Calvary, perhaps the metal badges could only be disposed of in water. Indeed the palm that pilgrims received in the Holy Land most certainly had a time limit to its symbolic power. A freshly cut palm branch could only survive a short time

[11] Michael Garcia, 'Medieval Medicine, Magic, and Water: The dilemma of deliberate deposition of pilgrim signs,' *Peregrinations: Journal of Medieval Art and Architecture*, Vol. 1, No.3 (2003), pp. 1-13 (p. 4); Jennifer Lee, 'Medieval pilgrims' badges in rivers: the curious history of a non-theory,' *Journal of Art Historiography*, No. 11, Dec. (2014), pp. 1-11 (p. 8).
[12] Garcia, 'Medieval Medicine,' p. 7.
[13] Garcia, 'Medieval Medicine, Magic, and Water,' p. 3.
[14] Chloé M. Pelletier, 'The pilgrim's badge: Water, air, and the flow of sacred matter' *Postmedieval: A Journal of Medieval Cultural Studies*, Vol. 8, No. 2 (2017), pp. 240-253 (p. 242).
[15] *The Life of Pier Pettinaio of Siena*, trans. Diana Webb, in *Saints and Cities in Medieval Italy* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007), pp. 191-241 (p. 232).
[16] Roffey, Tucker, Filipek-Ogden, et al., 'Investigation of a Medieval Pilgrim Burial,' p. 2.
[17] Garcia, 'Medieval Medicine, Magic, and Water,' p. 4.
[18] Christopher Daniel, *Death and Burial in Medieval England 1066-1550* (London: Routledge, 1997), p. 152.

without water, and two to four weeks in water. Dried palm could have last lasted longer, though this process is not mentioned by any of the sources. Either way, it is unlikely that the palm branch survived the abuse of the journey from the Holy Land, carried by the pilgrim on foot and by sea to his homeland, in perfect condition. It was not uncommon for the ashes given out on Ash Wednesday to be made from the palm branches that have been given out on the Palm Sunday of the previous year.[19] Whether pilgrims who brought palm back from the Holy Land gave it over to be added to the ashes will remain unknown. This would seem like the best way to respect the presumably tattered emblem, to allow its spiritual power to be diffused to fellow parishioners, rather than let it naturally deteriorate. As for the scrip and staff, it is not clear if pilgrims kept these items or passed them on to future pilgrims. Those who went on several pilgrimages would of course needed the items again, though whether or not they needed a new blessing for the items each time they set out is also unknown. *The Life of Raymond* recounts several pilgrimages, though only mentions one blessing.[20] The survival of both objects would have depended on their original quality and the amount of use they endured and the environment they were subjected to. The staff belonging to the Worcester pilgrim was refurbished before his death as it had showed signs of damage from use.[21] Unfortunately, given that the majority of pilgrims' voices remain silent it is difficult to determine what actually happened to the objects designed to offer spiritual protection to pilgrims. Some answers will hopefully lie in future archaeological finds.

Summary of Findings

In answer to the principal question how did pilgrims maintain themselves en route to the Holy Land in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, this thesis has shown that there was a significant network deigned to protect and aid pilgrims going to the Holy Land and elsewhere on every step of their journey in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The question of how important the infrastructure and mechanisms were for pilgrims can be answered by the fact that the mechanisms began with the pilgrims themselves as they

[19] Charles Phythian-Adams, 'Ceremony and the citizen: The communal year at Coventry, 1450-1550,' in *The Medieval Town in England, 1200-1540*, eds. Richard Holt and Gervase Rosser (London: Routledge, 1990), pp. 238-64 (p. 255); Carl A. Volz, *The Medieval Church: From the Dawn of the Middle Ages to the Eve of the Reformation* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 2011), p. 161; Eyal Poleg, *Approaching the Bible in Medieval England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013), p. 20.
[20] Rufino, 'Vita et Miracula B. Raymundi,' p. 647.
[21] Eamon Duffy, 'The dynamics of pilgrimage in late medieval England,' in *Pilgrimage: The English Experience from Becket to Bunyan*, eds. Colin Morris and Peter Roberts (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 164-77 (p. 164).

