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**Travelling Saints and Religious Travellers in Twelfth- to
Fourteenth-Century Francophone and Occitan Literary Texts**

by

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Declaration

I declare that no material contained in this thesis has been used before or has been published. This thesis is my own work, and it has not been submitted for a degree at another university.

Abstract

This thesis considers literary representations of religious travel in twelfth- to fourteenth-century francophone and Occitan texts. It is one of the first studies on medieval French- and Occitan-language literature to consider at length portrayals of religious travel. The research questions are, how does travel help characters and audiences access the divine? What effects does travel have on the traveller's identity? How is travel affected by the politico-cultural background of the work?

Chapter One considers the pilgrim, contrasting pilgrimage narratives with *Lais*. Drawing on Michael Cronin and Lawrence Venuti's work, the author evaluates how travel engenders cultural denigration or appropriation. This appropriation reflects twelfth-century reformulations of the frontiers of the French-speaking world. Such readings suggest a remapping of north-west European areas of exchange.

Chapter two addresses the hermit by evaluating versions of the *Life* of saints Barlaam and Josaphat. Using Brian Stock's concepts, the author considers how textual communities in these texts imbricate translation and literary creation. Travel, translation, and literary creation work together, creating a pattern of spiritual translation which mediates the divine. However, the concept of God in these works is complex and varied. Thus the three texts may supposedly recount the same narrative, but they diverge.

Chapter three considers the Crusader, by evaluating travel in a crusade chronicle and a chivalric manual. The author considers how travelling on crusade is motivated by a religious ethos, which is reshaped by the travelling it inspires. Crusading is shown to alter characters' identities. A comparative reading demonstrates that the Crusader's travel and military prowess are directed towards incompatible goals. Jacques Lacan's work is used to chart how historical chronologies are subjectively rewritten. The author utilises Thomas Devaney's ideas on cross-border interactions, demonstrating that textual incoherence is linked to encounters with non-Christians. These narratives pose questions which undermine their characters' fanaticism.

Introduction

‘O or venis ci carnalment | Tost revendras spiritalment’.

(‘Whereas now you come here in the flesh | You will soon return in spirit’).

‘Tout cil qui se croiseroient et ki iroient ou secours de la terre d’Outremer avroient pardon de tous lor peciés’.

(‘All those who take the cross and go to help the land of Outremer will be pardoned of all their sins’).

‘Sapias que sobre totas cauzas ay dezirat con pogues fugir la vanetat d’aquest mont e con pogues en repaus et en silencia servir a nostre Senhor’.

(‘Know that above all things I have desired to be able to flee the vanity of this world, to be able to serve Our Lord in rest and silence’).¹

Literary representations of religious travel in twelfth- to fourteenth-century francophone and Occitan texts are ubiquitous. This travel is at the heart of the narratives quoted above, involving the characters of the pilgrim, the Crusader, and the hermit. In each of the above quotations, the protagonists travel to attain a state of spiritual favour. In the

¹ Benedeit, *Le Voyage de saint Brendan*, ed. by Brian Merrilees and Ian Short (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2006), lines 1795-96; *A Critical Edition of the ‘Estoires d’Outremer et de la naissance Salehadin’*, ed. by Margaret A. Jubb, Westfield Publications in Medieval Studies, 4 (London: University of London, 1990), p. 241; *Il ‘Libre de Barlam et de Josaphat’ e la sua tradizione nella Provenza angioina del XIV secolo*, ed. by Anna Radaelli, Scritture e libri del medioevo, collana diretta da Marco Palma, 15 (Rome: Viella, 2016), p. 185. Translations are my own.

first, Saint Brendan is informed by a heavenly guide that he has reached the paradisiacal destination of his pilgrimage, and that he will return there again after death, meaning that he has attained salvation. In this sense, Saint Brendan's travel takes on a visionary, eschatological dimension, as well as fulfilling a pilgrimage vow. In the second quote, potential pilgrims are told that if they take the cross and travel to fight with Crusader armies in the Middle East, they will be pardoned of all their sins, which will again win them salvation. The Crusaders' journey is also, then, a pilgrimage with an eschatological tone, but their travels involve a military campaign far removed from Saint Brendan's peaceful sea voyage. In the final quote, the saintly ruler Josaphat explains his desire to hike away from his kingdom into the desert, to live as a reclusive hermit. He too voyages to serve God, but he accomplishes this through travelling into semi-solitary, permanent exile, rather than via a temporary, group voyage, as the characters do in the first two extracts.

These quotations illustrate the diversity of religious travel as we find it portrayed in literature of the twelfth to fourteenth centuries in French and Occitan. The literary extracts above are in different languages, divergent generic formats, and verse and prose media. Taken from romance, hagiography, and chronicle, they show that while religious travel may have had one aim — to bring the traveller closer to God's favour and salvation — its means and methods were highly varied, as were its forms of expression in literary works. This thesis examines a selection of such literary portrayals of religious travel. I have chosen this as my focus because while scholars are increasingly recognising the importance of working on literary portrayals of travel,² religious travel in literary texts has not yet been more than a background theme in major studies,³ although new studies are forthcoming.⁴ This thesis

² See, for example, Simon Gaunt, *Marco Polo's 'Le Devisement du monde': Narrative Voice, Language and Diversity* (Cambridge: Brewer, 2013).

³ For instance, Emma Campbell evaluates Saint Alexis's travel, as a means of discussing his role in alternate Christian kinship and community structures. See Emma Campbell, *Medieval Saints' Lives: The Gift, Kinship, and Community in Old French Hagiography*, Gallica, 12 (Cambridge: Brewer, 2008), particularly pp. 1-3, 28-38, 87.

is thus one of the first studies on French- and Occitan-language literature to consider at length portrayals of religious travel. In it, I pose the questions: how does such travel help characters and audiences to access the divine? What effects does this travel have on the identity of the traveller? And how is this travel affected by the political and cultural background of the work?

The corpus of texts depicting religious travel is potentially vast. The selection has been narrowed by focusing on the figures of three types of religious traveller particularly widespread in francophone and occitanophone medieval literature: the pilgrim, the hermit, and the Crusader. The pilgrim undertakes a penitential journey and the hermit travels to withdraw from the world, in contrast to the Crusader who champions a vocation for himself within the lay world as he travels to fight in Christian armies in the Middle East or Iberia. The texts to be considered are drawn from the western francophone world and Occitania. In this, they reflect a pan-francophone, but also a pan-French approach, as I look at material composed in French outside France, as well as works written in what is now France but not in French. This approach allows for a fruitful examination of cultural differences across sections of the medieval francophone and occitanophone world. The geographical scope of the thesis is then widened to assess Aragonese conceptions of Crusader campaigning, as one of the texts included in this study was originally composed by the catalanophone Ramon Llull. This work was subsequently translated into French, and it is this later French-language version which is examined in this study.

The texts of my corpus demonstrate shifts in ideas about Christianity (particularly concerning divinity, sanctity, and salvation), due to their different dates of composition as

⁴ For example, the AHRC-funded project *Lyric Responses to the Crusades in Medieval France and Occitania*, run by Linda Paterson, which has a website: <http://www2.warwick.ac.uk/fac/arts/modernlanguages/research/french/crusades/background/>. Two books based on this project which will consider, amongst other things, the travel involved in literary portrayals of crusade, will be published by Boydell in 2017-18: Linda Paterson, with the collaboration of Luca Barbieri and others, *Singing the Crusades*; and *Crusades and Poets*, ed. by Simon Parsons and Linda Paterson.

well as their divergent geographical origins. However, it has not been my aim to chart chronological changes in literary depictions of religious travel. Instead I focus on differing ways of portraying religious travel, and the shifting literary uses of such travel in the twelfth to fourteenth centuries. While the chronological range of the texts is broad, they share a thematic unity. I draw out the similarities linking these disparate works, namely their attempt to access the divine through a travel-based activity, so as to make the divine and its attendant salvific properties accessible to their protagonists and audiences. I also demonstrate the differences between them, differences which stem from their portrayal of various forms of spiritual journey, ranging from peaceful pilgrimage to armed crusade.

Historical and anthropological aspects of religious travel in the Middle Ages have become important foci of study in academic research.⁵ However, I do not examine actual medieval journeys of pilgrimage, hermitic withdrawal, or crusade, nor do I investigate the religious impetus behind them. Instead, I evaluate cultural conceptions of religious travel, its representations in medieval literature, and the questions and debates such representations pose. While scholarship on historical instances of medieval religious travel provides essential context for my corpus, this thesis thus focuses on literary conceptions and depictions of spiritual voyaging, which have not yet been studied in the depth that historical examples have been.

Religious travel is the central narrative catalyst for the texts I study here, and a richly symbolic theme within them. Yet while the narrative development of all the works

⁵ For example, see Victor Turner and Edith Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture: Anthropological Perspectives* (Oxford: Columbia University Press, 1978); *The Medieval Pilgrimage to St. Patrick's Purgatory: Lough Derg and the European Tradition*, ed. by Michael Haren and Yolande de Pontfarcy (Enniskillen: Clogher Historical Society, 1988); Jean Verdon, *Voyager au Moyen Âge* (Paris: Perrin, 1998); Diana Webb, *Medieval European Pilgrimage, c. 700-c. 1500*, *European Culture and Society* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002); *Journeying along Medieval Routes in Europe and the Middle East*, ed. by Alison L. Gascoigne, Leonie V. Hicks, and Marianne O'Doherty (Turnhout: Brepols, 2016).

considered is predicated upon religious travel, this spiritual voyaging becomes a source of reflection in my corpus on other topics. These other foci include translating cultural prestige, particularly in the Anglo-Norman pilgrimage texts of my corpus. This is to say that, in these texts, cultural capital is shifted from an Irish to a francophone sphere of influence. This is particularly significant because the works concerned were composed in a century in which the domains of the Anglo-Normans were expanded to include land in Ireland. Translation in these texts thus corresponds to a medieval conception of *translatio*, according to which the transfer of knowledge through linguistic translation was intimately tied to shifting geographical and political power through linguistic translation but also by means of physical movement. This is discussed in more depth in chapter one.

In chapter two, when reading three versions of *La Vie de Barlaam et Josaphat* against one another, it becomes clear that although the protagonists spend a lot of the narrative travelling for religious purposes, the texts centre around establishing their prestige as saints. This is done through many varied forms of translation, whether of the text of their *Life*, or of their relics, or through other forms of translation to be discussed in more depth in the chapter. So, spiritual translation emerges as the main topic in the texts considered in chapter two. In the chapter concerned with a crusade chronicle and a chivalric manual, the travel of the crusading knights occupies a place of great importance, but the primary theme is that of chivalry. In principal, chivalry is the ideological code on which the protagonists' actions are based, and therefore might at first seem to be an underlying theme. Yet the foreign travels and religious wars of the Crusaders lead the protagonists to distort, question, and reshape their motivations, and thus to reformulate literary and historical concepts of chivalry. In this way, chivalry becomes a major preoccupation in the narratives. In this sense, the works I read have more to say about translation and crusading chivalry than they do about travel itself. I therefore think through

the relationship between the text and the journey it depicts, as well as how travel shapes the other central themes of each work considered.

The theoretical framework of this thesis utilises translation theory, psychoanalysis, and historical scholarship, drawing especially on the work of Michael Cronin, Thomas Devaney, Jacques Lacan, Brian Stock, and Lawrence Venuti. I have not sought to apply any one ‘theory’ to the medieval texts in question, nor do I compare modern theories in their own right, preferring instead to attend to the nuances of individual texts. However, I have, where relevant, drawn upon key ideas taken from these contemporary theorists, in order to explore in greater depth the thematics of travel and translation in the works under discussion.

Chapter one focuses on Benedeit’s Anglo-Norman hagiographic romance, the *Voyage de Saint Brendan*, alongside another Anglo-Norman pilgrimage narrative concerning Ireland, the *Espurgatoire seint Patriz* attributed to Marie de France. These works are contrasted with a selection of *lais* also attributed to Marie, in which the protagonists travel for non-spiritual reasons: *Guigemar*, *Lanval*, and *Yonec*. All of these are twelfth-century texts. I analyse these texts alongside the translation theory of Michael Cronin. Cronin explains how religious travel and translation were imbricated in medieval European culture through Irish monastic influence. His work demonstrates that the Irish monks who undertook the penitential journey of *peregrinatio*, or permanent exilic pilgrimage, converted their travels into texts by translating, glossing, and composing works as they moved around Europe. Cronin thus establishes that the *peregrinatio* was as much about textual movement as it was about physical travel.⁶

This mix of physical travel, spirituality, linguistic translation, and textual creation summarises the complex relationship of the text to the journey in the Anglo-Norman pilgrimage narratives about Ireland examined in my first chapter, works in which the

⁶ Michael Cronin, *Translating Ireland: Translation, Languages, Cultures* (Cork: Cork University Press, 1996), p. 14.

protagonists undertake an adapted version of the *peregrinatio*. Cronin places scholarship on Irish medieval monastic translation in the context of Irish cultural and social mobility during this period, reflecting historians' findings concerning Irish interactions with the Anglo-Normans, and Ireland's international connections along medieval maritime trading routes.⁷ In the literary narratives about pilgrimage in Ireland considered in my study, this international, textual world appears in the religious travel of the penitent pilgrim characters. Their trips are subtly rerouted by Anglo-Norman authors who incorporate Irish cultural and ecclesiastical prestige into French, at a time when the Anglo-Norman court was undertaking territorial expansion in Ireland.

The politics of cultural appropriation which figure in these texts is read in the light of Lawrence Venuti's concept of the remainder. Venuti defines this as a linguistic element of a text which resists translation.⁸ My texts encapsulate some resistance to cultural appropriation though the inclusion within them of a version of this remainder, as the cultural and linguistic significance of their religious travel at times evades the pervasive, appropriative explanations of the Anglo-Norman authorial voices. In this chapter, I thus evaluate literary representations of pilgrimage alongside secular voyages. Using contemporary translation theory, I analyse the travel in the texts as part of instances within them of cultural appropriation and/or denigration, reflecting twelfth-century shifts in the political boundaries of the francophone world. Such readings suggest a remapping of north-west European areas of literary, linguistic, cultural, and economic exchange in the twelfth century.

In chapter two, I consider three versions of the *Life* of the saints Barlaam and Josaphat, which depict journeys of hermitic withdrawal. I look at this saint's life in a

⁷ Cronin, p. 36; Marie Therese Flanagan, *Irish Society, Anglo-Norman Settlers, Angevin Kingship: Interactions in Ireland in the Late Twelfth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989; repr. 1998); Benjamin Hudson, *Irish Sea Studies: 900-1200* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2006).

⁸ Lawrence Venuti, *The Scandals of Translation: Towards an Ethics of Difference* (London: Routledge, 1998), pp. 115-16.

thirteenth-century Anglo-Norman verse version by Chardri; in an anonymous Occitan prose version from the fourteenth century; and in a dramatic version in verse from the same century, taken from the collection of guild plays known as the *Miracles de Notre Dame par personnages*. I study these hagiographic texts alongside the work of Brian Stock on textual communities. Like Cronin, Stock uncovers the dynamics of communal textual production in the Middle Ages, but unlike Cronin, Stock's work on this topic focuses on lay religious groupings. Stock's concept of textual communities describes lay spiritual groups, often heterodox, who translated religious texts. They then relived the precepts of these texts, and thus textualised their life to the extent that their existence became a living text in its own right, as their life became defined by textual confines, and inspired the composition of further texts to commemorate it.⁹

Textual communities who use religious texts to reformulate their behaviour in this way are to be found amongst the characters of the *Lives* of Saints Barlaam and Josaphat examined in chapter two, as in the presumed audience for these works addressed by the narratorial voices. Different types of translations, both linguistic and physical, emerge in these *Lives* as a means to bridge the gap between the human and the divine through a mediating construction of sanctity, created in and expressed through the saint's *Life* we read. The saints' travel of hermitic withdrawal feeds into some of the forms of somatic translation used in these texts to construct this sanctity.

By reading these hagiographic works alongside Stock's theory of textual communities, I am able to consider in this chapter how, in the texts, such communities' religious travel is linked to ideas of literary creation and forms of translation. Travel, translation, and literary creation work together to produce a paradigm of spiritual translation aimed at mediating the divine for the characters and audience. Yet due to the

⁹ Brian Stock, 'History, Literature, and Medieval Textuality', *Yale French Studies*, 70 (1986), 7-17; Brian Stock, *Listening For the Text: On the Uses of the Past* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1996), particularly pp. 16-29.

complexity of their ideas about God, these three texts recounting the same hagiographic legend diverge into dizzyingly different, beautiful, and complex meditations on the correct path to salvation.

The final chapter examines the thirteenth-century crusade chronicle of the *Estoires d'Outremer et de la naissance Salehadin*, alongside the chivalric manual of the *Livre de chevalerie*, a fourteenth-century French translation of Ramon Llull's thirteenth-century work in Catalan, the *Llibre de l'orde de cavalleria*. These works portray the travels of knights who fight non-Christians. In conjunction with these works, I consider Jacques Lacan's notion of 'logical time' — his formulation of how time is subjectively rewritten and reordered when events are viewed in retrospect.¹⁰ Thus, an ideologically inflected, reformulated version of how events unfolded is ultimately portrayed as a logical, straightforwardly chronological series of happenings. Such subtle reordering occurs in the crusading texts examined in this third chapter, where events are narrated in an ostensibly logical order, which in fact subverts chronology to shore up ideologically driven conclusions regarding religion, history, and chivalry. Such ideologically inflected conclusions arose out of literary and historical situations of interaction between Catholic Crusaders and non-Catholics in the Middle East and Iberia, whether through violent war, or through peaceful diplomacy and trade.

Similar interactions are read by Thomas Devaney in the context of mixing between Christians, Jews, and Muslims around the fifteenth-century border between Castile and Granada. Devaney sees such encounters as embodying an attitude of 'amiable enmity': an ambiguous and contradictory set of behaviours which shifted between amicable and enmity-riven meetings, depending on the precise geographical, cultural, and temporal

¹⁰ Jacques Lacan, 'Le Temps logique et l'assertion de certitude anticipée : un nouveau sophisme', in *Écrits* (Paris: Seuil, 1966), pp. 197-213.

situation.¹¹ Devaney theorises interactions in a time and place which share similarities, in terms of their religious mix and shifting boundaries, with the Crusader States. Devaney's theories can therefore help map out the impact the religious travel of the Crusader knights, which brings them into contact with non-Catholics, has on shaping literary portrayals of their religious and chivalric identity.

The theme of this final chapter is chivalry, which allows for a study of how crusading travel is motivated by and impacts upon religious ethos, as well as how identities are changed by the experience of crusading in these works. I examine how these texts present contradictory conceptions of chivalry, even within the same narrative section. This mix of conflicting attitudes towards chivalry produces a situation in which the knightly Crusader's religious travel and military prowess are directed towards diffuse, incompatible aims. Further incoherence arises from narrative confusion over time frames, as illuminated by Lacan's work. I explore how the chivalric, ideological, and temporal disorder outlined above results in incoherence and breakdown as the texts finish without resolution. Utilising Devaney's work on the contradictory behaviours and emotions aroused by interfaith, cross-border interactions, I look at how these moments of incoherence and ambiguity in the texts are linked to literary and historical encounters with non-Christians, and consider how the questions raised by these medieval literary narratives undermine the fanatical ideologies of some of their characters.

¹¹ Thomas Devaney, *Enemies in the Plaza: Urban Spectacle and the End of Spanish Frontier Culture, 1460-1492* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015).

Chapter One - The Pilgrim

Part I - Introduction

‘The *peregrinatio* [...] was as much textual as physical’¹

This chapter is an examination of two twelfth-century Anglo-Norman pilgrimage narratives, the *Espurgatoire seint Patriz* attributed to Marie de France, and *Le Voyage de saint Brendan* by Benedeit. I will consider the relationship between text and journey in these works. I have paired these texts because they have a number of things in common: they share an Anglo-Norman courtly provenance and represent journeys to spiritual other worlds. They also deal with pilgrimage in and around Ireland. Most significantly, both texts are concerned with *peregrinatio*. Although *peregrinatio* is the Latin term for ‘pilgrimage’ in general, it also refers specifically to the early Irish ascetic and monastic type of long-term pilgrimage, which peaked in practice around the sixth to the ninth centuries.² Monks and lay people who undertook *peregrinatio* would exile themselves, often permanently, to inhospitable wastelands situated either in the seas around Ireland, such as Skellig Michael, or further afield, such as the Faroe Islands.³ This withdrawal aimed at greater ascetic spiritual perfection and drew on God’s injunction to Abraham to exile himself, made in Genesis 12. 1.⁴ In our texts, this rigorous practice has been adapted to a seven-year sea-expedition for Brendan and his monks in the *Voyage de saint Brendan*, and to twenty-four hours’ reclusion followed by a month’s religious devotions for Owein, in the *Espurgatoire*

¹ Michael Cronin, *Translating Ireland: Translation, Languages, Cultures* (Cork: Cork University Press, 1996), p. 14.

² Lisa M. Bitel, *Isle of the Saints: Monastic Settlement and Christian Community in Early Ireland* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993), p. 223.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 222-34.

⁴ Peter Harbinson, *Pilgrimage in Ireland: The Monuments and the People* (London: Barrie & Jenkins, 1991), p. 34; *Biblia Sacra Vulgata*, ed. by Bonifatius Fischer, rev. by Robert Weber, 3rd edn (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1994), p. 17.

seint Patriz. While, therefore, these texts do not portray canonical examples of *peregrinatio*, they adapt the practice to the needs of their characters and audience, and so remain examples of literature on the theme of the *peregrinatio*.⁵

Discussing the monastic practice of *peregrinatio* within the context of the role of medieval Irish monks in translating, copying, and disseminating manuscripts throughout Europe, the translation theorist Michael Cronin has observed that ‘the *peregrinatio* [...] was as much textual as physical’.⁶ By this, Cronin means that the Irish monks who went to Continental Europe took manuscripts from Ireland with them, and acted as teachers, translators, glossators, and scribes abroad, as they had previously done at home.⁷ In this sense, their physical peregrinations from Ireland to the Continent were paralleled by the textual journeys made by the manuscripts and the literary practices which they took with them. *Peregrinatio* is consequently a model of medieval physical, spiritual, and textual movement which allows for reflection on the relationship of the journeys portrayed to the texts themselves. I will consider in this chapter both the physical *peregrinatio* described and the textual *peregrinatio* embodied in the manuscript. *Peregrinatio* thus offers a productive lens through which to read these texts, in which Irish material relating religious journeys, some of it dating as far back as the sixth century, has been translated and reworked in the Anglo-Norman of twelfth-century Britain.

I will not discuss the manuscript distribution and subsequent reworkings of my chosen texts in depth because this has already been thoroughly examined by others.⁸

⁵ *The Medieval Pilgrimage to St. Patrick's Purgatory: Lough Derg and the European Tradition*, ed. by Michael Haren and Yolande de Pontfarcy (Enniskillen: Clogher Historical Society, 1988), pp. 10-11; Danielle Lecoq, ‘Saint Brandan, Christophe Colomb, et le paradis terrestre’, *Revue de la Bibliothèque nationale de France*, 45 (1992), 14-21 (p. 14).

⁶ Cronin, p. 14

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 14-15.

⁸ For the *Voyage*, see Glyn S. Burgess and Clara Strijbosch, *The Legend of St Brendan: A Critical Bibliography* (Dublin: Royal Irish Academy, 2000); for the *Espurgatoire*, see Yolande de Pontfarcy (ed.), ‘Étude du manuscrit contenant l’*Espurgatoire*’, in Marie de France, *L’Espurgatoire seint Patriz*, ed. and trans. by Yolande de Pontfarcy, Ktēmata, 13 (Louvain: Peeters, 1995), pp. 19-22, and Mattia Cavagna and Yolande de Pontfarcy Sexton, ‘*Le Purgatoire de saint Patrice, versions françaises*’, in *Arlima : archives de littérature du Moyen Âge*

Instead, I begin my discussion of how these texts relate to the journeys they narrate with an examination of the specificities of the portrayals of their journeys as religious travel. This forms the first section of the chapter. In part two, the particular characteristics of these voyages are contrasted with journeys to magical rather than religious other worlds. The examples of such enchanted journeys are taken from three *Lais*, attributed to Marie de France: *Guigemar*, *Lanval*, and *Yonec*. These *Lais* were potentially written by the same person as the *Espurgatoire seint Patriz*, if we accept that the *Espurgatoire seint Patriz* is indeed one of Marie de France's compositions.⁹ Even if the *Lais* and the *Espurgatoire seint Patriz* are not by the same author, they are from the same temporal, linguistic, and courtly background, as is Benedeit's *Voyage de saint Brendan*. Using the *Lais* as a point of comparison allows me to draw out the relationship of the journey to the text in terms of generic discourse, and the similarities or differences between the treatment of the journey in religious and non-religious French-language texts of the twelfth century.

In part three, I consider how the relationship between textual and physical *peregrinatio* in all five of these works relates to the movement of the material through translation and *translatio*, which is necessary for its incarnation in Anglo-Norman. In the Middle Ages, *translatio imperii* and *translatio studii* were 'deux phénomènes culturels et politiques', which were 'transferts à la fois géographiques et historiques de l'empire et du savoir'.¹⁰ This transfer of knowledge and prestige usually took place through translation from one language to another.¹¹ So, medieval ideas of translation incorporate linguistic

<http://www.arlima.net/mp/purgatoire_de_saint_patrice_en_francais.html> [accessed 18 January 2013].

⁹ Scholars generally agree that a figure called Marie de France probably composed both the *Lais* and the *Espurgatoire*, based on convincing evidence that this is so. For a fuller discussion, see Sharon Kinoshita and Peggy McCracken, *Marie de France: A Critical Companion*, Gallica, 24 (Cambridge: Brewer, 2012), p. 1, and R. Howard Bloch, *The Anonymous Marie de France* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), pp. 1-24.

¹⁰ Frédéric Duval, 'Quels passés pour quel Moyen Âge?', in 'De la *translatio studii* à l'étude de la *translatio*', *Translations médiévales : cinq siècles de traductions en français au Moyen Âge (XI^e-XV^e siècles) : étude et répertoire*, ed. by Claudio Galderisi, with the collaboration of Vladimir Agrigoroaei, 2 vols (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011), I, pp. 47-92 (p. 47).

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 48.

translation, *translatio imperii*, and *translatio studii*, thus embracing linguistic but also physical transfer: ‘les emplois non-linguistiques du substantif médiéval et son sème dominant de “transfert, passage”’ are as important as linguistic transfer.¹² Throughout this thesis, I use *translatio* to refer to all of these senses of medieval translation. I thus utilise *translatio* as a term for medieval translation, which includes linguistic translation, physical and somatic translation, and cultural and political transfer.

Throughout this chapter, I discuss the issues raised specifically by pilgrimage texts, namely, their use of multiple voices, their descriptions of subjective experiences beyond words, their contested veracity, their role in the wider context of Church practice, and their place amongst different generic discourses. My comparison revolves around the theme of the journey, and reveals areas of overlap, exchange, and contestation between the texts. My approach in this chapter is informed by translation theory, based on observing the traffic of material and memory through *translatio*.

Part II – The Portrayal of the Journey as Religious Travel in the *Voyage de saint Brendan* and the *Espurgatoire seint Patriz*

The *Espurgatoire seint Patriz*, dating from c. 1190, was probably composed by Marie de France. The work is freely translated from H. of Saltrey’s twelfth-century Latin text, the *Tractatus de Purgatorio Sancti Patricii*. Marie’s text begins by recounting Saint Patrick’s evangelising mission to Ireland. In order to impress and convert the sceptical pagans there, God reveals an entrance to purgatory to Saint Patrick, which is located in a cave on an island in Lough Derg, in County Donegal. The most extreme penitents can be confined in the cave to expiate their sins, although not all the pilgrims who enter the cave return, and those who do not survive their ordeal are damned. In Marie’s text and its Latin

¹² Ibid., p. 47.

source, an Irish knight called Owein is confined in this cave to do penance for his sins. After suffering terrible torments in purgatory, and witnessing the delights of the earthly paradise, he goes back to the surface. Owein then reforms his life, going on crusade in the Holy Land. When he returns to Ireland, the king asks him to be a translator (or an Irish-speaking Latinist who can therefore translate for the monks, a 'latimer', *Espurgatoire*, 1957).¹³ Owein works with Brother Gilbert, a Cistercian monk from England, to whom the king has given land on which to establish a monastery in County Wexford.¹⁴ Owein continues to live a pure life and goes straight to God when he dies. The rest of the narrative is then taken up with an account of further examples of otherworldly journeys, devilish apparitions, and testimonies concerning Saint Patrick's Purgatory, which are intended to convince the audience of the veracity of Owein's experiences and of the powers of the site.

The *Voyage de saint Brendan* was similarly composed in the twelfth century in an Anglo-Norman courtly milieu. Its author is an otherwise unknown clerk, Benedeit, who dedicated his work to the Queen of England, between 1100 and 1125.¹⁵ The protagonist of the text is Brendan the Navigator, a sixth-century Irish abbot and saint. Inspired by curiosity, religious fervour, the reports of his contemporaries Barrind and Mernoc, and a visitation by an angel, Brendan wants to travel to find heaven and hell. After obtaining God's blessing, he and seventeen of his monks set sail. Three of these monks were not chosen by Brendan but insisted on joining the pilgrimage at the point of departure. All three extra monks subsequently die, or are damned, during the expedition. The monks' pilgrimage lasts for seven years and is circular, as they visit certain places regularly each

¹³ All numbers in brackets after references to the *Espurgatoire seint Patriz* refer to line numbers in Marie de France, *L'Espurgatoire seint Patriz*, ed. and trans. by Yolande de Pontfarcy, *Ktēmata*, 13 (Louvain: Peeters, 1995).

¹⁴ Pontfarcy (ed.), 'Les Dates du *Tractatus* et de l'*Espurgatoire*', in Marie de France, *L'Espurgatoire*, pp. 4-10 (p. 5).

¹⁵ Brian Merrilees and Ian Short (eds), 'Introduction', in Benedeit, *Le Voyage de saint Brendan*, ed. by Brian Merrilees and Ian Short, *Champion classiques série Moyen Âge*, 19 (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2006), pp. 7-27 (pp. 17-18).

year. They discover fourteen islands,¹⁶ encountering natural wonders, friendly animals, angels, monsters, and fellow monks. They visit Judas at the mouth of hell, and listen to him describe its torments. After the three extra monks have been lost, the group is admitted to the earthly paradise. Following a short stay there, they return to Ireland quickly. Brendan dies soon after, having led more than a thousand to salvation through his example.

As pilgrimage texts, the *Voyage de saint Brendan* (henceforth *Voyage*), and *Espurgatoire seint Patriz* (henceforth *Espurgatoire*), are remarkable. Twelfth-century pilgrimage usually focused on saints' relics and involved journeys to 'earthly destinations'.¹⁷ The texts to be considered in this chapter do neither. They do not discuss relics, and they present what would normally be portrayed as spiritual journeys to the earthly paradise and to purgatory as physical expeditions which are undertaken by boat and on foot. In both texts, physical progression on pilgrimage is concomitant with spiritual development. Thus the *Voyage* can be read as an allegory of spiritual progress on multiple levels. On a general level, the journey towards paradise and the celebration of the most important annual Christian festivals in the text mean that the journey, as it is portrayed here, is an allegory of the lay Christian's progress towards salvation.¹⁸ The *Voyage* can alternatively be read as an abstraction of the ideal monastic life, given that the travellers seeking redemption are monks, whose days are structured around the canonical hours, and who lead religious festivals as celebrants. The text is also an allegory of the liturgical year, represented as a circular journey of repeated gestures leading to deeper spiritual understanding, and ultimately salvation. The *Voyage* further allegorises the ideal pilgrimage as one which secures the pilgrim a place in heaven.

¹⁶ Glyn S. Burgess, 'Savoir and Faire in the Anglo-Norman *Voyage of St Brendan*', *French Studies*, 49 (1995), 257-74 (pp. 4-5).

¹⁷ Larissa J. Taylor, 'Introduction', in *Encyclopedia of Medieval Pilgrimage*, ed. by Larissa J. Taylor and others (Leiden: Brill, 2010), pp. vii-xi (p. ix); Daniel P. Terkla, 'Pilgrimage as Metaphor', in *Encyclopedia of Medieval Pilgrimage*, ed. by Taylor and others, pp. 538-39 (p. 539).

¹⁸ Marie-Madeleine Castellani, 'Le Voyage dans l'autre monde dans *Le Voyage de Saint-Brandan*', *URANIE*, 4 (1994), 115-32 (p. 126).

Spiritual experience and advancement are equally important in the *Espurgatoire*. On his return from the other world, the knightly protagonist Owein recounts his experiences so that they can be preserved in writing as an example (*Espurgatoire*, 1911-12). As a result of his penance in purgatory and inspiration in the earthly paradise, he subsequently lives in a way which reflects his spiritual improvement. He goes on crusade (*Espurgatoire*, 1913-18), considers joining a monastery (*Espurgatoire*, 1923-26), and works as an interpreter and aide for Brother Gilbert when the latter establishes a new Cistercian monastery (*Espurgatoire*, 1980-82). During the rest of his life, Owein's conduct is so impeccable that he goes directly to heaven when he dies (*Espurgatoire*, 1993-96).

Before Owein undertakes his pilgrimage, Marie gives a confusing synthesis of ideas on whether experiences of the afterlife are corporeal or spiritual (*Espurgatoire*, 163-80, 642, 1284-85, 2019-56). Marie's confusion accurately reflects Church debates on this issue, which were divided between those who believed that only the soul travelled during otherworldly visions, and those who thought that visions were experienced through the body.¹⁹ Although visions have been separated into corporeal, imaginative, and intellectual categories since the time of Saint Augustine, 'it is often difficult to decide whether the vision is corporeal or imaginative'.²⁰ Marie stresses that in out-of-body experiences, souls may see visions which are 'en forme e en semblance | de home corporel sustance' but which are purely of 'espiritel substance' (*Espurgatoire*, 174, 179-80). However, she describes hell as a form of exile (*Espurgatoire*, 642), and as a place in which both soul and body perish (*Espurgatoire*, 1284-85). Furthermore, she relates an account of a monk who is

¹⁹ For more on the Latin tradition of otherworldly journeys between the fifth and the thirteenth centuries CE, see Claude Carozzi, *Le Voyage de l'âme dans l'au-delà d'après la littérature latine (V^e-XIII^e siècle)*, Collection de l'École française de Rome, 189 (Rome: École française de Rome, 1994).

²⁰ Lucian Roure, 'Visions and Apparitions', in *The Catholic Encyclopedia: An International Work of Reference on the Constitution, Doctrine, Discipline and History of the Catholic Church*, ed. by Charles G. Herbermann and others, 19 vols (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1907-22), XV (1912), pp. 477-78 (p. 477). For further information on Catholic classifications of religious visions, see J. Aumann, 'Visions', in *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, ed. by Catholic University of America and others, 2nd edn, 15 vols (Detroit: Thomson/Gale; Washington, DC: Catholic University of America, 2003), XIV, pp. 562-63.

bodily abducted and tortured by devils: ‘corporelment le ravirent [...] tut flaelé e debatu | desqu’a le mort e navré fu’ (*Espurgatoire*, 2027, 2035-36).

In keeping with this, and despite her insistence in the introductory material that otherworldly visions are non-physical and purely spiritual, Marie describes Owein as undertaking a physical journey into purgatory. He descends into the ditch or pit of the purgatory — ‘en la fosse se mist avant’ (*Espurgatoire*, 664) — before advancing, as ‘par mi la fosse tient sa veie’ (*Espurgatoire*, 671). His route involves progression away from human light and towards spiritual light, but it still entails a physical movement forward:

cum il plus va, plus est oscur ;

tute pert humaine veüe.

Altre clartez li est venue. (*Espurgatoire*, 676-78)

By ending the last two lines with ‘veüe’ and ‘venue’, Marie emphasises that the different type of sight which the pilgrim receives as he advances is of a new, spiritual order.

He continues to explore underground, so remaining in a concrete, worldly, locatable space: ‘Tant a erré par desuz terre | qu’il vint al champ qu’il alout querre’ (*Espurgatoire*, 681-82). The repetition of ‘erre’ in this couplet links together the bodily movement of ‘erré’, the worldly space of ‘terre’, and the questing of ‘querre’. This stresses the physicality of Owein’s penitential journey within this place of pilgrimage, as well as the romance overtones of his spiritual quest. He looks at the building that he finds there, but also walks around it and enters:

Quant le palais out esguardé

dehors e tut en tur alé,

hastivement dedenz entra. (*Espurgatoire*, 695-97)

Although he sits down (*Espurgatoire*, 700), he does not fall asleep or enter into a reverie as characters often do in other visionary literature.²¹ The place he enters is described as a physical 'païs' (*Espurgatoire*, 732). After Owein has spoken to holy guides, devils appear, and he is led by them through various torture sites. These are described as physical locations (e.g. 'une valee' (*Espurgatoire*, 930)), to which they travel bodily (e.g. 'en une waste regiun | le meinent, hors de la maisun' (*Espurgatoire*, 915-16)). Owein suffers corporeal pain in such places (e.g. *Espurgatoire*, 898). The physicality of description is maintained when Owein accesses the earthly paradise, in which there are similar depictions of bodily movement and sensual perception. Indeed, clear distinctions are

²¹ Such as in the Latin visions of Saint Furseus/Fursey, or of Charles the Fat. For translated English editions, see *Visions of Heaven and Hell before Dante*, ed. by Eileen Gardiner (New York: Italica Press, 1989), pp. 51-56, 129-33. The only other visionary texts extant in Anglo-Norman, aside from other versions of the *Espurgatoire*, are the *Vision de saint Paul* and the *Vision de Tondale* (see Ruth J. Dean, with the collaboration of Maureen B. M. Boulton, *Anglo-Norman Literature: A Guide to Texts and Manuscripts*, Anglo-Norman Text Society Occasional Publications Series, 3 (London: Anglo-Norman Text Society, 1999)). These are similar to the *Espurgatoire* in that the protagonists do not fall asleep before experiencing their visions. Tondale leaves his body behind, and Saint Paul is carried up to heaven in an indistinct manner. For an edition of the *Vision de Tondale*, see '*La Vision de Tondale*': *les versions françaises de Jean de Vignay, David Aubert, Regnaud le Queux*, ed. by Mattia Cavagna (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2008); for an edition of the *Vision de saint Paul*, see 'Henri d'Arce: The Shorter Works', ed. by R. C. D. Perman, in *Studies in Medieval French Presented to Alfred Ewert in Honour of his Seventieth Birthday*, ed. by Elizabeth A. Francis (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961), pp. 279-321. There are of course further texts in Anglo-Norman which contain a visionary episode, but which only mention the vision in passing and do not focus the narrative on visionary material. An example of this would be Josaphat's vision of heaven and hell during the hagiographic narrative dedicated to his life which is attributed to Chardri, entitled the *Vie de Barlaam et Josaphat*. Josaphat's vision of heaven and hell takes place during lines 1941-2076. He falls asleep and Jesus shows him the next world in a dream. For an edition, see *Chardry's Josaphat, Set Dormanz und Petit Plet: Dichtungen in der Anglo-Normanischen Mundart des XIII. Jahrhunderts. Zum Ersten Mal Vollständig mit Einleitung, Anmerkungen und Glossar*, ed. by John Koch, Altfranzösische Bibliothek 1 (Heilbronn: Gebr. Henninger, 1879). Owein's otherworld tour also resembles such journeys in the classical tradition. As Carol Zaleski observes, Virgil's *Aeneid* and Plutarch's *Moralia* are 'sources shared by all medieval otherworld journey narratives.' (*Otherworld Journeys: Accounts of Near-Death Experience in Medieval and Modern Times* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), p.33). In particular, Owein's underground travels echo those of Aeneas in the underworld in Book Six of the *Aeneid*. Although Aeneas travels there to see his father once again, rather than to do penance like Owein, the two narratives share many characteristics. For example, in both cases the otherworld is underground, watched over by guardians who advise against entering it, difficult to escape from, full of heat, hallucinations or vapours, navigable only with guides, full of monstrous beings and souls, and laid out according to concrete geography. There are many further areas of overlap between *Aeneid* Book Six and the *Espurgatoire*. See *P. Vergili Maronis: Opera*, ed. by R. A. B. Mynors, Oxford Classical Texts (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), pp. 227-55 for an edition of the original Latin text, and Virgil, *The Aeneid*, trans. by Robert Fagles, with an introduction by Bernard Knox (New York: Penguin Books, 2008), pp. 182-212, for an English translation of this.

drawn between literal and metaphorical descriptions. For example, while the mystical experience of the special outpouring of the Holy Spirit in the earthly paradise is likened to eating food (*Espurgatoire*, 1815-16), further information clarifies the purely spiritual nature of this state of grace: ‘li fus del seint esprit | [...] dedenz els se mist e entra’ (*Espurgatoire*, 1818, 1824).

Finally, when Owein returns above ground, he leaves the mysterious house at the entrance to the other world and passes through the door to the surface (*Espurgatoire*, 1902-03). This shows that despite her general introductory statements on the spiritual, non-corporeal nature of otherworldly visions (*Espurgatoire*, 163-80), Marie unambiguously presents Owein’s vision of hell, purgatory, and heaven as a bodily experience. Owein states that he goes to the purgatory ‘pur mes pechiez espeneir’ (*Espurgatoire*, 613); this is thus a physical pilgrimage with a penitential goal.

Like Owein, Brendan and his monks access the other worlds of hell and the earthly paradise in their physical forms, after a journey described as a human, earthly undertaking. The *Voyage* is emphatic about the physicality of their journey, despite the multi-layered allegorisation to which it also lends itself. This is apparent in the detailed descriptions of preparations for the journey and the hardships suffered while travelling (e.g. *Voyage*, 173-86, 621-37).²² This is clearest when the monks are in paradise. Because of their human nature, they can only partially access and understand the mysteries of heaven: ‘lur nature ne poet prendre | Si grant glorie, ne entendre’ (*Voyage*, 1783-84). The juxtaposition of ‘prendre’ and ‘entendre’ here is striking, as it links physical taking to mental understanding. Such a juxtaposition emphasises the meaning of this couplet, namely that the monks’ physical embodiment prevents them from fully spiritually and mentally grasping heaven and the divine. The words of their guide further emphasise the fact that while Brendan

²² All numbers in brackets after references to the *Voyage de Saint Brendan* refer to line numbers in Benedeit, *Le Voyage de saint Brendan*, ed. by Brian Merrilees and Ian Short, Champion classiques série Moyen Âge, 19 (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2006).

visits paradise in bodily form, he should ideally enter it in spiritual form, which is what he is destined to do: 'O or venis ci carnalment | Tost revendras spiritalment' (*Voyage*, 1795-96).

In both the *Voyage* and the *Espurgatoire*, the spiritual spaces of the next world are depicted as physical places which echo worldly places familiar to the pilgrims. In heaven, purgatory, and hell, Owein sees fields, rivers, and houses (e.g. *Espurgatoire*, 939, 1326, 1902 respectively). Similarly, Brendan and his monks encounter multiple otherworldly islands with an earthly geography of buildings, mountains, and springs (e.g. *Voyage*, 267, 633, 799 respectively). This is even true of hell and paradise, which are described as volcanoes and as a beautiful meadow (*Voyage*, 1189-1214, 1587-90 respectively). While in both the *Espurgatoire* and the *Voyage* this earthly geography is distorted by its extreme and supernatural nature, so that the countryside of paradise and fiery pits of purgatory and hell are superlative in their qualities, in both texts the other world is not a spiritual vision but a physical space to be sensorially experienced through the body.

Both the *Espurgatoire* and the *Voyage* portray spiritual travel as a physical experience. In doing so, they translate the divine, ineffable, and otherworldly into a space which is concrete and worldly. They literalise the metaphorical spaces of visionary literature, while at the same time imbuing the places they depict with allegorical, spiritual meaning. They thus turn physical location into an expression of divine purpose. Texts referring to pilgrimages often project spiritual meanings onto physical places. This is true, for example, at the shrine of a saint, where the spiritual presence emanating from the saint's relics is contained within the physical space of the reliquary. However, such texts do not usually depict physical journeys to locations entirely in a spiritual world.

The two texts, while creating unique and innovative depictions, also draw extensively on literary commonplaces for representing the other world. These include the judgement bridge in the *Espurgatoire*, originally from Persian accounts of the other world,²³

²³ *Visions of Heaven and Hell*, p. xii.

and also present in, amongst others, the *Vision de Tondale*, Gregory the Great's *Vision of Stephen*, and the *Visio Sancti Pauli*.²⁴ Also commonplace are the heavenly meadows in the *Voyage*, present in almost every Christian vision of paradise from the very beginning of the faith.

The *Espurgatoire* and the *Voyage* nonetheless go further than their sources in emphasising the physicality of such places: it is usual in other texts to present spaces like these as spiritual visions experienced by/in the soul when separated from the body, rather than as physical places which can be corporeally experienced. An example of this, popular in several French versions from the thirteenth century onwards, would be the *Vision de Tondale*.²⁵ In this visionary narrative, the protagonist undergoes a seizure and dies before leaving his body behind. The visions of Fursa recounted by Bede are Latin examples, from the eighth century. In his *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum*, Bede is extremely careful to separate the spiritual experience of the body from that of the soul. He repeatedly stresses that Fursa saw the next world *only* through his soul which had been extracted from his body. When he was burnt as a punishment during one of these visions, his body was also burnt when he returned to it, and these burns were permanent. This was not, however, because the body was originally touched by the purgatorial fire, but because 'when Fursa had been restored to his body, he bore for the rest of his life the marks of the burns which he had suffered while a disembodied spirit [...] what he suffered secretly as a disembodied spirit showed openly upon his flesh'.²⁶ This careful distinction between spiritual visions and physical journeys in a canonical vision account serves to underline the highly atypical and interesting status of the *Espurgatoire* and *Voyage*, as unique blends of

²⁴ Pontfarcy (ed.), 'Footnote to lines 1351-66', in Marie de France, *Espurgatoire*, p. 197.

²⁵ Cavagna (ed.), 'Introduction', in *La Vision de Tondale*, pp. 7-63 (p. 8).

²⁶ *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. and trans. by Bertram Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors, Oxford Medieval Texts (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), p. 275. The Latin original is on p. 274.

visionary and pilgrimage material which conform to the conventions of neither grouping of texts.

The physicality of Brendan and Owein's spiritual voyages echo that of medieval memory devices, which drew on the classical tradition of memory techniques. Mary Carruthers has shown that medieval memorisation techniques often comprised visualising physical locations, such as a garden, in which content relating to a particular topic could be mentally stored.²⁷ However, it is not possible that each section of purgatory in the *Espurgatoire* and each island in the *Voyage* could represent a visual depiction of a memory place designed to store information about the episode that occurs there, or a moral lesson that can be drawn from it. Each place is too complex, busy, and poorly lit to fulfil this purpose. The correct amount of light and a peaceful setting were essential components of medieval memory *loci*, in order to avoid distraction and confusion.²⁸

While the landscapes of the *Voyage* and *Espurgatoire* cannot be classical-style memory devices for these reasons, the physicality of their depiction and their didactic aims mean that they could be read as a general memory aid, one which would help ensure that the abstract morals and virtues designated by these works as necessary for salvation are remembered by the audience. Their physicality may also have helped audiences to retain some sense of the concrete meaning of the ineffable nature of paradise, purgatory, and hell, helping inspire or frighten them into practising Christian virtues.

In this sense, the content of the *Voyage* and *Espurgatoire* acts as a general memory cue for moral Christian behaviour. This reflects the medieval belief that 'the ability of the memory to re-collect and re-present past perceptions is the foundation of all moral training', because it was considered in the Middle Ages that people needed to remember what they had been taught about ethical behaviour in order to judge correctly how to

²⁷ Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture*, 2nd edn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), p. 260.

²⁸ Carruthers, p. 90.

behave in the future.²⁹ This interpretation of the texts as general memory cues for morality is supported by manuscript evidence. In one of the six surviving manuscripts of the *Voyage*, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson D. 913, which dates from the end of the twelfth or the beginning of the thirteenth century,³⁰ the *Voyage* is juxtaposed with a poem exhorting the reader to repentance.³¹

In the only surviving manuscript of the *Espurgatoire*, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS fonds français 25407, which dates from the end of the thirteenth or the beginning of the fourteenth century,³² folio 122^v contains a memory chart. This memory chart follows the *Espurgatoire* and precedes the next text in the codex, a moral treatise entitled *Les Moralitez*, on folio 123^v.³³ The chart illustrates the virtues of the *Moralitez*.³⁴ However, it is significant that it includes generally important virtues such as ‘franchise’ and ‘buntez de quer’, and that it follows the *Espurgatoire* directly, as the end of the *Espurgatoire* is not explicitly marked. This means that the memory chart refers back to the lessons of the *Espurgatoire* indirectly, as well as directly anticipating and summarising the precepts of the *Moralitez*. Because both works narrate a pilgrimage towards a visionary experience, they both obey the ‘circular spatial trajectory’ of pilgrimage that befits a religious journey, as the travellers must return to their point of departure.³⁵ This circular route underscores the pilgrims’ spiritual progress. Owein, Brendan, and Brendan’s monks can all return to their homes because they have passed the spiritual tests of their pilgrimages. In this way, they have proved themselves worthy of salvation and of a

²⁹ Carruthers, p. 87.

³⁰ Merrilees and Short (eds), ‘Introduction’, in Benedeit, p. 21.

³¹ William D. Macray, *Catalogi Codicum Manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Bodleianae Partis Quintae Fasciculus Quartus, Viri Munificentissimi Ricardi Rawlinson, I.C.D., Codicum Classis Quartae Partem Alteram (Libros sc. Miscellaneos Sexcentos et Quinquaginta Sex) Complectens*, 5 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1898), IV, columns 136-43.

³² Pontfarcy (ed.), ‘Étude du manuscrit’, in Marie de France, *Espurgatoire*, p. 20.

³³ Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS fonds français 25407, in *Gallica* <<<http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b9063681d/f123.image.r=25407.langFR>>> [accessed 12 June 2016].

³⁴ Pontfarcy (ed.), ‘Étude du manuscrit’, in Marie de France, *Espurgatoire*, p. 20.

³⁵ Molly Robinson Kelly, *The Hero’s Place: Medieval Literary Traditions of Space and Belonging* (Washington DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2009), p. 81.

foretaste of life after death. As part of this, the importance of what is learned while travelling outweighs the significance of the final destination reached. The ‘senefiance’ of the *Espurgatoire* (1687), and similar explanations in the *Voyage* (‘De multes riens l’ad asenét: | Bien diviset’ (1772-73)), represent the crucial wisdom which the pilgrims must take home with them.

This knowledge and the practical learning experiences offered by the pilgrimage are important for the changes they effect when Brendan and Owein return to this world. Brendan’s example and his captaining of the voyage not only lead the monks he takes with him to paradise/salvation (excluding some of the supernumerary sinning monks), but also mean that, upon his return, others are inspired to lead holy lives (*Voyage*, 1827-28), thus becoming worthy enough to enter heaven (*Voyage*, 1833-34). In this sense, Brendan’s voyage has a double salvific effect, both intradiegetically (in the salvation of the inspired believers evoked in the explicit), and extradiegetically (in the edification of its audience). Owein’s time in purgatory clears him of all his earthly sins to the extent that he does not have to return there on his death (*Espurgatoire*, 1995-96), which is exceptional for a lay Christian.

Later medieval codification of the afterlife confirmed that all lay Christians who were saved would pass through purgatory unless they held a special dispensation from the pope. This was because even small and venial sins of which the believer had repented and been absolved were thought to need expiation in purgatory.³⁶ It is not only Owein’s pardon which is so unusual; even the topic of purgatory itself was problematic. Jacques Le Goff has shown that there was a dizzying array of medieval debates on the nature of purgatory, and that while its existence was generally accepted by the Church by the twelfth century, it was not named as ‘purgatory’ until the end of that century, and it was not officially

³⁶ This view was officially sanctioned by Pope Innocent IV in 1254 in his letter *Sub catholicae professione*. See Alan E. Bernstein, ‘Heaven, Hell and Purgatory: 1100-1500’, in *Christianity in Western Europe c. 1100-1500*, ed. by Miri Rubin and Walter Simons, The Cambridge History of Christianity, 4 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008) pp. 200-16 (p. 209).

incorporated into canonical doctrine until the Church Councils of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.³⁷ As Binski confirms, while ‘sophisticated clerical cultures’, ‘scholastic debates’, and ‘cathedral schools’ elaborated and refined a concept of purgatory as a third place alongside heaven and hell, and records show a ‘widespread popular acceptance of the potential, if not the validity, of the idea’ in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, purgatory remained ‘an object of debate’ and lacked a generally accepted formal definition.³⁸ Thus Pope Innocent III still thought in terms of a five-tiered rather than a three-tiered notion of the afterlife during the early thirteenth century, and the Lateran Council did not promulgate teachings regarding purgatory in 1215.³⁹

Therefore, the *Espurgatoire* is unusual not only for being a unique blend of pilgrimage and visionary material, but also for tackling a topic as yet ill-defined in doctrine. Although the notion of touring a purgatorial space is not unique to the *Espurgatoire*, it is one of only a few medieval literary examples of this motif dating from the twelfth century or earlier. Binski discusses earlier medieval monastic visions which demonstrate ‘the imaginative construction or spatialization of the third state’ of purgatory, in the eighth- and ninth-century accounts of Drycthelm and Wetti.⁴⁰ He concludes that Drycthelm’s vision contains a clear idea of a purgatorial state but does not represent heaven, hell, and purgatory as tripartite.⁴¹ The degree to which purgatory is conceived of in spatial terms by the church remains fluid, purgatory being defined as ‘the state (or place) of punishment and purification’.⁴²

³⁷ Jacques Le Goff, *La Naissance du purgatoire*, Collection Folio/Histoire (Paris: Gallimard, 1981, repr. 2011).

³⁸ Paul Binski, *Medieval Death: Ritual and Representation* (London: British Museum Press, 2001), pp. 185-86.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 186.

⁴⁰ Binski, p. 185.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

⁴² *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, ed. by F. L. Cross, 3rd edn, rev. by E. A. Livingstone (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), p. 1358.

By the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the most important visionary texts on this theme were, in their different languages and forms, the *Espurgatoire* and the *Vision de Tondale* (discussed above).⁴³ These were unusual for their clarity regarding the concept of purgatory. They also stand out for their rarity (only these two accounts were predominant during this period), and for their geographical origins outside the mainland European church centres working on the idea of purgatory during this period.⁴⁴ It would not be until Dante's fourteenth-century *Divina Commedia* that the tour of purgatory would enter the literary mainstream.

Part III – Miracles and the *Merveilleux*

Interestingly, in Marie de France's *Lais*, we find similar portrayals of voyages to the other world, but within the non-religious focused context of the lai. These lais are Breton narratives, recast in Anglo-Norman. In *Guigemar*, the hero is considered the perfect knight, except for the fact that he is not interested in having a heterosexual relationship. While out hunting, Guigemar shoots and wounds a magical deer. The arrow rebounds to injure Guigemar himself, and the deer curses him, saying that he and his future girlfriend will suffer much for the love which will heal him. Guigemar embarks on a magical boat he finds, and is transported to a land where a young wife and her attendant live, kept in isolation by her jealous older husband. The lady heals Guigemar of his injuries, and the pair fall in love. After he is discovered by the husband, Guigemar flees and returns home, but refuses to marry, because he loves the lady from the tower. Eventually, he finds his partner, as she has managed to escape. Yet Guigemar has difficulty in identifying her, and it is only when they have both seen that they each wear tokens of their love which they gave to each other before being separated, and which only they can undo for each other, that Guigemar is

⁴³ Binski, p. 186.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 186.

convinced that he has been reunited with his lost love. Guigemar promises to swear allegiance to the local lord who is keeping his lady captive, if he can be reunited with his partner. When the local lord refuses, Guigemar kills him during a siege, before happily leading his lady away.

In *Lanval*, a young Arthurian courtier falls in love with a fairy, who grants him an income and assignations with her, on condition that he does not reveal the secret of her existence to anyone. A while later, Queen Guinevere tries to seduce Lanval, and accuses him of being homosexual when he rejects her advances. In anger, Lanval reveals that he has a better girlfriend than the queen. Distressed that Lanval spurned her attentions, Guinevere turns the story around to tell King Arthur that Lanval tried to seduce her, and boasted of having a superior girlfriend after Guinevere had turned him down. Arthur condemns Lanval to be sentenced, possibly to death, unless he can prove that what he said is true. The fairy can no longer visit Lanval now her secret is known, and Lanval lives in emotional torment on account of her loss. However, she comes to court one last time to clear Lanval of the accusation against him, and to prove that his girlfriend is more beautiful than the queen. As she leaves, Lanval jumps onto her horse behind her, and they ride off together to Avalon. Nothing is ever heard from Lanval again.

The lai of *Yonec* recounts the story of a young wife, kept prisoner by her old and jealous husband. She dreams of meeting a younger partner who, like the protagonists of the magical tales she has heard relating to her local area, would only be visible to her. Her fantasies come true when a bird flies through her window and transforms into a man called Muldumarec. After proving that he is human, he and the wife have an affair, until the husband discovers what is happening and sets up pointed bars on the window, which fatally wound Muldumarec when he arrives to see the wife. Her dying partner tells her that she is pregnant with a son by him, whom she should call Yonec, and who will avenge his parents by killing his stepfather. The wife follows the wounded Muldumarec back to his

otherworldly kingdom, which is accessed through a tumulus. There, he gives her a ring to make her husband forget what has happened, and his sword to give to their son once he has reached adulthood. He says that she, her husband, and their son will one day attend a festival, and while in an abbey, they will be told his story in front of a tomb. She should then give their son his sword, and tell him the truth about his parentage.

Shortly after her son has grown up and been knighted, this situation occurs, as predicted. En route to celebrate a festival to which the husband had been summoned, they stop off in an abbey and are shown an elaborate tomb. When they ask their hosts who is buried there, they are told that it is their former king, who was the best knight in the world. He was murdered for loving a lady, but before he died he instructed his subjects to crown as the next king his son, whom the lady had conceived. The lady explains to her son that he is the child of the king, and the heir for whom the people have been waiting. After she has told him the truth of his parentage, she collapses and dies. The son beheads his stepfather, and is crowned king.

As these summaries make clear, *Guigemar*, *Lanval*, and *Yonec* all portray journeys to other worlds. Just as in the *Voyage* and *Espurgatoire*, these trips are circular and their importance lies in their potential to enable the characters to return home with new knowledge. Thus the hero in *Guigemar* is reintroduced to the social world he left behind having learnt how to participate in heterosexual love. In *Lanval*, the protagonist returns to court with the ability to summon his fairy lover and to obtain an income. The heroine in *Yonec* comes back to her husband with an awareness of how to raise her son and avenge the murder of her lover. In this respect, these *lais* parallel the *Voyage* and *Espurgatoire*, because in all of these texts, the protagonists' circular journeys serve to underscore their spiritual or emotional progress.

While the characters in the five texts make very different types of progress, this progress is always incomplete in some way. Just as Brendan and Owein have to leave

paradise and are not permitted to return until after death, the heroine of *Yonec* also has to wait to obtain her goal. Her son has to attain adulthood before they can together avenge her partner's death and claim her son's birthright, and she dies just before this is accomplished. Similarly incomplete progress is made in *Guigemar* and *Lanval*. *Guigemar* is not sure about how to find his lady, identify her, and then rescue her peacefully. *Lanval* can neither keep his relationship secret nor remain in the court, forcing him into exile in fairyland. We do not know what progress he makes there, because once he leaves this world he passes beyond the realm of human knowledge, so he is never heard of again.

A second similarity between the five texts is that all the other worlds are laid out along the same lines as the human world, yet with noticeably different details. They retain similar social structures and organisations, and their landscapes have analogous geographical features, but at the same time they are recognisably different, 'enigmatic or at least strange'.⁴⁵ A third similarity between the five texts as regards the portrayal of journeying is that the other worlds are accessed by crossing water (*Guigemar*, *Lanval*, *Voyage*), or by going underground (*Espurgatoire*, *Yonec*).

A fourth point in common is that in all five texts, the narratorial voice recognises that the narrative potentially seems unbelievable. In the *Lais*, we see this when the jealous husband does not give credence to *Guigemar*'s explanation of his magical encounter with the wounded deer and subsequent journey to his lady (*Guigemar*, 611); in *Lanval*, the protagonist doubts whether he has met a fairy on his journey (*Lanval*, 199-200).⁴⁶ Similarly, in *Yonec*, the lady is unsure whether she should believe that a shape-shifting man who has travelled to her from another world in the form of a bird is actually a Christian knight she unwittingly summoned (*Yonec*, 139-40). It is important to note the intratextual indications

⁴⁵ Jeff Rider, 'The Other Worlds of Romance', in *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval Romance*, ed. by Roberta L. Krueger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 115-31 (p. 115).

⁴⁶ All numbers in brackets after references to *Guigemar*, *Lanval*, and *Yonec* refer to line numbers of each text in Marie de France, *Lais*, ed. by Glyn S. Burgess and Alfred Ewert (London: Bristol Classical Press, 2001).

of a similar dialectic between belief and disbelief in the *Espurgatoire* and the *Voyage*. In both texts, there is an internal struggle between these two opposing positions. In the *Voyage*, Brendan is never called a saint during the journey, even though this is his most common title in the Latin *Navigatio sancti Brendani*, the main source text for the Anglo-Norman *Voyage*.⁴⁷ In the *Voyage*, Brendan is only designated as a saint in two framing passages at the beginning and end (*Voyage*, 13, 19), and once in the standard Latin explicit which stands outside the body of the vernacular text.

