

# From Pilgrimage to Crusade: The Liturgy of Departure, 1095–1300

By M. Cecilia Gaposchkin

In 1293, only two years after the fall of Acre, but many years before the end of crusading aspirations to reclaim Jerusalem, William Durandus, Bishop of Mende, composed a new rite for those taking up the cross “to go in aid of the Holy Land,” which he included in his magisterial and enduring edition of the Roman pontifical.<sup>1</sup> In this rite the bishop would bless and then bestow to the departing crusader the devotional insignia of his canonical status: the cross, along with the traditional pilgrim’s scrip and staff. Durandus’ rite drew on a number of long-standing texts for travel benedictions and pilgrimage benedictions, but reworked them into an elegant whole, the sum of which was far greater than its inherited parts. It enjoined the crusader to “take up the cross” (cf. Matt. 16.24) and hasten towards “your [that is, Christ’s] tomb,” beseeched God to protect him from danger and absolve him from the chains of sin, and emphasized taking the cross as a passion emblematic of Christ’s own salvific sacrifice. The rite thus echoed the ideals, shaped the language, and embodied the spiritual and devotional values of crusading around 1300, which had increasingly emphasized Christomimetic suffering as central to the spiritual value of crusade. As such, the rite is testament to the idea of the crusade and crusading as it had developed over the course of two centuries.

Indeed, the development of the idea of crusade was not even remotely completed by the end of the First Crusade, the point at which Carl Erdmann, who coined the phrase in the title to his magnificent 1935 study, ended the narrative of his book. Erdmann, of course, was interested in the *origins* of the idea of crusade and argued that traditions of militarized Christianity were fundamental to early conceptualization of the crusading ideal.<sup>2</sup> In his analysis, and with his

<sup>1</sup> I thank Christopher MacEvitt, Sean Field, and Thomas Madden for reading earlier drafts of this essay, and Christopher MacEvitt for consulting several manuscripts at the British Library on behalf of this project. I thank Richard Kay, Stan Metheny, John Briggs, and John Wickstrom for help on a variety of liturgical issues. For various editions of the Romano-Germanic and Roman pontificals, I have used the following abbreviations:

RGP = Cyrille Vogel and Reinhard Elze, eds. *Le pontifical romano-germanique du dixième siècle*. 2 vols. Studi e Testi 226–227. Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1963.

RP12 = Michel Andrieu, ed. *Le pontifical romain au moyen-âge*. Vol. 1. *Le pontifical romain du XIIe siècle*. Studi e Testi 86. Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1938.

RP13 = Michel Andrieu, ed. *Le pontifical romain au moyen-âge*. Vol. 2. *Le pontifical de la curie romaine au XIIIe siècle*. Studi e Testi 87. Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1940.

PWD = Michel Andrieu, ed. *Le pontifical romain au moyen-âge*. Vol. 3. *Le pontifical de Guillaume Durand*. Studi e Testi 88. Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1940.

<sup>2</sup> Carl Erdmann, *The Origin of the Idea of Crusade*, trans. Marshall W. Baldwin and Walter Goffart (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977). The German original was published in 1935.

emphasis on Pope Urban II's Eastern policy, Erdmann downplayed the role of Jerusalem, and thus of pilgrimage, in the years leading up to 1095—two claims that have engendered a great deal of research, and have been at the heart of many of the core questions that have animated debate over the First Crusade. H.E. Mayer, three decades after Erdmann, insisted in turn that pilgrimage lay at the center of the idea of crusade.<sup>3</sup> Jonathan Riley-Smith, in *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading*, picked up on both concepts, complementing Erdmann's "idea" of crusade with analysis of how that idea was affected by the experience of the march and then, in turn, its earliest historians. Riley-Smith found that, seen from this vantage, the idea of crusade emphasized the "traditions of pilgrimage to Jerusalem ... and pious violence."<sup>4</sup> But since Erdmann—maybe because of Erdmann—it has become clear that the "idea of crusade" was dynamic and ongoing, varying over time and place.<sup>5</sup> Penny J. Cole's and Christoph Maier's work on crusade preaching have demonstrated how Innocent III injected the ideals of penitence and passion into the crusade idea and ideal.<sup>6</sup> Christopher Tyerman has argued that the idea of crusade, along with a designated language for crusaders, did not actually coalesce until well into the twelfth century, only with the call of the Third Crusade.<sup>7</sup> Jean Flori has insisted on Jerusalem's centrality in the conceptualization of crusade despite proliferating fronts of crusading.<sup>8</sup>

One index of the development of the idea (or rather, the many ideas) of crusade is the development of the forms and formations of the liturgical

<sup>3</sup> Hans Eberhard Mayer, *The Crusades*, trans. John Gillingham, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988). The German original was published in 1968. More recently, Marcus Bull has also insisted on the cultural practice of local pilgrimage among "arms bearers" in informing the context for the First Crusade. Marcus Bull, *Knightly Piety and the Lay Response to the First Crusade: The Limousin and Gascony, c. 970–c. 1130* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993).

<sup>4</sup> Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1986), especially at 8–37. The quote is taken from Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders, 1095–1131* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 189.

<sup>5</sup> For example: E.O. Blake, "The Formation of the Crusade Idea," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 21, no. 1 (1970): 11–31; H.E.J. Cowdrey, "Pope Urban II and the Idea of Crusade," *Studi Medievali*, 3rd ser., 36 (1995): 721–52; Étienne Delaruelle, "The Crusading Idea in Cluniac Literature of the Eleventh Century," in *Cluniac Monasticism in the Central Middle Ages*, ed. Noreen Hunt (Hamden: Archon Books, 1971), 191–216; Étienne Delaruelle, "L'Idée de croisade chez Saint Bernard," in *Mélanges Saint Bernard: XXIVe congrès de l'Association Bourguignonne des Sociétés Savantes* (Dijon: M.l'abbé Marilier, 1954), 53–67; Étienne Delaruelle, *L'Idée de croisade au moyen âge* (Turin: Bottega d'Erasmus, 1980).

<sup>6</sup> Penny Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades to the Holy Land, 1095–1270* (Cambridge: Medieval Academy of America, 1991); Christoph T. Maier, *Preaching the Crusades: Mendicant Friars and the Cross in the Thirteenth Century*, ed. D.E. Luscombe, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, 4th ser., 28 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); Christoph T. Maier, *Crusade Propaganda and Ideology: Model Sermons for the Preaching of the Cross* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000). On preaching, see now also Jean Flori, *Prêcher la croisade, XIe—XIIIe siècle: Communication et propagande* (Paris: Perrin, 2012).

<sup>7</sup> Christopher Tyerman, *The Invention of the Crusades* (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Macmillan, 1998), 20–24, 76–83. The first chapter of this book appeared in an earlier version as Christopher Tyerman, "Were There Any Crusades in the Twelfth Century?," *English Historical Review* 110 (1995): 553–77.

<sup>8</sup> Jean Flori, *La guerre sainte: La formation de l'idée de croisade dans l'Occident chrétien* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 2001).

ceremonies, like Durandus', that underwrote it. Yet we know extremely little about the history of this rite in the classic crusade period. A number of the earlier texts have been published over the years, which constitute local studies, but they lack much of the interpretive contextualization that would center the texts within larger institutional and devotional traditions.<sup>9</sup> Since these texts and their ritualized deployment speak to the ideologies of the West that underpinned holy war and formed the context of spirituality and idealism that constituted both motivation for crusades and the lens through which crusading was given meaning, an understanding of the devotional themes that informed them points to questions that have been of increasing interest in the contemporary study of crusades. What was the language of crusading? What did the core symbols and ideas associated with crusade—such as pilgrimage, the cross, or the battle-standard (*vexillum*)—mean? Where did Jerusalem fit in the overall devotional landscape and definition of crusading? What was the process and timeline by which crusading emerged as something distinct from pilgrimage? Moreover, the development of the rites themselves illuminates crusading—as a movement, as an institution—showing how early crusading was understood and performed within the paradigms of existing traditions, using established ideas, and only evolving into something discernibly new over time. Beginning with the preexisting pilgrimage rites that beseeched God's protection and the remission of sins, the rite evolved to accommodate the new and then shifting aspirations of crusading, evoking at times military themes before settling on devotional and penitential ideals that had been sharpened by the experience of failure.

A word of clarification at the outset: the ceremony for departing crusaders should not be mistaken for the ritual (or inspirational) moment when a crusader "took up the cross"—that is, made the *votum crucis*, vowing to crusade and affixing the cloth cross that marked him as a crusader to his garb. The language here can be confusing, since "taking the cross" came to mean making the vow,

<sup>9</sup> Treatments that focus on texts include: Adolph Franz, *Die kirchlichen Benedictionen im Mittelalter*, 2 vols. (Freiburg: Herder, 1909; repr., Bonn: Nova et Vetera, 2006), 2:271–89; James A. Brundage, "'Cruce signari': The Rite for Taking the Cross in England," *Traditio* 22 (1966): 289–310; Kenneth Pennington, "The Rite for Taking the Cross in the Twelfth Century," *Traditio* 30 (1974): 429–35; Lucy Pick, "*Signaculum caritatis et fortitudinis*: Blessing the Crusader's Cross in France," *Revue bénédictine* 105 (1995): 381–416. Preliminary discussion of the rites of departure can be found in Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders*, 139–43; William Chester Jordan, "The Rituals of War: Departure for Crusade in Thirteenth-Century France," in *The Book of Kings: Art, War, and the Morgan Library's Medieval Picture Book*, ed. William Noel and Daniel H. Weiss (London: Third Millennium, 2002), 98–105; William Chester Jordan, *Crusader Prologues: Preparing for War in the Gothic Age. A lecture presented at the Moreau Center for the Arts, Saint Mary's College, Notre Dame, Indiana, November 3, 2009* (Notre Dame, IN, 2009); Anne Lester, "A Shared Imitation: Cistercian Convents and Crusader Families in Thirteenth-Century Champagne," *Journal of Medieval History* 35 (2009): 353–70, at 365–67; Derek A. Rivard, "Pro iter agentibus: The Ritual Blessings of Pilgrims and Their Insignia in a Pontifical of Southern Italy," *Journal of Medieval History* 27 (2001): 365–91; Derek A. Rivard, *Blessing the World: Ritual and Lay Piety in Medieval Religion* (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2009), 134–55. For discussion of narrative evidence, the best treatment is still DuCange's "De l'escarcelle et du bvrdon de Pelerins de la Terre Sainte: Dissertation XV" in the appendixes to his edition of Joinville. See Charles Du Fresne DuCange, ed., *Histoire de s. Louys, IX, du nom de roy de France, écrite par Iean Sire de Joinville* (Paris: Sebastian Mabre-Cramoisy, 1668), Dissertations, 235–38.

which made one *crucesignatus*, that is, signed by the cross, and ultimately came to define the crusader over and above the mere pilgrim. The vow generally occurred well before departing on crusade, and was often described as taking up (*assumens, baiulens*) the cross in language inspired by Matthew 16.24: "If any man will come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross, and follow me."<sup>10</sup> It was the vow that made the crusader, and thus it was at this point that his status changed, and he incurred the spiritual and temporal benefits ensured by the Church.<sup>11</sup> It is possible that this vow was sometimes accompanied by a separate cross blessing; blessings *Ad suscipiendum signum crucis* appear in a few later manuscripts independent of the scrip and staff blessings, and may have been intended or used for the vow.<sup>12</sup> But the ritual of bestowing the cross, scrip, and staff, which historians have sometimes called "the rite for taking the cross,"<sup>13</sup> came at a later point—at times well after the vow—after preparations had been made, affairs for one's absence put in order, and reconciliation effected, at the moment that the crusader left his home and took up the journey. It is not, in the sources, associated with the language of "taking the cross" but rather, of receiving the scrip and staff.<sup>14</sup>

#### PILGRIMS ON PILGRIMAGE; CRUSADERS ON CRUSADE

From the beginning many crusaders submitted to some sort of ritualized blessing that, when available, was usually simply a pilgrim's blessing or a travel blessing. Ekkehard of Aura, a monk at Corvey who participated in the Crusade of 1101 (and later became abbot of Aura), spoke not only of the crosses sewn onto the knights' garb, but of the rite—a "new rite (*novo ritu*)"—in which this was done. Speaking of the rush—divine and human—of activity that followed Urban's call, he wrote:

No few men displayed the sign of the cross, stamped upon them from heaven on their front or on their clothing or on some part of their body; and having been signed in this way, they understood themselves to be ordered into the army of the Lord. And then

<sup>10</sup> Or perhaps Luke 9.23: "If any man will come after me, let him deny himself and take up his cross daily and follow me."

<sup>11</sup> James A. Brundage, *Medieval Canon Law and the Crusader* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969).

<sup>12</sup> Bamberg, Staatliche Bibliothek, MS Lit. (Bamberg Lit.) 56, fols. 171v–173r (printed in Franz, *Die kirchlichen Benediktionen*, 2:283–84); Trier, Bistumarchiv, MS 570, fol. 282r–v (both second half of or late 14th cent.; the rites are closely related, both entitled "Ordo ad suscipiendum signum crucis"; in the latter, the rite is incomplete since the end of the manuscript is missing); London, British Library, Additional MS 39762, fol. 162r, "Benedictio ad imponendam crucem." Both Paris, Bibliothèque de l' Arsenal, MS 332, fols. 24v–25v and Cambrai, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 223, fols. 146r–147r include a "Benedictio signaculi crucis," which has been edited by Pick, "Signaculum caritatis," 413–14.

<sup>13</sup> See, for instance, Brundage, "Cruce signari"; Pennington, "The Rite for Taking the Cross."

<sup>14</sup> For example, Odo of Deuil details the two events definitively as two separate occasions. Louis VII took the sign of the cross from Bernard of Clairvaux (that is, he took his crusading vow) in a field in Vézelay on Easter, but underwent the rite of departure for crusade later, directly from Pope Eugenius III at Saint-Denis, in June of 1145. Odo of Deuil, *De profectioe Ludovici VII in orientem = The Journey of Louis VII to the East*, trans. Virginia Gingerick Berry (New York: W.W. Norton, 1948), 8–9, 16–17.

others, pricked by a sudden change of mind or instructed by a night-vision, determined to separate [i.e., sell] their lands and family possessions and sew the sign of death on their clothing; and in all these things—it was truly unbelievable—people [ran] to churches in a frenzy, and, in a new rite, the sacerdotal benediction distributed the swords (*gladios*) along with staves (*fustibus*) and scrips (*capsellis*).<sup>15</sup>

Ekkehard described as part of his new rite two elements: distribution of swords and the blessing of pilgrim's staves (or walking sticks) and scrips (or wallets, purses). For the latter, he used the vocabulary for scrips and staves found in the rubrics of the German liturgical manuscripts of the period. We do not know, of course, what happened in these churches—or even the one church that Ekkehard might have been thinking of. But we do know that established over the course of the eleventh century were rites for pilgrims; and also that pontificals routinely included blessings for swords and other arms (*Benedictio ensis noviter succincti*<sup>16</sup>). One scenario is that Ekkehard's new rite was some kind of spontaneous amalgam of the two liturgical traditions hastily brought together for this new type of knightly activity, the armed pilgrimage.<sup>17</sup>

Whichever “pilgrimage” rite these were built on, the rite almost certainly included the hope that pilgrimage to the holy place would count towards the remission of all sins. The eleventh century witnessed the remarkably diffuse development of rites for blessing the scrip and staff for departing pilgrims. Often, these rituals themselves grew out of an older tradition of blessing travelers that beseeched God to protect them from harm and return them safely home and, in one of the earliest traditions I know—found in a Mozarabic pontifical dating to about the year 1000—the blessings for scrip and staff were simply subsumed into the votive Mass for Travelers, whose title was kept<sup>18</sup>; the pilgrimage blessings differed in that they assumed a holy site as the goal of travel and, more importantly, they focused specifically on the blessing of the insignia of the scrip (or wallet, or purse, or bag—the Latin is *capsella* or *sporta* or *pera*) and staff (or walking stick, or rod—the Latin is *fustis* or *baculum*). Examples of a scrip and staff rite can be found in eleventh-century pontificals and sacramentaries in

<sup>15</sup> *Ekkehardi Chronicon universale*, ed. D.G. Waitz, MGH SS 6 (Hannover: Hahn, 1844), 33–231, at 214: “Nonnulli etiam crucis signaculum sibimet in frontibus vel vestibus sive in quolibet corporis loco divinitus inpressum ostendebant, ipsoque se stigmatate ad eandem Domini militiam prescriptos credebant. Item alii subita mentis mutatione compunctis vel visione nocturna edoctis, predia resque familiares distrahere signumque mortificationis vestibus assuere placuit; et in his omnibus ultra quam credi potest catervatim currentibus ad aeclesias populis, novo ritu gladios cum fustibus et capsellis sacerdotalis benedictio dispertivit.”

