

NEW PERSPECTIVES ON *TRACTATUS DE LOCIS ET STATU SANCTE TERRE JEROSOLIMITANE*

I. TOWARDS A NEW EDITION OF THE *TRACTATUS*. (THAT IS, HOW GENEALOGICAL TEXTUAL CRITICISM CAN MODIFY THE HISTORICAL ASSESSMENT OF A CRUSADER TEXT)*

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Abstract:

A traditional research on the genealogical relationships among the extant witnesses of the *Tractatus de locis et statu sancte terre*

Jerusalemite allows to partially modify the historical assessment of this very relevant crusader text.

*Dedicated to Professor Benjamin Z. Kedar
on the occasion of his 80th birthday.*

In this short paper I will touch on 3 points.

- a. The most useful way to edit a medieval text that is important for historians (I mean the edition of a work transmitted by many copies, not e.g. the diplomatic edition of a *bull*).¹
- b. A provisional genealogy of the witnesses of the *Tractatus* I was able to collate so far.
- c. Some examples of the richness of information that a genealogical approach can give to the textual history of a work, from the original ver-

* An early version of this paper was presented in January 2018 to the Haifa conference *The Latin East in the 13th Century. Institutions, Settlements and Material Culture*. I have preserved its original conversational tone adding some footnotes and a finding list of witnesses of the *Tractatus*. I warmly thank Benjamin Kedar and Tim Markey for kindly revising my English.

1 I tried to address some aspects of this topic also in Trovato 2007; Id. 2016.

KEYWORDS: *Tractatus de locis et statu sancte terre Ierosolimitane* / Crusader Kingdom / Holy Land Crusades / Textual criticism

sion to later remakes and abridgments: a richness that everybody can grasp simply by looking at the genealogical tree of any popular work.

1. Nowadays there are two popular recipes for cooking, I mean editing, medieval texts of which we do not possess the original and of which we have different copies. (i) The most popular and easy one is the recipe of Bédier, that is, singling out a good MS and publishing a good transcription of that copy. (ii) A more ambitious recipe, which I would call the Neo-Lachmannian one, consists in trying hard to establish a overall genealogy of the extant witnesses and use only the higher MSS in the pedigree (i.e. the *stemma codicum*) for reconstructing the lost original, applying some rules of formal logics (no need for reconstruction if the original is preserved). As the present case study can show, this second way, which is certainly more difficult and time-consuming, is the only one which allows to answer, at least partially, the questions historians usually ask when they face a relevant text: when? why? where? and the like.

As a rule, when collating different copies of the same work, scholars find a small number of very relevant variant readings, surrounded by a lot of barely significant ones. The text I am going to discuss here, written a little before or maybe some years after 1187, does not make exception. It is crowded with dozens of formal variants. Yet it contains some very significant ones from a historical point of view. E.g., in the sections dedicated to the religious orders, a single variation place contains 3 very intriguing variants that refer to the Knights of the Temple and the Hospital. Some witnesses say that the Templars are *peroptimi milites*, while the Hospitallers are only *boni milites*. Others read that both Templars and Hospitallers are *boni milites*. Others contain also a reference to a younger military order, the *Domus Teutonicorum*. Now, Cerquiglini and the New Philologists (the not so new *nouvelle vague* in textual criticism) would say that it is impossible to find the logic within the chaotic *mouvance* and *variance* of the different scribal versions. Yet I am an old-fashioned philologist. Therefore I am confident that the chaos is only seeming. Through a careful application of the Neo-Lachmannian or common-error method, we can reconstruct, at least to some extent, the process of alteration which this text, like any popular text, underwent. We can also speculate with a reasonable degree of certainty which of these 3 readings was in the original version and even, although with some degrees of approximation, when and why the other variants were introduced.

2. The variants I just quoted are drawn from the *Tractatus de locis et statu sancte terre Jerosolimitane*, a first-hand description of the Crusader Kingdom by a European cleric while he has been living in the Holy Land.² The treatise, which begins with the words “Terra Jerosolimitana in centro mundi posita est, ex maiori parte montuosa...”, is preserved by a number of 13th, 14th and 15th century MSS and had been cited or rather intensely exploited in the works of Thietmar (1217), Jacques de Vitry (1224?) and others, not to mention the recycling of one or more sections of the *Tractatus* in Holy Land compilations which merge it with large parts of Fretellus or other descriptions. Due to its interest, the *Tractatus* was repeatedly, and erroneously, published by scholars of the 19th and 20th century as a work by Aimar the Monk (*Haimarus monachus*), or else as part either of an account of a pilgrimage beginning with the words “Ego ivi de Accon in Caifa que est sub monte Carmeli” (attributed by Wilhelm Anton Neumann to the so-called Innominatus V), or of an *itinerarium terre sancte* whose *incipit* reads «Si quis de Iope in Ierusalem ire voluerit» (attributed by Reinhold Röhricht to the so-called Innominatus IX). The *Tractatus* began a new scholarly life in 1998, when Professor Benjamin Kedar made sense of the seemingly contradictory data and judgments of previous scholars and, using a part of the extant MS tradition, produced a useful edition of it.³

In addition to this, in an article of 1997, «A Western Survey of Saladin’s Forces at the Siege of Acre», Kedar had already published a likely continuation of the treatise, which is preserved in two of the witnesses he used in 1998, B and W (in the Appendix I will give an explanation of the *sigla* cited in this paper). Of course, Kedar was interested more in the historical problems which the *Tractatus* presents than in the technicalities which an editor has to do with. So he did not bother to describe in depth the rationale of his work. In his capacity of historian Kedar suggested instead that, due to an assessment of references to facts or institutions found in the text, most of the treatise was written during the last two decades of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, and at any rate before Saladin’s conquest in 1187.

2 The European perspective of the author is clearly declared in the sections “De animalibus” and “De arboribus” («preter communia terrarum nostrarum animalia sunt ibi leones, pardi...», «preter communes arbores quas habet Europa sunt ibi palme [...] arbores paradisi [...] poma Adam...»).

3 Kedar 1998 (2006).

The enumeration in the present tense of the Latin canons and monks of Jerusalem's churches points to the period before Saladin's conquest in 1187; the same is true of the list of the barons. The *terminus a quo* is provided by the mention of the bishopric of Hebron and the archbishopric of Petra, both founded in 1168.⁴

Still regarding the date of the text, he does not fail to observe that a passage relative to the recent history of the Armenians ("Armeni *nuper* Romane ecclesie promiserunt obedire dum rex eorum a Maguntino Archiepiscopo romane sedis legato coronam suscepit"; my emphasis) refers, as Neumann had already remarked, to the crowning of Leo II in January 1198. However – unlike Neumann, Golubovich and Grabois – Kedar does not judge that the date of composition of the treatise should therefore be changed to after 1198:

This statement on the Armenians, phrased as it is in the past tense, stands out starkly in a treatise that consistently uses the present tense in describing the country; it may therefore be deemed an addition.⁵

There is another very relevant variant which we must consider in this regard. With the word "variant" I mean here the whole survey of Saladin's forces, which is found at the end of the treatise in MSS B and W and which, beginning with the phrase "Saracenorum plurime sunt gentes...", finishes with the words "...Maurorum, Garamantum, Magitrogoditorum et aliorum plurimorum". In other words, this second, quite long variant coincides with the likely continuation of the treatise published by Kedar in 1997. As Kedar explains, this text or section of text describes «the Saracen forces Saladin amassed in front of Acre during the siege of 1189-91».⁶ In line with his dating of the treatise before Saladin's conquest in 1187, Kedar judges these pages, too, to be an addition, albeit a very interesting one.⁷

4 Kedar 1998 (2006), p. 119.

5 Kedar 1998 (2006), p. 120.

6 Kedar 1997 (2006), p. 114.

7 Kedar 1997 (2006), p. 114: «The two English MSS contain an addition to the *Tractatus* that does not figure elsewhere: a survey of the Saracen forces [...] modelled on the *Tractatus*, presenting the various Saracen elements along the same lines according to which the

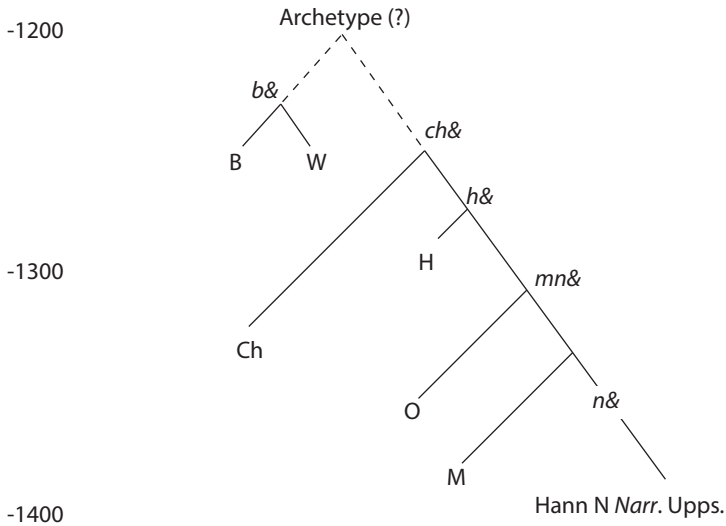
To sum up, the *Tractatus* poses to any historian of the Crusades problems about the presence or absence of the list of the Saracen forces during the siege of 1189-91 and its dating before 1187 or shortly after January 1198, which completely change the profile and the historical meaning of the work.

3. In 2014, by mere chance, I used Kedar's edition in a chapter of my handbook of textual criticism to show how a rich enough apparatus permits useful deductions about the relationships among the witnesses used in any edition.⁸ I also introduced in my analysis a few new copies of which I could have (partial or total) knowledge in a particularly convenient way. Thus I made some deduction about the position of the MSS which I call Hann (from Hannover) and Upps (from Uppsala) on the poor, risky base of their *explicit*s, as they appear in recent catalogs. I used a reprint of the *Narratio* (= *Narr.*) and an edition of a Verona MS that contains a mere abridgment of the *Tractatus* (= Vr). I also got from a student of mine who happened to be in France at that time a copy of the Charleville MS.

No need to say that in the course of its transmission, as any other popular text, the text of the *Tractatus* underwent a number of adaptations, including some very extensive ones. Nevertheless, Kedar's apparatus shows that a group of MSS preserved mostly in German libraries, which I designate as *b&c* (H M N *Narr.* O), quite evidently constitutes a family showing a particular abundance of conjunctive innovations (*Bindefehler* in Paul Maas' original terms). (Some of these innovations seem also shared, to the extent that a comparison is possible, by the fragmentary copies G and Vr, containing only short extracts from the treatise and therefore not included in my provisional pedigree.) After analyzing the most significant variants, I was able to suggest the following stemma. Please note that I preferred to connect the primary branches *b&c* and *ch&* only by a tentative broken line, having found no errors common to the two families. On the other hand, the absence of an archetype is theoretically improbable in a 13th century MS tradition.

Tractatus lists the ethnic and religious groups of the Kingdom of Jerusalem [...] Occasionally, the model's very wording is copied».

8 Trovato 2014 (2017), pp. 275-287.



I just said that this stemma is a provisional one for two reasons: it was based on a selection of variants (those printed in Kedar’s apparatus) and it was based on a little part of the extant witnesses. Still it has something to suggest to his users.