The *Espurgatoire* betrays similar concerns, as it shows a constant authorial preoccupation with veracity. The Church Fathers are cited as authorities who can guarantee the existence of purgatory (*Espurgatoire*, 143-55), as in H. of Saltrey's Latin text which is Marie's source. Marie openly admits that her account stretches belief (*Espurgatoire*, 181-88), recognising that it is not a spiritual mystery worthy of instant faith-based credence, but a seemingly impossible tale which must be corroborated by evidence:

Ki crerreit ço **veraiement**,
 se nen eüst **demustrement**,
 ceste chose estre **verité**,
 que nus avuns ici **mustré**? (*Espurgatoire*, 181-84, emphasis mine)

In this quote, Marie plays with ideas of truth, demonstration, and teaching. It is not possible for the *Espurgatoire* to capture fully the physical, sensual, and spiritual experiences of the otherworldly pilgrimage it describes. Because the text relates a subjective experience which cannot be conveyed in its entirety in words, the veracity of the account itself is at times called into question. Persuading her audience to believe truly

⁴⁷ For an English translation of the *Navigatio sancti Brendani*, see 'The Voyage of Saint Brendan: The Latin Version', trans. by John J. O'Meara, in *The Voyage of Saint Brendan: Representative Versions of the Legend in English Translation*, ed. by W. R. J. Barron and Glyn S. Burgess (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2002), pp. 26-64.

(‘vraiment’) in the ‘truth’ (‘vérité’) necessitates a collaborative effort (‘nus avuns ici mustré’) between Marie, H. of Saltrey, Gilbert, and Owein, to show and make visible the ineffable divine reality. ‘Mustré’ carries the nuances of ‘shown’, ‘proved’, and ‘taught’,⁴⁸ referencing the didactic purpose of this vernacular exposition of St Patrick’s Purgatory. The homophony and repetition between the rhyme words at the end of each line point to the inseparability of demonstrability, truth, and belief. The need for verifiable evidence which can be ‘shown’ through verbal or visual means implicitly raises the problematic separation of spiritual and corporeal visions which runs throughout this work. This passage demonstrates an authorial sense of unease with the subject matter, as Marie’s expressions of presumed doubt here are much stronger than in the Latin original.⁴⁹

Marie makes further multiple references to conversations with Irish Churchmen in an attempt to confirm the veracity of the purgatory at Lough Derg. As part of this, even very loosely related accounts of devilish apparitions are offered as proof (e.g. *Espurgatoire*, 2119-80). Between lines 2119-56, Marie follows the Latin source to relate how Gilbert, the man who founded the monastery at the purgatory, knew a monk who had been bodily abducted and tortured by devils. Marie adheres to the Latin, recounting this proof in response to an intradiegetic expression of doubt. This occurs when a knight upsets Gilbert by saying that he does not believe St Patrick’s Purgatory is real. Such an episode adds to Marie’s appeal to her audience as extra-diegetic doubters examined above (*Espurgatoire*, 181-84).

So, both the intra- and extra-textual audiences are posited as doubting the veracity of St Patrick’s Purgatory. When Gilbert responds, he unequivocally states that experiences of purgatory are bodily, not spiritual:

⁴⁸ Algirdas Julien Greimas, *Le Dictionnaire de l’ancien français* (Paris: Larousse, 2007), p. 399.

⁴⁹ For the corresponding passage in the Latin source text, see *Das Buch vom Espurgatoire S. Patrice der Marie de France und seine Quelle*, ed. by Karl Warnke (Halle (Saale): Max Niemeyer, 1938), p. 14.

Gileberz en respondi tant,
 qu'il n'erent mie bien creant
 ki diënt qu'espiritelment
 veient, e nun corporelment,
 quant il entrent en la maisun
 u a de Deu purgaciün,
 les granz peines e les tormenz. (*Espurgatoire*, 2003-09)

The juxtaposition of 'corporelment' and 'maisun' emphasises not only the physicality of the vision, but its quasi-physical, worldly location in God's 'house'. This is in keeping with Owein's testimony about the physicality of the other world. Marie states that those who affirm that the experiences of purgatory are spiritual rather than physical do not believe correctly (*Espurgatoire*, 2004). This supplements Gilbert's insistence on the bodily nature of purgatorial experience, and bolsters the veracity of her version of Owein's account, but it also directly contradicts her cited authorities on the spiritual nature of otherworldly experiences examined above (*Espurgatoire*, 163-80). This demonstrates the confused, uncertain, nature of purgatory at the time when Marie was writing, before purgatory was fully integrated into church doctrine.

In her later accounts of conversations with Irish ecclesiastics, Marie ventriloquizes Gilbert's voice to make it sound as though she herself obtained verbal proof from these churchmen.⁵⁰ This is an attempt to stress even further the truth of her subject matter. She confirms the veracity of St Patrick's Purgatory with an abbot (*Espurgatoire*, 2063-70), and a bishop (*Espurgatoire*, 2071-94). The latter and his chaplain also tell separate stories of nearby hermits who hear devils talk at night (*Espurgatoire*, 2095-2180), accounts which are used to confirm that devilish apparitions are feasible. Finally Marie includes the story of a

⁵⁰ Bloch, pp. 235-36.

priest who is nearly tricked into sin by devils, but at the last minute resists, and reforms his and his adopted daughter's lives (*Espurgatoire*, 2185-2296). In all of these cases, Marie follows her Latin source text, but these passages are striking in that they demonstrate a need to seek out and record several testimonies demonstrating the veracity of St Patrick's Purgatory and the devilish apparitions that occur there. This need for multiple instances of proof is in itself indicative of H. of Saltrey and Marie's doubts as to the veracity of their accounts, however much they may stress the truth value of their narratives.

All five texts contain miracles or instances of the *merveilleux*, which function in a similar way in all cases. In *Guigemar*, the apparition of the androgynous talking deer directs the hero to both his curse and his cure. In the *Voyage*, the monks are attacked by an evil flaming griffin, who would have killed them had not a good dragon miraculously appeared to drive away and kill their attacker (*Voyage*, 1007-30). The dragon's role in defeating the evil flaming griffin physically saves the monks, and spiritually figures God's complete care for them. It is once they have learned to trust in this care unconditionally and never to fear anything, that it becomes clear that they have attained sufficient knowledge of God to enter the earthly paradise.⁵¹ This is confirmed at the conclusion of the fight between the dragon and the griffin, when the monks who praise God are described as enlightened through the Holy Spirit: 'par l'esprit Deu mult sunt savant' (*Voyage*, 1030). In *Lanval*, the appearance of the fairies and their marvellous tent leads Lanval to discover his power over his fairy lover. Because of this influence, he is able to summon her and to obtain an income, under certain conditions.

Similarly, in *Yonec*, the appearance of the giant bird proves to the lady that the magical lover of her daydream exists, and that he can be summoned at will. In the *Espurgatoire*, the heavenly messengers appear to Owein once he reaches the antechamber

⁵¹ Burgess, 'Savoir and Faire'; Glyn S. Burgess, 'La Souffrance et le repos dans *Le Voyage de saint Brendan* par Benedeit', *Miscellanea mediaevalia : mélanges offerts à Philippe Ménard*, 2 vols (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1998), I, pp. 267-77 (pp. 270-71).

of the next world. In the guise of guides, they instruct him as to what he can expect once the devils take him into hell, and how to outwit the devils to win salvation. Thus the *Lais*, *Espurgatoire*, and *Voyage* all use the supernatural as markers of the other worlds they depict. They also utilise elements of the supernatural as symbols or metaphors, to express the characters' progression as they gain knowledge, and so become closer to their goal, whether this involves the attainment of spiritual or profane love.

The role of the *merveilleux* in the *Lais* is therefore similar to that of miracles in the *Espurgatoire* and *Voyage*. The main difference lies in the narratorial voice's perception of the powers directing the marvellous or miraculous. God directs the miracles of the *Voyage* and *Espurgatoire*. This means that even when they appear pernicious, for example when one of the supernumerary monks is dragged off to hell despite the audience being unaware of any sins he might have committed, the assumption is that they ultimately conform to a just and salvific higher plan. This is typified in Brendan's response to the monks' puzzlement at their brother's sudden damnation: 'Ne avrat turment | Plus que ad oüd par jugement' (*Voyage*, 1483-84). In contrast to this, the actions and aims of the *merveilleux* in the *Lais* are ambiguous: it is not clear by what its agents are controlled, and whether they work for good, evil, or ambivalent reasons. In this way, like the actions of spirits according to doctrine, 'these works lack the meaning and purpose which would stamp them as the language of God to men', because they are not 'evidences attesting and confirming the truth of a Divine mission, or of a doctrine of faith or morals'.⁵²

These similarities in the five texts, between the theme of the journey, and its marvellous and miraculous stages, reflect a sharing of material between texts focused on religious narratives, and works centered upon non-religious stories. In addition to such similarities, the *Espurgatoire* and the *Voyage* show signs of the structural and thematic

⁵² John T. Driscoll, 'Miracle', in *The Catholic Encyclopedia: An International Work of Reference on the Constitution, Doctrine, Discipline and History of the Catholic Church*, ed. by Charles G. Herbermann and others, 19 vols (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1907-22), X (1911), pp. 338-48 (pp. 340, 342).

influence of generic discourse less focused on religious themes, such as romance. The *Voyage* is not a straightforward piece of hagiography, because it narrates a saint's pilgrimage, rather than his life. In this sense, along with its cognates, it is the only French-language example of the Irish-language travel genre of the *immram* ('rowing about').⁵³ It has also been classed as a 'hagiographical romance', because it fuses the two generic discourses of hagiography and romance in its structure and thematics.⁵⁴ The *Voyage* combines elements from devotional texts, mystical accounts, and saints' lives, with influences from adventure and travel narratives. It is written in octosyllabic rhyming couplets, which would later become the hallmark of romance. It is the first Old French text to use romance-style themes, including the structuring of the narrative around a quest, and the incorporation of Celtic material.⁵⁵ While its subject matter is religious, its opening dedication to the queen sites it firmly within the lay world of the Anglo-Norman royal court (*Voyage*, 1-18).

The *Espurgatoire* may also be compared with generic discourses less focused on spiritual topics. Howard Bloch has done valuable work identifying similarities between Owein and romance characters. Bloch argues that 'the points of resemblance between H.'s *Tractatus*, Marie's *Espurgatoire*, and key episodes and motifs of the chivalric and courtly corpus are so numerous as to make the membrane between religious and secular romance seem porous indeed'.⁵⁶ These similarities include the homophonic similarity of Yvain, protagonist of Chrétien de Troyes's Arthurian romance *Le Chevalier au Lion*, and Owein, as

⁵³ Brian Merrilees, 'The Anglo-Norman *Voyage of St Brendan*: Precocious or Unique?', *Parergon*, 31 (1981), 212-28 (p. 26); Fabienne Pomel, *Les Voies de l'au-delà et l'essor de l'allégorie au Moyen Âge*, Nouvelle bibliothèque du Moyen Âge, 57 (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2001), p. 124.

⁵⁴ Robin F. Jones, 'The Precocity of Anglo-Norman and *The Voyage of Saint Brendan*', in *The Nature of Medieval Narrative*, ed. by Minnette Grunmann-Gaudet and Robin F. Jones (Lexington, KY: French Forum, 1980), pp. 145-58 (p. 157).

⁵⁵ Merrilees, 'The Anglo-Norman *Voyage of St Brendan*: Precocious or Unique?', pp. 21-26.

⁵⁶ Bloch, p. 211.

well as the parallel between Yvain's period of exile as he attempts to regain the favour of his lady, and Owein's period of enclosure underground.⁵⁷

According to Bloch, both the *Espurgatoire* and the Arthurian romance of the *Queste del Seint Graal* represent 'a collective ordeal of purgation'.⁵⁸ The prior's attempt to dissuade Owein from undertaking his purgatorial adventure echoes the king's attempt to prevent Erec from pursuing the 'Joy of the Court' adventure in Chrétien de Troyes's romance of *Erec et Enide*.⁵⁹ The walls of the other world in the *Espurgatoire* are similar to the walls surrounding the garden in the *Roman de la Rose*, in that they both enclose a 'fantasy of the [...] earthly paradise'; moreover, the full range of religious and secular characters Owein encounters reflects the 'plenitude of Guillaume's garden of love'.⁶⁰ Owein's 'deeds of prowess' in the other worlds resemble the 'chivalric encounters' of romance heroes such as those discussed above, as well as Lancelot, Gawain, and Perceval.⁶¹

Indeed, using chivalric weapons as metaphors for moral behaviour in the *Espurgatoire* parallels similar inverse descriptions in the Vulgate *Lancelot*, in which the Lady of the Lake explains the allegorical meaning of each weapon she bestows on Lancelot. This metaphorical technique is biblical, deriving from Saint Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians (6. 11-17).⁶² Moreover, while the testing bridge in hell is found in Babylonian, Classical, Christian, Egyptian, Indian, Muslim, and Persian visions of the next world, it is also found in chivalric literature.⁶³ Lancelot crosses testing bridges in both the Vulgate and Chrétien de Troyes's *Lancelot*, while the protagonist of the romance *Perlesvaus* crosses a needle bridge.⁶⁴

All these similarities drawn out by Bloch undoubtedly exist. However, they do not constitute convincing evidence of specific examples of dialogue and exchange between the

⁵⁷ Ibid., pp. 210-11.

⁵⁸ Ibid., p. 211.

⁵⁹ Ibid., p. 211.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ Ibid., p. 212.

⁶² Bloch, pp. 212-13; *Biblia Sacra Vulgata*, pp. 1814-15.

⁶³ Bloch, pp. 214-15.

⁶⁴ Ibid., p. 215.

Espurgatoire and the romance tradition. They are not exact parallels, given that the details in each of the episodes compared are never precisely or even substantially the same. Only commonplaces, such as a testing period of exile, are found in both the *Espurgatoire* and the romances discussed. This episode of exile is a good example to examine, in order to show that although it is a theme common to both the *Espurgatoire* and *Yvain*, it is portrayed very differently in both. In these texts, exile takes place in different settings (underground and in the forest), and for different periods of time (twenty-four hours and several months). Exile is also undergone for very different reasons (as a penitential exercise to gain salvation as opposed to due to temporary memory loss and madness induced by the despair of lost love). Indeed, Bloch himself recognises this about all the examples discussed above, admitting that they are 'general and somewhat vague similarities between chivalric and courtly romance and Marie's *Espurgatoire*'.⁶⁵

However, Bloch does argue for a 'resemblance [...] both compelling and certain' between the *Espurgatoire* and Chrétien's romance of *Perceval* or the *Conte du Graal*. The similarities he draws out between the two are the following: both were written because of a commission, and probably within the same decade.⁶⁶ Both Owein and Perceval enter beautiful castles (the castle in heaven and the Grail Castle), in which they see people walking along holding candles.⁶⁷ The protagonists originate from 'the periphery of the Anglo-Norman empire', and they are portrayed as a 'rustic' and a 'naive savage', so that the two texts are 'romances of personal and social transformation from an initial violence associated with psychological naiveté and a childhood spent in the chaotic zone beyond the reaches of institutional order and in ignorance of the law'.⁶⁸ Owein and Perceval both learn when to speak and when to keep silent during the narratives, although Perceval wrongly

⁶⁵ Bloch, p. 215.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ Ibid., p. 217.

⁶⁸ Ibid., pp. 217-18.

keeps silent when in the Grail Castle, whereas Owein remembers to call on Jesus when in trouble.⁶⁹

While Bloch has skilfully drawn out interesting parallels between *Perceval* and the *Espurgatoire*, a closer examination shows again that these similarities are merely incidental. While the two works are likely to have been composed within a few years of each other, I argue that this does not necessarily mean that they influenced each other, or even that Marie and Chrétien were aware of each other's work. In addition, it is a commonplace of medieval texts to begin by recognising that they have been composed in response to a commission, and many other romances, such as Chrétien's *Lancelot*, begin in this way. Again, the similar episodes in the two works which Bloch draws out are vague and general rather than representing precise instances of shared ideas.

In both there is a religious candlelit procession in a castle, but in *Perceval* this is occasioned by the mystery of the Grail, whereas in the *Espurgatoire* it is a heavenly procession praising God. While both characters are from the fringes of the Anglo-Norman domain, they are from different countries and centuries, and speak different languages. Perceval's ordeal of learning when to speak and when to remain silent is much more complex than Owein's. Perceval's ordeal touches on whether to privilege matrilineal or male feudal teaching, and how to be the ideal knight, as well as on religious issues involving the Grail. In contrast, Owein's ordeal focuses solely on the salvific property of the invocation of God, which is an instance of a much more ancient and simple theme stretching back at least as far as the Old Testament. The fact that Owein and Perceval develop and learn during the narrative is also a very vague similarity, because the same could be argued for the protagonists of most medieval francophone texts. This is true whether they are holy people who deepen their knowledge and proximity to God, as they

⁶⁹ Ibid., pp. 219-21.

progress to sanctity and beatific vision,⁷⁰ or romance heroes who complete a quest to obtain self-knowledge, chivalric renown, and/or an advantageous marriage alliance.

Nor is it the case, as Bloch argues, that the work's literary, rather than religious, nature is enhanced by the fact that Marie's first point of reference is to another written text, the *Tractatus de Purgatorio Sancti Patricii*, rather than to oral accounts.⁷¹ It is a literary commonplace of religious literature, such as saints' *Lives*, to refer to written sources for their translation and/or composition, even when such sources probably never existed.⁷² This tendency extends beyond hagiography to become a rhetorical tool in medieval francophone literature, as Giovanni Borriero demonstrates.⁷³ Reference to prior texts, particularly in a religious context, can act as a guarantor of veracity,⁷⁴ which is how Marie exploits her references to Owein's account. Furthermore, Marie ventriloquises Gilbert's voice to make it sound as though she conducted the interviews with Irish clerics concerning the veracity of St Patrick's Purgatory herself, pointing to Marie's awareness of the importance of written testimony based on eyewitness accounts.⁷⁵ Therefore, Bloch's observations are important for showing that the *Espurgatoire's* style and themes broadly

⁷⁰ Beatific vision is defined as 'the [...] act [...] by which the beatified angels and souls are united to God in a direct, intuitive, and clear knowledge of the Triune God as He is in Himself [...] they share forever in God's own happiness' (M. J. Redle, 'Beatific Vision', in *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, II, pp. 168-77 (p. 168)).

⁷¹ Bloch, p. 241.

⁷² See, for example, *La Vie de saint Johan Bouche d'Or*: 'Un miracle veul comenchiez | Que *vita patrum* nous raconte' (lines 16-17 in 'La Vie de saint Jean Bouche d'Or', ed. by Alfred Weber, in *Romania*, 6 (1877), 328-40); *La Vie saint Eustache*: 'La verité vos en dirai | Si comme enn escrit la trovai' (lines 9-10 in *La Vie de saint Eustache*, ed. by Holger Petersen (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1928)).

⁷³ 'Le "topos du livre-source" : entre supercherie et catastrophe', in 'De la *translatio studii* à l'étude de la *translatio*', *Translations médiévales*, I, pp. 397-431 (p. 430).

⁷⁴ Brigitte Cazelles, *The Lady As Saint: A Collection of French Hagiographic Romances of the Thirteenth Century*, Middle Ages Series (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993), p. 5.

⁷⁵ Owein recounted his experiences to Brother Gilbert, who then interviewed Irish clerics to establish the veracity of St Patrick's Purgatory. Gilbert subsequently related everything to H. of Saltrey who wrote it down in the *Tractatus de Purgatorio Sancti Patricii*. This was translated and adapted by Marie into the *Espurgatoire*. This chain of transmission and authentication means that a multitude of voices contribute to the narrative in turn, making it difficult at times to discern whether we experience the journey from the point of view of the pilgrim, other characters, the author, the scribe, and/or the translator.

share in the Old French romance tradition (and vice versa). However, no specific parallels can be established from his examples.

My argument has shown that the *Espurgatoire* is related to romance, but in a much less precise manner than Bloch suggests. Bloch's view of the literary quality of the *Espurgatoire* seems to depend on establishing the text's relationship to romance, so that he even argues that the *Espurgatoire* is 'more sharply focused on the literary' than the *Tractatus de Purgatorio Sancti Patricii*, purely because it 'resonates with romance'.⁷⁶ This is unsound, because here Bloch attributes literary quality to a specific generic discourse, rather than reading the text on the basis of its individual merits. The fluid, imprecise relationship between the *Espurgatoire* and romance does not lower the *Espurgatoire's* intrinsic quality. Bloch's discussion of the *Espurgatoire's* relationship to romance unfairly privileges romance over literature with a religious focus, of which the *Espurgatoire* is an innovative and interesting example.

There are, however, some more precise instances of the influence of non-religious discourse on the *Espurgatoire*, beyond those discussed by Bloch. As is the case with the *Voyage*, the *Espurgatoire* is written in octosyllabic rhyming couplets, but, unlike the *Voyage*, the *Espurgatoire* was composed at a time when this metre was already established as the hallmark of French romance. This use of the octosyllabic rhyming couplet for romance, as well as for narratives focused on spiritual themes, such as the *Espurgatoire*, creates an association between such narrative discourses.

The description of Owein's journey to Lough Derg sets up the account as that of a pilgrimage and not simply a vision. The further episodes recounted which concern Owein's life and travels after leaving purgatory are significant because they make him more akin to the hero of a romance quest than to a visionary pilgrim. Instead of briefly summing up the rest of Owein's virtuous life before explaining that he went to God on his death, Marie and

⁷⁶ Bloch, p. 241.

H. of Saltrey, (the author of the *Tractatus de Purgatorio Sancti Patricii*), detail Owein's role in helping to establish a Cistercian monastery at Baltinglass.⁷⁷ This is necessary in order to authenticate the chain of transmission of the vision account, but it also continues Owein's story beyond his religious experience to show him struggling to find a way of life appropriate to his new-found state of spiritual enlightenment and repentance. The *Espurgatoire* therefore overlaps with non-religious literature such as the *Lais* in its emphasis on the development of the hero's character after his exploits are over, and in its depiction of other worlds and miracles/the marvellous, as discussed previously. However, it does not manifest quite as many direct influences from non-religious texts as the *Voyage*.

The generic and thematic overlaps between the *Lais*, *Espurgatoire*, and *Voyage* suggest that twelfth-century francophone texts on religious and non-religious themes interacted and mutually influenced each other. Such an overlap seems inevitable when the authors of these different types of works were often the same, such as Marie, and the compositions attributed to her of the predominantly secular *Lais* and mostly religious *Espurgatoire*. It also supports the conclusion that the audiences for these diverse types of work were often the same.⁷⁸ We can glean a clearer idea of this interaction by comparing texts focused on non-religious topics, with works centering on spiritual themes, as worked through in this chapter. These are types of literature which are all too often separated in modern studies of the medieval canon.

Crucially, because of the overlap between generic discourses focused on spiritual or non-religious topics, it is sometimes impossible to say with certainty in which type of generic discourse motifs and themes that we now consider predominantly traits of mostly religious or of chiefly non-religious literature originated. The *Voyage* is the earliest text in

⁷⁷ Baltinglass is a town now in County Wicklow, next to County Dublin, in the Mid-East Region of Ireland.

⁷⁸ Amy V. Ogden, 'The Centrality of the Margins: Medieval French Genders and Genres Reconfigured', *French Forum*, 30.1 (2005), 1-23 (p. 2).

our corpus, dating from c. 1100-1125.⁷⁹ We have seen that this work contains a number of themes and influences which later became typical of romance. A prominent example would be the birds who sing the canonical hours in Chrétien de Troyes's *Yvain*,⁸⁰ which parallels this motif in the *Voyage* (575-78).⁸¹ Another example of romance borrowing motifs from the *Voyage* would be the episode of the inebriating spring, which is common in lais and romance.⁸²

The existence of such an overlap has led critics to class the *Voyage* as a hagiographic romance. Yet, because the *Voyage* predates any extant Old French romances, this is a somewhat unfair classification, as it gives precedence to the generic discourse of romance, which emerged after the composition of the *Voyage*. If we consider chronological order instead, we could view features of romance which are similar to those of the *Voyage* as coming from hagiography, not romance, albeit from an atypical text which is not entirely representative of hagiographic generic discourse.⁸³

This leads to two conclusions. Firstly, that romances which postdate the *Voyage* and draw on its themes take their supposedly 'romance' elements from hagiography, which unusually establishes, in this case, the primacy of hagiography both thematically and chronologically.⁸⁴ Secondly, this overlapping of romance and hagiography suggests that it can be hard to separate hagiography and romance in Old French, because of their mutual development and interaction, as early romance echoed the *Voyage*, and in turn later hagiographic narratives drew on romance motifs.⁸⁵ I have shown here that by considering

⁷⁹ Merrilees and Short (eds), 'Introduction', in Benedeit, p. 17.

⁸⁰ Lines 457-75 in Chrétien de Troyes, *Le Chevalier au lion ou le roman d'Yvain*, ed. by David F. Hult, *Lettres gothiques, Le Livre de poche* (Paris: Librairie Générale Française, 1994).

⁸¹ Mary Dominica Legge, *Anglo-Norman Literature and its Background* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963), p. 11.

⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 43.

⁸³ The *Voyage* is an atypical example of hagiography in that it does not narrate the entire life of a saint from birth to death, or a *passio* narrative.

⁸⁴ As we have seen, whether consciously imitated or not, certain episodes from the *Voyage* are adapted in later romances.

⁸⁵ For examples of romance influencing hagiography, see, for example, the *passio* narratives in Cazelles.

not just the interaction between literary works focused on sacred and non-sacred themes, but also their chronological schema, we may be able to see not only a greater interaction between generic discourses that are often read separately now, but a further mutual dependence between literature focused on religious themes, and texts which focus on non-religious topics.

Part IV – Translation and *Translatio*

Behind both these pilgrimage texts, a textual *peregrinatio* analogous to the pilgrim characters' physical journey has taken place. This textual *peregrinatio* moves the accounts through translation and *translatio* into the twelfth-century Anglo-Norman compositions examined here. The physical displacement which takes place through the journey is linked to the cultural and linguistic displacement which is part of medieval textual transmission. In this sense, the journey recounted in the text itself journeys. We have seen that the medieval model of *translatio* associates these linguistic and physical movements. Although the texts may present the changes effected by *translatio* as seamless transitions, in reality they involve appropriation, recreation, and rupture.⁸⁶ As we shall see, appropriation and recreation of knowledge and power through translation are at the heart of the *Espurgatoire*, and the *Voyage* also functions within a model of *translatio*.

I argue that an analysis of how *translatio* works with the theme of the journey in these texts draws out two important tendencies within them: a movement towards cultural denigration and assimilation, and the emergence of what might be termed a problematic foreign 'remainder'. I have taken the concept of the 'remainder' from contemporary

⁸⁶ For a more extensive discussion of the model of medieval *translatio*, see *Rethinking Medieval Translation: Ethics, Politics, Theory*, ed. by Emma Campbell and Robert Mills (Cambridge: Brewer, 2012), and 'De la *translatio studii* à l'étude de la *translatio*', *Translations médiévales*, ed. by Claudio Galderisi, with the collaboration of Vladimir Agrigoroaei.

translation theory. In this chapter, I use some of this theory because it facilitates an analysis of the ways in which translation may perform and echo other kinds of linguistic and cultural appropriation. In the following paragraphs, I will first address the historical context of my corpus. This is because the texts' historical context of territorial expansion, leading to political and cultural appropriation, is one of the reasons why modern translation theory relating to translating cultural capital can be usefully applied to my corpus.

Following this, I discuss how I take the idea of the 'remainder' from translation theory. This is a term considered by Jean-Jacques Lecercle and used by Lawrence Venuti to designate elements excluded from the original and its translation, or added to a translation. I adapt this idea of the remainder in response to my corpus to consider what I term the 'foreign remainder' in the texts might be: what remains in the translated text from former versions, but which is culturally, linguistically, or historically other, problematic, or even incomprehensible for the domestic audience utilising the translation. This foreign remainder is at work in the texts examined in this chapter when Irish and Breton cultural material, which is not Anglo-Norman, is visible in these Anglo-Norman narratives. This visibility of culturally distinct material allows us to analyse how these literary works respond to their historical context by appropriating cultural prestige, but also how this cultural material can evade appropriation in that it remains culturally distinct and necessitates a certain background knowledge in order to be fully comprehensible.

In the case of the *Espurgatoire*, it is crucial to situate the text within its historical context of the Anglo-Norman conquest and occupation of parts of Ireland from 1169 onwards. I contend that the *Espurgatoire* demonstrates appropriative, aggressive *translatio* in three forms, and is far from politically neutral. In this, Marie largely follows the attitude of her Latin source text, the *Tractatus de Purgatorio Sancti Patricii*. Yet, given Marie's tendency to make revisions to the material where she sees fit, it would seem that the

aggressive, appropriative use of *translatio* in her Anglo-Norman composition was quite deliberate.

The *Espurgatoire* firstly rewrites Irish ecclesiastical history while denigrating Irish cultural practices. It secondly presents the Irish as a culturally and religiously inferior Other to their Anglo-Norman neighbours, depicted here as more sophisticated and devout. It thirdly justifies previous and contemporary church reforms which undermined the independence of the Irish Church. These reforms increased the power and influence of foreign, particularly French and Anglo-Norman, religious orders and houses in Ireland.⁸⁷

In the *Espurgatoire*, Irish ecclesiastical and cultural history are rewritten with the description of the savagery and disbelief of the Irish converted by Saint Patrick (*Espurgatoire*, 190-214), and the moral ignorance of the old man who confesses to him (*Espurgatoire*, 241-46). It is stated that Patrick installed the Canons Regular at his purgatory (*Espurgatoire*, 339). This is a subtle conflation of the time of Saint Patrick's mission to Ireland in the fifth century, with the installation of the Augustinian Canons Regular in Ireland during the twelfth century. This effectively disavows seven centuries of Christian history, civilisation, and learning in Ireland. In doing so, the *Espurgatoire* passes over the developed nature of early Irish monasticism, and the Irish monastic houses' contribution to preserving Latin learning in the Early Middle Ages.⁸⁸ The linguistic history of Irish as Europe's earliest post-Classical written vernacular is also disregarded.

Such historical distortion further ignores the history of the numerous, well-known, and sometimes even canonised Irish missionaries, monastic leaders, scholars, and

⁸⁷ For example, by 1230, around eighty new monasteries and priories had been established in Ireland 'with Anglo-French patronage' (John Watt, *The Church in Medieval Ireland*, The Gill History of Ireland, 5 (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1972), p. 48). For more information, see 'The Religious Orders, 1127-1340' (*Ibid.*, pp. 41-86). Bloch discusses how the legend of St Patrick's Purgatory was used, together with Irish ecclesiastical reform, to assert Anglo-Norman control over Ireland. See Bloch, pp. 266-84.

⁸⁸ For a short summary of the early Irish monastic cultural contribution, see *The Medieval Pilgrimage to St. Patrick's Purgatory*, ed. by Haren and de Pontfarcy, p. 1.

intellectuals who settled in continental Europe.⁸⁹ These included famous figures who were familiar in twelfth-century monastic Europe, such as Eriugena and Martin of Laon.⁹⁰

Furthermore, the *Espurgatoire* erroneously presents Patrick as a linguistic and cultural foreigner who cannot speak Irish (*Espurgatoire*, 229-34). In contrast, Latin is presented in the text as a prestigious language of international communication which enables Patrick to hear confession (*Espurgatoire*, 229-35). The fanciful decision to portray Patrick as unable to speak Irish suggests that this vernacular is so unimportant that not even the country's premier apostle and patron saint spoke it. This again serves to portray the Irish as inferior to their Latinate neighbours including Patrick, in that it implies that they speak a localised and worthless language.

We have seen that the *Espurgatoire* rewrites the early development of Christianity in Ireland under Saint Patrick in the fifth century, as Patrick's ministry is instead presented as coterminous with the twelfth-century introduction of the Canons Regular into Ireland. In doing so, the *Espurgatoire* suggests, erroneously, that twelfth-century Ireland was only partially Christianised, because in the narrative of the *Espurgatoire*, the Irish are still receiving conversion ministry from Patrick while the Augustinian Canons Regular are being installed. In contrast, the twelfth-century Anglo-Norman audience of the *Espurgatoire* were Christian from birth. In this way, the Anglo-Norman audience are implicitly presumed to be more cultured and pious than any Irish characters in the text. Moreover, the extra-textual audience retains a critical distance from the legend, needing assurances of veracity to believe it. This audience is implicitly valorised and contrasted with the Irish. The Anglo-Normans only need proof as regards St Patrick's Purgatory, which is understandable given that purgatory was still a doctrinal innovation in the twelfth century. In contrast, the Irish ask Patrick for proof of Christianity, and therefore of faith itself, not just of purgatory.

⁸⁹ For a concise discussion of the most important of these scholars see Bitel, pp. 226-27.

⁹⁰ Cronin, p. 12.

The text establishes a further implicit comparison between the audience on the one hand and Owein and his fellow sinners in Ireland on the other, whose crimes are presented as so exceptionally great that they need to access purgatory while still alive in order to do sufficient penance. The Anglo-Norman and continental French audiences of the text are thus presented as more religious, moral, and discerning than their Irish neighbours through these implicit comparisons. Contemporary Church reforms which established and increased the influence of British and continental European monastic orders in Ireland are implicitly supported by the text, which champions Owein's support for the Cistercians. Owein helps the Cistercians found an Irish monastery. By translating for them, Owein suggests that working for the Cistercians is spiritually ennobling, because it is to this that he chooses to devote his reformed life after his experiences in purgatory. Owein also claims that the Cistercians had the highest status of all the religious orders in heaven (*Espurgatoire*, 1965-70). Thus, although Marie tones down the Cistercian propaganda of her source text, she leaves this order a prominent and favoured place within her work.

In these three cases, we see the appropriative movement of *translatio*, from Ireland to Anglo-Norman Britain, as Irish ecclesiastical and cultural history are incorporated into this Anglo-Norman account, while the Anglo-Normans are implicitly presented as superior to their Irish neighbours. This is a complex movement, because despite the denigration of Irish civilisation outlined above, this culture is covertly valued by its incorporation into the Anglo-Norman sphere of influence in which the *Espurgatoire* participates. Irish cultural and political prestige, in terms of monastic learning and control of land, is moved from Ireland to Anglo-Norman Britain. This prestige depends, in the *Espurgatoire*, on the legitimacy of the Irish Church. The legitimacy of the Church in Ireland was partially derived from its establishment by the revered Saint Patrick. If Patrick is considered to be a twelfth-century supporter of the Augustinian Canons Regular, as Marie portrays him to be in lines 337-40 (*Espurgatoire*), then the Irish monastic learning which

developed in his wake between the fifth and the eleventh centuries, as well as the very foundations and governing primacy of the Irish Church, are linked to the Roman Rite and European monastic orders.⁹¹ More specifically, they are connected to the Anglo-Normans who, by the twelfth century, governed England, and attempted to assert control over Scotland, the country from which Patrick may have come.

In this way, historical attempts in the twelfth century to bring the Irish Church into conformity with the Roman Rite, and under the control of ecclesiastical and monastic centres abroad, such as Canterbury and Rome, are implicitly rewritten in the *Espurgatoire* as a continuation of the work of one of the founders of Irish Christianity and monasticism. Patrick was also, crucially, one of the few figures in Irish history prior to the twelfth century who was held in nationally high esteem, regardless of provincial allegiances. By co-opting the memory of this old, powerful, religious and political figurehead, I contend that twelfth-century Anglo-Norman political intervention in Ireland contemporary with the *Espurgatoire* is presented by this text as always already present and justified in Irish history. This means that the *Espurgatoire* constructs a fabricated narrative of a transfer to Anglo-Norman Britain of control over and credit for Irish ecclesiastical and cultural history and power. While this appears effortless in the text, such a narrative masks a history of military campaigns and settlement.

As part of a consideration of the journey and *translatio* in these texts, it is useful to think about material which may be left behind in the process of *translatio*, or which may impede it: the 'remainder'. In *The Scandals of Translation*, Venuti elaborates several definitions of the remainder, a term he uses to designate the linguistic elements in a text which are problematically excluded, or only partially included. Venuti's findings, once interrogated and adapted to fit the medieval context of the corpus, are extremely useful for clarifying the nature and uses of medieval *translatio* in our corpus. Drawing on

⁹¹ Marie writes of Saint Patrick at Lough Derg: 'En cel liu fist une abbeïe, | ou il mist gent de bone vie ; | Chanoignes riulez i ad mis' (*Espurgatoire*, 337-39).

Lecerclé's work, Venuti uses the term the 'remainder' to classify minority linguistic forms excluded from the original and the translation.⁹² What is not in the original but is added to a translation to make it intelligible to a new target audience is termed the 'domestic remainder'.⁹³ Venuti also uses the remainder as a term for the irreducible difference between original and translation. This divergence demonstrates that the ideas contained in the original text are not pure concepts, but instead partial products of the language in which they are expressed. Because of this, total transfer during translation is impossible.⁹⁴

Venuti uses 'domestic' and 'foreign' to discuss respectively the target language culture and language, and source language culture and language. The idea of the domestic and the foreign also permeates the *Espurgatoire*, *Voyage*, and *Lais*, because all of them are free translations into Anglo-Norman of material originally written or spoken in a foreign language, whether Latin, Irish, or Breton. The action of the plot lines also develops abroad, in foreign areas outside Anglo-Norman England: Brittany, Ireland, and islands west of Ireland. In the *Espurgatoire* we can find references to Anglo-Norman supposed cultural dominance, as the bestial Irish converted by Patrick are denigrated, while Brother Gilbert and the Cistercians are portrayed as embodying a superior civilisation.

As we have seen, the post-1169 historical background of Anglo-Norman appropriation of land in Ireland is implicitly present in the text's description of Ireland and the Irish, and more openly present in Gilbert's establishment of a Cistercian daughter-house in Baltinglass. Likewise, the cultural dominance of Anglo-Norman in the *Lais* is implicit (albeit in a different geographical and linguistic context) in Marie's insistence that translating the tales into Anglo-Norman will preserve them, because it implies that they may die out in their Breton format. Political and territorial appropriation are also implicit in

⁹² Lawrence Venuti, *The Scandals of Translation: Towards an Ethics of Difference* (London: Routledge, 1998), p. 10; Jean-Jacques Lecerclé, *The Violence of Language* (London: Routledge, 1990), particularly pp. 5-33.

⁹³ Venuti, pp. 63, 95, 99, 103, 108.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 115-16.

the *Lais'* dedication to the Angevin monarch, as Henry II claimed the overlordship of Brittany.

Some medievalists might contend that the model with which Venuti works, which sets up binary oppositions between 'foreign' and 'domestic', does not adequately reflect the realities of medieval cultural and political situations. The terms 'domestic' and 'foreign' which underlie Venuti's terminology originally indicated the economic and political disparities between developing and developed countries at the turn of the twenty-first century. Venuti's terminology therefore referred to modern colonial and post-colonial situations which are very different to the societies of twelfth-century Western Europe. Yet, as Robert Mills has demonstrated in his study of Middle English narratives about Thomas Becket's mother alongside Chaucer's *Man of Law's Tale*,⁹⁵ Venuti's terminology of 'domestic' and 'foreign' can be used productively when analysing medieval texts, as long as the terms are defined in ways which recognise the cultural and temporal specificity of the medieval works in question. Thus, as Mills explains:

My use of the word 'foreigner' is not meant to imply that the domestic/foreign polarity is identical in medieval cultures to its deployment in modern translation theory, where it may also assume particular meanings in the context of geopolitical formations such as the nation state (as in the concept of a governmental 'foreign policy'). Rather, it serves here as a general marker of the strangeness that may be associated, in medieval contexts, with linguistic, religious, cultural or occasionally sartorial or corporeal difference; domestication in this chapter is defined with

⁹⁵ Robert Mills, 'Invisible Translation, Language Difference and the Scandal of Becket's Mother', in *Rethinking Medieval Translation*, ed. by Campbell and Mills, pp. 125-46.

reference to the idea of Christendom as a homeland for believers as well as efforts to link a language (English) to such notions of religious belonging.⁹⁶

In light of Mills's comments on the importance of defining the meaning of Venuti's terms when they are applied to medieval texts, I designate 'domestic' as the Anglo-Norman cultural and linguistic format into which the texts have been translated. 'Foreign' then applies to the Irish cultural sources of the material in the *Espurgatoire* and *Voyage*, because — whether exotic or well-known — they represent a supplementary influence, in that they are not Anglo-Norman but they affect this Anglo-Norman literary material. Although medieval texts predate national languages and nation states, Venuti's theories can be applied usefully to our texts, because, as Luke Sunderland recognises, sometimes the historical context of medieval texts allows them to resonate with Venuti's terminology. As Sunderland argues in relation to the epic narratives of *Bueve d'Hantone* or *Bovo d'Antona* alongside Venuti's work on commercialism, 'Venuti's commercial account initially appears restricted in its focus on the modern period, but considerations of capital — whether real or symbolic — were surely involved in medieval acts of translation, too'.⁹⁷ Similarly, we have seen that the twelfth-century context of our corpus was one of cultural and political appropriation, and to that extent our texts do chime with some of the nuances of Venuti's terminology. Moreover, when I apply Venuti's theory of the 'remainder' later in this chapter, I adapt it to work with the cultural and historical specificities of the texts examined here by elaborating the concept of the 'foreign remainder'. The argument that Venuti's theories can be applied usefully to the texts considered in this chapter depends on further definitions: of the term 'Anglo-Norman', and of the degree of foreignness implied by

⁹⁶ Robert Mills, 'Footnote 6', in 'Invisible Translation, Language Difference and the Scandal of Becket's Mother', in *Rethinking Medieval Translation*, ed. by Campbell and Mills, p. 127.

⁹⁷ Luke Sunderland, '*Bueve d'Hantone/Bovo d'Antona*: Exile, Translation and the History of the *Chanson de geste*', in *Rethinking Medieval Translation*, ed. by Campbell and Mills, pp. 226-42 (p. 231).

‘Ireland’ and ‘the Irish’ for the twelfth-century francophone, specifically Anglo-Norman, audience of the corpus. Ian Short has defined Anglo-Norman linguistically as ‘a full and independent member of the extended family of Medieval French dialects’, which was ‘the particular variety of Medieval French used in Britain between the Norman Conquest and the end of the fifteenth century’.⁹⁸ As a term denoting political or cultural identity, it is less easy to define. I use it here to designate the Norman colonisers of 1066 who settled in Britain and their descendants, as well as the francophone sections of British society during the Middle Ages, of which they formed a part.⁹⁹ In this I follow Short’s discussion of Anglo-Norman cultural identity and self-definition. The early Norman settlers referred to themselves as French (*Franceis*), but from the twelfth century onwards as English (*Engleis*), reflecting a complex situation in which literary usage of Anglo-Norman could vaunt ‘cultural separateness’, yet legal use of the term *Franci* would denote linguistic rather than cultural division.¹⁰⁰ Thus ‘Anglo-Norman’ as a medieval British identity could be as much linguistic, and contingent, as cultural or hereditary.

Evidence regarding the degree of foreignness which Ireland and its inhabitants posed for twelfth-century francophones is contradictory. Historical evidence, which will be examined later in this section, indicates that even before the Anglo-Norman invasion of Ireland in 1169, there were significant economic, political, and religious links between Ireland and francophone Europe. Post-1169, these increased as Anglo- and Cambro-Normans settled in Ireland, and Anglo-Norman monarchs visited Ireland to assert their

⁹⁸ Ian Short, *Manual of Anglo-Norman*, Occasional Publications Series, Anglo-Norman Text Society, 8, 2nd edn (Oxford: Anglo-Norman Text Society, 2013), p. 17.

⁹⁹ I use the terms ‘British’ and ‘Britain’ here to refer to what are now the countries of England, Wales, and Scotland, as well as the areas of Ireland which came under Anglo-Norman control. The political map of the British Isles was very different in the twelfth century and these countries did not exist as they do now. However, it helps to have a term to designate these areas together because the Anglo-Norman monarchy controlled England from 1066, parts of Wales from 1067, and parts of Ireland from 1169. The Anglo-Norman monarchs also disputed the extent of their control over Scotland from 1072 onwards. Because of this, Anglo-Norman political and cultural influence spread throughout the British Isles.

¹⁰⁰ Ian Short, *Manual of Anglo-Norman*, Occasional Publications Series, Anglo-Norman Text Society, 7 (London: Anglo-Norman Text Society, 2007), pp. 13-16.

overall supremacy and control any political transactions there. Meanwhile British and continental European religious houses established Irish daughter houses.

However, Éamon Ó Ciosáin has shown, in his analysis of medieval francophone representations of Ireland and its peoples, that the country was consistently portrayed as ‘two-faceted’.¹⁰¹ It was depicted as simultaneously ‘part of the British kingdom’, yet ‘not entirely conquered’; Christian, yet ‘on the edge of Christendom’.¹⁰² Thus the degree of foreignness which Ireland and the Irish posed for a medieval Anglo-Norman audience was variable, and dependent on two factors. Firstly, whether the Anglo-Norman authors, scribes, and audiences of our texts were amongst those who had direct experience of Ireland and its inhabitants through trading, ecclesiastical exchange, diplomatic communications, or settlement. Secondly, whether the content of the text was best enhanced by a portrayal of Ireland as a familiar Christian neighbour, or as a barbaric outsider. It is clear, therefore, that the degree of Ireland’s foreignness for twelfth-century francophones varied widely, and lived historical experiences may have been very different from situations explored in literary compositions.

Having assessed some historical and literary evidence, and interrogated and established our terminology, we can extend Lecercle and Venuti’s concepts of the remainder. I use here ‘the remainder’ to include what I would term the ‘foreign remainder’. I define the ‘foreign remainder’ as what is left in the translated text from previous accounts, but which is culturally, linguistically, or historically other, problematic, or even

¹⁰¹ Éamon Ó Ciosáin, ‘Le Merveilleux et l’espace européen : l’Irlande et les Irlandais dans la littérature médiévale française (XII^e-XV^e siècles)’, in *The Medieval Imagination, ‘Mirabile Dictu’: Essays in Honour of Yolande de Pontfarcy Sexton*, ed. by Phyllis Gaffney and Jean-Michel Picard (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2013), pp. 158-92 (p. 192).

¹⁰² Ibid. Ireland was sometimes considered to be ‘part of the British kingdom’ even before the 1169 invasion. In the twelfth century, claims for tenth- and eleventh-century British religious and political hegemony over Ireland were made. These were based on Anglo-Saxon royal documents asserting a vague theoretical hegemony over the British Isles for the English monarch, as well as isolated precedents in which the Archbishops of Canterbury ordained certain Irish bishops. See Marie Therese Flanagan, *Irish Society, Anglo-Norman Settlers, Angevin Kingship: Interactions in Ireland in the Late Twelfth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), pp. 41-42.

unintelligible for the domestic audience accessing the translation. The foreign remainder would thus be what troubles the process of *translatio* in the corpus of translated works, and what gets left behind in the process of translation. It is troubling in the sense that it can impede the incorporation of Irish cultural, political, and ecclesiastical prestige and power into the Anglo-Norman sphere of influence.¹⁰³ Furthermore, the foreign remainder is a kind of textual unconscious that may be (although does not necessarily have to be) reactivated in translation and/or reception. The foreign remainder differs from the untranslatable in that it can be translated, but its full meaning cannot be understood without cultural and/or linguistic knowledge which must be acquired on the part of the target audience, either through travel or intercultural contact. By looking at the journeys in the texts with particular emphasis on the foreign remainder, I will draw out the concrete religious and cultural outcomes of Marie and Benedeit's use of *translatio*, and their portrayal of travel.

I contend that the movement of *translatio* in the *Espurgatoire*, which attempts to shift Irish cultural, religious, and political prestige and power into an Anglo-Norman sphere, only falters when it encounters the foreign remainder. As we have seen, the *Espurgatoire* portrays Ireland in two conflictual ways, as both supremely barbarous (in its people and customs), and supremely holy (as the site of the entrance to purgatory). Yet as the physical centre and location for this text, Ireland retains within the narrative an indelible trace of the monastic learning, culture, and belief passed over in silence by this account, which acts as one manifestation of the foreign remainder. The foreign remainder is further visible in the secular and cultural influences on the establishment of St Patrick's Purgatory, which are still visible within Marie's account. These secular and cultural influences include some pre-Christian and Irish elements which helped shape St Patrick's Purgatory. These Irish

¹⁰³ The processes of translation and *translatio* are particularly complex in the *Espurgatoire*, because in the case of its source text, the *Tractatus de Purgatorio Sancti Patricii*, the relationship between the material and the language of composition is not straightforward: at no stage does the *Tractatus de Purgatorio Sancti Patricii* (or *Espurgatoire*) explicitly use Irish or Irish sources, despite the fact that the texts indicate that this was Owein's mother tongue.

references problematise the movement of *translatio*, because they are not easily assimilated into an Anglo-Norman sphere of influence. I will examine what these cultural influences are, why they constitute a foreign remainder of material within the text, and how they affect *translatio*.

The pilgrimage to Lough Derg has been classed as an archaic pilgrimage by Victor and Edith Turner, according to their four classifications of pilgrimage: prototypical, orthodox pilgrimage (e.g. to the Holy Land); archaic pilgrimage; medieval pilgrimage (originating between 500-1400 CE); and modern pilgrimage (post-Tridentine).¹⁰⁴ Turner and Turner class archaic pilgrimages as ‘ambiguous and syncretic’ because they ‘bear quite evident traces of syncretism with older religious beliefs and symbols’.¹⁰⁵ More precise examples of cultural influences on Owein’s pilgrimage are discussed in *The Medieval Pilgrimage to St Patrick’s Purgatory*. In this study, it is shown that the practice of withdrawing to a church and/or cave to fast and pray was a well-known penitential exercise in medieval Ireland.¹⁰⁶ It is further demonstrated that permanent pilgrimage was an anchoritic, penitential practice in Ireland of the Middle Ages, a practice in which the penitent sought to reach a state of near-perfection by journeying until his or her death.¹⁰⁷ This is the form of *peregrinatio* which both our texts adapt. Moreover, the rites performed all over Europe when an individual went into reclusion and was walled up are almost identical to Owein’s preparations for entering purgatory.¹⁰⁸ In the light of these similarities, Owein’s dramatic journey to hell and back becomes legible on another level as a penitential pilgrimage and reclusion, which adapts Irish and wider European anchoritic customs into temporary practices suitable for the penitent laity.

¹⁰⁴ Edith Turner and Victor Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture: Anthropological Perspectives* (Oxford: Columbia University Press, 1978), pp. 17-19. Post-Tridentine refers to events and practices following the sixteenth-century counter-reformation Council of Trent.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 18-19.

¹⁰⁶ *The Medieval Pilgrimage to St. Patrick’s Purgatory*, ed. by Haren and de Pontfarcy, pp. 9-10.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 10-11.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 11-12.

Other readings of St Patrick's Purgatory, in which this site is placed in its cultural context, suggest that it could be a souterrain or a sweat chamber.¹⁰⁹ Its use as the latter might go some way towards explaining the heat and hallucinations Owein experiences there.¹¹⁰ Furthermore, as befits a site of archaic pilgrimage, 'the place names and ancient sites' located near Lough Derg suggest that before the area was Christianised, it was the location of a 'strong pagan cult'.¹¹¹ I would also suggest that entry to the cave of St Patrick's Purgatory is analogous to admission to a tumulus, one of the traditional Celtic places through which access to magical civilisations and other worlds could be gained, as seen in *Yonec*. Similarly, in the surviving poets' inventories of Old Irish verse, a genre of story is listed under the title of 'cave' (*úatha*), thought to refer to tales of expeditions to other worlds accessed in or through caves.¹¹² In this sense, the physical, cultural, and literary locations and sources of St Patrick's Purgatory arrest the movement of *translatio*, because they resist assimilation into an Anglo-Norman frame of reference. Thus the text retains, even in Anglo-Norman translation from Latin, a foreign remainder of material which is culturally illegible for those in its target audiences who had no familiarity with Irish language or customs.

However, the medieval world did not conform to our modern distributions of minority and dominant languages, and small and large nation states. Sections of the

¹⁰⁹ *The Medieval Pilgrimage to St. Patrick's Purgatory*, ed. by Haren and de Pontfarcy, pp. 20-21.

¹¹⁰ Evidence about popular usage of sweat chambers is limited, especially for earlier periods. In the earliest reliable reference to them which I could find, dating from the eighteenth century, a French visitor to Ireland described them as small chambers with ground-level entrances, which were heated by a fire. Invalids were sealed up in these chambers for hours with the smoke and heat. It was thought that the sweating would cure illnesses. See Jacques de Latocnaye, *Promenade d'un Français dans l'Irlande*, 3 vols (Dublin: M. & D. Graisberry, 1797), III
<<http://find.galegroup.com/ecco/infomark.do?&contentSet=ECCOArticles&type=multipage&tabID=T001&prodId=ECCO&docId=CW100354761&source=gale&userGroupName=warwick&version=1.0&docLevel=FASCIMILE>> [accessed 22 January 2013] (pp. 217-18).

¹¹¹ *The Medieval Pilgrimage to St. Patrick's Purgatory*, ed. by Haren and de Pontfarcy, p. 23.

¹¹² Pontfarcy (ed.), 'Footnote to line 303', in Marie de France, *Espurgatoire*, p. 103; Alwyn Rees and Brinley Rees, *Celtic Heritage: Ancient Tradition in Ireland and Wales* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1989), p. 303. Such literary inventories are preserved in later medieval manuscripts but date from an original from the tenth century. There is no way of knowing the antiquity of their material, which, given their pre-Christian subject matter, probably dates from much earlier (Rees and Rees, p. 207).

medieval francophone audiences for Marie's text may indeed have been familiar with the un glossed Irish cultural influences behind the legend of St Patrick's Purgatory and Marie's rewriting of it. Recent studies have highlighted the widespread interactions between Ireland, Britain, and Continental Europe during the Middle Ages. Cronin has argued that:

There is [...] a tendency to adopt excessively terrestrial as opposed to maritime readings of the sources of cultural influence and exchange. This readily leads to the view of Ireland at the 'edge' of the terrestrial world rather than being at the 'crossroads' of seaways from Scandinavia to North Africa. The dominant image of the period [...] is one of movement [...] translation was only to be expected in a culture where [...] [a] degree of openness and cultural contact was a feature of religious and secular life.¹¹³

This is borne out by historical evidence for the interaction of Irish and francophone — specifically Anglo-Norman — traders, soldiers, churchmen, and political leaders in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. From the beginning of Anglo-Norman rule in Britain, there was contact with Ireland. Harold Godwinson's sons, Godwin and Edwin, stayed with the Irish King Diarmait mac Máel na mbó after William the Conqueror's victory, and were helped by him to invade England in 1068 and 1069.¹¹⁴ This was part of an unrealised threat to William that he might be overthrown by an Irish, Anglo-Saxon, and Danish alliance.¹¹⁵ William enjoyed more diplomatic relations with Diarmuit's successor Tairdelbach ua Briain, relations which were continued by subsequent rulers.¹¹⁶ However, the Anglo-Norman noble Arnulf de Montgomery married Tairdelbach's successor's daughter, and Arnulf and his brother were supported by this royal father-in-law, Muirchertach ua Briain, in their

¹¹³ Cronin, p. 36.

¹¹⁴ Benjamin Hudson, *Irish Sea Studies 900-1200* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2006), pp. 101-05.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 111.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 121.

rebellion against Henry I in 1102. Arnulf subsequently lived with and worked for Muirchertach.¹¹⁷ In response to the Montgomery rebellion, Henry I placed a trade embargo on Ireland.¹¹⁸ However, he encouraged trade during peacetime by granting rights to Chester, Bristol, and Rouen to trade directly with Ireland, rights which were confirmed by Henry II between 1150 and 1175.¹¹⁹

Further evidence for extensive trade between Ireland and Britain comes from the maintenance of a fixed ratio between English and Dublin coinage in the eleventh century, and evidence for the trade of hides, pelts, skins, wheat, and timber.¹²⁰ Hudson summarises in translation a concrete example of intercultural contact between francophones and Irish traders from the *Patrologia Latina*. Fundraisers for St Mary's Church in Laon wanted to buy clothes in Bristol, but they were warned not to go aboard any Irish ships selling clothing in case the sailors cast off and held them to ransom.¹²¹ This demonstrates that Irish clothing had a reputation as a quality item of trade, and that either the French party, or the Irish traders, or both, had the linguistic and cultural knowledge to trade and sell with each other, but also to kidnap and negotiate.

Another forced point of contact came from the slave trade, which continued despite attempts to abolish it in the twelfth century.¹²² Ecclesiastical exchange also existed. From the eleventh century, the Archbishop of Canterbury consecrated the Bishop of Dublin, and corresponded with certain Irish bishops.¹²³ Many Irish churchmen served or travelled abroad, including the famous Saint Malachy, whose role in the twelfth-century reform of the Irish Church helped further strengthen ties between Ireland and the rest of

¹¹⁷ Kathleen Thompson, 'Montgomery, Arnulf de (c. 1066–1118x22)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, in Association with The British Academy: From the Earliest Times to the Year 2000*, ed. by H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison, 60 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), XXXVIII, p. 827.

¹¹⁸ Hudson, p. 33.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 121.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 39, 119.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 28.

¹²² Hudson, p. 31.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, pp. 113-15.

Europe. This brief overview of a selection of evidence for economic, religious, military, and political contact between Anglo-Norman Britain, France, and Ireland shows that some linguistic and cultural exchange and understanding must have existed between French speakers and people living in Ireland, otherwise none of these historically documented interactions could have taken place.¹²⁴

This evidence of francophone and Irish interaction in the eleventh and twelfth centuries suggests that the foreign remainder in the *Espurgatoire* would not always have passed unobserved by audiences, nor would it necessarily have been incomprehensible for some of the text's twelfth-century readers and listeners. Among the audience for such a work, one can easily imagine individuals capable of grasping its cultural nuances, understanding its misrepresentations, and receiving the text in the atmosphere of territorial and political expansion in which it was composed. Thus Marie, in her version of the legend of St Patrick's Purgatory, complete with its Irish influences, translated her material within a cultural context in which this material could theoretically be fully and knowingly incorporated into the Anglo-Norman sphere. In this case, all of the unexplained Irish geographical, cultural, and literary references in the *Espurgatoire* could have been received by an audience capable of understanding their meaning.

The aggressive, appropriative movement of *translatio* in the *Espurgatoire* might therefore have been highly effective because all of the unglossed, specifically Irish cultural nuances of the *Espurgatoire* might have been understood and recognised by an audience who accessed the material in Anglo-Norman. In this sense, for those twelfth-century Anglo-Normans familiar with Ireland, Marie's account of the *Espurgatoire* incorporated references understood as specifically relating to Ireland into an Anglo-Norman ambit, whether those references were culturally, historically, politically, or geographically Irish.

¹²⁴ For a detailed consideration of all the political, mercantile, ecclesiastical, and monastic interactions between the inhabitants of Britain and Ireland during this period, see Flanagan.

This incorporation was a political manoeuvre, which occurred shortly after the Anglo-Norman conquest of Ireland.

However, the assimilation of the foreign remainder raises a new problem for *translatio*. The extensive range of economic, political, and ecclesiastical links between Ireland, Britain, and Continental Europe outlined above suggests that certain members of the twelfth-century Anglo-Norman and continental French audiences for these texts were familiar with Ireland. Thus this section of the audience are on one level forced to disavow the textual representation with which they are presented. This is so because the textual representation of Ireland as a backward, peripheral area would not match with their lived historical experience. Instead, the historical reality of Ireland as part of an important, international, maritime zone of cross-cultural contact in the Middle Ages emerges. This goes some way towards nuancing the *Espurgatoire's* appropriative ethos, at least for modern readers.

In the *Voyage*, the foreign remainder and *translatio* occur in very different formats from the way in which they are portrayed in the *Espurgatoire*. Dating from the first quarter of the twelfth century,¹²⁵ the *Voyage* does not appropriate cultural material within a context of territorial or political expansion. However, the foreign remainder is still not fully incorporated in the *Voyage*. The culturally foreign ideas within the text, that is to say the pre-Christian elements and those references pertaining specifically to rites of the Irish Church, are incorporated without glossing. This is the same as in the *Navigatio sancti Brendani*, the Latin source text for the *Voyage*. The specificity of early Irish Christianity in the *Voyage* can be observed in the episode of the fire lit on the whale's back (*Voyage*, 440-78). This occurs when the tired monks mistake a whale for an island, land on its back, celebrate Easter Saturday there, and then begin to prepare their evening meal. Although the fire they light is for cooking, rather than for ceremonial purposes, it is significant that it

¹²⁵ Merrilees and Short (eds), 'Introduction', in Benedeit, p. 17.

is lit on Easter Saturday, as the Irish Church celebrated ‘the rite of the new fire on Holy Saturday’.¹²⁶ This in turn recalls the ritual fires lit during the pre-Christian Irish pagan festivals of Beltane and Samhain. A further reference to Irish rites is found in the passage in which the monks say Matins when the cock crows before daybreak (*Voyage*, 575-76). Saying Matins before daybreak was standard Catholic practice. However, by responding to the cock’s crow, they bear witness to one of the Old Irish names for Matins, *gairm an choilig*, or ‘cockcrow’.¹²⁷

The *Voyage* references a plethora of pre-Christian beliefs. A full examination of these would fill a whole chapter, so I will give merely a brief outline of them here. In terms of themes and motifs, the *Voyage* shares a great deal with *Echtrae Cormaic*, an Irish adventure narrative. This legend was only written down from the fourteenth century onwards, but it portrays a pagan Ireland and belongs to the *echtrae* (adventure) genre of Irish literature believed to predate in oral form the rise of Irish Christianity.¹²⁸ The angel who sanctions Brendan’s voyage, the character of Ailbe (an Irish saint who establishes a remote island monastery visited by Brendan and his monks), the lamps that light up and go out by themselves, the mist around paradise, the chalice on the crystal pillar, and the qualities of paradise are all found in variant yet strikingly similar forms in the pagan *Echtrae Cormaic*. The motif of the supernumerary crew members, who must be lost because they spoil the perfect number of the original crew, reflects pagan traditions concerning the importance of symbolic numbers. These included certain numbers, or their multiples, which are found in the *Voyage*: seven, nine, and thirty-three.¹²⁹ The extra crew members also reflect the pagan custom of the druidical *geis*, an ‘idiosyncratic taboo or prohibition’;

¹²⁶ Louis Gougaud, *Christianity in Celtic Lands: A History of the Churches of the Celts*, trans. by Maud Joynt (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1993), p. 322.