<sup>16</sup> RGP CCXLIV, 2:379. On the liturgy of the sword, see Jean Flori, *L'Idéologie du glaive: Préhistoire de la chevalerie* (Geneva: Droz, 1983); Jean Flori, *L'Essor de la chevalerie, XIe—XIIe siècles* (Geneva: Droz, 1986).

<sup>17</sup> This has also been suggested by Francis Garrison, “À propos des pèlerins et de leur condition juridique,” in *Études d'histoire du droit canonique dédiées à Gabriel Le Bras* (Paris: Sirey, 1965), 1174; Cyrille Vogel, “Le pèlerinage pénitentiel,” in *Pellegrinaggi e culto dei santi in Europa fino alla prima crociata* (Todi: Accademia tudertina, 1963), 37–94, at 89–90.

<sup>18</sup> J.R. Barriga Planas, *El sacramentari, ritual i pontifical de Roda: Cod. 16 de l'arxiu de la catedral de Lleida, c. 1000* (Barcelona: Fundació Salvador Vives Casajuana, 1975), 537–52, Ordines LXVII, LXVIII. The sacramentary includes both *Ordo de his qui peregre proficiscuntur* and *Missa pro iter agentibus*.

England, France, Germany, and Spain.<sup>19</sup> The rites generally assumed that Rome (the “threshold of the Apostles”) was the pilgrim’s destination—the great heyday of penitential and devotional pilgrimage to Rome was indeed the eleventh century—though the rubrics and texts often adopted vague language that accommodated pilgrims to other destinations.<sup>20</sup>

A theme that was common to almost all of the pilgrimage traditions, whose roots lay in the rites for travel that predated them, was God’s leadership and protection on the journey from dangers both physical and spiritual. A particularly longstanding motif was the request that God ask the archangel Raphael—who in *Tobit* 5 had guided and protected Tobias on his long journey to Medea and back—to accompany the traveler, and then pilgrim, in safety. The earliest of these evinced concern primarily for the security of the traveler through the geographical and natural impediments of travel, though in the tenth century the dangers from which the bishop entreated protection came increasingly to assume moral failings. As these were appropriated into rites for pilgrims, and then for crusading pilgrims, the moral elements of journeying were emphasized, and—more important—the request for God’s protection and leadership on the journey became ubiquitous in a way that resonated increasingly within the context of crusade.

The most interesting commonality among the different traditions was the promise of the remission of sins. An eleventh-century recension of the Romano-Germanic pontifical (originally written in the mid-tenth century, and originally including only travel blessings<sup>21</sup>) asked that the pilgrim “merit in this world to accept the remission of all sins and, in the future, to be in the company of all the blessed,”<sup>22</sup> and asked that God “absolve [the pilgrim] from all sins (*ab omnibus peccatis absolvas*).” Two English rites of the eleventh century spoke broadly of God’s clemency, power, indulgence, remission, pity, and compassion, which the pilgrim hoped would be granted for his crimes (“*facinoribus*”).<sup>23</sup> A Spanish

<sup>19</sup> Examples are treated in the following paragraphs.

<sup>20</sup> See RGP CCXII, 2:362, with Franz, *Die kirchlichen Benediktionen*, 2:275: “Pro fratribus in viam, id est ad limina apostolorum vel alias causa orandi dirigendis.” Planas, *El sacramentari*, 543: “peruenire ad limina apostolorum petri et pauli uel ad aliorum sanctorum quo pergere cupis”; Alejandro Olivar, ed., *El Sacramentario de Vich*, Monumenta Hispaniae Sacra, Serie Litúrgica 4 (Barcelona: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1953), 216: “... peruenire merearis ad limina beatorum apostolorum petri et pauli vel ad aliorum sanctorum quo pergere cupis.”

<sup>21</sup> RGP CXXVIII, 2:227–28 (*Pro fratribus in viam dirigendis*). *Ordo* CCXII (2:362, *Benedicció super capsellas et fustes et super eos qui cum his limina ac suffragia sanctorum apostolorum petituri sunt*) appears only in one exemplar, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS 701 (siglum *T*), a manuscript from St. Albans (Mainz) dating to the eleventh century (before 1080, perhaps before 1031). See Richard Kay, *Pontificalia: A Repertory of Latin Manuscript Pontificals and Benedictionals* (Lawrence: University of Kansas, 2007), 230 (no. 1212). Oddly, the rite appears twice, from fols. 1r–4v, and then again from fols. 134r–135v. The texts do not differ.

<sup>22</sup> RGP CCXII.2, 2:362: “Accipite has capsellas et hos fustes et pergite ad limina apostolorum in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti, ut per intercessionem beatae Dei genetricis Mariae et omnium apostolorum atque omnium sanctorum mereamini in hoc seculo accipere remissionem omnium peccatorum et in futuro consortium omnium beatorum.” See also Franz, *Die kirchlichen Benediktionen*, 2:277 (formulary 1).

<sup>23</sup> The text is found in London, British Library, Cotton Vitellius E. XII, fols. 156v–159r (Pontifical of Aelred of York) and Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 163, fols. 287–290 (Winchester Pontifical). Both manuscripts date to the end of the eleventh century. The text is sui generis, not related

missal of 1038 spoke of the pilgrim returning, joyful in the remission of sins.<sup>24</sup> In France, a pontifical from Reims of about 1100 asked God to grant “indulgence and remission of all of your sins.”<sup>25</sup> Such requests for the remission of sin were rooted in the long-standing tradition of salvific merit for the penitential works of the pilgrimage itself and the hoped-for benefit that would come from the pilgrim’s entreaty to the saints at the *locus sanctus*. Whether the eleventh-century liturgical texts meant to express any notion that the absolution they enjoined included the remit of temporal penalty or not was probably not even clear at the time, as a concern with these distinctions developed only later, though presumably payment of penalty was understood to come in some measure with the penitential work of pilgrimage itself and the intercession of the saints obtained at the end of the journey.<sup>26</sup> But the language of the *remissio omnium peccatorum* presaged quite precisely the language that Urban II (and many later popes) would use in describing the spiritual merit of a Jerusalem crusade, and, with the incorporation of the rite for scrip and staff into the departure rites for crusading, was surely understood in terms of the developing indulgence proffered for participating in a crusade. In looking for precedents, historians have often commented on the tradition of “indulgences” or “proto-indulgences” that popes issued prior to 1095 for bearing arms on behalf of the Church, but the other normalizing context for Urban’s appeal was certainly this long tradition of pilgrimage, important because in a sense it had deeper and longer roots.<sup>27</sup> And this language promising the remission of sin was carried forth without break as these texts were appropriated for crusading.

---

to the RGP or other continental traditions, and is unedited. The relevant text reads: “Cum sint universa nobis incognita tibi domine sabaoth per omnia nota, et archana pectorum cunctorum viventium visibilibus atque invisibilibus tibi sint patefacta deprecamur obnoxiiis flexis poplitibus tuam clementiam potentiam, indulgentiam remissionem, miseracionem, compassionem, ut hunc [hos] famulum [famulos] tuum [tuos] Ill. tuam pietatem exorantem suaque delicta deflentem, nec non ad iter penitudinis euntem et asyllum sanctissime tue habitationis pro suis facinoribus requirentem.” For these manuscripts, see M. Lapidge, “The Origin of CCCC 163,” *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* 8 (1981): 18–28; M. Lapidge, “Eadred of York and MS. Cotton Vitellius E.XII,” *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* 55 (1983): 11–25.

<sup>24</sup> Olivar, *El Sacramentario de Vich*, 174. Joseph Gudiol, “Els peregrins i peregrinatges religiosos catalans,” *Analecta Sacra Tarraconensia* 3 (1927): 2:378–80, at 111: “letetur remissione peccatorum.”

<sup>25</sup> Reims, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 341, fol. 2r: “Indulgentiam et remissionem omnium peccatorum vestrorum [*interl.*: tuorum] tribuat vobis [*interl.*: tibi] omnipotens dominus.”

<sup>26</sup> The literature on the origins of indulgences is enormous. I have been guided here by Mayer, *The Crusades*, 23–32, where he sees “remissio omnium peccatorum” as a larger concession/gift than mere remit of penalty; Vogel, “Le pèlerinage pénitential,” 37–94; Jean Flori, “Guerre sainte et rétributions spirituelles dans la 2e moitié du XIe siècle (Lutte contre l’Islam ou pour la papauté?),” *Revue d’histoire ecclésiastique* 85 (1990): 617–49. See, more recently, Robert W. Shaffern, *The Penitents’ Treasury: Indulgences in Latin Christendom, 1175–1375* (Scranton: University of Scranton Press, 2007); Ane Bysted, “Indulgences, Satisfaction, and the Heart’s Contrition in Twelfth-Century Crusade Theology,” in *Medieval History Writing and Crusading Ideology*, ed. Tuomas M.S. Lehtonen and Kurth Villads Jensen, *Studia Fennica. Historica* 9 (Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society, 2005), 85–94.

<sup>27</sup> Erdmann, *The Origin of the Idea of Crusade*, 45, 115–16, and throughout; Flori, “Guerre sainte et rétributions spirituelles,” 627–633; Mayer, *The Crusades*, 18–34.

## BLESSINGS FOR THE ARMS OF WAR

According to Ekkehard, the “new rite” with which the crusaders departed involved the distribution of swords, scrips, and staves. As did rites for travel, rites for warfare and the blessing of the instruments of war had a long tradition, and prayers, supplications, and blessings are commonly found in pre-crusade sacramentaries and pontificals. Eleventh-century recensions of the Romano-Germanic pontifical (RGP) included a series of rites dealing with the blessing of arms and warfare: the benediction of a city against “gentiles” (here: non-Christians; pagans), the benediction of the military banners of war (*vexilli bellici*), the benediction of the newly girded sword (*ensis noviter succincti*), and a prayer for the army.<sup>28</sup> It would have been easy enough for bishops or local priests to have added a simple sword blessing to the rite for pilgrims, in which case the rite would have consisted of a series of blessings for the scrip, staff, and sword. At least one twelfth-century manuscript pairs the pilgrimage texts with the rites of war in precisely this way. In Bamberg, Staatliche Bibliothek, MS Lit. 58, a twelfth-century pontifical from Salzburg, the RGP’s blessings for the sword (*Benedictio ensis*) appeared alongside the RGP’s blessings for scrip and staff (*Benedictio super capsellas que fustes*), and the blessing of the military standard (*Benedictio vexillum*).<sup>29</sup> The sword blessing spoke of how the newly girded servant of Christ (the word *miles* is not used; this form of the prayer was ultimately derived from royal consecration rites<sup>30</sup>) was to protect the Church (and widows, orphans, etc.) against the “cruelty of pagans (*sevitiā paganorum*).”<sup>31</sup> He is inspired to take up the sword by God in order that, so blessed, the sword shall keep him safe.<sup>32</sup> Girded by piety in the Lord, the benedictions ask that the fighter be able to “oppress visible enemies beneath his feet, and through victory over all things, remain always

<sup>28</sup> RGP CCXLII–CCXLIV, 2:378–80. There is a strong tradition of bestowing blessings on armies leaving for battle in the traditions of the Gregorian and Gelasian Sacramentaries. See, for instance, O. Heimig, OSB, ed., *Liber sacramentorum Augustodunensis*, CCSL 49B (Turnhout: Brepols, 1984), 218–20 (nos. 1774–92). Jean Deshusses, *Le sacramentaire grégorien: Ses principales formes d’après les plus anciens manuscrits*, 2nd ed., Spicilegium Friburgense 28 (Freibourg: Éditions Universitaires, 1979), 441–45 (nos. 1330–45). On this tradition, see David Bachrach, *Religion and the Conduct of War c.300–c.1215* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell, 2003), 32–63; Flori, *L’Essor de la chevalerie*; Michael McCormick, “The Liturgy of War from Antiquity to the Crusades,” in *The Sword of the Lord: Military Chaplains from the First to the Twenty-First Century*, ed. Doris L. Bergen (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2004), 45–67; Michael McCormick, “The Liturgy of War in the Early Middle Ages: Crisis, Litanies, and the Carolingian Monarchy,” *Viator* 15 (1984): 1–23; Michael McCormick, *Eternal Victory: Triumphal Rulership in Late Antiquity, Byzantium, and the Early Medieval West* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 342–62.

<sup>29</sup> Bamberg, Staatlich Bibliothek, MS Lit. 58, fols. 63v–64v.

<sup>30</sup> Maurice Keen, *Chivalry* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984), 71–77; Jean Flori, “Chevalerie et liturgie,” *Le Moyen Âge* 84 (1978): 266–78, 409–42; Jean Flori, “Les origines de l’abouement chevaleresque: Étude des remise d’armes et du vocabulaire qui les exprime,” *Traditio* 35 (1979): 209–72.

<sup>31</sup> RGP CCXLIV, 2:379.

<sup>32</sup> RGP CCXLIV, 2, 2:379: “Alia: Famulum tuum N, quesumus, domine, piaetatis tuae custodia muniat, ut hunc ensem, quem te inspirante desiderat suscipere, te adiuvante illesum custodiat. Per.”



unharméd.”<sup>33</sup> And finally that he, girded by this mighty sword, be “armed by celestial protection against all adversity and disturbed by nothing in this time of the tempests of war.”<sup>34</sup> The language drew on and echoed Psalm 44.3–4, which was sung as an antiphon: “Gird thy sword upon thy thigh, O thou most mighty,” thereby linking the entreaty to the scriptural legitimization that sacralized the request. If we assume Ekkehard’s Germanic context, then, the rituals for scrips and staves, which emphasized sacred journey, an apostolic model, and the remission of sins, was combined with war blessings that emphasized the defense of the Church against the cruelty of pagans under the protection of God. It is not a new argument. But herein is the crux of the ideals, rhetoric, and spirituality that surrounded the First Crusade.<sup>35</sup>

The Salzburg pontifical is not the only surviving manuscript to pair pilgrimage texts with those for arms. A number of early manuscripts copied in the second half of the twelfth century brought together in some form pilgrimage blessings with blessings for weapons. In the years between 1178 and 1199 the abbot of Biburg copied a rituale (book of priests’ blessings) in which he grouped together the *Benedictio super baculos et capsellas peregrinantium* with the *Benedictio ensis noviter succincti*, both derived from the RGP but not normally copied in sequence.<sup>36</sup> Another manuscript, this one from Normandy, grouped the travel benedictions from the RGP (*Pro iter agentibus*) together with blessings for war (*In tempore belli*).<sup>37</sup> In England, by the mid-twelfth century, a pontifical from (probably) Canterbury paired pilgrimage blessings with the *Benedictio super hominem pugnaturum* that included blessings for shields, all presumably grouped together for the departing crusader.<sup>38</sup> The *Benedictio crucis peregrinationis* is added in a later hand, presumably after (as we will see) the cross blessing had been firmly established as a necessity for the rite.<sup>39</sup> There are other examples.<sup>40</sup> And although this pairing would never be instantiated in any of the great pontifical

<sup>33</sup> RGP CCXLIV.3, 2:379: “Benedic, domine, sancte pater omnipotens, per invocationem sancti nominis tui, et per adventum filii tui, dom. N. Iesu Christi, atque per donum spiritus paracliti, hunc ensem, ut is, qui hodierna die tua pietate eo precingitur, visibiles inimicos sub pedibus conculcet victoriaeque per omnia potius semper maneat illesus.”

<sup>34</sup> RGP CCXLIV.5, 2:379. “Omnipotens sempiternus Deus, qui famulum tuum N. eminenti mucrone circumcingi iussisti, fac illum contra cuncta adversantia ita caelestibus armari praesidiis, quo nullis hic et in evum tempestatibus bellorum turbetur.”

<sup>35</sup> For instance, Flori, *La guerre sainte*; Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading*; Mayer, *The Crusades*.

<sup>36</sup> Walter Von Arx, *Das Klostrituale von Biburg* (Budapest, Cod. lat. m. ae. Nr. 330, 12 Jh.), Spicilegium Friburgense 14 (Freiburg: Éditions Universitaires, 1970), 260–63.

<sup>37</sup> Bamberg Lit. 60, fols. 108v–109v.

<sup>38</sup> London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius B. VIII, fols. 152r–157r; Oxford, Magdalen College, MS 226.

<sup>39</sup> Oxford Magdalen 226. For related discussion, see Flori, *L’Essor de la chevalerie*, 321.