arranged their legal and financial affairs to avoid conflict or damage to their property in their absence. Once worldly problems were taken care of, pilgrims could then move on to spiritual defences, beginning with the important act of confessing their sins. This served to free their mind of troubles in order to concentrate on the pilgrimage itself. The next important step was to take part in the pilgrim blessing to receive the scrip and staff. These items bridged the gap between the temporal and spiritual world acting as both practical and spiritual protectors. Indeed, this dual nature of protection would echo throughout the pilgrimage even in other forms of protection. Finally, the last thing a pilgrim could do before setting out was to gain the favour of a saint by praying and donating to the saint's shrine. With all of these mechanisms of protection, the pilgrim was then psychologically in the right frame of mind to take his first physical steps towards Jerusalem. Pilgrims did of course have a responsibility throughout the entire journey to take care of themselves and not to place themselves in needless danger. On the road, however, pilgrims were under the protection of canon and civil law, and sought care and shelter from churches, hostels, hospitals, the military orders and the charity of nameless individuals. Improvements to infrastructure in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries coupled with the indulgences offered to those who aided pilgrims on the road allowed pilgrims to reach sea ports in safety and to embark to the Holy Land. Armed ships could defend against pirate or enemy attacks, though in reality, little could be done to protect pilgrims against sea storms. At this part of the journey, pilgrims needed to depend on their spiritual mechanisms of defence in the face of danger.

Once they reached the Holy Land, the responsibility of protection fell once again upon the pilgrims themselves as well as on the infrastructure and mechanisms provided by secular and religious authorities and religious institutions like the military orders and hospitals. The greatest changes in the Holy Land network came over the course of the crusades. Lands gained by the crusaders in the twelfth century facilitated the growth of the network right up to the River Jordan. The twelfth century, up to 1187, appears to be when the intertwining pilgrimage infrastructure was at its height in the Holy Land as the crusaders held the vital territory leading from the pilgrimage ports to Jerusalem. This period was also when the Knights Templar were in the best position to provide armed escort from the coast road to Jerusalem. It is obvious that the loss of hospital care in Jerusalem in the aftermath of 1187 had a major negative impact on pilgrims. The breakdown of the physical and psychological trail of protection that pilgrims experienced on the road to Jerusalem before 1187, knowing that they were always close to a fort or

tower belonging to the Templars or Hospitallers, may have been more devastating in the immediate term. There were hospitals in Jerusalem before and after it was in crusader hands, but the system of the military orders' forts and towers leading to the city was never restored. The fact that stories of former Templars and their forts continued to appear in pilgrim accounts, such as those of Symon Semeonis and Ludolph von Suchem, long after the trial of the Templars says something of how important they were to pilgrims. The loss of Templar and Hospitaller forts and towers may partially explain the rise in popularity of the city of Acre among pilgrims after 1191 and its development into a pilgrimage site in its own right. The network was forced to adapt at this point. Twelfth-century pilgrim narratives rarely give a true idea of how long pilgrims stayed in port cities before moving in-land, though presumably if they were in good health, they did not stay at the ports for very long. After 1191, pilgrims may have wished to or needed to stay in Acre for longer, like Jacques de Vitry stated he had to do out of the fear of travelling out into Muslim territory, which in turn would have added to the need for more hospitals in the city. As travelling with friends and family offered a basic level of comfort and familiarity, hospitals which catered for pilgrims from certain areas of origin gave pilgrims a chance to not only meet fellow pilgrims from their homeland, but also to convey any concerns or seek travel advice from someone who lived in the Holy Land, yet who spoke the same language as the newly arrived pilgrim. This would have been an invaluable mechanism of comfort and protection for the pilgrim who lost all or most of his companions along the way. Pilgrims did, of course, continue to go to Jerusalem after 1187 despite the increased uncertainties and the fear associated with venturing out into Muslim territory. Unfortunately, the true numbers of those who went on pilgrimage during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries will never be known which limits the ability to understand the full impact of the events of 1187 on pilgrim numbers. It should be noted that although sections of the infrastructure were damaged or ceased to exist in the Holy Land, the network in mainland Europe continued to improve with further developments in infrastructure. This allowed larger numbers of pilgrims to reach port cities, such as those in Italy, coupled with new shipping technology which in turn allowed ships to carry more pilgrims to the Holy Land.