¹²⁷ Gougaud, p. 333.

¹²⁸ Rees and Rees, p. 317.

¹²⁹ Rees and Rees, pp. 195, 192-94, 200-01.

this restriction could regulate almost any matter, such as how many people could take part in a journey, and entailed death if contravened.¹³⁰

In terms of the landscape, mountains and hills in the *Voyage* are both meeting places and sites of spiritual visions (e.g. *Voyage*, 1505-1606, 1776-80): a feature which draws on the pagan, Irish tradition of mounds as both sites for holding assemblies, and places in which extraordinary visionary encounters occurred.¹³¹ Brendan's island paradise itself reflects ancient beliefs, as the pre-Christian Irish other world had a number of insular locations.¹³² And just as Brendan sails for seven years before being admitted to heaven, so a belief with pagan roots held sway in Ireland, up until at least the twentieth century in some cases, that the Isle of the Blessed might appear once every seven years.¹³³ The birds, who are angels in bird form, also reflect pre-Christian ideas that birds were 'servants and messengers' of deities.¹³⁴ Finally, Brendan's unusual multiple death, entering paradise alive, before being instructed to return home and die so he can re-enter heaven in spiritual form, draws on the concept of multiple death which was a 'characteristic motif of Irish death tales'.¹³⁵

These references to Irish rites and to pre-Christian Irish beliefs in an Anglo-Norman Catholic narrative are examples of the foreign remainder. In addition to these cultural allusions, there are also linguistic examples of the foreign remainder in the *Voyage*. One example of the latter is the creation of the word 'li jacoines'. This is a fascinating key to the text which, like the contextual historical information in the case of the *Espurgatoire*, helps illuminate twelfth-century patterns of linguistic, literary, and cultural exchange. This

¹³⁰ James MacKillop, *Dictionary of Celtic Mythology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), p. 221. This is relevant here as the three monks who join the expedition late make the total number of crew members exceed the predefined symbolic total.

¹³¹ Rees and Rees, p. 184.

¹³² MacKillop, pp. 159, 283, 358-59.

¹³³ S. Ó Catháin and P. O'Flanagan, *The Living Landscape: Kilgalligan, Erris, County Mayo*, *Scribhinní Béaloideas/Folklore Studies*, 1 (Dublin: Comhairle Bhéaloideas Éireann, An Coláiste Ollscoile, 1975), pp. 160-61.

¹³⁴ MacKillop, p. 37.

¹³⁵ Rees and Rees, p. 333.

neologism is a further obfuscation of the Latin proper name 'lasconius', the appellation which was given to the whale in the *Navigatio sancti Brendani*, the Latin source text for the *Voyage*. The name of 'lasconius' arose from a mistranslation or adaptation of the Irish word for 'fish' (*iasc*). Because this is a neologism of Irish etymological origin, it would seem natural to assume that it would almost certainly have been incomprehensible to a twelfth-century Anglo-Norman audience, unless it was situated in a context which clarified its meaning. However, the word is incorporated into the syntax and grammar of the Anglo-Norman text unproblematically, just as the Latin neologism from which it derives was integrated into the *Navigatio sancti Brendani*. This usage suggests that it was not wholly foreign, at least for the author Benedeit and the text's original intended audience.

The use of this unglossed neologism is less surprising if we consider the contextual background of the poem's creation. Queen Matilda, who almost certainly commissioned this poem, lived in a bilingual Gaelic and Anglo-Norman environment. She was a Scottish princess, born and brought up during her early years in 'a Gaelic-speaking cultural area that extended from southwest Ireland to northwest Scotland', while her mother, Saint Margaret, cultivated contacts with the Norman world.¹³⁶ The innovative work of the *Voyage*, with its mixture of Irish, Latin, and Anglo-Norman cultural influences, would therefore perfectly suit the interests and linguistic competencies of Matilda, and of other Scottish members of the English court such as her brother David, the future king of Scotland. Thus the linguistic foreign remainder in the *Voyage* again points to a remapping of areas of cultural, literary, and linguistic exchange in the twelfth century.

¹³⁶ Hudson, pp. 198, 203. Scholars disagree as to which of Henry I's wives commissioned the poem, Matilda or Adeliza. In the majority of surviving manuscripts, the *Voyage* is dedicated to Adeliza in the prologue. However, one manuscript preserves a dedication to Matilda. In lines 1-4, Benedeit addresses his dedicatee using the future tense, exhorting her to bring about peace and uphold the law. It would therefore not make sense to dedicate this work urging future reform to a deceased Queen's memory. I believe it is clear that the *Voyage* was dedicated to Matilda originally, only to be rededicated after her death to Adeliza, because of the evidence outlined above, and in light of the circumstantial evidence provided by R. L. Graeme Ritchie, in his 'The Date of the *Voyage of St Brendan*', *Medium Ævum*, 19 (1950), 64-66.

As we have seen, translation, *translatio*, and the foreign remainder in the *Voyage* and the *Espurgatoire* are highly complex. Just as the portrayal of Ireland is contradictory in many examples of medieval francophone literature, oscillating between representations of a familiar Christian neighbour and a barbaric pagan island at the end of the world, so *translatio* of Irish material in these texts is never simple or complete. As we have seen, *translatio* is arrested by the foreign remainder, which troubles the process of incorporation of Irish material into an Anglo-Norman sphere of influence. It is difficult to determine the precise audiences of our texts. However, from literary and historical evidence, it is clear that some Anglo-Norman speakers had contact with and/or detailed knowledge of Ireland and the Irish, with some families even settling there (predominantly from 1169 onwards).

We have seen how this shapes reception of the foreign remainder in two ways as regards the *Espurgatoire*. A medieval Anglo-Norman speaker with no knowledge of Ireland who came into contact with the texts could not have understood the unglossed Irish cultural references they contain. This effectively arrests the movement of *translatio* of Irish references and material, because such a person would not be able to understand fully all the meanings and cultural nuances of the examples examined above, such as the word ‘*li jacoines*’ in the *Voyage*, or the Irish penitential practice of perpetual pilgrimage which is adapted in the *Espurgatoire*. However, a medieval Anglo-Norman speaker who had extensive dealings with Ireland and who came into contact with the texts could have understood the unglossed Irish cultural references, easing the transfer effected by the text of Irish literary, cultural, and historical material into an Anglo-Norman sphere of influence.

Yet again, however, in the *Espurgatoire*, the process of *translatio* is ultimately interrupted, because an informed Anglo-Norman’s historical experiences would not have matched Marie’s portrayal of Ireland as barbarous. This forces — at least subconsciously, if not on a conscious level — a disavowal of the textual representation of Ireland, and a recognition of medieval Ireland as part of an important, international, maritime zone of

cross-cultural contact, as well as part of a network of settlement and trade within the British Isles. The *Voyage* does not participate in the climate of territorial expansion and political appropriation which colours the *Espurgatoire*. Yet its incorporation of un glossed Irish cultural material similarly points to the important role Ireland played in a maritime zone of economic, military, and cross-cultural contact stretching across Scandinavia, Europe, and Africa. These texts further testify to Anglo-Norman Britain's important role in international networks, and to its contact with and knowledge of its geographical neighbours.

How do the *Lais*, with their analogous portrayal of otherworldly travel, mirror or differ from this pattern of cultural contact as outlined above? We can look for the foreign remainder in them, and the process of cultural *translatio* of which it is a part, enabling us to establish further similarities between them and the *Voyage* and *Espurgatoire*. The three *lais* considered earlier in this chapter reproduce Breton narratives in Anglo-Norman, as part of a process of *translatio* similar to that of the *Espurgatoire*, as well as a procedure of valorisation and committing to memory. This can be observed in Marie's constant references to the importance of remembering these stories (e.g. *Prologue*, 40; *Guigemar*, 1-6). They do at times incorporate the culturally foreign without glossing its meaning, such as the tumulus (*Yonec*) and water (*Guigemar* and *Lanval*), which are presented as places of access to the other world, without explicitly explaining that this is their function. While the supernatural is a universal concept, the idea that it could be accessed through a burial mound or water was specific to Celtic cultures. The meaning of the characters' Breton names are not always explained either, including 'Guigemar' ('homme digne d'avoir un cheval'), 'Meriadu' ('grand front noir'), and 'Yonec' ('désiré').¹³⁷ The meanings of all these names are an accurate description of their characters' qualities. It is a deliberate narrative

¹³⁷ Françoise Morvan, 'Notes', in Marie de France, *Lais*, ed. and trans. by Françoise Morvan (Arles: Actes Sud, 2008), pp. 231-60 (pp. 233, 236-37, 247).

choice to avoid glossing the appellations, given that in other lais, such as *Bisclavret*, Marie translates the meaning of the characters' Breton names.

Therefore, as in the *Espurgatoire* and the *Voyage*, we see that the foreign remainder in these lais both signposts their cultural background and prevents complete assimilation of the original material into Anglo-Norman. Analogous to the pattern we observed to this effect in the *Espurgatoire* and *Voyage*, this suggests that, for some members of the audience, complete assimilation of Breton material was prevented by the unglossed, untranslated foreign remainder, because not all medieval francophones would have been familiar with Breton language and culture. However, the use of unglossed Breton linguistic and cultural references within linguistically and culturally accurate contexts also suggests that there were sections of the audience who could have understood these cultural and linguistic references and borrowings. This points to a place of greater importance for Brittany in terms of twelfth-century contact with francophone Britain and France. Such usage reflects the struggle between appropriation and preservation observed by Susan Crane in *Bisclavret*:

Translating [...] Breton tales into Henry II's imperial tongue is [...] an overtly colonizing move that redounds to Henry's glory [...]. But [...] Marie's insistence on a Bretonicity that is not entirely subject to the Angevin empire counterbalances the appropriation implicit in translating into French, and preserves the Breton past (in some measure) as a foreign past that eludes imperial designs.¹³⁸

¹³⁸ Susan Crane, 'How to Translate a Werewolf', in *The Medieval Translator: Traduire au Moyen Âge*, ed. by Olivier Bertrand and Jacqueline Jenkins, *The Medieval Translator*, 10 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), pp. 365-74 (p. 373).

Crane's summary highlights that the use of Breton material in these Anglo-Norman *Lais* is paradoxical. Incorporating Breton material into an Anglo-Norman composition at a time of Anglo-Norman political expansion into Brittany implies an appropriation of that material. And yet, the preservation of the Breton nature of the literary matter even within the Anglo-Norman composition is, as Crane argues, a way of keeping Breton cultural material alive in a form which eludes appropriation, to a certain extent. Thus the elements of the *Lais* which are culturally and linguistically Breton, just like the analogous Irish elements of the *Voyage* and *Espurgatoire*, represent both a collaboration in and a resistance to a project of conquest. The use of these cultural references in the ways in which they are employed in these texts —in Anglo-Norman, and at times when the twelfth-century Angevin empire was expanding — signals a process of *translatio* which seeks to incorporate other cultural communities, and their land and prestige, into the Anglo-Norman domain, in what Crane terms 'an overtly colonizing move'. Yet, as we have seen, the incorporation of the foreign remainder is never complete in these texts.

For some, these unglossed, culturally specific references would not have been fully comprehensible. While this would not have prevented an understanding of the work, it would have impeded a full comprehension of all its cultural nuances, and it would have meant that not all the Irish and Breton material could be incorporated via *translatio* into an Anglo-Norman domain for the reader or listener, because not all of the material was fully comprehensible for this section of the audience. For those who understood all the specific Celtic cultural references of the *Lais*, *Voyage*, and *Espurgatoire*, the process of *translatio* of the material into the Anglo-Norman domain was again ultimately incomplete. This is so because, in the *Espurgatoire*, the literary portrait of a barbarous, pagan Ireland does not fit with the lived historical reality experienced through intercultural contact. Similarly, in the *Lais* and *Voyage*, the unglossed linguistic and cultural specificity means that they retain a 'Bretonicity' or 'Irishness' which, as Crane argues (for the *Lais*), 'eludes imperial designs'.

For Bloch, Marie's writing is always 'a work of gathering against the fear of fragmentation', which in the *Espurgatoire* takes the form of an 'enormous project of cultural memory'.¹³⁹ Whether memory is the dominant theme in the *Lais* and the *Espurgatoire* is debatable, but it undeniably plays an important role, as seen in Marie's repeated statements that she does not want to abandon or forget her material, and that she has committed the story to written memory (*Prologue* to the *Lais*, 40; *Espurgatoire*, 2297-99). Furthermore, cultural memory is, as we have seen, contained to a certain extent in the *Espurgatoire*, amongst references to certain Irish practices and beliefs, such as *peregrinatio*. It is also key to the *Lais*, with their evocations of Bretonicity, and to the *Voyage*, with its many Irish pagan and Christian influences.

Part V - Conclusion

In this chapter, I have considered the relationship of the journey to the text in the *Espurgatoire* and *Voyage* through the overarching model of *peregrinatio*. By evaluating the characteristics of the journeys portrayed in the two works, I have demonstrated that they are unique blends of visionary and pilgrimage material which conform to the conventions of neither visionary texts nor pilgrimage accounts. I analysed the specificities of the voyages depicted in each work alongside the way travel is narrated in the *Lais of Guigemar*, *Lanval*, and *Yonec*. This comparative reading explored similarities between the texts' depictions of travelling to secular and sacred other worlds.

This comparison was extended to assess areas of mutual influence between generic discourses focused on non-religious topics as compared to those centering on spiritual themes. I established in relation to the texts read here that it is sometimes impossible to say with certainty in which type of generic discourse motifs and themes that we now

¹³⁹ Bloch, p. 260.

consider predominantly traits of religious or non-religious literature originated. That these different genres, from the *lais*, to hagiographic romance, to pilgrimage texts, share so much — despite ostensibly focusing on either courtly or spiritual topics — suggests that separating out sacred and secular genres in literature of the francophone Middle Ages is not always a productive enterprise. Sacred and secular genres cannot be separated out in the texts considered here, because influences and tropes are so widely shared between them.

Having considered how the journeys portrayed in my texts are both visions and expeditions, and shown that they share much in common with travel presented in narratives with a non-religious focus, I looked at how the travelling in and of these narratives led to an appropriation of cultural material through *translatio*. Examining instances of *translatio* in all the texts, I considered *translatio* alongside Lecercle and Venuti's concept of the remainder, both in the sources for the texts and in the texts themselves. I elaborated a model of the foreign remainder, as a term which reflects some of the nuances of Venuti's terminology, but adapts his work so that it can be applied fruitfully to this medieval corpus. I suggested that the foreign remainder in the texts considered in this chapter impeded *translatio*. This allowed me to demonstrate that limits to cultural and political appropriation were inscribed in and by the appropriating texts of this corpus themselves. I evaluated how, even if an audience member were able to access in full all the nuances of the foreign remainder in the texts, this would force them to recognise the cultural distinctiveness of the material they were accessing. In the case of the *Espurgatoire*, it would encourage such an audience member to disavow the textual depiction of cultural and moral poverty with which they were presented. I used these conclusions to point towards a remapping of the Western European world in the twelfth century, as the texts examined here demonstrate the literary and cultural importance of

Brittany and Ireland in the twelfth-century francophone zone, despite the fact that these are often overlooked areas of the twelfth-century *Francophonie*.

Chapter Two – The Hermit

Part I - Introduction

The hermit is a common religious figure in medieval literature, embodying an archetype of spiritual life established by the Desert Fathers. The primary function of the eremitic way of life embraced by the hermit is to praise God in a penitential, self-mortifying way. However, this simple choice reflects complex decisions and changes. In order to live in this way, the hermit has first to make a journey of withdrawal, then to find and perform activities suitable for serving God. In doing so, he must translate the biblical and saintly texts by which he governs his life through somatic means, by living out their rules and recommendations. In this chapter, I examine the role of the ascetic hermit and his way of life in three versions of the *Vie de Barlaam et Josaphat*: the thirteenth-century Anglo-Norman verse version by Chardri; the anonymous fourteenth-century Occitan prose version; and the fourteenth-century *Francilien* dramatic version contained in the collection of guild plays known as the *Miracles de Nostre Dame par personnages*. The narrative of *Barlaam et Josaphat* has been chosen because eremitism, travel, and translation are important themes in the legend. Moreover, the atypical nature of this *vie* means it makes an intriguing case study for testing how textual communities use these themes to construct sanctity as a means of mediating the divine. This hagiographic legend, which is unusual because it is based in part on texts and legends recounting the life of the Buddha rather than exclusively on Christian texts, was regarded as a holy narrative in its different variations and languages by six different religions and/or religious denominations: Buddhism, Catharism, Christianity, Islam, Judaism, and Manichaeism.¹

¹ René Lavaud and René Nelli (eds and trans), 'Introduction', in 'Le Roman spirituel de Barlaam et Josaphat', in *Les Troubadours : l'œuvre épique*, 2nd edn (Paris: Desclée de Brouwer, 2000), pp. 1067-

The versions I have chosen to examine span two centuries, three different languages and dialects, and three different literary formats. As such, they represent a pan-French and pan-francophone response to the Barlaam and Josaphat material, and testify to the different re-readings, rewritings, and reinterpretations of this *vie* in France and Britain between the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. This chapter brings together several important yet little studied works. The often overlooked *Miracles de Nostre Dame par personnages* are not only the ‘first formal collection of vernacular drama from the French Middle Ages’, but also the ‘only major corpus of dramatic works in French that have survived from the fourteenth century’.² Chardri’s version of *Barlaam et Josaphat* has often been passed over in favour of Gui de Cambrai’s more detailed, elaborate text. Except in its most recent edition by Anna Radaelli, the Occitan version has been analysed almost exclusively in terms of its possible Manichean religious content, rather than as a literary work in its own right.³ I read my corpus with the fresh approach of applying Brian Stock’s work to the texts in question. I will examine how ‘textual communities’, a certain type of literary group identified by Stock, interact in these works with what I have identified as the dominant themes of the narratives: travel, translation, spiritual searching, and literary creation. As will become clear from this chapter’s analysis, such themes are inextricably linked by these works. I will examine how their interaction creates a previously unremarked paradigm of spiritual translation. Finally, I will consider what the effects of this spiritual translation are, in terms of the importance of travel and translation, the construction of sanctity, and mediation of the divine.

70 (pp. 1067-68); Donald S. Lopez Jr. and Peggy McCracken, *In Search of the Christian Buddha: How an Asian Sage Became a Medieval Saint* (New York: Norton, 2014), p. 232.

² Donald Maddox and Sara Sturm-Maddox, ‘Introduction’, in *Parisian Confraternity Drama of the Fourteenth Century: The ‘Miracles de Nostre Dame par personnages’*, ed. and trans. by Donald Maddox and Sara Sturm-Maddox, *Medieval Texts and Cultures of Northern Europe*, Centre for Medieval Studies, University of Hull, 22 (Brepols: Turnhout, 2008), pp. 1-28 (p. 1).

³ *Barlaam et Josaphat: Il ‘Libre de Barlam et de Josaphat’ e la sua tradizione nella Provenza angioina del XIV secolo*, ed. by Anna Radaelli, *Scritture e libri del medioevo*, collana diretta da Marco Palma, 15 (Rome: Viella, 2016). For an example of a religious-focused analysis of the text, see Toni Bräm, *La Version provençale de “Barlaam et Josaphat” : une œuvre cathare?* (Konstanz: Hartung-Gorre, 1990).

This chapter considers the relationship of the journey to the text, while paying particular attention to the themes of the hermit, translation, and textual communities. This will thus be a comparative study through the subject of the journey, allowing for an examination of translation, both as a theme and a practice. In these eremitic narratives, translation, both as a means of creating the text we read, and as a way of accessing biblical and spiritual truths, is intimately involved in the protagonists' and the narrator's search for God, a search which involves physical and metaphorical travel. Yet translation quickly becomes implicated not just in uncovering but also in creating a path to God through this literature. This is the 'dreite veie' sought by Chardri amongst the 'essample' of his *vie* (Anglo-Norman version, 2-3), or the 'via dels mandamens de Dieu' preached by Barlaam to Josaphat in the Occitan version (Occitan version, 162).⁴ As my comparison of the different versions of the same narrative will show, however, the way to God proposed in each is radically different, despite the texts ostensibly being versions of the same hagiographic material. Translation is therefore shown to produce highly divergent products, and to be figured through travel metaphors such as 'way' — 'veie' or 'via'. As such, translation becomes associated more widely with not just linguistic but physical, metaphorical, and even metaphysical movement. The combinations of such forms of movement in the selection of Barlaam and Josaphat texts in my corpus create a particular paradigm of spiritual translation, the nature of which will be discussed in the final part of this chapter.

⁴ All numbers in brackets after references to Chardri's Anglo-Norman version refer to line numbers of the text in the edition *Chardry's Josaphaz, Set Dormanz und Petit Plet: Dichtungen in der Anglo-Normanischen Mundart des XIII. Jahrhunderts: Zum Ersten Mal Vollständig mit Einleitung, Anmerkungen und Glossar*, ed. by John Koch, Altfranzösische Bibliothek, 1 (Heilbronn: Gebr. Henninger, 1879), pp. 1-75. All numbers in brackets after references to the Occitan version refer to page numbers in *Il 'Libre de Barlam et de Josaphat' e la sua tradizione nella Provenza angioina del XIV secolo*, ed. by Anna Radaelli, Scritture e libri del medioevo, collana diretta da Marco Palma, 15 (Rome: Viella, 2016). I have not reproduced the italics or other transcription markings such as '[' used by Radaelli in my quotes from her edition. Although these are very useful in the edition, they are not necessary in short extracts. This decision was taken to make the quotes I use easier to read, and to ensure that when italics are used, it is clear that they have been added by me for emphasis.

Part II – The Theme of the Journey and the Use of Translation

The versions of *Barlaam et Josaphat* in my corpus contain some differences, which will be highlighted throughout this chapter where relevant, but the over-arching narrative is the same in all three. The Indian King Avenis worships idols and executes the Christians in his realm. When one of his former friends, the provost, converts to Christianity, the king angrily spares his life. Eventually King Avenis has an only son, Josaphat, and a prophecy at his birth predicts that he will become a Christian. As the king persecutes the Christians, he tries to stop the fulfilment of the prophecy by locking his son in a luxury tower. King Avenis hopes that his son Josaphat will be happy in the tower, and thus never need to go outside, where he might learn about Christianity. As he grows up, Josaphat yearns to explore outside, until he falls ill with longing. As the king is worried about Josaphat's health, he lets him walk outside accompanied by attendants. On his walks, Josaphat meets ordinary citizens and discovers the realities of illness, old age, and death. Shocked by his discoveries, Josaphat questions the meaning of life.

Meanwhile, a Christian called Barlaam learns of Josaphat's potential for conversion. Barlaam gains access to the prince by pretending to be a merchant, and convinces Josaphat that Christianity could provide answers for his existential questions. Whereas the suffering Josaphat witnessed led him to question the meaning of life, Barlaam persuades the prince that Christianity restores ontological meaning. In order to do so, Barlaam teaches Josaphat about Scripture, and uses exempla to convince Josaphat of moral truths. These exempla are non-biblical and drawn from different geographical areas, such as India, and Asia more widely.⁵ Once Josaphat is converted, Barlaam returns to his desert hermitage. Josaphat practices his beliefs in secret, but when his father discovers that his son is a Christian, he tries everything to convince him to apostatise, including a public disputation, and

⁵ Lavaud and Nelli (eds and trans), 'Footnote I' and 'Footnotes a', in 'Le Roman spirituel de Barlaam et Josaphat', in *Les Troubadours*, pp. 1094, 1103, 1119.

surrounding Josaphat with women in the hope that he will be seduced. In the *Miracles de Nostre Dame par personnages* (henceforth *MND*), the Virgin Mary appears to Josaphat at this point, enabling him to keep his vow of chastity.

Avenis's arguments and schemes fail to convince Josaphat to apostatise. Josaphat is able to convert several royal servants, and the king comes to doubt his beliefs. In the *MND* Avenis converts at this point and the narrative ends. In the Anglo-Norman and Occitan versions, the king gives Josaphat part of the kingdom to rule, in the hope that worldly cares will distract him from religion. Josaphat continues to practise Christianity with zeal, however, and his Christian kingdom thrives, while more and more of his subjects willingly convert. Eventually Avenis recognises the error of his ways, becomes a Christian, and dies reconciled with God. After ruling justly and converting through example rather than force, Josaphat withdraws to the desert to live as a hermit. Josaphat and Barlaam live together for a while as hermits until both die. Revered as saints by their contemporaries, the location of their bodies is revealed to the new king by another hermit. Their miraculously preserved remains are taken in a procession to the city, and interred in a church Josaphat built. Miracles occurred at their shrine, and, we are told, are reputed still to occur.

The history of translation of the Barlaam and Josaphat material is extremely complex and will be dealt with further later in this chapter. While all three versions are affiliated to the Latin tradition of the Barlaam and Josaphat narrative, the Occitan and Anglo-Norman works do not have an identifiable source text and may have been translated from either Latin or vernacular texts. At some stage, however, they must be descended from a twelfth-century Latin translation made of the Greek Barlaam and Josaphat material, as this was the base version for subsequent European Latin and vernacular translations.⁶ The *MND* text is adapted from Jacobus de Voragine's *Legenda Aurea* or *Golden Legend*

⁶ Lopez Jr. and McCracken, p. 137.

version of the tale, but the *MND* narrative differs substantially from its source due to the inclusion of Marian material.

In *Barlaam et Josaphat*, travel is not dwelt upon explicitly, and yet it is crucial, both to the internal narrative and to its external dissemination. In the Anglo-Norman and Occitan versions, persecution of the Christians in King Avenis's realm takes place as his men search throughout the land for them.⁷ The character of the provost who becomes a Christian also travels on account of his faith, first to escape the king, then to dispute with him, before returning to the desert (this role is played by Barlaam in the *MND*). In the Anglo-Norman, another courtier converts and his faith is discovered by Avenis, yet his life is saved because of two journeys. Firstly, while riding through the woods hunting, he rescues an injured man who gives him lifesaving advice. Secondly, acting on this advice, the courtier pretends to be ready to accompany the king on a penitential pilgrimage, which proves his loyalty and thus prevents the king from executing him for his Christian beliefs.

In all three texts, it is by travelling outside of his tower that Josaphat learns about suffering, illness, and death, prompting him to seek spiritual answers to the questions that these ills make him consider. Barlaam travels a long way to provide these answers, functioning as the narrative catalyst by facilitating Josaphat's conversion to Christianity. Afterwards, Barlaam's journey back to the desert enables him to escape death, while the servant Nacor's travel to the disputation allows him to begin the process through which Avenis will gradually be convinced of Christianity's truth. Travel also facilitates the salvation of Nacor and Théodas, the royal servants who convert and withdraw to the desert to seek baptism and the eremitic life. In the Occitan and Anglo-Norman, Josaphat is given part of his father's kingdom to rule, and he travels there in order to found a Christian state.

Subsequently, Josaphat's journey into the desert assures his salvation. It is only

⁷ The names of characters in *Barlaam et Josaphat* vary slightly in spelling in each version considered. For clarity and accuracy, I use the variant original spellings in quotations, but in English I use the standardised modern French spellings used by Lavaud and Nelli in 'Le Roman spirituel de Barlaam et Josaphat'.

there that he can be tested by God (in the Occitan), and live in a state of mortification (in the Occitan and Anglo-Norman), allowing him to gain salvation. As he is told in the Occitan version, his heavenly crown awaits him, ‘*si perseveras tro a la fin*’ (Occitan version, 189, emphasis mine). In the *MND*, it is only Barlaam who lives as a desert hermit, but the play ends with Josaphat travelling to be there with him, enabling the baptism of several new converts, including his father.

One of the reasons why travel is so fundamental, yet not a focus in its own right within the narratives, is because it is conceived of as a means to an end. In all the examples given above, travel is intimately bound up with faith and seeking God through salvation, whether the characters travel to actualise faith, or even, in the case of the king’s men, to prevent such actualisation. For example, Nacor’s journey to the disputation is engineered by the king to ensure that Nacor convinces Josaphat to apostatise. The journey is therefore undertaken to try and hinder Josaphat’s search for God. In the end, its purpose is reversed when Nacor is converted to Christianity. Nacor’s journey to be present at the disputation marks instead the beginning of Josaphat’s father’s doubts as to whether Christianity might be a source of spiritual truth.

Because these texts continually look beyond the means of travel to the endpoint of salvation, travelling is frequently described using metaphors. This occurs in two ways in the longer, more detailed versions in Anglo-Norman and Occitan. Actual journeys undertaken by characters are described in a metaphorical fashion or given supplementary metaphorical meanings, and ineffable spiritual realities are expressed through travel metaphors. For example, the route Josaphat takes through the desert is a physical path which he traces out to Barlaam’s hermitage, but Josaphat also sees his course as a metaphorical direction to God. As such, when he prays in Occitan that he will find the way to Barlaam, he layers the physical and metaphorical meanings of ‘way’: ‘*Senher, dona mi a trobar via per on venga a tu*’ (Occitan version, 187). Similarly, in the Anglo-Norman, Josaphat mixes the spiritual and

physical senses of journeying when his God-given vision of heaven and hell is referred to as both a dream *and* a journey: ‘cel sunge e cel veage’ (Anglo-Norman version, 2856). At times, physical travel disappears entirely to be replaced with purely spiritual concerns, expressed through voyaging metaphors. Thus, in the Anglo-Norman version, Josaphat explains that his faith is ‘la dreite veie | Ki au salu nus enveie’ (Anglo-Norman version, 987-88). While spiritual meanings and metaphors for and of travel are important in both versions, they are preponderant in the Occitan, which continually both spiritualises travel and figures spiritual searching through travel metaphors.

This layering of the literal and metaphorical meanings of the journey points towards wider ways of interpreting the texts. René Lavaud and René Nelli argue that the Occitan narrative ‘se passe apparemment sur terre, mais, en réalité, dans l’autre monde’.⁸ Yet, as we have seen, travel is not exclusively metaphorical in this narrative, as Lavaud and Nelli seem to suggest here. I argue instead that this is a polyvalent text which cannot be interpreted in any one way, as it contains a layering of spiritual, metaphorical, and allegorical meanings. The Anglo-Norman version also participates in this layering of meaning, with its physical and spiritual interpretations of travel, alongside its presentation as truth (e.g. Anglo-Norman version, 2924-30), and its explicit didactic purpose (e.g. Anglo-Norman version, 4-9). The version in the *MND* is less subtle and developed a narrative of spiritual quest because it fulfills other literary and devotional criteria, focusing as it does on the Marian cult within a concise dramatic framework. Yet even in this version, the theme of the journey is considered in both physical and spiritual ways. This is best expressed when Barlaam explains the core tenets of Christianity before concluding:

C’est la foy que crestien tiennent,

C’est la voie par quoy il viennent

⁸ Lavaud and Nelli (eds and trans), ‘Introduction’, in ‘Le Roman spirituel de Barlaam et Josaphat’, in *Les Troubadours*, p. 1069.

A cognoistre et amer les choses

Ou toutes douceurs sont enclosez. (*MND* version, 327-30, emphasis mine)⁹

Translation is similarly at the heart of these texts, and yet is not portrayed as one of their central themes. All of these versions of *Barlaam et Josaphat* are derived via translation from previous forms of the legend. Donald S. Lopez Jr. and Peggy McCracken's book *In Search of the Christian Buddha: How an Asian Sage Became a Medieval Saint* traces the legend's complex history of transmission and translation. Due to erroneous manuscript attributions, medieval Europe believed the narrative to have been composed in Greek in the seventh or eighth century, by Saint John of Damascus, while he was at the Monastery of St. Sabas near Jerusalem.¹⁰ However, since the late nineteenth century, a series of scholarly discoveries have proved beyond doubt that the narrative transmission of *Barlaam and Josaphat* is much more complex and ancient. The Greek text in fact dates from the late tenth or eleventh century, and it was translated from the ninth- or tenth-century Georgian version, entitled the *Balavariani*.¹¹ Moreover, the *Balavariani* was translated from the Arabic version: *Bilawhar and Būdhāsaf*.¹²

These translations from Arabic to Georgian, and from Georgian to Greek, were carried out by Georgian monks in Jerusalem.¹³ From the stock catalogue of a tenth-century Baghdadi bookshop, we know that the Arabic *Bilawhar and Būdhāsaf* was composed probably by the late eighth century, and certainly before the tenth century.¹⁴ *Bilawhar and*

⁹ All numbers in brackets after references to the *MND* version refer to line numbers in the 'Miracle de Barlaam et Josaphat', in *Miracles de Nostre Dame par personnages, publiés d'après le manuscrit de la Bibliothèque nationale par Gaston Paris et Ulysse Robert*, ed. by Gaston Paris and Ulysse Robert, Société des anciens textes français, 3 (Paris: Firmin Diderot, 1878), pp. 241-304. The only exception to this is when the prose sermon which is interpolated in the play is quoted. When this is quoted, the numbers in brackets refer to page numbers in the same edition, as the prose sermon is not given line numbers.

¹⁰ Lopez Jr. and McCracken, p. 127.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 95, 130.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 122.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 94.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 55.

Būdhāsaf was translated from a Pahlavi (Middle Persian) translation of the Buddha's life, which, although now lost, is the most likely source for the Arabic version of *Barlaam and Josaphat*.¹⁵ The scholarly consensus is that Indian Buddhist texts, including biographies of the Buddha written down during the first centuries of the Common Era, were disseminated internationally via the trading routes known as the Silk Road.¹⁶ Many were translated into Pahlavi once they reached the Sassanian empire in what is present-day Iran.¹⁷

So *Barlaam and Josaphat* was known in many forms and languages throughout the first millennium, including in Indian Buddhist biographies, a Middle Persian narrative, Arabic ascetic texts, a Georgian Christianised text, and a Greek theologised version.¹⁸ However, all western European vernacular versions from the Middle Ages, except the Hebrew one, are descended either from the popular second Latin translation of *Barlaam and Josaphat*, or from the *Legenda Aurea* (*Golden Legend*) version.¹⁹ While the first Latin translation from Greek was made in 1047 or 1048 by monks in Amalfi who were in close contact with Byzantium, this version survives in only one manuscript and does not seem to have been translated.²⁰ In contrast, a later translation, probably from the twelfth century, had a vast diffusion, surviving in sixty-two manuscripts and becoming one of the bases for subsequent Latin versions and for vernacular translation.²¹ In the thirteenth century, Jacobus de Voragine included an abridged version in Latin in his *Legenda Aurea* or *Golden Legend* of c. 1260, in which he follows the plot of the Greek version.²² This was the second basis for other Latin versions and for vernacular translation.²³

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 54.

¹⁶ Ibid., pp. 14, 55.

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 54.

¹⁸ Ibid., pp. 14, 54, 55, 57, 61, 133.

¹⁹ Ibid., pp. 137, 139, 143, 170. Prior to his death in 1240, Abraham ibn Ḥasdāy, a prodigious translator from Barcelona, adapted an unidentified Arabic version of *Bilawhar and Būdhāsaf* into Hebrew. This is *Ben ham-melekh we-han-hazir*, or *The Book of the Prince and the Hermit*. See *ibid.*, pp. 170-71, 240.

²⁰ Ibid., p. 137.

²¹ Ibid.

²² Ibid., p. 139.

²³ Ibid., p. 143.

However, while we know that they are affiliated to the Latin traditions of the narrative, neither the Anglo-Norman nor the Occitan version in my corpus was translated from an identifiable source text.²⁴ The version of *Barlaam et Josaphat* in the *MND* is based on the *Legenda Aurea*, yet only follows it loosely, omitting many details and adding the Marian sections.²⁵ Furthermore, Chardri may be identified as the author of the Anglo-Norman version, but the Occitan and *MND* versions are anonymous. In the case of the *MND*, not only are all the plays by unnamed authors, but up to twenty adaptors would have been involved in composition, and the surviving manuscript is not an original transcription of the performances but a later copy.²⁶

In spite of the fact that the material in all of the texts has therefore been considerably reworked from any putative sources, no mention is made in any of them of translating or using pre-existing works. Chardri foregrounds his own act of creation, evoking a poetics of memory similar to that of Marie de France as he expresses his desire to ‘mettre en memoire | D’un bel enfant la duce vie’ (Anglo-Norman version, 8-9). This desire to memorialise is a frequent trope in Anglo-Norman hagiography. It echoes the techniques of other *vies*, such as that of Saint Lawrence, written to help its patroness remember the details of Lawrence’s life:

Ceste ovre faz que ci conmenz

²⁴ Lavaud and Nelli (eds and trans), ‘Introduction’, in ‘Le Roman spirituel de Barlaam et Josaphat’, in *Les Troubadours*, p. 1068; Elisabeth Schulze-Busacker, ‘Chardri, un poète anglo-normand méconnu’, in *L’Art de la philologie : mélanges en l’honneur de Leena Löfstedt*, ed. by Juhani Harmä, Elina Suomela-Härma, and Olli Välikangas, Mémoires de la Société néophilologique de Helsinki, 70 (Helsinki: Société Néophilologique, 2007), pp. 239-50 (p. 240).

²⁵ Marguerite Stadler-Honegger, *Étude sur les ‘Miracles de Notre-Dame par personnages’* (Paris: Slatkine, 1926; repr. Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1975), pp. 65-66; Pierre Kunstmann, ‘The Virgin’s Mediation: Evolution and Transformation of the Motif’, in *Parisian Confraternity Drama*, ed. and trans. by Donald Maddox and Sara Sturm-Maddox, pp. 163-78 (p. 164); Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*, trans. by William Granger Ryan, with an introduction by Eamon Duffy (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012), pp. 741-52.

²⁶ Olivier Collet, ‘The *Miracles de Nostre Dame par personnages* and the Legacy of Gautier de Coinci’, in *Parisian Confraternity Drama*, ed. and trans. by Donald Maddox and Sara Sturm-Maddox, pp. 67-86 (p. 74).

Por une ancele saint Lorenz
 Qui sa passion et s'estoire
 Veut por lui *aveir en memoire*. (emphasis mine)²⁷

The plays of the *MND* start without individual prologues explaining their derivation and circumstances of composition. The Occitan *Barlaam et Josaphat* effaces the voice of the narrator to create a neutral world, removed in time from the narrator's composition and the agency of the narratorial voice which merely recalls that 'en aquel temps [...] esdevenç si que en aquella terra ac un rey que avía nom Avenir' (Occitan version, 145). The presence of an audience is only acknowledged once during the main body of the narrative (Occitan version, 188), and once in the epilogue with its exhorting prayer (Occitan version, 190). The text therefore creates a narrative world ostensibly cut-off from hagiographic sources, and from manuscript composition and transmission.

All the versions of *Barlaam et Josaphat* examined draw heavily on existing models and narratives through translation, without acknowledging any pre-existing sources, even mythical or authoritative. However, the importance of translation in the texts goes far beyond the use of hagiographic sources. Non-textual forms of transposition and translation are also crucial to these works. Although not overtly discussed, translation in all its forms permeates the narratives, from the physical translation of relics to intradiegetic linguistic translation, in the form of citation and paraphrase of Scripture.

The Occitan text of *Barlaam et Josaphat* draws heavily on translated vernacular paraphrase of and reference to the Scriptures throughout. This occurs particularly during several narrative episodes: the conversations between Barlaam and Josaphat that lead to the prince's conversion; the disputation; Nacor's conversion; the debate about marriage; and Josaphat's conversions of his people and father. In contrast, in the Anglo-Norman

²⁷ *La Vie de saint Laurent: An Anglo-Norman Poem of the Twelfth Century*, ed. by D. W. Russell (London: Anglo-Norman Text Society, 1976), p. 22.

version, the translated vernacular references to Scripture are omitted. This is in keeping with the overtly popular bent of the narrator, who sets up his 'respit', (or, in modern French, 'récit'), in direct opposition to clerical learning. He intends his work to correct lay behaviour:

Ceo ad l'en suvente feiz veu
 Ke genz sunt par un respit
 Amendez plus ke par l'escrit
 Austin u de seint Gregoire
 Pur ceo voil mettre en memoire
 D'un bel enfant la duce vie. (Anglo-Norman version, 4-9)

Despite not overtly reflecting on linguistic translation, Chardri uses the word 'translatiun' to discuss the ritual movement of Barlaam and Josaphat's relics (Anglo-Norman version, 2907). Even in the succinct *MND* version of *Barlaam et Josaphat*, there are a limited number of scriptural quotations and references. In all three versions, somatic translation is crucial, in the form of physical re-enactments and reinterpretations of biblical and hagiographic injunctions. Somatic translation is discussed further in part IV of this chapter, which deals with translation as a form of spiritual searching and creation.

Thus translation is fundamentally important in these texts, in terms of their broad subject matter (the ancient legend of Barlaam and Josaphat), details of their narratives (such as scriptural references and somatic translation of existing holy texts), and the veracity of the sanctity they seek to bolster (the translation of relics and attendant miracles). Furthermore, translations can be used and read in many different ways in each text. In its different forms, translation can figure either as a means to evangelise and prove the truths of Christianity, or as a method of shoring up sanctity, or as a way to legitimise

the text's religious content. These religious uses of translation are closely linked to the characters' search for salvation in the narratives, which, as we have seen, is tied to physical and metaphorical forms of travel. This is one of the reasons why translation and travel are so important and so interlinked in these versions of *Barlaam et Josaphat*.

Part III – Textual Communities

Brian Stock's notion of 'textual community' has become a touchstone for discussions of medieval textuality among literary historians. Stock has shown that, from the eleventh century onwards, Europe's rising rate of literacy and textual production, combined with networks of microsocieties (as opposed to national macrosocieties), created fertile ground for the growth of 'textual communities'.²⁸ These communities were 'types of microsocieties organized around the common understanding of a text'.²⁹ The archetypal examples outlined by Stock are religious groups, particularly heretical and reformist ones, and guilds.³⁰ Such groups were engaged in the study of texts, either through reading or listening, 'for the ultimate purpose of changing the behaviour of the individual or the group'.³¹ These textual communities were so important as they created new texts, and because they reinterpreted textual norms in their lives.

One case-study Stock gives is that of the religious dissident Valdès, founder of the Waldensian movement in twelfth-century Lyon. Valdès was literate, but, not knowing Latin, was unable to access Scripture directly. To improve his understanding of the Bible, he commissioned translations into the vernacular. He and his followers valued the study of

²⁸ Brian Stock, 'History, Literature, and Medieval Textuality', *Yale French Studies*, 70 (1986), 7-17 (pp. 9-12). See also Brian Stock, *Listening for the Text: On the Uses of the Past* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1996), particularly Chapter I entitled 'History, Literature, Textuality', pp. 16-29.

²⁹ Stock, 'History, Literature, and Medieval Textuality', p. 12.

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ *Ibid.*

vernacular biblical texts as a means to live a holier life.³² This is an example of how textual communities were involved in literary creation. Because Valdès understood the vernacular, but not the Latin of Scripture, he had the Bible translated: 'linguistic disjunction brought about the production of a new text'.³³

Stock explains how Valdès and his followers reinterpreted textual norms in their lives by re-enacting, consciously and subconsciously, textual models which they valued. These models included hagiographic ones, such as the *Life of Saint Alexis*, and scriptural ones, such as the apostolic injunction to poverty and itinerant preaching.³⁴ These textual models were not always straightforward sources to be emulated, however, but rather 'a network of expectations [...] in his contemporaries' minds', and so a set of background conventions that indirectly shaped and helped interpret behaviour.³⁵ Valdès's conversion shows the extent to which experience in such a context is textualised. Firstly, as discussed, Valdès's behaviour reflects textual precedents, to the extent that 'it is impossible to separate Valdès's actions from the unconscious reflection of earlier lives, texts, and models'.³⁶ Secondly, Valdès's conversion itself functions as a 'reflective text', because 'the recodification of behaviour by someone consciously reliving an earlier text constitutes a new text'.³⁷ The individual in whom Stock is interested is usually religious, such as 'the early medieval saint' or 'the later heterodox reformer'.³⁸ This individual textualises his/her experience in living in response to previously encountered textual models, and by experiencing a living textuality in which his/her experiences constitute a rewriting in themselves.³⁹ In this way, they concretise 'the latent discourse'.⁴⁰

³² Stock, 'History, Literature, and Medieval Textuality', pp. 12-14.

³³ Ibid., p. 15.

³⁴ Ibid., pp. 13-16.

³⁵ Ibid., p. 15.

³⁶ Ibid., p. 16.

³⁷ Ibid., pp. 15-16.

³⁸ Ibid., p. 17.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

Mary Carruthers makes a similar point in her work on how medieval readers memorised and recast texts. Carruthers cites an example in which Petrarch's literary avatar, Francesco, reads Virgil, and incorporates the Classical author's writings into his own autobiographical work. Carruthers argues that 'Virgil's words, having been [...] digested, and familiarized by Francesco through *meditatio*, have now become *his* words as they cue the representational processes of his recollection [...] the student of the text [...] by re-experiencing it in memory, has become not its interpreter, but its new author, or re-author'.⁴¹ Thus social interaction and bonding are textually influenced, texts are used to form communities, and behaviour can be textual in itself, because it can both re-enact a text, and be described in written words to create a new text in its own right.

Stock's ideas are relevant to the texts in my corpus, which arguably embody archetypal examples of textual communities. However, the precise nature of the textual communities in the works in my corpus differs from Stock's original definition of this term. As we have seen, Stock conceives of textual communities as 'types of microsocieties organized around the common understanding of a text'.⁴² I propose to widen this definition in relation to the texts considered in this chapter. Thinking of textual communities as groups organised around a shared definition of a text works extremely well in a historical context, for example with religious dissidents, who might share a certain group interpretation of a doctrinal or holy text. However, in terms of literary works, it is rare to see a textual community, whether intra- or extradiegetic, interpreting the text unanimously, as witnessed by the vociferous literary *querelles* of the later medieval period.

Instead, I suggest that two distinct textual communities most commonly occur in medieval literary works of this era and location. The first is the intradiegetic grouping of the characters. The second is the extradiegetic grouping of authorial voices and audience: the

⁴¹ Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture*, 2nd edn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), p. 210.

⁴² Stock, 'History, Literature, and Medieval Textuality', p. 12.

implied audience addressed by the textual voices of author, scribe, and narrator. The intradiegetic grouping of the characters use texts as a basis for their behaviour and to shape their acts. It is the account of their experiences that makes up the text we read. The extradiegetic grouping, of the implied audience with the textual voices of author, scribe, and narrator, is linked through the authorial/scribal/narratorial voices, which demand attentive listening and reformed behaviour from their auditors and readers.

Both of these groupings were engaged in the study of texts to change the behaviour of themselves and others, as Stock specifies. All of the texts in the corpus seek to inspire improved Christian moral behaviour in their audiences. As we have seen, through his text, Chardri hopes to ameliorate the behaviour of his audience (Anglo-Norman version, 4-11). He even includes himself in this group which needs reforming, claiming that he writes 'Pur esturper la grant folie | *U nus delitum e nut e jur*' (Anglo-Norman version, 10-11, emphasis mine). Such an act of solidarity reinforces the bonds in the textual community he has created between himself, the narrating voice, and the audience.

The use of the first person plural in the explicit of the Occitan *Barlaam et Josaphat* achieves a similar effect: 'a Dieu queram per sa merce que [...] vos, que.l legis et l'escoutas, nos tenga pron per sa vertut e per l'amor de Barlam et de Jozaphas' (Occitan version, 190). Here, the narratorial voice wants those who have studied the text, either through reading or listening, to be inspired to pray to God ('a Dieu queram'). Yet this voice seeks also to influence God's behaviour, on account of the cult of Barlaam and Josaphat, of which this text is a part ('que [...] nos tenga pron [...] per l'amor de Barlam et de Jozaphas').

The plays of the *MND* considered in this chapter do not contain exhortations to the audience, as this would intrude on the dramatic scenario. However, their generic classification, as Marian miracle plays, automatically provides a set of expectations for the audiences. Their very presence at the performance, or their reading of the text, implies a participation in this cult, whether as a believer and/or as an analytical observer. Moreover,

the manuscript collection of the *MND* creates a textual community out of the professional, social, and religious societies of the guild and confraternity.

It is not just the extradiegetic audience members, and authors, narrators, and scribes who study the texts of our corpus to change their behaviour; the intradiegetic groupings of characters all participate in the study of texts to ameliorate their actions too. This textual study can be inferred from their behaviour, as they relive existing textual sources and ideas. One example of such an internal textual community is formed by the persecuted Christians in all three versions of *Barlaam et Josaphat*. Although they are not portrayed as listening to or reading the Bible, it would be impossible for them to understand and practice Christianity fully without having some access to Scripture, whether directly, or mediated through preaching. As such, they form a textual community centred around the Bible, which they use to change their lives, living as penitent recluses, rather than as lay citizens of King Avenis's land.

Barlaam and Josaphat themselves are never represented as reading or listening to holy texts in any of the versions considered. However, in the Occitan version, they both show exceptionally detailed knowledge of the Bible. This is demonstrated through biblical references, paraphrases, and even translations of the Vulgate into the vernacular. For example, Barlaam cites Daniel 4. 24, saying: 'si con dis la propheta Daniel al rey de Babilonia: "Rey, per aquo ti plassan los mieus consels: rezem tos peccatz e las iniquitatz amb almornas que fassas als paures"' (Occitan version, 159). With slight omissions, this quotes in translation Daniel 4. 24 from the Latin Vulgate almost word for word.⁴³ There are more than forty exact references to identifiable Bible verses. These are included alongside innumerable references to scriptural history more generally, such as Barlaam's retelling of the main tenets of Christianity (Occitan version, 152-53). Moreover, there are countless allusions imbued with the spirit of the Gospels, such as Josaphat's assertion that 'sers suy

⁴³ *Biblia Sacra Vulgata*, ed. by Bonifatius Fischer, rev. by Robert Weber, 3rd edn (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1994), p. 1353.

de Ihesu Crist e non dopti mort ni turment, ni non laysaray mon bon Senhor per negun plag' (Occitan version, 172).

For the purpose of elucidating the nature of textual communities in the work, these citations and references are important because they show that Barlaam and Josaphat form an internal textual partnership based on use of the Bible passages they have studied. We may never see the pair reading or listening to the Bible, but we see them variously studying and using biblical texts in oral and practical ways. Indirect references to knowledge of written holy texts are made. For example, Nacor and Josaphat authorise their arguments based on textual precedents, using phrases such as 'ben consc de motas escripturas', or 'escrig es en l'Avangeli' (Occitan version, 175). Remembering holy texts which one has heard is compared to seeing words, and is therefore similar to reading: '*regardar la paraula de salut que hac auzida*' (Occitan version, 181, emphasis mine). This fascinating phrase implies a visualisation of scriptural passages, remembered after listening to them during a recitation or sermon, rather than reading. This supports Stock's assertion that textual communities were often formed around non-direct aural access to texts.⁴⁴

Indeed spiritual inspiration itself is based on aural familiarity with holy texts, as Josaphat says to Barlaam: 'Recorda mi [...] la divina escriptura per so que lo corage de mi yssia plus ardens' (Occitan version, 165). Later we are told of Josaphat that 'en las paraulas de Dieu era la soa meditacions' (Occitan version, 176), again implying memory-based revision of holy texts. These holy words absorbed by Josaphat and Barlaam influence their way of life and behaviour. For instance, Josaphat meditates and draws on biblical references during the disputation with his father. Arguing that Josaphat should apostatise because he wills it, Avenis puts forward the Old Testament tenet of honouring your parents, 'non saps tu que mot es grans ben e lauzor obezir a sson payre?' (Occitan version, 172). Yet Josaphat prays and meditates on at least three different Old and New Testament

⁴⁴ Stock, 'History, Literature, and Medieval Textuality', p. 12.

passages to counter effectively his father's argument with Jesus's philosophy that 'non vengui pas metre en terra mas glazi; vengui departir lo payre del filh' (Occitan version, 172).

It is not just Josaphat and Barlaam's behaviour in such disputations that is influenced by the text of the Bible, but their whole way of life. Thus Josaphat in the desert lives an 'evangelial vida', which is validated by the approval of heavenly messengers and Barlaam's soul in a spiritual vision (Occitan version, 189). Textual community and translation come together here. The characters base their behaviour on citations, references, and paraphrases of holy texts (itself a form of somatic translation), which they access in the oral vernacular (through linguistic translation). The characters' shared behaviour, which utilises textual models, binds together the textual community of which they form a part. Their uses of somatic translation will be considered more extensively in part IV of this chapter on translation.

While the greatest emphasis placed on scriptural knowledge is in the Occitan *Barlaam et Josaphat*, Chardri's version also indirectly portrays the two protagonists studying texts to reform themselves. Direct references to Scripture are rare, but occasionally present. For example, Avenir's conversion is figured through the trope of the parable of the Prodigal Son: 'Car deu ama tant l'enfant | Kel pere ne vout estre perdant' (Anglo-Norman version, 2415-16). This cleverly refers directly to the sinner represented by the figure of the Prodigal Son, as God the Father did not want to lose the child he loved, but also indirectly to Avenir, as God loved Avenir's son Josaphat so much that he did not want Josaphat's father to be lost.

Referring to redemption, Chardri argues that 'Jhesu lur mustra la veie | [...] Desk'a la vie pardurable' (Anglo-Norman version, 51, 54). While this 'veie' may be Jesus's words and life, the records of those which make them known to Chardri, his characters, and his audience, are texts contained in the Bible. Because of this, while Barlaam and Josaphat are never depicted reading or listening to holy texts, and Chardri never exhorts his audience to

do so, the Bible is the foundation of Barlaam and Josaphat's faith. Chardri privileges the practical enactment of biblical principles, as befits his address to an audience explicitly unconcerned with patristic writings and focused instead on applications of the Gospel messages (Anglo-Norman version, 4-9), which Chardri includes in this 'respit' or 'exemplum' (Anglo-Norman version, 5).⁴⁵ This further corroborates Stock's assertion that access to a text in a textual community did not have to be through reading: 'the minimal requirement was just one literate, the *interpre*, who understood a set of texts and was able to pass his message on verbally to others'.⁴⁶ Thus Barlaam teaches Josaphat orally about Scripture and faith:

mut ben l'aprist

De la doctrine e del amur

Jhesu. (Anglo-Norman version, 2736-39)

Verbal access to texts is also privileged in the *MND* version. Josaphat and Barlaam are never depicted reading, but Barlaam is converted, and therefore able to convert Josaphat, after hearing a sermon on Matthew 3. 2 and Wisdom 15. 15.⁴⁷ Through oral access to these texts and to the preacher's glossing of them, Barlaam undertakes radical changes in his behaviour. He resolves to adore God, renounce all worldly goods, move to a hermitage, undertake mortifying penance, and convert to Christianity (*MND* version, 79-85). This is in distinct contrast to his previous role as the King's closest idol-worshipping advisor at court (*MND* version, 158-59). There are also indirect references to knowledge of written Scripture, as when Barlaam, telling the king about Christianity, explains that he has

⁴⁵ Definitions of all Anglo-Norman words are taken from *The Anglo-Norman Dictionary*: <<http://www.anglo-norman.net>> [accessed 2 December 2013].

⁴⁶ Stock, *Listening for the Text*, p. 23.

⁴⁷ The sermon is a prose insertion, the lines of which are not numbered. It occurs on pp. 245-47 of the 'Miracle de Barlaam et Josaphat', in *Miracles de Notre Dame par personnages*. The biblical texts on which the sermon is based are in the *Biblia Sacra Vulgata*, pp. 1529, 1021-22.

textual authority: 'se dit l'escrpt' (*MND* version, 331). Later, Josaphat paraphrases Ecclesiastes 3. 8 (*MND* version, 1098-1101).⁴⁸ Théodas even argues that pagan books reveal Christian truth, espousing the philosophy of the author of the *Ovide Moralisé* (*MND* version, 1657-58). In all three versions of *Barlaam et Josaphat*, the two protagonists' textual community based on Scripture enables them to convert almost all of those around them: Nacor, Théodas, King Avenis, and eventually the whole kingdom. Thus these intradiegetic Christian textual micro-communities ultimately change the behaviour of all the characters in the wider community portrayed in the text.

Yet the Christians in these three works, following the model outlined by Stock, do not just create textual communities based on the study of texts to change their behaviour. They also create a living textuality through their experiences, which enact textual models. In all three versions, the various Christian textual communities create a 'reflective text' through their lives in two ways.⁴⁹ Firstly, their lived experiences, which draw so heavily on textual precedents, are equivalent to a rewriting, a new text in their own right. Because, as Stock explains, 'the recodification of someone consciously reliving an earlier text constitutes a new text'.⁵⁰ Secondly, these lived experiences are turned into the texts accessed by the audience. So, both the characters' lives, and the codicological units which relate these lives to us, constitute two forms of 'reflective texts' born from the lived experiences of the intradiegetic Christian communities.⁵¹

All three versions contain ample examples of their characters rewriting existing texts through their behaviour. In the Anglo-Norman, Josaphat and Barlaam's behaviour

⁴⁸ *Biblia Sacra Vulgata*, p. 989.

⁴⁹ 'Reflective text' is Stock's term: 'History, Literature, and Medieval Textuality', p. 15.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

⁵¹ If these works on the lives of Barlaam and Josaphat are read as fictional, then clearly the characters' experiences are not considered to be lived or factual. However, I refer to them as lived because the three versions examined here present their narratives as truthful. Thus, within the narratives of the texts themselves, the characters' experiences are presented as real. My analysis depends on the texts themselves, rather than on whether Barlaam and Josaphat really existed and lived in the way described.

throughout rewrites biblical precedents and narratives. For example, just as Jesus was tempted by the Devil and by privation in the desert, so Josaphat undergoes an analogous testing episode: ‘sufri temptatiuns asez | E de sa char e des maufez’ (Anglo-Norman version, 2695-96). Yet this period of wandering in the desert also reflects John the Baptist’s extreme ascetic lifestyle, as, just like the New Testament prophet, Josaphat ‘vesqui d’erbe e de racine’ (Anglo-Norman version, 2692). On another level, through his desert experiences, Josaphat is rewriting previous hagiographic narratives, by emulating the lives of hermit saints such as the Desert Fathers. One of these, Saint Anthony of Egypt, is explicitly compared to Josaphat. This occurs as the young prince relives, and in the process rewrites, the extreme wilderness asceticism and devilish temptations of his saintly model:

Unkes Antoine le bon ermite,

Plus ne sufri par grant merite,

Cum l’enfant sufri adunkes. (Anglo-Norman version, 2697-99)⁵²

Josaphat’s experiences in the Occitan version similarly create a new text which rewrites biblical and hagiographic precedents, such as Saint Anthony’s life. Although Anthony is not explicitly mentioned in the Occitan, he is indirectly referenced as Josaphat is tempted in the desert when the Devil appears to him in the form of frightening wild beasts, just as he did for Anthony: ‘en diversas formas de bestias venia sobre el, e fazia semblant que.l volgues devorar’ (Occitan version, 187).

We have seen that Chardri’s version advocates a Christianity adapted to a lay environment, in which salvation is held up as an achievable prize: ‘poum par un petit labour | Itant gainer a chef de tur’ (Anglo-Norman version, 2927-28). In marked opposition to this, the Occitan version espouses extremely high levels of ascetic commitment. Barlaam

⁵² For details of the life of Saint Anthony, see his entry in David Hugh Farmer, *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints*, 2nd edn (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979), pp. 19-20.

and Josaphat are highly focused on reliving and rewriting the apostolic injunctions of the New Testament. Barlaam instructs Josaphat not just in Christianity, but in an apostolic mission:

nostre Senher mezeys dis: “Neguns homs non pot a .ij. senhors servir: non pot hom Dieu servir ni las manentias”. E per ayso li benehurat amix de nostre Senhor dezamparavan lurs possessions e lurs parens e lurs amix, neys els mezeys [...] aquil ploravan nueg e jorn e velhavan, dejunavan et oravan e laoravon, et fugian als peccatz et als vicis [...]. E sels que volon recemblar los amix de Dieu, coven que mesprezon lo segle et aco i es, car tot es vanetat. (Occitan version, 156)

The movement that this lifestyle involves is interesting, because the apostolic flight recommended here results in extensive travel for the characters. For example, it is because of his extreme apostolic and ascetic commitment that Josaphat travels for two years in the desert before settling there with Barlaam.

Josaphat and Barlaam’s reinterpretation of the apostolic mission goes beyond giving up all worldly goods and family ties, and living as isolated hermits. It also involves extensive preaching, which is atypical because neither Barlaam nor Josaphat are ordained. Preaching by unordained believers was common during the early days of Christianity. However, although the *vida* is set during this period, it was written at a time when unlicensed preaching was a contentious issue in the Church. This was especially so in the Occitan-speaking regions, an area still recovering from the Albigensian Crusade and partially controlled by the Inquisition. In this context, it is interesting that the Occitan version does not contain more orthodox representations of preaching, such as those in the

MND version, in which Barlaam is converted by a preacher who quotes the Bible in Latin, suggesting he has had ecclesiastical training.