<sup>40</sup> For instance, Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, MS CLM 2932(8, a twelfth-century rituale, a fragment in which the sword blessings are grouped with pilgrimage blessings. Later, a fourteenth-century Amiens pontifical placed the *benedictio armorum* immediately following the scrip and staff blessings. See Victor Leroquis, *Les pontificaux manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France*, 3 vols. (Paris: Protat frères, 1937), 1:188, for Lyon, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 570. Deslions’ copy of the *Pontificale vetus Ambianense* appears at fols. 178–218; the blessings are found at fols. 214r–215r.

traditions of the period and seems to have been an ad hoc or experimental solution to the need for new rites, the practice may not have been limited to these few examples, as any bishop or priest would have been able to combine aspects of both rituals in practice even if they were found in different parts of his service book. That they were combined in these examples means only that, at one point, it was deemed more expedient to place them together.

One tradition that did gain greater traction was, in France, to pair the scrip and staff rites with the blessing of the military banner (*vexillum*). A series of French pontificals of the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries from Île-de-France (found in pontificals from Sens, Reims, and Chartres, and one copied after the Fourth Crusade for the Roman see of Constantinople, presumably from a northern French exemplar) wedded one of the standard series of prayers for the blessings of scrips and staves with the *Benedictio vexilli* derived, ultimately, from the tradition of the French coronation *ordines* (see Appendix 2).<sup>41</sup> Indeed, the rite may not have been unrelated to royal practice. In Odo of Deuil's description of Louis VII's departure on the Second Crusade, he writes that "when the banner (*vexillo*) had been taken from above the altar, after he had received the pilgrim's wallet (*pera*) and a blessing from the pope, [Louis] withdrew."<sup>42</sup> Louis seems to have conflated the traditional ritual of taking the oriflamme (*vexillum*, which Odo accurately says was "always the custom of victorious kings"<sup>43</sup>) with the rite of scrip and staff. Philip Augustus, leaving for the Third Crusade, and Louis IX, leaving for his first crusade in 1248, both repeated the ceremony.<sup>44</sup> As with the

<sup>41</sup> For Ratold Ordo, see Richard A. Jackson, ed., *Ordines coronationis Francia: Texts and Ordines for the Coronation of Frankish and French Kings and Queens in the Middle Ages*, 2 vols. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995–2000), 1:200. Printed from German exemplars in Franz, *Die kirchlichen Benediktionen*, 2:296, formula V.3 (from eleventh- and twelfth-century sources). Jackson, at 170–71, explains how the *benedictio vexilli* became accidentally associated with the coronation liturgy. The earliest example is from the tenth-century Sacramentary of Corbie (the *Ratold ordo*, BnF lat. 12052), for which see also Flori, *L'Essor de la chevalerie*, 378. The benediction is also found in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 44, pp. 143–144 (an Anglo-Saxon pontifical, 1025–75, from Ely) among the blessings for liturgical instruments (but not as part of the coronation rite, which appears on fols. 278–301). This suggests that this prayer too began as a liturgical prayer. It also appears in (later) pontificals as a blessing for military banners (see Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 78, fol. 218, c.1400, from London). On the (inter-)relationship of French ("Frankish") and English liturgical texts around the year 1000, see C.E. Hohler, "Some Service Books of the Later Saxon Church," in *Tenth-Century Studies: Essays in Commemoration of the Millennium of the Council of Winchester and Regularis concordia*, ed. David Parsons (London: Phillimore, 1975), 60–83, with notes at 217–27.

<sup>42</sup> Odo of Deuil, *De profectioe*, 17.

<sup>43</sup> Odo of Deuil, *De profectioe*, 16: "Dum igitur a beato Dionysio vexillum et abeundi licentiam petiit, qui mos semper victoriosus regibus fuit."

<sup>44</sup> For Philip Augustus, see Rigord (*Œuvres de Rigord et de Guillaume le Breton, historiens de Philippe-Auguste, publiées pour la Société de l'histoire de France par H. François Delaborde*, 2 vols. (Paris: Librairie Renouard, H. Loones, 1882–1885), 1:83–84 and 98. For Louis IX, see Sébastien Le Nain de Tillemont, *Vie de Saint Louis, roi de France*, 6 vols. (Paris: J. Renouard, 1847–51), 3:176–177. But see, alternatively, William Chester Jordan, *Louis IX and the Challenge of the Crusade: A Study in Rulership* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979), 109. Following the Minstrel of Reims and the Chronicle of Flanders, he has Louis receiving scrip and staff at Notre Dame de Paris before going to Saint-Denis. Louis may have also received a blessing from Innocent IV at Lyon slightly later on; see Matthew Paris, *Matthew Paris's English History: From the Year 1235 to 1273* (London: H.G. Bohn, 1852), 1:269. For Latin text see Matthew Paris, ed., *Matthaei Parisiensis, monachi Sancti*

blowing of the bestowal of the sword, the reception of the oriflamme by French kings before battle was, as Odo acknowledged, long customary and associated with the departure for war.<sup>45</sup> The wedding of this ritual with the existing liturgical tradition of the blessing of the scrip (and, presumably, staff) brought together themes of pilgrimage and themes of war (and war leadership). To be clear, the narrative sources make no specific mention of a “blessing” of the oriflamme (just of taking it from the altar), but this is also how scrip and staff were blessed and received by pilgrims.<sup>46</sup> The *vexillum* of Saint Denis (the oriflamme) and its particular role in the history of French kings leaving for war may indicate a unique liturgical pairing specific to the Capetians, though this “working downwards” from rites of kingship to rites of knighthood and warfare was evident in other aspects of the liturgy as well in this time period, most notably in the bestowal of the sword in the making of a knight.<sup>47</sup> The rite began with the blessing of the military standard (*vexillum*), known from one of the royal coronation *ordines*—the so-called Ratold *ordo*—and followed with other existing texts taken from the Mass for “those leaving on a journey” (the Mass for Travelers) and from the blessing of the scrip and staff. When these French pontificals were put together, the *Benedictio vexilli* was recopied along with the travel and pilgrimage rites, since the item also appears in four of these manuscripts in its original location as part of the coronation prayers.<sup>48</sup> Here too the themes were entirely appropriate to the developing ideology of Holy War: the *Benedictio vexilli* called for the intervention of the archangel Michael and the aid of God’s right hand, and evoked Abraham’s victory against the five kings and King David’s triumph. Then: “May you sanctify this standard (*vexillum*), so that for the defense of the Holy Church against hostile madness, in your name, the faithful and the defenders of the people of God, through the power of the holy cross (*virtutem sancte crucis*), might rejoice to acquire triumph and victory against their enemies.”<sup>49</sup>

---

*Albani, Chronica majora*, 7 vols., *Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aevi Scriptores* 57 (London: Longmans, 1872), 5:23. Matthew Paris does not specify that this was a blessing for scrip and staff.

<sup>45</sup> Philip Contamine, “L’Oriflamme de Saint-Denis au XIVe et XVe siècles,” *Annales de l’Est* 25 (1973), 179–244; Anne Lombard-Jourdan, *Fleur de lis et oriflamme: Signes célestes du royaume de France* (Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1991).

<sup>46</sup> See discussion below on taking the scrip and staff from the altar.

<sup>47</sup> Flori, *L’Essor de la chevalerie*; Flori, “Chevalerie et liturgie”; Flori, “Les origines de l’abouement chevaleresque”; Keen, *Chivalry*, 71–77.

<sup>48</sup> According to Jackson’s editions, the coronation rites appear in Orleans, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 144 between fols. 160r–168r; the crusade rites that include the *benedictio vexilli* on fols. 138v–140r. See Reims, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 342, fols. 69v–80r, for the coronation *ordo*, and fols. 62r–64r for crusade rites. See Rouen, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 370, fols. 89r–98r, for the coronation *ordo*, fols. 138r–139v for the crusade rites. See Sens, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 9, fols. 57r–63v, for the coronation *ordo* and fols. 40v–42r for the crusade rites. Troyes, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 1341 was not one of the manuscripts used in Jackson’s edition. See Jackson, *Ordines coronationis Franciae*, 1:172–75. Erdmann, *The Origin of the Idea of Crusade*, 45, cites this text as one “less frequently encountered [than the blessing in the RGP] but equally old,” but does not cite it in the English edition.

<sup>49</sup> See Appendix 2.

The adoption of arms blessings (either sword or standard) in conjunction with the pilgrimage blessing suggests one approach to conceptualizing and sanctifying crusade: the ideology behind both the sword blessings and (even more so) the blessing of the standard—both blessings derived ultimately from royal consecration rites and passed “down” to knights—owed little to the idea of penitential action through war, but rather understood the sword or military standard to be instruments of God’s power, virtuous in their own right. This was part of the sacralization of the arms bearer (later, knight) that played such an important role in the chivalric elements of crusading.<sup>50</sup> The knight (as the king) represents the might of God, and is delegated on earth to do the will and effect the power of God. The penitential aspects of crusade are downgraded, as crusade is (ritually) relegated to its identity as pilgrimage. Warfare itself is celebrated.

And yet here we see how old language is appropriated to its new context. With the *Benedictio vexilli*, the old prayer was fit to its new purpose, calling upon the individual to defend the Church against God’s enemies, and calling upon the power of the cross. Although what was being blessed was the war banner, the equation between the *vexillum* and the *crux sanctum* occurred very early in imagery evoked in crusading, as the cross itself became the central image—emblem, insignia, symbol—of the crusading holy war. Fairly quickly, the traditions would equate the two, and would come to speak of the cross itself as the standard of the crusader—the *vexillum sancte crucis*—itself a triumphant image that blended the devotional with the military.<sup>51</sup> It is not impossible that the prayer, praising the power of the holy cross as the means of triumph and victory over enemies, was used to bless the crusader’s cross. One way or another, the triumphant image of the *vexillum crucis* became a central image in the broader discourse of crusade. We will return to this.

#### THE CENTRALITY OF THE CROSS

The pairing of pilgrimage rites with rites of war was provisional and did not last. Instead, the rite of departure evolved primarily as the pairing of a blessing of the cross with the traditional blessing of scrip and staff. That it was not the sword or the war standard that made a crusader, but rather the cross, underscores the extent to which crusade evolved as much as a devotional practice as out of a *habitus* grounded in war. From the earliest moment, it was above all the symbol of the cross that distinguished the status of the crusader. The earliest narrative sources emphasized that the sign—*signum*—that distinguished crusaders from mere travelers or even pilgrims and sacralized them as crusaders was the cross that was sewn on to their clothes. Fulcher indicated that these crosses were sewn on “by command of Pope Urban after they made the vow to go.” “It was proper that the soldiers of God who were preparing to fight for his honor should be identified and protected by this emblem of victory. And since they decorated

<sup>50</sup> Flori, *L'Essor de la chevalerie*; Richard Kaeuper, *Holy Warriors: The Religious Ideology of Chivalry* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009); Flori, *La guerre sainte*.

<sup>51</sup> A point already made by Erdmann, *The Origin of the Idea of Crusade*, 36–38.

themselves with this emblem of their faith, in the end they acquired from the symbol the reality itself. They clad themselves with the outward sign in order that they might obtain the inner reality.”<sup>52</sup> In the *Gesta Francorum*, when Bohemond, learning of the First Crusade, asked about the participants, he was told, “They are well armed, they wear Christ’s cross (*crucem Christi*) on their right arm or between their shoulders, and as a war cry they shout all together ‘God’s will, God’s will, God’s will!’”<sup>53</sup> Even Ekkehard of Aura (in the passage quoted above) stressed that it was the cross that distinguished the crusader. The symbol proceeded from the scriptural line that was putatively deployed by Urban II and would thereafter lie at the very heart of the crusade: Christ said to his disciples, “If any man will come after me, let him deny himself, take up the cross and follow me” (Matt. 16.24).<sup>54</sup> The cross—its symbolism, the crusader’s devotion to it, the meaning of the sacrifice and salvation it emblemized, the ideal of the *imitatio Christi* that it implied—was at the very center of the motivations and meaning of crusade.<sup>55</sup>

Just as in the pilgrimage liturgies in which the pilgrim was handed the blessed scrip and staff as the *signum peregrinationis*, the new procedures incorporated the reception of the *signum crucis* as the essential gesture that defined a crusader.<sup>56</sup> This was probably a spontaneous act in many cases, and may have begun, in some fashion, on an ad hoc basis fairly early on. A charter of June 5, 1100, to Cluny has one knight (a certain Stephen of Neublens) receiving the “signum salutis, id est, sancte crucis” and a ring from the abbot as he departs.<sup>57</sup> By 1120, another crusader spoke of how “he received the cross as a sign of pilgrimage, as requires the custom for this kind of pilgrim.”<sup>58</sup> But the symbol, because of its enormous potency and its deep symbolic roots in so many aspects of Christian devotion, was fluid and multivalent. That said, once devotional practice had instituted the cross as the defining symbol of Jerusalem crusade, the symbol could be quickly borrowed by “mere” (noncombatant) pilgrims to the

<sup>52</sup> Fulcher of Chartres, *A History of the Expedition to Jerusalem, 1095–1127*, ed. Harold S. Fink, trans. Frances Rita Ryan (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1969), 68.

<sup>53</sup> *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum*, ed. Rosalind Hill (London: Nelson, 1962), 6–7. I have altered Hill’s translation slightly.

<sup>54</sup> See also Matt. 10.38, Luke 9.23. William J. Purkis, *Crusading Spirituality in the Holy Land and Iberia, c.1095–1187* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell, 2008), 32–33.

<sup>55</sup> Not a new point, but one treated by Norman Housley, *Fighting for the Cross: Crusading to the Holy Land* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), 49–53; Giles Constable, “The Cross of the Crusaders,” in his *Crusaders and Crusading in the Twelfth Century* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2008), 45–91; Christopher Tyerman, *God’s War: A New History of the Crusades* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006), 70–71; Purkis, *Crusading Spirituality*, 30–47.

<sup>56</sup> The bestowal of the *signum peregrinationis* is frequent, found in BL Cotton Vittelius E. XII; Cambridge Corpus Christi 146 and 163; Graz UB 186 and 239; and many others. For the *signum crucis* or *signum sancte crucis*, see Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, MSS 186 and 239; Troyes, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 2140; Rome Biblioteca Casantense, MS 614; Avignon, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 143; PWD 2.30.1–2; Cambridge University Library, Ff.6.9; Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. lat. 9340, and others (for the twelfth and thirteenth century).

<sup>57</sup> Constable, *Crusaders and Crusading*, 99.

<sup>58</sup> Constable, *Crusaders and Crusading*, 99: “Et, ut mos hujusmodi peregrinorum exigit, in signum peregrinationis crucem accepit.”

Holy Land.<sup>59</sup> Occasionally, the cross might be blessed for someone going to Spain.<sup>60</sup> And the scrip and staff benedictions could always be used without the cross blessing for pilgrims heading towards, say, Santiago, or Rome. But in general, the blessing of the cross, increasingly over time, came to represent the journey to Jerusalem.<sup>61</sup>

As with the liturgical formulas themselves, in their details the practices of bestowing the scrip and staff varied in time and place. Blessings in themselves were not eucharistic, and the rite of blessing the instruments of pilgrimage and of crusade did not necessarily need to be performed in conjunction with a mass or even within a church. But clearly these rites were often associated with the mass and were often performed in the church with the insignia placed on the altar and the crusader/pilgrim prostrate before it. Anselm's biographer wrote of how he, leaving on pilgrimage to Rome, "received the pouch and staff in the manner of pilgrims at the altar ... as is customary."<sup>62</sup> In earlier sacramentaries, the scrip and staff rites might simply be added to the old votive Mass for Travelers,<sup>63</sup> and a number of the more explicit crusader rites specify that the cross blessing was to be performed with the traditional *Missa pro iter agentibus*.<sup>64</sup> The rite in a Spanish ritual for scrip, staff, and cross "for those who wish to go to Jerusalem" indicates that the pilgrim "veniat in ecclesiam ante altare."<sup>65</sup> A twelfth-century Italian rite for taking the cross specified that the blessings were to follow the Mass for the Holy Cross. The rubric for that rite is particularly instructive in underscoring the active participation of the crusaders themselves in the ritual. It reads: "The order for the taking up of the *signaculum* of the holy cross for those going to Jerusalem. First the Mass of the Holy Cross is sung, as found in the sacramentary, and after the mass has been sung, those who are preparing to leave prostrate themselves in the form of a cross, and they place the garments (*vestimenta*) and the *signaculum* [of the cross] upon the altar and they sing the following psalms."<sup>66</sup> The bishop or priest would then offer several prayers, with particular blessings given at the moment of handing over the insignia

<sup>59</sup> There is no evidence that Jerusalem pilgrims prior to 1095 wore the cross. There is brief and early evidence that some people underwent a cross blessing for pilgrimage to Santiago in the twelfth century, though this seems not to have been widespread, and the practice ultimately disappeared. See Avignon BM 178; also, Norman P. Tanner, *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils* (London: Sheed and Ward; Washington: Georgetown University Press, 1990), 1:192, where Pope Calixtus II in 1123 refers to those who have put on the cross for travelling to either Jerusalem or Spain. For discussions of "non-crusader" pilgrims "taking the cross," see Tyerman, *The Invention of the Crusades*; Purkis, *Crusading Spirituality*, 61–64.