The first suggestion regards the king of the Armenians. All the witnesses of the *Tractatus* which I examined in 2014 contain the reference to the Armenians and the crowning of Leo II in 1198 quoted above (“Armeni nuper Romane ecclesie promiserunt obedire, dum rex eorum a Maguntino archiepiscopo Romane sedis legato coronam susceperit”). Thus, this textual variant cannot be dismissed as an interpolation without further discussion. Unless we find that one or more new MSS do not descend from the same ancestors identified so far and read differently from our text, the passage *is* in the archetype, that is, the lost witness all the extant copies come from. It is of course possible, as Kedar supposes, that the original work lacked the reference to the Armenians, and that this was introduced by a copyist-rewriter upstream of the archetype. But the news of king Leo’s crowning was perhaps the most positive event of the last years of the century from the point of view of Latin Christians and it could be argued that we miss an irrefutable reason to suppose that the *Tractatus*, as it is transmitted in the known MSS, must be earlier than 1198 and corruption

of the original has occurred here (I am paraphrasing a sound textual scholar of 19th century, Edward Moore).⁹

A second suggestion regards the long variant about Saladin's forces during the siege of Acre in 1189-91, which is consistent with the overall structure, the lexicon and style, and the post-1198 date of the treatise as we read it today. My two-branched provisional stemma says that these sections – entitled *De diversitate Saracenorum et hostium Christianitatis* [...], *De Syris*, *De Egyptiis* etc.) – have a 50% chance of being part of the original text of the *Tractatus*.

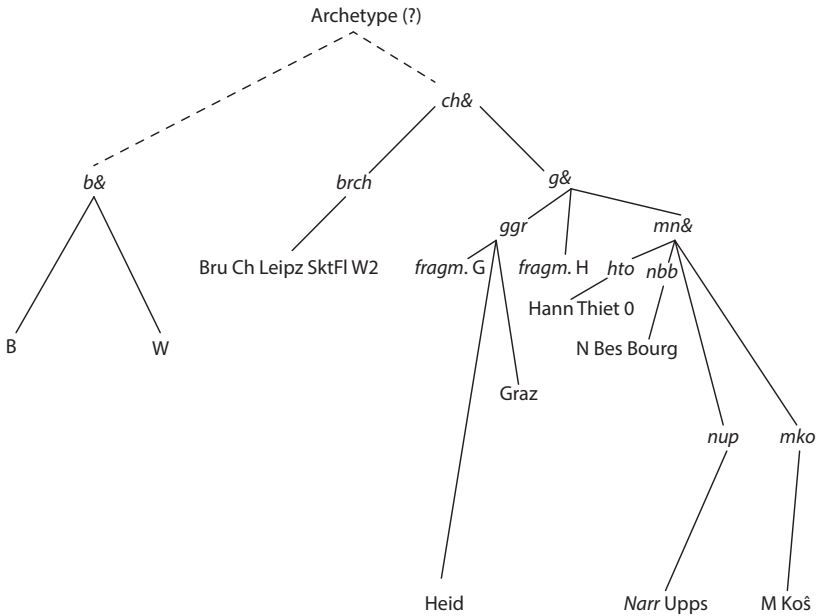
4. Some months ago Professor Kedar wrote me a letter in which he facetiously proposed the following project:

As the two of us appear to be the only two persons on earth keenly caring about this text, how about joining forces and preparing a new edition of it, based on all known MSS, printing the full and abbreviated versions, and discussing the *Tractatus*'s diffusion and impact?

Of course, I was deeply honoured of such proposal (my part will be of course to deal with all things about the text) and as soon as my energetic colleague kindly sent me a rich series of notes and reproductions of new and old witnesses, I began to look for new witnesses myself and to collate them in several places of variations. The news on the transmission which I am able to present here are based on the analysis of some 20 witnesses plus Thietmar and Jacques de Vitry, whose wide quotations of the *Tractatus* represent interesting cases of indirect tradition (a list of the witnesses is found in the Appendix).

The analysis I did so far of the old and new witnesses has allowed me to find other important variants. Still I prefer to spare the readers of this note a perhaps not too exciting discussion even of the most significant passages, which will find its proper place within the edition. But I would like to underline that the new data permit to draw a partially new stemma, that is, to improve my previous reconstruction of the genealogy of the *Tractatus*.

9 «The process of emendation is [...] to be applied to a text only when there is good reason to suppose that corruption of the original has occurred: in other words, when we believe that we have before us something that the author *did not write*» (Moore 1889, p. viii).



I briefly comment upon the information that we can get from this brand-new stemma, still provisional, but more rich. For the sake of clarity, I shall indicate with the abbreviations *Tractatus a* or *a* the text published by Kedar in 1998, I shall call *b* the survey of Saladin’s forces published by the same Kedar in 1997. I shall call *c* a third short text (*De excidio terre et successione regum*) which I will discuss pretty soon.¹⁰

Firstly, all the MSS under examinations, except truncated or strongly abridged ones, contain the reference to the coronation of the Armenian king in January 1198.

Secondly, the family in the right branch of the stemma, which I call *ch&*, contains after *Tractatus a* (that is, the text in Kedar’s 1998 edition, which finishes with the words “Litteram habent saracenicam, sed valde corruptam” and does not bring the section on Saladin’s forces) a different text of the same age. This short text, which the copies report wholly or, more often, truncate after few lines, and which begins, except for minor variants, with the words “Terra Ierosolimitana variis casibus exposita fuit”,

¹⁰ Due to their shortness, I do not include in the stemma the abridged copies Melk and Upp, which are twins and belong to a subset not too far removed from *brch*.

has a conspicuous editorial history.¹¹ Often entitled *De excidio terre*, its anonymous author summarizes very briefly the history of the Kingdom of Jerusalem until the death of King Amaury in 1174, deals at greater length with the dynastic roles of his son Baldwin IV and his daughters Sybilla and Isabel, mentions the fall of the kingdom in 1187, and then focuses on the Third Crusade (with a strong emphasis on the expedition of Emperor Frederick Barbarossa) down to the treaty of 1192 between King Richard of England and Saladin. Thereafter the author jumps to 1197, and presents a brief account of the German crusaders whom Emperor Henry VI sent east in that year. The list of the leaders of this German crusade begins with the names of Archbishop Konrad of Mainz and Konrad, the *Cancellarius Imperatoris*. (Archbishop Konrad is known to have gone in 1198 to Armenia for the coronation of King Leo II). If the *Tractatus a plus b* is a sort of report for European readers, *c*, i.e. the *De excidio*, which is written in a more luxuriant style, is at least partially a propaganda tool about the loyalty and reliability of the German crusaders, which would be difficult to date long after both the end of the German crusade of 1197 and the death of Archbishop Konrad (25 October 1200).

Thirdly, the ancestor of the *ch&* family reads, on top of the *De excidio*, the following *rubrica*, which sounds odd unless a particularly autonomous scribe informs the reader on his displacement of a text in respect to its position in the exemplar: “De diversitate sarracenorum et hostium Xristianitatis *inferius dicitur. Sed nunc* de excidio terre dicendum est”.

Now, *De diversitate Sarracenorum et hostium Xristianitatis* is precisely the title of the *b* section, transmitted by the English branch and autonomously published by Kedar in 1997. If, according to my stemma of 2014, the *b* section had only 50% probability of being an integral part of the original text of the *Tractatus*, the investigation of other witnesses has led to a different conclusion. We can safely assume that, being also in the lost ancestor of the second branch of the diagram, this section – which, as noted above, exhibits the same plain and matter-of-fact style and the very wording of *Tractatus a* – goes back to the archetype of the treatise. The

11 I only quote: Benevenutus de S. Georgio, *Historia Montis Ferrati*, in RIS¹, 24, 1733, coll. 367-372: *Corpus historicum Medii Aevi, sive Scriptores res in orbe universo praecipue in Germania, a temporibus maxime Caroli M. imperatoris usque ad finem seculi post C. N. XV, gestas... nunc primum editi a Jo. Georgio Eccardo*, t. II, Francofurti & Lipsiae, Krauss, 1743, coll. 1349-1354 (with the title *Brevis historia occupationis et amissionis Terre Sancte*); Thomas 1865.

copyist of *ch&* (i.e. the German branch), very probably an *Alamanus* who served one of the above-mentioned leaders of the German crusade of 1197, decided to insert the *De excidio* between *a* and *b* section, and separated the two stylistically homogeneous parts which we find united in the *b&* branch of the *Tractatus*. No need to say that, after being removed from its original position as appearing in B and W, the description of Saladin's forces at the siege of Acre lost its appeal and *b* section was omitted by one or more recent copyists. (Later scribes also realized that the promise to address later (*inferius dicetur*) the theme "de diversitate Sarracenorum et hostium Christianitatis" was not kept and consequently modified the *rubrica*: *De diversitate Sarracenorum et hostium Christianitatis inferius dicetur. Sed nunc de excidio terre dicendum est* Bru Leipzig W2... > *Nunc de destructione terre et successione regum dicamus* Hann Narr O...).

If somebody thinks that a title, or rather a logical deduction of the kind normally admitted in textual criticism, is not sufficient to prove that such a text existed also in the right-hand side branch of the stemma, I can adduce a piece of incontrovertible evidence. The MS of Graz, which belonged to the Austrian Benedictine house of St. Lambrecht, and its younger twin of Heidelberg, depend on a lost remake of the *Tractatus* (*ggr*), in which we find heavy interpolations and updatings (for instance, long quotations from Fretellus and a note on the council that determined the ruin of the Templars in 1312). These copies, which are independent from the branch of B and W, offer, *inter alia*, a completely new order of the topics. Nevertheless, they contain the whole section on Saladin's forces, the order being *a b c*.

Copies and abridgments of the *Tractatus* continued to spread in the 14th and 15th centuries from Germany to many parts of Christian Europe thanks to the networks of Benedictine and Cistercian Abbeys (the provenance of most MSS in my list is Benedictine), but, apart from a few later interpolations such as in the twins MSS Graz and Heid, we can be certain that even the lower subfamilies of this provisional stemma already existed before the third decade of the 13th century. Not even Thietmar or Jacques de Vitry, who wrote their works around 1217 and 1224 respectively, could use genealogically better copies; on the contrary, they made use of lost early copies of *mn&*.

5. Maybe some are still curious about the remarks on Templars and Hospitallers with which my paper began. Indeed, treating the issue *De Templo et Hospitali*, the author of the *Tractatus* dedicated 18 lines to the Temple, and 2 lines and half to the Hospital (pp. 125-126 Kedar). Templars are quoted

as perfect believers also at p. 130. Thus no wonder all the MSS in the upper levels of the stemma bear the reading *peroptimi milites*. The downgrading of the Templars, who after Hattin may have begun to seem less than unbeatable, was introduced in *mn&*. Since that point on, some copyists-remakers (very probably German copyists, like those of most extant copies) felt the need to introduce information about a third military order, which had been scarcely relevant from a military point of view before the third decade of the 13th century, the *Domus Teutonicorum* (this is true e.g. for Graz and Heid, but also, independently, for O and Upps).

At this point the contribution of the present writer to the historical debate on the *Tractatus* is definitely over, and I can only hope that the historians – first of all my learned friend Beni Kedar – can speculate more easily on the dating and the scope of this precious description of the Holy Land.

Appendix. A finding list of witnesses of the *Tractatus*

While I could not yet examine the MSS marked with two **, the MSS marked with an * have been already used by Kedar in his 1998 edition. As stated above, the siglum *b* stands for the section about Saladin's forces (*inc.* "Saracenorum plurime sunt gentes..."; *expl.* "...Maurorum, Garamantum, Magitrogoditorum et aliorum plurimorum") and the siglum *c* stands for the *De excidio* (*inc.* "Terra Ierosolimitana semper variis casibus..."; *expl.* "... nulla est enim ambitio memorandi quos constat plurimos fuisse et nullos", sometimes followed by the sentence: "Nil valet affectus nisi subsequatur effectus"). Please note that so far I only had the chance to study all the MSS in xerocopies or digital reproductions. Nevertheless, I tried to present homogeneously the data drawn from different catalogs and descriptions and to correct clearly erroneous attributions (e.g. Fratellus, Eugesippus, Haimarus...) and the like. No need to say that limiting myself to list the current signatures of the MSS was certainly a safer solution for the present writer. Still, I think that, even at the risk of being incorrect on some points, a richer information about the witnesses can favor a better comprehension of the transmission history of the *Tractatus*.

nel seguito ci sono sempre i ":" dopo *inc.* ed *expl.*: li aggiungo anche qui?

*B = London, British Library, Royal 14.C.X.