It is also noteworthy that such stress is put on the importance of a preaching mission in the Occitan version. Barlaam echoes Jesus's exhortation to his disciples to evangelise by claiming that the right to preach comes from God, rather than from the Church: 'lo Salvaire [...] nos preziquet e.ns fay prezicar' (Occitan version, 155). He acknowledges that his conversations with Josaphat are preaching sessions: 'la mieua petita predicacion' (Occitan version, 158). Barlaam not only views the right to preach as God-given, but even assimilates his preaching to the words preached by Jesus: 'la divina predicacion [...] aquesta glorioza predicacion que yeu ti suy vengutz mostrar' (Occitan version, 159). Josaphat in turn copies his master's imitation of the Apostles' behaviour, as he converts his subjects through sermonising: 'preziquet lur lo sant Evangeli' (Occitan version, 183). I therefore argue that, as a poor hermit, Barlaam re-enacts the radical democratisation of speech which is associated in the text with the New Testament Christians:

nostre Senhor Dieus per maor miracles e per major honor regardet si als pescadors et a vils homes, et aquilh preziqueron e diyseron tant de ben, que.l sen e la vos e la paraula d'aquels fon auzida et esandida per totas las terras. (Occitan version, 181)

In the Occitan, Josaphat and Barlaam also value individual reasoning as a means of inspiring faith. For example, Josaphat asks Barlaam whether the religion he has explained to him is not just good but the optimum way to obtain salvation: 'ayso vuelh que.n digas: si aquesta doctrina [...] a tu es vejeyre que sia melhor ad ops de salut?' (Occitan version, 159). Furthermore, critical thought, or 'eyes of thought', are posited as the key to correct

reception of Scripture and doctrine, as ‘sel que ten claus los huels de la pensa non pot nulla cauza en ben recebre’ (Occitan version, 159). The protagonists also use unscripted prayer (as opposed to formulaic prayers such as The Lord’s Prayer), as a way of accessing spiritual benefits. Barlaam, Josaphat, and Avenis are all depicted saying free prayers, which are rewarded by God.

When Josaphat prays for help, thinking Barlaam has been captured, ‘nostre Senher [...] los conforta [...] de la sieua gratia e de la sieua vertut’ (Occitan version, 170). On another occasion during prayer, Josaphat experiences ‘la divina conselhacion de nostre Senhor’ (Occitan version, 172). These instances of critical reasoning as regards faith, and of unscripted prayer, again reflect New Testament episodes, for example when John the Baptist’s disciples question Jesus as to whether he is not just a teacher but the Messiah, or when Jesus and his disciples pray freely in the Garden of Gethsemane.⁵³ They therefore represent another facet of the intradiegetic Christian textual communities’ living textuality, as they relive and rewrite apostolic texts.

Similar instances of imitation and rewriting occur in the *MND* version of *Barlaam et Josaphat*. Here, Barlaam also preaches like the Apostles, as Josaphat congratulates him, saying ‘bien la m’avez sceu preschier’ (*MND* version, 905). Barlaam likewise rewrites the experiences of the early hermits and Desert Fathers by living in his desert hermitage. Yet the version in the *MND* is more similar to the Anglo-Norman text, in that its Christian characters rewrite biblical and hagiographic narrative precedents more generally, rather than specific apostolic injunctions. For example, Barlaam explains that Josaphat can keep his faith while living in his princely tower (*MND* version, 901-03), and Josaphat may come to place high levels of ascetic demands on himself, retreating to the desert in the end, but this is not posited as essential for faith. In a departure from previous versions, when Josaphat is tempted by the girl possessed by the devil, he prays to the Virgin, who appears

⁵³ Matthew 11. 2-3; 26. 36-46 — *Biblia Sacra Vulgata*, pp. 1541, 1569.

and comforts him (*MND* version, 1504-88). In this episode, Josaphat relives and reinterprets previous versions of his *vita* and Marian miracle literature.

Part IV – Translation as Spiritual Searching and Creation

Applying an adapted model of Stock's textual communities to these works, I have drawn out how characters, authors, narrators, and scribes relive and rewrite previously existing texts and textual models. I have shown that this is facilitated by translation: of scriptural and hagiographic sources, of textualised codes of behaviour, and of saintly bodies. Now the literary creation and translation behind the formation of these textual communities demand to be studied in their own right. This is particularly the case because this translation's presentation as rewriting can, for a modern reader, mask its medieval reality as not just a retelling but also a form of literary invention.

When we considered how the textual communities in the three versions of *Barlaam et Josaphat* responded to the biblical and hagiographic texts they reflect and rewrite, we saw that each of them creates very different 'reflective texts', despite ostensibly retelling the same hagiographic legend. The Occitan version presents faith in the lives of its characters as a highly demanding ascetic commitment, based on rigorous education, monastic *meditatio* on scriptural episodes and moral paradigms, and obligatory withdrawal from the world. This model is not unusual, given that there are many saints in other hagiographic texts in Occitan and French who espouse similar ways of life. What is exceptional about the Occitan text is that it suggests that this saintly pattern is a Christian model in a broad sense, as saints and lay believers alike are depicted living in this way. It is unusual for a text to promote this way of life as that which all Christians should adopt. It is

also rare for so many Christians in the same narrative to live as hermits (except in tales of the Desert Fathers), especially so many new lay converts.⁵⁴

We have seen that the Occitan text draws extensively on vernacular citations, paraphrases, and glosses of the Scriptures, and that it stresses an apostolic lifestyle and preaching as a means to salvation. This in itself is not remarkable, considering that the legend is set at a time when Christianity was a relatively new faith: the medieval West considered that in the early days of Christianity, spreading the Good News was seen as the duty of all true believers, including women.⁵⁵ It is also typical of certain religious tendencies of the eleventh to the fourteenth centuries, during which ‘insistence on the “truly apostolic life” responded to a widespread urge and sentiment affecting Western Christianity’.⁵⁶ During the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, this model developed to include Christological as well as apostolic imitation.⁵⁷ But these tendencies shaped both orthodox and heterodox religious practices, because both grew out of differing interpretations of the same Scriptures.⁵⁸ In light of this, it is important to evaluate the ways in which the Occitan *Barlaam et Josaphat*, and the codex in which it is contained, might be reacting to or reflecting this contemporary religious ambiguity, in order to consider the literary implications of such religious thought.

In her edition of the Occitan *Barlaam et Josaphat*, Radaelli extensively analyses the linguistic and literary evidence of the manuscript in which the Occitan text is preserved, alongside its historical context.⁵⁹ The linguistic qualities of the text are examined within this broader context. Radaelli also scrutinises in depth the manuscript’s decorative programme.

⁵⁴ Barlaam, Josaphat, Nacor, and Théodas all live as hermits. In addition, an unnamed hermit baptises Nacor and Théodas, Barlaam lives with other hermits at the start of the narrative, and an anonymous hermit directs Josaphat to Barlaam’s area of the desert.

⁵⁵ According to Jacobus de Voragine’s *The Golden Legend*, Saint Mary Magdalene supposedly evangelised Provence (pp. 731-34).

⁵⁶ Caterina Bruschi, *The Wandering Heretics of Languedoc* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), p. 104.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 104.

⁵⁹ See pp. 9-140 in Radaelli’s edition of the text.

Radaelli concludes that the model from which the antecedent of the version of *Barlaam et Josaphat* contained in this manuscript was derived was from the Hérault Orientale area.⁶⁰

This is now in the region of Languedoc-Roussillon-Midi-Pyrénées. Radaelli contends that the manuscript containing the text we have today, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS fonds français 1049, was copied in Eastern Provence.⁶¹ The scribe who wrote it was probably from the diocese of Marseille.⁶² The compilation of the entire manuscript was carried out somewhere between Aix and Marseille.⁶³

The *terminus ad quem* established by Radaelli for the narrative of *Barlaam et Josaphat* in this manuscript is 1343, while she places the *terminus ad quem* of the manuscript as a whole at 1345.⁶⁴ Radaelli shows that the codex is coloured by the first Angevin dynasty of Provence, under whose rule it was produced.⁶⁵ Radaelli creates a convincing case for the manuscript embodying Spiritual Franciscan values. The links between the last inheritors of the first Angevin house of Provence and the Franciscans were strong from 1290 onwards.⁶⁶ Angevin rulers in Provence repeatedly sponsored Franciscan building projects, and Robert of Naples wrote a Latin treatise in support of the type of evangelical poverty advocated within the Franciscan movement at this time.⁶⁷ Prince Louis, son of Charles II, the King of Naples and Count of Provence, became a Franciscan Friar and was canonised.⁶⁸ This saintly prince is addressed in another text in the codex.⁶⁹ Two characters, including a king, are depicted in illustrations in the codex (both

⁶⁰ Radaelli (ed.), 'Datazione, localizzazione, modello del *Libre de Barlam et de Josaphat*', in *Il 'Libre de Barlam et de Josaphat'*, pp. 129-40 (p. 131).

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 129.

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 130.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 131.

⁶⁴ Radaelli (ed.), 'Il manoscritto Paris, BnF, fr. 1049', in *Il 'Libre de Barlam et de Josaphat'*, pp. 23-62 (pp. 23, 48).

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 51.

⁶⁶ Radaelli (ed.), 'La raccolta: un <<codice francescano>>', in *Il 'Libre de Barlam et de Josaphat'*, pp. 63-85 (p. 63).

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 74-76.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 63-64.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 65.

outside of the narrative of *Barlaam et Josaphat*) wearing Franciscan habits.⁷⁰ Within the narrative of *Barlaam et Josaphat*, Josaphat could be read as a figure for Prince Louis, as both men renounce their crowns to live extreme ascetic lives.⁷¹

Radaelli shows that some texts in the codex, including the Occitan *Barlaam et Josaphat*, were read not just by Franciscans but also by contemporary Beguins in Languedoc and Iberia.⁷² Moreover, in an Occitan-language collection of sermons directed at Beguins, three exempla taken from the story of *Barlaam et Josaphat* are used, proving that the material contained in the narrative was widely disseminated amongst the occitanophone Beguin community.⁷³ Because of the evidence pointing towards Beguin and Franciscan influence on and interest in this codex, and in light of arguments from other scholars, Radaelli rejects any evidence pointing towards a possible Cathar influence on the Occitan *Barlaam et Josaphat*.⁷⁴ The evidence from other scholars considered by Radaelli which leads her to this conclusion suggests primarily that the Occitan version of *Barlaam et Josaphat* cannot be Cathar, because the terminology and ideas it contains which can be read as Cathar occur in other versions of this hagiographic legend in different languages.⁷⁵ Radaelli therefore concludes that the codex was a collection of a corpus of works, thought out by the Beguins, and gathered together by the Franciscans in Provence, specifically in Aix or Marseille, between the 1320s and 1340s.⁷⁶

The Franciscan movement was popular in Occitan-speaking areas.⁷⁷ The attraction of the Occitan *Barlaam et Josaphat* for the fourteenth-century Franciscans in the Occitan-

⁷⁰ Ibid., pp. 68, 70.

⁷¹ Ibid., p. 67.

⁷² Ibid., p. 80.

⁷³ Ibid., p. 81.

⁷⁴ Ibid., pp. 71-72.

⁷⁵ Ibid., pp. 71-73; *Barlam et Jozaphus : roman du XIV^e siècle en langue d'oc (BN. fr. 1049)*, ed. and trans. by Monique Bonnier Pitts, *Annales de l'Institut de langue et littérature d'oc*, 5 (Paris: Presses de l'Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 1989), pp. 235-62; Bräm, p. 126; Raoul Manselli, 'The Legend of Barlaam and Joasaph: In Byzantium and in the Romance Europe', *East and West*, 7.4 (1957), 331-40.

⁷⁶ Radaelli (ed.), 'La raccolta: un <<codice francescano>>', in *Il 'Libre de Barlam et de Josaphat'*, p. 82.

⁷⁷ Jean-Louis Biget, 'Autour de Bernard Délicieux : franciscanisme et société en Languedoc entre 1295 et 1330', *Revue d'histoire de l'Église de France*, 184 (1984), 75-93.

speaking south is undeniable, given the apostolic poverty preached and embraced by Barlaam and Josaphat in the narrative. The protagonists' destitution chimes with debates in the Church of this period, in which some Franciscans pushed for a practice of absolute ecclesiastical poverty in imitation of the Disciples. Moreover, the emphasis in the Occitan *Barlaam et Josaphat* on promoting an ascetic way of life for all, including the laity, aligns with the thought of the Languedocian Franciscan Pierre Jean Olivi. Olivi's model of perfection for all was especially popular in the Midi.⁷⁸ Radaelli stresses that the text's previous editors, Lavaud and Nelli, also saw the potential appeal of the narrative to contemporary Franciscans.⁷⁹ While Radaelli admits that Lavaud and Nelli, who saw the text primarily as a Cathar narrative, also recognised the Franciscan element within it, Radaelli in turn allows that lapsed Cathars may have been involved in radical Franciscan movements of the time.⁸⁰ This has been demonstrated by Jean-Louis Biget, who explains that in the mid- to late-thirteenth century, 'dans le Midi [...], le franciscanisme constitue d'ailleurs la voie la plus suivie par les hérétiques pour leur rentrée dans l'Église'.⁸¹ This sympathy between the two religious groups extended to Franciscan protection of alleged heretics. For example, in 1296 the Franciscans in the monastery of Caracassonne whipped up a mob against the Inquisitors who came to summon people who had taken sanctuary in the monastery, while in 1297 they refused to exhume the body of a presumed heretic buried within their walls.⁸²

In fourteenth-century Occitan-speaking regions, the personnel and aims of such different religious movements as radical Franciscanism, Catharism, and Beguinitism, were at times aligned. Such an ecumenical philosophy was demonstrated by the lives and legacies of some of the most important Franciscans in Occitan-speaking areas. After his death, the Franciscan Pierre Jean Olivi's teachings were followed by a Beguinit community in

⁷⁸ Radaelli (ed.), 'La raccolta: un <<codice francescano>>', in *Il 'Libre de Barlam et de Josaphat'*, p. 79.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 73; Lavaud and Nelli (eds and trans), 'Introduction', in 'Le Roman spirituel de Barlaam et Josaphat', in *Les Troubadours*, p. 1069.

⁸⁰ Radaelli (ed.), 'La raccolta: un <<codice francescano>>', in *Il 'Libre de Barlam et de Josaphat'*, p. 72.

⁸¹ Biget, p. 92.

⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 77.

Languedoc.⁸³ The Franciscan Bernard Délicieux, the lector of the Franciscan establishments of Carcassonne and Narbonne and a travelling preacher, challenged the Inquisition at the highest levels and led ‘une collusion patente entre les hérétiques présumés et les Mineurs’.⁸⁴ This attitude was typical of Franciscans in the south of France at this time, with whose agreement and support Délicieux was able to operate.⁸⁵ As Biget has argued, in fourteenth-century Languedoc, there was ‘une liaison permanente entre les Mineurs et les marges de l’orthodoxie’.⁸⁶ A tolerant attitude towards Cathar and Beguin heresies was also typical of parts of the Franciscan Order in general, as this Order as a whole sometimes defended Délicieux against the Inquisition’s accusations.⁸⁷

Considering the close links between groups of Franciscans, Beguins, and Cathars in the area and era in which the Occitan *Barlaam et Josaphat* was composed, it is helpful to re-evaluate the potential Cathar influences on the text which scholars have recently dismissed. One of the Occitan text’s specificities is its use of vocabulary associated with contemporary religious dissident movements. French cognates of these words are absent from the Anglo-Norman and *Francilien* versions in our corpus. One such term is ‘bons homs’ and its variants, used repeatedly to describe Christians, such as Barlaam (Occitan version, e.g. 150), or Barlaam’s father when he dies a Christian death (Occitan version, 185). Although it literally means the ideologically neutral term ‘good man’, it was a common religiously and politically charged name for Cathars.⁸⁸ Another Cathar term used in the text is ‘conselhacion’ or ‘consolacion’, used twice to describe the divine spiritual comfort Josaphat experiences after sessions of intense unscripted prayer (Occitan version, 172, 178). This is extremely similar to the term ‘consolament’, which designated the only Cathar sacrament. As a reception of the Holy Spirit through the laying on of hands, it

⁸³ Radaelli (ed.), ‘La raccolta: un <<codice francescano>>’, in *Il ‘Libre de Barlam et de Josaphat’*, p. 81.

⁸⁴ Biget, pp. 75-77.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 90.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 80.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸⁸ Jean Duvernoy, *La Religion des Cathares : le catharisme* (Toulouse: Privat, 1986), p. 172.

fulfilled the role of a variety of sacraments, including ordination and the last rites, depending on the context.⁸⁹ Josaphat's actual baptism by Barlaam is not described as a 'consolacion', but the use of the term, even in the context of free prayer, is notable. Most elements in the text are highly orthodox, such as the description of Josaphat's baptism (Occitan version, 165). Yet there are hints of heterodoxy, such as those outlined above. Alongside the Asian origin of the legend, and the Manichean sources of the exemplum of the man and the unicorn used by Barlaam to convert Josaphat, these have led some scholars to suggest the work was influenced by Cathar thought.⁹⁰

Although Catharism was in decline in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, following the extermination of the Cathar settlement of Montségur in 1244, many Cathar preachers and believers still remained in the area now known as the south of France.⁹¹ The last known Cathar Perfect (or minister) was burnt in 1321, but executions of ordinary believers continued in Occitan-speaking areas until 1329.⁹² Others were held in prison, or even condemned posthumously of being a Cathar.⁹³ In light of such evidence, for the occitanophone scribe and audience of this text in the 1340s, terms it contains such as 'bons homs' and 'consolacion' would inevitably have carried an overtone of religious dissidence specifically linked to Catharism. This is so, because Catharism would have been a topic of social, religious, and political concern in the 1340s in Occitan speaking regions, given that the Inquisition had been active in persecuting Cathars there until very recently. Even if the terminology analysed is not unique to the Occitan version, its context makes it bear a unique meaning in this redaction.

⁸⁹ Duvernoy, *La Religion*, pp. 151-70.

⁹⁰ Déodat Roché, *Études manichéennes et cathares* (Arques, Aude: Éditions des cahiers d'études cathares, 1952), pp. 30-32, 276-77; Lavaud and Nelli (eds and trans), 'Introduction', in 'Le Roman spirituel de Barlaam et Josaphat', in *Les Troubadours*, pp. 1067-70.

⁹¹ Jean Duvernoy, *Le Catharisme : l'histoire des Cathares* (Toulouse: Privat, 1979), p. 297.

⁹² *Ibid.*, pp. 331-33.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 332-33.

The presence of terms and images associated with religious dissidence in general in the codex and specifically in the Occitan *Barlaam et Josaphat*, which promotes an apostolic philosophy of itinerancy and preaching, casts these apostolic injunctions in a new light. As Caterina Bruschi shows, from the eleventh to the fourteenth century, both the ‘legitimate and illegitimate preachers of this period [...] had broadly similar aims and adopted similar means to achieve them’, to the extent that it could be hard to differentiate between Church sanctioned and dissident mobile preachers.⁹⁴ The Middle Ages may have viewed the first centuries of Christianity as a time of general evangelisation, and the Occitan text may be set during an undefined period of Early Christianity, but the Catholic Church which exercised episcopal jurisdiction over the fourteenth-century Occitan-speaking areas in which the text was written was acting in the wake of the Fourth Lateran Council’s decisions. These included limiting orthodox preaching, the Albigensian Crusade against the Cathars, papal suppression in 1317 of certain Beguins, and fourteenth-century executions of Cathars and radical Franciscans carried out by the Inquisition.⁹⁵ For the fourteenth-century Catholic presence in this region, therefore, ‘wandering to spread the “good tidings” was regarded as licit only when stemming from the authority which sent, and thus gave meaning to, an action that otherwise would have transgressed the boundaries of the cultural models of reference’.⁹⁶ For, as Stock explains, ‘public preaching [...] unlicensed, threatened the local episcopal monopoly on the communication of the Word’.⁹⁷

Therefore, while Radaelli is right to stress the Franciscan and Beguin influence on the manuscript, so are Lavaud, Nelli, and Déodat Roché to stress some Cathar influences on

⁹⁴ Bruschi, pp. 104-05.

⁹⁵ ‘Twelfth Ecumenical Council: Lateran IV 1215’, in *Fordham University Medieval Sourcebook* <<http://legacy.fordham.edu/halsall/basis/lateran4.asp>> [accessed 1 July 2016]; Duvernoy, *Le Catharisme : l’histoire*, pp. 252-333; Biget, p. 79; David Burr, *The Spiritual Franciscans: From Protest to Persecution in the Century After Saint Francis* (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2001), p. 1.

⁹⁶ Bruschi, pp. 110-11.

⁹⁷ Stock, *Listening for the Text*, p. 27.

it.⁹⁸ I suggest that the codex is one which participates in the spiritual upheaval of its time and location, in that it references a variety of non-orthodox Christian positions, from Beguinitism, to Catharism, to radical Franciscanism. What is particularly notable about the Occitan text is its specific religious ambiguity, rooted as it is in both an era and a location (fourteenth-century southern France) in which ecclesiastical Catholicism and Beguinitism, Catharism, and radical Franciscanism uneasily cohabited. I propose that this co-existence is reflected in the Occitan text of *Barlaam et Josaphat* and in the codex in which it is contained. The texts of the codex influenced Beguinit thought. The codex as a whole references Franciscanism. The Occitan version of *Barlaam et Josaphat* in the manuscript uses dissident Cathar terminology and ideas. Yet neither the text nor the codex necessarily espouses anything other than orthodox Catholic philosophy. The way in which their injunctions are viewed depends entirely on the way in which the reader approaches the text or compilation.

We have seen that the asceticism of the Occitan version is more militant than that of its Anglo-Norman and *Francilien* counterparts, and that the apostolic models of faith and sanctity which it establishes are therefore different from the more lay-friendly path to salvation set out in the other versions. A study of the vocabulary of the text in light of its historico-religious and cultural context has shown that the Occitan text's demands for the laity to live a saintly lifestyle in order to achieve salvation need to be placed in a context of religious dissidence. Like those in the Occitan-speaking area who died within the Church but were posthumously convicted of heresy, the text reflects a resolutely ambiguous climate of orthodoxy *and* religious dissidence. Its use of terminology linked to Catharism, and its links to radical Franciscanism and Beguinitism, in such a place and such a century, inevitably reference dissident religious ideas. This is particularly so in light of its unusually democratic yet demanding ethos, which advocates an extension of the saintly apostolic

⁹⁸ Lavaud and Nelli (eds and trans), 'Introduction', in 'Le Roman spirituel de Barlaam et Josaphat', in *Les Troubadours*, pp. 1067-70; Roché, pp. 30-32, 276-77.

lifestyle to all Christian believers. And yet, its biblical theology remains resolutely Catholic throughout. It is in this particular form of orthodox dissent that the Occitan text is so unique.

In contrast, Chardri's work portrays Christianity as a difficult yet accessible path to salvation, followed through actions which are sometimes indirectly and unknowingly based on previous religious texts. Scriptural references are greatly reduced compared to the Occitan, terminology is resolutely orthodox, and the narrator privileges an illiterate audience who is explicitly depicted listening to textual performances (Anglo-Norman version, 2933-38). The *MND* version similarly imitates and rewrites biblical and hagiographic narrative precedents more generally, rather than rewriting specific apostolic injunctions. Like the Anglo-Norman version, scriptural passages are sometimes quoted or referenced in the *MND* version, but this occurs far less than in the Occitan. Moreover the theological explanations in the *MND* are simplistic (*MND* version, 1635), explicitly orthodox, and include a Latin quotation during the sermon passage, which suggests that the preacher has had ecclesiastical training (*MND* version, 245). Unlike the Occitan, which encourages critical reasoning about faith, the *MND* version explicitly discourages this. The audience are told that, as regards the theological complexities of God's omniscience, divine time, and the Last Judgement, 'muser ne fault point sur ce pas' (*MND* version, 1635). Alone of the three, the *MND* version alters the canonical narrative outline by introducing Marian devotion as the main focus, rather than heroic ascetic sanctity.

Clearly, all three examples of *Barlaam et Josaphat* considered here are very different versions of the same legend, which lead to diverse conclusions about religious questions central to all believers, such as how to achieve salvation. In this regard, Sarah Kay's statement about monologic thought in fourteenth-century didactic poetry could equally be applied to our corpus of *Barlaam et Josaphat* texts, given their differing interpretations of the same story, concerning the same saints and the same God: 'the

demand to reconcile everything within a unity of meaning is an adventure whose paths are often devious, and whose outcome perpetually shifts'.⁹⁹ This suggests an unexplored link between these two generic discourses, distinct in time, form, and subject-matter. This link between these hagiographic and those didactic works will be touched on later, in terms of the way place is abstracted and thought is geographically located through a 'place of thought'.

As we have seen, the theme of attaining salvation is often expressed through travel metaphors, such as in the Occitan when Josaphat prays with the words: 'Senher, dona mi a trobar via per on venga a tu' (Occitan version, 187). Spoken as he searches for the path to Barlaam's hermitage, this phrase refers to a physical path and literal travel. Yet it equally applies to Josaphat's metaphorical journey towards God and salvation, as he searches for a way to behave in this world that will make it possible to be united with God after death. I argue that this phrase expresses more than just truths about mundane journeying and spiritual searching, however. This phrase, with its polyvalent verb 'trobar', could equally apply to a discussion of the composition of the text itself, as 'trobar' is a literary term played on in Occitan lyric for its dual meaning of inventing and finding.¹⁰⁰ In this sense, it could also be said that Josaphat prays that he might 'compose' a way to God. Such a composition would be this text: an innovative and unique account of how Josaphat came to

⁹⁹ Sarah Kay, *The Place of Thought: The Complexity of One in Late Medieval French Didactic Poetry* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), p. 9.

¹⁰⁰ See, for example, Uc de Saint-Circ's poem 'Pei Ramonz ditz', PC 457, 027, printed in *Poésies de Uc de Saint-Circ*, ed. by A. Jeanroy and J.-J. Salverda de Grave (Toulouse: Privat, 1913), p. 105. The first stanza plays with the double meanings of 'trobar' as 'to find' and 'to compose':

Pei Ramonz ditz –
 E de *trobar* se gaba –
 Qe la raïz
Trobera senes gab,
 Q'el es garnitz
 Tant d'art e de silaba
 Q'en sos escritz
 A *trobat* u silab. (1-8, emphasis mine)

salvation and sanctity, which is only partially based on earlier versions of the legend in other languages.

Thus, due to the dual meaning of ‘trobar’, combined with the Occitan text’s propensity to metaphorise travel, this one phrase takes on three layers of meaning. Josaphat prays that he can find a physical path to Barlaam’s hermitage; he prays that he can metaphorically find his own moral path to God; and he ‘composes’ this path. Josaphat composes the path in the sense that through his actions he composes this text which provides a metaphorical pathway to God. This metaphorical pathway brought to us through the text comes from both Josaphat’s holy actions recounted in the text, which may inspire the audience to act in a similar way, and from the potential intercession of Josaphat, whose sanctity is shored up by this hagiographic account of his life. Therefore this one phrase with its three layers of meaning is emblematic of the links between travel, spiritual searching, translation, and literary composition in this text. The Occitan *Barlaam et Josaphat* is thus shown to be a highly complex meditation on the nature of belief and what it means to be holy.

The Anglo-Norman version plays with the first two layers of meaning of ‘path’ or ‘way’, positing travel as both a physical and metaphysical experience with phrases such as ‘la dreite veie de salu’ (Anglo-Norman version, 3). Chardri’s version does not mention ‘the path’ in terms of literary composition, as suggested in the Occitan text. However, Chardri’s version does mingle metaphors of travel and writing with the term ‘pelrimage’ (Anglo-Norman version, 324). This Anglo-Norman word is a standard variant form of ‘pelerinage’, already a polyvalent concept in its own right, meaning ‘pilgrimage, crusade or exile’.¹⁰¹ It is used in this concrete sense in the text, where it describes the journey made by the king to visit and test the good courtier, whom he suspects of harbouring secret Christian beliefs.

¹⁰¹ *The Anglo-Norman Dictionary*. The Occitan lyric tradition similarly refers to ‘pilgrimage’ when discussing what we would now term a ‘crusade’. I am grateful to Professor Linda Paterson for this insight.

The second half of the word, ‘-rimage’, while not a word in its own right, sounds as though it were a derivation of ‘rimer’, which in Anglo-Norman means ‘to (put into) rhyme, to make up rhymes’.¹⁰² In this sense, phonetically, ‘pelrimage’ combines religious travel and literary creation in a single, highly nuanced concept. In the *MND*, ‘way’ is again a physical and a metaphorical concept due to the posited equivalence of ‘la foy [...] la voie’ (*MND* version, 327-28). However, the authors of the *MND* version do not point to their part in the *creation* of this path through their individually reworked version of the Barlaam and Josaphat tradition which differs from its cognates, nor to the role translation plays in their literary creation.

The act of creation through translation is evident in other parts of the *Francilien* and Anglo-Norman narratives, however. For instance, when the king asks his messenger to report on Josaphat’s condition in the *MND* version, he asks, ‘qu’as tu trouvé, messagier?’ (*MND* version, 144). The servant replies: ‘Que j’ay trouvé? toute gaudie’ (*MND* version, 146). The messenger’s rhetorical question reflects the king’s query, as he tells the king what he found upon arrival. However, ‘trouvé’ also refers to the messenger’s report to the king, which he has composed based on what he saw when he was with Josaphat. What he has ‘trouvé’ is what he gives the king: a literary retelling of Josaphat’s experiences, just as the anonymous author(s) and scribe(s) have found subject matter in the experiences of two saints, and recreated this in a dramatic context, before having it performed and transcribed afterwards to become the text which a modern reader can find and read. Thus, behind the characters’ acts of searching and discovery described through the verb ‘trouver/trouvé’, there is another possible layer of meaning referring to the act of creative translation that enabled the texts’ composition.

‘Trouver’ is used in similar ways elsewhere in the *MND* version. For instance, Arachim and the king plan for Nacor to impersonate Barlaam during a religious disputation,

¹⁰² Ibid.

with the aim of persuading Josaphat that his master has apostatised and that he should follow suit. Despite the fact that both Arachim and the king know that the hermit they have in prison is Nacor not Barlaam, and that Josaphat is not present, Arachim announces to the king: 'Barlaam est en cage | Tant l'ay quis que je l'ay trouvé' (*MND* version, 1036-37). Here, Arachim has not really found Barlaam, but he has created a double of Barlaam's character, in the sense that he has made Nacor act so that he appears to be the saint.

A more extended and intricate example of the use of 'truver,' in both its literal sense of 'to find' and its creative sense of 'to compose', occurs in the Anglo-Norman. Josaphat, now king, abdicates to become a hermit, leaving behind a letter for his subjects explaining his actions:

Mist sun vuleir en un escrit,
 E vout kel pople le veist [...]
 Pus enscela le bref mut ben,
 S'il mist desus sun oriller
 Ke tuz le pussent esgarder. (Anglo-Norman version, 2591-92, 2604-06)

When his men come to wake him, they find the letter in Josaphat's place: 'Nel hume vivant n'i truverent, | Fors le bref k'il out escrit' (Anglo-Norman version, 2622-23).¹⁰³ Here, 'truverent' is clearly used in its literal sense, as the servants were unable to find anyone in Josaphat's room. However, it is interesting that the next line concerning the letter is linked to this verb by 'hors' ('except'). This 'hors' implies that the 'bref' is equivalent to a 'hume vivant': that the letter shares an equal status with Josaphat. Josaphat the person is equated to a written autobiographical text. This shows the textual influences on his holy experiences, as he lives out textual injunctions until his body comes to be replaced at the

¹⁰³ This is a motif in other saint's *Lives* too, such as that of Saint Alexis.

court with another text – this letter. The emphasis on the equivalence between the saint and the text here also highlights the literary construction of his characterisation in the legend we read. Moreover, the letter episode is a *mise-en-abîme* of this section of the text, given that Josaphat's reasons for seeking ascetic solitude and the account of his departure are both the subject of this part of the text and of the letter described in it. In this sense, the legend's claims of hagiographic truth are supplemented with a hint of the literary creation, rather than mere repetition, behind this new version of the saint's life. When lived, Barlaam and Josaphat's lives were unique, although reflective of narrative paradigms, but they became multiple and varied once recorded, translated, and rewritten.¹⁰⁴

A similar example occurs in the Occitan when the astrologer predicts for the king that Josaphat will become a Christian: 'trobi que aquest enfant non sera en ton regne, mas en autre regne, melhor ses compte' (Occitan version, 148). In this phrase, the astrologer relates what he found out when he observed the stars. Yet he also establishes the narrative paradigm for the whole text by composing this prediction. It is due to his words that the king keeps Josaphat imprisoned in the tower, and it is arguably the shock of suddenly discovering the realities of suffering, which his incarceration had hidden from him, that provokes Josaphat's conversion to Christianity. In this sense, what the astrologer finds when he performs his prophecy is also a literary creation, because his prediction provokes the king into imprisoning Josaphat: an action which will lead directly to Josaphat's conversion and his holy life, and indirectly to the account of his holy life contained in this Occitan version.

There are many further examples of polyvalent uses of 'trobar/truver/trouver' in these three versions. I argue that they reveal the acts of literary creation behind their retelling of the narrative. In the cases where they are used in the context of travel

¹⁰⁴ Given that the story is derived from that of the Buddha, it is unlikely that there were historical Christian people called Josaphat and Barlaam who lived in the way outlined in this legend. However, the text was used and is presented as hagiographic truth: as a record of holy people's lives.

metaphors, they show the connections between travel and composition in these works. The poetic creation behind the saints' experiences highlights again the textualisation of their lives, as befits the saints' status at the nexus of textual communities, leading lives based on their interpretation of previously existing narrative paradigms. Their lives constitute a metaphorical rewriting of these texts in their own right, both through their lived experiences, and through their end product, the *vies*. I suggest that these repeated, nuanced uses of 'trobar/truver/trouver' reveal that the route to God shown by each text is not a straightforward reproduction of a monologic holy paradigm, but a recasting of this pattern according to the author(s)/scribe(s)' particular purposes and opinions. This recasting is more occluded in the Anglo-Norman and *Francilien* than in the Occitan.

Indirectly, the polyvalency of 'trobar/truver/trouver' in these *vies* gestures towards the importance of translation. Ultimately, literary creation and travel in these texts have come into being, whether directly or indirectly, through the translation which has moved the legend into the languages of what are now Britain and France. The concept of linguistic translation was much freer in the Middle Ages than it is today. It is very common for medieval vernacular texts to identify themselves as translations, when they are free reworkings of translated sources. In this sense, these three versions of *Barlaam et Josaphat* are not unusual in their extreme variation as, despite the fact they all descend through translation from the same pool of sources, this selection may have been large, and medieval translation involved a substantial amount of reworking. However, these texts are the *vies* of saints, which purport to recount true historical as well as religious deeds, and these hagiographies are all supposedly accurate biographies of the same saints, retold so that these saints can act as examples and intermediaries. In this sense, the creative brilliance and excitement of these works lies partly in the constant tension they display between innovative creation and invocatory didactic retelling, which is experienced and figured through the practice and trope of translation.

This is all the more interesting because not all the texts are open about this, or perhaps even conscious of it. The Occitan version encourages critical reasoning as a means to strengthen faith, and the phrase quoted earlier, in which Josaphat prays he might find a way to God (Occitan version, 187), suggests that the individual's route to salvation might be personalised. However, other references to this physical and spiritual pathway are more rigid. The former provost who becomes a hermit claims that God 'mi demostret via per on podia annar a Luy [...] neguna outra via non es bona' (Occitan version, 146). This leaves little room for spiritual individuality. Josaphat defines this narrow pathway more clearly when he states that 'volgra mot trobar via per on gardes amablament los comandaments de Dieu, e que no m'en partis' (Occitan version, 156). This suggests that obeying God's commandments is equivalent to travelling along a divinely approved route, the only potential points of diversion here being the interpretation and practice of those divine commandments.

However, the Occitan links 'trobar' and 'via' frequently, whereas in the Anglo-Norman and *Francilien* texts, 'veie/voie' are usually presented as predefined rather than found or composed. Out of the three versions, the Occitan text links travel, spiritual searching, and literary creation the most. It repeatedly figures spiritual quests in terms of travelling metaphors by using 'via', both in the sense of physical path, and spiritual route to God. That the characters' religious quests are, however, at least partially a literary creation, is suggested by the use of 'trobar' in these instances. In this sense, it hints at a freedom of personal interpretation of religious vocation. This is further suggested by Barlaam and Josaphat's use of scriptural knowledge acquired through extensive personal study, alongside their practice of unscripted prayer and *meditatio*, and their extended interpretation of parables and exempla.

In contrast, the *MND* version of *Barlaam et Josaphat* explicitly tries to limit freedom of interpretation of religious truth. The quotation given earlier, in which 'foie' and

'voie' are equated (*MND* version, 327-28), posits a literary world of straightforward truths from which interpretation is absent. Thus Barlaam defines his exposition of Christianity as unembellished: 'sanz ce que je riens vous glose | Mais que die selon la lettre' (*MND* version, 630-31). The ethos of the play is reflected in these two lines, suggesting fundamental presence and purity of faith, seemingly without gloss. And yet, the very format of the text betrays what it seeks to hide: that the faith-based way it expounds, far from excluding interpretation and rewriting, depends on them for its survival. This is revealed by the way the play has reshaped the traditional narrative by including the Virgin Mary, and making her apparition and miracle the main focus. By suggesting that faith *is* the way rather than that faith can *show* the way, this text posits a false correlation between signifier and signified. Yet this work cannot but help indirectly reveal what it directly denies: that the signified is never present in the signifier. The Virgin's apparition may be a revelation, but the writing and staging of her apparition can only ever be a representation of it. Faith in this text cannot be revealed but must be told through words, and this retelling inevitably results in recreation.

The Anglo-Norman version is equally restrictive about the boundaries of the 'voie de salut' which it proposes (Anglo-Norman version, 3). In the Anglo-Norman, we are told that the Apostles and early Christians were shown such a way:

Jhesu lur mustra la veie

E vuleit tant ke tute veie

Le sewissent, sanz nule fable,

Desk'a la vie pardurable. (Anglo-Norman version, 51-54)

The monologic path presented here has one route and one destination, and any deviation is rejected as a 'fable'. This appellation couches deviation in terms of narrative of a

different genre, again linking physical journeying and spiritual searching with narrative expression and literary creation. This suggests that there are other types of narrative which offer a different kind of path to that provided by hagiography. This obliquely echoes Chardri's more overt statements on the follies of non-hagiographic writing later in the work (Anglo-Norman version, 2931-40). Similarly, in his other known composition, *La Vie des set dormanz*, Chardri specifies that his scorn for 'fables' refers to any literature with non-religious themes, from Ovid's verse to the Tristan romances.¹⁰⁵ Chardri's statements on non-religious literature assert that this *Vie* demonstrates the correct way to achieve salvation. Furthermore, he suggests that his literary work as a whole is validated as truthful because it relates both an authoritative saint's life contained in previous sources, and divine truth, in oblique contra-distinction to secular literary 'fables'.¹⁰⁶ In this way he creates his own version of a common trope for discussing the truth value of hagiography, and validating it over secular literature as both more authoritative and truthful. This is a literary device analysed in depth by Ian Short.¹⁰⁷

An overt interpretative schema is set up with the phrase 'ki vout a nul ben entendre', which appears in line 1, and again in line 438 (Anglo-Norman version). The opening passage establishes the text's purpose and ideal audience:

Ki vout a nul ben entendre

Par essample poet mut aprendre

La dreite veie de salu. (Anglo-Norman version, 1-3, emphasis mine)

¹⁰⁵ Chardry's *Josaphaz, Set Dormanz und Petit Plet*, pp. 76-123 (lines 51-59 on p. 77).

¹⁰⁶ Here I apply Ian Short's conclusions on other extracts of Chardri's work, and on Denis Piramus's *Vie de seint Edmund le rey*, to this particular passage of Chardri's *Barlaam et Josaphat*. See Ian Short, 'Denis Piramus and the Truth of Marie's *Lais*', *Cultura Neolatina*, 67.3-4 (2007), 319-40 (pp. 334-35).

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

Here, audiences willing to listen and reform are told that they can learn about the straight way of salvation through exempla. When Barlaam later glosses an exemplum, the same phrase is used again:

Par ceo poet l'em ben aprendre

Ki vout a nul ben entendre

Plus vaut conseil ke volente. (Anglo-Norman version, 437-39, emphasis mine)

In this second quote, the ideal audience are learning the gloss of an exemplum. The middle line of the first injunction in the first citation, 'par essample poet mut aprendre', has been replaced by 'plus vaut conseil ke volente' in the second extract. Because the exemplum's moral or 'conseil' has become a thing to learn, rather than using the moral and moving beyond it to learn about salvation, the exposition of the exemplum almost becomes the 'veie de salut' here. The equivalence this sets up, however, takes literal portrayal of faith a step too far. Chardri's unique 'way' of salvation is undermined by this gloss on the exemplum. Such a gloss suggests the necessity of religious interpretation, even while its simplistic, limited, and forceful nature attempts to foreclose further readings.

The restrictions placed on freedom of religious interpretation in this text are strengthened by its insistence on grace rather than good works as the primary means of redemption. When Josaphat wishes that his father could be converted, Barlaam reminds him that:

Nel purreit nul hoem mortel sauver,

Si deu ne li dune par sa pitez

Sa grace. (Anglo-Norman version, 832-34)

It is the Holy Spirit, the harbinger of grace, which descends during Josaphat's baptism to seal the sacrament: 'Li seint esperit i decent, | Li parfist le sacrement' (Anglo-Norman version, 871-72). Josaphat's conversion is in turn figured in terms of grace which he refuses to abandon: 'Ne vout unkes lesser la grace | Ke deu li aveit tramise' (Anglo-Norman version, 1378-79).

Later on, Nacor's revelation of Christianity's truth during the disputation takes place not only because Nacor has decided to argue on Josaphat's side to prevent the prince from killing him, but also because Josaphat's prayer to God on this matter has resulted in an outpouring of grace. This grace is figured through Nacor's divinely inspired eloquence:

Tuz les bons mestres ad estute,

Ke ne saveint un mot avant,

Par la preere del enfant. (Anglo-Norman version, 1543-46)

Nacor's own conversion also comes about 'par la grace de seint esperit' (Anglo-Norman version, 1600). There are many further examples of the importance of grace throughout the narrative, and Chardri even finishes the explicit with an invocation of God's grace which could save us all (Anglo-Norman version, 2941-54). These examples show that the Anglo-Norman version privileges God's agency (through grace), above human agency (through reasoning and good works), as the only way truly to ensure that conversions, sacraments, and faith lead to salvation.

However, it is not only the texts in my corpus which restrict interpretation, and present their interpretations as fact so as to preclude differing opinions. The characters themselves use somatic translation to interpret faith through enactment which, in its immediacy, can appear to be a direct representation, rather than a subjective rewriting, of

divine truth. By 'somatic translation', I mean the ways in which the characters in all three versions live out certain biblical and hagiographic textual injunctions, such as apostolic itinerancy, or eremitic withdrawal. These are forms of somatic translation because they involve characters acting out bodily the injunctions they have encountered in religious texts. For example, on several occasions in the Gospels, Jesus urges his followers to take up their cross and follow him.¹⁰⁸ Because the cross can be read as a capacious metaphor which includes most forms of suffering and self-denial, this injunction can be interpreted in multiple ways. Barlaam and Josaphat choose to interpret it through penitential mortification in isolation in the desert. In doing so, they present ascetic withdrawal as the only, or at least the best, way to serve God. In the Occitan, converting to Christianity and ascetic withdrawal are almost presented as synonymous: 'motz hy ac d'omes que desampareron lurs possessions e tornavan a conversion' (Occitan version, 145).

In all three versions, each stage of Barlaam and Josaphat's ascetic withdrawal as hermits is textualised: their actions re-enact and translate in a bodily way the biblical and hagiographic narratives on which they base their faith. Like Jesus and the Apostles, they are persecuted for their beliefs. Once the kingdom has converted, Josaphat has to postpone his dream of withdrawing to the desert in order to guide his people, just as Jesus carried out a period of ministry amongst the populace. Afterwards, when Josaphat leaves, he initially lives alone in the desert for a period of testing. This translates into his own life-narrative John the Baptist's eremitic lifestyle, Jesus's forty-day temptation by the devil, and Saint Anthony's period of diabolic temptation, amongst others. The period of ascetic companionship shared in the end by Josaphat and Barlaam translates and re-actualises the spiritual master-student friendship between Jesus and his disciples.

These are only a few examples of the textualised and text-based somatic translation which structures every aspect of the narrative and the protagonists' lives. These

¹⁰⁸ Matthew 10. 38, 16. 24-26; Mark 8. 34; Luke 9. 23, 14. 27. *Biblia Sacra Vulgata*, pp. 1541, 1551, 1588, 1625, 1638.

range from the prophecies at Josaphat's birth which mirror those of the Wise Men for the Messiah, to the revelation of Josaphat's death to a holy hermit in the Occitan and Anglo-Norman, or the prediction of Josaphat's imminent death by the Virgin in the *MND* version. These last examples incorporate medieval hagiographic commonplaces regarding saintly deaths, found for example in the French *Vie de sainte Marie l'Égyptienne*.¹⁰⁹ In this sense, the *Lives* of the hermits examined here bring the translation of biblical truth, by performative and somatic means as well as by textual ones, together with the translation of texts more generally.

As regards the translation of texts more generally, there are various instances, not all of them somatic, in which the texts and characters adapt elements from romance and lyric and weave them into hagiography. As Michel Zink has shown, elements of medieval French non-religious literary language and narrative construction affected vernacular writing which had a more religious focus, such as sermons. Zink sums this up with a rhetorical question: 'comment écrire ou parler en langue vulgaire sans recourir aux images, au vocabulaire, au style courtois?'.¹¹⁰

Many such images are present in the Anglo-Norman version of *Barlaam et Josaphat*. Josaphat is imprisoned in a tower by his father, as though he were a *mal mariée* character in a romance, or a female saint such as Barbara (Anglo-Norman version, 234-37). Later, when Barlaam presents himself to Josaphat, he speaks to him with the discourse of a knight addressing his lady:

Bel ad l'enfant salue.

Sa parole ert bele e curteise [...]

Devant lu s'est agenuille,

¹⁰⁹ *La Vie de sainte Marie l'Égyptienne : versions en ancien et en moyen français*, ed. by Peter F. Dembowski, Publications romanes et françaises, 144 (Geneva: Droz, 1977), pp. 62-63.

¹¹⁰ Michel Zink, *La Prédication en langue romane avant 1300*, Nouvelle bibliothèque du Moyen Âge, 4 (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1982), p. 478.

E del tut li ad cunte :

Ke pur lu issi de sun pais,

Pur lu aveit le travail empris

Car deu l'aveit la envee. (Anglo-Norman version, 780-81, 785-89)

It is not until Barlaam reveals who sent him in the final line that the purely religious purpose of his visit is made clear. Later, as though this were a meeting of courtly lovers, Barlaam takes off most of his clothes and his body is described, before he leads Josaphat by the hand to his bedroom (Anglo-Norman version, 852-64). However, the harsh material and modest coverage of Barlaam's undergarments, as well as his body's mortified state, again show the purely religious nature of this scene, as does the secret baptism which is the purpose of their withdrawal to the bedroom. When Barlaam leaves Josaphat, in a rewriting of the courtly exchange of lovers' rings, Barlaam gives Josaphat his hair shirt, which Josaphat accepts with the vocabulary of the courtly lover: 'c'ert mun solaz e mun dedut' (Anglo-Norman version, 1026). After Barlaam has gone, Josaphat is so upset that he becomes ill, in a hagiographic adaptation of Ovidian love-sickness: 'Cil s'en parti, e cil remeint, | De doel, de plur pali e teint' (Anglo-Norman version, 1041-42). Courtly values are appropriated and subverted here by their rewriting as signs of spiritual (as opposed to secular) honour and love.

Vocabulary and narrative paradigms primarily associated with romance, lyric, and other generic discourses are also present in the Occitan *vida*. Barlaam is drawn to Josaphat by a spiritual reinterpretation of *amor de lonh*, as he knows, without ever having met the prince, that their religious destinies are linked. Moreover, he travels to him by sea, as the poet credited with creating *amor de lonh*, Jaufre Rudel, supposedly travelled to his beloved the Countess of Tripoli.¹¹¹ Thus, Barlaam, 'per l'esperitament de Dieu [...] conoc lo corage del filh del rey. E yeys de son hermetage e mes si en una nauf' (Occitan version, 150). As in

¹¹¹ *Biographies des Troubadours : textes provençaux des XIII^e et XIV^e siècles*, ed. by J. Boutière and A. H. Schutz, 2nd edn (Paris: Nizet, 1973), pp. 16-19.

the Anglo-Norman, Ovidian love-sickness is reinterpreted in a hagiographic context, but in the Occitan, instead of being sick for Barlaam, Josaphat pines for God, as ‘lo corage de luy era tan fortz nafrazt de la divina amor’ (Occitan version, 187).

Divinely inspired love-sickness is also a theme in the *MND* version, in which, when Josaphat longs to go out into the world in which he will discover Christianity, ‘Il chiet d’anuy en tel dangier | Qu’il pert le boire et le mangier’ (*MND* version, 385-86). In the first *serventois* lyric insertion at the end of the play, the Virgin is characterised as a lovers’ intercessor, who, as a ‘mother of love’, is akin to a Christian Venus:

Mére d’amours et d’amans vraie amie,
 Celle par qui grace aux humains descent,
 Et celle qui tost fait que Diex ottrie
 L’amant merci, qui sa joie li rent’. (*MND* version, 41-44)

Here, God occupies the role of love object, and Mary that of matchmaker, in a use of the lyric language of courtly love for primarily religious purposes. This blurs the boundaries between secular, sexual, and religious discourses of love in a way which, given the context of the hagiographic Marian miracle play, appropriates the former for the latter.

One effect of the Marian interpolation is to raise the issue of typology. Mary’s appearance to Josaphat with the angels who accompany her does not insert Josaphat’s experiences into a specifically typological framework, but it does place him amongst a cast of biblical characters. In the Occitan version, however, there are explicit and implicit typological paradigms. Josaphat’s Christian kingdom flourishes because God approves of it, while his father’s pagan kingdom suffers. We are told that this is similar to when, in the Old Testament, God punished Saul’s house and favoured David’s: ‘enaysi la mayzon del rey lozaphas creysia e multiplicava, e la mayzon de son payre s’amermava trastotz, tro atressi

con l'estoria recompte de David e de Saul' (Occitan version, 183). The exempla and their glosses, which Barlaam tells Josaphat as part of the conversion process, also follow a semi-typological model. They do not insert their characters into a directly typological pattern, but they are structured in a three-fold way similar to one.

One such exemplum told by Barlaam to Josaphat, which follows this three-fold structure, is the story of the trumpeter of death and the four boxes. In this tale, a rich king adores two poor hermits, because he sees them as heralds of God who remind him of his own mortality (Occitan version, 151). The king's brother, however, cannot understand the king's demeaning behaviour, and criticises him for it. To persuade his brother to understand why he debased himself in front of the hermits, the king decides to make his brother believe that he will be executed. The king thinks that this is the appropriate way to force his brother to understand how he feels when he sees the hermits, that is to say, aware of his approaching death. Thus, the king sends a trumpeter to play outside his brother's door. We are told that this was the custom in that kingdom, in order to announce to someone that they had received the death sentence. When the brother comes to him in distress, the king explains that this was a ruse to teach him what the hermits represent (Occitan version, 151). To teach his barons the same lesson, the king fills two beautiful rich boxes with bones, and two plain boxes with precious stones and fragrances. When the barons advise the king to put his crown in one of the nicer boxes, the king shows them their true contents. He explains that the fine caskets are like men who dress in rich clothes but harbour bad thoughts and deeds, whereas the poor boxes filled with good things are like the hermits, whose exterior appearance was off-putting, but whose spirit was pure (Occitan version, 151-52).

In this exemplum, the link between hermits, death, and Christianity connects the tale with Josaphat's previous encounter on the road with an old man, something which taught him about death, and which prompted him to ask the hermit Barlaam the questions

which result in his conversion. The argument that clothes reflect outer social realities (which may be deceptive), as well as inner spiritual truths, refers back to the two previous uses of this idea (Occitan version, 146, 150). Yet this moral tale does not just reference the characters' previous experiences, it also stands alone as an example in its own right: it teaches Josaphat to look beyond physical appearances to inner, spiritual truths. Moreover, its moralisations apply to Josaphat at this point in the narrative, as well as to his future choices, because as Barlaam says to him: 'segon aquel savi rey e tu recep mi' (Occitan version, 152). This patterning occurs throughout the exempla and their interpretations in this text: Barlaam shapes them to be meaningful in their own right, but also to refer back to and clarify previous occurrences and references, while being directly relevant to Josaphat's current and future experiences. This model parallels the typological model of Old Testament paradigm, New Testament fulfilment, and current or future saintly or penitential imitation. Following this pattern, the protagonist can insert himself/herself into a comforting framework of typological redemption.

This model in turn structures Josaphat's process of learning, and the development of his critical thought. On being told such exempla, Josaphat first asks Barlaam the meaning of something concrete in the story or explanation, such as 'vuelh que digas qui es tos Senhers' (Occitan version, 152). Josaphat then progresses to asking for teaching: 'ensenha mi que coven a far et ensenha mi con totz fizels si deu aprosmar al baptisme' (Occitan version, 153). The prince moves on to seeking further examples: 'per Dieu ti prec que non ti enueje pas de dir a mi aytals eysemples, per so que yeu cognosca ben aquesta vida' (Occitan version, 157). He then looks past the story for the meaning beyond the allegory: 'cant lozaphas auzi aquest eysemples, mot ac gran maravilhas e demandet la espozicion a Barlam. Et el li dis [...] (Occitan version, 158). Next Josaphat learns to ask for allegorical representations to help him understand Christianity in more depth, 'prec ti, si ti plas, que.n desponas la figura de la vanetat d'aquest mont' (Occitan version, 158). Eventually, Josaphat

realises without help that the exemplum applies directly to him: “sertas”, so dis lozaphas a Barlam, “covenhablament si aperten a mi aquest conte” (Occitan version, 162).

The final step of this learning process is for Josaphat to take on the role of teacher and proselytiser himself. In doing so, Josaphat uses the same procedures and vocabulary as Barlaam used to convert him. This occurs when Josaphat tries to convert Sardan. He first tests Sardan, getting him to hide behind a curtain and listen to Barlaam, before questioning the servant and pretending that he has not believed Barlaam’s words and simply wanted to ask Sardan’s opinion on them. When Sardan sees beyond this and recognises that his master has converted, Josaphat promises to share Christianity with him in turn. Josaphat says that Sardan will eventually be able to tell the king about his faith, but they must wait for a ‘temps covenhablable’ (Occitan version, 166). This is the same phrase Barlaam used to describe the apt time the wise advisor chose to tell his king about Christianity in the exemplum about the king and the poor couple (Occitan version, 160-61).

To better illustrate why he must wait for the right time to convert his father, Josaphat explains to Sardan that preaching must be undertaken only when someone is ready to listen, otherwise ‘tot atretant val con de seluy que semena en l’ayga, car [en] el corage del fol non pot intrar saviza’ (Occitan version, 166). With this phrase, Josaphat shows that he has understood and incorporated not only Barlaam’s biblical sowing for preaching metaphor, but also the way in which Barlaam structures his explanations of Scripture and Christianity around exempla. In this sentence, ‘val con de seluy [...] car’ sets up an equivalence of value between the exemplum and the current situation, and an extrapolation of the tale’s meaning. Here, Josaphat adapts the Parable of the Sower as used in the Bible, and by Barlaam (Occitan version, 150-51), to his own ends, using the metaphor of sowing seed in water rather than on good, thorny, or rocky land.¹¹²

¹¹² Matthew 13. 1-23; Mark 4. 1-20; Luke 8. 1-15. *Biblia Sacra Vulgata* pp. 1544-45, 1579-80, 1621-22.

If we return to consideration of how the versions of *Barlaam et Josaphat* in our corpus physically reinterpret hagiographic and biblical texts, it becomes clear that somatic translation does not depend solely on bodily performance, but also on the space in which the body is placed. As Kay observes throughout her work *The Place of Thought*, in certain texts, the place in which a person's body is located serves not just to circumscribe and contain the physical body, but also the thoughts produced by the body within that place. In a reflexive process, any thoughts elaborated there also help shape the representation of the place itself, because the 'place of thought' is not just a representation of a physical place, but a philosophical, ethical, and memorial mental space for storing, ordering, and communicating ideas as well. The didactic literature of the long fourteenth century discussed by Kay to develop these ideas is very different from the thirteenth- and fourteenth-century hagiographic texts of my corpus. However, their methods of geographically shaping and placing thought are at times analogous.

In our three versions of *Barlaam et Josaphat*, the desert, or 'guastine' in the Anglo-Norman, is a 'place of thought'. As a physical place, it provides a space in which the characters can lead eremitic lives. Yet it also functions as a space which contains the philosophical thought of Barlaam and Josaphat, in that their decisions on how best to serve God are enacted against a backdrop of the desert, and performed within it. On another level, the desert is purely abstract, functioning as much as a philosophical, spiritual, and moral idea as a physical place. As a space almost entirely devoid of features, it serves as an embodiment and facilitator of spiritual thought. In its harsh, blank nature, it embodies the mortifying, penitential way of life of the protagonists. Yet it also facilitates this way of life, by abstracting them from worldly concerns and temptations, making it possible for them to dedicate their lives purely to God.

At the point in the narratives when the protagonists live in the desert, travel becomes less important. While Josaphat and Barlaam continue to travel in the desert, their

penitential way of life remains the same no matter which part of the desert they are in. In this sense, they have ceased to move towards place, as they did previously. Focusing entirely on moving towards God, the space of the desert becomes a place where they are as much dislocated as they are located. By being dislocated there, they can abstract themselves from worldly concerns in order to access God through asceticism. In this way, the desert as a place of spiritual thought is distinct from Kay's places of thought in didactic poetry. The places of thought in the texts Kay analyses are as much about journeys as places. They always depict their protagonists either travelling (e.g. the *Pèlerinage de vie humaine*), or recollecting their travels (e.g. *Le Joli Buisson de jonece*). In our Anglo-Norman and Occitan *vies*, however, the desert as place of thought is one of near-static dislocation allowing for divine mobility more than physical movement.

The desert as place of thought is also important because it facilitates a somatic translation of biblical truth. In the Gospel of Saint John, somatic translation is figured through creation and the Incarnation. Both of these acts involve making the divine physically present. This is unusual because the divine is normally portrayed as abstract and absent to human perception, other than through miracles. In both creation and in the Incarnation, somatic translation was partially expressed through human bodies — through Adam and Eve, Mary and Jesus. Somatic translation in Saint John's Gospel is therefore figured through a creative dialectic between the physical present and the abstract divine. The desert is a perfect canvas for imitative somatic translation of this divine. The bodies of the hermits are physically present and receptive to bodily experience of the divine, as they are enacting biblical and hagiographic narrative paradigms, and because they are purely devoted to serving God. The desert in which they live is a physical place, but one from which most physical markers are missing. As it is so devoid of characteristics that it is almost abstract, it functions on one level as a place of thought rather than a purely geographical place.

The etymology of the Anglo-Norman 'guastine', the noun of the verb 'guaster', supports this, as 'guaster' means 'to ravage' or 'to destroy', evoking the desert's empty nature.¹¹³ Moreover, in this place in which almost everything worldly is absent, sin is less feasible or appealing for the hermits, because temptations are present but limited. Thus the desert which contains the hermits is a good backdrop for somatic experience of the divine, as, paradoxically, in their physical bodies in this abstract place, the abstract divine can be physically experienced. Their experience of the divine is abstract in that they are never granted a vision of God, and they do not hear His voice. Thus God is manifested to them in an abstract way because He is portrayed as ineffable.

As befits the physical translation and enactment of abstract ideas, then, the desert in which this occurs blurs the boundaries between geographical location and conceptual place of thought. In this sense the desert is a space which embodies a destruction of place. Moreover, as in *La Vie de sainte Marie l'Égyptienne*, the place of the desert is also associated with the destruction of the body.¹¹⁴ In the Anglo-Norman version, Barlaam's body after living in the desert is described as 'megre [...] | Neire e haslee de chaut, de freit' (Anglo-Norman version, 858-59). In the *vida*, Josaphat's body is changed beyond recognition by his desert withdrawal:

la soa bella cara juveneta e la soa bella persona avia lo solelh ennegrizida,
et avia grans comas e grans pels, e li huelh foron s'en pregon intratz en la
testa. E.l riu de las lagremas que ac en la cara! (Occitan version, 188)

In this way, the desert, as a place which negates other types of space, also tests and partially destroys the body. These negations and destructions of worldly spaces and bodies

¹¹³ *The Anglo-Norman Dictionary*.

¹¹⁴ See, for example, *La Vie de sainte Marie l'Égyptienne*, pp. 46-47.

are stages of the ascetic hermit's progression towards spiritual union with God, unencumbered by both bodily form and geographical surroundings.

The place of the desert may seem static, but it is intimately linked with the movements of journeying and translation in the texts. Thought about in relation to the protagonists' journeys, it becomes clear that their movements, as they search for each other and for God, make the desert into a shifting backdrop. It is against different places and scenes of the desert that Josaphat searches for Barlaam, lives with him, then experiences visions, before dying and being buried there as a saint. As a place of thought, the desert is also linked to movement. While remembering techniques may impose a static quality, usually involving the construction of an imagined architectural space in which to store and order thought, medieval memory techniques were based on remembering in sequence. In this sense, the journey is present as part of translation of information into memory.

Some of the wider themes of the texts — translation, the journey, and pilgrimage — are linked, as they all depend on suspension and movement between different places. Thus although the place of thought, present in this corpus in the space of the desert, is static, it is closely linked to movement, the journey, and translation. As a geographical space, it facilitates the protagonists' ascetic annihilation of the space of worldly temptations and of their bodies. As a space of thought, it allows them to channel the abstract divine, and to create an area which embodies the morals of their ascetic faith. As a literary space and backdrop, it permits them to perform somatic translation of biblical and hagiographic injunctions, it allows them to move in thought and inspiration from the worldly to the divine, and it enables them to move towards completing their spiritual quest for sanctity.