<sup>60</sup> Avignon BM 178, fol. 155, *Oratio ad dandam crucem ante altare his qui cupiunt pergere ad Ispaniam; Ad dandam crucem his qui vadunt in Ierusalem*.

<sup>61</sup> M. Cecilia Gaposchkin, "The Role of Jerusalem in Western Crusading Rites of Departure (1095–1300)," *Catholic Historical Review* 99 (2013): 1–28.

<sup>62</sup> Constable, "The Cross of the Crusaders," 57.

<sup>63</sup> For instance, Planas, *El sacramentari*, sections 18 and 19 (543–44).

<sup>64</sup> Graz UB 186; Cambridge University Library Mm.3.21; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Lat. 969; Norman-Sicilian rite (Appendix 3); Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense, MS 614.

<sup>65</sup> Barcelona, Arxiu de la corona d'Aragó, San Cugat, MS 73, fol. 23: *Ordo ad sportas dandas. His qui peregrinandi sunt. Primum veniant in ecclesiam ante altare, et sacerdos accipiat sportas et baculos*.

<sup>66</sup> Graz UB 186, fol. 81r. Pennington, "The Rite for Taking the Cross," 433.

of crusading to the crusaders themselves. Later evidence from England suggests a like practice. The scrip, staff, and cross are placed on the altar, while the pilgrim prostrates himself before it. After the singing of dedicated psalms, he rises, the blessings of the scrip, staff, and cross are pronounced, and the cross is placed upon his vestments. This is all followed by a votive Mass for Travelers. After the mass, further prayers are said over the pilgrim, who again prostrates himself.<sup>67</sup>

The cross that was blessed was probably usually the cloth cross that crusaders sewed on to their clothing as a sign of their status. Fulcher of Chartres, we saw, wrote that Urban II had instructed crusaders to attach fancy silk or gold-brocade crosses to the shoulders of their tunics or mantles;<sup>68</sup> Baldric of Bourgeuil spoke of how everyone sewed the banner of the holy cross (*sanctae crucis vexillum*) on to their outer garments.<sup>69</sup> Plenty of narrative and documentary evidence exists from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries of crusaders (and pilgrims) sewing crosses to their outer clothing as a symbol of their status, and contemporary iconography shows pilgrims and crusaders with crosses either pinned to their satchel (*peram*) or on their clothing.<sup>70</sup> The Italian rite quoted in the previous paragraph includes precise instructions that the garments (*vestimenta*) be placed on the altar at the start of the ceremony.<sup>71</sup> A rare surviving example of the red Jerusalem cross is the pilgrim's cloak of Jacob Trapp of Churburg (1529–63), who was made a knight of the Holy Sepulchre during his time in Jerusalem.<sup>72</sup> But the blessed cross may also have been a cross-shaped tin or lead badge, akin to other pilgrimage badges, that the crusader wore upon his clothing or attached to his satchel after taking the vow, or maybe even a devotional cross that he wore on a tether around his neck. Such tin badges survive from the twelfth century onward, which could be pinned on clothing or a bag, or worn as a pendant around the neck.<sup>73</sup> An illumination in a fifteenth-century

<sup>67</sup> For instance, Exeter Cathedral 3513; see Ralph Barnes, ed., *Liber pontificalis of Edmund Lacy, Bishop of Exeter* (Exeter: William Roberts, 1847), 242–46; Cambridge University Library, Mm.3.21; see Brundage, “Cruce signari,” 307–10.

<sup>68</sup> Fulcher of Chartres, *A History of the Expedition to Jerusalem*, trans. Ryan, 68.

<sup>69</sup> Baldric of Bourgeuil, *Historia Jerosolimitana*, in *Recueil des historiens des croisades: Historiens occidentaux* (Paris: Imprimerie Royale, 1879), 4:16.

<sup>70</sup> This evidence is brought together by Giles Constable in two very fine essays on the subject. See “The Cross of the Crusaders,” 45–91; “Jerusalem and the Sign of the Cross (with Particular Reference to the Cross of Pilgrimage and Crusading in the Twelfth Century),” in *Jerusalem: Its Sanctity and Centrality to Judaism, Christianity, and Islam*, ed. Lee I. Levine (New York: Continuum, 1999), 371–81. The basic discussion of iconography can be found in Robert Plötz, “‘Benedictio perarum et baculorum’ und ‘coronatio peregrinorum’: Beiträge zu der Ikonographie des Hl. Jacobus im deutschen Sprachgebiet,” in *Volkskultur und Heimat: Festschrift für Josef Dünninger zum 80. Geburtstag*, ed. Dieter Harmening and Erich Wimmer (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 1986), 339–76.

<sup>71</sup> Graz UB 186, fol. 81r; ed. Pennington, “The Rite for Taking the Cross,” 433.

<sup>72</sup> Anja Grebe, “Pilgrims and Fashion: The Functions of Pilgrims’ Garments,” in *Art and Architecture of Late Medieval Pilgrimage in Northern Europe and the British Isles*, ed. Sarah Blick and Rita Tepikke (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 1:13; vol. 2, fig. 8.

<sup>73</sup> This is now easy to ascertain through the Kunera database of medieval pilgrims’ badges and ampullae: see <http://www.kunera.nl/Default.aspx>. Cross-shaped badges date from the twelfth century. Badges in the shape of the Jerusalem cross date to the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Intriguing



Fig. 1. Bishop handing a blessed cross over to a crusader, a gesture accompanying the *Benedictio crucis illis qui volunt peregrare ad terram sanctam*, from the pontifical of William Durandus. Late fourteenth century. Cambridge, Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS Typ 0001, fol. 34v.

Durandus pontifical illustrating the cross prayer is indicative, showing what looks like a bishop handing over the cross badge to an armored knight (Fig. 1).<sup>74</sup> Other illuminations of bishops handing over book-sized crosses give the sense of somewhat larger crosses, perhaps worn around the neck (Figs. 2 and 3). While these make no claims to visual realism, they are evocative of the ceremony.

The rubrics in twelfth- and thirteenth-century manuscripts themselves do not necessarily clarify what type of cross was blessed. A Paris pontifical of the first quarter of the thirteenth century speaks of placing the cross “in collum”—that is, presumably, around the neck, which might suggest that the devotional cross was wooden or metal and could be worn on a tether or string.<sup>75</sup> Whatever its

are badges in the shape of a shield with a cross on it. I am indebted to Sarah Blick for help on this point and much of this paragraph.

<sup>74</sup> Houghton Typ 0001, fol. 34v. All the miniatures are available through the Digital Scriptorium at <http://app.cul.columbia.edu:8080/exist/SCRIPTORIUM/individual/MH-H-1.xml>. I extend my thanks to Sarah Blick for informing me about this manuscript, and this illumination in particular.

<sup>75</sup> Montpellier, Bibliothèque interuniversitaire, Section Médecine, MS 399 (Montpellier 399), 142r–143v; dates to after 1218. The rubric reads, *Tunc aspergat eam aqua benedicta, et post mittat in collum*.





Fig. 2. Bishop blessing the cross of a departing pilgrim, from the *Benedictio crucis* of a pontifical of Beauvais. Thirteenth century, Besançon, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 138, fol. 156v.

material may have been, the rites are clear that these crosses were to be worn. One cross benediction spoke of the “sign of the holy cross worn (*habitus*) in Jerusalem by those on the Jerusalem journey (*hoc signum sancte crucis habitum in Ierusalem, iheroslimitani itineris*).”<sup>76</sup> Beneventan manuscripts instruct the bishop to consecrate (*sacrat*) the crosses that are to be taken up, and then later, after having asperged them with holy water, to “place them upon their shoulders (*imponatque humeris*)”—precisely the place on the body we know from narrative accounts to be where crusaders generally wore the cross.<sup>77</sup> An English rite of the twelfth century includes a cross benediction (discussed below) that makes specific reference to those who are “leaving” being marked (“*insignitus*”) on their right sides (“*dextera*”) by the sign of the cross (“*signo sancte crucis*”).<sup>78</sup> Yet the more expansive rubrics of later, fifteenth-century pontificals specify quite clearly that the blessed cross was the cross worn on the crusader’s clothing. The York rite spoke explicitly of placing the cross on the crusader’s garment (“*dum ponitur super vestimentum crux ... Hic tradat ei vestimentum cum cruce*”).<sup>79</sup> The

<sup>76</sup> Avignon BM 178.

<sup>77</sup> “Deinde aspergat eas aqua benedicta et imponat super humeros eorum dicens.” Appendix 3.

<sup>78</sup> Cambridge Trinity B.XI.10 and Cambridge University Library L1.2.10; the text is discussed below.

<sup>79</sup> Quoted in W.G. Henderson, ed. *Manuale et processionale ad usum insignis ecclesiae Eboracensis*, The Publications of the Surtees Society 63 (Durham: Surtees Society, 1875), 104. See also Exeter Cathedral 3513, edited in Barnes, *Liber pontificalis*, 244.



Fig. 3. Philip Augustus and Henry II taking the cross, from *Grandes chroniques de France*, London, British Library, Royal 16G VI, fol. 344v. 1332–1350.

Sarum rite indicates that the bishop is to bless the cross that is on the garment (“vestes cum cruce signatas”).<sup>80</sup> A printed Italian ceremonial of 1495 speaks of the “signs of the cross to be affixed to the cloaks of the pilgrims (*signacula crucis clamidibus peregrinantium affigenda*).”<sup>81</sup>

We begin to witness the practice of adding the cross benediction to the scrip and staff ceremonies in pontificals of the second half of the twelfth century. By

<sup>80</sup> Henderson, *Manuale et Processionale*, 27\*: “Hic aspergatur aqua benedicta super cruces, et detur singulis peregrinis sic profecturis vestis cum cruce signata, dicente sacerdote: Accipe vestimentum cruce Domini.”

<sup>81</sup> Franz, *Die kirchlichen Benediktionen*, 2:285.

the second half of the thirteenth century the rites were also increasingly included in missals. Most often a *Benedictio crucis* (or several) is simply copied in succession with the traditional rite for scrip and staff. The cross texts were usually derived from a blessing for a new liturgical cross found in the old Romano-Germanic pontifical that had been found in manuscripts grouped with blessings for other liturgical instruments, such as a chalice, a paten, or a portable altar, though they might also be taken directly from a sacramentary.<sup>82</sup> Owing to the highly detailed catalogues of Victor Leroquais, this process has been most thoroughly documented for France but can be found in other pontificals and missals as well.<sup>83</sup> In Italy, perhaps because so many people in fact left for crusade from the Italian coast, we find a number of quite elaborate, robust formularies for departing crusaders. A rite was in place in Palermo by 1167 (and thus *before* the Third Crusade<sup>84</sup>) for the *Benedictio crucium peregrinorum et perarum* that was built upon the old Mass for Travelers (See Appendix 3; the rite is found in a number of pontificals that represent a “Norman-Sicilian” tradition).<sup>85</sup> Kenneth Pennington discovered and published two remarkable rites from the Beneventan region—he suggested Bari.<sup>86</sup> In England, in the diocese of Canterbury, someone added a *Benedictio crucis peregrinationis* to the original scrip and staff prayers in a manuscript composed sometime in the last quarter of the twelfth century;<sup>87</sup> and a new cross blessing was composed to be used at Ely in the same period.<sup>88</sup> Spain seems to have been slower to follow these leads,<sup>89</sup> and, if we take as representative the documentation of Adolf Franz, we

<sup>82</sup> RGP XL.96–105, 1:157–61. Many of these have roots in texts from earlier sacramentaries, for instance Heimig, ed., *Liber sacramentorum Augustodunensis*, 1174 (nos. 1485–1486) which became RGP XL.97–98, 1:157.

<sup>83</sup> Leroquais, *Les pontificaux manuscrits*. The work of tracing the cross blessings in French pontificals was done by Pick, “Signaculum caritatis.” For missals see, for instance, Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, MS 406, fol. 385r–v (Paris missal of the *capella regis*, c.1400); BnF lat. 824, fols. 262v–263r (Paris missal, after 1239); BnF lat. 831, fols. 353v–354r (Paris missal, fourteenth century); BnF lat. 861, fol. 340r–v (Paris missal, Grands Confrérie de Notre Dame de Paris, fourteenth century).

<sup>84</sup> Christopher Tyerman, as part of his argument that the “crusades” do not exist *per se* before the Third Crusade, has suggested that rites for taking the cross developed only after 1179/81. Tyerman, *The Invention of the Crusades*, 22–23, 78–83. The rite in Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, MS A. 92, which is dated to some time before 1170, indicates that a rite was in place in the Benevento before the Third Crusade. See Kay, *Pontificalia*, 93 (no. 473).

<sup>85</sup> See Appendix 3. The rite follows the *Missa pro iter agentibus*.

<sup>86</sup> Pennington, “The Rite for Taking the Cross,” 429–35.

<sup>87</sup> Oxford Magdalen 226, edited in H.A. Wilson, *The Pontifical of Magdalen College: With an Appendix of Extracts from Other English MSS. of the Twelfth Century* (London: Henry Bradshaw Society, 1910).

<sup>88</sup> The Ely rite appears *near* but not *next* to the scrip and staff rites in both Cambridge Trinity B.XI.10 and Cambridge University Library L1.2.10. The texts are edited by Brundage in “Cruce signari,” 303–6. Brundage was mistaken when he wrote (at 293, note 13) that only L1.2.10 includes the new *Benedictio crucis* (it appears on 103r–104v). Cambridge Trinity B.XI.10 also includes the prayer at fols. 77v–78r. The sequence of prayers is identical in both manuscripts.

<sup>89</sup> This is the conclusion I draw from Janini’s highly detailed catalogues. Rites for scrip, staff, and cross appear only with the influence of RP13 or the Durandus pontifical in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. José Janini, *Manuscritos litúrgicos de las bibliotecas de España*, 2 vols. (Burgos: Aldecoa, 1977–80); José Janini, Ramón González, and A.M. Mundó, *Catálogo de los manuscritos*

do not find strong evidence of similar rites in Germany until the fourteenth century, when several manuscripts take up a version of the Norman-Sicilian rite from the twelfth century.<sup>90</sup> There can be no doubt that the prayers brought together in so many surviving manuscripts in this way were intended to be used together for departing crusaders and Jerusalem pilgrims. For one, more developed rites that included explicit instructions that specified a Jerusalem crusade (“those going in aid of the Holy Land”) clearly grew out of this additive principle. And the point is brought home with particular force in a later alteration made to a pontifical from Cambrai, originally copied sometime after 1250.<sup>91</sup> The liturgical clamor for the liberation of the Holy Land—“pro liberatione terre sancte a fidei inimici”—instituted by Innocent III in *Quia maior* (the bull in which he called for the Fifth Crusade) was inserted on a smaller piece of parchment (now fol. 25) following the rites *Ad dandam peram* and *Ad dandum baculum* (on fol. 24r; the *Benedictio crucis* is on fol. 19v), forming a group of texts all relating to Holy Land crusading.<sup>92</sup>

#### OLD TEXTS, NEW MEANINGS

Initially the adaption of the pilgrimage rite for crusaders constituted the addition of an existing blessing for the cross that celebrated the cross’ eschatological power against the eternal enemy (that is, Satan), the meaning for which would have taken on new resonances within the crusade context. In many manuscripts, the cross blessing was taken directly from the Romano-Germanic pontifical (RGP) or its derivatives, texts which themselves can often be traced back to the seventh or eighth century.<sup>93</sup> Take, for instance, the sequence of prayers from a Senlis pontifical dating to the first half of the thirteenth century. The standard blessing set for scrip and staff known since the eleventh century was preceded by two short prayers for the cross derived from the RGP.

---

*litúrgicos de la catedral de Toledo* (Toledo: Diputación provincial, 1977); José Janini, José Serrano, and Anscario Mund, *Manuscritos litúrgicos de la Biblioteca nacional* (Madrid: Dirección General de Archivos y Bibliotecas, 1969).

<sup>90</sup> Franz, *Die kirchlichen Benediktionen*, 2:271–89. For Germany and Eastern Europe the work of Adolf Franz is a good starting point, and his earliest example, Bamberg Lit 56, dates to the end of the fourteenth century. The rite in Bamberg Lit. 56 (“*Ordo ad suscipiendum signum crucis*”), which was also copied into the closely related Trier Bitsumarchiv 570 (at fol. 282r–v), is derived from the rite found in Graz UB 186 (twelfth century), though the fourteenth-century pontifical separates the pilgrimage rites from the rite for blessing the *signum crucis*. I know of a Hungarian pontifical—Budapest, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, MS Lat. Med. Aev. 317, fols. 70v–72r—that I was able to consult in microfilm at Harvard, and which includes *Benedictio crucis* (derived from the RGP) and standard scrip and staff texts known from French and English texts since the twelfth century. There were surely others.