So, what are the implications of this research? Most fundamentally, it develops our understanding of the pilgrimage experience by highlighting the basic needs and fears of a pilgrim, such as where to find food and shelter on the journey. It also illustrates that there was a indisputable effort to care for pilgrims and that it was the duty of everyone to contribute in some way to this infrastructure from divine and saintly beings, the Papacy

and secular rulers, religious houses and institutions, all the way down to the individual who freely gave aid to pilgrims either by giving them charity and shelter themselves, or by donating to institutions that did so. Bernard Hamilton has noted that the communities in the Latin East, in particular the Frankish community, and 'the whole of western Christendom' contributed generously to rebuilding and repairing churches in Jerusalem between 1099 and 1187.[22] These wide spread charitable acts of funding the construction of churches in Jerusalem are in an important way mirrored in the charity given to pilgrims, as the donors received spiritual rewards for buildings in Jerusalem that they might never have seen themselves. On a secular level, these churches were a sign of power and a flourishing kingdom.[23] This too can be paralleled with the prestige and assertion of power associated with road and bridge building for pilgrims, discussed in Chapter 2. Of course, the building of churches, roads, bridges and other infrastructure did have wider economic benefits. The improved roads and bridges made transport and therefore trade and commerce a little easier for the wider community. The churches in Jerusalem were not only a sign of power and ownership of the city, but also safe and perhaps visually appealing places for pilgrims to visit and experience the events of Easter. As Colin Morris points out, building and rebuilding churches was done with pilgrim demand in mind, hence more attractive buildings would have come with the expectation of increasing pilgrim numbers.[24] In terms of economy, once a church or a hospital was constructed and housed a religious order, it offered the wider community in the Latin East and in Western Europe somewhere to physically donate to, with the possibility of witnessing the benefits of their donations in action as the order in question aided pilgrims.

The rise of indulgences for those who helped to build roads and bridges to aid pilgrims along the way shows a genuine attempt to get every person involved in the network. Nevertheless, the act of aiding pilgrims could potentially have had a negative economic impact on those involved. Giving aid to every pilgrim that passed would have been difficult. Larger institutions like the military orders may have been better financed than smaller hospitals but, as John of Würzburg pointed out, caring for pilgrims and the poor was a hugely expensive operation. This may explain why efforts were made to

[22] Bernard Hamilton, 'The Impact of Crusader Jerusalem on Western Christendom,' *The Catholic Historical Review*, Vol. 80, No. 4 (Oct., 1994), pp. 695-713 (p. 703); This is turn gave rise to the building replicas of the Holy Sepulchre in the west in the twelfth-century, Colin Morris, *The Sepulchre of Christ and the Medieval West: From the Beginning to1600* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), pp. 230-40.
[23] Bernard Hamilton, 'Rebuilding Zion: The Holy Places of Jerusalem in the Twelfth Century,' *Studies in Church History*, Vol. 14 (1977), pp. 105-116; Bernard Hamilton, *The Leper King and His Heirs: Baldwin IV and the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 235-7.
[24] Morris, *The Sepulchre of Christ*, p. 193.

encourage everyone to help in any way they could, as well as emphasising the link between charity and the salvation of the soul. Nevertheless, not every pilgrim stayed in a hospital. Several hagiographical accounts noted that wealthier pilgrims stayed in inns.[25] This leads on to a final analysis of the concept of 'miserabiles personae' and those who could realistically go on pilgrimage.

The twelfth and thirteenth centuries saw pilgrims from a wide range from social backgrounds making their way to the Holy Land. Relying on pilgrimage accounts and itineraries from this period can present a somewhat warped view that the majority of pilgrims who went to the Holy Land were members of religious orders. When evidence from sermons, exemplars, hagiography, and important legal documents is considered, it is clear that pilgrims could very well be members of religious orders, as was Theoderich, but were more likely to be member of the nobility, merchants such as Peter of Saint Paul from France, tradesmen like the shoemaker Raymond 'Palmario' of Piacenza from Italy, wool workers like Maienna from Spain, or poor farmers like Guy of Anderlecht from Belgium. The diverse nature of pilgrims can be seen in the two pilgrim bodies mentioned above. The twelfth-century pilgrim found in the leprosarium of St. Mary Magdalen, aged between eighteen and twenty-five years old, was buried in a basic grave outside the church, while the Worcester pilgrim was about sixty year old and buried with more grandeur inside the cathedral under the southern tower.[26] This mix of social groups seeking forgiveness for sins reflects the growth of diversity of religious life in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, which Giles Constable states, was at the core of twelfth-century religious reform.[27] He argues that attempts to place religious life in a hierarchy, headed by monks and canons, then followed by hermits, lay brothers, and those in the military orders, and finally pilgrims, penitents, wandering preachers, and crusaders, is problematic.[28] A more accurate picture of twelfth and thirteenth-century spirituality is one where the religious experience of the individual is placed in the centre, surrounded by the various types of religious life. This is certainly true in the case of the pilgrim. Pilgrimage was a religious journey, taken for personal reasons, with the pilgrim at the centre of the entire journey. Yet, the pilgrim would encounter and rely on aid from those who were other modes of religious life, such as the monks, hermits, hospitaller orders, and crusaders, in order to complete their pilgrimage.