Part of Barlaam and Josaphat's preparation for and experience of the divine comes through mortifying penance, represented as a form of martyrdom. This is physically

enacted through their harsh living conditions. However, in the Occitan, their suffering is more a question of the internal anguish facilitated by external privation, than of physical torment in its own right. Because of this, the king's provost who becomes a hermit is described as suffering 'martire en sa consciencia' (Occitan version, 147). In this case, somatic translation of non-concrete ideas involving the divine has been abstracted again, becoming a mental thought process experienced through a body.

Like the physical place of the desert and torment of mortification which fall away to reveal the all-important internal martyrdom of conscience, Barlaam's ruse of dressing like a merchant masks inner spiritual truths which are both hidden and symbolised by his use of outer clothing and trading metaphors. When Barlaam leaves to convert Josaphat in the Occitan, we are told that 'vestit si de draps seglars e senblet mercadier' (Occitan version, 150). In this way, Barlaam suggests both that outer appearances hide inner spiritual purposes in this text, in that the text's entertaining format contains deep spiritual truths, and that religious ideas were disseminated through secular itinerancy. This is particularly relevant in terms of heretical ideas. Bruschi has analysed volumes twenty-one to twenty-six of the Doat depositions of the Inquisition's files, which cover the trials of alleged Cathar and Waldensian heretics in Languedoc from the late twelfth to the fourteenth centuries. Her analysis reveals instances of Cathar mobility in which trade was used as a cover for travel, either to escape from persecution, or to visit other believers.¹¹⁵ This shows that the disguising of religious proselytizers as merchants was not just a literary device, but a contemporary historical fact.

Along with other discussions of rich and poor clothing throughout the Occitan text, clothes and appearance become intimately linked to inner truth. This inner truth is revealed by itinerant preaching, as when Barlaam journeys to convert Josaphat: 'hyeu vesti aquest abit e vengui semenar la divina semensa de predicacion en ton corage' (Occitan

¹¹⁵ See, for instance, the examples Bruschi gives on pp. 71-72.

version, 163). When Barlaam and Josaphat exchange clothes on parting, this not only parallels and rewrites a courtly exchange of lovers' rings, but also prefigures the way in which Josaphat will assume Barlaam's roles in due course, becoming in turn a teacher, preacher, evangeliser, and hermit. Dressing as a merchant is a means for Barlaam to give Josaphat his merchandise, the precious stone, which is a figure for faith. Barlaam describes this stone as 'una peyra preciosa que sa par non pot hom trobar' (Occitan version, 150). It is thus a precious thing, the equal of which cannot be found, and a fair likeness of which cannot be conveyed in words. This is one of the first hints that the divine is always just beyond man's capacity to explain and describe in words, a theme in the texts which will be examined in greater depth in part V of this chapter.

Barlaam's role as a travelling merchant again links journeying and translation. Medieval merchants were associated with travel, transportation, and the circulation of goods. The merchant connected not just diverse local places, but also different states and continents. In this way, Barlaam's ruse of secular trading-based itinerancy is closely tied to translation: when Barlaam travels to convert Josaphat, he performs somatic translation of apostolic injunctions. When he converts Josaphat, Barlaam presents verbal translations and interpretations of biblical passages and tenets to the prince. The international reach of Barlaam and his medieval merchant counterparts parallels the international distribution through translation both of the faith he expounds, and of the precious stone, which in its form of biblical texts circulated in almost every language around the world. It also parallels the history of the internationally popular hagiographic tale of Barlaam and Josaphat, known in so many centuries, continents, and languages.¹¹⁶

In the Anglo-Norman and *MND* versions, Barlaam similarly dresses as a merchant to hide his role as proselyte, and uses the wondrous stone story. In the Anglo-Norman, the metaphors are clearly explained. The merchant's clothing is always a disguise, 'deguiser se

¹¹⁶ Lavaud and Nelli (eds and trans), 'Introduction', in 'Le Roman spirituel de Barlaam et Josaphat', in *Les Troubadours*, p. 1067.

fist cum marchant' (Anglo-Norman version, 697), which hides Barlaam's true role: 'ces dras out emprente, | K'a lu venist par cuverture' (Anglo-Norman version, 844-45). It is a convincing lie because it is close to the truth: as a sort of spiritual salesman, Barlaam comes to persuade Josaphat to accept philosophical ideas, rather than to buy commercial products.

In the *MND* version, Barlaam uses the same conceit of merchant's clothes, but it is not explained in any depth (*MND* version, 558-59), because his disguise is proved to be useful when the rest of the play is acted out, and he is able to enter without suspicion into Josaphat's tower. In the Anglo-Norman, the stone is, on the surface, a medicine to cure all illnesses and exorcise all devils (Anglo-Norman version, 721-26), which can only be seen by those free from sin (Anglo-Norman version, 731-34). Yet later Barlaam demonstrates that this is only a metaphor when he explains that the idea of the stone represents God (Anglo-Norman version, 790-91). The initial description is similar in the *MND* version, in which the stone is said to cure all disabilities (*MND* version, 566-71), and to be visible only to the good (*MND* version, 586-91). However, in keeping with the *MND* version's more direct approach to religious truth, the stone appears as merely a subterfuge for Barlaam to enter the tower, rather than as a metaphor for God. Thus Barlaam uses the stone as a pretext for launching into a monologue on Christianity, rather than as a figure for faith (*MND* version, 623-79).

In another case, the Anglo-Norman hints at the metaphorical power of spiritual sight, a sense which enables one to perceive spiritual realities beyond physical appearances. This is suggested when the converted courtier, on hearing that the king refuses to tolerate Christianity, cries 'ne veez gute' (Anglo-Norman version, 143). This motif is developed in the Occitan, which makes multiple references to spiritual sight, discussing 'los huels de la pensa' (Occitan version, e.g. 159) and 'los huels del cor' (Occitan version, e.g. 175), which may be blind, shadowed, or in light, depending on how well the person is able to perceive spiritual truths (Occitan version, e.g. 181). In all the cases examined above,

metaphorisation and somatic translation demonstrate the constant pull between the divine abstract and physical, concrete, worldly reality. In this, they echo the productive tension between innovative creation and invocatory didactic retelling in the works.

However, in the Middle Ages, somatic translation in religious contexts was figured through other forms of bodily experience of the holy than just the eremitic experience. As Jocelyn Wogan-Browne has shown, somatic translation could be manifested through bodily contact with any physical item linked to a saint, from a relic to a copy of their *vita*. ‘Body-centred modes of participation in textual communities’ were a ‘validated form of relation’ sought by clerical narrator and lay audience alike.¹¹⁷ Just as biblical injunctions to behave in a certain manner set up paradigms of both typology and somatic translation, because they proffer salvation if certain patterns of behaviour are followed and recreated, so, Wogan-Browne argues, hagiography encourages the types of somatic translation she discusses: ‘hearing, touching, wearing, consuming saints’ Lives are [...] the logical consequence of hagiography’s ritual and typological structural principles’.¹¹⁸

While the saints’ *Lives* provide one means of accessing their holiness, other forms are just as valid: ‘the burial place, relics and the text of the Life are all on a continuum as parts of the saint’s material identity’.¹¹⁹ In this section, I have sought to elucidate the links between spiritual searching, travel, translation, and literary creation, and how they come together in the somatic translation of textual communities in these works. In the next section, I will look at other forms of translation in these texts, including some of the forms of somatic translation outlined by Wogan-Browne. I will do so to formulate a paradigm of spiritual translation. This spiritual translation is a particular amalgam of varying forms of

¹¹⁷ Jocelyn Wogan-Browne, ‘The Apple’s Message: Some Post-Conquest Hagiographic Accounts of Textual Transmission’, in *Late-Medieval Religious Texts and their Transmission: Essays in Honour of A. I. Doyle*, ed. by A. J. Minnis, York Manuscripts Conferences: Proceedings Series University of York, Centre for Medieval Studies, 3 (Cambridge: Brewer, 1994), pp. 39-53 (p. 46).

¹¹⁸ Wogan-Browne, p. 50.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 45.

physical and linguistic transformations and translations, working together with specific results in these hagiographic texts.

Part V – ‘Spiritual Translation’: Physical, Linguistic, and Metaphysical Movement

I use the term ‘spiritual translation’ to designate the specific way that different forms of translation — from linguistic, to somatic, to relic-based translations — interact in the texts in my corpus, as well as the effects produced by this interaction. I call this ‘spiritual’ translation because these forms of translation are carried out by Christian characters and scribes in order to exalt Christian spirituality. In order to study in depth how spiritual translation works here, it is useful to summarise briefly the ways in which translation functions in these three narratives. Firstly, there is linguistic translation behind the narratives. These *vies* are all products of translation from proto-narratives brought to Europe in Greek and Latin. The texts in our corpus may have been directly translated from a source in another language. Alternatively, they may have been based on another French- or Occitan-language text, which in turn had been translated, or was descended from a text which had been translated. There is further linguistic movement as each text reinterprets its models substantially, moving the legend from verse, to prose, to drama.

Moreover, each text is placed in a new manuscript compilation, meaning that Barlaam and Josaphat’s legend becomes associated with a new multi-lingual and multi-generic assortment of narratives.¹²⁰ Within the texts of our corpus, the characters translate

¹²⁰ The *MND* are present in one manuscript, which contains nothing else: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS fonds français 819-20. However, the unique manuscript of the Occitan version — Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS fonds français 1049 — also contains, amongst other Occitan religious texts, an Occitan political text and a Latin religious text. The Anglo-Norman version is found in two surviving manuscripts — London, British Library, MS Cotton Caligula A IX, and Oxford, Jesus College Library, MS 29. The British Library manuscript contains texts in Anglo-Norman and Middle English, including other religious texts but also historical chronicles. The Jesus College manuscript contains works in Anglo-Norman and Middle English but also one Latin work, and includes religious texts, but also geographical and business reference works. See Neil Cartlidge, ‘The

previously existing narrative paradigms in their lives, which are so heavily textualised that they constitute a new text in their own right, and which lead to another text when they are written down. This mythical proto-text is then copied, translated, and reworked, and the versions we access today are later descendants of this long process. It is thus impossible to possess the 'original' texts of the works in our corpus, if indeed they ever existed. We have seen that the characters live in textual communities, members of which relive written models in a form of somatic translation. The hermits also experience somatic translation of the divine following a biblical model drawn from the Gospel of Saint John, as examined in the previous section of this chapter. Moreover, there is a further physical translation when, in the Anglo-Norman and Occitan texts, Barlaam and Josaphat's relics are moved from the desert to the church, confirming and moving their prestige and holiness from the wilderness to the institution. Thus the myriad forms of translation in these texts can be summarised as being both linguistic and physical: translations of sources, of textualised codes of behaviour, and of saintly bodies.

What effects are achieved by the union of these different forms of linguistic and physical translation? When a procession moves Barlaam and Josaphat's relics into the church in the Anglo-Norman version, it is described thus:

A cele grant translatiun

Fist deu par sun seintisme nun

Granz miracles pur lur amur

Et fet uncor desk'a cest jur. (Anglo-Norman version, 2907-10, emphasis

mine)

From this dense statement, we can make five observations as regards spiritual translation. 'Translatiun' and 'nun' are placed in rhymed position, as God carries out miracles, through his name, on the occasion of this relic translation. Linguistic translation does not take place, as this quote discusses the physical translation of relics. Yet through mention of God's name ('fist deu par sun seintisme nun'), this section links the physical translation of relics ('a cele grant translatiun'), with linguistic utterance, in a paradigm of spiritual translation. The necessity of this combination of physical translation with language is also evident in the Occitan. It is Josaphat's use of both linguistic and somatic translation, demonstrating Christian truth through the spoken word of his preaching and through the lived word of his behaviour, that converts people of their own free will to his faith: 'preziquet lur lo sant Evangeli e [...] de las bonas costumaz que vezian en luy, per la humilitat e per la mansueza, [...] en petit de temps ac convertit tot lo pobol de la ciutat' (Occitan version, 183). The *MND* version ends before Josaphat and Barlaam's death, so it does not portray the translation or power of their relics.

Secondly, in the Anglo-Norman, this spiritual translation effects miracles, that is to say concrete and physical changes. This is the same in the Occitan, in which, at Barlaam and Josaphat's shrine, 'motz miracles fes nostre Senher adonx en la honor dels dos barons' (Occitan version, 189). In both these texts, the miracles produce an apotropaic effect, guaranteeing the saints' continued mediating power for their devotees reading or listening to the texts. The Occitan is explicit about Barlaam and Josaphat's power to influence God on believers' behalf, as the explicit prays that God may help the audience on account of their joint love of the two saints: 'a Dieu queram per sa merce que [...] vos, que.l legis e l'escoutas, nos tenga pron [...] per l'amor de Barlam e de Jozaphas' (Occitan version, 190).

Thirdly, the divine (in miracles), is mediated by words ('nun'), and by the physical presence of the saintly relics ('translatiun'). This confirms Wogan-Browne's statement quoted above, that all material items connected with the saint, from bone to text, are

equally important in providing access to their presence.¹²¹ The Occitan portrays a similar mediation of the divine. As we have seen, God's miracles are channelled through the protagonists' shrine (Occitan version, 189), but God's protection is also invoked for those who access the *vida*, either through reading or listening (Occitan version, 190).

Fourthly, translation overcomes temporal boundaries, as this ancient 'translatiun' during the early Christian period results in miracles both then and now ('fist [...] et fet uncor'). The Occitan also portrays the miracles as starting at the time of the inauguration of the shrine, and continuing up until the present day, from 'los miracles que Dieus fazia aqui on ilh jassian' to 'motz miracles fes nostre Senher' (Occitan version, 189). Fifthly, translation also overcomes metaphysical boundaries, as it is specifically the 'translatiun' of these relics which results in God's immediate presence (through miracles) in these people's church and lives. The divine is present in the world here through the movement, both physical (through relics), and linguistic (through hagiography), of these saintly bodies. They are carried physically to new audiences of Indian worshippers in the church, and within literature to the francophone and occitanophone audiences seeking hagiographic instruction, inspiration, and mediation.

Spiritual translation in the Anglo-Norman and Occitan versions of *Barlaam et Josaphat* therefore overcomes temporal restrictions, through the ancient 'translatiun' and 'processions' of and around the relics (Anglo-Norman version, 2907, and Occitan version, 189), which result in miracles both then and now. It crosses geographical boundaries, making the francophone and occitanophone audiences party to miracles occurring in India. It breaks metaphysical restrictions, as, when the relics are moved to the city, God's absent and timeless power becomes immediately present through miracles in the lives of the intradiegetic audience. And yet translation of relics is not the only form of physical translation in these narratives. We have already seen how textual communities physically

¹²¹ Wogan-Browne, p. 45.

recreate texts through their textualised experiences, and how the hermits adopt a particular Gospel pattern of somatic translation in the desert. These are also forms of physical translation, and importantly, unlike the translation of relics, they are present in the *MND* version as well as in the Anglo-Norman and Occitan versions. How do these other forms of physical religious translation contribute to a paradigm of spiritual translation?

These types of bodily translation are also inextricably linked to linguistic translation, because they depend on the translation into various languages of previously existing texts on which the characters base their lives. Furthermore, acts of bodily translation have to be translated into words in order for their stories to be told in the hagiography we read. These somatic translations do not effect miracles in their own right, but they do lead the protagonists who perform them to become saints, which is what enables them to act as facilitators of miracles after their deaths. Moreover, when Barlaam and Josaphat translate biblical injunctions by re-enacting and reinterpreting biblical principles in the desert, such as living a life of privation and isolation far from most temptations, their actions are portrayed as mediating the divine. For example, in the Occitan, Josaphat's lifestyle in the desert is shown to be a somatic translation of specifically biblical tenets when it is referred to as an '*evangelial vida*' (Occitan version, 189, emphasis mine). All three versions portray imitation of biblical models, but also hagiographic ones. In the texts, the ways the Christian characters behave in the desert reflect not only the Gospels but also the *Vitae patrum*. Thus they live on food provided by the desert, engage in religious disputations, see heaven, suffer from mental and demonic torments, and convert sinners to save their souls, as ascetics do in the *Vitae patrum*.¹²² Somatic translation is thus about the repetition of a holy paradigm contained in the Gospels, but reiterated and recopied through multiple hagiographic lives and texts. Such replication can lead to divine

¹²² *The Lives of the Desert Fathers: The Historia Monachorum in Aegypto*, trans. by Norman Russell, with an introduction by Benedicta Ward SLG, Cistercian Studies Series, 34 (London: Mowbray, 1981), pp. 63, 86, 88, 91, 95-98.

contact, as God demonstrates approval of Josaphat's life choices by granting him a spiritual vision of Barlaam's soul and of heavenly messengers, who comment favourably on his asceticism. Therefore the somatic translation of the desert hermits, as in the instance examined above, is shown to replicate holy models and in this way to channel the divine. This somatic translation then combines with the words of the *vies* to mediate God's message to the audience.

In terms of the fourth characteristic of spiritual translation, somatic translation also overcomes temporal restrictions, as it re-actualises past texts and deeds. Josaphat and Barlaam's bodies are not just holy in death; Josaphat's visions of heaven and hell, and his meeting with the Virgin, confer holiness on him in life. In this way, the forms of somatic translation he practices are confirmed by God as holy, as the way Josaphat lives his life through bodily reinterpretations of holy texts is shown to merit divine approval. Even in life, Josaphat and Barlaam's somatic translations overcome metaphysical boundaries by communing with the divine (for example through visions), just as they will later do in death through their relics. Thus the *MND* version equally participates in the paradigm of spiritual translation.

If the many forms of physical and linguistic translation in these hagiographic narratives work inseparably together in a form of spiritual translation which overcomes temporal, geographical, and metaphysical boundaries, then what is the result of this process? In order to answer this question, it is useful to refer to some arguments on a very different topic: Sylvia Huot's discussion of the transposition of lyric into narrative in Marie de France's work *Laüstic*.¹²³ In this twelfth-century Anglo-Norman lai, the title of which translates from the Breton as 'Nightingale', a married lady and her neighbour fall in love. They spend time together at night, talking to each other from their respective windows. The lady's husband becomes suspicious, so she says she listens to a nightingale sing. The

¹²³ Sylvia Huot, 'Troubadour Lyric and Old French Narrative', in *The Troubadours: An Introduction*, ed. by Simon Gaunt and Sarah Kay (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 263-78.

husband kills the bird. The lady wraps the nightingale's body in a cloth and sends it to her neighbour, who encloses it in a casket. Huot's discussion of *Laüstic* deals with a very different generic discourse and topic, and may seem far removed from *Barlaam and Josaphat*, but I would suggest it is relevant to these hagiographic texts in a number of respects.

Huot discusses how, in *Laüstic*, the dead nightingale, around which multiple poetic references cluster, is progressively encased and reified by the cloth and casket in which it is wrapped.¹²⁴ In much the same way, Barlaam and Josaphat's bodies, gradually taking on new significations of holiness, are progressively reified and enclosed. When Barlaam dies, Josaphat wraps his body up before enclosing it in a tomb, as portrayed here in the Anglo-Norman version:

Josaphaz le seint cors prent,

Si l'envolupa mut ducement [...]

Mist il le seint cors en terre,

E l'enseveli [...]

E a la tumber jut. (Anglo-Norman version, 2777-78, 2782-84)

Due to a lacuna, the episode of Barlaam's death is missing from the Occitan version, but we know from later references that Josaphat put Barlaam's body in a tomb. When Josaphat dies, his body is also enclosed by another hermit who finds him dead: '*trobet lo fenit. E pres lo sieu precios cors, et [...] pauset lo el sepulcre josta Barlam'* (Occitan version, 189, emphasis mine). In the Anglo-Norman, this episode is almost identical:

fist au cors ke fere deit :

¹²⁴ Huot, p. 270.

Ben l'aturna e l'enseveli

U le bon Barlaam fu enfui. (Anglo-Norman version, 2880-82)

When the king hears of their deaths in the Occitan, he sets out to recover their bodies, which have now become precious objects:

ubri lo monument e vi Barlam et Jozaphas que eran ensemps totz entiers, e la color de la cara d'els era aytant fresca con lo jorn que y foron mes. La odor que eysia d'els era de dousor e de suaveza. Lo rey Arachim pres los amdos et an gran reverencia portet los en son palays. (Occitan version, 189)

The preserved state of Barlaam and Josaphat's bodies, along with the odour of sanctity, are commonplaces of hagiography which confirm their holy status. In this case they also suggest the newly fixed nature of their identity in death, as not even their physical remains are allowed to be subject to corruption or change. As Caroline Walker Bynum explains, such miracles of life-like dead relics are meaningful because they embody 'matter triumphing over exactly the change it represented. [...] At the moment of miraculous change, objects bodied forth transcendence and eternity as well as materiality'.¹²⁵

The Anglo-Norman version recounts the episode in a similar way, stressing the fixed preservation of their bodies, their spiritual value as objects of divine mediation, and their reintegration from the ascetic isolation of the desert into the social, secular space of the city:

Li rei fist fuir icel tresor,

Ki valut meuz k'argent u or,

¹²⁵ Caroline Walker Bynum, *Christian Materiality: An Essay on Religion in Late Medieval Europe* (New York: Zone Books, 2011), pp. 256-57.

Si *truva* trestuz les cors enters [...]

Mut duneit duce flaur [...]

Li rei les prist mut hautement,

Si *fist mettre* en or e en argent,

Si fist mut richement porter

Icel tresor k'il out mut cher

En la cite u il maneit. (Anglo-Norman version, 2891-93, 2895, 2897-2901

emphasis mine)

Once their bodies have been reintegrated into the social spheres of the palace and city, they can be moved into the church where they will rest. Their remains are accompanied by a procession and enshrined in the church. While in life the men lived outside the world as hermits, in death they are progressively drawn back into the social sphere, from the public space of the city into the church. This church is a place representative of public access to the divine, and of ecclesiastical hierarchy and prestige.

In the Occitan, the sense of self-containment as the bodies are honoured and enclosed is magnified when Josaphat's body is placed within the very church he built. Far from the place where he achieved sanctity, his remains are sealed off from the open space of the desert within a self-contained monument. They are enclosed within a church which is an architectural reminder of his spiritual legacy:

de totas las ciutatz de tota la region venian encontra azorar e vezer los cors

dels barons, an cans et ab hymnes esperitals et an lampezas et an cires

ardens. Ab aytals processions foron pauzatz los cors en la gleya que

Jozaphas avia hedificada. (Occitan version, 189)

In the Anglo-Norman, we find the same crowd encircling the remains, and the same sense of self-referential containment as Josaphat's body is enclosed in his own church:

en l'eglise ke fete aveit,
 Josaphaz, quant primes i vint,
 Par ki crestiente revint,
Fist mettre le cors mut richement
 Od grant pople e od grant gent. (Anglo-Norman version, 2902-06, emphasis mine)

I have italicised the use of 'fist mettre' and the uses of 'trobar/truver' in these citations because, as I will argue, this vocabulary helps demonstrate how the process of progressive enclosure is linked here to the process of literary creation and hagiographic commemoration examined elsewhere in the chapter. We have already seen that once placed in the church, Barlaam and Josaphat's bodies become channels for miracles manifesting the divine (Occitan version, 189-90; Anglo-Norman version, 2907-10). As Huot says, 'a saint's body, placed in a reliquary, retains a potency that allows it to act as intermediary to the divine and to intervene directly in human affairs'.¹²⁶ Huot compares this enclosed saintly dynamism to the effect of the enshrined nightingale's body in *Laüstic*, which she identifies as a trope for the remains of Breton and Occitan song embedded in French texts: the original songs may be silenced, but in their literary afterlife in the French works, they continue to influence audiences and inspire new literary endeavours.¹²⁷

Barlaam and Josaphat's remains are still more active than those of the nightingale and the saint described by Huot, however. The containment of the nightingale's body in *Laüstic* involves a static accretion of things associated with what was a living creature, but

¹²⁶ Huot, p. 270.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 273.

has now become a lyric object. In contrast, Barlaam and Josaphat's bodies, through the translation of their relics, remain not just inspirational in death but even dynamic. Beyond the potency they contain as relics, which allows them to mediate the divine and intervene in human affairs, the physical movement of their translation from desert to city church is a dynamic affirmation of place.

Whereas movement from the social space of the city to the ascetic space of the desert entailed a form of negation of place, as the saints sought to extract themselves from worldly and bodily concerns, their reintegration into the city is a corresponding confirmation of place. It reaffirms the centrality of the social space of the church in the practice of Christianity, the mediation of the divine through miracles, and the shoring up of sanctity (as Barlaam and Josaphat become the subjects of a cult). This is a particular form of a common hagiographic 'loop', as, after a period of testing, or as relics, saints are often reintroduced into the city space in hagiography. This reintegrates their prestige into the social and ecclesiastical sphere.¹²⁸

I propose that more than just the relics are enclosed in the passages cited above, however. The saints' bodies, and the memories and miracles linked to them, are all included within these *vies* which describe and enfold them in their entirety. They are thus contained by and within an act of literary creation. In this sense, these *vies* function in the same way as the lai *Laüstic*, with which Huot compares the reliquary. Of this lai, Huot suggests that 'the written narrative is an elaborate and ornate artifice constructed to preserve the memory of lyric voices now silent and irretrievable'.¹²⁹ The hagiographic texts we are examining are in turn artifices designed to contain and preserve the memory of the deeds of the saints, whose own unique voices were lost at death, and whose relics are lost to the early days of Christianity in India. Huot elaborates: 'if the lyric nightingale is silenced

¹²⁸ See also, for example, *La Vie de saint Alexis*, ed. by T. D. Hemming, *Textes littéraires*, 90 (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1994).

¹²⁹ p. 270.

by writing, [...] if the living tradition of Breton song is reified and displayed as an artefact in its new textual setting — nonetheless this silencing is not an end but a new beginning'.¹³⁰

The end of the saints' lives may be signalled by their memorialisation in a hagiographic text, and this text may become a literary object in its own right, providing a channel to mediate access to God through the text (Occitan version, 189-90; Anglo-Norman version, 2908-10; [through intervention of the Virgin] *MND* version, *serventois* 1, lines 56-58). But beyond this, a 'new beginning' is signalled by the explicits of the Anglo-Norman and Occitan texts, which invoke the audience's participation in an on-going narrative of salvation, continued by the audience through prayer. A similar trope is used by the narrating voice in the 'envoy' of both *serventois* at the end of the *MND* version, in which the Virgin is implored to guide the narrator (*MND* version, *serventois* 1, lines 56-58), and to intercede on behalf of all repentant sinners (*MND* version, *serventois* 2, lines 56-58). This is in addition to the 'new beginning' provided by the saints' relics' potency as miracle workers in the Occitan and Anglo-Norman. After death, in this new phase of their existence, Barlaam and Josaphat's identities change. From this point onwards, they are viewed by the text both as disembodied saintly souls capable of celestial intervention, and as holy objects (relics) capable of working miracles.

The production of the text as reliquary through the processes of translation is different in our texts as compared to *Laüstic*, in that the journey is at the heart of the forms of translation in our corpus. In *Laüstic*, the processes of translation which produce the reliquary-text are quite static. The body of the nightingale, functioning as an inspirational catalyst for lyric and narrative composition, travels only as far as the neighbouring house. The interpolated Breton and Occitan lyric traditions, for which the nightingale is a symbol, have made their way into this Anglo-Norman composition via the relatively small geographical spaces of what are now Britain, France, and Spain. The generic shift in *Laüstic*

¹³⁰ p. 270.

from lyric to lai is echoed in the movement from verse to prose to drama in the three different versions considered here of *Barlaam et Josaphat*.

However, beyond these generic movements, the processes of translation which lead to the creation of the reliquary-texts of *Barlaam et Josaphat* are far more wide-ranging and shifting than those behind the composition of *Laüstic*. Extradiegetically, linguistic translation brought the original narratives from outside Europe, conveying holy occurrences in India to Western European Christians. Intradiegetically, the characters' somatic translations involve extensive travel between cities, palaces, churches, and deserts. The physical translations of the relics also involve extensive travel for the faithful collecting the remains: from palace and city, to desert, to church.

Huot characterises Marie's poem as a 'profound meditation on literary creation'¹³¹. The *vies* of *Barlaam et Josaphat* examined here may not meditate so self-consciously on this topic, but we have seen from analysis of their use of trobar/truver/trouver that they skilfully interweave literary creation with didactic retelling to create startlingly new texts from common sources. Thus these narratives, which consist of a description of the saints' deeds, bodies, and miracles, contain and transmit these through a creative balance struck between literary composition ('truva'), and a retelling of interpolated sources ('fist metre'). The relics, miracles, and *vie* all share the same aim of showing the way to salvation. Thus the Occitan describes the effects the relics and miracles have in this way: 'per los miracles que Dieus fazia aqui on ilh jassian, [...] mot n'i avia que de lurs mescrezensas si convertian a Dieu e glorificavan lo nom de Dieu e benezian' (Occitan version, 189-90). And the Anglo-Norman incipit and explicit, as we have seen, invoke audience participation and reformation in order to achieve salvation.

The paradigm of spiritual translation in these texts is a pattern in which somatic and textual translation are bound together. These differing forms of translation work

¹³¹ p. 270.

inextricably together, whether the textual translation is of hagiography or the Bible, and whether the somatic translation is that of a textual community living out evangelical precepts or that of the saints' mortal remains moved into the church to be venerated as relics. When combined, they ensure that the protagonists achieve sanctity, are memorialised in hagiography, and become channels for miracles ensuring the future salvation of their devotees. In this way, they point towards the on-going divine narrative of salvation of which they are a part. This is so because they facilitate, through examples and mediation, the salvation of the audiences of their *vies* and relics.

When Josaphat placed the letter on his pillow before leaving for the desert, the written explanation of his actions replaced his body. In an analogous way, the texts of these *vies* replace the bodies of the saints they describe, by containing their relics within a narrative representation which provides an alternative way to obtain mediation of the divine through these saints. This alternative way relies on the relics (or on the saints' living bodies and deeds in the case of the *MND* version) as guarantors of miracles and sanctity, and yet effaces them, replacing them with itself as a textual representation and summation of the holy men.

In this way the saints' bodies, at once absent from yet foundational to the hagiographies, are like the silenced voice of the nightingale or its dead body in *Laüstic*. As Huot explains, once killed, the nightingale becomes 'the marker of absence and desire around which art is fashioned'.¹³² These hagiographies were inspired by the saints' holy bodies (both living and dead), yet these bodies are absent from the texts, enshrined in a far-away place and time. This physical lack at the heart of the texts points towards a bigger absence, which the works simultaneously cover and gesture towards: that of the divine. One of the reasons why the three narratives are so different, despite ostensibly relating the same story, is because they attempt to recount divine truth. This is shown, throughout

¹³² p. 270.

these works, always to exceed the linguistic and somatic translation which the saints enact, and through which their lives are recounted. Even brought together in spiritual translation, linguistic and somatic translation combined can do no more than hint at the divine. As the Occitan text explains, 'si totas las lengas dels homes que anc foron eran en una, non poyrian recomptar la gloria ni la riquesa de Dieu' (Occitan version, 162).

God's presence in the texts is only ever retold through bodily and textual translation, or through the saints' dead bodies which conduct His miracles. The divine, partially present in these ways, is never completely present, because it is always recounted in words rather than being directly revealed. This godly dialectic of presence and absence, hidden in the narrative behind the saints, who strive in turn to attain communion with God, is what sets up the particular form of spiritual translation in these hagiographic texts. This absent divine presence commands a didactic retelling, but inevitably inspires literary creation, because it is not present enough in order to be told rather than created. It both demands and forecloses interpretation, demanding it in order to make God known to humanity, yet foreclosing it through its supposedly monologic truth.¹³³ It provokes physical and spiritual travel, causing the characters to voyage and search for God. And yet it undermines this questing travel through its universality, ultimately manifesting its presence in places as diverse as the empty desert and the crowded city church.

In the end, these three versions of the same saints' lives attempt to assert monologic divine truth before splintering into dizzyingly different and beautiful variations and meditations on divinity and sanctity. At times, vernacular medieval hagiography can seem heavy-handed and monologic. Reading several versions of the same *vie* alongside

¹³³ In the sense that the divine in these works both demands understanding and makes it impossible, it echoes Derrida's concept of divine agency in the biblical account of Babel. The parallels are especially strong given that these three *vies*, recounting three different versions of the same story, in three different languages and/or dialects, demonstrate the confusion that can arise when translation is attempted amongst a post-Babel multiplicity of languages. See Jacques Derrida, 'Des tours de Babel', in *Difference in Translation*, ed. by Joseph F. Graham (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1985), pp. 209-48, particularly pp. 214, 247.

each other, however, has highlighted the complexity of this material. Simon Gaunt has argued of romance that it is 'an inter-textual dialogue that allows no firm conclusions' read and heard by 'a sophisticated and inquisitive literary public that was as interested in interpretation as it was in the subject matter'.¹³⁴ By reading the same saints' lives against each other, we have seen that Gaunt's statement may also be true of hagiographic discourse.

These texts and their characters draw on vast numbers of translated resources to construct sanctity as a way to mediate and reach the divine. Yet when set alongside each other, they point to different solutions to religious problems such as how to obtain salvation, and so offer no firm conclusions. By putting these three versions of *Barlaam et Josaphat* in dialogue with each other, we have shown how these intricate and complex works play on the connections between travel, translation, spiritual searching, and literary creation. These are linked through the different types of translation, which function together to make up the particular form of spiritual translation at work in these narratives, enacted through textual communities. Through the tireless translations of the characters, authors, and scribes, these *vies* mediate the divine, but because they are forced to mediate God's truth through words, they all produce highly different end products. Because divine truth is merely refracted in and through the narratives, rather than being made present, divine truth is therefore both absent, and conducive to dialogue in the way in which it is reflected. In each version, Josaphat's wish is to find God by following the 'voie' (*MND* version, 327), the 'via de drechura' (Occitan version, 180), the 'dreite veie de salu' (Anglo-Norman version, 3). Yet in each text, this 'way' branches off into a proliferation of fascinating translations and interpretations.

¹³⁴ Simon Gaunt, *Retelling the Tale: An Introduction to Medieval French Literature* (London: Duckworth, 2001), p. 145.

Chapter Three - The Crusader

Part I - Introduction

The *Estoires d'Outremer et de la naissance Salehadin*¹ is a thirteenth-century chronicle² which imaginatively recounts the history of the Crusader States from 1099 to 1230. It is related to a proliferating mass of crusade chronicle texts.³ What sets this work apart from other accounts is its interest in Saladin, who is made into the hero of the text, despite narratorial support for his enemies, the Crusaders. In this chapter, I read this little-known work alongside the equally overlooked French translation of Ramon Llull's manual of chivalry, the *Livre de l'ordre de chevalerie*.⁴ This popular pedagogical work was translated into French in the fourteenth century, and like the *Estoires d'Outremer et de la naissance Salehadin*, it is concerned with the knight's role in fighting non-Christians.

My focus in this chapter is on how the ethos of chivalry knits together the travels, religious beliefs, and identities of the Crusader characters. Given their milieux, content, and dates of composition, one might expect the *Estoires d'Outremer et de la naissance Salehadin* and the *Livre de l'ordre de chevalerie* to support unproblematically the knight's involvement in Holy War. However, my main argument will be that despite their different, yet at times equally dogmatic stances, both the *Livre de l'ordre de chevalerie* and the *Estoires d'Outremer et de la naissance Salehadin* represent crusading as ambiguous and complex, and, more specifically, that this ambiguity in their narration is concretised in the

¹ *A Critical Edition of the 'Estoires d'Outremer et de la naissance Salehadin'*, ed. by Margaret A. Jubb, Westfield Publications in Medieval Studies, 4 (London: University of London, 1990).

² Jubb (ed.), 'General Introduction', in *Estoires*, pp. 1-13 (p. 8).

³ For more on these texts, see Margaret Ruth Morgan, *The 'Chronicle of Ernoul' and the Continuations of William of Tyre* (London: Oxford University Press, 1973).

⁴ Ramon Llull, *Livre de l'ordre de chevalerie*, ed. by Vincenzo Minervini, Biblioteca di filologia romanza, 21 (Bari: Adriatica, 1972).

way they portray chivalry. While this ambiguity is not unique to them, I will argue that they are particularly ambiguous texts.

Other francophone crusade chronicles, such as translations of William of Tyre's work and its continuations, share the same geographical and temporal scope as the *Estoires d'Outremer et de la naissance Salehadin*. However, in these works, Saladin is not made into the hero of the text. Such heroization only comes much later, and in a different generic discourse, in the fifteenth-century romance *Saladin*. Although this romance shares with the *Estoires d'Outremer et de la naissance Salehadin* a tendency to idealize Saladin, it differs from the chronicle in the way Saladin is its protagonist throughout. In contrast, the *Estoires d'Outremer et de la naissance Salehadin* portrays Saladin as its main protagonist but also dwells on other important characters and frequently switches narrative focus. In this variation in topic, the *Estoires d'Outremer et de la naissance Salehadin* follows a typical crusade chronicle layout, even as it deviates from a traditional chronicle model in its portrayal of Saladin. Another major literary generic discourse which transmits crusading ideology is the epic. The *Estoires d'Outremer et de la naissance Salehadin* differs greatly from typical crusading epics, such as those of the Old French Crusade Cycle or the *Chanson de Roland*, in that it portrays all Muslims as humans, rather than sometimes describing them as monstrous and fantastical creatures.

The *Livre de l'ordre de chevalerie* also stands apart from other fourteenth-century francophone chivalric treatises, such as Henry of Lancaster's *Livre des seyntz medicines*, for example. While Lull makes little direct reference to non-Christians, fighting them is central to his conception of knighthood, given that this is defined around a God-given command to suppress disorder and uphold the Church. In contrast, Henry's treatise ranks crusading activities much lower in importance within the knight's role, as Henry views the knight's

actions as a divinely approved vocation and penance in and of themselves, whether or not they combat disorder and differing beliefs.⁵

The *Estoires d'Outremer et de la naissance Salehadin* depicts a practical form of chivalry that is adapted to the environment in which it is portrayed as operating: the multi-faith, multilingual environment of Outremer.⁶ It is far from the European ideal retrospectively created by Lull in the *Livre de l'ordre de chevalerie*, or invoked by certain characters in the *Estoires d'Outremer et de la naissance Salehadin*. I argue that this flexible form of knighthood, open to multiple cultural influences, has implications for how we read portrayals of the identity of Crusader society as a whole in these texts.

Crusade scholarship is divided as to the cultural nature of the Crusader States in the Middle East during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. One of the key questions debated by scholars is whether, at one extreme, Crusader identity was flexible, resulting in the establishment in the Crusader States of a multicultural society, or whether, at the other extreme, it was fixed, leading the Crusaders to preside over colonial settlements with a European ethos.⁷ My texts suggest a more nuanced and ambiguous medieval situation which reflects neither one nor the other of these polarised modern ideologies.

The descriptions in these texts of the martial and religious voyaging of the Crusaders in the Middle East reveal how chivalry comes to be defined through this travel, as it is only in being displaced that knighthood becomes clear as a concept and as a way of life that presupposes a certain type of identity. In this sense, travel is at the heart of chivalry, but not in a predictable, Eurocentric way, according to which chivalric models

⁵ Richard W. Kaeuper, *Holy Warriors: The Religious Ideology of Chivalry* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), pp. 41-42.

⁶ Outremer, literally translated as 'across the sea', was the francophone name for the territories established by medieval Crusaders in the Levant and Greece.

⁷ See, for example, Christopher MacEvitt, *The Crusades and the Christian World of the East: Rough Tolerance* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008); Ronnie Ellenblum, *Frankish Rural Settlement in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); Joshua Prawer, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem: European Colonialism in the Middle Ages* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1973).

would be exported to Levantine outposts. Instead, a practical form of Crusader chivalry, portrayed as operating in the Middle East and stretching beyond restrictions of faith or class, is represented in the francophone vernacular in the European narratives examined in this chapter.

In the course of this chapter, I will develop a close comparative reading of the texts, before evaluating them alongside contemporary material cultural and historical evidence in order to illuminate some of their most obscure passages. Through these readings I will argue that the Crusader chivalry portrayed in these works alters both the texts' depiction of knightly identity and of crusading ideology, resulting ultimately in narrative confusion and paralysis. From this, I will draw out in my conclusion a medieval literary approach to the crusades which has much to say to modern re-articulations of pseudo-religious political warfare.

Part II - The Texts

The *Estoires d'Outremer et de la naissance Salehadin* (henceforth *Estoires*), was composed c. 1230 in Picard dialect.⁸ Picardy is geographically distant from the Crusader States. Yet, as many Crusaders originated from this area and spoke a Picard dialect, this form of French was one of the key linguistic forces to shape the francophone koiné spoken in the Crusader Middle East.⁹ In this sense, the *Estoires* may be a European text, but in

⁸ Jubb (ed.), 'General Introduction', in *Estoires*, pp. 1, 8. See also Jubb (ed.), 'A Study of the Language of the *Estoires*' in *Estoires*, pp. 39-44 (p. 39).

⁹ Cyril Aslanov, *Le Français au Levant, jadis et naguère : à la recherche d'une langue perdue*, Linguistique française, 12 (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2006), p. 75. Aslanov establishes that francophone Crusaders spoke a koiné which evolved primarily from Picard, Walloon, Lorrain, and some Anglo-Norman dialectal influences, mixed with Frenchified loan words from Arabic, Occitan, Catalan, and Italian dialects. See particularly pp. 43, 46-7, 49, 51, 75-7, 81, 89, 92-5, 98, 100-08. Given the dialectal variation of French in Europe at this time, Aslanov explains that the French used in Outremer would have been very varied (p. 37). However, certain similarities can be observed in the French language used to compose contemporary literary, documentary, and language-learning sources in the Levant, such as the French-Arabic glossary from thirteenth-century Acre, in which the

terms of its linguistic format, as well as its literary and historical content, it is closely tied to the medieval Levant. In this chronicle, the history of Outremer is ostensibly told in chronological order, but there are frequent digressions on biblical and Middle Eastern geography and history. Moreover, the text omits crucial historical details, scrambles chronologies and genealogies, and vacillates between historical, biblical, and literary geographies and timeframes. In light of this, even its editor has described it using terms varying from ‘sketchy’, ‘inaccurate’, ‘misleading’, and ‘careless’, to ‘indefensible’.¹⁰

Apart from recounting imaginative histories of Saladin’s life and of the Crusader States, the *Estoires* contains multiple fictional interpolations. It therefore combines the format and rhetoric of an early vernacular historical chronicle with other generic discourses, including elements from romance and *chansons de geste*.¹¹ One such interpolation is the *Fille du comte de Ponthieu*, in what may be its first surviving redaction.¹² This short romance recounts how Saladin was supposedly descended from the Picard Count of Ponthieu. Another interpolation is that of the *Ordre de chevalerie*, which explains how Saladin reputedly persuaded a captive, Hugh of Tiberias, to knight him according to the Western Christian dubbing ritual.

Additionally included is the parable of the heralds of death.¹³ This is integrated into a wider tale, in which a Damascene king saves his soul by becoming a charitable, penitent Christian, and by inspiring his brother and courtiers to act likewise. Further interpolations draw on the popular narrative tradition of the *Légende de Saladin* (a disparate collection of vernacular stories concerning the ruler).¹⁴ They recount Saladin’s criticism of the Christian

French is transcribed using the Coptic alphabet, or legal documents from the Crusader States (pp. 38, 44, 99).

¹⁰ Jubb (ed.), ‘The *Estoires* and the *Abrégé*: Textual Relations’, in *Estoires*, pp. 277-92 (pp. 293, 295-296).

¹¹ Jubb (ed.), ‘General Introduction’, in *Estoires*, p. 12.

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 6-7.

¹³ A version of this parable has already been analysed in chapter two, as it is also occurs in the Occitan version of *Barlaam et Josaphat*.

¹⁴ Jubb (ed.), ‘General Introduction’, in *Estoires*, pp. 2-3.

offertory, and the dispute he institutes on his deathbed between representatives of the three Abrahamic faiths.¹⁵ One final interpolation is unique to the *Estoires*.¹⁶ It concerns an imagined war between Saladin and the Queen of Turkey, along with her allies, the Caliph of Baghdad and the King of Nubia.

Other than for its famous interpolations of the *Fille du comte de Ponthieu* (henceforth *Fille*), and the *Ordre de chevalerie* (henceforth *Ordre*), the *Estoires* has attracted little recent attention. The exceptions to this are Margaret A. Jubb's 1990 critical edition of the text, and Margaret Morgan's 1973 study of its relationship to the Ernoul and William of Tyre crusade chronicle traditions.¹⁷ These represent excellent fact-finding studies, but as they are focused on establishing the codicological and historical status of the text, they do not undertake a critical reading, such as that provided in this chapter.

The *Estoires* is extant in three manuscripts.¹⁸ Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS fonds français 770, from the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century, dates from the time period covered by this thesis.¹⁹ It contains all the interpolations,²⁰ and it is illuminated by several relevant illustrations of Latin, Byzantine, and Islamic monarchs and knights. In part VI of this chapter on textual context, I will discuss this manuscript alongside extant artistic evidence from the Crusader era, to elucidate the cultural significance of the manuscript's illustrations. The *Estoires* is further preserved in BnF, MS f. fr. 12203, which also dates from the same period, yet as this does not include the dubbing interpolation of the *Ordre*, it is not analysed in this chapter.²¹ The third extant manuscript of the *Estoires*,

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 2.

¹⁶ Ibid; Jubb (ed.), 'The *Estoires* and the *Abrégé*: Textual Relations', in *Estoires*, p. 288.

¹⁷ *Estoires*, ed. by Jubb; Morgan, *The 'Chronicle of Ernoul'*.

¹⁸ Jubb (ed.), 'General Introduction', in *Estoires*, p. 1.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Ibid., p. 2; Jubb (ed.), 'Textual Introduction', in *Estoires*, pp. 15-37 (pp. 18, 21, 31).

²¹ Jubb (ed.), 'General Introduction', in *Estoires*, pp. 1-2; Jubb (ed.), 'Textual Introduction', in *Estoires*, pp. 18, 21.

BnF, MS f. fr. 24210, lacks certain interpolations and dates from the fifteenth century, and so is beyond the chronological remit of this study.²²

My second text for this chapter, the *Livre de l'ordre de chevalerie* (henceforth *Livre*), was probably originally written in Catalan as the *Llibre de l'orde de cavalleria* (henceforth *Llibre*).²³ It was composed by the Majorcan Ramon Llull between 1274 and 1276.²⁴ The *Livre* is a didactic treatise on the ideals of knighthood. It details how the Order of Chivalry was supposedly established, how the perfect knight should be inducted into the Order, and how he should behave. Narratorial statements in this text show that it was intended to be a pan-European manual of chivalry.²⁵ Although later Catalan versions survive, the first extant copy of this work is the French translation examined here, the earliest version of which is to be found in a late fourteenth-century manuscript.²⁶ Like the *Estoires*, its linguistic traits indicate that it comes from North-East France, specifically Picardy or Champagne.²⁷ In addition to the Catalan version, Llull also composed a copy in Latin. Given that the Latin version is now lost, it is impossible to tell whether the *Livre* was translated from the Latin or from the Catalan.²⁸ However, there are no substantial differences between the text of the French translation and the extant Catalan version.²⁹ The French version contains in addition only some glosses and amplifications, which, for the most part, are references to up-to-date knightly accoutrements, or to additional biblical

²² Jubb (ed.), 'Textual Introduction', in *Estoires*, pp. 17, 31.

²³ The editor of the Catalan version discusses why he believes the French version to have been translated from an intermediary Catalan manuscript, now lost: Albert Soler i Llopart, 'Introducció', in Ramon Llull, *Llibre de l'orde de cavalleria*, ed. by Albert Soler i Llopart (Barcelona: Editorial Barcino, 1988), pp. 5-159 (p. 64).

²⁴ Noel Fallows, 'Introduction', in Ramon Llull, *The Book of the Order of Chivalry*, ed. and trans. by Noel Fallows (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2013), pp. 1-29 (p. 1).

²⁵ In French: Ramon Llull, *Livre*, ed. by Minervini, pp. 85-86, 95; in Catalan: Ramon Llull, *Llibre*, ed. by Soler i Llopart, pp. 165, 170-71.

²⁶ Minervini (ed.), 'Prefazione', in Ramon Llull, *Livre*, pp. 11-69 (pp. 21-22).

²⁷ Minervini (ed.), 'Footnote 2' and 'Footnote 188', in Ramon Llull, *Livre*, pp. 73, 119.

²⁸ Minervini (ed.), 'Prefazione', in Ramon Llull, *Livre*, p. 36.

²⁹ Soler i Llopart (ed.), 'Introducció', in Ramon Llull, *Llibre*, p. 61.

passages.³⁰ The French version of the *Livre* survives in eleven manuscripts and was later printed, reflecting the popularity of Llull's work in France during the Middle Ages.³¹

Having given an outline of the texts, in this next section I will consider their similarities in more detail, to make clear why and how they function as good contrastive pieces which can deepen our appreciation of the complexity of medieval vernacular crusading literature. Both the *Livre* and the *Estoires* contain an 'Order of Chivalry' — a type of text which sets out the dubbing ritual for initiating a man into knighthood. While this forms the main body of Llull's text, it is an interpolation in the *Estoires*, although the text does deal with the theme of crusading chivalry throughout. Llull as an author, the Crusaders in the *Estoires*, and the historical Crusaders all shared an attachment to literal truth and modes of translation and interpretation. The early years of the Crusader States in particular were characterized by an eschatological climate. There was a focus on an imminent fulfilment of biblical predictions, as it was believed that the Christian conquest of Jerusalem during the First Crusade might precipitate the apocalypse.³² We see such an eschatological intellectual climate in the *Estoires* in terms of prophecies regarding the True Cross and the recapture of Jerusalem, for example (193).³³ These literal-minded currents of thought in the Crusader States are paralleled in Llull's approach to writing, making his work on chivalry a good contrastive piece for the *Estoires*. As William Burgwinkle has observed, Llull's genius was married to literal modes of thinking, in that 'Llull clearly never doubted the existence of truth or the possibility of reproducing it in all its senses'.³⁴ Furthermore, Llull was less concerned with translation from one language to another than with the

³⁰ Ibid., pp. 61-63. See these pages in Soler i Llopart for a full list of the additions in the French text as compared to the Catalan.

³¹ Minervini (ed.), 'Prefazione', in Ramon Llull, *Livre*, p. 38.

³² Joshua Prawer, *The World of the Crusaders* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1972), pp. 67-68.

³³ References in brackets in the body of the text are to page numbers in Jubb's edition.

³⁴ 'The Translator As Interpretant: Passing in/on the Work of Ramon Llull', in *Rethinking Medieval Translation: Ethics, Politics, Theory*, ed. by Emma Campbell and Robert Mills (Cambridge: Brewer, 2012), pp. 184-203 (p. 186).

translation of divine truth.³⁵ Lull never doubted that this enterprise was possible; indeed, it constituted his lifelong mission.³⁶ Lull and the Crusaders' literal interpretation of divine truth is both reflected and questioned in the *Estoires*. It is embodied in the Crusaders' drive to maintain Christian control of holy sites throughout, and in their miraculous interpretations of disturbances witnessed in the night sky (154). Yet, as I will suggest, monologic readings of truth, translation, and religion are undermined by the uncoupling of religious and knightly identities, and the absence of a coherent definition of chivalry.

The *Estoires* mixes generic discourses and temporalities in an attempt to master the complexity of its material; the *Livre* is similarly eclectic. As Noel Fallows has noted of the *Llibre* (and the same, I would argue, is true of the *Livre*), it 'exemplifies the idea of simple generic pigeon-holing as an outworn categorization'.³⁷ The prologue of the *Livre* develops the story of a squire meeting a knight-hermit in a wood. The scene is reminiscent of diverse literary referents from the francophone, occitanophone, and Iberian worlds. These range from Arthurian romance to troubadour lyric, *dits*, and the *Mester de clerecía* tradition of writing.³⁸ After the establishment of this dream-like setting, the frame narrative

³⁵ Ibid., p. 188.

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ 'Introduction', in Ramon Lull, *The Book*, p. 23.

³⁸ The errant knight seeking counsel from a hermit in the countryside is a recurrent trope in Arthurian romance: see Paul Bretel, *Littérature et édification au Moyen Âge : << Mult est diverse ma matyre >>*, Essais sur le Moyen Âge, 56 (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2012), particularly pp. 93-110. In the prologue to the *Livre*, Lull's squire meets the knight-hermit after he falls asleep on horseback, and is led by his horse into the meadow with a fountain where the hermit lives. An early, famous, vernacular treatment of literary inspiration while asleep on horseback is found in the Occitan troubadour Guilhem IX's poem 'Farai un vers de dreit nien'. For an edition of the poem, see William IX, *Guglielmo IX, poesie: edizione critica a cura di Nicolò Pasero*, ed. and trans. by Nicolò Pasero, 'Subsidia' al 'Corpus des troubadours', 1; Studi, testi e manuali, Istituto di filologia romanza dell'Università di Roma, 1 (Modena: S.T.E.M.-MUCCHI, 1973), pp. 113-55. The beautiful natural setting, chance meeting, and the *magister-discipulus* relationship established between the two protagonists is further reminiscent of the Occitan didactic *nova* (short story) entitled *Abril issía e mays intraba*. See Raimon Vidal, *Poetry and Prose: Volume II: Abril issía*, ed. by W. H. W. Field, University of North Carolina Studies in the Romance Languages and Literatures, 110, 2 vols (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1971), II. Similar motifs were developed in later vernacular literature produced in what is now France, with the sleeping poet and the garden setting becoming frequent literary tropes after the *Roman de la Rose*. See, for example, Machaut's *dit* of *La Fontaine amoureuse*, where the author falls asleep only to wake in a similar garden space complete with a fountain. See Guillaume de Machaut, *La Fontaine amoureuse*, ed. by Jacqueline Cerquiglini-Toulet, Série << Moyen Âge >>, (Paris: Stock, 1993). Within the Iberian *Mester de clerecía* tradition, Gonzalo

quickly dissolves, to be replaced with pure treatise. While the opening setting is atemporal, evoking both contemporary and ancient Arthurian settings, the main treatise on chivalry is grounded in Lull's present. For example, at one point the narratorial voice directly addresses its assumed audience: the contemporary knight training his son to become a knight (160).³⁹

The layering of temporalities in the *Estoires* is more complex. Despite being structured as a historical chronicle, the narratorial voice of the *Estoires* jumps backwards or forwards in time at points due to the *entrelacement* of episodes.⁴⁰ Even more confusingly, some of these references to the past or future are hollow: they either refer to an issue which was supposedly highlighted before, but which has never been mentioned, or to an issue which will theoretically be explained later in the *Estoires*, but which is never described fully.⁴¹ Moreover, the linear historical chronology of the account crumbles at times. For instance, after Henry of Champagne's death in 1197, the narrative leaps forward twenty-three years with no explanation of what happened during that period, or why events that took place then are not recounted. So, the narrative continues with the election and

de Berceo, whose lifespan overlapped with Lull's but who was Lull's literary predecessor, also played on the secular literary trope of the wanderer stumbling on a peaceful natural setting, and the wise man resting under a tree. The *Mester de clerecía* tradition refers to the work and monastic authors of a self-conscious literary movement in thirteenth-century Castilian monasteries. See Julian Weiss, *The 'Mester de Clerecía': Intellectuals and Ideologies in Thirteenth-Century Castile*, Colección Támesis, Serie A, Monografías, 231 (Woodbridge: Tamesis, 2006). Gonzalo and Lull make parallel uses of the lyric topos of the garden, converting the secular *locus amoenus* back into an edenic space for religious contemplation, and a source of divinely granted narrative inspiration. See Gonzalo de Berceo, *Milagros de Nuestra Señora*, ed. by Michael Gerli, Letras Hispánicas, 224, 15th edn (Madrid: Cátedra, 2010), pp. 69-78. Lull was certainly aware of literary developments in Castilian. Although the *Llibre* references some Latin sources, such as Jerome and Aquinas, it is also heavily influenced by the contemporary vernacular Castilian law codes commissioned by Alfonso X: the *Siete Partidas* and the *Fuero Real*. See Fallows (ed. and trans.), 'Introduction', in Ramon Lull, *The Book*, pp. 24-29. See also Minervini, 'Prefazione', in Ramon Lull, *Livre*, p. 18.

³⁹ References in brackets in the body of the text are to page numbers in Minervini's edition.

⁴⁰ The narrative technique of *entrelacement* in the *Estoires* involves the narrator juxtaposing and weaving together events in a 'loose, episodic, serial structure'. See Jubb (ed.), 'The Place of the *Estoires d'Outremer* in Old French Literature', in *Estoires*, pp. 293-307 (p. 299).

⁴¹ See, for example, Jubb's footnotes on pp. 191 and 195 of her edition of the *Estoires*. Here, Jubb highlights that the narratorial voice refers cryptically in passing to the Battle of Nazareth, assuming prior knowledge on the part of the audience. This is in spite of having omitted any account of the battle earlier in the *Estoires*.

coronation of John II, as though the reign of Amalric II and the regency of John of Ibelin, which occurred after Henry's reign but before John II's, did not take place.⁴² Then, Richard the Lionheart is anachronistically said to have been on the throne at the time of the Battle of Bouvines in 1214, even though Richard's successor John was then ruling.⁴³ As well as charting historical time, the *Estoires* is shaped by biblical and eschatological time frames. The plurality of timelines around which the text is structured contributes to its lack of clarity and coherence, generating some criticism from its editor.⁴⁴ A study of different notions of time in the *Estoires* will be developed later in the chapter, as the confusion in the chronology of deeds of the Crusader knights helps shape their identities in contradictory ways.

As compilatory texts with varied cultural influences, the *Estoires* and the *Livre* are diverse not just in their content, but also in their backgrounds. Both were produced within and were influenced by multilingual societies. While the *Estoires* was composed in northern France, it recounts the history of Outremer, a series of European settlements in the Middle East, which evolved in some areas into a form of Franco-Syrian society.⁴⁵ Earlier twentieth-century crusade historians tended to stress the separation of settlers and indigenous peoples, but more recently, scholars have shown that while some separation occurred through a stratification of society, there was a substantial amount of exchange and cohabitation.⁴⁶ Moreover, a large part of the *Estoires* is taken up with narrating Saladin's exploits, including those which do not directly affect the Latin kingdoms, such as Saladin's

⁴² Jubb (ed.), 'Footnote b', in *Estoires*, p. 236.

⁴³ Jubb (ed.), 'Footnote d', in *Estoires*, pp. 237-38.

⁴⁴ See, for example, Jubb (ed.), 'The *Estoires* and the *Abrégé*: Textual Relations', in *Estoires*, pp. 293, 295-296.

⁴⁵ Ellenblum, *Frankish Rural Settlement*, pp. 284-85.

⁴⁶ A discussion of this cohabitation will be developed in the chapter. For a study of separation, see, for example: Praver, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*. For a revised view of Outremer as a society of intermingling with some segregation, see Benjamin Z. Kedar, *Franks, Muslims and Oriental Christians in the Latin Levant: Studies in Frontier Acculturation* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006). See also Ellenblum, *Frankish Rural Settlement*. Additionally relevant here is Thomas Asbridge, *The Crusades: The War for the Holy Land* (London: Simon & Schuster, 2012), pp. XXI-XXII, 174-189.

imagined war with Turkey. In this sense, the *Estoires* is the product of a Middle Eastern society of mixed cultures and religions, reflected in and rechanneled through a continental francophone account.

The *Livre* is similarly shaped by a plural cultural and linguistic background. Although the French translation is again from the north of France, Lull's work was written in a context of cultural, political, and economic translation and exchange. The island of Mallorca where Lull worked was a recent Aragonese conquest from the Islamic world.⁴⁷ During Lull's lifetime it was inhabited by Catalan and Arabic speakers, and it formed part of the royal Aragonese domains which stretched into Valencia, Barcelona, and what is now southern France. It was a major commercial crossroads, linking its inhabitants and rulers to Africa, mainland Iberia, France, Italy, and northern Europe.⁴⁸ This multilingual, international trading world is not just a backdrop to the *Livre*, but one of its key features. While there is little direct portrayal of the wider world and cultural exchange, Lull created the work as a prototype manual of pan-European chivalry, intended for translation and distribution across Catholic Europe. This is Lull's express aim, voiced by both protagonists in the prologue. The knight-hermit instructs the squire to take the book containing an explanation of the Order of Chivalry, and to show it to all who wish to be knighted at the court (85). The squire dutifully does so, presenting the book to the king. The squire suggests that every nobleman who wishes to join the Order of Chivalry should have a copy of the book made, so that he can understand the Order (86). The narratorial voice then reinforces the pan-European educational import of Lull's work. It is suggested that it is not enough for a squire to serve a chivalric 'apprenticeship' with a knight. Instead, before undertaking this practical training, the squire should study knighthood in a network of schools (yet to be

⁴⁷ David Abulafia, *A Mediterranean Emporium: The Catalan Kingdom of Majorca* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. xii. Drawing on Abulafia's clarifications on the topic, I follow his usage in referring to the island as Mallorca, and the kingdom as Majorca (the kingdom at this time comprised Mallorca, Menorca, Ibiza, Roussillon, Cerdagne, Vallespir, Carlat and the greater part of Montpellier). See Abulafia, *A Mediterranean Emporium*, p. xix.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. xi.-xii.

established), using written resources such as the *Livre* (95). Thus the *Livre*, written in recolonised, multilingual Mallorca, intended for dissemination across Europe, and preserved in French translation for an international francophone audience, is a product of several Western European cultures and languages of the Middle Ages.

The *Livre* and the *Estoires* are also united in their tendency towards a spiritual, metaphorical interpretation of the material world. As Albert Soler i Llopart explains, in the *Llibre* (as, I would argue, in the *Livre*), just as in all of Lull's work and recorded thought, each element of material reality becomes a sign of a superior spiritual order, so that the whole of creation is interpreted as a signal from God.⁴⁹ We are confronted with this in the incipit of the *Livre* when God's control of the planets, and the planets' influence on earthly life, are said to parallel monarchical control of knights, and knightly control of the populace respectively (73-74).⁵⁰ In a similar way, the *Estoires* gives material places a religious meaning, as contemporary geography is made to fit the contours of biblical narrative. For example, the Templar Castle of the 'Gués Jacob' is so named not for a Crusader personality or battle, but because it is near a place visited by Jacob in the Old Testament (114-15).