13th c. (first half), parch., ff. 272.

It contains:

Tractatus a (title: *De situ terre ierosolimitane et habitatoribus eius*) + *b* (ff. 1-3v);

William of Tyre, *Chronicon* (ff. 3v-244v).

Röhricht 1890, p. 44; Huygens 1986, I, pp. 19-29; Kedar 1998 (= 2006, II), p. 123.

****B2 = London, British Library, Cotton MSS, Domitian A XIII.**

Parch., ff. 154.

Content must be verified.

Cat. Cott., p. 574; Röhricht 1890, p. 44.

****Basel = Basel, Universitätsbibliothek, B IV 20.**

14th c., ff. II, 110.

Provenance: *Liber iste est Carthusiensium Basilee*.

It contains:

Innocentius papa III, *De sacro altaris mysterio* (ff. 13a-27ra);

Liber qui Pharetra nominatur (ff. 27ra-101vb).

The 13th flyleaves (ff. Iva-IIrb) contain the first sections of the *Tractatus a* up until *in monte Gelboe fabulantur quidam quod non pluat propter imprecacionem clause* (sic) *quod falsum est* (pp. 124- 128.12 Kedar).

Meyer-Burckhardt 1960, pp. 368-373.

Bes = Besançon, Bibliothèque Municipale, 671.

Beginning of 15th c., parch., 159 ff.

Provenance: Besançon (since 1538).

It contains:

Eusebius Cesariensis, *Historia ecclesiastica*, Latin translation (ff. 1-106); *Liber provincialis in quo nominantur omnes ecclesie maiores*, truncated (ff. 108r-118v);

Tractatus a (title: *Descriptio terre sancte*; *inc.*: “Terra jherosolimitana, ut fertur, in centro terre posita est...” ff. 119ra-120vb) + Rorgo Fretellus, *De locis sanctis*, version C-R (*expl.*: “...que Antoniam vocavit. Scripto completo. Consul Boderice, valete. Explicit. Amen:” ff. 120vb -126r).

Cat. Gen. France. Dep. XXXII, pp. 405-407; Kedar 2006, *Addenda et corrigenda*, p. 1.

ho fatto la
correzione
richiesta di an-
teporre “:” alle
virgolette, ma
nel seguito mi
pare l'ordine sia
inverso

Bour = Bourges, Bibliothèque Municipale, 162 (145).

15th c., paper, ff. 120.

Provenance: Benedictine abbey of Saint-Sulpice de Bourges.

It contains:

Jacobi de Cessolis *De ludo scaccorum* (ff. 1-71);

Sermo de humilitate (ff. 71-81);

Tractatus a (title: missing; *inc.*: “Terra jherosolimitana, ut fertur, in centro

terre posita est”: ff. 81v-85v) + Rorgo Fretellus, *De locis sanctis*, version C-R (*expl.*: “...que Antoniam vocavit”: ff. 85v-98v); *Quod sunt modi dilatandi sermonem* (ff. 99-120). *Cat. Gen. France. Dep.* IV, pp. 40-41; Kedar 2006, *Addenda et corrigenda*, p. 1.

Bru = Bruxelles, Bibliothèque Royale Albert I^{er}, 10147-10158.

13th c., parch., ff. 96 (different hands).

Provenance: Flanders (?).

It contains, *inter alia*:

(10148) *Vita Pilati*;

(10149) *Tractatus a* (ff. 21-22r) + linking sentence “De diversitate Sarracenorum et hostium Christianitatis inferius dicemus. Nunc de excidio terre dicendum est” (f. 22r) + *c* (f. 22r-v);

(10150) *Letter of the Archbishop of Nazareth*.

Gachet 1842; Röhricht 1890, p. 44.

Ch = Charleville-Mézières, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 275.

End of 13th-beginning of 14th c., parch., ff. 228.

It contains, *inter alia*:

Abstracts from Dares Phrygius, *Historia de excidio Troiae* (ff. 1-9a);

Tractatus a (title: *De situ terre sancta*: ff. 217va-219vb);

Abstracts from Honorius Augustodunensis, *Imago mundi* (title: *De mundo qui continent in se quatuor elementa*: ff. 219-226a).

Kedar 1998 (2006), p. 115 note 12; Donnadiou 2008, pp. 47-48.

***G = Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Görres 111 (= Lat. Oct. 236).**

13th c., parch., ff. 107.

Provenance: Cistercian monastery of Himmerod, located in the Eifel (Rhineland-Palatinate).

It contains:

Bernardus Claravallensis, *Tractatus varii* (ff. 1-93v);

Rorgo Fretellus, *De locis sanctis* (version C-R: ff. 96v-104r) + Anonymus I (ff. 104r-105r) + a few sections of *Tractatus a* (titles: *De locis miracolos terre sancte*, *De sectis diversorum populorum terre sancte*: ff. 105r-106v); *Incipit descriptio situs terre Egipti* (*inc.*: “Egyptus terra plana est et calida...”: ff. 106-107).

Schilmann 1919, pp. 129-131; Kedar 1998 (= 2006, II), p. 123.

Graz = Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, Ms 290 (= 39/23 f°).

14th (ff. 1-113) and 12 c. (ff. 118-227), parch., ff. 227.

Provenance: Benedictine house of Saint Lambrecht.

It contains:

Honorius Augustodunensis, *Imago mundi*, liber 3 (ff. 1-6v);

Tractatus a (some sections of *Tractatus* in a different order and with many interpolations, some of which *post* 1312. Title: *Disposicio terre sancte*: ff. 6v-10v) + *b* (ff. 9v-10r) + *c* (truncated: "...factus est dominus terre sancte et subito interfectus est": ff.10v-11v);

De origine Urbis Rome (ff. 12r-15v);

[Anonymi Leobicensis, *Chronicon*]. *Hic incipiunt gesta principum sacerdotum id est summorum pontificum nove legis et etiam imperatorum omnium Romanorum* (*inc.*: "Christus assistens pontifex futurorum bonorum..."; *expl.*: "...Anno dni 1336 Otto dux Austrie... – ducibus Austrie remanserunt").

Digital reproduction:

<http://143.50.26.142/digbib/handschriften/Ms.0200-0399/Ms.0290/>.

Röhricht 1890, p. 44; Kern 1942, pp. 158-159.

***H = Heiligenkreuz, Stiftsbibliothek, n° 88.**

13th c., parch., ff. 156.

Provenance: Cistercian monastery of Heiligenkreuz.

It contains:

Petrus Lombardus, *Sententiarum libri quatuor* (ff. 1-155);

Innominatus V (*inc.*: "Ego ivi de Accon...") + *Tractatus a* (truncated after the line *Preterea terra Hierosol. Latinum regem habet qui a patriar... = p. 129.25-26 Kedar*) (f. 156r-156v).

Neumann 1866; Röhricht 1890, p. 44; Kedar 1998 (= 2006, II), p. 123.

Hann = Hannover, Niedersächsische Landesbibliothek, Ms XXXVII 1806.

Beginning of 13th c., parch., ff. 18.

Provenance: Southern Germany.

Entitled *Descriptio terrae sanctae*, it contains:

Tractatus a (title: *Incipit tractatus de locis et de statu terre sancte*: ff. 1-7v) + linking sentence "Nunc de excidio terre et successionem regni dicamus" (f. 7v) + *c* (truncated: ff. 7v-10v);

2. Rorgo Fretellus, *De locis sanctis*, version C-R. (*inc.*: "Que sit Ebron. Ebron metropolis olim..."; *expl.*: "...eam Antoniam appellavit");

3. De Safrane (*inc.*: "Secundo miliario a civitate Accon est opidum quod

correzione poco
chiara, va bene così?

la correzione indica di inserire la parentesi, ma la parentesi si apre già nell'ultima riga di p. 14: come correggo?

Safran dicitur..." (abstract from Johannes Wirziburgensis).
Röhricht 1890, p. 44; Hartel-Ekowski 1982, p. 276.

Heid = Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. Lat. 971.

1508, paper, ff. I, 266, I.

Provenance: Frankenthal (*Scriptus anno domini millesimo quingentesimo octavo per fratrem Nicolaum Numan de Franckfordia canonicum regularem... in ...Franckentall*: f. 1r); thence, Heidelberg, Biblioteca Palatina. It contains, *inter alia*:

Honorius Augustodunensis, *Imago mundi* (ff. 1-4v);

Tractatus a (some sections of *Tractatus* in a different order and with many interpolations, some of which post 1312. Title: *Disposicio terre sancte*: ff. 4v-7v, 8v) + *b* (ff. 7v-8r) + *c* (truncated: "...factus est dominus terre sancta et subito interfectus est": ff. 8v-9v).

Digital reproduction: https://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/bav_pal_lat_971/Walz-Probst-Zimmermann 1999, pp. 83-85;

Jacques de Vitry = Jacques de Vitry, *Historia Orientalis*, in Donnadieu 2008, pp. 85-467.

Leip = Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek ms. 214.

13th c (ff. 1-56) and 11th c. (ff. 57ff)., parch, 148 ff.

It contains:

1st part: Oliverius Paderbonensis, *Historia Damietina* (ff. 1-44);

2nd part: *Tractatus a* (title: missing; ff. 1v-7v) + linking sentence "De diversitate Sarracenorum et hostium Xristianis inferius dicitur. Sed nunc de terre excidio dicendum est" (f. 7v) + *c* (ff. 7v-12v).

Röhricht 1890, p. 44; Helssig 1926 (1995), pp. 301-302.

Kos = Košice, Archiv Košickej Arcidiecézy, MS R 3 33 [= 156].

1467, paper, ff. 387.

It contains *inter alia*:

Khatalogus regum et pontificum (*inc.* Iesus Christus natus, 38...: ff. 1r-22r);

Tractatus a (title: *Tractatus de locis et statu terre jerosolimitane*: ff. 311v-321r) + *c* (title: *De excidio regni et regibus Jerusalem*: ff. 321r-v); followed, it seems, by a copy of [Adamnan,] *De locis sanctis* (ff. 321v-329v).

Sopko 1981, pp. 173-176; Kedar 1998 (2006), p. 115 nota 12; Id. 2006, *Addenda et corrigenda*, p. 1.

ho inserito i due punti per omogeneità

*M = München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 17060.

13th c. (first half), parch., 83 ff.

It contains:

Augustinus *De vera religione* (ff. 1-67);

Tractatus a + linking sentence “Nunc dicamus de excidio terre et successionem regum” + *c.* (ff. 68-76r).

Thomas 1865 (with an edition of the text); Halm *et alii* 1878 (1969), p. 79; Röhrich 1890, p. 44; Kedar 1998 (= 2006, II), p. 123.

**M4 = München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 27318.

15th c. (about 1465), paper, 260 ff.

Provenance: Oberösterreich; since the end of the century: Benedictine monastery of Andechs.

A theological collection, it contains, *inter alia*:

Thomas Ebendorfer, *X sermones super Pater noster* (ff. 2ra-27ra);

Gesta principum [that is, a section of Anonymi Leobensis, *Chronicon*]:

Hic incipiunt gesta principum sacerdotum id est summorum pontificum nove legis et etiam imperatorum omnium Romanorum. (*inc.*: “Christus assistens pontifex futurorum bonorum...”: ff. 223v-249va);

Abstracts from Honorius Augustodunensis, *Imago mundi* (*inc.*: “Scribit Honorius solitarius christiano suo amico”: ff. 250ra-251vb);

Tractatus a (title: *Descriptio terrae sanctae*: ff. 252ra-) + *c.* (f. 256ra: *expl.*: “...lustrum sunt V anni a Romanis institutum propter tributum”). The explicit suggests a likely displacement of quires or folios, which we shall analyze when possible);

Historia Urbis Romae (ff. 256r-259ra).

Hauke 1975, pp. 45-51.

Melk = Melk, Benediktinerstift, Cod. 46 (959, H 17).