<sup>91</sup> Châlons-sur-Marne, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 45, fols. 138v–141r.

<sup>92</sup> Amnon Linder, *Raising Arms: Liturgy in the Struggle to Liberate Jerusalem in the Late Middle Ages*, *Cultural Encounters in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages 2* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), 37–41.

<sup>93</sup> On the origins of these prayers, see Louis van Tongeren, *Exaltation of the Cross: Toward the Origins of the Feast of the Cross and the Meaning of the Cross in Early Medieval Liturgy*, *Liturgia Condenda 11* (Leuven: Peeters, 2000).

*The Blessing of the Cross:* Bless, O Lord, this your cross, through which you rescued the world from the power of demons and conquered by your Passion the one who promotes sin, who had been rejoicing in the prevarication of the first man through the presumption of the forbidden tree.

*Another:* Sanctify, O Lord, this, the insignia of your passion, so that it may be an obstacle to your enemies and, for those who believe in you, make it a standard (*vexillum*) in perpetuity.<sup>94</sup>

Here, the prayers emphasize the Fall and Christ's redemption through the Cross, played out in the timeless tension between God and the Devil. These were only two of the nine orations of RGP's prayer sequence for the cross. There were infinite possible variations on this additive principle, a variety that points to the fluidity and malleability inherent in the act of constructing a rite for departing crusaders. Some included all nine orations from the RGP.<sup>95</sup> Other pontificals cherry-picked other prayers. A pontifical for Châlons-sur-Marne (Châlons BM 45, 38v; dating to c.1250) grouped scrip and staff with the blessing for an enameled cross.<sup>96</sup> A fourteenth-century monastic ritual from the Spanish abbey of San Cugat (outside Barcelona) paired the scrip and staff rite as known from early Spanish exemplars with the even older prayer for travel and a blessing for the cross that ultimately derived from the RGP.<sup>97</sup> Examples can be multiplied.

The inherited cross blessings grew out of a constellation of liturgical texts written in the early medieval period for the Exaltation of the Cross that were transmitted into the Gregorian and Gelasian sacramentaries and from there, with additions and adaptations, into the RGP.<sup>98</sup> As a whole the RGP texts focused on the memory of the redemptive Passion and the eschatological powers of the cross to overcome the devil and redeem mankind. The "crusading" rites that ultimately incorporated them thus absorbed a spirituality that emphasized the protective and salvific power of the cross over the eternal enemy. The texts that made it into the cross blessings of the crusade period spoke of God, "who gives salvation to souls through the sign of [his] cross," and spoke of the cross as "the sign of the living God, the sign of salvation, the sign of the blessed Trinity, the sign of celestial glory, the sign of our savior Lord"; elsewhere, the cross is "the comfort and protection and guardian against the cruel darts of your enemies."<sup>99</sup> Thus

<sup>94</sup> Paris, Bibliothèque de la Compagnie des Prêtres de Saint-Sulpice, MS R 4, fols. 140v–141r: "Benedictio crucis. Benedic domine hanc crucem tuam per quam eripuisti mundum a potestate demonum et superasti passione tua suggestorem peccati qui gaudebat in prevaricatione primi hominis per ligni vetiti presumptionem. Qui tecum: Item: alia: Sanctifica domine signaculum istud passionis tue ut sit inimicis tuis obstaculum, et credentibus in te perpetuum perforce [for efficiatur victoriae] vexillum." I extend my gratitude to Patricia Stirnemann for her help on dating the manuscript to 1230–45. Compare to RGP XL.97 and XL.103 (1:157 and 1:159). Enclosed in brackets is the text as it appears in the RGP.

<sup>95</sup> For a full discussion of these exemplars, see Pick, "Signaculum caritatis," 385–92.

<sup>96</sup> Châlons-sur-Marne BM 45; Reims, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 344 (both from Châlons-sur-Marne). Cf. RGP XL.105, 1:160.

<sup>97</sup> Barcelona San Cugat 73.

<sup>98</sup> Van Tongeren, *Exaltation of the Cross*.

<sup>99</sup> RGP XL.101, 1:159: "Te, domine, quaesumus, qui das animabus salute per signum crucis tuae." RGP XL.100, 1:158–59: "per signum sanctitatis tuae, signum Dei vivi, signum salutis, signum beate

the prayer for the cross in a southern Italian pontifical of the twelfth century (Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 186) followed the texts of a ninth-century sacramentary from the Gregorian family, and asked: “Oh God, free us from our enemies by the sign of the cross ... The sign of the cross will be in the sky when the Lord will come to judge us,”<sup>100</sup> and then drew from a prayer from the Roman Mass set for the Exaltation of the Cross in asking God, “with the standard of the Holy Cross, to destroy the crimes of our enemies with the standard (*vexillum*, updated from *auxilium*) of the Holy Cross, so that we can attain the port of salvation.”<sup>101</sup> The result was the evocation, inherited from an earlier devotional theology, of the eschatological symbolism and salvific power of the cross, and of its “protective function” against the enemy. Transferred to its new context—the departure of the crusader—the sentiments must indeed have been, as it were, secularized to apply to the earthly struggle against the enemies of God, the occupiers of the Holy Land, the enemies of the Church. Certainly, the tradition of military prayers that entreated success against the enemies of the Church used much the same vocabulary to refer to pagans and gentiles, that is, temporal enemies.<sup>102</sup> It is hard to imagine that after 1095, in this new configuration, the “inimicos” of the rites were not understood to indicate the Muslim occupiers that successive popes, in their calls for crusade, labeled as the enemies of the cross or the enemies of Christ.

---

trinitatis, signum caelestis gloriae, signum salvatoris nostri domini Iesu Christi, hoc est crux salvatoris Christi, crux patriarcharum, crux prophetarum, crux apostolorum suorum, crux martyrum Christi, crux ecclesiae Dei, crux omnium creditum in sanctam et perfectam trinitatem.” RGP XL.98, 1:157: “sit solamen et protectio ac tutela contra seva iacula inimicorum.”

<sup>100</sup> Graz UB 186, ed. Pennington, “The Rite for Taking the Cross,” 433: “Per signum crucis de inimicis nostris libera nos deus noster. Adoramus te Christe, et benedicimus tibi, quia per crucem tuam redemistis mundum. Hoc signum crucis erit in celo, cum dominus ad iudicandum venerit. Salva nos Christe salvator per virtutem crucis, qui salvasti Petrum in mari, miserere nobis.” The manuscript from which the *Patrologia Latina* rite for the Gregorian sacramentary was taken includes the following texts for *In exaltatione sancte crucis*: “Ant. Per signum crucis, de inimicis nostris libera nos, Deus Israel, Allel. Ant. Tuam crucem adoramus, Domine. Ant. Salva nos, Christe Salvator, per virtutem crucis, qui salvasti Petrum in mari, misere nobis.” PL 78:25–264. See *Liber Responsalis sive Antiphonarius*, PL 78:725–850 at cols. 803–4.

<sup>101</sup> Graz UB 186, ed. Pennington, “The Rite for Taking the Cross,” 433–34: “Oremus: Adesto domine, quesumus familie tue ut in adversis et prosperis preces nostras exaudias, et nefas adversariorum nostrorum per vexillum sancte crucis digneris contere, ut portum salutis valeant apprehendere.” The prayer can be found in Heiming, ed., *Liber sacramentorum Augustodunensis*, 100 (no. 843). The word *auxilium* was replaced in the copy by the word *vexillum*. For the Roman Mass set, see Van Tongeren, *Exaltation of the Cross*, 89.

<sup>102</sup> E.g., RGP CCXLIII, 2:378, where the term *inimicus christiani* is used in the *Benedictio vexilli bellici*. See Patrick Saint-Roch, ed., *Liber sacramentorum Engolismensis: Manuscrit B.N. Lat 816, Le sacramentaire gélasien d'Angoulême* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1987), 361 (no. 2318), for the *Benedictio super principes*, where God is “contra acies inimicorum lorica.” This prayer is also found in the Egbert Pontifical: see H.M.J. Banting, *Two Anglo-Saxon Pontificals (The Egbert and Signey Sussex Pontificals)* (London: Henry Bradshaw Society, 1989), 111, and surely others. St. Petersburg, Publichnaya Biblioteka, MS Q. VI, no. 35, fol. 95v (a Sens pontifical of the tenth century). See the rite for the *Benedictio quando contra paganos pugnandum es* for the use of *Inimicos christiani nominis*. See Flori, *L'Essor de la chevalerie*, 372. There are others. That said, the more common term for temporal enemies in the ninth- and tenth-century materials is *adversarii*. Later, *inimici* becomes common for both temporal and spiritual enemies.

Small adaptations may have been made in adopting these texts that sharpened their association with crusading (replacing, for instance, “auxilium sancte crucis” with “vexillum sancte crucis”<sup>103</sup> or “hoc lignum crucis” with “hoc signum crucis”<sup>104</sup>), but mostly it was the new context of the crusades that altered their meaning and offered new interpretations. Indeed, it was precisely because old texts might take on deep new resonances that they were so evocative in their new crusading context. The apotropaic and talismanic protective function of the cross was certainly reflected in narrative accounts of the crusades.<sup>105</sup> In the *Gesta Francorum*, the Franks are urged to place their trust “in Christ and in the victory of the Holy Cross,” the Count of Flanders is “armed with the sign of the cross,” and Bohemond was “protected on all sides by the sign of the Cross.”<sup>106</sup> Fulcher of Chartres, recounting the maneuvers of 1122 in which Baldwin’s army carried the relic of the True Cross forth and watched the Turks quickly flee, said, “Therefore, blessed be the standard (*vexillum*) of the most Holy Cross of the Lord, the help everywhere present for all the orthodox, under whose protection and consolation the faithful are fortified (*sub cuius protectione et consolatione fideles muniti*).”<sup>107</sup> This theme worked in tandem with the other dominant theme of the departure rituals (that had been inherited through the pilgrimage traditions from the old travel texts), which everywhere asked God to keep the traveler safe and unharmed both physically and spiritually, with either God or his angel accompanying the traveller. These ideas melded easily into the larger crusading discourse. Of the Lisbon expedition during the Second Crusade, right before battle, the priest, holding up a bit of the True Cross, urged crusaders: “Under this standard (*hoc vexillo*), if only you falter not, you shall conquer. Because if it should happen that anyone signed with the cross (*hoc insignitum*) should die, we do not believe that life has been taken from him, for we have no doubt that he is changed into something better. Here, therefore, to live is glory and to die is gain.”<sup>108</sup>

#### NEWLY COMPOSED TEXTS

At the same time that old texts were adapted to new contexts, new, more elaborate rites were confected and new cross benedictions were composed that participated in crusading’s evolving discourses of Christic militancy and penitential devotion. Some evinced a tendency to evoke a rhetoric of militarism and victory that echoed devotional themes of the early crusading period. Others focused on penitential themes associated more closely with ideals of *imitatio Christi* that evolved over the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Some transferred the expectation of the salvific powers of the cross on to the crusader himself. As a group,

<sup>103</sup> Graz UB 186, in item quoted above at n. 101.

<sup>104</sup> RGP XL.97, 1:157; cf. Appendix 3.

<sup>105</sup> Housley, *Fighting for the Cross*, 184.

<sup>106</sup> Housley, *Fighting for the Cross*, 184, quoting passages from the *Gesta Francorum*.

<sup>107</sup> Fulcher of Chartres, book 3, chap. 11, trans. Ryan, 236; for the Latin, see Hagemayer, 650.

<sup>108</sup> Charles Wendell David, ed., *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi = The conquest of Lisbon* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1936; reprint, 2010), 156–57. I have altered the translation slightly.

then, the new blessings for vesting the departing crusader with the cross, composed starting in the second half of the twelfth century, demonstrate the variety of devotional and ritual responses to the crusades.

The cross blessings increasingly took the pilgrim-crusader as the focus, as the hoped-for beneficiary of the powers of the cross. For instance, a new cross blessing, the *Benedictio crucis peregrinationis*, added to an English pontifical in the late twelfth century, reads: “Bless this cross, and grant, through the invocation of your most holy name, that whoever should wear this sign upon himself, defended by the protection of your piety, might be worthy to overcome the attacks of the enemy, visible and invisible.”<sup>109</sup> Likewise, a southern French pontifical asks that God bless the cross so that his servants, “in memory and recollection of your most blessed Passion, will carry the sign of your salvific cross upon them, that they might be spared from visible and invisible enemies.”<sup>110</sup> A twelfth-century Italian text reworked an older Gelasian prayer to read, “Bless the sign of this holy cross ... so that he who picks it up or bears it on him might gain health of body and protection of soul.”<sup>111</sup> Another pontifical from the south (from Saint-Pons-de-Thomières, near Montpellier) included instructions that, as the bishop placed the cross on the crusader’s right shoulder, he was to say: “Accept this sign of the saintly cross in remission of your sins, in the name of the father, and the son, and the holy spirit. Amen. Accept this cross, through which you shall be able to conquer the devil and merit to obtain sempiternal life.”<sup>112</sup> The eschatological claims were familiar, except that the offer of “remission of sins,” formerly embedded in the pilgrimage rites, had now been transferred to the cross blessing and thus to crusading.

Some texts flirted explicitly with a language of sacralized militarism. The *Ordo pro illis qui vadunt Ierusalem*, from a twelfth-century Italian pontifical, incorporated suggestive psalmody—Psalm 19.3, “May he send the help from the sanctuary, and defend thee out of Sion”; Psalm 88.23, “The enemy shall have no advantage over him, nor the son of iniquity have power to hurt him”; and Psalm 60.4, “For thou hast been a tower of strength in the face of my enemies.” A blessing specifically for the *Signaculum crucis*, found in pontificals from Paris and Cambrai of the thirteenth century, addresses those who assume (*assumpserint*) the cross:

Kindly inspire, in courage, your knights present here, who are to be born again for your military service, and give them the security (*pignus*) and pledge (*arras*) of eternal

<sup>109</sup> Oxford Magdalen 226, ed. Wilson, *The Pontifical of Magdalen College*, 207: “voluisti benedicere dignare hanc crucem et presta per invocationem tui sanctissimi nominis, ut quicumque hoc signaculum super se habuerit; tue pietatis protectione munitus hostium visibilium et invisibilium in-pugnationes superare valeat.”

<sup>110</sup> Avignon BM 143, fol. 173v: “ut hi famuli qui in memoriam et [*illeg.*] recordationem tua beatissime passionis salutifere crucis tue signum super se portaverint, sint ab omni visibili et invisibili hoste liberati.”

<sup>111</sup> Graz UB 186. “Benedic domine hec signacula sancte crucis ... ut qui ea susceperint vel gestauerint, corporis sanitatem et anime tutelam percipiant.” Cf. Heiming, ed., *Liber sacramentorum Augustodunensis*, 232 (no. 1862): “Benedictio ad omnia que uolueris: Benedic domine creaturam istam ut sit remedium salutari generi humano praesta per invocationem nominis tui quicumque ex ea sumpserit corporis sanitatem et anime tutillam.”

<sup>112</sup> Vat. lat. 9340, fol. 47r–v.



blessedness that you will be their protection when they are in danger, their counsel in what they must do, their refreshment (*refrigerium*) in the face of temptations, their meal in hunger, their [source of] regulation in the use of your consolation. As their commander in journey, their rewarder when they are in their own country, in order that they may carry upon themselves these present symbols of the most venerable cross of Jesus Christ and, aided by you, advantageously fulfill their unconquerable vow, make them firm in their strong spirit (*spiritu principali*) lest they revert to secular ways through apostasy.<sup>113</sup>

Although in many ways the text evokes traditional themes (such as the dangers and temptations of the journey),<sup>114</sup> the prayer has a new timbre. The benediction is now focused squarely on the person of the crusader, on whoever might bear upon himself the sign of the cross, asking God specifically to aid, counsel, and fortify him to “fulfill” the unconquerable vow. It directly addresses the knight (*miles*). The Holy Spirit has an army. God is the *dux* of the journey.<sup>115</sup>

In the matrix of an evolving liturgical language of crusading, one of the most powerful images of Christian militarism was the *vexillum crucis*, which melded at once the Christic and the militant, the eschatological and the devotional, and the signifier (the *signum*; the cross) and signified (the sacrifice; salvation).<sup>116</sup> In its simplest form, the *vexillum* just indicated the military standard or banner: thus the RGP, for instance, included a blessing of the war standard (“vexilli bellici”) as part of a series of blessings for the instruments of war.<sup>117</sup> But it was also used as a synonym for the cross in the RGP’s rite for blessing a new liturgical cross, where the *crux fidei* was identified with the *vexillum* in extolling its conquering protections and benefits, which included “victory against enemies (*sit ei in hoste victoria*).”<sup>118</sup> The image of the *vexillum crucis* was in turn routinely used for the relic of the Holy Cross—both in battle and not<sup>119</sup>—and after 1095 it came also to refer precisely to the image of the cross borne on the crusader’s clothes, the standard of the cross (that is, a banner with a cross on it) carried into

<sup>113</sup> Cambrai BM 223; Paris Arsenal 332. See Pick, “Signaculum caritatis,” 414: “Sanctificator et gubernator sacrosancte ecclesie, spiritus benigne inspira presentes milites tuos ad tuam militiam procreandos et da eis pignus et arras beatitudinis eterne ut sis eis in periculis tutamentum, in agendis consilium, in temptationibus refrigerium, in esurie satietas, in usu tue consolationis moderantia. Dux in via, remunerator in patria, ut quicumque presentia signacula venerande crucis Iesu Christi super se tulerint et te adiuvante votum invinctum salubriter impleverint, confirma eos spiritu principali ne ad mores seculi per apostasiam reverantur.”