As is perhaps to be expected from narratives in which spiritual order is thought to underpin the most mundane materiality, both follow logic to absurdity. The *Estoires*'s narration of Christianity's 'recapture' of the Holy Land displays incoherence and inaccuracy. In addition to such chronological errors as highlighted with the examples of King Richard and the Battle of Bouvines, there are further general inaccuracies, especially in terms of genealogy, which can make the narrative thread of the work hard to follow. As Jubb states in her edition, 'a catalogue of its inaccuracies would be enormous'.⁵¹ The narratorial voice is so keen to present Catholicism as a constant presence in the Holy Land that, in recounting the Old Testament story of the Flight from Egypt, the Israelites are referred to

⁴⁹ Soler i Llopart (ed.), 'Introducció', in Ramon Lull, *Llibre*, p. 14.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ 'The *Estoires* and the *Abrégé*: Textual Relations', in *Estoires*, p. 292.

as ‘nos crestiens’ (170). Contemporary Crusader armies are similarly called ‘nos crestiens’ throughout. In conflating these two groups, the narratorial voice attempts to transfer God’s gift of the Promised Land to the Jews over to the crusading Christians. This attitude is confirmed by the use of the Old Testament name of the ‘Tiere de Promission’ for the Crusader-Christian owned part of the Holy Land (123). In other instances, locations are confused; for instance, Saint Paul is said to have been converted near Nablus rather than on the road to Damascus (170).⁵² Relationships are muddled: for example, we are told that the Marquis of Montferrat’s son defended Tyre against Saladin’s army, whereas it was the Marquis’s brother, Conrad, who did so (201-04).⁵³ Even Bible stories are garbled. For instance, we are told in the *Estoires* that Judith saved her town by beheading Nebuchadnezzar (171), whereas the biblical text recounts that she beheaded Nebuchadnezzar’s seneschal, Holofernes, who was besieging the town.⁵⁴ These are only a few examples of some of the types of historical, biblical, and geographical inaccuracies to be found in the *Estoires*.

Such errors could be a sign of narrative degeneration, as the editor suggests.⁵⁵ However, as I will argue, I believe that such moments of incoherence and inaccuracy in the *Estoires* are simply a sign and product of the incredible complexity of its material. The narrative coherence of the *Estoires* is put under unbearable strain by trying to deal all at once with biblical history, contemporary Middle Eastern politics, eschatological concerns, and religious hopes, while facing a number of points of anxiety (to be examined throughout the chapter) including a postponement of the Last Days, the loss of the relic of the True Cross, the Muslim capture of Jerusalem and much of the Crusader territories, an absence of signs of divine approbation, and growing familiarity with non-Christians. In addition, all of

⁵² The Acts of the Apostles 9. 1-8. *Biblia Sacra Vulgata*, ed. by Bonifatio Fischer, rev. by Robert Weber, 3rd edn (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1994), p. 1712.

⁵³ Jubb (ed.), ‘Footnote a’, in *Estoires*, p. 201.

⁵⁴ Judith 7-15. 15. *Biblia Sacra Vulgata*, pp. 698-709.

⁵⁵ For example Jubb (ed.), ‘The *Estoires* and the *Abrégé*: Textual Relations’, in *Estoires*, p. 296.

these difficult topics are addressed in a work which narrates the history of Outremer for francophones who are unfamiliar with the territory.⁵⁶ I therefore read the *Estoires's* jumbled, complex nature as a recognition, whether tacit or explicit, on the part of its authors, compilers, scribes, and narrators, of the overwhelming complexity of their subject matter. This subject matter is ultimately so complicated and convoluted because it touches on the relative competing claims for truth, divine approbation, and political and cultural hegemony, of the various sects of the three Abrahamic faiths, from a period stretching from Genesis until c. 1230 CE, when the narrative of the *Estoires* comes to an abrupt halt.

The narrative of the *Livre* is no less confusing and labyrinthine in its argumentation, but in very different ways. Although the merits of the *Llibre/Livre* have been recognised more frequently than those of the *Estoires*, it has similarly been criticised as 'rambling'.⁵⁷ Both the *Livre* and *Llibre* are written using a rhetorical strategy whereby an argument is reduced to absurdity to prove that the opposite is true.⁵⁸ This rhetorical strategy makes certain passages dense and convoluted, even when they are short. For example: 'se chevalerie povoit recevoir ceulx qui sont contre son ordre, il s'ensuiroit que en chevalerie ordonnance et desordonnance fussent une mesme chose' (135). It has been said of the Catalan text, and I would argue that the same is true of the French version, that this 'spirit of debate' makes the work 'hinge upon paradox', which sometimes makes it seem 'rather schizophrenic'.⁵⁹ Indeed, certain passages of the *Livre* are borderline incomprehensible, with severely strained syntax. This might result from the process of translation through which the text has passed to reach the French version. However, specialists such as Fallows consider the Catalan version to be equally difficult to understand in places.⁶⁰ This is despite

⁵⁶ The text is clearly aimed at French speakers who have not been to Outremer. This is apparent, for example, from the narratorial gloss of the local term 'caravan', which is presumed to be unfamiliar to the audience (117-18).

⁵⁷ Maurice Keen, *Chivalry* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984), p. 9.

⁵⁸ Soler i Llopart (ed.), 'Introducció', in Ramon Llull, *Llibre*, p. 16.

⁵⁹ Fallows (ed. and trans.), 'Introduction', in Ramon Llull, *The Book*, p. 10.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

the fact that it is presumably closer linguistically to Lull's original drafts of the text, given that Catalan was one of the languages in which Lull composed his works.⁶¹

For Fallows, the confusion of the Catalan text arises from a lack of attention, as though the composition were a draft which Lull did not have time to rework.⁶²

Furthermore, as the founding father of literary Catalan prose, Lull may have had difficulties in forging a new Catalan prose literary idiom. The same is not true, however, for the fourteenth-century French version, which was written in what was by then a well-established vernacular prose.⁶³ It could be alleged that the sections of the French-language narrative which are difficult to understand owe their incomprehensibility to an intricate Catalan original. However, the French is not a rigid translation of the Catalan (which may or may not, of course, be closer to Lull's original compositions). While the earliest extant French and Catalan versions are extremely close, the French does include several apposite extra sections of biblical references. If redactors of the French version engaged critically with the text they translated, as is suggested by the extra biblical sections in the French, then their decision to include the sections that make little sense suggests that these sections were conceived of as an integral part of this manual of chivalry.⁶⁴

This leads us to draw the same conclusion of the *Livre* as of the *Estoires*: that confusing and confused passages of the text point towards the sheer complexity of the subject material. In the case of the *Livre*, the proposed practical and ethical scope of the text is vast. In his work, Lull attempts to recount a history of chivalry from its imagined, ancient creation by God to the present day, alongside presenting a practical guide as to how to train as a knight and what a knight should do, a list of everything a knight must not

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ As Jubb points out, vernacular francophone literature in prose emerged at the end of the twelfth century. See Jubb (ed.), 'The Place of the *Estoires d'Outremer* in Old French Literature', in *Estoires*, p. 298.

⁶⁴ The sections that make little sense may not have been in the earliest versions of the work. However, it is reasonable to presume that they were, given that they occur throughout the work, and in both the French and the Catalan versions examined here.

do, and a description of the dubbing ritual. In addition, the spiritual and ethical origins, duties, and symbolism of knighthood are expounded. Woven into this are explanations of chivalry's affinity with *clergie*, and allusions to the crusading duties that fall within chivalry. Furthermore, in the prologue, Lull creates a meta-reflection on the interrelation of fictional and practical chivalry, frame narratives, and the most effective way to exploit the Horatian topos of *prodesse et delectare*. These topics would be complicated enough in and of themselves, but they are rendered even more challenging by the inherent contradictions within chivalry itself, which will be explored throughout this chapter. When we add to this that the manual was intended to be a textbook which would be of use not just in the Catalan-speaking world but in any part of Europe, it becomes clear that it cannot possibly fulfil all the criteria which were set for it.

We have seen that both works were relatively popular in the Middle Ages. The popularity of the *Estoires* and the *Livre* might be seen as a tacit recognition of the contradictory, complex nature of the topic of religious warfare addressed by these texts. Alternatively, it could be construed as an indication of strength of support for attempts to reduce and master this complexity. In the rest of this chapter, I will argue that the *Livre* shows a concerted effort to dominate and control the complicated nature of its subject matter through its generic form, content, and syntax. In contrast, the equally convoluted *Estoires* contains an implicit recognition of the ambiguous complexity of the religious wars it recounts.

Part III – Rhetoric and Chivalry

A recognition of the polyvalent, complicated nature of the Holy War of the crusades is manifest in the spaces of doubt and confusion, questioning and reassessing, opened up by the text of the *Estoires*. Throughout this chapter I will examine the more

ethically open passages of this text, which tend towards doubt as to whether the crusades have divine approbation, coupled with recognition of the humanity of characters from other faith backgrounds (often Muslims), and idealisation of Saladin. An apposite example to consider here is the characterisation of the Caliph, who is portrayed as a Muslim mirror image of the Pope. Referred to with the papal title of ‘apostoiles’ (148, 158), he issues indulgences like his papal counterpart. Just as the popes declared that those who died while on crusade would be absolved of all their sins and go to heaven,⁶⁵ the Caliph persuades King Elxelin of Nubia and his 100,000-strong army that their souls will be saved if they fight Saladin (149). The Caliph is also like the Pope in his supposed ability to pronounce excommunications. During the course of the *Estoires* he excommunicates Saladin and all those who aid him in fighting their co-religionists (149). The Caliph even blesses Elxelin’s army, just as the Patriarch of Jerusalem blesses the Christian army. The Muslim leader’s blessing is slightly defective, however, as we are told that he ‘ala pour sainier lor gent *au mius k’il sot en lor loy*’ (158, emphasis mine). This ambiguous statement could be translated as ‘he went to bless their troops in the best manner of which he was capable according to their religious law’ (translation mine).

This portrayal of the head of the Muslim world raises many questions. In his mirroring of the roles of the Pope and of the Patriarch of Jerusalem, the Caliph could easily become a parodic figure, yet he is never ridiculed. It is true that the caliphal decision to excommunicate Saladin is ineffective, and it is a questionable decision given the heroic status accorded to Saladin by the text. Saladin even goes so far as to wish the Caliph an ignominious death (149). But King Elxelin, who is an ally of the Caliph, is portrayed throughout as a principled and strong leader. Elxelin is clever enough to co-operate with the Christian army when it aids his cause against Saladin. He is handsome enough to be cast as a romantic hero at Saladin’s expense, when the Queen of Turkey choses to marry Elxelin

⁶⁵ Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Crusades: A History*, 3rd edn (London: Bloomsbury, 2014), p. 33.

over Saladin. Saladin does criticise the Caliph, and the *Estoires* implies that the Caliph is ignorant, as we are told that the blessing of the army is merely the best of which he is capable. Yet Saladin's disapproval is relatively unimportant in terms of establishing the Caliph's religious credentials. It is primarily used instead to characterize Saladin as a proto-Christian hero. Saladin's dislike of the Caliph is another sign of Saladin's supposedly innate inclination towards Christianity, demonstrated by Saladin's criticism of the offertory, willingness to observe mass, donations in his will to the Church, and the disputation he arranged between representatives of the Abrahamic faiths.⁶⁶

Thus the *Estoires's* characterisation of the Caliph is subtly non-committal. At odds with the *Estoires's* principal Muslim hero, Saladin, the Caliph is portrayed as lacking the infallible religious knowledge that would allow him to bless troops correctly. Yet the Caliph is the ally of the sympathetically portrayed Muslim ruler Elxelin, and his caliphal power to grant dispensations is not questioned. Furthermore, the Caliph's battlefield blessing may not be quite complete in its sanctification, but the only other figure who blesses troops in the *Estoires*, the Christian patriarch of Jerusalem, is portrayed as so excessively sinful that Christian control of Jerusalem was supposedly lost on account of God's displeasure at his behaviour. Compared to the Patriarch, then, the Caliph is framed in the *Estoires* as a more sincere religious leader. This is just one example of how the narrative of the *Estoires* obfuscates papal crusading rhetoric. Such rhetoric portrayed Muslims as religious oppressors of Christians, 'bent upon ritual torture and unspeakable desecration'.⁶⁷ The *Estoires* does not give up support for the Crusaders, periodically referred to as 'nos crestiens', but neither does it espouse this papal ethos, or wholeheartedly criticize Muslim

⁶⁶ All of these incidences are contained in the *Estoires*, but are not historically attested. In reality, Saladin was attended in his final hours not by representatives of the three Abrahamic faiths, but by his chief administrator and advisor, al-Qadi al-Fadil, and by the imam Abu Ja'far. No donations were made in his will to the Church, given that he died penniless — al-Qadi al-Fadil had to cover the costs of Saladin's funeral. See A. R. Azzam, *Saladin: The Triumph of the Sunni Revival*, 2nd edn (Cambridge: Islamic Texts Society, 2014), pp. 180-83, 232.

⁶⁷ Asbridge, p. 33.

opponents, characterized so often in ambiguous ways as the Caliph is here. In this way, we can see that the *Estoires* is far from being an intellectually mediocre text, as its editor alleges in her assessment of its 'misleading [...] useless [...] tedious' elements which supposedly suggest that the text 'seems deliberately to court the attention of an unlearned audience'.⁶⁸

In contrast to the *Estoires*, the *Livre* attempts to close off spaces of questioning and debate opened by the complexity of the issues it addresses. For example, the figure of the knight-hermit in the prologue embodies the competition and contrast between two opposing ways of life. Yet his inherent contradictions are downplayed, in spite of the fact that the hermit lives out a religious vocation in peaceful withdrawal, whereas the knight lives violently, and at times sinfully, in the world. Lull's concept of the Order of Chivalry, as described in this text, is a sustained effort to reconcile these two clashing ways of life, by promoting them as related and complimentary vocations which are both pleasing to God. According to this rhetoric, the priest is a spiritual knight: 'le chevalier espirituel — c'est le prestre' (142). This relational symmetry between religious and chivalric vocations is emphasised throughout the work, as we are constantly reminded that, supposedly, 'office de prestre et office de chevalier ont grant concordance' (144). Specific terminology is used to liken living as a knight to fulfilling a religious vocation, as chivalry is described using a monastic vocabulary: it is 'la rigle et l'ordre de chevalerie' (83). These assertions attempt to close off rather than answer the questions that were raised by the hybrid figure of the knight-hermit in the prologue. By living first as a knight, then as a hermit, this protagonist implicitly suggests that these two ways of life are mutually exclusive, because he cannot participate in them both at the same time. Moreover, by taking up a religious vocation on retirement, he suggests that the knightly vocation was not sufficient to ensure salvation,

⁶⁸ Jubb (ed.), 'The Place of the *Estoires d'Outremer* in Old French Literature', in *Estoires*, pp. 295-96.

despite repeated reassurances throughout the *Livre* that it is a way of life of which God approves.

This is just one example of how the *Livre*, like the *Llibre*, attempts to foreclose all debate, often in relation to chivalry's spiritual status. This is in spite of the rhetorical and intellectual sophistication of the *Livre* and *Llibre*, both of which push the boundaries of early vernacular prose. They exploit a wide range of rhetorical techniques, including *brevitas*, catachresis, isocolon, and etymological interplay.⁶⁹ The bluntness of some of the ideas about chivalry advanced by the texts contrasts not only with the intellectual sophistication of their written style, but also with the cultural complexity of their backgrounds. Lull wrote in and for spaces not just of multicultural and multilingual contact, but also of multi-faith interaction. In the thirteenth century, Mallorca was home to a population of Christians, Jews, and Muslims, and Lull learnt Arabic there by studying with a Muslim Arabic-speaking slave. In this, Mallorca was a microcosm of Christian-ruled areas of Iberia at the time. As Soler i Llopart notes, Muslims and Christians worked together in chivalric contexts, to the extent, for example, that prestigious and skilled Muslim crossbowmen fought for Peter II of Barcelona.⁷⁰ Lull intended his work of the *Llibre* to be disseminated in different languages throughout Europe. Therefore, Lull carefully kept the content relevant to a pan-European context by focussing on knighthood as a general concept, and omitting any specificities relating to knights in the Crown of Aragon.⁷¹ Lull may even have intended his work to reach the Middle East, given that some of Lull's compositions were also written in (or translated into) Arabic.⁷² Certainly, the work's discussion of the religious implications of chivalry would have been relevant to Crusaders in the Levant. Crusading is an implicit issue throughout the *Livre*, due to discussion of the

⁶⁹ See Fallows (ed. and trans.), 'Introduction', in Ramon Lull, *The Book*, pp. 17-23.

⁷⁰ 'Introducció', in Ramon Lull, *Llibre*, p. 33.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 52.

⁷² Lola Badia, Joan Santanach, and Albert Soler, *Ramon Lull as a Vernacular Writer: Communicating a New Kind of Knowledge* (Woodbridge: Tamesis, 2016), p. 177.

knight's supposed duty to uphold the Church and its faith through force of arms. For example:

Office de chevalier est maintenir et deffendre la sainte foy catholique [...] tout aussy comme Nostre Seigneur Dieu a esleu les clers pour maintenir la sainte foy catholique avec scriptures et raisons contre les mescreans, aussy Dieu de gloire a esleu chevaliers pour ce que, par force d'armes, ilz vainquent et surmontent les mescreans, qui chascun jour font leur povoir de destruire sainte Eglise. (97-98)

In the *Livre*, passages such as this demonstrate the work's possible appeal and application to Crusader States and ideas. Thus the *Livre* is born of and geared towards spaces of interfaith interaction. This is apparent in its origins as a multilingual work in Mallorca, its dissemination throughout Europe, and through its translation into the medieval vernacular of French which was used across an international francophone space. Even the extract quoted above suggests this, albeit in terms of an aggressive engagement with other religions.

We have seen that despite its rhetorical, intellectual, and cultural complexity, the *Livre* advances blunt argumentation regarding the concept of knighthood — argumentation which is aimed at foreclosing debate. At times, this means Lull lies in order to shut down discussion. Lull presents a genealogical myth of chivalry's origins, suggesting that it is an ancient order founded and endorsed by God: 'se chevalier aymoït l'ordre de chevalerie et haïoit et destruisoit aucun aultre ordre, il s'ensuïroit que ordre fust contraire a Dieu, laquelle chose ne peult estre, comme il ait establi ordre' (99, emphasis mine). God's direct involvement, the ancient origins posited for chivalry, and the wording of the description of

its beginnings suggests chivalry has Old Testament origins.⁷³ In this way, like the *Estoires*, the *Livre* blurs linear historical time to assimilate the Jews of the Old Testament to the Christians of the New Testament, specifically to the Christians of thirteenth-century Europe and Outremer. We have already seen how the *Estoires* uses specific terminology to conflate the Crusader Christians with the Israelites led out of Egypt by Moses. This would give the Crusaders a presence in and claim to the Holy Land stretching back to the Book of Exodus, which narrates the Flight from Egypt, the events of which have been dated to the thirteenth century BCE.⁷⁴

While the *Livre* seemingly carries out a similar manoeuvre, by suggesting that chivalry originated as a Christian movement at the dawn of recorded human time, it also suggests that one of the Order of Chivalry's key tenets is the recent papal injunction to crusade. The ancient, divine genealogy Lull constructs for the Order of Chivalry therefore seeks to strengthen its crusading manifestation, by making it appear well-established and divinely appointed. As part of this strengthening, the *Livre* obfuscates the fact that the crusading form of chivalry is a recent development, by denying the contemporary influences on the chivalry being described. This is one way in which both the *Livre* and the *Estoires* manipulate historical time in their portrayal of Christian chivalry. The purpose of rewriting time in this way is to legitimise the supposedly religiously sanctioned violence of the Crusaders by making it seem atemporal and divinely ordained.

A by-product of this strategy is the wilful obliteration of the religious history of the other Abrahamic faiths, in that the *Livre* ignores Islam other than as a foil for Christian aggression when Christian knights fight God's war. Moreover Judaism is rewritten as proto-

⁷³ We are told that chivalry arose when charity, loyalty, justice, and truth first failed in the world, meaning society needed a new type of law enforcer: the knight (87-88). The first time truth failed, according to a biblical conception of world history, would be in Genesis when Adam and Eve lied to God about having eaten the apple.

⁷⁴ Thomas B. Dozeman, 'Exodus Introduction', in *The New Interpreter's Study Bible: New Revised Standard Version with the Apocrypha*, ed. by Walter J. Harrelson and others (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 2003), pp. 85-86 (p. 86).

Christianity in the *Livre*, as the *Livre* suggests that Christian chivalry existed in the Old Testament, much as the *Estoires* negates Judaism by portraying the refugees who fled Egypt in Exodus as Christians. This rewriting of history to delete the narratives of Judaism and Islam also occurs in further sources from the time of the crusades. Thus the *Estoires* and the *Livre* function on one level as propagandistic texts reflective of a particular strand of Crusader Christians' appropriative syncretism towards Islam and Judaism. An example of a concurrent occurrence of this ideologically driven syncretism which chimes with the manoeuvres in my corpus examined above would be the Christian pseudo-histories attributed to Jewish and Islamic sites in Jerusalem. When the Christians conquered the city in 1099, they converted the Muslim holy sites of the Dome of the Rock, and the Mosque of al-Aqsa, both on the Jewish Temple Mount, into the Lord's Temple and the Temple of Solomon respectively.⁷⁵ These were then used as Christian cultic centres. The Franks occasionally denied their Muslim past altogether by attributing their construction to Christian emperors.⁷⁶ Two priors of the Lord's Temple composed lengthy poems on the history of the building to this effect.⁷⁷ Yet the Franks were clearly aware that the buildings were holy for Muslims, as Arabic chronicle evidence tells us that during Saladin's siege of Jerusalem, the Franks threatened to destroy the Dome and uproot the Rock.⁷⁸

Having analysed the *Livre's* religiously exclusive concept of chivalry alongside the *Estoire's* largely sympathetic portrayal of the Caliph, it becomes apparent that when our texts are read in conjunction, we can see how the complexity of the crusades and their intercultural interactions, narrated in the early thirteenth-century *Estoires*, contributed to problems and contradictions in chivalry. These contradictions are portrayed in the *Livre*, reflecting the situation in the later thirteenth century and the early fourteenth century. Such a predicament is hinted at in the drive by the texts to promote crusading chivalry.

⁷⁵ Kedar, p. 128.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 129.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 136.

Crusading drew on old ideas within the Church, but despite what the *Livre* and the *Estoires* are at pains to suggest, crusading in its medieval form was a recent innovation dating from the eleventh century.⁷⁹ Moreover, its definition was in constant flux.⁸⁰ Yet the texts, while promoting the recent development of crusade, also try to construct ancient origins for such forms of knighthood, joining crusading chivalry to knightly chivalry in an attempt to justify the methods and aims of both. Nevertheless, like crusading, chivalry in its medieval form, as it is portrayed in the *Livre* and *Estoires*, was a product of the later Middle Ages.

Maurice Keen has demonstrated that chivalry in its medieval guise was formed particularly during the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries.⁸¹ Extending this, Jean Flori has demonstrated in great depth how and when medieval knighthood evolved, and how the medieval knight differed from horseback warriors in Europe in previous centuries.⁸² Flori shows that it is not until the eleventh century that we have records proving that arms were officially conferred on non-royals.⁸³ This meant that a professional class of horseback warriors was gradually constituted, as conferment of arms now marked an assumption of the exercise of local executive power, whereas previously the official giving of arms had marked a conferral of the exercise of national executive power on royalty.⁸⁴

From a Catalan perspective, Soler i Llopart similarly dates the rise of the institution of knighthood as portrayed in the *Llibre* to the eleventh and twelfth centuries.⁸⁵ Responding to developments in cavalry tactics, castle building, and siege warfare, a specific way of life which came to be known as chivalry emerged.⁸⁶ This was shaped by the social and literary forces of the seigneurial courts in francophone and occitanophone areas in

⁷⁹ Riley-Smith, *The Crusades*, pp. 14-19, 70.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

⁸¹ Keen, pp. 42, 51-53, 57.

⁸² See, for example, Jean Flori, 'Les Origines de l'adoubement chevaleresque : étude des remises d'armes et du vocabulaire qui les exprime dans les sources historiques latines jusqu'au début du XIII^e siècle', *Traditio*, 35 (1979), 209-72.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 245.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 245, 227, 231, 246.

⁸⁵ 'Introducció', in Ramon Llull, *Llibre*, p. 25.

⁸⁶ Keen, pp. 23-25, 42.

particular, and spread by the international and cosmopolitan European aristocracies of this period.⁸⁷

Llull's work responds to late thirteenth-century shifts in the meaning of knighthood, which arose partly on account of crusading failures in Outremer. This testing period for chivalry was also the product of social, economic, and military changes in Europe. Soler i Llopart analyses this era of chivalric turmoil specifically in Llull's Aragon, although many of his conclusions apply to chivalry throughout Western Europe.⁸⁹ The emergence of new military roles in warfare, combined with changes in combat techniques, meant that knights encountered greater competition from men occupying new martial positions.⁹⁰ The rise of an urban, monetary economy, at the expense of a feudal economy dominated by a rural upper class, also challenged traditional concepts of knighthood, as did strengthened and centralised royal power.⁹¹ While at no time in history would all the problems of members of the chivalric group be resolved, between 1215 and 1285 society underwent many specific changes including those outlined above, which led to the emergence of a particular socio-economic and military situation to which knights could not easily adapt.⁹²

These thirteenth-century changes to the concept of knighthood in northern France, as Flori has shown, involved social reification as knighthood became a closed caste

⁸⁷ Ibid., pp. 31, 42. Linda Paterson has utilised Flori's methods of research into knighthood to chart how Occitan knights differed from their northern French counterparts, and how the literature of occitanophone courts spread a localised version of knighthood which evolved during the Middle Ages in parallel yet varying ways. See several of Linda M. Paterson's chapters and writings: 'Knights and the Concept of Knighthood in the Twelfth-Century Occitan Epic', in *Knighthood in Medieval Literature*, ed. by W. H. Jackson (Woodbridge: Brewer, 1981), pp. 23-38 (first publ. in *Forum for Modern Language Studies*, 17.2 (1981), 93-200); 'The Concept of Knighthood in the Twelfth-Century Occitan Lyric', in *Chrétien de Troyes and the Troubadours: Essays in Memory of the Late Leslie Topsfield*, ed. by Peter S. Noble and Linda M. Paterson (Cambridge: St Catherine's College, 1984), pp. 112-32; and *The World of the Troubadours: Medieval Occitan Society, c. 1100 - c. 1300* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993; repr. 1995), particularly pp. 37-61, 62-89.

⁸⁹ See all of his introduction to the edition of the *Llibre*, but particularly pp. 25-60. For further discussion of similar developments in France, see Georges Duby, *Les Trois Ordres ou l'imaginaire du féodalisme*, Bibliothèque des histoires (Paris: Gallimard, 1978), pp. 389-90, 423-24.

⁹⁰ Soler i Llopart (ed.), 'Introducció', in Ramon Llull, *Llibre*, pp. 31-34.

⁹¹ Ibid., pp. 35-36, 38.

⁹² Ibid., pp. 42-43.

admitting only upper-class members, whereas during the twelfth century it had been an open professional grouping of men from different social backgrounds.⁹³ These adaptations also led in northern France to the development of the concept of dubbing, which had evolved into a social and religious ceremony in the twelfth century, but became, in some cases, an ethical and ideological rite in the thirteenth century.⁹⁴ However, these social, ethical, and ideological shifts in the meaning of knighthood and dubbing in northern France were mostly absent from Occitania, where knighthood was usually associated with different political structures and variant conceptions of courtly values, as Linda Paterson has proved.⁹⁵ Thus in Occitania knighthood remained an open corporation, and was only associated exclusively with the upper classes in rare and particular instances.⁹⁶ Moreover, it is only in unusual and restricted cases that Occitan literature combines a religious and knightly ethos, meaning that chivalric didactic literature in Occitan never evolved into a form of religio-martial treatise, as it did in French.⁹⁷ Finally, Paterson shows that the rite of dubbing did not take hold in Occitania, in contrast to the situation in northern France.⁹⁸

Both of my texts participate in these evolving conceptions of knighthood in the francophone, occitanophone, and Catalan-speaking worlds. The *Livre* is a product of this era of evolution, and of this testing time for knighthood. In response to these difficulties, it constructs an extensive, coherent system for chivalry.⁹⁹ Although the *Estoires* dates from an earlier period, it also participates in this time of chivalric and crusading rethinking, but it does so by depicting chivalric ideas being broken down and reassessed. Lull may present crusading as part of the renewal of knighthood, but reading the *Livre* in conjunction with

⁹³ Flori, 'Les origines', pp. 227, 244-45.

⁹⁴ Ibid., pp. 210, 233-36, 239-40, 247-48.

⁹⁵ See all of Paterson's writings referenced in footnote 86, but especially *The World of the Troubadours*, pp. 64, 68, 70, 74 and 87.

⁹⁶ Paterson, *The World of the Troubadours*, pp. 86-87.

⁹⁷ Ibid., pp. 74-76.

⁹⁸ Ibid., pp. 82-83; Paterson, 'Knights and the Concept of Knighthood', in *Knighthood in Medieval Literature*, p. 34.

⁹⁹ Soler i Llopart (ed.), 'Introducció', in Ramon Llull, *Llibre*, p. 50.

the *Estoires* in this next section, I will demonstrate that crusading is often at the root of chivalric dilemmas in both texts.

Part IV – Changing Chivalry

For the purposes of in-depth analysis of how chivalry is portrayed in these works, it is useful to break down knighthood in these texts into chronological stages. In the *Estoires*, during the interpolation of the *Ordre* in which Saladin is dubbed, chivalry is portrayed in an idealised yet troubled twelfth- or thirteenth-century form.¹⁰⁰ I will contrast this to the way chivalry is portrayed in the main narrative of the *Estoires*, which covers the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries. Finally, I will consider the way chivalry is re-codified and renewed in the *Livre*, as Llull thinks through some ideals of reformed chivalry in the later thirteenth century.

In the description of the chivalric ritual of dubbing described in the *Ordre*, as it is interpolated in the *Estoires*, chivalry is portrayed as embodying an exalted, ideal state. Dubbing is a serious enough undertaking to warrant religious approval and structure, as the *Ordre* is a depiction of ‘comment on fait chevalier *a la loi crestiene*’ (110, emphasis mine). The knighthood conferred by the dubbing is, to Hugh at least, ‘si haute cose’ (110). It is equally esteemed by Saladin, who insists that Hugh is the only man worthy to knight him, given that Saladin has heard such good said about Hugh that he is supposedly the man he loves most (110). During each stage of initiation, the honour in which chivalry should be held is repeatedly emphasised.

However, even in this early, idealised, literary vision of dubbing, knighthood does not take a stable form, nor can it really be described as ‘original’. Taken in isolation, Hugh’s descriptions of the chivalric rite of passage describe a Christian, Western ceremony. But

¹⁰⁰ Saladin lived in the twelfth century, but the *Estoires* was composed in the thirteenth century.

this original model invoked by Hugh proves elusive. Hugh is francophone, but not European, as he comes from the Levantine settlement of Tiberias. Hugh and Saladin are not in a European, Christian setting, but near Sidon, now in Lebanon. Hugh is, in his own words, not a suitable person to confer knighthood (110). This may be an attempt to prevent the Muslim Saladin from participating in a Christian rite. Yet it is true that Hugh, while noble, is a prisoner, whereas Saladin is a ruler. This means that the usual hierarchy of knight and postulant has been inverted, which would normally disqualify Hugh and Saladin from participating in a dubbing ceremony in these roles. Moreover, the man to be knighted has not completed Western military training; instead, he is a Middle Eastern martial leader. While Hugh reminds Saladin and the audience of the Christian meaning of each stage of the rite, these religious appeals are hollow given that Saladin refuses Hugh's indirect entreaty to convert. 'Se crestiens fuissies, bien fust chevalerie en vous employee et asise', Hugh claims, but Saladin responds that 'çou ne puet ore estre' (111).

The original model of chivalry invoked, that which 'Diex meïsmes' instituted, 'pour Sainte Eglyse essauchier et pour tenir justice' (113), is verbally championed by Hugh. Yet this episode shows that, in practice, it is a mirage. This 'original' version is supposedly a Christian rite, but here it is carried out by a layman for a non-Christian. Its codification and meaning are Christian, but it is only explained and enacted on the request of a Muslim. The episode may be described in a francophone text from France, but the dubbing rite it details is being performed in the Middle East, in a Muslim context. In this piece of vernacular crusading literature, the concept of a codified, original, Christian form of chivalry is therefore a retrospective fiction. An 'original' form of European knighthood is only conjured up when moved abroad, translated into a multi-faith context, and combined with crusading as a sub-duty of knighthood. Thus, the idealised form of chivalry portrayed in the *Ordre* is troubled, because when it is enacted, it is riddled with contradictions.

Saladin's question to Hugh as to the significance of the blow on the neck during the dubbing encapsulates this confusion. After Hugh has ritually struck Saladin, the ruler, struggling to understand, asks Hugh, 'ke senefie?' (112). Hugh responds: 'ramembranche', as regards 'en quel honour on prent chevalerie et de cui on le prent' (112). As part of this rite, Hugh uses the formula 'va, Dius te face preudoume', indicating that the figure from whom knighthood is received is God (112), something which is later explicitly confirmed (113). Saladin's demand for an explanation is self-defeating here: his request that Hugh dub him and explain chivalry's meaning — 'ke chevalerie senefioit' — results in an exposition which invalidates the meaning Hugh explains, while constructing a confused other sense to knighthood. This is to say that Saladin's question leads Hugh to define chivalry as Christian in essence, but Hugh's actions as he knights the Muslim Saladin contradict this explanation, suggesting instead that knighthood may have alternative meanings encompassing those who practice non-Christian religious faiths. Hugh initially informs Saladin that he would be wrong to knight Saladin because he is not a Christian — 'ja Diu ne place ke jou soie si faus ke jou mete si haute cose comme l'ordene de chevalerie sour si fait cors comme li vostres est. [...] Pour çou ke vous iestes vuis [...] de crestienté et de baptesme' (110). Despite this, Saladin is the only man we see being made a knight anywhere in the *Estoires*, and he is lauded as such by the end of the dubbing ritual. Thus, after Hugh explains that a knight should be decked out with certain accoutrements and maintain certain values, 'doit preudom chevaliers [...] estre *apareilliés* en toutes courtoises et en toutes bontés', we see Saladin appear with those accessories, and described using the same vocabulary: 'quant Salehadins fu *apareilliés*, il prist monseignor Huon par la main [...] et mout li avinrent bien li acesmement, et mout fu esgardés' (113, emphasis mine). Throughout the *Ordre* and the *Estoires*, Saladin is continually described in terms appropriate for a Christian knight, such as 'prex' and 'vaillans' (114).

These episodes show that Saladin has both the appearance and character of a Christian knight. Thus Hugh, in his dubbing actions and explanations, and Saladin, in his appropriately chivalric behaviour, undermine the meaning of the institution Saladin seeks to understand, and Hugh to describe. A knight is no longer by definition answerable to the Christian God if he is a practising Muslim, and his defining duty can no longer be to uphold the Church. In spite of this, Saladin is made into a knight, and one praised by the narratorial voice and even by Hugh. Saladin may not be called a knight explicitly, but he is dubbed by Hugh, admired for being 'apareilliés' with all the qualities which befit a knight (113), and consistently referred to using chivalric terms of honour. In this way, the *Ordre* as it is contained in the *Estoires* demonstrates that there is a gap between ideal and practice in the enactment of chivalry here. Because although Hugh evokes a Christian chivalry originating in Europe, his enactment of it when he knights Saladin is that of a multi-faith, practical form of chivalry, shaped by its contemporary Levantine setting.

As is suggested in this episode in which a non-Christian is knighted, chivalry in the *Estoires* becomes dependent not on religion but on prowess in battle and secular chivalric virtues. At other times it appears divorced from a specific faith, and operates independently of dubbing rituals. This is despite the fact that, as Flori has shown for northern francophone areas, by the time of the late twelfth through to thirteenth centuries, when knighthood had evolved into a socially elite grouping of warriors who professed chivalric values, and who entered the group through participation in a ritual dubbing, the Church had managed, after a long struggle, to affect rites of passage marking entry into knighthood.¹⁰¹ The fact that practical chivalry in the *Estoires* is separated from Christianity is all the more remarkable given that the text is a crusading narrative, which describes the cause of Latin Christians fighting, with religious motivations, for political hegemony in the Middle East. To see how chivalry is divorced from Christianity, we need

¹⁰¹ Flori, 'Les Origines', pp. 210-11, 239-40, 244, 247-48.

look no further than the knighted Saladin. He is not a secular figure in this text, given that he is portrayed as a potential Christian convert. Indeed, Saladin is portrayed as actively religious. He gives thanks for victories (197, 220), worships (221), and recognises the sanctity of Jerusalem (208). However, Saladin remains a Muslim. His status as a knight who is successful in battle is therefore informed by religious belief, yet by Islam, not Christianity. There are further examples in the main narrative of the *Estoires* which confirm this differing definition of chivalry, and show it to be more generalised. This is the second form of chivalry to be examined — not the idealised knighthood of the interpolated *Ordre*, but the practice of being a knight as it is portrayed in this chronicle.

It could be argued that Saladin is able to receive a knighthood because he is an exceptional Saracen, whose potential for conversion to Christianity is suggested by his supposedly Christian, French ancestry (as narrated in the interpolation of the *Fille*), his hint to Hugh that he might convert in the future,¹⁰² and his decision to grant more money in his will to the Christians than to the Muslims or Jews. However, Saladin is not the only religiously anomalous knight in the Islamic armies, as Christian knights also fight for Saladin. There are two Christian knights in the *Estoires* described as fighting against the Crusaders. As both these unusual characters have names beginning with the same letters — Reynald of Brittany and Ralph of Bembrac — Jubb notes that they may be the same character.¹⁰³ Given the multiple scribal errors in the *Estoires*, this is a plausible hypothesis, although the narratorial voice does construct different background stories for the two figures. For this reason, I believe they deserve analysis as separate characters. Ralph switches sides to fight for Saladin's armies, causing great harm to the Christian Crusaders' cause, yet is still classed as a worthy and valiant knight by the narrative: 'li chevaliers s'en ala as Sarrazins, et fist puis mout de mal as crestiiens [...]. Cil chevaliers ot non Raous de Bembrac, et mout fu

¹⁰² When Hugh states that Saladin would be a good Christian knight, Saladin replies not that such a thing is impossible, but that 'çou ne puet ore estre' (111, emphasis mine).

¹⁰³ 'Footnote a', in *Estoires*, p. 159.

boins chevaliers et preus' (122). Reynald, captured by Saladin in battle, also fights in the Sultan's army, yet similarly remains a 'chevaliers' and a 'preudom [...] si loiaus' (159).

It might be suggested that these renegade fighters remain knights on account of their Christian faith, but their service in the Islamic armies is not in keeping with Hugh's statement in the *Ordre* of the *Estoires* that knights must strive to 'Sainte Eglyse essauchier' (113). Neither does the case of these two knights accord with Lull's decisive pronouncement that 'office de chevalier est maintenir et deffendre la sainte foy catholicque [...] Donc [...] Dieu de gloire a esleu chevaliers pour ce que, par force d'armes, ilz vainquent et surmontent les mescreans' (97-98). This is especially so given that Lull further specifies that 'se chevalier ne use de son office, il est contraire a son ordre [...] par laquelle contrarieté il n'est pas vray chevalier ja soit ce que il en porte le nom' (97). It seems that regardless of their religious allegiance, or part in faith-based combat, the *Estoires* rates Ralph and Reynald's performance as soldiers as sufficient for them to be classed as knights. In this, it reflects very old concepts of knighthood, which existed as a purely military category before the social and religious changes to the conception of knighthood outlined above took place. Ralph and Reynald's knighthood rests purely on military service (whether in an Islamic or a Christian army), coupled with the practice of chivalric virtues such as loyalty, and is perhaps strengthened by their nobility.

The *Estoires* even represents Muslims other than its principle chivalric hero, Saladin, as knights. In a section invented by the *Estoires*, Reniers, the emir and brother of the Turkish Queen, fights against Saladin on behalf of his sister, who does not want her kingdom to be annexed. Reniers is called a 'bons chevaliers' (138). The king of Nubia, known both as Elxelin and Chorlin, who holds shifting alliances with the Christians and the Muslims, is a 'biaus chevaliers' (138). There are further references to unnamed Muslim knights. For example, they escort Balian's Christian wife to safety (212); Richard the Lionheart captures the knights of Acre (226); Richard and his army defeat 'Salehadin et tous

ses chevaliers' (230); and Saladin's son, the Muslim leader Climent, also has 'cevaliers' serving under him (243). This shows that historical Muslim soldiers who fought against the Crusaders are referred to as knights, as well as imaginary Muslim characters such as Reniers and Elxelin.

Other Muslims, while not explicitly called knights, display chivalric behaviour on which the narratorial voice comments favourably. Saladin's brother, having obtained ten thousand un-ransomed Jerusalemites as a boon from Saladin, frees the citizens and escorts them back to Christian territory, all 'pour l'amour de Jhesu Crist' (220). While this motivation might suggest he is a crypto-Christian, or at least a potential convert, this is improbable given that he has just helped to wrest the holy city from the Christians. It is more likely that this is a use of a standard formula of piety, or that the narratorial voice recognises that Jesus is venerated as a Prophet in Islam. The latter is possible for several reasons. Through contact with Muslims over several generations, some Latin Christian settlers in Outremer developed a familiarity with certain Islamic beliefs. Latin Christians in the Crusader States knew that there were similarities between Islam and Christianity, to the extent that Islamic law considered Christianity, along with Judaism, to be kindred faiths to Islam. We know that Crusader Christians were aware of this similarity as enshrined in law, given that they adopted a re-formulated version of the Islamic *dhimmi* legal system, which was based on Islamic respect for Judaism and Christianity as fellow Abrahamic faiths.¹⁰⁴ The *Estoires* reflects this historical climate, as the text contains specific and

¹⁰⁴ Prior to the Crusaders' arrival, Muslim rulers in the Holy Land recognised that Jews and Christians were 'people of the book' or *dhimmi*s, that is to say adherents of other Abrahamic faiths related to Islam. As such, Christians and Jews did not have the same legal status as Muslims, but, as *dhimmi*s, they enjoyed certain legal privileges not accorded to those who did not practice one of the three Abrahamic religions. When the Crusaders arrived, they perpetuated the *dhimma* system, but they inversed the hierarchy. Latin Christians were granted full legal status, non-Latin Christians suffered some legal disabilities, and Jews and Muslims were granted *dhimmi* status. See Riley-Smith, 'Government and the Indigenous in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem', in *Medieval Frontiers: Concepts and Practices*, ed. by David Abulafia and Nora Berend (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), pp. 121-31. MacEvitt disputes the perpetuation, in a modified form, of *dhimmi* Islamic legal practices under the Crusaders (pp. 24, 143). However, his conclusions are based on a generalised assumption that 'the Franks [...] had no formal structures governing local communities and had no interest in defining

detailed information regarding other faiths. This may be due to the sources that were used to prepare it, rather than the final scribe's religious awareness, but nonetheless this information is preserved in the text. These details go beyond common religious knowledge. For example, the narratorial voice is aware that Samaritans worship on Mount Gerizim, whereas Jews hold Jerusalem to be more holy (167). In light of this level of multi-faith detail, it is plausible that Saladin's brother is portrayed as respectful of Jesus because it was known that Jesus is considered to be both a Prophet and a Messenger in Islam.

Like Saladin's brother, the Muslim Sultan of Egypt is similarly portrayed as chivalrous on a grand scale. The Egyptian Sultan refuses to behead the Christians he is fighting when they become trapped in rising flood water, despite his nephew Lycoredis inciting him to kill them (248). Victorious, he grants the Christians incredibly generous peace terms, promising amongst other things to reimburse them for all the wealth they lost to the flood waters while campaigning against him (248). Finally he provides the starving Christian army with food (249). No Muslims are portrayed as monstrous or barbarous, as occurs in other francophone crusading literature.¹⁰⁵ Even Lycoredis, whom we are told was supposedly so opposed to Christianity that he wanted to kill every Christian he saw (142), suggests that the Christians of Jerusalem should be given a chance to ransom themselves during Saladin's siege of the city (217).

Aside from the idealised chivalry of Hugh and Saladin in the *Ordre*, then, the *Estoires* depicts a practical version of chivalry in action, which is defined by its crusading context. Apart from Saladin, who wishes to be dubbed according to a Christian, Western rite, the characters of the knights in the Islamic armies examined above do not transform a Christian, European model of chivalry into Middle Eastern Islamic practice, despite the fact

them' (p. 24). This is at odds with Riley-Smith's arguments, which are supported by legal and historical evidence.

¹⁰⁵ For example, in the epic poem *La Chanson de Jérusalem*, which is part of the Old French Crusade Cycle, in which the Crusaders battle against hairy Saracen monsters with beaks. See *La Chanson de Jérusalem*, ed. by Nigel R. Throp, *The Old French Crusade Cycle*, 6 (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1992), pp. 230-31.

that they are portrayed in a Western European text. They instead embody a different sort of chivalry from the one expounded in the abstract by Hugh, one which bears greater similarity to the confused, practical enactment of knighthood carried out when Hugh dubs Saladin. The knights of the *Estoires* are knights because of their prowess in battle and their practice of chivalric virtues. Chivalry is not linked exclusively to either Christianity or Islam by the text, and dubbing rituals are rarely portrayed.

These characters show that in the *Estoires*, chivalry has not been shifted from an abstract European ideal into Middle Eastern praxis, but is portrayed as having been created and defined in this multi-faith, multilingual Outremer environment. Travel is at the heart of chivalry here, but not in a predictable way. Instead of showing Western European ideas of knighthood being adapted for use in a crusading context in the Middle East, as might have been expected in a context in which European knights travelled to fight in Western Asia and North Africa, the text follows an inverse pattern. The *Estoires* consequently portrays a particular form of Crusader State chivalry. In spite of this, the myth of originary European chivalry expounded by Hugh, yet undermined with the dubbing of Saladin, persists to a certain extent. For instance, when the Christian kingdom is left without a ruler, the Military Orders and nobles send for a French knight to be king. They do so because France is supposedly the best source of knights: '[ils] disent k'il envoieroient en Franche pour un chevalier, car il veoient que il ne pooient miex faire ke en Franche' (236).

Chivalry in the *Estoires* is not confined to the Islamic forces, however. There are many examples of knightly Crusaders fighting in Christian armies. Like their counterparts in the Islamic forces, these knights are defined by their prowess in battle. So much so that three-quarters of the knights who ride out with John I against Lycoredis die, purely because when the engagement is called off and they do not get a chance to fight, their blood is supposedly heated then cooled in such a way as to provoke terminal illness (241-42). These knights are by definition fighting machines, and if they do not take part in combat, they risk

illness and death. This extreme characterisation is reflected throughout the text, as chivalry in a Christian Crusader context appears more complex and troubled than knighthood in the Islamic armies. Many of the knights in the Islamic forces are rulers. The same is true in the Christian armies, but unlike their Muslim counterparts they are often defeated, or even unsure of the value of chivalry.

Saladin does praise Crusader knights in general when, even after his victorious sweep through the Holy Land, he refuses to besiege Tyre, because the city is full of good knights — ‘grant chevalerie et mout de pseudoumes’ — who escaped from defeat at his hands at the Battle of Hattin (199). Similarly, the leper king, Baldwin IV, is a successful, noble, military leader. Yet Emperor Frederick is portrayed as a bad knight. He may succeed diplomatically and penitentially, as he negotiates the handing over of Jerusalem to the Christians, and he persuades the Pope to lift his excommunication (249-50). However, he fails religiously, by being excommunicated in the first place (247). He is also unsuccessful in amorous affairs. His father-in-law, John of Jerusalem, is criticised for marrying his daughter to Frederick, and when she dies, Frederick is blamed for her death (247, 249). Frederick is also unable to attain military success. Despite taking the cross and being commanded by the Pope to go on crusade, Frederick delays the troops waiting in Venice for him (246-47). When Frederick does not meet them, he eventually forces them to leave without him (246-47). Frederick then wins Jerusalem by negotiation rather than military skill (249). This is shown to be a provisional victory, contingent on Frederick’s fleeting presence in the Holy Land. Shortly afterwards, the narrative of the *Estoires* draws to a close, describing Jerusalem withstanding yet another assault by Muslim armies. Likewise, the Count of Tripoli, despite being a ‘sages chevaliers’ (177), alienates the future Master of the Templars, Gerard of Ridefort. This contributes to the internal squabbles which, according to the *Estoires*, lead to the Christian defeat at the hands of Saladin (175). The Count of Tripoli

is unable to halt Saladin because he does not command a knight who can match or resist him; he afterwards dies of sorrow (200).

Saladin is portrayed as the ultimate knight, who is only ever partially matched by Richard the Lionheart: Richard checks Saladin's power through his knightly prowess, but he never defeats Saladin outright. As a gifted leader on campaign in Normandy, Richard wins the hearts of all the barons of France without even fighting (233). Richard also appears to be a religiously zealous Crusader, who dreams of extending Christendom. He promises to return to the Holy Land with an army committed to ensuring: 'ke il n'avroit paien en la tiere ne en toute la contree de Jherusalem' (231). Richard lets it be known that 'si vaurroit metre crestienté par toute la tiere d'Egypte, et de Damas, et feroit au plus de bien en la tiere ke il poroit' (231). Yet the English monarch is blamed for poisoning the King of France, Count Philip of Flanders, and possibly other nobles (227). This occasions the French King's departure from campaigning on crusade in the Middle East, which is such a grave matter that it makes knights weep, and it provokes widespread shame: 'çou estoit hontes pour le roi et pour la crestienté ke li rois s'en aloit ensi' (227). Moreover, the *Estoires* juxtaposes Richard and Saladin's deaths, portraying Saladin positively, as motivated by a search for religious truth, but Richard more negatively, as seeking wealth.¹⁰⁶ Saladin dies after listening to the interfaith disputation discussed above. He may not convert to Christianity, but he signals his approbation of that faith by granting more money in his will to the Church than to Islamic or Judaic organisations. Richard is killed while besieging one of his subjects who refuses to hand over his personal treasure. While Richard is said to want this treasure to finance another crusade, it is telling from the point of view of the *Estoire's* characterisation that while Saladin dedicates his last moments to religion, Richard devotes his to military action in the pursuit of financial gain.

¹⁰⁶ This is a deliberate juxtaposition, given that the two men died six years apart, so the *Estoires* was not chronologically bound to narrate their deaths as concurrent events.

King Guy, the monarch under whom most of the Holy Land was lost to Saladin's forces, although a 'biaus chevaliers', is said to lack 'sens', 'bonté' and 'prouece' (121). It seems, then, that the only feature which defines him as a knight, given his lack of military skill and chivalric values, is his nobility. Yet elsewhere in the *Estoires*, elevated social class is no longer an essential part of knighthood, at least in times of military need. When Saladin attacks Jerusalem we are told that the city has many knights, because Balian 'avoit fais chevaliers assés en la cité', including the two hundred sons of the bourgeoisie with whom he attacks Saladin's army (216). This reflects Flori's description of historical twelfth-century knighthood as a flexible professional grouping, which was open to men from different social backgrounds, until it became an exclusively noble caste in the thirteenth century.¹⁰⁷ Elsewhere in the *Estoires*, knights are not even defined by their role as cavalry, or characterised as separate from foot soldiers, given that the German army, which must have contained some knights, are driven by famine to eat their horses (222). As Flori has shown, the loss of a knight's horse was not an uncommon occurrence on crusade; although nominally still a knight, a horseless warrior would be demoted to the role and status of foot soldier if he was unable to afford to replace his steed when one became available.¹⁰⁸

In addition to these contradictions in the definition of knighthood in the *Estoires*, the interpolation of the legend of the heralds of death, derived from the Barlaam and Josaphat hagiographic tradition, expresses doubts as to the very compatibility of Christianity and chivalry. This legend is recounted in a wider exemplary interpolation about a legendary ruler of Syria and Damascus (167-70). He was a contented king, who held great celebrations and gave generously to his knights (167). One day, however, when all the guests had left, he realised that this happiness was as nothing because he would one day

¹⁰⁷ Flori, 'Les Origines', pp. 227, 231, 244, 248.

¹⁰⁸ Flori, *Croisade et chevalerie : XI^e-XII^e siècles*, Bibliothèque du Moyen Âge, 12 (Brussels: De Boeck Université, 1998), p. 393.

die. The monarch dismissed the chivalric pleasures and duties of feasts and wars as unable to secure him the prize of everlasting joy (168). He therefore left behind worldly happiness by crying, wearing a hair shirt, and praying to God. He did so every day, until his barons complained to the king's brother about his behaviour, saying that: 'il doune tout as povres gens [...]. Et por çou vous disoumes nous k'il pierdra tous ses chevaliers et toutes ses gens au mains les mieus vaillans, et cascuns les laira et s'en ira' (168).

The brother promised to rectify this by reprimanding the ruler. However, when his brother spoke to him, the king answered that he did not care about his criticisms. In order to make his barons and brother understand his perspective, the monarch used the technique of the heralds of death. The episode of the heralds of death is recounted in the legend of Barlaam and Josaphat, where we are told that the custom of the kingdom was such that a trumpeter was sent to play outside the house of a condemned man, to announce that he had received the death sentence. Thus, the Damascene king sent this trumpeter to perform outside his brother's house. Subsequently, the ruler and brother spoke, and the brother admitted that it was impossible for him to feel happy when he knew he must die. The monarch then overturned the death sentence, and explained to his brother that this sentiment of dread was what he felt knowing that he must die and face God's judgement eventually. From then on the king's brother and the barons were reformed and converted to the king's ascetic form of penitence. Not only do the intradiegetic characters repent, but the audience is also enjoined to do so:

et se li rois estoit preudom devant, des lors en avant ses freres fu assés plus, et tout li baron ki cele parole oïrent et entendirent, et ki le sorent, furent puis tout preudome. *Por çou vous ai jou chi parlé de cel roi.* (170, emphasis mine.)

This interpolation illustrates how the *Estoires* portrays an incompatibility between chivalry and salvation. When the king rewards his knights, he is a sinner, but when those knights threaten to leave because they can no longer make a living at the royal court, the king is close to earning salvation. This legend is set in an indeterminate past era, but its message is relevant to the Crusader States. The geographical backdrop is the familiar Middle East, and the narratorial voice indirectly suggests that we should copy the penitent king's example. The narrator states that the legend was included to show us examples of intradiegetic characters reforming when informed about the meaning of the king's example; by extension, it is assumed that we will participate in this chain of learning, imitating, and reforming.

By examining how Christian knights in the crusading armies are described, as well as Muslim knights, and Christian knights in the Islamic armies, I have shown that the definition of chivalry offered by the *Estoires* is deeply unstable. We have seen how the knights in the Islamic armies practise a variant of chivalry shaped by their location in Outremer, because there is a particular focus on military prowess to the exclusion of religious allegiance. While Flori has shown that the Church was only gradually able to influence conceptions of knighthood in French, and Paterson has proved that the Church's influence over knighthood in Occitan texts was almost non-existent, the particular form of a-religious chivalry portrayed in the *Estoires* conforms to neither of these historical models. This is so because while knighthood here stands slightly apart from the Church, it also involves other non-Christian religions.

Despite the Middle Eastern setting, the inclusion of this portrait of knighthood in this European chronicle of the *Estoires* means that the Muslim knights' form of chivalry is portrayed as part of French literary models of knighthood through this text. The Christian knights in the Crusader armies analysed here do not always conform to this model, however. Some, like King Guy, display little prowess and virtue, seemingly obtaining

knighthood purely on account of lineage. Yet others, forming Balian's emergency Jerusalemite knightly corps, are not noble. Clearly these two conceptions of knighthood are incompatible. Further paradoxes have been examined above.¹⁰⁹ What emerges is a picture of chivalry in flux, defined by no single factor, and adapted to suit the circumstances. It is not clear what makes a knight in the *Estoires*, given that they can be aristocratic or middle class, Christian or Muslim, fighting for Islam or for Christianity, almost unbeatable or a military failure, clever or senseless. All that is constant is the presence of knights amongst both the Christian and Islamic forces. In this sense, chivalry is a way of life which is constantly being translated and adapted to fit new circumstances, as it is portrayed in practice in the Middle East, and composed in its literary form in France.

This changeable chivalry is the opposite of Llull's rigid Order of Knighthood in the *Livre*, which is defined with ecclesiastical strictness as a 'doctrine' (86). And yet Llull's concept of chivalry also shows inconsistencies. In this sense, I have applied above some of Fallows's arguments concerning the ambiguity of the *Llibre* to the *Estoires*. Despite its preaching tone, the *Llibre*, like the *Livre*, hinges on debate, as Fallows stresses, due to 'the many paradoxes, contradictions and tensions that underpin the institution of chivalry'.¹¹⁰ This means that despite Llull's definitive statements regarding knighthood, 'for Ramon Llull, c. 1274-6, as this book captures so well, Chivalry was very much a work in progress'.¹¹¹ We have seen that the *Estoires* portrays some of the incoherencies in chivalry caused by the crusades, and that Llull wrote in response to crusading defeats. Because Llull wrote in the thirteenth century but the *Livre* dates from the fourteenth century, the text responds to some of these historical and philosophical incoherencies as they were felt at these later stages. At this point in time, Saint Louis's second crusade had failed, and no further large

¹⁰⁹ Both Keen and Kaeuper discuss in full the paradoxes inherent in historical chivalry in their monographs.

¹¹⁰ Fallows (ed. and trans.), 'Introduction', in Ramon Llull, *The Book*, p. 10.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

scale crusades were to be launched after 1272.¹¹² Closer to home for Llull, the momentum of the Christian conquest of Iberia (known as the *Reconquista*) had halted around the mid-thirteenth century, and its goal of Christian hegemony over the peninsula would not be achieved for over two centuries.¹¹³ Thus the *Llibre* 'emerged [...] from beneath the dark cloud of militaristic and chivalric malaise that had cast its gloomy shadow over the failures of the recent crusade in the East and hung ominously over the hiatus in the Reconquista in the West'.¹¹⁴

The most strikingly different part of Llull's reformed chivalry, when compared to knighthood as it is portrayed in the *Estoires*, is its rigid religious aspect. We saw that chivalry was not secular in the *Estoires*, but neither was it tied to a specific religion. For Llull, not only the Order of Chivalry he describes, but the book itself in which these descriptions appear, are all part of a Catholic hierarchical framework. The target audience was made up of both knights and priests, as the *Llibre* was intended to be not only a chivalric textbook, but also a homiletic primer which would enable clerics to teach knights.¹¹⁵ As such, it reflects the homiletic development in Europe at this time, and functions as part of this phenomenon.¹¹⁶ In contrast to the *Estoires*, in which knights are not always dubbed, the *Livre* lays great stress on the importance of a Christian, ritualised, knight-making ceremony. According to the *Livre*, the squire should receive confession and communion beforehand, and the dubbing service should be carried out on the day of an important religious festival (136). Men should pray for the postulant knight (136). The

¹¹² Fallows (ed. and trans.), 'Introduction', in Ramon Llull, *The Book*, p. 2.

¹¹³ *Ibid.* I use the term conquest, rather than 'reconquest', which would be a translation of the Spanish 'reconquista', for several reasons. By the time Llull was writing the *Llibre* in the thirteenth century, some parts of Iberia had not been under Christian rule for five centuries. Moreover, the Christian forces conquering Islamic states in Iberia in the thirteenth century were far removed, in terms of their familial and linguistic backgrounds, from the Iberian peoples conquered by the Umayyad armies in the eighth century, despite, understandably, using these ancestors as sources of ideological inspiration.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁵ Fallows (ed. and trans.), 'Introduction', in Ramon Llull, *The Book*, p. 5.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*

postulant himself should undertake an all-night vigil and must fast before he is knighted (136). Crucially, the new knight must swear an oath to a priest in church that he will uphold chivalry (137). When he receives this oath, the priest incarnates the Order of Chivalry, as a 'prestre qui tient le lieu de Nostre Seigneur et l'ordre de chevalerie' (137).

We have already seen how Lull suggests that chivalry is an ancient institution established by God, and that the knight's defining role is to uphold the Church and vanquish infidels. Thus Lull's response, both to the flexible Outremer style of chivalry depicted in the *Estoires*, and to the Christian crusading failures of the thirteenth century, is to portray chivalry as a Christian lay vocation with rigid crusading aims. In doing so, Lull was not unique, so he is able to draw on ideas about knighthood and crusades formulated by his intellectual predecessors. When Urban II preached the First Crusade, he described it as a 'way of the cross' for laymen.¹¹⁷ Urban's statement provided the laity with a papally sanctioned alternative to monasticism which would supposedly lead to salvation, and it represented a step towards ecclesiastical recognition of 'the lay condition as a vocation in itself'.¹¹⁸ Later prelates, such as Bernard of Clairvaux, developed this thinking, proposing that God had created the opportunity of the crusades in a deliberate bid to provide 'sinful and violent men' with a way to redeem themselves.¹¹⁹ Guibert of Nogent crystallised this idea of the crusades as a lay vocation by suggesting that the purpose of the crusades was for knights and nobles to gain salvation and work for the benefit of the Church while still functioning as soldiers.¹²⁰ By recasting chivalry as a Christian lay vocation, in keeping with his predecessors' thinking about crusading as a chivalric lay vocation, we have seen that Lull masks his reformation of knighthood with rhetoric portraying it as an ancient and divine institution. Lull's reformulation of chivalry as synonymous with crusading makes the latter seem as ancient and divinely ordained as knighthood supposedly is in the *Livre*, while

¹¹⁷ Riley-Smith, *The Crusades*, p. 36.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 146.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 34.

redefining chivalry as principally a religious and ethical, rather than military and moral, institution. Yet, in so doing, Lull undermines the rigidity of his definition of chivalry. Just as Hugh fractured the idealised, abstract form of chivalry he described when he enacted it in a precise historical moment by knighting Saladin, so Lull's recoding of chivalry cannot help but reveal the contingency at its heart. By making the ideal knight a religious warrior, explicitly focused on combating non-Christians, Lull reveals that knighthood is defined by movement — by a clash of multi-faith ideas in antagonistic debate with each other, and by the encounters of members of different religions.