1417 (ff. 1-151. At f. 151r the scribe writes: *Nunc dimittis servum tuum domine. Finis est mirabilium mundi et terre sancte et diversis provinciis Indie superioris et inferioris anno domini millesimo CCCC. XVII etc.*) and late 15th c., paper, 167 ff.

A typical collection of works on Holy Land, it contains:

[Martinus Minorita] *Flores temporum* (ff. 1r-36v = pp. 1-72);

Gesta Alexandri Magni (ff. 37r-60r = pp. 73-119);

Jacques de Vitry, *Historia Orientalis* (ff. 60r-121r = pp. 119-241);

Burchardus de Monte Sion, *Descriptio Terrae sanctae* (*expl.*: “...quia vorago qua mons cingitur per circuitum impedivit” (= Canisius, p. 21; ff. 121r-130r = pp. 241-259) + *Tractatus a* (title: missing; *inc.*: “Terra Hi-

erosolymitana in centro mundi posita est et maiori parte montuosa ubere gloriose [*recte*: glebe] fertilis...”; *expl.*: “...sub abbate templi Caiphaz sub Caesareense episcopo” = p. 127.4 Kedar; 130rv = p. 259-260); Philippus, *Descriptio Terrae sanctae* (ff. 130v-135v = pp. 260-270); Rorgo Fretellus, *De locis sanctis terrae Ierusalem*, version C-R (ff. 135v-139r = pp. 270-277); Odoricus de Pordenone, *Itinerarium de mirabilibus orientalium* (ff. 139r-151r = p. 277-301). Glaßner 2016, pp. 67-70.

*N = München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 4351.

End of 15th c. (“ex Cronica Abbatis Monasterii Auspergensis a. 1496”), ff. 203rb-204va.

Provenance: Augusta, Benedictine monastery of Saints Ulrich and Afra.

It contains:

Ekkehardi Uraugiensi chronicon universale (ff. 1-201);

Incipiunt verba Sibillae (f. 202);

Tractatus a (title: *Tractatus de locis ac statu ecc.*: ff. 203ra-204va) + *c* (truncated after few lines: f. 204va-vb).

Not faultlessly edited by De Sandoli 1983, III, pp. 166-178, under the name of Haimarus.

Thomas 1865; Röhricht 1890, p. 44; Halm-Laubmann-Meyer 1894, 1,2, p. 177; Kedar 1998 (= 2006, II), p. 123.

Narr. = *Narratio de statu Terre Sanctae* (*inc.*: “Jherusalem, gloriosa Iudaeae metropolis, in medio mundi sita est, cui ab oriente...”).

Most recent edition: De Sandoli 1983, III, 374-390: 380-390. This rich but not always reliable collection includes the whole text of the *Tractatus a*.¹²

*O = München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 5307.

Late 15th c. (at f. 119v there is an abstract from the *Tractatus* with the date *Anno Domini m^o cccc^o lxx*), paper, ff. 168.

It contains:

Petrus Lombardus, *Compendium librorum sententiarum* (ff. 1-91);

¹² The text of the *Tractatus* takes up Chap. III to the end. Some scholars of past centuries believed the *Narratio* to be part of the so-called “third book” of the *Historia* by Jacques de Vitry. On the spurious nature of the *Narratio*, see Kedar 1998 (2006), pp. 113-114 with notes.

Conradus (*recte*: Burchardus) de monte Sion, *Descriptio terrae sanctae* followed by an abstract from *Tractatus* (ff. 92-119);
Tractatus a with some interpolations (title: *De terra Jerosolimitana*: ff. 120r-130v) + linking sentence “De excidio terre sancta et successione regum dicamus” (f. 130v) + *c* (ff. 130v-135);
Rorgo Fretellus, *De locis sanctis*, version C-R (?) (ff. 136-152).
Thomas 1865; Röhricht 1890, p. 44; Halm-Laubmann-Meyer 1894, p. 3;
Kedar 1998 (= 2006, II), pp. 123, 132-133.

****Ox = Oxford, Bodleian Library, Canonici Misc. 220.**

Beginning of 15th c., paper, ff. 70.

It contains, *inter alia*:

Liber qui dicitur Provincialis (ff. 1-10);

Bullae variae pontificum (ff. 10-12);

Indugentiae ecclesiarum Urbis Romae (ff. 14-18);

Antonius de Reboldis de Cremona, *Itinerarium ad sepulcrum Domini* (ff. 18-21);

Tractatus a (title: *De situ ac descriptione terre jerosolimitane libellus*: ff. 23-26).

Rorgo Fretellus, *De locis sanctis*, version C-R (*expl.*: “...Scripto completo, consul Rodrice valetio. Quod tibi presentat genuit Pontica tellus / Archydiaconus Anthiocenus Rorgo fratellus”: ff. 26v-30).

Coxe 1854, coll. 590-592; Röhricht 1890, p. 44.

****Ox2 = Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud Misc. 722 (= 1184).**

15th c., paper, ff. 207.

Provenance: Cistercian abbey of Kyrstall.

It contains:

Tractatus a (ff. 107-111).

Coxe 1885 (1973), coll. 513-515; Röhricht 1890, p. 44.

SktFl = Sankt Florian, Stiftsbibliothek, XI 216.

13th c., parch., ff. 175 (ff. 1-7 are flyleaves).

Provenance: Augustinian Monastery of Sankt Florian.

It contains, *inter alia*:

Expositio of Pater noster, with German notes for school use (ff. 2r-6r);

Tractatus a (title: missing; ff. 7r-v) + Rorgo Fretellus, *De locis sanctis*, truncated at the end of the f. (title: missing; *inc.*: “Ebron quondam metropolis fuit...”; *expl.*: “...quod iudaicum a multis necessarium appellatum” = p. 11 Boeren; f. 7v);

Petrus Comestor, *Historia scholastica* (ff. 8r-173r).

Röhricht 1890, p. 44; Czerny 1871, p. 94.

Thietmar = *Mag. Thietmari Peregrinatio*, in Laurent 1857, pp. 1-54.

Upp = Uppsala, Universitetsbibliotek, Ms C 14.

1384, paper, ff. 320.

Provenance: Vadstena Abbey (*Monasterium sanctorum Mariæ Virginis et Brigidæ in Vatzstena*) Sweden.

It contains:

Burchardus de monte Syon, *Descriptio terrae sanctae* (ff. 2r-17r), but ff. 14vb-16r contain a large section of *Tractatus a* from the beginning up to p. 127.4 Kedar.

Andersson-Schmitt, Hedlund 1988, pp. 148-151.

Upps = Uppsala, Universitetsbibliotek, C 43.

15th c., paper, ff. I + 158.

Provenance: Sweden.

It contains, *inter alia*:

Litterae supplicatoriae (ff. 1r-10r);

Tractatus (ff. 58r) + c (truncated after a dozen of lines: ff. 58r-64r: followed by chronicles and other texts about the Holy Land (ff. 64r-137v).

Röhricht 1890, p. 44; Andersson-Schmitt, Hedlund 1988, pp. 286-289;

Kedar 1998 (2006), p. 115 note 12.

Vr = Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare, CCCXVII.

1458, paper, ff. 38.

Provenance: Verona. It was copied by the famous copyist and antiquarian Felice Feliciano (“Questo presente libretto è di me Felice Feliciano da Verona scripto del anno 1458 del mese di marzo”: f. 1r).

It contains:

Paschalis Romanus, *Disputatio contra Judaeos* (ff. 1v-19r);

Innominatus V, *Itinerarium Terrae sanctae* (*inc.*: “Si quis de Iope in Jerusalem ire voluerit ortum solis semper teneat...”; *expl.*: “...ubi fuit natus beatus Iacobus filius Zebedei”: ff. 19r-24v). Immediately after the end of the *Itinerarium*, there is a fragment of *Tractatus* (title: missing; ff. 24v-

26v). The fragment (*expl.* “...maiozem exhibent Saracenis. Finis”) corresponds to pp. 123-125.14 Kedar;

An early copy of the *Epistula Lentuli* (ff. 27r-28r);

Condemnatio domini nostril Iesu Christi per Pontium Pilatum (ff. 28r-28v);

De sacerdotio Christi (title: *Sermo Theodori iudei ad Philippum christianum...*: ff. 29v-35r).

Golubovich 1906-1927, V, pp. 407-408 (with an edition of our text); Spanò Martinelli 1985, pp. 227-229, 238. I owe the checking of many data to the kindness of Elena Nicolai.

***W = Cambridge, Magdalene College, F.4.22.**

13th c. (first half), parch., ff. 234.

Provenance: Augustinian Abbey of Holy Cross and St Lawrence, Waltham.

It contains, *inter alia*:

Tractatus (title: *De situ terre ierosolimitane et habitatoribus eius*) + *b* (ff. 1-4);

William of Tyre, *Chronicon* (ff. 4-212).

James 1909, pp. 47-49; Huygens 1986, I, pp. 21-29; Kedar 1998 (= 2006, II), p. 123.

W2 = Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 315.

13th c., parch., pp. 220.

Provenance: "Iste liber est de communitate fratrum minorum Oxon."

It contains:

Ricardus de S. Victore (pp. 1-41);

Tractatus (title: missing) + linking sentence "De diversitate Sarracenorum et hostium Xristianitatis inferius dicetur. Sed nunc de excidio terre dicendum est" + *c* (*expl.*: "...nulla est enim ambitio memorandi quos constat plurimos fuisse et nullos" [pp. 141-146 = ff. 73r-75v]).

James 1911, pp. 120-121; Kedar 1998 (2006), p. 115 note 12.

****West = Westminster Abbey, The Chapter Library, 27.**

15th c., paper (and parch.), ff. 110.

Provenance: Benedictine Monastery of Westminster.

"In a poor state" in 1909, it contains, *inter alia*:

[friar John Erghom's] latin commentary on certain metrical prophecies (ff. 1v-31v);

prophecies and proverbs (in English: ff. 31v-33v);

De coronatione et unctione regis Anglie (ff. 34v-36v);

abstracts from Westminster Chronicles about "Mirabilia Anglie" (ff. 37-38v);

Tractatus (title: *De terra Jerosolimitana*; *expl.*: "...sed valde corrupte": ff. 49-51v) + linking sentence "De diversitate Saracenorum et hostium christianitatis inferius dicetur", but without *c* (f. 51v);

letters of Pope Boniface and of Edward I concerning Ireland (ff. 52r-60v).
Armitage Robinson, James 1909 (2011), pp. 85-87.

****Wolf = Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Guelf. 68.16 Aug. 8°**
(= Heinemann, n. 3752).

14th (ff. 1-25) and 13th (ff. 26-185), parch., ff. 185.

It contains:

Tractatus (title: *Tractatus de locis et de statu terrae sanctae*: ff. 1-25);

Liber de diversis leguminibus ad medicinam accommodatus (ff. 26-72);

Sallustius, *De bello Catilinario cum glossis* (ff. 73-96);

Sallustius, *Bello Jugurthinum* (ff. 97-141);

Martianus Capella, *Satyricon* (incomplete: ff. 166-185).

Heinemann 1903 (1966), p. 141.

LOST OR UNIDENTIFIED MANUSCRIPTS

Cheltenham (formerly: Middle Hill), Phillipps 4236.

The description of *Cat. Phillipps* is quite short (“Conradi de Monte Syon Descriptio Terrae Sanctae. sm. 4to. v.s. xiii. Olim S. Trinitatis Neostadii. Anonymi Descriptio Hierosolymae. s. xiv. Excerpta Sententiarum, &c.”). Nevertheless the peculiar attribution of the *Descriptio* to Conradus (*sic*) de Monte Syon allows to hypothesize that the MS was an elder relative (13th or 14th c.) of O, which contains “Conradus (*recte*: Burchardus) de monte Sion, *Descriptio terrae sanctae* followed by an abstract from *Tractatus*; *Tractatus* with some interpolations (title: *De terra Jerosolimitana*) + linking sentence ‘De excidio terre sancte et successionem regum dicamus’ + *c*; Rorgo Fretellus, *De locis sanctis*, version C-R (?)”.

Cat. Phillipps, p. 65; Röhrich 1890, p. 44.