<sup>114</sup> Pick, “Signaculum caritatis,” 398.

<sup>115</sup> For the articulation of these themes in narrative sources, see Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading*, 99, 126; Housley, *Fighting for the Cross*, 197.

<sup>116</sup> Erdmann, *The Origin of the Idea of Crusade*, 40; Constable, *Crusaders and Crusading*, 54–55.

<sup>117</sup> RGP CCXLIII, 2:378.

<sup>118</sup> RGP XL.102, 1:159.

<sup>119</sup> Giuseppe Ligato, “The Political Meanings of the Relic of the Holy Cross among the Crusaders and in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem: An Example of 1185,” in *Autour de la première croisade: Actes du colloque de la Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East (Clermont-Ferrand, 22–25 juin 1995)*, ed. Michel Balard (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1996), 315–30; Alan V. Murray, “‘Mighty against the Enemies of Christ’: The Relic of the True Cross in the Armies of the Kingdom of Jerusalem,” in *The Crusades and Their Sources: Essays Presented to Bernard Hamilton*, ed. John France and William G. Zajac (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), 217–38.

battle, *and* the cross *as* a battle standard carried into battle.<sup>120</sup> Thus, Baldric of Bourgeuil spoke of the *sancte crucis vexillum* that Urban II instructed crusaders to sew on to their outer clothing so that they might be both an “example and an inspiration” to those who might see them and to make them safer as they went forth, echoing the liturgical emphasis on the protective function of the cross.<sup>121</sup> These associations were all embraced as the RGP’s blessings for a new liturgical cross were routinely redeployed as part of the new rites of departure. A number of pontificals, we saw, simply adopted cross blessing from the RGP that spoke of the *vexillum crucis*, pairing it with scrip and staff and thus pairing the devotional pilgrimage prayers with the militant cross prayers that spoke of people armed by the banner of the cross and promised victory.<sup>122</sup> Others incorporated the image of the *vexillum* into other older formulas; for instance, Graz UB 186 (twelfth century, southern Italian) adopted a Gelasian prayer for the Exaltation of the Cross that spoke of the *auxilium Christi*, replacing *auxilium* with *vexillum*.<sup>123</sup> One Italian pontifical, in a brand new cross blessing, drew on the image twice, emphasizing on the one hand the penitential aspects of crusading, and then, the militant and salvific:

Take up, my brother N, the most victorious standard (*vexillum*) of the holy cross, through which may you be able safely to conquer the evil of all your enemies, and, victorious, to form an army with others following Jesus Christ. [Do this] so that, in the end, at the time of retribution, after the enemies have been laid low and you have returned from war with the palm of victory, from our Lord Jesus Christ, the greatest emperor, you may be worthy to receive the unfading crowns of glory, and to reign with him without end in his eternal palace.<sup>124</sup>

<sup>120</sup> Discussed by Constable, “The Cross of the Crusaders,” 69; Erdmann, *The Origin of the Idea of Crusade*, 36–37.

<sup>121</sup> Baldric of Dol, cited in Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, ed. Heinrich Hagenmeyer (Heidelberg: C. Winter, 1913), 141, note 12: “Statim omnes in vestibus superamicitis consuerunt s. crucis vexillum, sic enim papa praeceperat et ituris hoc signum facere complacuerat; quippe praedicaverat summus pontifex Dominum dixisse sequacibus suis: si quis non baiulat crucem suam et venit post me, non potest meus esse discipulus. Idcirco, inquit, debetis vobis crucem coaptare vestris in vestibus, quatinus et ex hoc tutiores incedatis, et his qui viderint et exemplum et incitamentum suggeratis.” For other examples of the *vexillum crucis* in the language of crusading, see Fulcher, book 3, chap. 11, ed. Hagemayer, 650, trans. Fink, 236; David, *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi*, 146–47, 156–57, 174–75; Maier, *Crusade Propaganda*, 102–3.

<sup>122</sup> RGP XL.102, 1:159; Montpellier 399; Troyes 2140; Sens, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 12; Besançon, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 138. The adoption of this prayer was identified by Pick in Montpellier 399 (142r–143r; Paris pontifical, thirteenth century), Sens BM 12 (fols. 104v–105v; Paris pontifical, fourteenth century); and Besançon BM 138 (157v–161v; Beauvais pontifical, thirteenth century). The importance of the RGP in this tradition is discussed in Pick, “Signaculum caritatis,” 388.

<sup>123</sup> Graz UB 186, ed. Pennington, “The Rite for Taking the Cross,” 433–34: “Oremus: Adesto domine, quesumus familie tue ut in adversis et prosperis preces nostras exaudias, et nefas adversariorum nostrorum per vexillum sancte crucis digneris contere, ut portum salutis valeant apprehendere.” Cf. Heiming, ed., *Liber sacramentorum Augustodunensis*, 100 (no. 843); Antoine Dumas, ed., *Liber sacramentorum Gellonensis*, 2 vols., CCSL 159–159A (Turnhout: Brepols, 1981), 159:190 (no. 1450); Saint-Roch, ed., *Liber sacramentorum Engolismensis*, 196 (no. 1321). These texts are all derived from the rite for the *Exaltatio sancti crucis*.

<sup>124</sup> Graz UB 239, ed. Pennington, “The Rite for Taking the Cross,” 432: “Suscipe frater mi N. victoriosissimum sancte crucis vexillum per quod secure possis omnium inimicorum tuorum maliciam superare, et cum ceteris Jesu Christi sequacibus milicia victoriosus existere, quatinus in ultimo

The text is remarkable, and is more than any other I know specific to the crusade endeavor, referring to the army of Christ, victory over the enemy, and the final reward of the crown of glory. It melds perfectly the eschatological battle against the devil inherited from the ancient cross theology with the earthly battle against temporal enemies. Its use of the *vexillum crucis* demonstrates how the inherited images of eschatological power were taken up in the crusading rhetoric—and thus how the developing language of crusading drew from a deep well of devotional and liturgical ideas and symbols but redeployed them with new meanings or enriched associations within its new context.

\* \* \*

Other new blessings for the crusader's cross responded less to ideals of militancy and power and more to ideals of penitence, the love of Christ, and the Holy Land. As the rites became increasingly tightly associated with Holy Land pilgrimage/crusades, references to the Holy Land rose in number, and with them attention to aspects of crusading devotion that grew out of, or along with, devotion to Jerusalem. Jerusalem had long been evoked in liturgy of all kind, usually as the Heavenly Jerusalem, the salvific goal.<sup>125</sup> But now the terrestrial Jerusalem or, more broadly, the Holy Land as a geographical goal came into view. Thus, references to Abraham, the paradigmatic *peregrinus*, the patriarch to whom God promised the Holy Land (*terra repromissionis*), who had been evoked in the pre-1095 rites for pilgrims,<sup>126</sup> became more pronounced after 1095. The Norman-Sicilian rite began with a reading from Genesis 12.1–4, in which God commands Abraham to “go forth out of the country and from thy kindred and come into the land which I shall show thee,”<sup>127</sup> a passage that clearly had symbolic resonance for crusaders as the new chosen people. In France, a blessing for the *Signaculum crucis* found in pontificals for Paris and Cambrai compared the sanctification of the crusader's cross with God's sanctification of “Abraham our patriarch, with the sign of just faith.”<sup>128</sup> In England, a rite from Ely, dating to the last quarter of the twelfth century, incorporated traditional scrip and staff prayers and several cross texts known from long tradition with a new text for the moment of blessing the cross that associated the pilgrim with Abraham. “Take

---

retributionis tempore prostratis hostibus cum victorie palma de bello rediens ab eodem domino nostro Jesu Christo imperatore summo inmarcessibiles glorie coronas recipere, et in eterno suo palatio cum eo valeas sine fine regnare.” On the meaning of *frater* in such a context to extend to any Christian man, see Josef A. Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite: Its Origins and Development (Missarum sollemnia)*, trans. Francis A. Brunner, 2 vols. (New York: Benziger, 1951–55), 2:82–90, especially at 86.

<sup>125</sup> Paul Bradshaw, “The Influence of Jerusalem on Christian Liturgy,” in *Jerusalem: Its Sanctity and Centrality*, ed. Levine, 251–59, at 251.

<sup>126</sup> Olivar, *El Sacramentario de Vich*, 215 (no. 1430); Planas, *El sacramentari*, 541 (LXVII. 13); RGP CCXII.3, 2:362. On the shift from *terra repromissionis* to *terra sancta*, see Erdmann, *The Origin of the Idea of Crusade*, 300.

<sup>127</sup> Rome Casantense 614, Appendix 3. Rivard, “Pro iter agentibus,” 378, discusses the focus on Jerusalem in this extraordinary rite.

<sup>128</sup> Paris Arsenal 332, fols. 24v–25v; Cambrai BM 223, fols. 146v–147r.

up the yoke of Christ (*iugum Christi*), which is a light burden for his faithful, so that—with the faith of Abraham when he departed [from Ur]—you, marked (*insignitus*) by the distinguishing sign (*signo ... insignante*) of the holy cross on your right side, may deserve to possess the land of the living (*terram viventium*), the most welcome haven for faithful souls, with the aid of our Lord Christ.”<sup>129</sup> This is a complex prayer. The crusader is marked with the cross on his right side, just as Abraham, marked by faith, was led by the right hand of God from Ur into the Promised Land.<sup>130</sup> The injunction that the crusader merit possessing (*possidere*) the land of the living, particularly when paired with the reference to Abraham being sent to possess Palestine, is striking in its (atypical) directness of its reference to crusading goals. The *terra viventium* (land of the living) was a biblical phrase employed in the Old Testament to refer specifically to life on earth and thus the temporal world, though medieval liturgical use of the phrase tended to allegorize it to heaven.<sup>131</sup> Here, it is defined eschatologically as the *portus animarum*, the haven of souls, the attainment of which was of course one of the devotional goals of serving Christ through crusade. The benediction also referred to the cross “distinguishing” the crusader on the right side—the place where crusaders often wore their cross. The benediction thus mixed and melded the temporal Jerusalem and the heavenly Jerusalem; the crusader is to possess the (temporal) land of the living, following Abraham, so as to possess the heavenly reward.

In other prayers the focus on the territorial, rather than the eschatological, goal of Jerusalem emphasized Christ’s humanity and the Passion over the salvific powers of the cross, and in turn the penitential ideals associated with the *imitatio Christi*. Graz UB 239 (Italian, twelfth century) brought together the traditional blessings for scrip and staff known from the RGP and ninth-century additions to the Gellone sacramentary<sup>132</sup> with newly composed texts centered on the blessing of the cross and on themes related to the symbolism of the cross: the life of Christ and its geographical location in Jerusalem. As the cross was blessed, the celebrant read:

... he who, because of his love for your name, renouncing all impiety and secular desires, strives to go to the place where our Lord Jesus Christ, your son, was willing to be born in the flesh from the Virgin, to die, and to rise again and ascend to heaven.

<sup>129</sup> The text appears in both Cambridge Trinity B.XI.10 and Cambridge University Library L1.2.10. Ed. Brundage, “Cruce signari,” 305: “Ad dandam crucem: Suscipe iugum christi quod est fidelibus suis leve onus, signo sancte crucis insignante, quatinus fide abraham exeuntis dextera insignitus, terram viventium merearis possidere, ubi est fidelium animarum gratissimus portus, prestante domino nostro ihesu christo.”

<sup>130</sup> Cf. Heb. 11.8; James 2.23.

<sup>131</sup> Job 28.13; Pss. 26.13, 51.7, 141.6; Isa. 38.11, 53.8; Jer. 11.19; Ezek. 26.20, 32.23–27, 32.32. On allegorization, Albert Blaise, *Le vocabulaire latin des principaux thèmes liturgiques* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1966), 297, paragraph 167.

<sup>132</sup> Discovered and edited by Pennington, “The Rite for Taking the Cross,” 431–32. Probably copied in the second half of the twelfth century at the Italian seaport of Bari, and brought to the Carthusian chaterhouse in Žiče (modern Slovenia) at a later date. For earlier texts see Dumas, ed., *Liber sacramentorum Gellonensis*, 1:439 (no. 2797); Heimig, ed., *Liber sacramentorum Augustodunensis*, 223–24 (no. 1814).

According to the revelation of the prophecy that says of him [i.e., of Jesus], “We will worship in the place where his feet stood” [Ps. 131.7], hear his [i.e., the pilgrim’s] prayers with favor and inspire his vows; and, because human frailty can accomplish no worthy fruit of penitence without you, give him help and shield him with your protective power and, with your shielding power, protect him ...<sup>133</sup>

Ps. 131.7—“We will worship in the place where his feet stood”—was a standard of the devotional Holy Land pilgrimage literature for its specific focus on Jerusalem and had often been deployed in crusading texts.<sup>134</sup> Its use here emphasized Jerusalem, the place; and, with Jerusalem, Christ’s humanity, his life and death in the Holy Land, and the physical geography that was the very goal of the crusade. No longer exalting the salvific power of the cross, the benediction now enjoined the devotional contrition of the person being marked with it. Likewise, a monastic rite from southern France instructed the pilgrim or crusader to “accept the sign of the passion of our Lord Jesus Christ, and proceed forth to the church of Jerusalem, where the glorious tomb of our redeemer is known to all humanity, where, with the rivulet of your tears streaming forth before him, you may be able to wash away the filth of your crimes, with the Lord our Jesus Christ smiling upon you.”<sup>135</sup> Again, the benediction focuses on the terrestrial Jerusalem and the site of Christ’s tomb, associating these directly with the pilgrim/crusader’s own repentance. Another prayer underscored the importance of confession and the truly contrite disposition of the crusader in gaining salvific merit, praying that, just as the pilgrim “demonstrates, on the outside, his penitence through the [act of] penitence itself and the humility of his confession,

<sup>133</sup> Graz UB 239, ed. Pennington, “The Rite for Taking the Cross,” 431: “qui propter amorem nominis tui omnem impietatem et secularia desideria abnegans, ad locum ubi dominus noster Iesus Christus filius tuus secundum carnem ex virgine nasci, mori, et resurgere atque in celum ascendere voluit ire festinat. Iuxta prophetie vaticinium de eo dicentis, ‘Adorabimus in loco ubi steterunt pedes eius,’ [Ps. 131.7] exaudi propitius preces eius et vota clementer inspira, et quia humana fragilitas nichil sine te potest dignum fructum penitentiae facere, tribue ei auxilium eumque virtute custodiendo protege et protegendo custodi, quatinus per viam mandatorum tuorum iugiter gradiens a te venie largitore et omnium bonorum datore, peracto presentis vite cursu, suorum mercedem laborum recepturus feliciter valeat.”

<sup>134</sup> Sylvia Schein, *Gateway to the Heavenly City: Crusader Jerusalem and the Catholic West (1099–1187)* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), 78. In 1100 a crusader, Stephen of Neublens, cited it in a charter to Cluny in explaining why he was going on crusade; see Constable, *Crusaders and Crusading*, 99. Fulcher of Chartres cited Ps. 131 in describing how Bohemond and Baldwin went on pilgrimage to Jerusalem after its fall to crusaders (trans. Ryan, book 1, chap. 33, 131). For other examples see Constable, *Crusaders and Crusading*, 318; also Purkis, *Crusading Spirituality*, 96 (citing Nicholas of Clairvaux); 114 (citing Alexander III in a letter of 1173 to Henry of Rheims instructing him to preach the crusade).