Furthermore, the knight's very being depends on the presence of his opposite: the infidel, or the law breaker. Early on in the *Livre*, we are informed that knighthood was only created by God in response to the emergence of injustice and error (87). When this 'mesprisement de justice' and 'erreur' arose, the knight was appointed to control the unruly populace who displayed these vices (87). In this sense, disorder is a prerequisite of knighthood, given that chivalry arises from God's attempt to control the badly behaved populace again through fear, 'par cremeur' (87). And yet, elsewhere in the *Livre*, Lull suggests that chivalry is totally divorced from any lack of order (135). Lull even goes so far, using the convoluted technique of reasoning by contraries, to say that knighthood must be divorced from a lack of order, otherwise order and disorder would be synonyms (as quoted above): 'se chevalerie povoit recevoir ceulx qui sont contre son ordre, il s'ensuiroit que en chevalerie ordonnance et desordonnance fussent une mesme chose' (135). Instead of growing out of disorder, Lull argues here that 'chevalerie est pure ordonnance de valeur' (135). In some ways this contradicts his previous contention on p. 87 that knights were formed in response to the populace's lawlessness. The originary myth of knighthood first outlined by Lull contradicts this later argument because it suggests that, in a sense, 'desordonnance' is both the origin of chivalry, and the source of its meaning, because chivalry is set up in response to it. This is just one of the reasons why 'disorder' dominates

the definition of chivalry in the *Livre*, despite Lull's best efforts. Ultimately no fixed definition of chivalry can be established on account of the paradoxes at its heart.

Moreover, Lull may posit chivalry as a religious vocation, but he cannot help but admit that it is, to a certain extent, separate from faith, in that it is not a religious order. Because of this, Lull urges the knight to remember the fourteen articles of faith, ten commandments, and seven sacraments, 'en telle maniere que il sache acorder l'office de chevalerie aux choses qui appartiennent a la foy' (137). Such lists of the core beliefs of Catholicism are frequently included in devotional texts for the laity, so their inclusion here does not suggest that chivalry does not fit within the church. However, this recommendation reveals what elsewhere Lull denies — that chivalry only fits within the Catholic hierarchical framework when care is taken to place it there, rather than it naturally forming a part of the Church. While the whole ethos of the *Livre/Llibre* is that chivalry is an integral part of the Catholic hierarchy, as 'office de prestre et office de chevalier ont grant concordance' (144), this recommendation reveals knighthood to be more of a possible addition to religion than an integral part of it. The remembering and adjusting tasks asked of knights show that it requires mental and physical effort to keep chivalry in line with Catholic values.

Lull is adamant that only nobles can become knights: 'il ne souffist pas que l'en feist chevaliers des plus nobles personnes [...] aincois convenist et fault que on les face seigneurs de maintz hommes, car en seigneurie a tant de noblesse' (90). This is because 'tant est haulte et noble l'ordre de chevalerie' (90). So, nobility entitles men to a chance to try and be a knight, as both knighthood and 'seigneurie' are synonymous with 'noblesse', whereas as social 'vilté' makes a man worthy only of being a 'serf' (91). In this sense, Lull reflects the socio-economic changes which took place from the thirteenth century onwards, as knighthood became a closed caste only open to new members from the upper

classes.¹²¹ Previously, between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries, it had been an open, professional corporation of men from different social backgrounds.¹²² This is what we see in the *Estoires*, which largely depicts events of the twelfth century, despite being composed in the thirteenth. Surprisingly, given the religious tone Lull gives to his Order of Chivalry, he describes knighthood in terms more redolent of nobility than faith: ‘chevalerie est pure ordonnance de valeur’ (135). However, ‘valeur’ may have multiple meanings of worth here, from social, to moral, to religious. Thus Lull’s religious chivalric taskforce is different from the socially mobile crusading knights of the *Estoires* in two ways. The knights of the *Livre* have to be noble, free, and in political and economic positions of power and control, or ‘seigneurie’. They also have to embody, in their person, a rigid form of chivalry, which is equated by Lull with ‘ordonnance’, or an order. Despite its contradictions, the *Livre* asserts that knighthood is, in and of itself, a fixed category: an Order.

In contrast, the *Estoires* portrays non-noble knighted cavalry, amongst other types of unorthodox knights, breaking down all the possible defining categories of chivalry. In this way, the knights of the *Estoires* operate in a society granted a certain moral and legal freedom — a freedom which is lacking from the ordered, artificial world of the *Livre*. Whereas for Lull, truth and justice only exist because people are afraid of law-enforcing knights (89), the *Estoires* presents a literary vision of a society in which morality and governmental control are contingent on concrete, evolving, military and political situations, rather than on fixed social class and religious background. Knights are not policemen with arbitrarily exercisable powers, but combatants protecting land ownership claims and the security of vulnerable settlements. Whereas the law-enforcing side of chivalry, and the demand that the knight fight for a Christian cause, are absent from the *Estoires*, Lull deftly weaves law and religion together in his definition of knighthood in the *Livre*. For instance, Lull establishes a connection between two concepts relating to law and religion in the

¹²¹ Flori, ‘Les Origines’, p. 244.

¹²² *Ibid.*, p. 246.

following quoted passage with the conjunction 'because': 'doit chevalier vaincre et destruire les ennemys de la croix par l'espee. *Car* chevalerie est pour maintenir justice' (144, emphasis mine).

For Hugh and Saladin in the interpolated *Ordre* of the *Estoires*, the postulant knight's declaration that he will behave morally is a personal promise before God and before the noble carrying out the dubbing ceremony. The *Livre* recommends, however, that the new knight makes his promise publically, while he is paraded through the town (142-43). This is to ensure that everyone knows he is a knight, so he will be stopped by fear of shame from acting wrongly in the public eye (143). In the idealised chivalry of the *Ordre* interpolated in the *Estoires*, Saladin was presented to his court after being dubbed (113), but he did not give an elaborate banquet or show himself to all the townspeople. This is quite unlike the definition of knighthood as laid down by the *Livre*, in which Lull specifies that the new knight must throw a big party, complete with a feast, gifts, and a tournament (143). This is part of Lull's vision of knighthood as a state of ethical superiority combined with material wealth (152), for which he cites Ecclesiastes 27. 1 as biblical backing regarding the importance of wealth to maintaining nobility, both in a moral and a social sense.

Despite the *Livre's* overtly sermonising tone, its vision of knighthood's worldly values as compatible with a lay vocation is the opposite of the tenor of the interpolation in the *Estoires* of the religious exemplum of the Damascene king and the heralds of death. In this exemplum, it is the King's move away from courtly celebrations and a gift economy, in favour of penitential exercises and charitable gifts, which earns him salvation. This is completely at odds with Lull's conclusion that 'tout noble baron et hault seigneur qui honnore chevalier et sa court et son conseil et a sa table, honnore soy mesmes' (175). Reflecting some of the spirit of the Damascene king and heralds exemplum, in the version of the *Ordre* in the *Estoires*, Saladin celebrates his newly conferred knighthood with

charitable acts. Saladin grants Hugh the freedom of a number of Christian prisoners of his choice, and funds to pay the ransom he had charged him (113-14). The Sultan's benevolent actions, making merciful gifts to celebrate his dubbing, rather than purely extravagant ones, confer some moral and religious legitimacy on his honour. Otherwise, the Christian Hugh's decision to knight his social superior and religious opponent would have been potentially even more contentious.¹²³ Such gifts also corroborate tales of Saladin's generosity, repeated throughout the *Estoires*, and disseminated widely through the material of the *Légende de Saladin*.¹²⁴ Saladin's charity in the *Ordre* of the *Estoires* also, however, hints at Zakat: the obligation to donate annually to charity which is one of the Five Pillars of Islam. Thus, in Saladin's granting of merciful gifts following his dubbing, we find what can be read as a further allusion to Islamic belief.

In the *Estoires*, knights serve a variety of overlords, or are themselves rulers. They can even change allegiance without losing their status as knights, as the two Christian nobles fighting for Saladin's army prove. This literary reflection of the practical fluidity of a frontier society often at war is lost in the rigidity of the codified chivalric order of the *Livre*. Here, political and social obedience are essential: 'tout chevalier qui ne est obeissant a son seigneur ne a l'ordre de chevalerie deshonnore son seigneur et yst hors de son ordre' (146). Once more for Lull, creating the illusion that chivalry is formed of stable boundaries and definitions is a priority, placing his Order of Chivalry at odds with knighthood as it is reflected in the *Estoires*, and even on other occasions in the *Livre*.

Another essential part of knighthood in the *Livre* is that it involves greater and more worthy tasks than other professions and estates (152). This glorification of militaristic tasks performed by nobles above all others, excepting priestly duties, fits with the crusading ethos of the *Livre*. It is at odds with the philosophy of the crusading settlements

¹²³ We know that the action is considered contentious because Saladin anticipates Hugh's objection that he will be blamed by his peers in France for knighting Saladin (110).

¹²⁴ Margaret Jubb, *The Legend of Saladin in Western Literature and Historiography*, *Studies in Comparative Literature*, 34 (Lampeter: Edwin Mellen, 2000) pp. 33, 44, 47.

depicted in the *Estoires*, where on occasion we see socially lower-class men performing greater deeds than some noble knights. Compared to the senseless royal knight, King Guy, the bourgeois Jerusalemite, Germain, emerges as a much greater hero. Through his tireless collection of water and sponsorship of engineering works, Germain saved Jerusalem from mass deaths through drought (179-83). That Germain is better than the king is apparent not just from the moral import of his vital work, but also from the amount of narrative space the *Estoires* dedicates to his good works, and the fact that he is named for posterity.

Although knighthood in the *Livre* is dependent on external symbols, including a knight's heraldic 'seignal' worn in battle, such markings are almost absent from the *Estoires*. The only time heraldic designs are carried is when the Muslim King Elxelin 'fist metre l'ensaigne de lor loy en un gonfanon' prior to battle (158).¹²⁵ In the *Livre*, the use of heraldic imagery denotes knightly prestige. In contrast, in the *Estoires*, such imagery is given a religious and ethical meaning rather than bearing connotations of social status. Elxelin uses it to signal the religious superiority of his army when they clash with Saladin and his troops following the Sultan's excommunication by the Caliph.

One of the reasons why Lull constructs so many rigid rules for the Order of Knighthood is that, despite its crusading ethos, his treatise is a textbook of knighthood. Thus the practices and aims of chivalry are inevitably portrayed predominantly in the abstract. In contrast, the knights of the *Estoires* fight for immediate and concrete goals, such as defending a town when it is besieged by Saladin's troops. This combat contrasts with the activities of the ideal knight in the *Livre*, who instead thinks through higher mental and spiritual battles: 'il doit combatre et guerroier a vices et les doibt vaincre et surmonter

¹²⁵ The *Chanson de Roland* and other *chansons de geste* frequently depict Saracens carrying religious standards into battle. See Michael Camille, *The Gothic Idol: Ideology and Image-Making in Medieval Art* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), p. 146; Debra Higgs Strickland, *Saracens, Demons, and Jews: Making Monsters in Medieval Art* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003), p. 179. However, the depiction of Elxelin's army and their standard is very different to a typical epic description. It is not parodic, and the banner is not described as idolatrous, but as simply marked by an 'ensaigne', like a European heraldic banner.

par force de courage' (161). Lull's knight is an anonymous member of a group, rather than an individualised warrior. The Order of Chivalry in the *Livre* draws on a communal philosophy, and in order to play his role, the ideal knight must place the common good above individual interests (171-72). This contrasts with the individualistic freedom of the knights portrayed in the *Estoires*. This is true of the Muslim chivalric leaders, such as Saladin's brother, who challenges the Sultan's edict by freeing thousands of Christian prisoners, as of Ralph the renegade Christian knight, who damages the Christian Crusaders' cause by fighting so ardently in an Islamic army.

We have seen that, however hard Lull tries to construct a coherent Order, it grows out of and spirals back into 'desordonnance'. This is because, according to Lull's originary myth, the Order of Chivalry was instituted in response to lawbreakers. Thus the Order bases its meaning and existence on instances of lawlessness. The lawbreakers invoked can be social, and so criminals, or religious, that is to say infidels. Because Lull ignores the non-Christian's foundational role in his vision of chivalry, and because he refuses to recognise the 'desordonnance' out of which his concept of chivalry is formed, his narrative breaks down in three ways. Firstly, despite trying to present his rewritten rules of chivalry as ancient and immutable customs, the narratorial voice reveals that they are invented. For example, when the constitution of chivalry is discussed, in a passage of convoluted 'Reasoning by Contraries', the purpose for which chivalry was established is referenced in these terms: 'la raison pour quoy est chevalerie *trouvee*' (114, emphasis mine). This is very close to the Catalan, which states: 'la rahó per la qual cavaylaria és *atrobada*'.¹²⁶ As discussed in the previous chapter in relation to poetic composition in *Barlaam et Josaphat*, the use of the verb 'trouver' (and the same applies here to its Catalan cognate 'atobar'), invokes poetic invention as much as it does discovery. What we see here, then, is the overlap between the creation of 'historic' rules, and the invention of poetic conceits.

¹²⁶ Lull, *Livre*, ed. by Minervini, p. 183.

Gesturing towards God's supposedly ancient decision to institute the Order of Chivalry creates a veneer of historicity which overlays, but cannot hide, the reality of Lull's recent literary creation of his rules of knighthood. When Hugh explains the rules of knighthood to Saladin in the *Ordre* interpolated in the *Estoires*, the same process takes place. Hugh, like Lull, evokes ancient, immutable rules and rites. However, the scenario as it is presented to us in the *Estoires* shows that these rules are only revealed when the character expounding them is in dialogue with an interlocutor of another faith. Paradoxically, such rules are only concretised (in their explanation) when they are broken (by Saladin's dubbing).

Secondly, we see incoherence in the *Livre* in its convoluted syntax, and in its unclear reasoning and meaning. For example:

Et se jouer son hernois et son cheval estoit office de chevalier, il s'ensuiroit que ce qui est et ce qui ne est fust office de chevalier: comme seroit et non seroit et estre et non estre soient choses contraires, se jouer et destruire son hernois est office de chevalier, quelle chose est donc chevalier sans hernois ne pourquoy est il appellé chevalier? (120-21)

(And if gambling with one's harness and horse was the job of a knight, it would follow that that which is and that which is not would be the job of a knight: as would be and would not be and to be and not to be are contrary things, if gambling with and destroying one's harness is the job of a knight, what then is a knight without a harness and why is he called a knight?)

This passage, at first reading incomprehensible, does make sense when the double negatives are dismissed as cancelling one another out — Lull argues that a knight is not a

knight if he gambles away his horse's harness. However, as illustrated by the translation given above, the syntax and meaning are strained here, and very difficult to follow.¹²⁷

Thirdly, the overall narrative of the *Livre* is riddled with contradictions. We have already mentioned that in spite of all his arguments and advice to the contrary, the character of the knight-hermit of the prologue embodies the mutual exclusivity of chivalry and the religious life, as well as the insufficiency of knighthood as a means to obtain salvation. Further contradictions are to be found throughout the narrative. For example, Llull repeatedly stresses a knight's superiority over all other men, bar the ruling nobility and royalty. Contemporary knights are supposedly superior because they are the ideological descendants of the proto-knights described by Llull, who were chosen by God because they were the best amongst a thousand others (87). In spite of this, the *Livre* defines one of the key vices which knights must avoid, pride, as when a man 'ne veult avoir per ne egal, mais ayme mieulx a estre seul' (165). It would seem that Llull's knights, by definition extraordinary, must also, by definition, avoid the vice of believing themselves to be extraordinary.

Through a comparison of the two texts, we have seen that the definitions of chivalry in them vary hugely, not only between the works, but even from one section to another within them. Hugh defines knighthood as a strict, exclusive Order in the *Ordre* of the *Estoires*, yet when he enacts it by dubbing Saladin, he makes it into a flexible, inclusive practice. Throughout the *Estoires*, competing definitions of chivalry dominate at different moments, meaning no one defining characteristic of knighthood emerges. In the *Livre*, Llull defines chivalry as a rigid, fixed institution, focused on a crusading brand of Christian knighthood, but his definition cracks because its paradoxes and contradictions surface throughout the work. It has been shown that despite the very different interpretations of

¹²⁷ For this reason, I have included my translation of this passage above, formatted to convey the convoluted syntax and confusing lack of punctuation of the original.

chivalry these works offer us, they all depict a chivalry based on some form of crusading combat. Both texts also show the influence of dialogue and movement on their unstable, changeable forms of chivalry, however much the rhetoric, vocabulary, and syntax of the works may suggest that their form of crusading chivalry has supposedly immutable, ancient, and monologic forms and origins. Movement and dialogue take the particular forms of journeying to encounter the non-Christian, and a sometimes heated exchange of ideas with this infidel, whether in situations of war, diplomacy, or imprisonment. In all the texts, codifications of chivalry are only crystallised when knightly protagonists are challenged by a non-Christian. So, Hugh only defines the chivalric order at Saladin's request. And Llull may posit the Order of Chivalry as a timeless institution, but he writes in and for a time of crusade, whether within Europe in Iberia, or outside Europe in the Middle East.

Part V – The Fragmentation of Chivalric Crusading Identity

To what extent, then, is a non-Christian adversary or acquaintance already part of the Christian Crusader's knightly sense of identity in these accounts? A narrative which allows us to examine this issue in more depth is the *Fille du comte de Ponthieu*, in the version in which it is interpolated in the *Estoires*. According to this story, Saladin is supposedly the great-grandson of a French-speaking, European noblewoman, who was the daughter of the Count of Ponthieu. The Count's daughter is married to a francophone nobleman, but they have no children. When she is exiled alone, this lady is given little choice but to contract a new marriage with the Muslim Sultan of Almería, with whom she has two children. When the opportunity arises, she returns to Ponthieu with her son, and her Christian first husband. Her daughter is left behind and raised by the Sultan's court in Almería. Saladin is supposedly descended from this Muslim daughter. Thus according to this

tale, Saladin would be partly descended from francophone, European, Christian nobility, via this Christian daughter of the Count of Ponthieu, and her Muslim daughter.

Its interpolation in the *Estoires*, which focuses on Saladin and makes him a hero, shows that the primary import of the narrative here is precisely this noble, European, and Christian lineage which it establishes for the Sultan. In some ways, this interpolation reflects the ultimate disavowal of difference, in that it refuses to recognise the distinct identity of the Sultan, instead assimilating him to a francophone noble model. Saladin's great-uncle, the son of the Sultan of Almería and the French noblewoman, exemplifies such assimilation. Quickly Christianised by the Pope, and adopted into European society by the francophone nobility, Saladin's great-uncle Guillaume is married off to the Lord of Préaux's daughter, and subsequently inherits his father-in-law's lands. The path of adaptation taken by Guillaume to a European, Christian way of life is implicitly open to his sister's descendant, Saladin, who is depicted by the *Estoires* as acting on his supposedly Christian and European genealogy by hinting to Hugh that he may convert to Christianity in the future, by attending a mass, and by leaving a legacy to the Church.

And yet, Saladin does not convert to Christianity, and his Islamic armies dispossess the Crusaders of most of their Middle Eastern territories. Even in the *Estoires*, in which Saladin is a hero, this is not denied. Assimilating Saladin, by making him part of a Christian, European genealogy, may be a technique to soften the blow of the losses inflicted by Saladin's armies on the Crusader Kingdoms.¹²⁸ If the commander of the opposing forces is related to Christian Crusaders, then the loss is to a kinsman. And yet, while Saladin may be Europeanised and Christianised in the interpolation of the *Fille*, he is only partially assimilated elsewhere in the *Estoires*, where he remains a non-Christian who conquers Crusader lands. It is important to remember that if Saladin is related to a francophone noble family, then this section of the French-speaking aristocracy is also related to a Middle

¹²⁸ Jubb, *The Legend of Saladin*, p. 109.

Eastern, Muslim, ruling elite: the Ayyubid dynasty.¹²⁹ Thus by only partially assimilating the figure of Saladin to European Christendom in the *Estoires*, the European Christian Crusader remains, to a certain extent, linked to a Middle Eastern Islamic world. The *Estoires* seems to suggest that even before the crusades began, the francophone knights who would go on crusade, and listen to or read about crusading deeds recounted in the *Estoires*, were already related to Saladin's Muslim, Middle Eastern family. This relationship suggests an unravelling of the boundaries between the opposing religions and states of the warring armies of the crusades.

The portrayal of Muslims as predominantly courtly and chivalric in the *Estoires*, as examined above, complicates even further any borderlines between Christian and Muslim. Any fixed definition of Christian chivalry falls apart in this situation, in which Muslims are knights, Christians can remain knights while fighting in Islamic armies, the Caliph appears papal rather than demonic or misguided, and the Patriarch is accused of sin so grave that it entails the loss of Jerusalem. What the *Estoires* depicts is intercultural and interreligious encounters arising from the religiously motivated voyaging of the Crusaders who travel on crusading campaigns. These encounters result in a portrayal of Muslim knights who are remarkably similar to their Christian counterparts, leading to a fragmenting of Christian knightly identity and of the concept of chivalry. Although Christians continue to function as Crusaders and knights, all sense of their identity as such is lost. This identity, as expounded in the abstract by Hugh, appeared predicated on their social and religious status as chivalric Crusaders. Yet as the social exclusivity of chivalry is undermined by extending it to the bourgeoisie, when the townsmen of Jerusalem are knighted, and as the religious unity of chivalry is diversified, when Christian knights fight for Muslims and Muslims become

¹²⁹ The Ayyubid dynasty was founded by Saladin and ruled over parts of the Middle East during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. It was overthrown by the Mamluks. See Peter Mansfield, *A History of the Middle East*, 2nd edn, revised and updated by Nicolas Pelham (London: Penguin, 2003), p. 22.

knights, then their identity becomes as fluid and fractured as that of the impossible hybrid of the knight-hermit in Lull's manual.

The complexity of the Crusader's identity as a knight as we see it depicted in the *Estoires* is consequently difficult to define or summarise. Theoretical readings of similar frontier identities, and the interactions behind them, are helpful in this respect for clarifying the nuances of the knightly identities we see in this corpus. Recent crusade scholarship has touched on issues of Crusader identity, but has principally examined how it was viewed through the eyes of another community group, rather than on finding a sociological and philosophical model for it in its own right. In this vein, Christopher MacEvitt has considered Frankish Crusader identity to the extent that it impacted on the interactions of francophone Crusaders with Eastern Christians, as we find these meetings documented in Eastern and Latin Christian sources.¹³⁰ MacEvitt elaborates a model of 'rough tolerance', which describes the modes in which Frankish Crusaders interacted with non-Latin Christians in Syria and the Holy Land. 'Rough tolerance' is portrayed as a paradoxical attitude and policy, encompassing 'conflict and oppression', and mixing 'violence and tolerance', yet permitting the coexistence of many different religious communities.¹³¹

While MacEvitt's analysis of Crusader interactions with native peoples is helpful, and his terminology is sensitive to the nuances of the complicated interfaith interactions occurring in medieval Levantine societies, his model does not fit the *Estoires*. MacEvitt focuses on Eastern Christian communities to the exclusion of the Jewish, Muslim, and other faith groups who also interacted with the Crusaders. Moreover he highlights the cases of the Frankish Crusaders, particularly in Syria, rather than elaborating a model which would be more widely applicable. Therefore, as an analysis of contemporary, geographically proximate interactions, MacEvitt's work is helpful, but his model is not flexible enough to

¹³⁰ See his *The Crusades and the Christian World of the East*.

¹³¹ MacEvitt, particularly pp. 2-3, 14.

encompass the range of interactions portrayed in the *Estoires*. In the chronicle, we see little interaction between different Christian denominations, and what we do see could not be classed as 'tolerant' yet 'rough'. The principle encounter between Christians of different denominations is the meeting of the Latin Christians of the Kingdom of Jerusalem with Armenian Christians of an unknown denomination from Cilicia, but this involves neither violence nor tolerance. Instead, it is a missed opportunity as the Latins fail to take advantage of an offered alliance. Due to a dispute over the tax the Armenians would have to pay, the resettlement of Armenians to defend Jerusalem never takes place (91-95).

Neither can MacEvitt's model be satisfactorily applied to interactions between characters of different faiths in the *Estoires*. The Latin Christian rulers and knights do not treat non-Latins with a tolerance tempered by outbreaks of localised, controlling violence, as occurs in the situations analysed by MacEvitt. Instead, the Latin Christians react towards the Muslims with violence in war, but tolerance in everyday life, interacting extensively with characters such as Saladin, for example. If anyone displays a strategic combination of rough tolerance, it is not in government, as occurs in MacEvitt's examples, but on military campaign. And it is not the Latins, but the Muslim rulers, who crush the Latins in battle only to show great clemency to those who surrender, are captured, or survive.¹³² MacEvitt's analysis does not fit the *Estoires*, partly because the *Estoires* portrays a literary interpretation of the crusades, and partly because MacEvitt relies heavily on non-Latin Christian sources which focused on geographical areas beyond the remit of the *Estoires*. There are multiple issues with MacEvitt's book. While it is not relevant to go into a full discussion of them here, one of the reasons why his analysis is not applicable to the *Estoires* is that he makes assertions about cultural interaction which cannot be reliably

¹³² Clemency was not always shown, by either Muslims or Christians, when they were the victors. For a historical assessment of the treatment of survivors of battles during the crusades, see Yvonne Friedman, *Encounter between Enemies: Captivity and Ransom in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, Cultures, Beliefs and Traditions: Medieval and Early Modern Peoples, 10 (Leiden: Brill, 2002).

used to extend my argument given that they are unreferenced, or speculative, or do not take into account recent scholarly findings on the topic.¹³³

For a more nuanced, and wider-ranging conceptual reading of interfaith interactions, which is more suited to being transposed to a broader, literary, crusading context, it is useful to turn to scholarship on the frontier societies of al-Andalus and Castile in medieval Iberia. These states were geographically distant from the Levant, but they contained a similar mix of religious groups. Their peoples were also embroiled in crusading campaigns and ideologies, albeit ones that were modified to their Iberian and European setting. Moreover, despite their geographical distance, there were links between al-Andalus and the Crusader States, as important cultural figures from al-Andalus spent time in the Middle East. For example, the Cordoban Judaic religious scholar, philosopher, and physician Maimonides stayed in the Holy Land during the twelfth century. In the thirteenth century, the Valencian Ibn Jubayr, who worked in Granada and was a geographer and poet, travelled through the Kingdom of Jerusalem. Scholarship on theoretical models for interfaith interaction is also more developed on the topic of Iberia, making it an ideal arena from which to draw elements of philosophical ideas to aid in mapping out literary representations of Crusader interactions with peoples living in the Middle East.

Thomas Devaney has analysed and modelled interfaith interactions in Iberian frontier spaces of the fifteenth century.¹³⁴ His model cannot be applied exactly in all its details to the interactions observed in the *Estoires*, which took place over two centuries earlier and in another geographical region. Fifteenth-century Iberia was a very different area from the twelfth- and thirteenth-century Crusader States, in that in Iberia adherents of the three Abrahamic faiths mixed, but there were no significant minorities composed of Eastern Christian sects and non-Abrahamic faith groups such as Zoroastrians, as was the

¹³³ MacEvitt, e.g. pp. 23, 105, 137, 'Note 2' on p. 217.

¹³⁴ *Enemies in the Plaza: Urban Spectacle and the End of Spanish Frontier Culture, 1460-1492* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015).

case in the Crusader States.¹³⁵ Not only was the religious mix in Iberia more straightforward, but the mixing that did take place went on for longer and happened in a more profound way than it did in the Crusader States. There had been Iberian Jewish communities since at least the Roman period,¹³⁶ and the presence of Islamic communities there dated from the Umayyad conquests of the eighth century. This contrasts with the presence of the Latin Christian communities in the Holy Land in the Crusader States, which lasted in varying forms during several centuries, but not for as long as the Catholic communities perdured in Iberia, where their rule ultimately triumphed. Moreover, whereas the geographer Ronnie Ellenblum's archaeological findings have shown that the non-urban Latin Christian communities in the Crusader States led largely segregated lives in terms of where they settled, various forms of socio-historical evidence from medieval Iberia suggest that the mixing of the faith groups was much more profound there.¹³⁷ For example, the Catholic Christian community under Islamic rule used Arabic, developing the Mozarabic liturgy in this language. Similarly, the Golden Age of medieval Hebrew poetry occurred partly due to the transposition of Arabic poetic forms into Hebrew by multilingual Iberian authors.¹³⁸

Yet despite these differences, Devaney's nuanced reading of the contradictions and ambiguities of medieval multi-faith societies established by Western European communities resonates with the paradoxes of the *Estoires*, many of whose characters had family in Western Europe, as attested to by their names or places of origin, such as 'de Corbie' (143).¹³⁹ Devaney demonstrates that in frontier Iberia, Muslims and Christians

¹³⁵ Riley-Smith, *The Crusades*, p. 82.

¹³⁶ Simon Schama, *The Story of the Jews: Finding the Words, 1000 BCE - 1492 CE* (London: Vintage, 2014), p. 263.

¹³⁷ On the rural segregation of Frankish settlers in the Holy Land, see Ellenblum, *Frankish Rural Settlement*, particularly p. 36.

¹³⁸ See *The Dream of the Poem: Hebrew Poetry from Muslim and Christian Spain 950-1492*, ed. and trans. by Peter Cole, Lockert Library of Poetry in Translation (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007), particularly the editor's introduction on pp. 1-20 (p. 1).

¹³⁹ Corbie is in what is now the Nord-Pas-de-Calais-Picardie region of France.

maintained 'lucrative trading partnerships with their putative religious enemies',¹⁴⁰ something the *Estoires* also depicts happening (albeit in the Crusader States and the Islamic Middle East). This trade was part of 'the dual dynamics of war and cultural exchange' which marked the frontier zone.¹⁴¹ This mix of combat, trade, and cultural exchange is typical of many times and places. What makes Devaney's model specific to late fifteenth-century Iberia, yet particularly relevant to the twelfth- and thirteenth-century Crusader States as portrayed in the *Estoires*, is his appreciation of the emotional drive behind, and the affective reactions to, the interfaith interactions which took place in the unstable, violent zones of the frontier.

Devaney summarises the frontier of which he speaks thus:

It was defined by insecurities, which stemmed both from the constant threat of physical attack and an awareness that there was a significant gap between ideologies of Christian dominance and the reality of acculturation. These anxieties effectively prevented the creation of what Bhabha calls a third space.¹⁴² A long-standing pattern of semibelligerency [...] created an equilibrium in which Muslims, Christians, and Jews could interact daily with each other but without true cultural hybridity. Many Christians living on the medieval frontier were caught between a sincere ideology of holy war against Islam [...] but also held an equally sincere respect and understanding not only for individual Muslims but also for many aspects of

¹⁴⁰ Devaney, p. 3.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

¹⁴² Homi Bhabha's 'Third Space' is read here by Devaney as a 'realm of negotiation, translation, and remaking' which results in a truly hybrid culture. See Devaney, p. 12, and Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, with a new preface by the author, Routledge Classics (London: Routledge, 2006), particularly pp. 53-56.

Islamic culture. This esteem [...] resulted in a conflicted attitude that we may best describe as an 'amiable enmity'.¹⁴³

Devaney's model of 'amiable enmity' is thus one of an ambiguous interaction with an enemy who was both external *and* internal (or 'in the plaza', as Devaney's title says, referencing the hub of civic life in Iberian towns of the time). Such interactions were ambiguous because they provoked mixed feelings and because they ranged from friendly encounters to pitched battle. In this dimension, Devaney's model of amiable enmity can be applied to the eclectic mixed-faith communities of both Iberia and the Crusader States. As in fifteenth-century Iberia, the borders of the Christian and Islamic controlled states in the Middle East were constantly shifting. In an article discussing the frontiers of medieval states, Ellenblum argues that in political, territorial units in the Middle Ages, borders were of a 'nonlinear or multi-linear nature'.¹⁴⁴ This was because medieval conceptions of sovereignty, nations, and states were different from our present-day models, partly because ours have been shaped by nineteenth-century imperialistic models.¹⁴⁵ This is to say that borders in medieval territorial units sometimes existed, but they were not fixed, allowing both segregation and acculturation to take place. Ellenblum's ideas about flexible or non-existent borders fit with Devaney's model of the enemy within, and can be applied to the constantly shifting frontiers of both the Crusader States and Iberian states.

So, while the specificities of Devaney's model, teased out and explored in subsequent chapters of his book, are too precisely nuanced to be applied to other states or centuries, its overall thrust fits with the Crusader society of the *Estoires*. Indeed, Devaney recognises the inherent lability of his overarching concept within a Mediterranean context

¹⁴³ Devaney, p. 13.

¹⁴⁴ Ronnie Ellenblum, 'Were There Borders and Borderlines in the Middle Ages? The Example of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem', in *Medieval Frontiers*, ed. by Abulafia and Berend, pp. 105-19 (p. 114).

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 109, 114, 118.

by extending this theoretical model to Crusader Cyprus in his conclusion.¹⁴⁶ 'Amiable enmity' therefore maps broadly onto the dealings of the Christian knights of the *Estoires* with their Muslim, Jewish, and Eastern Christian acquaintances within the Crusader States, and in the neighbouring countries of the Islamic Middle East.

The ambivalence and anxiety that characterises the Christians' semi-peaceful relations with their Muslim neighbours in Devaney's account parallels very closely the intricately delineated and emotionally complex interfaith relationships of the *Estoires*. These are never more divisively drawn than during the Battle of Hattin, when Saladin's forces defeat the Christians in a battle that, due to military tactical blunders and climatic features, becomes a brutal and bloody rout for the Crusaders. During this passage, the narratorial voice uses more frequently than ever the phrase 'nostre crestien/nos crestiens' (196-98). This has the effect of starkly delimiting the boundaries between the two armies, and, with the use of the possessive pronoun, firmly positioning the audience on the side of the Crusaders. Yet, immediately following this episode, Saladin treats the defeated King of Jerusalem with care and honour, personally handing him a drink to save him from life-threatening sunstroke ('mortel caut', 198). This is just one example of what we have seen to be the deeply ambiguous relations between the Latin Christian Crusader knights and their Muslim peers, as they alternate between saving one another's lives and killing one another, sometimes during the same day. Such ambiguous and shifting relations result in anxious attempts to shore up a crumbling Christian Crusader knightly identity. Thus characters and the narratorial voice seek firm yet false Christian foundations to Saladin's knighthood and faith, or to the Israelites' settlement of the Holy Land, as a means of counteracting the ambiguities introduced through interfaith interaction.

It is crucial to recognise that in the *Estoires*, the way that Muslims and Christians are portrayed is linked to how time is delineated. We have already touched on how the

¹⁴⁶ Devaney, pp. 168-75.

profusion of different types of time in the *Estoires* causes some of the confusion in its narrative structure and meaning. As stated above, the text is constructed according to a range of timelines, from linear historical time, to biblical, apocalyptic, and typological time. The simplest of the timeframes is historical, linear time. This form of time often portrays traumatic events, given that, for the most part, it moves the narrative inexorably towards further Christian Crusader losses, both in terms of men and land. Even this linear form of time, which appears simple, is strained by the detail and distressing nature of the events recounted. Thus we see, as examined above, the narrative jumping around in time, failing to account for historical gaps in narration, and making hollow references that are not followed through. The supposedly linear pattern of historical time is interrupted and disjointed, much like the style of narration, with its *entrelacement* and jerky juxtapositions. Inevitably, the narration's tendency to jump forwards and backwards in time, combined with the repeated gains and losses of the endless crusading campaigns and skirmishes over one hundred and thirty-one years, results in an impression of circularity. Thus the text ends with yet another Saracen attack beaten back, and yet another promise of future information. This ending both gestures forwards to the anticipated resumption of the narration (which is a hollow gesture, like so many in the *Estoires*), and backwards to the multiple parallels to this episode, both in terms of the plot, and the narrative style:

En celui point s'assemblerent .x. m. Sarrasin et vinrent en Jherusalem et le
 quidierent prendre, et cil [...] de la vile les requellirent bien et les ochisent
 tous et prisent et misent fors .ii. Sarrasins ke li empereres i avoit laissiés
 pour garder le Sepucre. Or vous laisserons de tout chou ester de chi a une
 autre fois c'on en parlera. (250)

This parallels, amongst other episodes, another previous defence of Jerusalem (207-12), and the interruption of the narrative with a promised future explanation which never comes (53).

Biblical time is as important, if not more so, as historical time in the *Estoires*. It is because Jesus's Ministry, Crucifixion, and Resurrection took place in the Holy Land that the Crusaders were motivated to go there in the first place. What this means is that ancient, static time, previously limited to a retelling in religious texts, becomes a dynamic, reactualised, motivating force for the Crusaders.¹⁴⁷ This reactivation of biblical time is problematic and complicates the narrative. Unlike the Jews, Eastern and Byzantine Christians, and Muslims of the Middle East, lay Latin Christians had never settled en masse in the Holy Land before the Crusaders arrived. When the Crusaders of the *Estoires* establish themselves there, they do so in order to displace those of other faiths and denominations from ruling over sites holy to Christianity. In doing so, they look beyond just the Gospels, with their depiction of Jesus's time in the Holy Land, to exploit wider biblical arguments as ideological justification for their actions. As part of this, as examined above, the Jews of the Old Testament are assimilated by making them proto-Christians. It is a calculated and politicised choice of terminology to refer to them as 'nos crestiens', given that in another manuscript of the *Estoires*, the Israelites are given the less contentious name of 'nos Peres'.¹⁴⁸ In a continuation of this theme, we have seen how the terminology chosen aligns the Jewish Promised Land with Crusader-owned land in the Middle East, by designating the latter as the 'Tiere de Promission' (123). Similarly, the presence of Crusader fortifications

¹⁴⁷ There were other occasions in medieval European cultures on which the static time of biblical narratives was reactualised, but never on a scale comparable to that of the crusades. The way this occurred in hagiography will be examined later in the chapter. Ordinary people also participated in reliving biblical narratives when they took part in religious processions. For example, the Corpus Christi processions, particularly in England and Iberia, focused on eliciting 'experiential understandings of Christ's suffering' and a 'vicarious experience of pain' (Devaney, p. 152).

¹⁴⁸ This is in Paris, BNF fr. 12203, designated manuscript B by Jubb. See 'footnote 15' on p. 170 of her edition for the textual variant, and p. 16 of her introduction to the edition for a discussion of the qualities of the manuscript.

and settlements, such as the Templar castle of the Gués Jacob (114-15), or the city of Abrehan (131), appear ideologically justified by their religiously auspicious names. Such names create a direct link between their contemporary Crusader-owned incarnation, and the Old Testament events and personages linked to the sites on which they are constructed.

As well as re-actualising events from the Old Testament, the *Estoires* draws on apocalyptic discourse from the New Testament, by portraying the True Cross as both a harbinger of fiery miracles (154), and essential for the restoration of the Holy Land to the Christians (188-89, 193). These eschatological influences in the *Estoires* reflect currents of thought which shaped not just crusade literature, but also the historical movement of the crusades. Certain apocalyptic tendencies surfaced before the crusades, making the eleventh century one of 'apocalyptic dread'.¹⁴⁹ As a result of this, pilgrim traffic to Jerusalem increased before 1000 CE. The number of pilgrims swelled due to fears that the Last Days would come when the Millennium was reached,¹⁵⁰ or, during the 1030s, because 'it was thought the millennial anniversary of Jesus' death would presage the Last Judgement'.¹⁵¹ Jerusalem was the focus of the pilgrims' endeavours because it was believed that the last events on earth would take place in the holy city.¹⁵² Pilgrimage continued to flourish before the First Crusade, as the eleventh century saw several alleged anniversaries and particular holy days.¹⁵³

Further events, alluded to in the *Estoires*, contributed to the eschatological flavour of the Crusaders' travels, wars, settlements, and literature. As Jonathan Riley-Smith notes, visionaries in the army saw apparitions, from 'Christ himself' to 'angels, saints and the

¹⁴⁹ Asbridge, p. 5.

¹⁵⁰ Riley-Smith, *The Crusades*, p. 31.

¹⁵¹ Asbridge, p. 5.

¹⁵² Riley-Smith, *The Crusades*, p. 31.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 32.

ghosts of their own dead'.¹⁵⁴ We see this reflected in the *Estoires* when Saint George allegedly appears to help fight with the Christians during a battle, even taking some Saracens prisoner, so that they can conveniently corroborate the sighting of his apparition (103-05). Also of note is the way that the True Cross, as mentioned above, lights up the night sky, so it appears as though midnight were midday (154). This again reflects actual events, when Crusaders interpreted disturbances in the night sky as proof of divine intervention and approbation. These disturbances were linked to the increased solar activity of the astronomical phenomenon of 'the medieval maximum'.¹⁵⁵ As Joshua Prawer suggests, such dramatic interpretations of events were symptoms of the messianic flavour of the early Crusaders' aspirations, such as the hope that a Christian capture of Jerusalem would precipitate not just the Last Days but the Second Coming and the descent of the Heavenly Jerusalem.¹⁵⁶

Linked to the forms of biblical and eschatological time we see in the *Estoires* is typological time. All these different time frames, and ways of ordering events and their significance, are relevant here for the narrative confusion they cause. This narrative confusion contributes to the paradoxes in the definition of the knight's identity, as examined in this section. Typology is a doctrine whereby events, people, phrases, or words in the New Testament are seen as fulfilments of those in the Old Testament, which are considered to prefigure them. Later Christians can insert themselves into a typological framework of redemption by imitating such holy people and actions. The *Estoires* uses a typological structure when the narratorial voice makes sense of narrated events by linking them to past occurrences, then analyses the contemporary happenings as enriching, fulfilling, and expanding on the meaning of those past events. For example, Baldwin V's coronation is a typological event. Like other Crusader kings of Jerusalem before him,

¹⁵⁴ *The Crusades*, p. 70.

¹⁵⁵ Riley-Smith, *The Crusades*, p. 70.

¹⁵⁶ *The World*, pp. 67, 72-75.

Baldwin goes from his coronation in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre to the Temple, where he makes an offering (179). We are told that this offering was made in biblical Judaism, when a woman redeemed her firstborn son with two pigeons or turtle doves (179). In the reference to the birds and to the presentation in the Temple, the *Estoires* brings to mind Jesus's presentation in the temple by his parents, when Joseph and Mary offered birds as a sacrifice for Jesus.¹⁵⁷ When Baldwin presents a sacrifice in the Temple, he in turn enacts this ceremony. He builds on the event as it occurred in the Old and New Testaments, and exploits such biblical symbolism to confer a sense of divine approbation of the Latin Christian Crusader monarchy, and of his reign in particular.

We have seen, then, that the *Estoires* operates according to three religious time frames in addition to linear historical time: biblical, apocalyptic or eschatological, and typological time. Analysing some specific uses of them in the *Estoires* has shown that they share certain aims and effects. All of them work to confer an appearance of divine approbation of the Crusaders, their battles, and their settlements. All attempt to provide ideological justification for the Latin Christians' actions. And in all cases where these religious timelines are used, we see old, static forms of time, previously limited to retellings via a religious text, become active, so that they are used to structure and justify both actions and narrative. Re-actualising religious and biblical timeframes is not unique to crusading literature. Hagiography also exploits typological, biblical, and sometimes eschatological types of time. Saints' lives do so to provide holy antecedents for a saint's actions and to confer sanctity on the protagonist, as well as setting them up as an intercessor through whom Christians can direct prayers to God. However, the use of these religious time schemes in the crusading *Estoires* engenders different effects from those found in hagiographic literature. Rather than producing a sense of clarity and sanctity, as in hagiography, the profusion of different ways of ordering, structuring, and attributing

¹⁵⁷ Luke 2. 22-24. *Biblia Sacra Vulgata*, p. 1609.

meaning to time and events in the *Estoires* is one of the reasons why the narrative is so jumbled. This complication of the narrative is part of what causes the confusion in the knight's identity as depicted in the text.

A good place to observe this is in the interpolation of the exemplum of the penitent king of Damascus and the heralds of death, and the garbled passage of biblical history and geography that follows it. The exemplum describes the ruler of Damascus and Syria, who, given the geographical location of his kingdom, was presumably a Muslim at the time in the story when he persecutes Christians, if we exclude the unlikely possibility that he is a pre-Islamic pagan (170).¹⁵⁸ Once he is converted, the exemplum presents us with a conundrum: the perfect Christian king is shown to be a converted Muslim, who is now a Christian ascetic inimical to chivalry. The conflation of Muslim and Christian rulers in the figure of the Damascene king represents the ultimate assimilation of the Crusaders' religious opponent, but in an awkward manner. This ideal Christian monarch is praised by the *Estoires*, and his model of kingship evidently leads to salvation. But, as his nobles warn, it also results in economic and chivalric collapse. Following this, we are given a series of biblical anecdotes that include the distorted mentions of Saint Paul, Moses, and Judith, which were touched on above. In addition to these stories, we are informed that Beirut is ten leagues from Ashkelon (170), which is an absurdly small estimation of the geographical distance between the two cities. Next, we are given the wrong location for Saint John's burial, and incorrectly informed as to who cremated his body (171). The biblical section ends with a pseudo-Gospel story in which Jesus resurrects a girl who has bled to death. This invented narrative combines the themes of two occurrences in the Gospel of Mark — the raising of Jairus's daughter from the dead, and the healing of the haemorrhaging woman.¹⁵⁹ After this, the

¹⁵⁸ This seems unlikely given that the exemplum is narrated in a crusading chronicle, in which Damascus and Syria are synonymous with either Christian kingdoms, or Muslim states, and in which the pre-Islamic era is not referenced.

¹⁵⁹ Mark 5. 21-34. *Biblia Sacra Vulgata*, p. 1582. See also 'footnote f' in Jubb (ed.), *Estoires*, pp. 171-72.

jumble of unrelated biblical anecdotes ends, and we return to the main chronicle narrative of the *Estoires*.

What these examples show is that the collision of different ways of measuring, ordering, and attributing meaning to time in the chronicle of the *Estoires* results in confusion. It is hard to follow the thread of the narrative when the narratorial voice jumps between timeless exemplum, the Old and New Testaments, and the present day, with its contemporary Crusader geography based on these ancient religious sources. Further obfuscation results from the incorrect biblical references, and from the almost entirely unrelated nature of the tirade of random biblical episodes recounted. Garbled accounts of biblical time are used to discuss the geography of the Crusader States, in a way that seeks to justify a Christian ruling presence in the Holy Land by suggesting that the Crusader Christians are the spiritual heirs of these biblical figures. By wrongly identifying certain locations (such as the site of Paul's conversion or of John's cremation), this section of the *Estoires* shows how confusion over timeframes leaches out, as not only is time muddled, but also geography.

Most importantly, with the breakdown in coherent time and historical sense comes an assimilation of Muslim and Jewish characters which, given that the narrative fails to recognise their difference before assimilating them, I suggest also leads to a dissolution of a distinct Crusader identity. If Moses' Israelites really had been Christian, as this passage suggests, then Jesus would need to have been born at least thirteen centuries earlier than He was. Making Old Testament figures into Christians may strengthen the Crusaders' claim that Christianity has an ancient 'right' to dominate the Holy Land, but it would also render ineffective Jesus's position as the Messiah who fulfilled the Old Covenant, which would make the Christian religion null and void. Similarly, making the Islamic king of Damascus and Syria of the exemplum into a Christian ruler gives a supposed precedent to Christian ruling presence in Syria. However making him into a problematically perfect Christian king,

who embodies an ideal faith while destroying his kingdom's courtly culture, politics, and economy, obliquely poses the troubling question as to whether Christianity and political power can ever be compatible. This undermines the ideology of the Crusader kingdoms depicted elsewhere in the *Estoires*.

Thus we see a breakdown, here and throughout episodes of the *Estoires*, of coherent time, historical sense, and religious meaning. This is so interesting because, as a crusade chronicle, one of the main aims of the *Estoires* would logically be to narrate the history of the Crusader kingdoms in a coherent way. Such a narration would make historical sense of the rise and fall in the fortunes of the Crusader States, and attribute religious meaning to these by imputing them to God's support, displeasure, or abandonment.

It is not just religious, historical, and temporal sense which fracture during the narrative. The stability of the royal line is non-existent, as monarch after monarch dies, only for their successors to become embroiled in succession disputes, or to be chosen then deposed, or to die in their turn. Concomitant to the collapse in royal stability is, as we have seen, a shattering of chivalric allegiance and identity. This is brought about by such incidents and characters as the Christians who continue to function as knights while fighting for Saladin against the Crusaders, or the Muslims who are referred to as chivalric despite their religion and their military struggles against the Crusaders. These incidences of confusion result in stylistic issues. The passage of biblical history and geography analysed above demonstrates the jerky narrative style of the *Estoires*, which lurches between seemingly unrelated events and anecdotes. As a whole, the written style of the text varies hugely, from the flowing narratorial style of the interpolations of the *Fille* and the *Ordre*, to the repetitious story of the main work, with its staccato form of narration. The paradoxical juxtaposition of repetition, then omission, is continued throughout the main narrative of the *Estoires* until the text ends with yet another cycle of repeated, open-ended violence. These instances of confusion — temporal, geographical, political, religious, and narratorial

— all reflect the confused picture of knighthood which the *Estoires* presents to us, as it portrays chivalry as defined by no one attribute or characteristic.

We have already analysed correlative instances in the *Livre*. Temporal confusion results from Lull's insistence that the new chivalry he expounds, based on the emergence of a novel form of crusading which dates from the later medieval period, is an ancient form of crusading knighthood. Political confusion threatens in the lawlessness which the ideal knight is tasked with keeping at bay. If chivalry exists only to keep in check disorder, and law and order themselves only prevail because the populace fear knights, then political control is tenuous. Religious confusion is embodied in the knight-hermit. His advice to the squire, metaphorically contained in the *Livre* itself, is to embrace a luxurious knightly lifestyle in order to uphold the nobility of chivalry. Yet in his person, as he lives out separately two distinct vocations — the knightly, worldly one, and the spiritual one as a recluse — he suggests that living only as a knight is insufficient for achieving redemption, and that hermitic poverty is necessary to attain it. Narratorial confusion results from the surfacing of all the inherent paradoxes, contradictions, and tensions in the text. This results, as we saw, in moments of near incoherence in which the syntax and meaning of various passages are severely strained.

It is clear that the many forms of time cause confusion in the *Livre* and the *Estoires* primarily because they relate events in an unchronological order, whether through confusion at the profusion of events, or out of an ideological drive to reshape history. In rewriting the past, the texts jumble moments of cause and effect to construct and narrate events retroactively in order to rewrite the cause to fit a new effect reflecting contemporary events.¹⁶⁰ For example, we have seen how the Exodus from Egypt is narrated

¹⁶⁰ In this jumbling of chronological time and of cause and effect, the texts mirror the complex portrayal of time in the Vulgate Cycle. The *Estoires* and the Vulgate Cycle are also alike in their use of *entrelacement* as a narrative technique, which is part of the reason why their chronologies are jumbled. For more on the organisation of time in the Vulgate Cycle, see Miranda Griffin, *The Object*

out of chronological order, as part of a twelfth-century historical narrative, in order to justify Latin Christian presence in the Holy Land. The putative cause, God's decision to lead his people to the Promised Land, is rewritten out of time as a Christian event, in order to justify the supposed effect, which reflects the situation at the time: Latin Christian Crusaders ruling over, or trying to win back, the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem. Similarly, in the *Livre*, the knight's alleged duty to fight the non-Christian is narrated as though it were a foundation stone of chivalry, despite the fact that crusading represented a later development in knightly duties; thus chronology is inverted, and the causes of chivalry are rewritten retrospectively to fit with the desired effect: the situation of crusading in the Holy Land during the Middle Ages.

By relating the timing of their narrated events in a highly subjective and erratic way, and by often presenting them as if they were chronological and predestined rather than ideologically and pseudo-typologically rewritten and reordered, the *Estoires* and the *Livre* manipulate time.¹⁶¹ In his article 'Le Temps logique et l'assertion de certitude anticipée : un nouveau sophisme', Jacques Lacan uses the phrase 'le temps logique', or 'logical time', to discuss analogous forms of subjective, manipulated time.¹⁶² Lacan shows logical time to be a timeframe in which chronology is presented in a straightforward manner, but this is done in order to mask a rewriting of cause in light of effect. In this article, Lacan presents us with a logical problem, whose solution depends on the characters' correct interpretation of timeframes. Lacan then builds on the characters' readings of time to elaborate his theory of subjective, 'logical time'.

and the Cause in the Vulgate Cycle (London: LEGENDA, 2005), particularly 'Chapter One: Letters and Logical Time', pp. 19-52.

¹⁶¹ I use the term 'pseudo-typologically' to refer to the way characters in the *Estoires* are portrayed as successors to biblical personalities, despite the fact that they are neither saints, nor holy.

¹⁶² This article is in Lacan's volume *Écrits* (Paris: Seuil, 1966), pp. 197-213.

Lacan's riddle-like problem echoes both the time schemes, and the twisted logic, of the *Livre* and the *Estoires*. This is the dilemma.¹⁶³ Three prisoners each have a coloured disc pinned to their back. They are allowed to see the discs on their acquaintances' backs, but they cannot see, or find out from each other, which colour disc they are personally wearing. The first person to tell the prisoner officer the correct colour of the disc he is wearing will win his freedom. The discs could be white or black. The prisoner officer chose them from a selection of three white discs, and two black ones. When they see their companions' discs, the three prisoners hesitate. All three simultaneously guess correctly that they are wearing a white disc. This deduction is made by reading the hesitation and the colours of the others' discs in this way. Prisoner A thinks that as Prisoners B and C are white, if he (Prisoner A) were black, then when Prisoner B looked at him, he would think that if he were also black, Prisoner C would immediately run out of the room, knowing he was a white (because there are only two possible blacks). Given that Prisoner C does not run out immediately, Prisoner B knows he must be a white, and Prisoner A, seeing Prisoners B and C hesitate, deduces that he (Prisoner A) is similarly white.

From the different stages of the prisoners' behaviour, Lacan extrapolates three time periods.¹⁶⁴ The first is 'the moment of looking' ('l'instant du regard').¹⁶⁵ This is followed by, or simultaneous with, 'the time to understand' ('le temps pour comprendre').¹⁶⁶ Finally comes 'the moment of conclusion' ('le moment de conclure').¹⁶⁷ These moments are subjective, indeterminate, and linked to understanding. This is so because the length of time it takes each prisoner to look, understand, and conclude, is unique to them. Moreover, it is only at the end of the process when the prisoner formulates an answer for definite, that he is able, looking back, to measure the length of

¹⁶³ The logical problem is outlined in Lacan, pp. 197-201.

¹⁶⁴ Lacan, pp. 205-06.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 205.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 206.

the periods of looking and understanding that it took him to arrive at this point of concluding. As Miranda Griffin summarises:

The concluding moment retrospectively constructs ‘l’instant du regard’ and ‘le temps pour comprendre’ as such. The time scheme involved here is therefore not chronologically dictated, but relies on a more subjective notion of the relation between past, present, and future.¹⁶⁸

What makes Lacan’s formulations of time here particularly relevant to the *Livre* and to the *Estoires*, is that both rework chronological time within the framework of logical time, by reordering their linear historical events in a subjective, non-continuous narrative. As we have seen, both of our texts work backwards from ‘the moment of conclusion’ to reorder and reconstruct events, which are narrated in a fallaciously chronological order, so as to justify ideologically the end game of each narrative: Crusader control of the Holy Land, in the case of the *Estoires*, or knightly combat against the infidel, in the case of the *Livre*.

So far, we have established that Lacan’s formulations of logical time fit the pattern of ideologically re-chronologized time in the *Estoires* and the *Livre*. When we examined the ways of charting and interpreting time in those works, we saw that confusion in the way chronologies are narrated resulted in a fracturing of religious and historical as well as temporal sense. A deeper reading of Lacan’s article reveals how he similarly charts the breakdown of logical meaning as time is warped by ideological contingencies and constraints. This is another reason why Lacan’s article can illuminate our reading of the *Estoires*. The key to discerning the breakdown of logic under the weight of ideology in Lacan’s writing is in the article’s subtitle of ‘un nouveau sophisme’. Lacan claims to be drawing on the classical form of sophism, which he defines as being a meaningful example

¹⁶⁸ Griffin, p. 23.

resolving a problem which is at that moment in time subject to philosophical scrutiny.¹⁶⁹

However the primary meaning of the modern, or 'nouveau' sophism, evoked by his subtitle, is that of a plausible yet fallacious argument, intended to display dazzling ingenuity in reasoning so as to lead the reader to a false conclusion. Lacan's solution to the logical puzzle does largely that, by providing a fallacious argument couched as truth, rather than an example which resolves a current issue, although his example of the prisoners does touch on issues of current affairs of the time at which he was writing.

Couched in complex language, and leading to the correct conclusion, the reasoning of the prisoners as expressed by Lacan appears to logically resolve the problem. And yet, it does not. No matter how many times the prisoners hesitate, or for how long, if one of them can only see the other two wearing white discs, it is impossible for him to guess for certain that he is also wearing a white disc. The only situation which would lead to certainty is if two of them were wearing black discs, in which case the third prisoner would know that he was wearing a white disc, given that there are only two black discs available. But, as all three of them are wearing white, they cannot arrive at the correct answer for certain, only as a plausible guess. While in theory the prisoners could read each other's moments of hesitation so as to guess correctly the colour of the disc they were wearing, in practice this is a highly subjective way of arriving at the truth which would necessitate each prisoner reasoning at the same speed and in the same way.

With his arguments, Lacan shows that how we view time is subjective, and the way in which we reorder it reflects our flawed logic, as the prisoners retrospectively attribute different moments of hesitation to the drawing of different conclusions. The format in which the prisoners reorder subjective time goes beyond reflecting their flawed logic, to the point that they reshape time. Thus their fallacious argument or process, backed up by cause (the length of the periods of hesitation of the other prisoners cause them to

¹⁶⁹ p. 199.

extrapolate what colour disc they personally are wearing) and effect (the correct conclusion is found), ends up championed as logical because it arrives at the truth, when the process of reasoning is in fact uncertain and subjective.

This is precisely what happens in the *Estoires* and in the *Livre*. As explored above, events are rewritten to fit into a subjective, ideologically driven schema. Yet these ‘out of time’ events, whose chronology has been restructured, not only end up warping timeframes in the works, but even the internal logic of the narratives themselves. Different ways of ordering and interpreting events collide, and seemingly logical meanings clash and dissolve as they contradict each other. For example, we have analysed the passage which suggests that the Israelites led by Moses were Christian. Here, the reordering of time to make Christianity centuries older than it is reflects the warped logic of this crusading chronicle, which seeks to create precedence and ideological justification for Latin Christian rule in the Holy Land. Yet this flawed logic is in turn reshaped by its subjective ordering of time, as, taken to its logical extreme, the idea that Christians existed in the Old Testament which is proposed here destroys the self-legitimizing argument of Christianity as the New Covenant superseding the Old Covenant of the Old Testament. Thus the *Estoires’* reordering of events to conform to an ideological schema ultimately nullifies that schema, and the ideas behind it. This means that the reordering of time results in a breakdown of sense and meaning.

The *Estoires*, the *Livre*, and Lacan’s article all embody and explore a manipulation of time and logic amidst settings of war and negotiation leading to interrogations of the truth. The crusades involved battle, diplomacy, and disagreement over religious truths. Lacan was also writing in a time of war, negotiation, and ideological debates. He composed this article in March 1945, when the allied defeat of the Axis was anticipated as an inevitability, but had not yet taken place — this anticipated allied victory is one possible meaning of the ‘certitude anticipée’ of Lacan’s title. One month before the article was

composed, in February 1945, the major powers of the Allies — the UK, US, and USSR — met at Yalta to discuss how best to manage Europe in the anticipated aftermath of the Second World War. This conference is obliquely referenced in both the number of prisoners in the puzzle, who reflect the number of allied leaders, and in Lacan's proposition that his model of logical time could have a practical use at a diplomatic conference.¹⁷⁰ Lacan's exemplum of the prisoners who evaluate each other's reactions to guess at their personal truth (i.e. which colour disc they are wearing) is transmuted into a moral message. Lacan suggests that people can only ascertain the truth collectively.¹⁷¹ Yet, we are warned that this collective guessing game can just as easily lead everyone into error as to the truth. Lacan demonstrates this using the analogy of a bridge game, the outcome of which is subject to chance.¹⁷² This confirms the essential nature, yet fallibility, of the prisoners' collective method for divining truth:

la vérité pour tous dépend de la rigueur de chacun, et même que la vérité,
à être atteinte seulement par les uns, peut engendrer, sinon confirmer,
l'erreur chez les autres. Et encore ceci que, si dans cette course à la vérité,
on n'est que seul, si l'on n'est tous, à toucher au vrai, aucun n'y touche
pourtant sinon par les autres.¹⁷³

This passage hints at the necessity of co-operation for the three wartime leaders, while stressing the fragile nature of this collaboration, which, as we have seen from the example of the prisoners, can produce truthful or deceptive outcomes depending on the quality of the collective process. This passage also confirms the import of the analysis of the logical

¹⁷⁰ Lacan, p. 212.