Münster, Königliche Paulinische Bibliothek, 269 (= Staender’s *Catalogus chirograforum*, n. 195).

13th c. (first half), parch., ff. 62 (?).

Provenance: Benedictine Abbey of Liesborn, situated near Beckum, Westphalia (“Liber sanctissime dei genitricis Marie virginis et sanctorum Cosme Damiani et Simeonis prophete monasterii in Leisborne. Penitentiarium magistri Roberti, De situ terre sancte...”).

It contains:

Rorgo Fretellus, *De locis sanctis* version C-R (*expl.*: “...eamque Antoniam vocavit”: ff. 50-56);

nations which have churches in Jerusalem and list of bishops and patriarchs of Jerusalem (f. 57);

Tractatus + linking sentence "Nunc de excidio terre et successionem regum dicamus" + *c* (ff. 61-62).

Hoogeweg 1891, pp. 186-188. According to Sophie Hoffmann (Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Münster), it was probably "destroyed during the Second World War" (email, 2 January 2018).¹³

¹³ Röhricht 1890, p. 44, refers as well to Bruxelles, Bibliothèque Royale, MS 7575-7585 and to Copenhagen, Arna Magn. 261, 4°, but the information is erroneous. For the Bruxelles MS: Kedar 1998 (2006), p. 115 note 12. For the Copenhagen MS, professor Anne Mette Hansen kindly explains: «The Icelandic manuscript AM 261 4to (<https://handrit.is/da/manuscript/view/is/AM04-0261>) contains copies of documents and charters concerning the cathedral Skálholt and according to the quite detailed catalog description it does not contain any Latin texts [...]. The manuscript was transferred to Iceland in 1974 and images are available here: <http://www.digitalesamlinger.hum.ku.dk/Home/Samlingerne/3357>» (email, January 4, 2019. The following items, registered by Röhricht 1890, p. 44, require further research: Breslau (i.e. Wrocław, University Library), I F 4 (15th c.) and I F 203 (15th c.); Mainz.

II. A HISTORIAN'S COMMENTS ON THE
POSSIBLE RELATIONSHIP AMONG THE
TRACTATUS, THE SURVEY OF SALADIN'S FORCES, AND
THE *DE EXCIDIO*

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1. Historians of the crusades are indebted to Professor Paolo Trovato for having proved compellingly that the three texts *Tractatus de locis et statu terre sancte ierosolimitane*, the survey of Saladin's forces during the siege of Acre (1189-1191), and the succinct history of the Frankish Kingdom of Jerusalem down to 1198 that is known as *De excidio* must have formed parts of one and the same text that originally circulated together. Trovato has also largely expanded the corpus of MSS containing the *Tractatus* and established a stemma that allows for an improved edition of that treatise. Besides, he corrected my edition of it by establishing that the statement about the Armenians should conclude with the words "et multa alia *contra* [and not: *circa*, as I wrote on the basis of the English MSS B and W] *ecclesiastica instituta facientes*."¹

Now, how did this triad of texts come into being? The anonymous author of the *Tractatus* is a Westerner who describes the Holy Land. He uses the present tense throughout, and the details about the ecclesiastical and political organization of the country undoubtedly reflect the situation in the years 1168-1187. Therefore I assumed in 1998 that the text was written during those years.² Indeed, it may have been composed for the benefit of pilgrims from the West as well as of local Franks. Let us remember that in the 1130s Rorgo Fretellus of Nazareth wrote a description of the Holy

1 Trovato 2014 (2017), p. 282; Kedar 1998 (2006), p. 124.

2 Kedar 1998 (2006), p. 119.

KEYWORDS: *Tractatus de locis et statu sancte terre Ierosolimitane* / Crusader Kingdom / Holy Land Crusades / Textual criticism

Land, presenting one version to Bishop Jindřich Zdík of Olomouc and another to Count Rodrigo González de Lara,³ and that his description was extensively used by the German pilgrims Johann of Würzburg and Theoderich who visited the country in the 1160s.⁴ Similarly, the *Tractatus* was used by the pilgrim Thietmar in 1217, by Bishop Jacques of Vitry during his stay in the East in the years 1216-1224, and by the Dominican traveler Burchard of Mount Zion who visited the country in the 1280s.⁵ Yet one should not rule out the possibility that the *Tractatus*, while reflecting the situation of the years 1168-1187, was written after 1187 in an attempt to present the kingdom as it existed before the Battle of Hattin.

I do not believe, however, that it was written in 1198. True, all extant manuscripts that present the full text of the *Tractatus* contain the statement that the Armenians have recently promised obedience to the Church of Rome and that their king received the crown from the archbishop of Mainz, the papal legate – and we know that this coronation took place on 6 January 1198, the prelate being Archbishop Konrad of Mainz. I consider however this statement an interpolation, for two reasons. First, while the *Tractatus* uses the present tense all along, the statement in question sticks out for appearing in the past tense. Second, and still more importantly, this is the only statement that mentions a post-1187 event. Now, is it conceivable that the anonymous author of the *Tractatus* composed in 1198 an account reflecting the situation of the years 1168-1187 all along, decided to disregard all the momentous events that took place in and after 1187 – the Battle of Hattin, the fall of Jerusalem, the destruction of the kingdom, its partial reconstruction as a result of the Third Crusade – and made just one attempt at updating his account, namely by referring to the far less important Armenian coronation? It is much more likely that the statement amounts to an interpolation, added in or after 1198 to an *Ur-Tractatus* that has not come down to us.

The second component of the triad, the survey of Saladin's forces during the siege of Acre in the years 1189-1191, may be considered roughly contemporaneous with that siege. It is hardly likely that an account that attempts to provide a detailed inventory of the forces “qui sub Salaadino ad obsidionem Acconensem congregati sunt” and that “contra

3 Boeren 1980; Hiestand 1994, pp. 26-31.

4 Huygens 1994, pp. 18-21.

5 Kedar 1998 (2006), pp. 121-122; Donnadieu 2008, pp. 10-12; Rubin 2014, p. 181.

Christianos [Salaadinus] adduxit in obsidione Acconensi”,⁶ would have been written a long time after that event. On the other hand, as this account is closely modelled on the *Tractatus*, presenting the various Muslim forces along the same lines according to which the *Tractatus* lists the ethnic and religious groups of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, occasionally even copying the model’s wording,⁷ it allows for the hypothesis that the *Ur-Tractatus* existed already in about 1191.

The third component, the *De excidio*, concludes with a short account of the German crusade of 1197-1198,⁸ and was apparently written shortly thereafter.

2. Now, who, and when, may have been responsible for putting together these three texts?

While discussing this issue with my friend Paolo Trovato, I noticed that the same person, Archbishop Konrad of Mainz, figures both in what I take for an interpolation to the *Tractatus*, and in the *De excidio*. In the purported interpolation he appears as crowning Leo of Armenia; in the *De excidio* he heads the list of the leaders of the German crusade.

Konrad of Wittelsbach, archbishop of Mainz (1161-1165 and 1183-1200) and cardinal-bishop of Sabina from 1166 onward, was a towering figure in the ecclesiastical and political history of his times. Suffice it to mention that he was one of Pope Alexander III’s main supporters, that he advised Emperor Henry VI both before and after his accession, and that Pope Innocent III, in a letter of 3 May 1199, addressed him as the most conspicuous among the church’s prelates. Konrad was an effective preacher of the German crusade and – although already in his seventies – became one of its principal leaders, serving as papal legate. Upon his departure from the Holy Land he landed on 15 July 1199 in Apulia and proceeded thence to Rome.⁹ The *Continuatio Admuntensis* reports that he stayed there for several months with Pope Innocent III, discussing ecclesiastical issues and planning a new crusade (*ordinanda expeditione transmarina in auxilium sancti sepulchri*).¹⁰

6 Kedar 1997 (2006), pp. 121, 122.

7 Kedar 1997 (2006), p. 114.

8 For the text see Thomas 1865, pp. 161-171; on the expedition see most recently Loude 2014.

9 For details see Böhmer-Will 1886 (1966), pp. 107-114.

10 Wattenbach, 1851, p. 589.

We may hypothesize therefore that Konrad, while in the East, came upon a description of the pre-1187 Kingdom of Jerusalem and he, or one of his men, added to it the sentence about the 1198 Armenian coronation and his role in it. This description was followed by the account listing Saladin's forces at the siege of Acre – the largest Muslim buildup of that age, and therefore of interest for the planning of a future crusade. To these two texts Konrad added the *De excidio*, a rudimentary history of the kingdom that focuses on the period 1174 – 1198, highlights Frederick Barbarossa's participation in the Third Crusade, and concludes with the German crusade of 1197 – 1198, with Konrad heading the list of its *principes*. This text, though emphasizing the German role in crusading, is not always flattering to the Germans and may have been written by an Italian; nevertheless, it underscores Konrad's role.

We may hypothesize further that, once in Rome, Konrad brought this triad to Innocent's attention while the two were discussing a new crusade, and that they decided to circulate it throughout the West, acquainting thereby its recipients with the kingdom's situation before the collapse in 1187; the composition of the strongest Muslim force assembled in recent times; and the history of the kingdom, down to 1198. Such a decision may account for the wide diffusion of the triad's components.

As Professor Trovato surmises, some copyist decided that it makes better sense to insert the *De excidio* between the *Tractatus* and the survey of Saladin's forces, and, once the survey was removed from its original position, later copyists decided to omit it altogether. Hence the MSS that contain only the *Tractatus* and the *De excidio*. But why do the two English MSS, B and W, which have the *Tractatus* and the survey, omit the *De excidio*? Robert Huygens asserted in the introduction to his edition of William of Tyre's *Historia* that MSS B and W represent the work of an erudite medieval editor.¹¹ Now, such a knowledgeable man must have noted that the *De excidio* contains a grave mistake: the child-king Baldwin V appears in it as “rex puer Vilielmus”. The error may have led the “medieval editor” to doubt the text's veracity and leave it out.

¹¹ Huygens 1986, pp. 22-31.

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MIRACLES IN JERUSALEM DURING AND AFTER THE CRUSADER KINGDOM*

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What we reconstruct, how we reconstruct it, what kind of sense we attribute to the reconstructed, all this changes with our experiences, with our interest, with the measure of sincerity and insincerity. In brief, we change our past via selective interpretation.

A. Heller, *A Theory of History*, 1982

Abstract

This paper aims to show that in the Holy Land even miracles, that is, events considered out of history (and nature), can be traced

back to cultural – and sometimes political – factors related to European Christendom.

During the 11th and 12th centuries, before the interpretation by Thomas Aquinas, theologians have not yet clearly defined a distinction between natural and supernatural events. However, these distinctions are not particularly relevant here, because this paper investigates events which took place in the Kingdom of Jerusalem and which different authors undoubtedly considered as the fruit of divine intervention. During the Crusader Kingdom many chroniclers and pilgrims wrote about miracles occurred in the Holy Land, witnessing the God's favour to the crusaders party. The

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aim of the present paper is to underline that some miracles had different versions, to make hypotheses about the reasons of these variations over the centuries, and to try to interpret their functions.¹

1. The Lion's charnel-house miracle

One of the Holy Land miracles that had a long life is the miracle of the Lion's charnel house, which probably was already known before the Crusades but about which, despite my research, I could not find a former evidence before the early 12th century.

Between 1138 and 1217 the cleric Rorgo Fretellus and the pilgrims Johan of Würzburg and Thietmar wrote about a lion which was inspired by God. After a battle between Christians and Persians led by Khosrow in 614 the lion is said to have given burial to the fallen Christians by dragging them into a pit, which would in fact later take the name of *carnarium leonis*.