<sup>135</sup> Avignon BM 178, fol. 155r: “Iesu Christi domini nostri passionis signum accipe frater, et perge ad ecclesiam iherosolimitanum, in qua gloriosum sepulcrum nostri redemptoris secundum humanitatem constat adesse, quatinus profusus coram eo riuiulis tuarum lacrimarum, ablvere valeas sordes tuorum facinorum annuente ipso domino nostro Iesu Christo. Qui cum patre et filio.” It is unclear whether this blessing rite was intended for a pilgrimaging monk or for a departing (lay) crusader who might receive a blessing from the local monastery. There were of course examples of monks going on crusade, but this blessing is more likely to have been intended for mere pilgrimage. James A. Brundage, “A Transformed Angel (X 3.31.18): The Problem of the Crusading Monk,” in *The Crusades, Holy War, and Canon Law*, Variorum Collected Studies Series CS338 (London: Gower, 1991), 55–62. For the possibility that the addressee, “frater,” could mean any Christian man, see above, note. 124.

so may he reach true innocence of soul and cleansing of his sins from you, most holy giver.”<sup>136</sup> This shift away from themes of militancy and victory was related to an increasing emphasis on the crusader’s interior disposition and penitential motivations that emerged in lock step with an increasingly spiritualized theology of crusading. The themes were now penitential rather than triumphant, and were centered on the cross and the living Christ as human, temporal sufferer and then redeemer, as well as the disposition of the crusader himself.

\* \* \*

The rites just discussed were all innovations, represented by singular texts surviving in one or two manuscripts. This fact itself underscores the importance of local contexts in the crusading cultures of Europe, the fluidity of individual responses, and the ad hoc nature of the rituals during the first two centuries of crusade. In part, this multiplicity and variety may have been because the papacy itself was so slow to adopt any rite at all for either pilgrims or crusaders. This is really quite surprising. The early form of pilgrimage rituals known in certain manuscripts of the RGP was never adopted in Rome,<sup>137</sup> and it was only around 1250 or so, probably under the pontificate of Innocent IV, that the Roman liturgy finally incorporated a rite for scrip, staff, *and* cross into the curial pontifical.<sup>138</sup> When the papacy finally did incorporate an *ordo* for departure, it initially elected a prayer for the cross that deployed the militant and victorious language of crusading. The overall rite was for the scrip and staff (*Benedictio pere et baculi peregrinantium*; that is, for pilgrimage in general) but it included an optional blessing for the cross that could be used for those going to Jerusalem (*Super crucem eius qui iturus est in Ierosolimam*) that made it appropriate to crusaders.<sup>139</sup> This cross prayer, reaching back to the eschatological themes of early cross texts, deployed the language of militant victory and conquest: “God of unconquered power, immense majesty, and the support of all consolation for pilgrims, you who assign conquering arms to your servants, we beseech that you deign to bless these crosses so that the standard of the venerable cross (*crucis vexillum*) may be for them an invincible source of strength against the vilest temptations of the ancient enemy. Let it be a defense for them in their journey, let it be a protection for them at home and a guard for them everywhere.”<sup>140</sup> The text itself predated the 1250 compilation of the second rescension of the Roman pontifical of the

<sup>136</sup> Graz UB 239, ed. Pennington, “The Rite for Taking the Cross,” 432: “Tribue quesumus ei ut sicut in ipsa penitenti(a) penitentia(m) ac confessionis sue extrinsecus humilitatem demonstrat, ita veram anime innocentiam a te piissimo largitore et peccatorum purgationem consequatur.”

<sup>137</sup> The scrip and staff blessing found in Michel Andrieu’s magnificent edition of the Roman pontifical of the twelfth century (as *Ordo XLVII*) seems to have been a non-Roman interpolation. For edition, see RP12 XLVII. See M. Cecilia Gaposchkin, “Origins and Development of the Pilgrimage and Cross Blessings in the Roman Pontificals of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries,” *Mediaeval Studies* 73 (2011): 261–86.

<sup>138</sup> That is, into the second rescension of the Roman pontifical of the curia of the thirteenth century (RP13), which bears in Andrieu’s designation the sigla RPCur<sub>7</sub>.

<sup>139</sup> RP13 XX, pp. 418–20.

<sup>140</sup> RP13 XX.6, p. 420: “Deus invicte potentie, maiestatis immense atque peregrinantium totius consolationis auxilium, qui famulis tuis arma victricia tribuis, quesumus, has cruces benedicere digneris,

thirteenth century, and seems to have been derived from the Norman Sicilian rite that developed in the last third of the twelfth century.<sup>141</sup> Ultimately enshrined into the Roman pontifical, it also found its way into exemplars in England, France, Spain, and Italy, and thus was far more broadly disseminated than other new texts.<sup>142</sup> It reveals the strong continuities of traditional ideas—the prayer to God to protect travel; expression of faith that the cross could be a defense everywhere—that took on particular meaning in a crusader context. But above all, the prayer deployed a militant language of might and victory: the “unconquered power,” the “conquering arms,” the “invincible stronghold,” and of course the image of the *crucis vexillum*, which was so deeply implicated in eschatological and victorious images of Christianity, and here evoked the larger discourse of conquest and power. The “ancient enemy” is the devil, and the devil, as the enemy of Christianity, was often associated with Muslims, the enemies of crusading.<sup>143</sup>

#### CRUSADE AND PILGRIMAGE IN THE PONTIFICAL OF WILLIAM DURANDUS

The penitential tradition that had emerged during the twelfth and thirteenth century—despite the papacy’s mid-century efforts to promote a rhetoric of militancy—was brought to its most elegant culmination not long after the fall of Acre, in the pontifical of William Durandus, bishop of Mende (d. 1296).<sup>144</sup> Perhaps the greatest liturgist and liturgical commentator of his age, Durandus, in the years between 1293 and 1295, wrote and revised a pontifical for the episcopacy of Mende that, thoroughly rooted in Roman models, for all intents and purposes standardized the rite for the Roman Church, gaining wide circulation throughout the Christian West in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.<sup>145</sup> The Durandus pontifical included a rite for pilgrims, one for crusaders, and liturgical rites for “the liberation of the Holy Land from the enemies of the faith.”<sup>146</sup> Durandus’ cross blessing for those “departing to aid the Holy Land” was clearly a crusading rite, not merely for Jerusalem pilgrims. The rubric *Subsidium terram sanctam* echoed precisely the language popes used in calling for crusades.

Durandus drew from the pilgrimage and cross texts known from eleventh-century recensions of the RGP, incorporated other known texts, and composed a few new ones. He never simply recopied an available text; instead, he took over the ideas and language and reworked these into a cohesive and elegant whole. The rite for

---

ut venerande crucis vexillum sit eis robur invictissimum contra antiqui hostis temptamenta nequissima. Sit eis in via defensio, sit in domo protectio et ubique presidium.”

<sup>141</sup> Appendix 3; see also Rome Casanatense 614. The item is also found in Troyes 2140; and cf. Cambridge University Library Ff.6.9.

<sup>142</sup> Troyes 2140.

<sup>143</sup> John Victor Tolan, *Saracens: Islam in the Medieval European Imagination* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002); Debra Higgs Strickland, *Saracens, Demons, and Jews: Making Monsters in Medieval Art* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003).

<sup>144</sup> PWD 2.30, pp. 541–46.

<sup>145</sup> Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy*, 253–55.

<sup>146</sup> PWD 3.16, pp. 630–31. For Durandus’ liturgies on taking back the Holy Land, see Linder, *Raising Arms*.

the blessing of the scrip and staff could be performed with the cross rite for Jerusalem crusaders, or independently of the crusading rite for “mere” pilgrims, since it envisioned the intercession of both Peter and Paul (inherited from a text from RGP, suggesting Rome as a destination) and James (added in this version, indicating Santiago of Compostella). But the cross and pilgrimage rites were specifically designed as an integral but divisible whole. Durandus incorporated into the cross blessings a number of motifs drawn from the pure pilgrimage tradition. The initial cross oration, for instance, was based upon the Gelasian formula for the *Ad iter agentium* and other texts known from eleventh-century versions of the RGP, embellished with language taken from the Roman pontifical of the thirteenth century (RP13).<sup>147</sup> In this oration, God is asked to send Raphael as a guide and companion, and the pilgrim is blessed so that “in this world he may receive remission of all sins and in the future be in the company of all the blessed.”<sup>148</sup> Here, we are reminded that the rites for crusaders were imbued with themes of sacred travel from the pilgrimage traditions, in a long history of continuity.

What was new—in addition to the overall polish of the rite—was the pointed emphasis on the humanity of Christ, his Passion, and above all, the incorporation of the line of scripture—Matthew 16.24—that more than any other had embodied the aims of crusading since its inception. The opening prayer exalted, again traditionally, the salvific function of the cross: God consecrated the “sign of the cross through the precious blood of [his] son” and the “power (*virtus*) of the cross freed the human race from the indenture of the ancient enemy.”<sup>149</sup> The “sign of passion and of the cross” bears specifically upon the crusader. The prayer beseeches God to bless the cross with his right hand, just as he blessed Aaron’s staff (*virgam Aaron*, a concept drawn from the RGP), so that the cross might grant prosperity of body and soul to the one bearing it.

After blessing the cross itself, the bishop would bless the crusader who received it. Here, Durandus incorporated—for the first time—the biblical line central to crusade ideology: “If any man will come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross, and follow me” (Matt. 16.24).<sup>150</sup> The blessing prayed to Jesus Christ, the living son of God, who asserted to his disciples that “whoever wishes to come after you, may he deny himself and, carrying his cross, follow you (*ut quicumque vult post te venire, seipsum abneget et suam crucem tollens te sequatur*).” The text continues, “We beseech your immense clemency, that this faithful servant of yours, who, in accordance with your word, desires to deny himself and take up his cross and follow you (*seipsum abnegare suamque crucem*

<sup>147</sup> PWD 2.31.5, p. 545; cf. Dumas, ed., *Liber sacramentorum Gellonensis*, 1:439 (nos. 2797–2803). This was one of the most often used texts, included in most of the English rites; it was used in the eleventh-century Vich missal (see Olivar, *El Sacramentario de Vich*, 175) and is also found in the early Italian versions of the crusader rite (e.g., Graz UB 186).

<sup>148</sup> PWD 2.31.3, p. 544: “ut per eam mereamini accipere in hoc seculo remissionem omnium peccatorum et in futuro consortium beatorum.” For instance, cf. RGP CCXII.2, 2:362: “mereamini in hoc seculo accipere remissionem omnium peccatorum et in futuro consortium omnium beatorum,” from the rite for scrip and staff.

<sup>149</sup> PWD 2.30.1, p. 542: “crucis signum pretioso filii tui sanguine dedicasti” and “per virtutem eisdem crucis venerabilis.”

<sup>150</sup> Or perhaps Luke 9.23.



*tollere et te sequi desiderat*), may hasten towards your tomb. May you always and everywhere protect him and may you rescue him from every danger and absolve him from the chains of sin, and may he follow the vow undertaken to its desired end.”<sup>151</sup> The verse—fully embedded into the rhetoric of crusade, routinely used by crusade preachers, and the clearest scriptural referent for the ideal of crusading Christomimesis—was the natural biblical reference for the ceremony in which the crusader, in fact, placed the cross upon his body in order to “follow Christ” to the land where he had walked.<sup>152</sup>

Finally, in the third prayer, after a traditional evocation of Raphael as angelic companion, the bishop placed the cross upon the crusader, saying, “Take up the sign of the cross, in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, in the image of the cross, of the passion, and of the death of Christ, and for the defense of your body and soul, so that, by the grace of divine goodness, after completing the journey, you may return to us saved (*salvus*) and corrected (*emendatus*).”<sup>153</sup> This prayer was loosely based on one of the pilgrimage prayers that dated back to the eleventh century and made its way into the Roman pontifical of the thirteenth century.<sup>154</sup> But Durandus added the reference to the “image of the cross, of the Passion, and of the death of Christ,” thus encapsulating what the crusaders’ cross had come to mean within the context of sacrifice and suffering on crusade. The cross retained its apotropaic function as a sign of protection, but its meaning as a symbol of militant and eschatological victory had given way to a symbolic significance in which notions of passion, suffering, and death were prominent.

Over the course of the thirteenth century, within the broader devotional discourse of crusading, the interpretation of Matthew 16.24 had become increasingly penitential. The cross was interpreted not as the sign of eschatological victory but rather of Christ’s Passion, against the backdrop of which the scriptural line came to represent the penitential aspects of the crusading enterprise.<sup>155</sup> Taking up the cross was, in Durandus’ rite, not only the commission to crusade, but the call to suffering and penitence enjoined by following Christ in his footsteps in

<sup>151</sup> PWD 2.30.2, p. 542: *quesumus immensam clementiam tuam, ut hunc famulum tuum, qui iuxta verbum tuum seipsum abnegare suamque crucem tollere et te sequi desiderat, et ad tuum properare sepulcrum, semper et ubique protegas et a periculis omnibus eruas et a vinculo peccatorum absolvas acceptumque votum ad effectum deducat optatum.*”

<sup>152</sup> Constable, *Crusaders and Crusading*, 111; Maier, *Crusade Propaganda*, 56–68. On Christomimesis, see Purkis, *Crusading Spirituality*. Purkis, whose focus is the period before 1187, argues in chapters 1–3 that the line was quoted heavily during the First Crusade to encourage Christomimesis, but during the Second Crusade, under Cistercian influence, was associated specifically with the Templars.

<sup>153</sup> PWD 2.30.3, p. 543: “Post hec imponit illi crucem dicens: Accipe signum crucis, in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti, in figuram crucis, passionis et mortis Christi et ad tui corporis et anime defensionem, ut, divine bonitatis gratia, post iter expletum salvus et emendatus ad nos valeas remeare.”

<sup>154</sup> See Olivar, *El Sacramentario de Vich*, 216 (no. 1434): Graz UB 239; RP13; etc. RP13 XX.2, p. 419, reads: “In nomine domini nostri Iesu Christi, accipe hanc peram, signum peregrinationis tue, ut bene castigatus et salvus et bene emendatus pervenire merearis ad limina sanctorum et, peracto itinere tuo, sospes ad propria reverti merearis.”

<sup>155</sup> Purkis, *Crusading Spirituality*; Maier, *Crusade Propaganda*, 51–68; Jean Leclercq, “La dévotion médiévale envers le crucifié,” *La Maison-Dieu* 75 (1963), 119–32.

crusade. The focus of the rite was the living Jesus, specifically; the evocation of his tomb at once recalled his humanity and his death, and, of course, the Holy Sepulchre that was the very goal of crusade (Jerusalem). The emphasis on Christ's Passion was not in and of itself new. The Passion had been evoked in the ninth- and tenth-century prayers for the Exaltation of the Cross and other cross benedictions, and these had on occasion been adopted in cross rites.<sup>156</sup> But the emphasis had always been on the eschatological promise of redemption effected by Christ's suffering on the cross.<sup>157</sup> Indeed, over the course of the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries the emphasis on the humanity of Christ and the consequent valorization of the salvific role of bodily suffering (in general, and on crusade specifically) had animated much of the theology and spirituality of the crusade. Durandus' rite—wherein the crusader actually took up the physical symbol of the cross—ritually instantiated that ideal.

#### EPILOGUE

There is some irony in the fact that Durandus compiled this rite in the last decade of the thirteenth century, following immediately upon the fall of Acre in 1291. With Durandus we see the culmination of the processes by which the old rituals of pilgrimage were adopted and then slowly incorporated into new rites for crusading, mirroring a whole series of developments in European crusading generally, both in terms of devotional interpretations of crusade and in the ways in which crusade as a definitive category of devotional activity was institutionalized into the fabric of European ritual practice. Looking backwards from Durandus to the tradition he inherited and remade, we see how, beginning in the second half of the twelfth century, ritualized texts absorbed old meanings and also shaped new ones, preserving inherited forms and ideas, but then used these texts to construct, through changes small and large, through omissions and new juxtapositions, brand new meanings. This process was improvisational and particular in part because the papacy took so long to adopt its own rites of departure. The devotional and penitential themes of the crusade rites ultimately displaced the move towards incorporating martial elements into the departure ritual. The idea of crusade that emerges from the ritual tradition to 1300 is

<sup>156</sup> For singular examples, from the thirteenth century, of reference to the Passion in newly composed cross prayers, see Cambridge University Library Ff 6.9, fol. 86r, and Aosta, Biblioteca capitulare, MS 5, fol. 96r. On introducing an emphasis on the Passion, see Christoph T. Maier, "Mass, the Eucharist and the Cross: Innocent III and the Relocation of the Crusade," in *Pope Innocent III and His World*, ed. John Moore (Brookfield: Ashgate, 1999), 351–60; Christoph T. Maier, "Crisis, Liturgy and the Crusade in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 48.4 (1997): 628–57.