¹⁷¹ Ibid.

¹⁷² Ibid.

¹⁷³ Lacan, p. 212.

problem outlined above, in that it shows that the prisoners' method for arriving at the truth is fallible, subjective, and collective.

In the *Estoires*, we encounter far older yet in some ways analogous situations of war and diplomacy, as the Crusaders sometimes fight the Ayyubid armies and their allies, but at other times negotiate or dialogue with Saladin and his deputies. The *Livre* also evokes a backdrop of crusading war, in which the ideal knight fights the enemies of the Catholic Church. But in neither the *Estoires* nor the *Livre* is the truth approached as a collective construct subject to reinterpretation, as Lacan's article suggests it to be. Instead, in their imbrication of warped logic with subjective, logical time, on a singular basis (i.e. without fully considering the non-Catholics who are equally caught up in the crusades), the fallacious reasoning of the *Estoires* and the *Livre* is not balanced out by collective evaluation. This is why meanings as well as timeframes crumble, and ultimately contribute towards the breakdown in chivalric identity and meaning.

Part VI - Textual Context

What conclusions can be drawn as regards religious travel, translation, and chivalry in the *Livre* and *Estoires*? The above examination of the behaviour of cross-confessional chivalric characters in the *Estoires* has demonstrated that codes of chivalry can be translated, in that the concept of chivalry can be moved between states, reworked, and redeployed. So Saladin is knighted by Hugh of Tiberias, and there are Muslim knights in the *Estoires*, despite Lull's insistence in the *Livre* that the *raison d'être* of a knight is to uphold the Church. However, this translation comes at a price, as it results in a breakdown of categories. Class stratifications disappear as members of the bourgeoisie are dubbed. Religious divisions dissolve as Muslims and Christians share chivalric qualities, honours, and tasks. This breakdown in categories leads to a loss of meaning because the distinctions

defining chivalry, particularly in a crusading context, dissolve. In the *Estoires*, we see this as Muslims behave like Christians and win divine approbation, while biblical, eschatological, and linear timelines collide and explode. When the defining boundaries of chivalry are lost, the narrative of the *Estoires* breaks down and stops making sense. This involves a failure of words, as the text ends despite the assurance of further narrative to come. There is a concomitant loss of land, as much of the territory of the Crusader States is captured. Evidently, by the following century, it was felt that chivalry itself had been lost, as Lull was motivated to write his treatise in order to re-establish it. In the *Livre*, Lull therefore presents us with a situation in which by analogy, Europe, like the character of the squire who sleeps on horseback, had ignorantly sleepwalked into a situation in which chivalry was admired, but no longer understood. When reading the *Livre* and the *Estoires* together, we see that the religious translation of chivalry, through the character of the Crusader who undertakes a religiously motivated journey to fight as a knight in a holy war, results in the destruction or distortion of the identity and meaning of both knight and text. This loss of identity and meaning undermines any monologic readings of translation, religion, or truth suggested elsewhere in the works.

Thus an 'original' Christian form of knighthood is only conjured up when in the Middle East, in a multi-faith context, and combined with a key sub-duty of chivalry — crusading — itself a form of chivalric lay devotion built on movement and dialogue, as Crusaders travelled on campaign in the Middle East and negotiated with military opponents. Chivalry in these works is always already in a state of flux. Fluid conceptions of knighthood crystallise in particularly interesting ways in the *Estoires*, where the characters of the Muslim knights demonstrate that chivalry has not been translated from an abstract, European ideal into Middle Eastern praxis, but has instead been created and defined in this form in the multi-faith, multilingual environment of Outremer. However, this is not to idealise or eulogise the intercultural contact or political accommodations of the Crusader

States. Interfaith contact between Latin Christians, Eastern Christians, Jews, Muslims, Samaritans, and other faith groups, took place amidst *some* acculturation and cultural fusion, but it 'did not lead to real understanding or enduring harmony'.¹⁷⁴

Another reason why the code of chivalry can be translated, at a price, is because the ideological foundations of knighthood were already unstable from its legendary start, whenever this is deemed to have occurred. Nowhere are the paradoxes of chivalry better symbolised than in the strange, hybrid figure of Lull's knight-hermit. This protagonist shows the latent tensions in a religious conceptualisation of chivalry, even before it is diffused throughout Europe and the Middle East. This character has not won sufficient approbation from God through his chivalric way of life, and so has to live as a penitent hermit in order to ensure that he gains salvation. Moreover, his conception of knighthood, and his practice of it, are always challenged by the civil disorder and moral corruption he had to combat as a knight. These troubles are as much at the root of his knighthood as God is, since Lull informs us that the Order of Chivalry was set up by God in order to combat these vices.

We have also seen that when the concept of chivalry is translated, this leads to identities being exchanged and combined, or even shading into one another. So, Christian Crusaders interact with peoples of other Christian denominations and faiths, and at times recognise these non-Latin adversaries and acquaintances as knights and equals, and vice-versa. In this part of the chapter, I will use a range of evidence to draw out moments in which Catholic and non-Christian identities collided and combined in Outremer. I will present here, then, historical reflections of the literary forms of such encounters which we have already analysed in our corpus, in order to deepen our critical understanding of their literary representations.

¹⁷⁴ Asbridge, pp. 188-89.

As Thomas Asbridge argues, scholars can only hope that their work ‘does justice’ to the topic of the crusades if they use the whole range of evidence available, from ‘texts’, both literary and historical, to ‘material culture and archaeology’.¹⁷⁵ In an attempt to do justice to the literary crusading narratives analysed in this chapter, it is useful to juxtapose them with evidence not just from historical accounts, but also from material culture and archaeological remains. This is a way of drawing out some of the nuances of the works that have not yet been addressed by critics. I suggest that reading the *Estoires* in relation to contemporary historical and material evidence both clarifies obscure passages and reveals the significance of what may otherwise appear to be no more than inconsequential, passing references. When we read the *Estoires* alongside other sources we illuminate the literary text, but we also allow the literary text to deepen our understanding of the complexities of the historical and social life of Crusader societies. In reading medieval literary texts alongside material culture and social history in this way, I am indebted to the reading models practised with Old French literature by Sharon Kinoshita.¹⁷⁶

I will show how the Christian Crusader knight participates in a mixed faith culture, even when espousing those religious and political ideals which appear to define most strongly the exclusionary, peculiarly Latin Christian ideologies of the societies of Outremer. To this end I will draw out specific instances in the *Estoires* in which we see exclusionary tendencies at work, as Crusaders engage in behaviour or create definitions that seem to shut out those of other Christian denominations and of other faiths. I will then provide historical examples which demonstrate that the ideological foundations of the idea previously examined, on which the literary and historical Crusaders established an exclusionary vision, were in fact shared to a certain extent by those of other faith backgrounds. In light of this, I will subsequently analyse how uncovering such instances of

¹⁷⁵ Pp. XXIV, 3.

¹⁷⁶ *Medieval Boundaries: Rethinking Difference in Old French Literature*, The Middle Ages Series (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006).

shared concepts, even in the midst of the most exclusionary ideologies, can further illuminate our reading of the *Estoires*, and of the social and textual crises it portrays, as different identities overflow their imagined boundaries to shade into one another.

We have seen that, in the *Estoires*, the Crusading movement is imbued with and driven by eschatological and apocalyptic hopes and fears. Accordingly, Saint George appears, and the True Cross becomes linked to prodigies and prophecies. These ideological visions appear unique to the Latin Christians, in that they relate to God's approbation for Latin Christian Crusader warfare, coupled with a promise that the Crusaders will retake Jerusalem (when God has decreed the time is right and the True Cross is once again recovered). This rhetoric appears to exclude Muslims and Jews from divine salvation, and from anything but temporary earthly power. It even implicitly excludes non-Latin Christians, who used different relics in battle,¹⁷⁷ and who, as we have seen, the *Estoires* portrays as ideologically and fiscally excluded from the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem.¹⁷⁸

Yet such apocalyptic fears were not limited to Christians in Europe and the Middle East at this time, but were shared by Muslims and Jews in these areas also. For example, in the decades leading up to 1186, astrologers foretold the end of the world on the sixteenth of September of that year, both amongst Muslims and Christians.¹⁷⁹ I contend that this is why we see the Muslim army in the *Estoires* responding to the prodigy of fire supposedly brought about by the True Cross not with fear and flight but with wonder (154). This incident of light observed at night is not fanciful given the astronomical phenomenon of the 'medieval maximum', which we have seen was a series of disturbances in the night sky caused by increased solar activity and viewed by the Crusaders as signs of divine

¹⁷⁷ For example, the army defending the city of Edessa from the atabeg of Mosul and his army in 1110 followed the Armenian relic of the Holy Cross of Varag. See MacEvitt, p. 91.

¹⁷⁸ As demonstrated in the episode of the *Estoires* examined above, in which Armenians, who are eager to help the Latins defend the Kingdom of Jerusalem from Muslim incursions, never resettle in the Kingdom because they are unwilling to pay the Catholic tithes which would be forced on them by the Latin clergy. See pp. 91-95 in the *Estoires*.

¹⁷⁹ Asbridge, p. 337.

approbation of their activities.¹⁸⁰ What is interesting in the *Estoires's* portrayal of this celestial occurrence is the way in which the narratorial voice emphasises the proximity of the encamped Muslim army to the Christians, so that they witness the prodigy almost side-by-side ('priés de l'autre', 154). They are united in marvelling at the miracle and at the noise that the Christian army produce in celebration (154). While the Christian army are uniformly 'lié', the Muslims are troubled, but they do wonder, demonstrating a shared appreciation of the momentous nature of the incident that cuts across different faiths (154).

Linked to this fear of prodigies and prophecies which were interpreted as suggesting that the end of the world was approaching, was the drive to travel to the Holy Land to atone and to witness the last days there. This is an implicit reason in the *Estoires* for the Crusaders' presence in the Middle East. Again, these twinned ideas of the impending nature of the end of the world and the importance of the Holy Land during the Apocalypse were not unique to the Crusader Christians. Jewish communities of the eleventh century were also rocked by 'millenary expectations' and 'rumours that Signs of the Messiah had appeared'.¹⁸¹ Consequently, medieval Jewish communities from Europe, and indeed from around the globe, also migrated to the Holy Land,¹⁸² or went on pilgrimage there, in anticipation of the end of the world.¹⁸³ For example, we know that in 1214, there was a Franco-Jewish community in Jerusalem, led by rabbis who had emigrated from Brittany.¹⁸⁴

So, francophone Christian Crusaders were not the only French-speaking religious group to move to the Holy Land in order to be close to sacred sites and to be well placed to meet the Messiah at the end of days. Such Crusaders could have met francophone Jewish

¹⁸⁰ Riley-Smith, *The Crusades*, p. 70.

¹⁸¹ Joshua Prawer, *The History of the Jews in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1988), pp. 10, 12.

¹⁸² *Ibid.*, p. VII.

¹⁸³ *Ibid.*, pp. 31-32, 40-41, 76, 90, 106-07.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 78.

settlers with the same aims in the Kingdom of Jerusalem, in the thirteenth century, when the *Estoires* was composed. Thus the Crusader sees himself, in his hopes of finding religious and eschatological fulfilment in the Holy Land, reflected not just in his Muslim opponents, who, as we have seen above, are similarly caught up in eschatological interpretations of prophecies and astronomical phenomena, but also in the Jewish European religious settlers seeking proximity to the Holy Land or to the Messiah. I propose that this is one of the reasons why the *Estoires* is determined to label the Crusaders as ‘nos crestiens’ during their battles against the Muslims. Such labelling reiterates clearly their separate religious identity, which was momentarily blurred by moments of shared interaction, such as joint wonder at the miraculous fire of the True Cross. I contend that the Crusaders’ realisation that their eschatological hopes and travels were shared by Jewish communities suggests one reason why the *Estoires* adopts Old Testament terminology to try and establish a Christian counter-claim to the Promised Land. It also hints at a reason why the *Estoires* shows such interest in Old Testament geography and history, as well as in more obscure Abrahamic areas such as Samaritan ritual practice.¹⁸⁵

I have argued that in the *Estoires*, the primary motivation for the Crusaders’ military campaigns is religious fervour. This is why, in the text, the crusading armies are called ‘nos crestiens’, why God and Saint George come to their aid, and why their territories are described with reference to biblical sources more frequently than to contemporary topography. In this they reflect the historical crusades, which were launched as a Holy War by Pope Urban II’s sermon at Clermont in 1095. Yet I have also highlighted the existence of characters in the *Estoires* who are courtly knights yet Muslims. These characters demonstrate that Crusader knights understood that they were not the only elite, religiously motivated warriors fighting in the Middle East. They knew that some of their opponents were their counterparts — similarly socially esteemed warriors, whose

¹⁸⁵ Samaritanism is a form of Judaism. See *The New Standard Jewish Encyclopedia*, ed. by Geoffrey Wigoder and others, 7th edn (New York: Facts On File, 1992), p. 826.

campaigns were also imbricated with religion, but in this case with Islam. I have further shown that the narratorial voice of the *Estoires* recognises that certain Islamic armies also fight specifically for religious reasons, hence why Elxelin and his army carry a religious standard into battle and seek the blessing of the Caliph.

The reasons why the crusades took place at the time and in the format that they did are tremendously complex. However, the historical counterparts of the Christian and Muslim knights of the *Estoires* fought political campaigns to obtain land in the Middle East for religious reasons partly on account of two ideological movements dominating European and Middle Eastern religio-political thought at the time: the aftermath of the Gregorian Reform, and the Sunni Revival. The Gregorian Reform was a papal movement which began in the eleventh century and developed, amongst other policies, ideas about ecclesiastically directed violence.¹⁸⁶ Popes sought initially to sponsor and control war as a 'military arm' with which to reinforce the agenda of this papal reform movement,¹⁸⁷ so it was partly out of a desire for 'reform and papal empowerment' that Gregory VII developed ideas of papally sanctioned violence.¹⁸⁸ Urban II then built on these desires and ideas, as well as on previous centuries of Christian thought on war and violence, to launch the First Crusade.¹⁸⁹ So, the ideas of the Gregorian Reform, which formed an ideology of ecclesiastical renewal, influenced and motivated ideas of holy war in the form of crusades.

Yet Latin Christianity was not the only faith that, as part of wider religious reforms, elaborated ideas of holy war, specifically in the Holy Land. Within Islam, the Sunni Revival worked in parallel with the existing religious and juridical concepts of *jihad* to drive, or to justify ideologically, Saladin's campaigns against both the Shi'ite Fatimids in Egypt, and the

¹⁸⁶ Asbridge, p. 16.

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 10

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 10, 14-17.

Latin Christian Crusader States.¹⁹⁰ The Sunni Revival was a cultural and religious reformation that began in the eleventh century, but it dominated Islamic religio-political thought in the twelfth century, and Saladin championed its ideals.¹⁹¹ This reform drove and embraced change in ‘almost all aspects of Islamic thought’, from law to theology, mysticism to administration.¹⁹² It was a movement on which Saladin drew to such an extent to legitimise his territorial conquests and political hegemony that, as A. R. Azzam argues, we need to understand the cultural and religious reformation of the Sunni Revival in order fully to understand Saladin.¹⁹³ As the principal protagonist of the *Estoires*, it is crucial to understand Saladin’s character, and so it is useful to read the *Estoires*’s literary depiction of Saladin’s military campaigns alongside historical evidence as to his political and religious motivations for war.

Clearly, different cultural and religious movements and beliefs do not reflect each other exactly, nor do they work in synchronised ways. Yet a comparative reading of these movements shows here that the campaigns of both the Islamic and the Christian Crusader armies were nourished by late eleventh- and twelfth-century developments in eleventh-century ideologies of politicised spiritual renewal, whether of the Gregorian Reforms, or of the Sunni Revival. These ideologies fed the development of concepts of holy war, whether of crusade or of *jihad*. Popes sought initially to sponsor and control war as a ‘military arm’ with which to reinforce the agenda of the papal reform movement;¹⁹⁴ Saladin, in alliance with the religious class,¹⁹⁵ created a counter-crusade partly as a ‘political manifestation’ of

¹⁹⁰ *Jihad*, meaning “‘striving’” in Arabic, can refer to a range of warlike concepts in Islamic tradition, from ‘the internal struggle waged against sin and error’, to ‘physical warfare against the infidel’. See Asbridge, p. 25. In its ambiguity, referring both to personal moral struggles and large military campaigns, it parallels the medieval Christian use of terminology of holy struggle. While ‘for centuries theologians had characterised the internal, spiritual battle that devoted Christians waged against sin as the “warfare of Christ”’, Pope Gregory VII shifted discussions of warfare of Christ to make them into actual military campaigns against non-Christians. See Asbridge, p. 16.

¹⁹¹ Azzam, pp. XXIII, 233, 236-37.

¹⁹² *Ibid.*, p. XXIII.

¹⁹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁴ Asbridge, p. 16.

¹⁹⁵ Azzam, pp. 109-10.

the Sunni Revival.¹⁹⁶ So, to this extent, the Christian Crusader finds his reflection in the Muslim soldiers fighting under Saladin, and vice versa. I suggest that this is why there are Muslim, courtly knights in the *Estoires*. I propose that this is also another reason why there is an awareness in the *Estoires* that certain Islamic armies fought for religious reasons.

The Gregorian Reform and the Sunni Revival are important for understanding why these episodes occur in the *Estoires*. Moreover, such instances contribute to the collapse in chivalric identity in the *Estoires*, which eventually results in the end of the text itself as the narratorial voice breaks off without achieving even a semblance of narrative resolution or completion. Understanding how the Sunni Revival and the Gregorian Reform operate in the background of the *Estoires* enables us as readers to gain a deeper understanding of why chivalric and textual identities and narratives implode in the Chronicle. In both his literary portrayal and his historical incarnation, the Christian Crusader was granted an exceptional status and right by the European Catholic Church. This meant that he could claim spiritual rewards for the use of specifically directed violence. In the *Estoires*, the knight discovers his exceptional, singular status to be a mirage when he confronts Christian and Muslim knights fighting in Islamic armies which are sometimes explicitly motivated by religious goals. Through these encounters, the Christian Crusader knight of the *Estoires* sees that the religious and political movement, which directed his faith-based, violent claim to the Holy Land, and claimed a singular status for itself, for this claim, and for the Crusader knight, was in reality far from unique.

The Crusading movement, which partially arose from the Gregorian Reform, was mirrored in the jihadist movement, which to a certain extent sprang from the Sunni Revival. Although there was much dividing the movements and they did not develop in tandem with one another, they shared a certain imbrication of politics and religion, as the religious classes worked with the political operators in directing the violence of armies of the

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

crusade and the counter-crusade. They both assumed a singular status in that they both claimed unique divine approbation for their movement and its aims. Most importantly, they both purported to be exclusively entitled to wield religiously motivated, spiritually ennobling violence in a faith-based claim to territory in the same geographical area. Through literary interaction with characters such as Saladin, or through historical interaction with knights such as Usāmah ibn Munqidh,¹⁹⁷ Crusader knights of the *Estoires* and of Outremer may well have been aware of the Sunni Revival and of its parallels to the ecclesiastical reforms in Europe driving the crusading movement. Even if they were oblivious of the church reforms and the Sunni Revival, though, they were still aware of the effects of these movements: that the Crusaders' religious motivation to conquer territory in the Holy Land was mirrored in the religious drive of the Islamic armies who repulsed them. Such a realisation contributes to the breakdown in coherent chivalric identity observed in the *Estoires*.

So far in this section, I have examined how even exclusionary behaviours and ideas, as we see them portrayed in the *Estoires* and corroborated in historical evidence, can, surprisingly, be read as sharing subtle conceptual common ground with exclusionary behaviours and ideas employed by rival groups. This contributed to an undermining of both these exclusionary ideas and of the identities built upon them. In turn, this leads to a collapse in the stability of knightly identity, and to an abrupt halt in the narrative.

Next I will consider examples from the *Estoires* which depict interfaith interaction alongside a wider range of evidence — geographical, archaeological, and architectural as well as historical — in order to deepen our understanding of these sections of the *Estoires*

¹⁹⁷ Usāmah was a twelfth-century Syrian nobleman who had extensive dealings with Crusader settlers. His unique written testimony of life in Outremer is accessible in an English translation: Usāmah ibn Munqidh, *An Arab-Syrian Gentleman and Warrior in the Period of the Crusades: Memoirs of Usāmah ibn-Munqidh (Kitāb al-I'tibār)*, ed. and trans. by Philip Khuri Hitti, with a new foreword by Richard W. Bulliet (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000), ACLS Humanities E-Book.

which lead to a collapse in narrative stability. I will show that there were many further ways in which Latin Crusader chivalric identity became interwoven with the identities of other faith groups, and that drawing out these examples and reading them in their medieval context enhances our understanding of the Crusader knight's religious identity far beyond merely how it is portrayed in the *Estoires*. Instead it reveals paradigms that help us reflect on and reformulate approaches not just to the *Estoires* but also to the *Livre*, as well as to the historical and cultural evidence, and theoretical approaches, which we have used as tools in our literary readings in this chapter.

One of the ways in which we glimpse occluded instances of interfaith interaction in the *Estoires* is in its portrayal of international trade. Interfaith and interdenominational commercial partnerships of the medieval Middle East are referenced when we glimpse, at the heart of Crusader Jerusalem as it is portrayed in the *Estoires*, the 'Canges des Suriens', or 'Money Exchange of the Syrians' (183, 214-15). Given that all travellers, regardless of religious denomination, needed to change currencies, and because these 'Syrians' were working in Crusader-ruled Jerusalem, their exchange must have been a space of multi-faith commercial transactions. The money-changers were likely Arabic-speaking Christians, who could be Melkite, Maronite, Jacobite, or Nestorian, but were usually referred to by 'Surianus' and its vernacular cognates by the Crusaders.¹⁹⁸ Historical evidence indeed shows that international trade frequently cut across religious boundaries. Multinational trade flourished, benefitting both Christian Crusader settlers and Muslim populations.¹⁹⁹ Within the Latin East, commercial partnerships between men from different religious communities were set up.²⁰⁰ The establishment of the *Cours de la Fonde* specifically to deal

¹⁹⁸ MacEvitt, p. 102.

¹⁹⁹ Asbridge, pp. 182-83.

²⁰⁰ Riley-Smith, *The Crusades*, p. 107.

with small-scale commercial cases involving more than one religious community further demonstrates that inter-communal trading frequently occurred.²⁰¹

While the *Estoires* does not directly depict the linguistic challenges of conducting business across several communities and states, we are introduced to at least one loanword brought into Old French through Middle Eastern trade. The narratorial voice explains for the European-based audience what the meaning of the word 'caravane' is, providing a detailed explanation of how Muslim merchants ('Li marcheant Sarrazin') travelled in convoys called caravans (117-18). The explanation of this trade-related loan word from Persian, designating a business activity which the text presents as specifically carried out by Saracens, suggests that interfaith trade involved some linguistic interpretation.²⁰² Most Crusader settlers continued to use French and Latin as spoken and written languages of communication, with only a minority learning local languages such as Arabic, Armenian, Hebrew, or Syriac.²⁰³ Yet some isolated historical evidence does indeed point to codified language learning to facilitate trade in the medieval Middle East: there are two extant copies of a 'Frankish'-Arabic vocabulary list.²⁰⁴ In these documents, words in Old French are transcribed in Coptic letters, and given an Arabic translation.²⁰⁵ These include Frankish terms which are Frenchified Arabic, suggesting that 'such Arabic terms entered the speech of Latins who had been living in the Frankish Levant for several generations'.²⁰⁶ This would be impossible without some interaction between Crusaders, their descendants, and Arabic-speaking Eastern Christians, Jews, and Muslims.²⁰⁷

²⁰¹ Ibid., pp. 106-07.

²⁰² As regards the linguistic derivation of the word, see the entry for 'Caravan' in the *Shorter Oxford English Dictionary Sixth Edition*, version 3.0.2.1 (Oxford University Press, 2007) [on CD-ROM].

²⁰³ Asbridge, p. 177.

²⁰⁴ Kedar, p. 215.

²⁰⁵ Ibid.

²⁰⁶ Ibid., p. 216.

²⁰⁷ Some Eastern Christians, such as the Jacobites, Nestorians, Maronites, and some Melkites, spoke Arabic (MacEvitt, p. 102).

When the caravan is described in the *Estoires*, we are informed that such caravans were protected by the lords through whose lands they journeyed (117-18). These lords who interacted with the Muslim traders were both Muslim and Christian, as demonstrated by the attack and robbery that the Christian Prince Reynald, Lord of the Crac, carries out on a caravan (117). Reynald's attack is morally encoded as exceptional and wrong by the *Estoires*. All the characters, and the narratorial voice, are scandalised by Reynald's violence and appropriation of the wealth of the caravan. His actions are portrayed as sinful ('le mal k'il fist'), uncalled for in a time of truce ('ne quidierent mie illuec avoir garde des crestiens pour çou ke trives estoient'), and exceptional when compared to how most lords behave ('les fait garder li sires en qui tiere il sont, par nuit et par jour, et conduire fors de sa tiere') (116-18). Read in the light of the historical evidence detailed above, for business partnerships that cut across religious affiliations, and for the codified learning of languages to facilitate trade, the literary loanword of 'caravane' again demonstrates the mobility of borders in the historical Crusader States and in their literary reflection in the *Estoires*.

The *Estoires* shows us that economically driven interfaith interaction occurred not just on account of trade partnerships, but also through agricultural co-operation. During one of the text's topographical digressions, we are told of a certain area that 'en celui mont a mout de boinne tiere et de boines viles, dont Sarrazin et crestien partisent moitié a moitié' (123). This suggests that in a certain area, agricultural land, tasks, and profits were shared between Muslim and Christian communities, a statement surprising in a chronicle documenting crusade hostilities. Indeed, having examined archaeological evidence for medieval Frankish communities in the Middle East, Ellenblum has shown that outside the main cities, Frankish settlements were constructed either in areas where native Christians formed the majority, or in sparsely populated countryside.²⁰⁸ Franks did not settle in areas

²⁰⁸ Frankish Rural Settlement, p. 36.

where there was a Muslim majority.²⁰⁹ Ellenblum's findings have been corroborated by the work of other scholars.²¹⁰

While Ellenblum's evidence as to the limited segregation of Frankish settlements is incontrovertible, there were exceptions to this pattern. In the twelfth century, a treaty between Muslim Damascus and Christian Jerusalem established an area of fertile farmland east of the Sea of Galilee as a partially demilitarised zone.²¹¹ Muslim and Christian farmers co-operated there, and they and their states received equal shares of the harvest from this place.²¹² This historical example confirms the veracity of the episode of agricultural co-operation in the *Estoires*. Here, politically sanctioned interfaith sharing and co-operation undercut the exclusionary ideology of holy war on which the knightly Crusader settler's identity was constructed. In this way it contributes to the erosion of the stability of chivalric identity observed throughout the *Estoires*.

The *Estoires* moves beyond narrating obligatory interfaith interactions through trade and agricultural production, to show instances of optional, specifically religious interaction, whether through shared or syncretic worship practices, or even through conversion. There are several instances of shared and syncretic worship in the *Estoires*. The Muslim character Saladin is able to worship in ways which are surprising for the modern reader, as they blur the boundaries between Islamic and Christian practices. Notably, however, they are not considered worthy of remark by the narratorial voice or characters, suggesting that they were not considered exceptional events in the world of the Crusader States. So, Saladin attends Mass out of curiosity, accompanied by his erstwhile opponent the King of Jerusalem (174-75). And when Saladin defeats the Crusaders at the Battle of Hattin, in what was the military turning point which enabled Saladin's armies to conquer most of the land of the Crusader States, the Sultan is portrayed, without irony, as praying in

²⁰⁹ Ibid.

²¹⁰ See Asbridge, p. 177, and Kedar, p. 221.

²¹¹ Asbridge, p. 136.

²¹² Ibid.

thanks for his victory to the same God as is praised by the Christians whom he has defeated: 'Salehadins rendi grasses a *Nostre Segnour* de çou k'il li avoit fait si grant hounour k'il avoit desconfis *les crestiiens* et pris' (197, emphasis mine). Here, the name of 'Our Lord', 'Nostre Segnour', echoes Christian liturgy, while the possessive pronoun reminds the audience that Saladin is praying to the God that they call their own, despite the fact that Saladin has just defeated 'les crestiiens'.

Saladin may be an exceptional protagonist, whom the *Estoires* depicts as a potential Christian convert, but he nevertheless remains a non-Christian who participates in Christian-influenced forms of worship. Moreover, so does his brother, who frees the Christian prisoners out of love for Jesus (220), in an ambiguous religious gesture that, as shown above, could be read as Christian, Islamic, or syncretic. These polyvalent religious gestures, prayers, and forms of worship chime with the shared and syncretic worship practices and places which were features of popular religion in the Holy Land and Syria at the time.²¹³ Christians and Muslims both worshipped at the holy sites in the Temple Compound;²¹⁴ Jews and Christians probably converged in worship at the tomb of Rav Kahana near Tiberias;²¹⁵ Jews, Christians, and Muslims all revered the tombs of the Patriarchs in Hebron.²¹⁶ As Riley-Smith concludes, 'shared places of worship and shrines were features of popular religion in Palestine and Syria and were tolerated by the Latin clergy'.²¹⁷

The *Estoires* hints that such shared worship practices could lead to further religious co-operation, even to conversion. I contend that this is why Saladin promises in the *Estoires* to free from prison all of the King of Jerusalem's men *who are Christian*: 'tous ses hommes

²¹³ Riley-Smith, *The Crusades*, p. 91.

²¹⁴ *Ibid.*; Asbridge, p. 180.

²¹⁵ Shirin A. Khanmohamadi, *In Light of Another's Word: European Ethnography in the Middle Ages* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014), p. 171; Riley-Smith, 'Government and the Indigenous', p. 125. 'Rav' means 'rabbi' (see the entry for 'rav' in the *Shorter Oxford English Dictionary Sixth Edition*).

²¹⁶ Riley-Smith, *The Crusades*, p. 91.

²¹⁷ 'Government and the Indigenous', p. 125.

k'il avoit em prison *ki crestiien estoient*' (173, emphasis mine). Such a restriction can only suggest that some Christian Crusader prisoners had converted to Islam and would remain in the Ayyubid Empire. This is an extraordinary revelation for a chronicle which documents the history of the Crusader States, as it suggests that not only is the hero of the text a Muslim military opponent — Saladin — but that this hero's prowess in battle led to the capture of Christians and their conversion to Islam. Such conversion was not uncommon, motivated either by religious sincerity, or by the offer of freedom made to apostate prisoners.²¹⁸ The freedom granted to captives who converted was a topic of discussion not only in the Crusader States but also in Europe, where the literature of the time discussed the danger to prisoners' souls such a potentially tempting offer represented.²¹⁹ To celebrate Saladin as a hero is to laud indirectly this situation, which is the ideological opposite of the founding political and religious ideologies of the Crusader States. Saladin's words resonate with Benjamin Z. Kedar's findings as regards recorded cases of conversion from Christianity to Judaism,²²⁰ but especially the records showing that conversion from Islam to Christianity, or vice versa, was 'not rare at all'.²²¹

The literary and historical evidence examined above, which brings to light instances of apostasy and movement between different faith communities in the *Estoires* and in the medieval Middle East, is reflected in the illustrations accompanying the *Estoires* in MS fonds français 770. This codex bears artistic testimony to the instances of acculturation and

²¹⁸ Friedman, p. 135.

²¹⁹ For example, in Luca Barbieri's edition of Huon de Saint-Quentin's poem, 'Jerusalem se plaint et li pais', on the Warwick University website for the AHRC-funded research project *Lyric Responses to the Crusades in Medieval France and Occitania*. Barbieri dates this poem to 1221. The lyric exhorts its audience to go on crusade to free Christians who are in Muslim prisons in the Middle East, 'pour oster lor ames de dangier.' Linda Paterson suggests that this 'danger' to which the lyric refers is the risk that the prisoners might convert from Christianity to Islam, in order to gain their freedom. An unpublished remark by Professor Linda Paterson on 25 April 2016. See Huon de Saint-Quentin, 'Jerusalem se plaint et li pais', ed. and trans. by Luca Barbieri, in *Lyric Responses to the Crusades in Medieval France and Occitania*, Linda Paterson and others
<<http://www2.warwick.ac.uk/fac/arts/modernlanguages/research/french/crusades/texts/of/rs1576>>

[accessed 10 May 2016].

²²⁰ Kedar, p. 196.

²²¹ *Ibid.*

assimilation that went, paradoxically, hand-in-hand with the segregation and violence of the crusading centuries. Its detailed and elegant illustrations of Byzantine, Islamic, and Latin rulers and knights all look facially and sartorially alike. These leaders and knights, who are from different geographical, cultural, and religious backgrounds, are therefore depicted as though they were all akin.

There are illustrations of these figures on folios 313^r, 315^v, 326^v, 327^v, 334^r, and 349^r.²²² Some of these images clearly depict certain characters. For example, on folio 326^v, we see an image of a king talking to a group of knights. At this point in the manuscript, the text relates that Saladin asked Hugh to dub him, so the picture most likely shows Saladin, Hugh, and other knights. Similarly, it is clear that Saladin and his knights are depicted in the image on folio 349^r, which is of a king in his tent, with a group of knights, in front of city walls. This occurs just above a section of text which the image appears to depict exactly, as the text at this point reads ‘vous dirons de Salehadin ki vint devant a Jherusalem. Il fist tendre ses tres devant la porte de Tabarie’ (folio 349^r; 216).²²³ The only image of a Byzantine emperor is also unequivocally positioned, as a picture of a monarch is placed above the words: ‘or est Andrones empereres de Coustantinoble’ (folio 334^r; 145). He is the only ruler depicted holding a sceptre.

The illustrations on folios 313^r, 315^v, and 327^v, however, are ambiguous. The scene on 313^r might depict the Crusaders evoked in the first lines of the *Estoires*, next to which it is placed: ‘Oiiés et entendés comment la tiere de Jherusalem fu conquise, et la Sainte Crois, des Sarrasins sour les crestiens. Mais avant [...] vous noumerai jou tous les rois et les seignours ki furent puis le tans Godefroi de Buillon’ (folio 313^r; 45). Yet this image could equally portray the Crusaders’ enemies, the Saracens, also referred to in these opening

²²² The manuscript is digitised and available online: <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b52503818d/f1.image.r=Fran%C3%A7ais%20770.langFR>, [accessed 14 October 2015].

²²³ This manuscript is the one on which Jubb bases her edition of the *Estoires*. For this reason, the pagination references for the quotations of the text next to the illustrations refer both to the folio on which they occur, and to the page in Jubb’s edition on which they are printed.

lines. Likewise, the image of a monarch leading his knights in battle on folio 327^v is most likely of Saladin and his men, given that it is sandwiched between two pieces of text relating to the Sultan. However, the second piece of text, below the image, also discusses the Christian army who are defeated by Saladin, raising the possibility that it is the Latins who are depicted here. This might seem to be suggested by the fleur-de-lys design of the blue caparison on the monarch's horse (folio 327^v; 114).²²⁴ Yet, given Saladin's supposed French ancestry, as alleged in the interpolation of the *Fille*, it is equally possible that the ruler portrayed here with Frankish heraldic insignia is Saladin.

The illustration on folio 315^v is the most confusing of all. This image of men talking could depict knights with either Reynald of Antioch, or the King of Jerusalem, or Saladin, or the Count of Ponthieu, all of whom are referred to within the lines of text above and below the picture (folio 215^v; 59). Apart from the sceptre, which only occurs in the image of the Byzantine Emperor, all the features associated with the monarchs are repeated across all the images. Their hair, crown, and facial features remain the same, and their clothes are almost identical in each, with only slight variations in shade and length. Colours of garments vary across images, but there are so few, the identity of those depicted is so vague, and the colours are so limited and so often repeated, that it is impossible to establish if there is a pattern as regards who might wear which length garments and in which colours.

What does it mean when a Byzantine Emperor, an Ayyubid Sultan, and a Latin Levantine King are depicted in a manuscript of a crusading text looking almost identical? Why do these characters appear pictorially interchangeable, to the extent that we are unable to tell for certain who is portrayed at which point in the manuscript? Although in most depictions in medieval art, Saracens are portrayed as barbarous and different from

²²⁴ A caparison is a decorative covering for a horse.

Christians,²²⁵ it is not uncommon for Saracens to be depicted in medieval images with lightened skin: 'numerous artists portrayed Saracens as more or less ordinary Western knights, usually with armour or heralds to distinguish them from the Christian forces'.²²⁶ Interestingly the similarities between the Saracens, Byzantines, and Latins are enhanced in this manuscript by the absence of distinguishing armour or heralds. While it may have been common to depict Saracens as white-skinned, the decision to depict Byzantine and Muslim rulers and soldiers as iconographically identical to Latin Crusaders in multiple images in MS fonds français 770 has to be analysed in its specific codicological and textual context. When juxtaposed with the text of the *Estoires*, these illustrations become paradigmatic of the work they illuminate. In the narrative of the *Estoires*, we read of instances in which Latin Christian Crusaders and their Eastern Christian, Jewish, and Muslim co-subjects interact, fight, dialogue, and even shade into one another. In this sense, the accompanying illustrations become literal depictions of the metaphors of the text. While the text may narrate episodes in which Muslims are also knights, and non-Latin Christians are also citizens of the Crusader States, these images show what the practical import of such episodes is: Greek Orthodox, Latin Christians, and Muslims become interchangeable figures whose similarities through their geographical proximity and political interactions outweigh their religious and military differences.

These illustrations show that in art, as in literature in the *Estoires*, and in life in the historical and archaeological evidence we have examined, Latin Crusader chivalric identity became interwoven with the identities of other faith groups. Art outside the codex corroborates this extraordinary shading into one another of different faith-based identities, even in the midst of the exclusionary rhetoric, policies, and military campaigns of the Crusader States. Jaroslav Folda has examined the extant artistic production of the Crusader States, defining its influences and paradigms as a close-knit fusion of Greek and Latin

²²⁵ Strickland, p. 169.

²²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 188.

Christian traditions with Islamic and Mongol influences, thus representing ‘a unique, dynamic artistic development in the twelfth- and thirteenth-century Eastern Mediterranean world’.²²⁷

One artistic work Folda examines in depth is the sculpture above one of the portals of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem.²²⁸ In the photograph accompanying his description, we see delicately carved, abstract patterns on the tops of the columns, and over and around the archway of the door. As Folda explains, these artistic motifs interweave Romanesque details with Byzantine, Early Christian Syrian, Arabo-Christian Near Eastern, and Arabo-Muslim Near Eastern influences. So, the columns are topped by capitals carved with motifs of Byzantine origin. Above, the horizontal moulding is Romanesque in inspiration. Stretching up and over the door’s archway is a godroon forming a voussoir, with designs redolent of contemporary Arab architecture of the Near East, both Christian and Muslim. Framing this is an arch decorated with hood moulding, which imitates early Christian Syrian patterns.²²⁹

The cultural melting pots which formed the trade workshops that produced this carving, were notable for their diversity and richness. Their existence and luxurious productions are all the more remarkable given that their products adorn a devotional building around which Latin Christian aggression towards those of other denominations and faiths had previously crystallised. When the Crusaders took Jerusalem in 1099, they slaughtered its citizens. They acted in response to Urban II’s preaching of a crusading war, which had two aims: to ‘liberate’ Eastern Christians, and the Holy Sepulchre.²³⁰ The Eastern Christians were, on this occasion, caught up in the Latin Christian Crusaders’ murderous violence, rather than ‘liberated’. In light of this, it would not have been surprising had the

²²⁷ *Crusader Art: The Art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land, 1099-1291* (Aldershot: Lund Humphries, 2008), p. 13.

²²⁸ See *ibid.*, p. 43.

²²⁹ Folda, p. 43.

²³⁰ Riley-Smith, *The Crusades*, p. 27.

Crusaders 'liberated' the Holy Sepulchre in a similarly heavy-handed way, using only Latin, European architectural styles in their repairs. It is remarkable that, instead, the Crusaders who settled in Jerusalem renovated the Church of the Holy Sepulchre with architectural designs that bear witness to sustained interaction with almost all of the cultural and religious groups they had previously annihilated in their capture of the city. This devotional building thus sets in stone what could otherwise have been dismissed as literary fantasy in the *Estoires*: the sustained, contentious yet amiable, interactions between the Latin Crusaders and those from other religious communities in the Middle East. Moreover, these carvings, like the illustrations of MS fonds français 770, can help us to reconcile the clashing ideologies of the *Estoires* and the *Livre*. The carvings on the Church of the Holy Sepulchre were commissioned to stamp Latin Christian authority over a cultic centre around which violence towards everyone who was not a Latin Christian had crystallised during the preaching of the First Crusade and the bloody capture of Jerusalem in 1099. The illustrations for the *Estoires* in MS fonds français 770 similarly spring from situations of interfaith war, and they depict the different religio-political powers of the twelfth- and thirteenth-century Middle East fighting to the death for political control over land there. And yet, as we have seen, the carvings on the Church of the Holy Sepulchre blend artistic influences from all over the Middle East and Europe, and from different religious communities, to create a syncretic art form which bears witness to sustained interfaith interaction. Moreover, MS fonds français 770 pictorially depicts all the deadly enemies of the crusades as ethnically, sartorially, religiously, and artistically alike.

These artistic and ideological contradictions, embodied in the Holy Sepulchre church mentioned so often in the narrative of the *Estoires*, as in the pictures produced to be read alongside the text in MS fonds français 770, are emblematic of the contradictory attitudes of the *Estoires* and the *Livre* towards the knight's religious identity. Throughout this chapter, we have explored how the *Livre* shows a concerted effort to dominate and to

control the complex nature of its subject matter, trying to foreclose all debate. This is in contrast to the *Estoires*, which contains an implicit recognition of the ambiguous complexity of the religious wars it recounts, while depicting the many instances of intercultural and interfaith acclimatisation examined above. In this sense, the argumentation of the *Livre* veers towards the more authoritarian, while the *Estoires* is more flexible in its approach to a knightly religious identity which is at times closely policed, but is mostly labile. And yet, despite these ideological differences between the two texts, the historical and cultural examples of contradictory movements between assimilation and segregation in the Crusader States can help us to think through how the *Livre* and the *Estoires* are on another level very similar.

Like the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, which was a focus for Crusader aggression yet also a locus of intercultural artwork, or the illustrations of MS fonds français 770, which show us religious enemies at war yet depict them as pictorial twins, the *Livre* and the *Estoires* both embody the contradictory attitudes of their times. The *Estoires* recognises that the boundaries between the different faith groups are sometimes mobile or non-existent, whereas the *Livre*, conversely, sets up the knight to police tirelessly the fantasised frontiers erected between them. But in both works, logic and syntax break down under the weight of their contradictions. The role they expound for knights, which is focused on holy crusading war, is ultimately shown to be meaningless. The *Estoires* recognises that such a narrow role is impractical, instead portraying intercultural and multi-faith, multi-class forms of knighthood which stretch beyond Christian nobles fighting a Holy War. The *Livre* fails to recognise this insight, sticking stubbornly to rigid definitions of Catholic chivalry. Yet both finally betray an implicit recognition of the contradictions of crusading contained in their literary contents as well as in the historical and material evidence. These contradictions are those which show that the blend of rejection and acceptance displayed towards other faith groups, lived alongside an ideology of Holy War, was practical yet ultimately nonsensical

and unsustainable. This lack of sense and sustainability is what causes the breakdown in meaning and narrative in the *Livre*, as in the *Estoires*.

Part VII – Conclusion

‘From a moral philosophical perspective, [...] a good reading means the squeezing of a positive ethical understanding out of a set of [...] statements’.²³¹

In this concluding section, I will consider how reapplying theoretical models to the texts, in light of the insights gained by reading the works alongside historical and material evidence, leads to conclusions which can help us to reflect on and reformulate approaches not just to the literary texts of my corpus, but also to the subject of study of the crusades as a whole. In the textual readings above, I drew on Kinoshita’s model of reading Old French literary works with material cultural and historical evidence in mind, to illuminate the context and some of the deeper meanings of the literature. I also used Devaney’s model of Iberian amiable enmity as a means of conceptually mapping out aspects of interfaith interaction in the Crusader States, both historically, and in the *Estoires*. I suggested that Devaney’s approach echoed Ellenblum’s call for us to rethink medieval geographical borders, which, according to both Ellenblum and Devaney’s models, were either fluctuating or non-existent in certain areas of the medieval political, geographical, and cultural world. Reading the *Estoires* and *Livre* as affected by the mobility of medieval borders does not mean viewing them as exemplars of medieval multiculturalism. As argued in the introduction to this chapter, twenty-first century concepts of multiculturalism cannot be applied directly to medieval literature or societies, because they functioned in more

²³¹ V. Y. Mudimbe, *The Idea of Africa* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994), p. 198. I am grateful to Professor Pierre-Philippe for introducing me to Mudimbe and for recommending that I read *The Idea of Africa* in conjunction with my work on this chapter.

nuanced ways than those for which this modern philosophical concept can account. The model of amiable enmity has helped to draw out the contradictions in the texts which show that these examples of medieval francophone crusading literature do not fit into colonial or multicultural ideologies, but instead function in far more questioning and ambiguous ways, which undermine the religious fanaticism of some of their characters.

How, precisely, does the model of amiable enmity help us to read more critically the crises of chivalric identity and of textual coherence and cohesion in the *Estoires* and the *Livre*? Firstly, it explains why such a situation arose. That is to say, the model of amiable enmity demonstrates that the knight's religious identity, and the coherence of the texts in which it is portrayed, broke down in the face of lived and textual paradoxes, as a religiously exclusive and violent ideology clashed with moments of lived interfaith interaction. Secondly, Devaney's model casts light on the effects of these identity and textual crises. By highlighting the contrasts between behaviour and the attitudes underlying the interactions presupposed by amiable enmity, Devaney demonstrates that such an oxymoronic situation aroused contradictory behaviours and emotions. Thus Devaney's paradigm makes the *Estoires* and the *Livre* understandable as works embodying and responding to the contradictory attitudes of their socio-cultural milieux.

Thirdly, as an embodiment of the paradoxes that make up the *Livre* and the *Estoires*, amiable enmity is a concept which reveals that, at the heart of francophone literature and historiography, is a surprising picture of the crusades which it is vitally important for us to understand as scholars working in the present. This ambiguous picture of crusading as racked with paradox, and resulting in breakdowns in knightly religious identity and in textual meaning, could not be further from the black and white image of crusading embodied in French-language literature in texts such as the *Chanson de Roland*. The famous line from this epic, 'paien unt tort e crestiens unt dreit', is often quoted as embodying a hard-line, violent Catholic response to encounters with those from other

religious faiths, a response seen as typical of the epic.²³² Such a quote reflects some traditional historiography, which depicted the crusades as a movement of religious fanaticism or proto-colonial domination,²³³ and as supposedly ‘a prime example of medieval superstition and folly’.²³⁴

An alternative account of the crusades as a movement marked by segregative, appropriative violence but also by intercultural encounters and assimilation has been established by historians such as Asbridge and Riley-Smith. Drawing out this account in medieval francophone literary texts has shown that such a view of the crusades is not limited to modern ways of thinking, but, in its contradictions and paradoxes, is an inherently medieval response to Holy War. I have shown that the *Estoires* and the *Livre*, through their narrative breakdowns, gesture towards the complexity and uncertainty of Holy War, and of the identities and texts this warfare engendered and warped. Parallels drawn between the medieval world and contemporary societies in order to make political points, such as those drawn between modern political and medieval crusading situations, are ‘tenuous’ and ‘dubious’.²³⁵ However, the ambiguity of the *Estoires* and the *Livre*, while chiming with twenty-first century historians’ interpretations of the crusades, is vitally important to current European and Middle Eastern societies conversely for the difference it shows us between medieval crusading ideas and contemporary political situations.

The complexity of the narrative of the crusades in the *Livre* and the *Estoires* overturns dangerous metanarratives still pervasive in society today, regarding religious enmity and fantasised civilisational clashes. As Riley-Smith comments, ‘a gulf has opened up between research historians and a general public whose attachment to the old vision

²³² *La Chanson de Roland*, ed. and trans. by Ian Short, *Lettres gothiques*, 2nd edn (Paris: Librairie Générale Française, 1990), p. 90.

²³³ Asbridge, p. 2; Riley-Smith, *The Crusades*, pp. 8-9.

²³⁴ Asbridge, p. 2.

²³⁵ Asbridge, p. 2.

has been reinforced in reaction to the rise of Sunni jihadism'.²³⁶ Asbridge further notes that 'some sections of the Muslim world' have equated the medieval crusades with 'modern political and religious struggles'.²³⁷ What Riley-Smith and Asbridge show here is that, even as modern historians have elaborated a model for the crusades which reflects their inherent ambiguity as leading to wars and settlements of 'amiable enmity', as also suggested by the medieval literary sources analysed in this chapter, sections of modern European and Middle Eastern societies are re-reading the crusades as medieval examples of inevitable fanaticism, inescapably recycled today. That this popular 'clash of civilisations' narrative concerning the crusades has become institutionalised in its spread is reflected by its incarnation in Amin Maalouf's history of the crusades, which is one of the most famous such histories in French. Despite being premised on the idea of moving away from Eurocentric perspectives on the crusades through the use of Arabic sources, this history eschews a nuanced reading to reduce the ethnically and religiously diverse peoples of the medieval Middle East, united and divided by complicated and shifting alliances, to two blocks of 'Franks' and 'Arabs', who supposedly ignited 'une hostilité millénaire entre l'islam et l'Occident'.²³⁸ Maalouf thus links the medieval crusades and counter-crusades to vague modern political issues, while comparing the incommensurate entities of 'Islam' and 'the West'. In this statement, the author conveniently ignores the previous religiously-inflected battles in Iberia as well as the fact that Islam was at this time in the Middle Ages, as it is now, a European as well as a Middle Eastern faith. He further fails to recognise that the malaise which he alleges now characterises 'the Arab world', that of being incapable of distinguishing between past and present,²³⁹ or of moving on from the supposed 'break' with the West engendered by the crusades,²⁴⁰ is in fact as present in his own historically

²³⁶ *The Crusades*, p. 11.

²³⁷ p. 2.

²³⁸ Amin Maalouf, *Les Croisades vues par les Arabes* (Paris: JCLattès, 1983), p. 14.

²³⁹ Maalouf, p. 283.

²⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 282.

incorrect, racially based arguments²⁴¹ as much as it is to be found in the words of the Arab leaders he reports.²⁴²

In the light of such simplistic and divisive contemporary readings and re-articulations of the crusades, it is more necessary than ever to attend to the moments of questioning and ambiguity in francophone crusading literature, which demonstrate a medieval understanding paralleled by scholarly historical advances in the twenty-first century. Namely, that behind the religious warfare of the crusades and the counter-crusades were instances of interfaith and intercultural encounter and assimilation which undermined the monologic, fanatical ideologies of their participants. This undermining took place at least as early as the thirteenth century, when we see Saladin treated in the *Estoires* as worthy of social, political, and religious respect and equality. If francophone medieval literary texts can demonstrate that models of religious fanaticism, and political conquest and subjugation, failed to hold true even as they were being lived and elaborated eight centuries ago, then it will become all the more clear that they are still nonsensical in their contemporary recycling.

²⁴¹ Maalouf is historically inaccurate, for example, to suggest that many 'Franj' learnt Arabic (p. 282); in reality, as Asbridge has shown, only a minority of Crusader settlers learned local languages such as Arabic (p. 177). To suggest that 'les Franj ont tiré leurs connaissances des livres arabes qu'ils ont assimilés, imités, puis dépassés' as Maalouf does (p. 282), to select just one example of racial stereotyping, is merely to repeat colonially inflected, racially directed, and now utterly discredited arguments concerning spurious theories of historical progress.

²⁴² Maalouf, p. 283.

Conclusion

This thesis has assessed the role and journeys of travelling saints and religious travellers in twelfth- to fourteenth-century literary texts written in French and Occitan. The travelling characters investigated range from Irish pilgrims, to Indian saints, to francophone crusading knights. The areas in which they travel stretch from the most westerly point in the known medieval world — Ireland — to some of the most southern and easterly known zones of the time — the Middle East and Asia. The places in which the accounts studied here were written, dissolve modern frontiers of nation and language to embrace a large part of Western Europe. These places include a France which had yet to come into being as we know it, given that it was a collection of states and languages during parts of this period. What unites such a diverse corpus is that each text fits within certain chronological and linguistic boundaries, and depicts travel for religious purposes. This travel is undertaken by the characters principally for the purpose of obtaining salvation.

There are further similarities in the way all the texts represent religious travel. All the narratives involve travel beyond the frontiers of the French- and Occitan-speaking centres of the time (in mainland Europe and Britain). The journeys described all take a typical form but are given atypical qualities. We see pilgrimages, yet they are not to Rome or Jerusalem but to Ireland or islands west of Ireland; we read about hermitic withdrawal, yet not in the familiar Egyptian space of the Desert Fathers, but in India. We see crusading, but the crusading narratives either focus in an unusually positive way on the Crusaders' enemy, Saladin, or, in the case of Llull's work, crusading becomes a complicated link in a chain of knightly duties stretching back to the foundation of chivalry in the distant past. In each text, the travelling protagonists are men. They are all works composed primarily, although not exclusively, for a European audience. The travel depicted is invariably hard, testing, and unpredictable. It always results in some kind of miraculous, yet ultimately

inconclusive, proof of divine omnipotence and the afterlife: Brendan, his monks, and Owein all see heaven and hell (and in Owein's case, purgatory as well), but they do not obtain access to the ultimate heavenly areas because they are still alive. They have to return to normal life and die there before reaccessing the next world. Barlaam and Josaphat's mortal remains are miraculously preserved or Mary makes an appearance, yet other than indirectly, through miracles or through his mother, God does not manifest his presence in the narratives. In the *Estoires*, light in the night sky supposedly indicates God's approbation of the Crusaders, yet later defeats indicate a reversal in fortune and favour, while in Llull's text, God institutes the Order of Knighthood but then takes no further action.

A broadly historicist approach was taken. Diverse material is brought together in the thesis by this unifying historicist approach. I showed that by understanding these works in relation to the contexts they depict, or the situations in which they were produced, we can highlight and understand their literary complexities more easily. For example, reading the *Estoires* in light of historical evidence for intercultural contact during the crusades allowed me to demonstrate that such contact was partly behind the confusion in the narrative. Moreover, an understanding of the intercultural contact which occurred during the era of the crusades facilitated a reading of the text which highlighted the way it questioned its own ideology of religious warfare.

In chapter one, I read two twelfth-century Anglo-Norman pilgrimage narratives set in and around Ireland. I considered how the religious journey of pilgrimage is depicted in these texts, as both a physical advancement and a metaphysical vision. To contextualise my reading of the texts, I compared the portrayal of travel in these works to how the journey is treated in three of Marie de France's *Lais*, which were produced in a similar Anglo-Norman courtly milieu. I concluded that, aside from differing narratorial perceptions as to the controlling power directing the miraculous or the *merveilleux*, all the texts share certain similarities in the way they represent travel, despite the highly divergent purposes of their

journeys. For instance, the progress made by the protagonists is always incomplete in some way. Furthermore the other worlds depicted are laid out along the same lines as the human world, yet retain an enigmatic nature, and they are always accessed either by crossing water or by going underground. In all the works, the narratorial voice recognises that the narrative potentially seems unbelievable.

In my discussion of how the places encountered on the journeys are depicted in these Anglo-Norman works, I established that particularly the *Espurgatoire* was part of a political drive to incorporate Ireland within francophone Britain's ecclesiastical and sovereign frontiers. And yet, even within the works of the *Espurgatoire* and the *Voyage*, which were composed and/or listened to by the victor during a time of campaigns of territorial expansion which eroded Irish self-governance, I found instances in which the texts resist such appropriation. I found analogous instances in the Breton-influenced *Lais*. By reading the narratives in a way which uncovered the intercultural encounters and shifting boundaries behind the apparent homogeneity of the texts, I argued for a remapping of north-west European areas of literary, linguistic, cultural, and economic exchange in the twelfth century, in which Ireland's important, internationally-linked position would be recognised, alongside Brittany's significant role in terms of twelfth-century contact with francophone Britain and France. I further argued that analysing the texts alongside historical context and modern translation theory allows us to see that limits to cultural and political appropriation are inscribed in and by the appropriating texts of the corpus themselves.

While anglophone scholarship on francophone medieval literature has in recent years embraced the French-language literature of Britain, Ireland's role in medieval francophone history and literature has long been marginalised. Work which assessed Anglo-Norman Britain's interactions with Ireland, or considered representations of Ireland

in medieval French, was invariably written by scholars working in Ireland.¹ In an era in which research and teaching on French-language literature in UK universities has a global and pan-francophone span, passing over medieval Ireland's part in francophone texts is no longer desirable or even possible. My first chapter thus seeks to contribute to the international focus of recent studies of medieval French-language literature,² while asserting Ireland's importance in such studies. It is to be hoped that future research based outside Ireland will continue to recognise and evaluate the Irish role in this literature.

Picking up on chapter one's discussion of translation as a means of thinking about travel, chapter two juxtaposed three pan-French and francophone versions of the same saints' *Life* against one another, looking at how behind the hermits' travel lies a network of translation and literary creation which enable the texts to come into being and the saints' travel to take place. By evaluating how travel and translation are ubiquitous yet implicit themes of the three different versions of the *Life* of saints Barlaam and Josaphat considered, I charted a paradigm of spiritual translation in these narratives. I thus argued that the texts construct the sanctity of the protagonists, and mediate the divine for the characters and audience, by combining linguistic, physical, and somatic translation in a particular model of spiritual translation.

This model is the same across the three versions of the hagiographic legend, despite their divergence on topics as fundamental as how best to achieve salvation. Again, through a close reading of how travel is described in the works, I examined how diverse these seemingly similar narratives are. I found that although they all portray a 'way' or

¹ For example, Marie-Therese Flanagan, *Irish Society, Anglo-Norman Settlers, Angevin Kingship: Interactions in Ireland in the Late Twelfth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998); Marie de France, *L'Espurgatoire seint Patriz*, ed. and trans. by Yolande de Pontfarcy, *Ktēmata*, 13 (Louvain: Peeters, 1995); Éamon Ó Ciosáin, 'Le Merveilleux et l'espace européen : l'Irlande et les Irlandais dans la littérature médiévale française (XII^e-XV^e siècles)', in *The Medieval Imagination, 'Mirabile Dictu': Essays in Honour of Yolande de Pontfarcy Sexton*, ed. by Phyllis Gaffney and Jean-Michel Picard (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2013), pp. 158-92.

² For example, the *Medieval Francophone Literary Culture Outside France* research project, < <http://www.medievalfrancophone.ac.uk/> > [accessed 9 July 2016].

'path' of salvation, depicted as part of the protagonists' travels but advocated for all characters and audiences, this pathway differs hugely from work to work. In the version contained in the *Miracles de Nostre Dame par personnages*, salvation is achieved by Marian intervention. In the Occitan version, ascetic, apostolic, and perhaps even heretical patterns of behaviour have to be re-enacted in order for the protagonists to be saved. Yet in the Anglo-Norman version, the way to redemption is portrayed as lay-friendly, as it does not necessitate withdrawal or direct saintly intervention for all the characters.

In chapter three, I looked at the travel of knights in a crusade chronicle and a chivalric manual. Behind the characters' travel, which enabled their fighting and the composition of the texts concerning this crusading, is the pervasive theme of chivalry. I evaluated what it means to be a knight in these texts, and found that the defining characteristics of knighthood crystallise but then disintegrate as the characters face encounters with and challenges by non-Christians. I examined how the texts' narrative confusion is heightened as the knightly Crusader's religious travel and military prowess are directed towards incompatible goals, while the chronologies according to which the exploits of these knights are recounted are jumbled. Using Lacan's theory of logical time, I considered how the inaccurate timelines of the works reflect subjective re-writings of history which shed light on the narrative ethos of the texts.

I made sense of this narrative complexity and confusion by seeing it through the lens of Devaney's theory of amiable enmity, that is to say, the contradictory emotions and behaviours stimulated by interfaith, cross-border interactions. I assessed how the incidents demonstrating incoherence and ambiguity in the texts are linked to literary, but also historical, encounters with non-Christians. As in chapter one, in which the texts themselves provide counter-hegemonic readings, I showed that the questions raised by these crusading narratives undermine the fanaticism of some of their own characters. In this way,

I argue that the conclusions of this chapter could be applied to other crusading texts, from further chronicles to some epics and romance.

While the starting premise of each chapter has been to think about religious travel, the narratives considered are not reducible to devotional travelogue tracts. This thesis has highlighted the ubiquity of travel as a theme in medieval francophone and Occitan literature with a spiritual focus, but also travel's connection in such works to other, more complex literary topics and questions. These topics include translation, which is connected to religious travel in the first chapter through the foreign travel depicted in the works and the processes of linguistic and cultural translation through which the narratives have passed. In the second chapter, translation works together with religious travel through the characters' search for God and sanctity, a quest which involves somatic and linguistic translation alongside journeys of hermitic withdrawal. Another topic which I have shown is linked to religious travel is that of chivalry, in that in the third chapter, the Crusader's religious travel to fight non-Christians in the Middle East reshapes the ways in which his knightly status is gained and deployed.

The value of comparing all these different works with one another lies in the broader questions raised by such a comparison which are, I suggest, startlingly urgent. The first chapter asks, can we see a monolingual voice of consensus and expansive territorial control challenged by the cultural and literary complexity of its own self-legitimizing narratives? Chapter two poses the question, might we embrace the plurality of religious freedoms expressed within works incorporated in orthodoxy? The third chapter concludes with the question, could the incoherent violence of religious extremism be undermined by its own self-defeating contradictions, and by the cross-border contact its narrative denies yet its propagation reveals? I hope that these questions, which emerge from a close reading of the texts themselves, can fruitfully be applied to future research on medieval francophone and occitanophone literature.

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