Ante portam Iherusalem [...] cavea illa, in qua leo quidam iussu Dei omnipotentis martyrum fere duodecim milia sub Chosdroe perempta nocte una detulit. Unde et carnerium leonis dicitur.²

Ante portam Iherusalem iuxta lacum qui respicit meridiem cavea illa, in qua leo quidam iussu dei omnipotentis martyrum fere duodecim milia sub Cosdroe perempta nocte detulit, unde et 'Carnarium leonis' dicitur.³

Iuxta portam civitatis [...] est cavea quedam, in qua iussu Dei quidam leo sub Cosdroa plurima sanctorum martirum corpora nocte una comportavit. Que adhuc Carnerium Leonis vocatur.⁴

1 «In the concept of science that Thomas Aquinas proposes, the active intellect is able to know everything that is possible to know naturally, without the need of divine help»: Brock 1994, pp. 71-95. For the Aquinas, the miracle is intended to stimulate a person to believe in God («per aliquos supernaturales effectus, qui miracula dicuntur, in aliquam supernaturalem cognitionem credendorum homo adducitur»: Thomas de Aquino, *Summa theologiae*, II-III, q. 178). For an overall picture, see Goodich 2007.

2 Rorgo Fretellus, *De locis sanctis* (1138), in Boeren 1980, p. 39.

3 Johannes Wirziburgensis, *Descriptio Terrae Sanctae* (1160 ca), in Huygens 1994, p. 108.

4 Mag. Thietmarus, *Peregrinatio* (1217), in Laurent 1857, p. 27.

The miracle was quoted both in the *Estat de la cité de Iherusalem* by Ernoul (about 1231) and in the *Chanson de Jerusalem*, of uncertain date (the oldest manuscripts date back to the 15th century).

Près de cel lai avoir un carnier c'on apeloit le Carnier del Lyon. Or vos dirai pourquoi l'on apeloit ainsi. Il avint, si comme on dist, à .j. iour qui passes est, qu'il ot una bataille entre cel carnier & Iherusalem, où il ot mout de crestiens ocis, & que cil de le cité les devoient l'endemain tous fere ardoir pour le pueur; tant qu'il avint c'uns lions vint par nuit, si les porta tous en celle fosse, si com on dist. Et sour cel caier aviot .j. moustier là où on cantoit cascun jour messe.⁵

In the final part of the *Chanson*, after the great victory of Rama, the Crusaders discover that the Christian corpses scattered around the plains had been collected in one place by a lion, while the corpses of the Saracens had disappeared, dragged to hell: a quite evident demonstration of divine support for the Crusade's challenge.

Mais il n'i ont trouvet Sarrasin ne Escler,
Ki li diable en orent le païs delivré.
Et .I. lions en ot nos Crestiens porté,
Trestot l'un avant l'autre mis et amoncelé
Au carnier du lion – si l'a on apielé.
La Chanson de Jérusalem (laisse 277, 9794-9798)

It is only in the 13th century that writers referred the miracle to crusaders. Why not before? Perhaps, when the legend concerned the Persians, it circulated only among Syrian Christians, and did not reach Europe. So it had been necessary for Western fighters to first hear about it, before deciding to rework the story. Yet, the miracle is recorded in a specific period, and not before. As Le Goff puts it, «Marc Bloch a montré que le miracle existe à partir du moment où on peut y croire et décline puis disparaît à partir du moment où on ne peut plus y croire».⁶ After the loss of the kingdom, Crusaders (especially the fighters of Acre) have been seen as martyrs in European perception. In this framework, the actualization of the miracle of the Persian battle substituting Christians subject to the Byzantine empire with crusaders could turn for good the recent military defeats of Latin Christians.

5 Ernoul, *L'estat de la cité de Iherusalem*, in Michelant-Raynaud 1882, p. 45.

6 Le Goff 1983, p. XI.

After 1291 there were no more military conflicts between Christians and Muslims in the area, so the memory of miracles regarding battlefields and graves of the soldiers faded. During the centuries, however, the miracle is remembered.⁷ Still in 1633, the Friar Minor Faostino da Toscolano, who was Guardian of Bethlehem, recounts a sugar-coated version of the miracle, which does not insist on the context of war or on the damnation of the infidels: «the second door of the city, the one immediately after St. Stephen's gate, is called in various ways, that is Herod's gate, because nearby it was Herod's palace, and [also] Lion's gate, because in a cave near the gate a lion carried 12 holy martyrs' bodies».⁸ Even in 19th century, the Italian architect Ermete Pierotti recalls the lion's charnel-house in his *Jerusalem Explored*.⁹

2. The miracle of the potter's field

The field bought with the 30 pieces of silver for which Judas betrayed Jesus has been, it can be said, always localized, and it is indicated as a burial place already in the Gospels. During the early Middle Ages, the Anonymous pilgrim from Piacenza (in the late 6th century) writes that *servi Dei* (ascetics or monks) took up residence among the burial graves.¹⁰ A century later Adomnan made scientific observations distinguishing between the bodies carefully buried in the field and those thrown on the ground, which, of course, decompose in the open air («in quo diligentius plurimi humantur peregrini. Alii vero ex ipsis aut pannis aut pelliculis tecti negligentius relinquuntur inhumati super terrae faciem putrefacti

7 «Est cava leonis ubi sepulti sunt undecim milia virorum qui occisi fuerunt sub nomine Christi sub Cosdroe, rege Persarum»: Anselme Adorno, *Itinerarium* (1470-1471), in Heers-de Groer 1978, II, p. 284.

8 «La seconda porta, che nel circolo delle mura immediate sequita a quella di S. Stefano, vien chiamata con varii nomi, cioè di Herode, per che verso quella cava stava il palazzo di esso, vien detta del Leone, per che in una caverna a quella vicina un leone trasportò 12 corpi de santi martiri»: Faostino da Toscolano, *Itinerario di Terra Santa* (1633-1643), in Bianchini 1992, p. 374.

9 Pierotti 1864.

10 «Hoc est ager sanguinis, in quo sepeliuntur omnes peregrini. Inter ipsas sepulturas cellulas servorum Dei: veri multe virtutes»: Anonimus Placentinus, *Itinerarium* (about 560-570) in Milani 1977, pp. 174-175.

iacentes»). A medieval best seller, the text of Bede, depends *ad litteram* on Adomnan.¹¹

I have examined more than 20 accounts of the Crusader period: neither Saewulf, nor Daniil, nor Fretellus, nor Johannes von Würzburg, nor Theodericus, nor Thietmarus deals with the miracle.¹² In the late 13th century, Burchard of Mount Zion sees precious burials in the field: it is likely that well-off Crusaders, when the military situation allowed it, decided to be buried in the Aceldama, commissioning their memorials.¹³ However, it was during the Crusader period that news spread of the prophet Isaiah, who had been sawn in Siloam Valley, being buried in the field; afterwards (in the late 14th century) someone says that the bones of the Maccabees also are buried there.¹⁴

In 1335 Jacopo da Verona writes: «vidi multa corpora de novo reposita, tamen nullus fetor erat ibi»; rather: «nunquam est ibi fetor».¹⁵ This is the first mention of the miracle: the bodies do not give off an odor (some – but not everybody – in describing the miracle, specify that bodies buried there are incorruptible). Boldensele, who traveled a few months before Jacopo, does not write anything about the miracle. The Saxon Sudheim, pilgrim in about 1341, writes instead: «post triduum nihil aliud

11 «Porro Acheldemach ad australem plagam montis Sion peregrinos et ignobiles mortuos hodie quoque alios terra tegit, alios inhumatos putrefacit»: Baedae, *Liber de locis sanctis* (VIII in.), in Geyer 1898, p. 307.

12 «Acheldemach ager [...] ubi innumerabilia visuntur monumenta»: Seawulf, *Itinerarium* (1101-1103) in Huygens 1994, p. 69; «There travellers are buried for free»: Daniil, *Itinerario in Terra Santa* (1104-1109), in Garzaniti 1991, pp. 116-117; «Porro Acheldemach ad australem plagam montis Syon peregrinos et ignobiles mortuos hodie tegit quoque, alios terra tegit, alios mortis via putrefacit»: Hugo de S. Victore, *De locis circa Ierusalem* (1135 ca), clearly from Bedae; «Porro Acheldemach ad australem plagam montis Syon peregrinos et ignobiles mortuos, alios terra tegit, alios inhumatos putrefacit»: Petrus Diaconus, *De locis sanctis* (about 1137), also from Bedae; «agrum peregrinorum, qui et Acheldemach id est ager sanguinis»: Rorgo Fretellus, *De locis sanctis* (1137-1138) in Boeren 1980, p. 36. In 1143 the field was entrusted by the Patriarch of Jerusalem to St. John's hospital.

13 «Multa sunt in agro isto sepulcra preciosa»: Burchardus de Monte Sion, *Descriptio Terrae Sanctae* (1283 ca), in De Sandoli 1978-1984, IV, p. 184.

14 «Dit on que les os de Machabées y sont»: Anglure, *Le saint voyage de Jherusalem* (1395), in Bonnardot-Longnon 1878, p. 81.

15 Jacopo da Verona, *Liber Peregrinationis* (1335), in Monneret de Villard 1950, p. 42.

nisi sola ossa reperiuntur».¹⁶ Soon after, Niccolo da Poggibonsi attests that the bodies literally disappear («neither skin nor bones can be seen»), also certifying a specific devotional form: «pilgrims that visit that holy field walk around it three times, pronouncing psalms and the Paternoster, and prayers for all Christians' souls».¹⁷

In the 15th century, the pilgrims that name the miracle are very few. The miracle is present only in Italian texts, and not even in all of them: apart from the learned friar Rinuccini, who shows the version of the bodies that disappear, the miracle of the bodies that do not stink is the version to prevail. Nevertheless, there is the opposing testimony of the notary Martoni and Don Messoro: both testify that the dead bodies stink, absolutely! Throughout the centuries, this miracle does not cease. Between the two versions, it is that of Rinuccini to prevail: in the space of 24 hours, the bodies completely disappear (or, at least, only the bones remain).

In order to facilitate the comparison between texts, I will use a table (Figure 1).

According to the French Affagart, wherever earth from Aceldama was brought, the bodies buried in it are consumed in one day. Rocchetta is also of the same opinion, and he points out that St. Helen did move large amounts of that earth to Rome, so that near the Vatican there is a 'camposanto' that works in the same way; the 'camposanto Teutonico'. The earth would possess a sort of intelligence, by operating the miracle only on foreigners. In the 17th century the friar Faostino da Toscolano, wrote that the miracle repeats itself elsewhere, «for the price of the blood of Jesus Christ», anywhere a body is buried in earth from Aceldama.

This miracle, in short, endures over the centuries. It remains to be seen, if possible, who was at the origin of the two versions, both from the mid 14th century, and the reasons for the prevalence of one miracle over the other. Maybe it was more difficult to confirm the non-decomposition of the bodies, than their disappearance. About this miracle, however, an important question must be considered.

16 Ludolphus de Sudheim, *De itinere Terre Sancte* (1341), in Deycks 1851, pp. 84-85.

17 «I peregrini che vanno da quello santo campo, si lo circuiscono tre volte, dicendo salmi e paternostri, e orazioni per l'anime di tutti i cristiani»: Niccolò da Poggibonsi, *Libro d'Oltramare* (1345-1346), in Bacchi Della Lega-Bagatti 1996, p. 42.