[25] *Liber Sancti Jacobi*, i, 2.5, 2.6, 2. 18, pp. 267-9, 282-3.
[26] Roffey, Tucker, Filipek-Ogden, et al., 'Investigation of a Medieval Pilgrim Burial,' p. 8, p. 18.
[27] Giles Constable, *The Reformation of the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 87.
[28] Constable, *The Reformation of the Twelfth Century*, p. 86.

According to exemplars, hagiography, and sermons, the perfect pilgrim was one who travelled in poverty and had to rely on the charity of others to complete the task. Under this description, a genuinely poor person with nothing to lose but his life was the perfect pilgrim. While it can be difficult at times to differentiate between a pilgrim and a crusader and if the crusaders saw a marked difference between the two at all, the emphasis on pilgrim poverty goes some way to highlight a divergence. In sum, the crusader who set out without money in this purse was a fool destined to fail. The pilgrim who set out with money in his purse was a fool destined for hell. The idea of the pilgrim as poor mimics the wider twelfth-century 'paupertas Christi' movement, which was the act achieving holiness through poverty. Brenda M. Bolton points that, in the twelfth century, 'considerable numbers of people appeared to be behaving strangely' especially lay people, as they renounced wealth and inheritance in favour of living in poverty and personal suffering like the apostles, or *vita apostolica*.[29] One method of achieving this was to choose an eremitical life by rejecting worldly comforts or goods and living alone or in a small community.[30] A number of *vita apostolica* and eremitical practices parallel those of pilgrims. They purposely made themselves poor, survived on the charity of others, and most importantly, they become spiritually renewed through enduring hardships, such as demanding physical labour or even flagellation, mirroring hardships endured by pilgrims.[31] Unlike hermits however, pilgrims travelling to the Holy Land needed to travel in large numbers for safety. On the importance of pilgrimage in the rise of the crusades and 'new monasticism' in the twelfth century, William J. Purkis notes the link between monasticism and crusading and attempts to imitate the life of Christ by emphasising his humanity.[32] Pilgrims, following the *vita apostolica*, had the added chance to imitate the agony experienced by Jesus by physically visiting Jerusalem and the sites of his suffering even more so if they were in a state of pain from hardship of the journey.

The logistics of travelling in complete poverty do seem rather unrealistic. Nevertheless, under the right circumstances, a poor person armed with the right knowledge of where to find the best charity, aid, and shelter, might just have made it to the Holy Land. On the other hand, if every single pilgrim truly travelled in complete poverty, it was likely to cause extreme financial strain on the institutions that tried to protect pilgrims and would

[29] Brenda M. Bolton, 'Paupertas Christi: Old Wealth and New Poverty in the Twelfth Century,' *Studies in Church History*, Vol. 14 (1977), pp. 95-103 (p. 96).
[30] Giles Constable, 'Eremitical Forms of Monastic Life,' in *Monks, Hermits and Crusaders in Medieval Europe* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1988), V, pp. 239-64 (p. 241, p. 243).
[31] Bolton, 'Paupertas Christi,' p. 98.
[32] Purkis, *Crusading Spirituality*, pp. 180-3.