Figure 1

pilgrim	Aceldama miracle
Daniil (1104-1109 c)	-
Anonymus (1145 ca)	-
Anonymus (1185 ca)	-
J. Wirzburgensis (1165 ca)	-
Burchardus M. Sion (1283 ca)	-
R. M. Croce (1290 ca)	-
Pipini (1320 ca)	-
Treps (1323)	-
Riboldi (1327-1330)	-
Fedanzola (1330-1335 ca)	-
Anonymus (ante 1335?)	-
Humbert de Dijon (1332)	-
J. da Verona (1335)	nunquam est ibi fetor. Et posui caput et vidi multa corpora de novo reposita, tamen nullos fetor erat ibi
Boldensele (1334-1335)	-
Anonymus anglicus (1344-5)	-
Poggibonsi (1345)	ivi si sepelliscono i peregrini (...) che non se ne vede né ossa né pelle
Sudheim (1348 ca)	per illa foramina corpora mortuorum intus proii-ciuntur, et post triduum nihil aliud nisi sola ossa reperiuntur
Frescobaldi (1384)	-
Gucci (1384)	-
Sigoli (1384)	-
Brygg (1392)	-
Martoni (1394-95)	non poteramus nos adherere ad inspiciendum dictas foveas ex fetore mortuorum
Anglure (1395-96)	-
Grethenios (1400 ca)	-
Dal Campo (1413)	erage dentro quelli corpi che non li erano stati gran tempo, et niente puzzavano: et cossì dicesse che corpo ivi getato mai non puzza
Nompar (1419)	-
Lannoy (1421-1423)	-
Poloner (1422)	-
M. da Siena (1431)	-
Messore (1440)	et quando nui fossimo lì gli era mal stare, per-hoché di pocho gli era stato zitato corpi morti
Capodilista (1458)	veneno sepulti peregrini, i corpi dei quali se dice che mai non putevano

pilgrim	Aceldama miracle
pilgrim	Aceldama miracle
Sanseverino (1458)	dicesi che li corpi in esso posti may non puzano
Wey (1458)	-
Rochechouart (1461)	-
Adorno (1470-1471)	-
Rinuccini (1474)	sepeliendovi un corpo, in capo di viii giorni non vi si truovano se non l'ossa ignude
Brasca (1480)	li corpi di quali se dice che mai non putrefano
Breydenbach (1483-1484)	-
A. de Rennes (1486)	-
A. da Crema (1486)	non rendono fetore alcuno, dove ne vedessimo de integri, come se fussino sepulti in quella hora
Dinali (1492)	-
Harff (1496-1499)	-
G. Affagart (1533-1534)	Le champ prédicit fut ordonné pour la sépulture des pèlerins. La terre du prédicit champ a ceste prérogative que en vingt-quatre heures les corps y sont consomméz. Il est tout caré, grand comme ung grand cloistre de religieulx, tout creux par dedans et faict en voutes, car on en aporte la terre par deczà et là en la chrestienté, comme à Romme, à Venise, à Paris et plusieurs autres lieulx.
Zuallardo (1586)	Vedemmo molti corpi stesi, et alcuni involti in loro sudarii, senza esserne danneggiati, nonostante che ci sieno stati gran tempo
Rocchetta (1596)	È questa terra di tanta virtù, che quasi eccede l'humana credenza, poi che in spatio di hore 24 ella ha forza di ridurre in polvere I corpi de' morti che in quella si seppelliscono; nè perché sia trasportata in altre parti perde questa virtù, perché per comandamento della Imperatrice Helena ne fu portata a Roma tanta quantità quanta ne potevano portare 270 navi, e posta appresso il monte vaticano, in quel luogo che chiamano campo santo, e ancora con quella istessa virtù non ricevendo i Romani, ma solo i cadaveri de' forastieri consuma loro per spatio di hore 24 tutta la carne, lasciandovi le ossa del tutto ignude, come è manifesto moltissimi che l'han veduto
Quaresmi (1639)	advertique propriis oculis ibi corpora similiter putrescere et conservari ut in aliis locis
Toscolano (1633-1653)	in 24 hore gli converte in polvere le carni, restando le ossa, come cottidianamente si vede in esso campo

Recently, scholars have devoted attention to the legend of the “holy earth” and the connection with medieval Pisa cemetery.¹⁸ According to medieval chronicles, the “camposanto” was founded by Pisans with the earth that they had taken from Aceldama during the Third Crusade.¹⁹ Before becoming a synonym for the cemetery, the Italian word *camposanto*, would have had this precise meaning: Aceldama field, and, by extension, all fields containing soil from Aceldama. Yet, if the people of Pisa had brought home the earth from Aceldama towards the end of the 12th century, why was the legend about the miracle spread almost one hundred and fifty years later?

In Italy civic identity was being reconstructed through the elaboration of memories of heroic and holy feats from the past. In this sense Prato was precocious, as the cult of the Virgin Mary’s girdle, which a priest in Jerusalem supposedly gave as a dowry gift to a merchant from Prato, is attested since the late 12th century.²⁰ Yet, Italian cities claiming a special bond with the Holy Land were numerous: Bologna, for example, preserves a portrait of the Virgin Mary painted by St. Luke, transported by a hermit;²¹ and Brescia could boast the standard hoisted on the walls of Damietta in 1221 by its bishop Albert, who later become Latin Patriarch of Antioch. In the 15th century, and not earlier, in Florence appear the first testimonies on the feats of Pazzino de’ Pazzi. The Florentine Pazzino was said to have been the first Christian to cross the walls of Jerusalem during the First Crusade, and to have brought home, as a gift from Godefroy de Bouillon, three stones of the Holy city (some say they were from the city’s walls, while others hold that they came from the Holy Sepulchre).²²

If within these dynamics Pisa can claim its *camposanto* as miraculous, the Campo Santo Teutonico in Rome would have had a similar origin, even if the first mention of a link between it and the Aceldama earth in

18 Ronzani 2005, pp. 24-25; Bodner 2015, pp. 74-93; Bacci-Ganz-Meier (in print). I am very grateful to Dr. Meier for sharing information about her research both about Pisa and Jerusalem legends. I must quote her PhD dissertation (*Entstehung und Verbreitung der Terra Santa-Legende*, to be discuss in 2019) and the forthcoming work *A strange burial practice at the Aceldama in Jerusalem*.

19 Tangheroni 1982, pp. 31-55.

20 Galletti 1982, pp. 317-338.

21 Bacci 1998, pp. 310-315; Fantì 1993, pp. 49-67.

22 Due to Ravaggi 1982, pp. 300-301, Ugolino di Vieri (1438-1516) was the first to write about the legend, in his *De illustratione urbis Florentiae*.

Jerusalem seems to date 1454. This is a clear hint that it is necessary to deepen the cultural context and the possible instances that only then led to link the place to Jerusalem.²³

However, Aceldama's miracle does not seem too difficult to interpret: it unites all Christians, asserts the centrality of Jerusalem and affirms the universality of the saving power of Jesus, which can reach, through the relics of the Holy Land, every corner of Christendom (such as Pisa and Rome).²⁴

3. The Emperor Heraclius's miracle

Heraclius' miracle would take place in front of the Gate of Jerusalem that Jesus went through on Palm Sunday: the Golden Gate.

The legend of the Exaltation of the Cross is part of a broad cultural platform (...). [Contemporary] sources do not mention the causal connection between Chosroes' looting of the relic of the Cross and Heraclius's expedition (...). However, it is precisely this aspect that would acquire a legendary context in Western literature and art history.²⁵

The legend of the true Cross, taken away by the Persians and later recovered back to Jerusalem, appears in the LXX homily of Rabanus Maurus (820 ca): bringing the Cross, the Emperor was unable to enter the city because the Golden Gate was miraculously walled up. An angel, who had appeared on the walls of Jerusalem, is said to have rebuked Heraclius, reminding him that the emperor of the universe, Jesus, had passed through the door on the back of a humble donkey, without costly clothes or crown. Moved and repentant, Heraclius fell from his horse and stripped himself of his crown and gold. Only then did the door open to let him get through.

23 On the Campo Santo Teutonico see Fink 1936, p. 225; Weiland 1988, pp. 37-54. Rivarly dynamics continued during the centuries: only at the beginning of 17th century, in order to recall the glorious past of Prato after the conquest of the city by Florence, spread the legend according to which Prato citizens Cucco Ricucchi and Coscetto del Colle were the first to enter Jerusalem: Raveggi 1982, p. 305. According to Ceccarelli Lemut 2010, p. 25, it was the learned canon Raffaello Roncioni the first to write about the legend, in his work *Delle Istorie pisane libri XVI* (ed. in Bonaini 1844).

24 This topic has been recently discussed by Donkin 2017.

25 Baert 2004, p. 133.

Cumque imperator de monte Oliveti descendisset, per eam portam quam Dominus intraverat quando ad Passionem venerat, ipse regio [diademate] et ornamentis imperialibus decoratus, sedens voluisset intrare, repente lapides portae descendentes, clauserunt se invicem, et factus est paries unus. Cumque mirarentur attoniti, nimio terrore constricti, respicientes in altum, viderunt signum sanctae crucis in coelo, flammeo fulgore resplendere. Angelus enim Domini aspiciens illud in manibus, stetit super portam et ait: Quando rex coelorum Dominus totius mundi passionis sacramenta per hoc aditum completurus introiit, non se purpuratum, nec diademate nitentem exhibuit, aut equi potentis vehiculum requisivit, sed humilis aselli terga insidens, cultoribus suis humilitatis exempla reliquit. Tunc imperator gaudens in Domino de visu angelico, depositisque imperii insignibus, discalceatus, protinus, lintea tantum zona praecinctus, crucem Domini manu suscipiens, perfusus facie lacrymis, ad coelum oculum erigens properabat, ad portam usque progrediens. Mox illo humiliter propinquante, duritia lapidum coeleste persensit imperium, statimque porta se subrigens liberum intrantibus patefecit ingressum.²⁶

The miracle was remembered by the pilgrim Seawulf a few years after the conquest of Jerusalem, and later by Johannes Wirziburgensis, I think because in some way it actualized the circumstance of Christian temporal power accessing Jerusalem.

Per ipsam portam intravit Heraclius imperator, victor rediens a Persia cum dominica cruce, sed prius lapides cadentes clauserunt se invicem et facta est porta ut maceries integra, donec angelico monitu humiliatus de equo descendit et sic introitus [se] sibi patefecit.²⁷

Quae porta ex divina dispositione licet postea sepe Iherusalem ab hostibus esset capta et destructa, semper remansit integra. Haec etiam porta ob reverentiam divini et mistici introitus domini (...) in nullo tempore patet alicui nisi in die Palmarum, quo omni anno ob memoriam gestae rei sollempniter aperitur processioni et universo populo peregrinorum sive civium, a patriarcha facto sermone (...); finito eo die offitio iterum clauditur per totum annum ut prius, nisi in Exaltatione sanctae crucis, in qua etiam aperitur.²⁸

26 Rabanus Maurus, *Homilia LXX* (813-826).

27 Saewulf, *Itinerarium* (1101-1103), in Huygens 1994, p. 68.

28 Johannes Wirziburgensis, *Descriptio Terrae Sanctae* (1160 ca), in Huygens 1994, p. 96.

All pilgrims write of the Golden Gate, which during the centuries maintains strong symbolism: through the Gate, in 1118, the corpse of King Baldwin was brought to Jerusalem from Egypt, with a clear christomimesis: Jesus went to his martyrdom crossing the Golden Gate, while Baldwin had already suffered it. Fretellus does not mention Heraclius, but uses Jesus' entry to Jerusalem as a metaphor of the ideal Christian life: the faithful must obey and submit himself to the priests, who will correct and instruct him.

Per hunc tramitem ascendit Ihesus Iherosolimam sedens super asinam, die qua celebratur ramis palmarum. Sic et quisque catholicus sub obedientia angeli summi consilii debet incedere et adire sacerdotum presentiam, qui Dei verbum ruminant, ut ab eis corrigatur et instruatur.²⁹

Until the conquest of Jerusalem by Saladin, pilgrims wrote of the practice of opening the Gate twice a year: on Palm Sunday and on the Feast of the Holy Cross. From the middle of the 13th century the miracle had enormous iconographic luck. The *Golden Legend* by Jacobus de Voragine, which had an enormous diffusion, proposed a version of the miracle substantially identical to that of Rabano Mauro.³⁰

After the loss of Jerusalem, however, the miracle changed. First, the custom, witnessed by several accounts, to ritually open the Golden Gate, is forgotten, maybe because Christians have no more opportunity to intervene in the opening or closing of the city gates, not even in a strictly liturgical sphere. Accounts unanimously state (whether quoting Heraclius or not) that, after the passage of Jesus, the door has not been opened, and will remain closed until the end of time. In fact, the door was walled up after Saladin's conquest of Jerusalem, and, what's more, an Islamic ceme-

29 Rorgo Fretellus, *De locis sanctis* (1138), in Boeren 1980, p. 35.

30 «Cum autem de monte Oliveti descendens per portam qua dominus passurus intraverat in equo regio et ornamentis imperialibus ingredi vellet, repente lapides porte descenderunt et invicem quasi unus paries se clauserunt. Super quo cunctis stupentibus angelus domini signum crucis in manibus tenens super portam apparuit dicens: "Cum rex celorum ad passionem per hanc portam intraret, nec cultu regio sed humili asello ingrediens humilitatis exemplum suis cultoribus dereliquit". Et his dictis angelus abscessit. Tunc imperator lacrimis infusus se ipsum discalciavit et vestimenta usque ad camisiam exuit crucemque domini accipiens usque ad portam humiliter baiulavit. Moxque duritia lapidum celeste persensit imperium, statimque porta se suberigens liberum intransibus patefecit ingressum»: Jacobus a Varagine, *Legenda Aurea*, in Maggioni 2007, II, p. 1040.

tery was set up near the Gate. As evidenced by the Augustinian Jacopo da Verona, after the fall of the Crusader kingdom the miracle consists in the impossibility of opening the door.³¹ Moreover, according to a prophecy attributed to the Muslims by Christians, opening the Golden Gate would cause the collapse of the Islamic regime; that is why only rarely pilgrims, corrupting their interpreters, can get close to the Gate. Usually they must limit themselves to contemplate it from afar.

The Gate, called “Gate of Mercy” by both Jews and Muslims, has a very important role in Islamic and Jewish eschatology: for Jews the Messiah will enter Jerusalem through that gate, and for the Qur’an the righteous will pass through that gate on Judgment Day.³²

During the 16th century, the miracle is not forgotten. Affegart recalls faithfully Rabanus Maurus (or, better, Jacobus de Voragine) and the miracle that had happened to Heraclius.

C'est la porte par laquelle nostre Sauveur entra le jour des Rameaux, c'est la porte en laquelle se fist le miracle de quoy il est fait mention en l'histoire de l'exaltation sainte Croix, quant Héracle, empereur de Romme, eut recouvert la sainte Croix que tenoyt Cosdroé, roy de Perse, et qu'il fut retourné victorieux en Hiérusalem, vouloyt en grande pompe et magnificence et en habit impérial entrer par icelle porte en Hierusalem, mays subitement les deux murailles se joignirent ensemble, alors fut oye une voix du ciel en cette faczon “Quant l'empereur du ciel et de la terre passa par ceste porte, il n'entra pas en grande pompe comme tu faiz il ne portoyt pas le diadème ou couronne impériale sur sa teste, il n'estoyt pas monté sur un grand cheval couvert de drap d'or, mays en grande humilité, la teste découverte, les pieds nudz sur une paoure asnesse. Quant il alla au mont du Calvaire, il ne faysoit pas porter sa Croix après luy, comme tu faiz, mays luy-mesme la portoyt.” Adonc, quant l'empereur entendit ceste voix, tout promptement descendyt à terre, laissa ses

31 «Per hanc Portam auream intravit Cristus in Ramis palmarum civitatem Jherusalem et venit in Templum [...]. Et illa die qua intravit Cristus statim fuit clausa per seipsam. Et numquam Titus Vespacianus rex princeps vel baro cristianus vel saracenus potuerunt ipsam aperire, nisi tempore Eraclii et non aperietur nisi in die iudicii. Istam portam sepe visitant Cristiani et Saraceni, et habetur pro magno miraculo: et ego satis laboravi in festo Assumpcionis cum scarpelis meis in tantum quod ego extraxi unum clavum magnum de porta illa, et habentur illi clavi in magna devocione»: Jacopo da Verona, *Liber peregrinationis* (1335), in Monneret de Villard 1950, p. 44.

32 Le Strange 1965², p. 182.

vestemens royaulx, se couvrant d'un sac, tout nudz piedz et nue teste, print la croix sur ses espaulles en grand humilité, et ainsi se présenta davant la porte, laquelle miraculeusement se ouvrit de rechef [...]. Les Turcs ne permettent point que les chrestiens en approchent plus près de 50 espaces, et disent que leur Mahomet a prophétizé que à l'heure qu'elle se ouvrira, les chrestiens domineront en ce pays par ce la tiennent continuellement fermée.³³

In 1598, Rocchetta recounts another miracle: an invisible force pushes Heraclius back.

È quella istessa per la quale N. Signore sopra l'Asina entrò trionfante [...]. Per quella porta volea Eraclio Imperatore, ornato d'oro e di gemme con apparato trionfale sopra un superbissimo cavallo portando su le spalle la croce dove fu crocifisso il nostro Redentore; la quale prima era stata tolta dal re Cosdroa, e portata in Persia nell'anno 621; la dove Eraclio [...] voleva fare quella solenne entrata, ma accostandosi alla porta, si sentiva invisibilmente ributtar indietro, il che successe più volte, finché S. Zaccaria vescovo di quella città l'avvertì, dicendoli che Christo N. Signore quando andò alla santa Passione non portò quella coperta d'oro, di gemme, ma coperto del suo Sacratissimo Sangue e con fatica e dolore. Il che sentendo l'Imperatore subito smontò da cavallo, e deposta la corona con gli altri ornamenti regali, vestitosi di vestimenti umili, & abietti, a piedi nudi portando quella con ogni riverenza, entrò per la detta porta [...]. [La porta] fu poi murata dagli Infedeli nell'ultima presa, che fece di detta città l'anno 1517 Selim l'Imperatore de' Turchi, per tre raggioni: la prima, come essi dicevano, per che tutti quelli infedeli, che passavano per essa subito cadevano morti; la seconda acciò da quella non potesse passare alcuna Nazione, o Setta di persone, che Maumettana non fosse; la terza, perciocché per essa dovea entrare un gran Re del quale non fanno il nome, né quando ciò debba venire.³⁴

It is a clear imprint of the life of St. Mary of Egypt, a prostitute who decided to change her life when an invisible force prevented her from entering the church of the Holy Sepulcher. Wise advice from the bishop, not an angel, persuades Heraclius to humble himself, and then he was able to enter. We have already seen the impossibility of entering if not in conditions of humility; but Rocchetta adds that all Muslims who enter

33 Greffin Affagart, *Relation de Terre sainte* (1533-1534), in Chavanon 1902, p. 97.

34 Aquilante Rocchetta, *Peregrinatione di Terra Santa* (1598), in Roma 1996, pp. 97-98.

the gate die, and that is why the Ottoman sultan Selim decided to wall it up: thus, he proposes a miracle of punishment, such as occurred against the Tartars who wanted to burn the gate.

The Golden Gate, in short, has not witnessed a single miracle, but a sum of miracles: first the closing of the gate, then its impossible reopening, then various miracles of punishment.³⁵ The remembrance of Jesus' entrance in Jerusalem on Palm Sunday is more than reason enough for pilgrims to believe the Golden Gate is a holy place, but the fact that the gate remains for so many centuries in infidel hands is a kind of problem for pilgrims (and for European Christianity). A problem solved by miracles of punishment. The miracle that Rocchetta recounts is exemplary: despite his military victories and the conquest of the Holy Land, the Ottoman Sultan Selim had to wall up the gate in order to protect his subjects from the power and from the evidence of the Christian revealed truth.

4. A disappearing miracle at Saint Pelagia's grave

Pilgrims had visited the tomb of the saint, found in a grotto on the Mount of Olives, since at least the 6th century. In the cave for the Jews rests the prophetess Huldah, and for Muslims the mystical Rabi'ah al-Badawiyah.³⁶ The similarity of St. Pelagia's life with that of St. Mary of Egypt, another repentant prostitute we already met, is an element of confusion for Christians, so that from the late 13th century some argue that in the tomb lies St. Mary of Egypt, others St. Pelagia, and some even say that both are buried there.

After the Muslim conquest, the infidels (both Christians and Jews), had to pay and to take off their shoes to enter the tomb. Yet, the place continued to be visited.

The first text I know of to mention the miracle is anonymous and of uncertain date: *Les Pelrinages communes* (written soon after the middle of the thirteenth century). The miracle is that those who are in mortal sin cannot enter the crypt.³⁷ Two pilgrims claim to have witnessed the

35 Klaniczay 1999.

36 Seligman-Abu Raya 2001.

37 «Là près est ensevely une seynte femme, par quy nul peccheour puet passer ne aprocher à sa tounbe»: *Les pelrinages communes*, in Romanini-Saletti 2012, p. 132; «Dicitur quod in peccato mortali existens inter tumbam eius et murum proximum non potest

miracle: in both cases, the sinners were women.³⁸ In the 15th century, however, almost no one writes of the miracle anymore. The site remains a place of pilgrimage, but any reference to mortal sin is omitted. The same is true in the 16th and 17th centuries. The increasing difficulty of accessing the cave could explain why the miracle was gradually forgotten. As Faostino da Toscolano wrote, «In this place you cannot enter because it is a mosque, but by bribing the guards, and with the help of those who stand guard sometimes it is visited».³⁹ One cannot enter, therefore the authenticity of the miracle cannot be verified. And, I might add, it would be embarrassing to see dozens of Muslims access the cave without problems.

In the Holy Land, the miracle is the natural dimension of an environment that the presence of Jesus has cleansed from sin. Miracles do not belong to a past time, but are repeated and take place continuously: first they concerned Persians, then Fatimid, Mamluks and Ottomans, but the earth of Aceldama never ceases to strip the bodies, and the Golden Gate remains miraculously closed.⁴⁰

The immense wealth of miracles regarding holy places changes constantly, according to paradigms which may be defined as of repetition, or punishment. Repetition in order to show the holiness of any stone or piece of earth that Jesus (or the Holy Virgin or a saint) touched, punish-

transire, sed nescio veritatem; ego vidi multos transire»: Burchardus de Monte Sion, *Descriptio Terrae Sanctae* (1283 ca), in De Sandoli 1978-1984, IV, p. 192.

38 «En gir del seu sepulcre jaen laugerament tots çels qui son senes peccat mortal, e no persona el mon que puyxa passar que sia en peccat mortal, e aquest miracle provaren e vegeren aquests pelagrins una pelagrina englesa que era ab els que si la tirasen ab .M. pereyls de camels no pogra passar, e confesas a un preycador e convegra ab gran contricio e tantost passa leugerament»: Treps, *Viatge a Terra Santa* (1323), in Pijoan 1907, pp. 375-376; «Ad introitum illius loci coegit nos ductor noster, saracenus et nequissimus renegatus, discalciari, et sic nudis pedibus introire, et tumbam circuire, que iacet ad capud adeo proxima quod nullus crederetur ibi passare, nec presumpsimus ibi transire, donec affirmante saraceno quod nullus ibi transiret cum mortali peccato, transivimus omnes, quidam tamen cum quadam difficultate, excepta quadam muliere de civitate Neapoli, que transire non potuit, cum tamen vestes suas deposuisset, donec compuncta fuerit, et sic facile passavit»: Anonymus anglicus, *Itinerarium* (1344-1345), in Golubovich 1906-1927, IV, pp. 455-456.

39 Faostino da Toscolano, *Itinerario di Terra Santa* (1633-1634), in Bianchini 1992, p. 457.

40 On those and others reiterated miracles in the Holy Land, see Saletti 2011.

ment to show the God's will about infidels or bad christian.⁴¹ Yet, miracles concern situations that are still poorly investigated. If the 'Italian' miracle of the bodies that do not smell in Aceldama catches our eye, a full survey of the legends still needs to be made.

Much work has been started, in literary and artistic contexts, by art historians and scholars of iconology. Yet, the environments and functions of which the miracles have been – and are – an expression (civic identity, political or theological polemical antagonism: the miracle of the crucifix in Beirut, for example, or the descent of the holy fire),⁴² still remain to be explored, especially in the holy land framework, composed by faiths living side by side but perennially fighting together.

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