have impacted on the quality of care they could provide. A small loophole in the issue of poor pilgrims appears in the *Veneranda Dies* sermon. While it notes that the scrip was to be open at all times to give and to receive alms, pilgrims could set out with a certain amount of money in their scrip if it was intended for charitable purposes.[33] In this regard, while a genuinely poor person had nothing to bring, wealthier pilgrims could carry money to donate to shrines and hospitals along the way, hence helping to fund the pilgrimage infrastructure. There was one other loophole that may have been attractive to wealthier pilgrims. The staff and scrip ceremony did not necessarily have to be taken before pilgrims set out.[34] This would have allowed would-be pilgrims to stay in inns and spend as much as they liked until they took part in the pilgrimage blessing. It would make sense if such pilgrims did not take the staff and scrip until they reached a port city and had paid for their ship's fare. Indeed, in the story of Raymond Le Bousquet from the *Book of Sainte Foy*, he had entrusted his money to a person at Luna in Italy, where he set sail from, 'as is the custom of pilgrims.'[35] If this was common practice among the wealthy, then it would have eased the financial burden on the pilgrimage infrastructure in mainland Europe at least. The rise of several hospitals in Acre in the thirteenth century would also have eased the pressure on institutions like the Hospitallers. The regional based hospitals in Acre would have made it possible for wealthy pilgrims from those locations to donate to them in advance of their planned stay there, thus funding their own stay and care.

There is little indication as to whether the types of people going to the Holy Land in the thirteenth century differed from those who travelled there in the twelfth century. There is, however, evidence to suggest that those who travelled to the Holy Land after 1291, when the pilgrimage infrastructure discussed in this thesis had completely collapsed, were from more limited social backgrounds. Later medieval pilgrimage narratives are largely dominated by religious orders and missionaries, such as the early fourteenth-century Franciscans Symon Semeonis, Hugo and Niccolo da Poggibonsi, followed by those from a wealthy background, such as Margery Kempe in the late fourteenth century who was the daughter of a politician and married to a town official, and Italian nobles Lionardo Frescobaldi and Simone Sigoli.[36] The added costs of having to pay to visit pilgrimage sites

[33] *Liber Sancti Jacobi*, i, 1.17, pp. 152-3.
[34] Debra J. Birch, *Pilgrimage to Rome in the Middle Ages: Continuity and Change* (Woodbridge, The Boydell Press, 2000), p. 76.
[35] Bernard of Angers, *Liber Miraculorum Sancte Fidis*, ed. A. Bouillet (Paris, 1897), 2:2, p. 94.
[36] Lionardo's companion Giorgio Gucci was described as a commoner, though he appeared to have considerable wealth, Lionardo Frescobaldi, 'Viaggio in Terresanta,' in *Pellegrini Scrittori: Viaggiatori toscani del Trecento in Terrasanta*, ed. Antonio Lanza and Marcellina Troncarelli (Florence: Ponte Alle Grazie, 1990), pp. 167-215 (p. 24).

such as the Holy Sepulchre, extortion fees, and having to pay for inns in the Holy Land, would have made the journey impossible for those from lower social classes. Regardless of the decline of the popularity of the *vita apostolica* movement, it was no longer physically possible to go to the Holy Land in a state of poverty. Perhaps as a response to this, the later medieval period saw a renewal of attempts to depict the Holy Sepulchre in church art and to build replicas of it in western Europe, something that had declined in the thirteenth century.[37] A change came in the early fourteenth century. By 1336, the Franciscans had control of the Holy Sepulchre, the Valley of Jehoshaphat, and the Grotto of the nativity in Bethlehem which led to an increase of Franciscan pilgrims visiting the Holy Land.[38] It had been a gradual process to gain control of the sites.[39] An agreement made between James II of Aragon and the Sultan of Egypt in 1327 arranged to install twelve Dominican friars in the Holy Sepulchre and reopen it as a place for Christian pilgrims, but they were then replaced with twelve Franciscan friars.[40] After 1291, the Holy Sepulchre once again overshadowed Jerusalem in Christian minds as it had done before the crusades.[41] The Franciscan ownership of the Holy Sepulchre, and not the city itself, would have helped to cement this idea. It is interesting to consider the rise of vernacular pilgrimage narratives during the later medieval period, which may reflect the association of late medieval pilgrimage with the wealthy, presumably educated classes, though it also indicates a slight shift in the purpose of such pilgrimage narratives. The more detailed and lively vernacular narratives did not need the intricate biblical allusions found in their Latin predecessors, which had served as substitute and meditative the virtual pilgrimage. The vernacular did of course still serve as a substitute, though the entertainment value suggests that they were probably aimed at the lower classes who could no longer afford to go on pilgrimage to the Holy Land, rather than the monk seeking a meditative pilgrimage.

[37] Shrines claiming to contain the blood of Christ began to emerge in Germany in the fourteenth century as substitutes for pilgrimage to Jerusalem, Morris, *The Sepulchre of Christ*, pp. 345-6.
[38] John Moorman, *A History of the Franciscan Order From Its Origins to the Year 1517* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), p. 437; Sylvia Schein, *Gateway to the Heavenly City: Crusader Jerusalem and the Catholic West* (1099-1187) (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), p. 193.
[39] In 1305, the King of Georgia was granted the church of the Holy Cross outside of Jerusalem and received the rights to Golgotha in 1308 with the possibility to install two monks in the Holy Sepulchre and Calvary, Sabino de Sandoli, *The Peaceful Liberation of the Holy Places in the XIV Century: The Third Return of the Frankish or Latin Clergy to the Custody and Service of the Holy Places through Official Negotiations in1333* (Cairo: Franciscan Center of Christian Oriental Studies, 1990), p. 34.
[40] Moorman, *A History of the Franciscan Order*, p. 436.
[41] Schein, *Gateway to the Heavenly City*, p. 193.

Limits of the Research and Future Work

There are obvious limits to how far the questions addressed in this thesis can be explored. To a considerable degree, this is due to the nature of the sources which are often frustratingly vague, record only unfinished pilgrimage journeys, or are only concerned with a certain part of the pilgrimage. The point at which a person decided to take up pilgrimage, set out to the Holy Land, and the return home is not discussed in twelfth and thirteenth-century pilgrimage narratives. This makes it difficult to pin down any one complete pilgrimage experience from the start to finish. Drawing on a variety of source types has been an attempt to rectify this, though gaps and uncertainties will still remain. Indeed, the inability to quantify just how many people went on pilgrimage to the Holy Land or elsewhere partly forms these uncertainties. As was set out in the introduction, the main focus was on the infrastructure and mechanisms available to Latin Christian pilgrims going to the Holy Land in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. A detailed study on the economic impact of pilgrim infrastructure would also add valuable knowledge to understanding how the network operated. This, however, could prove to be a difficult task. Cartularies of churches and hospitals along pilgrimage routes could be investigated for their income or donations. Based on how what fraction that particular order was supposed to dedicate to helping the poor and pilgrims, it may be possible to calculate roughly how much this type of charity cost.[42] The level accuracy would of course, depend on the level of detail contained in the cartularies. There is also room to investigate the infrastructure and mechanisms in place for pilgrims of other religions in the Holy Land during this period, as well as Latin Christian pilgrims going to the Holy Land before and after these dates. The land route to the Holy Land which crosses over Anatolia and what is now Turkey was given less emphasis here, in favour of the more popular sea routes, but the extent of supporting institutions on these land routes may also be merit examining. The second chapter touched on protections for Latin Christians travelling in mainland Europe, though a more thorough inspection of protections for those going to pilgrimage sites, such as Compostela, would also be worthwhile.

[42] The Council of Riesbach of c. 798, notes that one quarter of oblations given to churches were to be set aside for guests and pilgrims, *Concilia Aevi Karolini*, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*. *Legum III*, Vol. 2, Part 1, ed. Albertus Werminghoff (Hanover: Impensis Bibliopoli Hahniani, 1906), p. 287; The Templars set aside one tenth for the poor, *The Rule of the Templars: The French Text of the Rule of the Order of the Knights Templars*, trans. J. M. Upton-Ward (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1992), p. 27.

In conclusion, the infrastructure and mechanisms put in place for pilgrims to maintain themselves en route to the Holy Land in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries was a huge undertaking that could involve everyone in society from the highest to the lowest status. Ultimately, this study of pilgrim infrastructure and mechanisms adds to current knowledge of the medieval pilgrimage experience and to better understanding twelfth and thirteenth-century spirituality. Undoubtedly, the network could not have developed, expanded, or have been sustained without the charitable acts of many. Whatever the true number of pilgrims who went to the Holy Land was, it most certainly would have been significantly less if no efforts had been made to provide infrastructure and mechanisms for them. Indeed, without the vast network of infrastructure, it would have been rather difficult for the majority of the pilgrims mentioned in this thesis to have ever reached the Holy Land.

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