<sup>157</sup> See, for instance, Heimig, ed., *Liber sacramentorum Augustodunensis*, 174 (no. 1485). The text is reflected also in RGP XL.97, 1:157: "Benedic, domine Iesu Christe, hanc crucem tuam, per quam eripuisti mundum a potestate demonum et superasti passione tua suggestorem peccati, qui gaudebat in prevaricatione primi hominis per ligni vetiti praesumptionem." Some version of this benediction is taken up in the cross-scrip-staff sequences found in Avignon BM 178; Montpellier 399; Troyes BM 2140; Paris Saint-Sulpice R 4; Barcelona San Cugat 73; BNF Lat 966; Budapest 317.

increasingly tied to Jerusalem and is always indebted to pilgrimage. The entreaty for the remission of sin that carried forth unabated, as well as the requests for God's protection and aid on the journey, are both testament to the deep liturgical and devotional continuities that can be observed alongside slow evolutions of meaning and aim. Most fundamentally, the image of eschatological victory through divine power and destruction of the enemy (eternal or otherwise) was ritually subordinated to penitential and devotional ideals, centered on Jerusalem, on awareness of Christ's passion and humanity, and on the devotional actions of the crusader himself.

Durandus may have standardized the Roman pontifical at the end of the thirteenth century, but this did not mean that the ideas animating ritual action remained static henceforth. When, in 1485, Agostino Patrizzi Piccolomini and John Burchard published the *editio princeps* of the Roman pontifical, they largely deferred to the text of Durandus. In their prologue they explained that they had used the pontifical of William Durandus as their base, remaining faithful to its structure and its contents, but had also corrected it where corrupt and had removed accreted or superfluous rites.<sup>158</sup> And so, with the *editio princeps*, we get another snapshot of the idea of crusade, two centuries on. It is a new vision of crusade, divorced from pilgrimage and tied, instead, to waging war. The *editio princeps* did away entirely with the blessings of scrip and staff, which had, apparently, become superfluous. But it kept the blessings for the "giving over of the cross to those setting out in aid of the Holy Land."<sup>159</sup> Both the rubrics and the prayer texts for the cross were taken verbatim from the pontifical of William Durandus, including the evocation of Matthew 16.24, with one exception: the edition of 1485 elided the injunction that, in following Christ's words to pick up the cross and follow Him, the cross-wearer, "desire to hurry towards your tomb" with the injunction that he "desire to hurry to fight against our enemies for the salvation of your elect people."<sup>160</sup> That is, the very idea of pilgrimage had been subordinated to waging war in order to protect the people of *Christianitas*. And instead of being paired with the blessings of scrip and staff, which no longer played a part in the departure ceremony for crusaders, now the cross blessing was paired with blessings for the instruments of war. The blessing of the weapons, the blessing of the sword, and the blessing and handing over of the battle standard (*vexilli bellici*) were also taken over verbatim from Durandus, but in the thirteenth-century version of the text these had followed a series of unrelated blessings for a new well, a new field, and sick animals. Now they were regrouped with the cross blessing for crusaders. These blessings for arms, the sword, and the standard asked that they might "assail all visible and invisible enemies" and be "ter-

<sup>158</sup> Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy*, 255–56. The *editio princeps* is now usefully available in a facsimile reprint: see Manlio Sodi, ed., *Il "Pontificalis liber" di Agostino Patrizi Piccolomini e Giovanni Burcardo (1485)*, Monumenta Studia Instrumenta Liturgica (Vatican City: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 2006). On the production of the *editio princeps*, see Mark Dykmans, SJ, *Le pontifical romain révisé au XVe siècle*, Studi e Testi 311 (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1985), 109–33.

<sup>159</sup> Sodi, ed., *Pontificalis liber*, 485.

<sup>160</sup> PWD 2.30.2, p. 542: "desiderat et ad tuum properare sepulcrum." Sodi, ed., *Pontificalis liber*, 454: "... ac contra inimicos nostros pro salute populi tui electi properare et pugare desiderat."

rible to the enemies of the Christian people.”<sup>161</sup> By the end of the fifteenth century, three decades after the fall of Constantinople, with Jerusalem long in Muslim hands, with the Ottomons pressing ever more forcefully at the eastern front of the Christian world, the concept of coming to the aid of the Holy Land no longer meant making a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Taking the cross meant fighting to save Christendom.

<sup>161</sup> Sodi, ed., *Pontificalis liber*, 456: “contra invisibilium et visibilium hostium impugnationem,” “Sitque inimicis christiani populi terribile.”

## APPENDIX 1: MANUSCRIPTS CITED

Herewith is a list of the manuscripts cited in the article, and where available, editions or partial editions of the relevant texts.

Rubrics here are intended to be indicative and illustrative, not exhaustive. Thus, I may have listed *Benedictio pere et baculi*, but have omitted rubrics such as *oratio*, or *alia*, or other rubrics indicating prayers or instructions that belong to or fall beneath another rubric or the *ordo* as a whole.

For further information and bibliography on many of these manuscripts, consult Richard Kay. *Pontificalia: A Repertory of Latin Manuscript Pontificals and Benedictionals*. Lawrence: University of Kansas, 2007, found online at: <http://kuscholarworks.ku.edu/dspace/bitstream/1808/4406/3/PONTIFICALIA.pdf>

**Aosta, Biblioteca capitolare, MS 5.**

Tarentaise Pontifical, 1246–1271.

*Benedictio crucis peregrinorum.*

*Benedictio sporte.*

Edition: Robert Amiet. *Le pontifical d'Emeric de Quart*. Monumenta Liturgica Ecclesiae Augustanae 14. Aosta: Musumeci, 1992. 118.

**Avignon, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 143b.**

Sacramentary from Caromb, Southern France, 13th c.

*Ad sportas et baculos peregrinorum benedictio.*

*Oratio ad cruces benedicendas.*

*Oratio cum datur crux in signum peregrinationis vel visitationis sancti sepulcri domini.*

**Avignon, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 178, fols. 154r–155r.**

Pontifical from the Narbonnais (S. Michel de Cuxa?), 12th c.

*Oratio ad dandam crucem ante altar his qui cupieunt pergere ad Ispaniam.*

*Ad dandam crucem his qui vadunt in Ierusalem; Ad dandam sportam; Ad baculum accipiendum.*

Partial edition: Alejandro Olivar, ed. *El Sacramentario de Vich*. Monumenta Hispaniae Sacra, Serie Liturgica 4. Barcelona: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Instituto P. Enrique Flórez, 1953, cviii–cix.

**Bamberg, Staatliche Bibliothek, MS Lit. 56, fols. 171v–173v.**

Bamberg Pontifical, 14th c.

*Ordo ad suscipiendum signum crucis.*

Edition: Adolph Franz. *Die kirchlichen Benediktionen im Mittelalter*. 2 vols. Freiburg: Herder, 1909. Reprint, Bonn: Nova et Vetera, 2006, 2:283–84, formula VI.

**Bamberg, Staatliche Bibliothek, MS Lit. 58.**

Salzburg Pontifical, 12th c.

*Benedictio vexilli.*

*Benedictio ensis.*

*Benedictio super capsellas que fustes illis dandas qui limina apostolorum ac suffragia sanctorum petunt.*

**Bamberg, Staatliche Bibliothek, MS Lit. 60, fols. 108v–109v.**

Benedictional from Séez, 12th c.

*Pro iter agentibus.*

*In tempore belli.*

*Speculum* 88.1 (January 2013)

Barcelona, Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó, San Cugat, MS 73, fols. 23r–24v.

Pontifical from San Cugat, 1218.

*Ordo at sportas dandas; Ad baculos.*

*Pro illis qui in itinere pergunt.*

*Benedictio crucis illis qui volunt pergere ad terram sanctam.*

Partial edition (only pilgrimage prayers): Luis Vázquez de Parga, José M. Lacarra, and Juan Uría Rúa. *Las Peregrinaciones a Santiago de Compostela*. 3 vols. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Escuela de Estudios Medievales, 1948–1949, 3:248.

Digitized images: <http://pares.mcu.es>.

Besançon, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 138, fols. 157v–160v.

Beauvais Pontifical, second half 13th c.

*Benedictio crucis.*

Budapest, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, MS Lat. Med. Aev. 317, fols. 70v–72r.

Hungarian Pontifical, 14th c.

*Benedictio crucis.*

*Benedictio pere; ad dandam peram; ad dandum baculum.*

Budapest, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, MS Lat. Med. Aev. 330, fols. 153r–157r.

Biburg Rituale, 12th c.

*Benedictio super baculos et capsellas peregrinantium.*

*Benedictio ensis noviter succincti.*

Edition: Walter Von Arx. *Das Klosterrituale von Biburg (Budapest, Cod. Lat. M. Ae. Nr. 330, 12 Jh.)*. Spicilegium Friburgense 14. Freiburg: Universitätsverlag, 1970, 260–63.

Cambrai, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 223, fols. 23v–24r, 25r; 146r–147r.

Cambrai Pontifical, first half of 13th c.

Fol. 23v: *Ad peram benedicendam; Ad dandam peram; Ad dandum baculum.*

On inserted folio after fol. 24: *Exurgat deus et dissipentur inimici eius et fugiant* [Ps. 67.2].

146v–147r: *Benedictio signaculi crucis.*

Edition (for *Benedictio signaculi crucis* only): Lucy Pick. “*Signaculum caritatis et fortitudinis*: Blessing the Crusader’s Cross in France.” *Revue bénédictine* 105 (1995): 413–14.

Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 44, fol. 143r–v.

Canterbury/Ely Pontifical, 1025–1075.

*Benedictio vexillorum.*

Digitized images: For those with a subscription to “Parker Library on the web,” the manuscript is available digitally at: [http://parkerweb.stanford.edu/parker/actions/manuscript\\_description\\_long\\_display.do?ms\\_no=44](http://parkerweb.stanford.edu/parker/actions/manuscript_description_long_display.do?ms_no=44).

Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 146, pp. 3–4.

Winchester/Worcester Pontifical, c.1100.

*Benedictio pere et baculi.*

Digitized images: For those with a subscription to “Parker Library on the web,” the manuscript is available digitally at: [http://parkerweb.stanford.edu/parker/actions/manuscript\\_description\\_long\\_display.do?ms\\_no=146](http://parkerweb.stanford.edu/parker/actions/manuscript_description_long_display.do?ms_no=146).

Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 163, pp. 287–289.

Winchester Pontifical, late 11th c. (from a German exemplar of the Roman Germanic Pontifical)

Manuscript is lacking a rubric, but the texts are blessings for scrip and staff.

Digitized images: For those with a subscription to “Parker Library on the web,” the manuscript is available digitally at: [http://parkerweb.stanford.edu/parker/actions/manuscript\\_description\\_long\\_display.do?ms\\_no=163](http://parkerweb.stanford.edu/parker/actions/manuscript_description_long_display.do?ms_no=163).

Cambridge, Trinity College Library, MS B.XI.10, fols. 100r–103r.

Ely Pontifical, late 12th c. Identical to Cambridge, University Library, MS L.1.2.19.

Fols. 100r–101v: *Benedictio super eos qui peregre proficiscentium; Ad peras dandas; Benedictio ad baculum et ad peram.*

*Benedictio pere et baculi peregrinorum; Ad dandam peram; Ad baculum.*

Fol. 103: *Benedictio crucis; Ad dandam crucem.*

Edition: James A. Brundage. “‘Cruce Signari’: The Rite for Taking the Cross in England.” *Traditio* 22 (1966): 303–6.

Cambridge, University Library, MS Ff.6.9, fols. 85r–86r.

Coventry Pontifical, c.1200.

*Ad benedicendum peregrinos.*

*Benedictio pere et burdoni[s].*

*Benedictio crucis dande ituris in sanctam terram vel ituris in aliam terram ad expugnandum inimici; dando crucem dicitur.*

Edition: James A. Brundage. “‘Cruce Signari’: The Rite for Taking the Cross in England.” *Traditio* 22 (1966): 306–7.

Translation: Jonathan Riley-Smith and Louise Riley-Smith. *The Crusades, Idea and Reality: 1095–1274*. London: E. Arnold, 1981, 136–39.

Cambridge, University Library, MS L1.2.10, fols. 74r–75v, 77v–78r.

Ely Pontifical, late 12th c. Identical to Cambridge Trinity B.XI.10.

74r–75v: *Benedictio super eos qui peregre proficiscuntur; Ad peras dandas; Quando baculos dederis dic.*

*Benedictio ad baculum et ad peram; Tunc denture eis pere; Ad baculum.*

*Benedictio pere et baculi peregrinorum; Ad dandam peram; Ad baculum.*

77v–78r: *Benedictio crucis; Ad dandam crucem.*

Edition: James A. Brundage. “‘Cruce Signari’: The Rite for Taking the Cross in England.” *Traditio* 22 (1966): 303–6.

Cambridge, University Library, MS Mm.3.21, fols. 194v–196v.

Lincoln Pontifical, 15th c.

*Ordo ad servicium peregrinorum faciendum.*

*Sequitur benediccio pere et baculi hoc modo.*

*Benediccio crucis pergentis ierusalem.*

*Hijs peractis dicatur missa pro iter agentibus.*

Edition: James A. Brundage. “‘Cruce Signari’: The Rite for Taking the Cross in England.” *Traditio* 22 (1966): 307–10.

Cambridge, Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS Typ 0001, fols. 34r–38r.

Durandus Pontifical, Italian, late 14th c.

*De benedictione et impositione cruces proficiscentium in subsidium terre sancte.*

*De benedictio baculi et pere seu scarpelle peregrinorum.*

*De officio quod agitur eis qui redeunt de peregrinatione.*

*Speculum* 88.1 (January 2013)

Digitized images available at: <http://app.cul.columbia.edu:8080/exist/scriptorium/individual/MH-H-1.xml>.

**Châlons-sur-Marne, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 45, fols. 138v–141v.**

Pontifical of Châlons-sur-Marne, before 1264.

*Benedictio crucis metallizate.*

*Sequitur benedictio pere; Ad dandam peram; Ad baculum.*

**Exeter, Cathedral Library, MS 3513.**

Pontifical of Edmund Lacy, Exeter, late 14th–early 15th c.

*Ordo ad servicium peregrinorum faciendum.*

*Hic surgant a prostacione, sequatur benedictio pere et baculi hoc modo; Hic ponat sacerdos collo peregrini peram dicens; Hic detur baculus peregrino.*

*Benedictio crucis peregrinalis Jerusalem sic; Hic detur vestis signata cruce, peregrino a cerdote interim dicente; Hiis finitis dicatur missa pro iter agentibus.*

*Post missam dicat sacerdos has sequentes orationes super peregrinos coram altare prostrates, si profecturi sint Jerusalem, seu ad sanctum Jacobum, vel ad aliam peregrinacionem.*

Edition: Ralph Barnes, ed. *Liber pontificalis of Edmund Lacy, Bishop of Exeter.*

Exeter: William Roberts, 1847, 242–46.

**Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 186, fols. 81r–84r.**

The Lambrecht Pontifical, southern Italian (Beneventan?), second half of 12th c.

*Ordo ad suscipienda signacula sancte crucis euntibus iherusalem.*

*Benedictio in navi.*

*Benedictio super capsellas et baculos.*

Edition: Kenneth Pennington. “The Rite for Taking the Cross in the Twelfth Century.”

*Traditio* 30 (1974): 433–35.

**Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 239, fols. 143v–146v.**

The Bari Pontifical, southern Italian (Beneventan?), second half of 12th c.

*Officium pro illis qui vadunt ierusalem; Benedictio crucis; Quando datur crux.*

*Benedictio sporte et baculi; Quando accipit sportam; Ad baculum.*

Edition: Kenneth Pennington. “The Rite for Taking the Cross in the Twelfth Century.”

*Traditio* 30 (1974): 431–32.

**London, British Library, MS Cotton Tiberius B. III, fols. 137r–138r.**

Benedictional of Christ Church, Canterbury, 12th c.

*In tempore belli.*

*Quod benedictio per iter agentibus.*

**London, British Library, MS Cotton Vitellius E. XII, fols. 156v–159r.**

Pontifical of Aeldred of York, c.1070.

The manuscript (as with Cambridge Corpus Christi 163) includes no identifying rubric, though the rite itself is for blessing scrip and staff.

**London, British Library, MS Royal 16G VI.**

*Grandes chroniques de France*, 1332–50.

**Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, MS 678, fols. 67r–68v.**

Messina Pontifical, c.1200.

*Benedictio crucium peregrinorum.*

*Benedictio perarum.*

Edition: Appendix 3.



Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, MS A. 92, fols. 115r–116v.

Palermo Pontifical, 12th c., before 1167.

*Missa pro iter agentibus.*

*Benedictio crucium peregrinorum et perarum; Deinde aspergat eas aqua benedicta et imponat super humeros eorum dicens.*

*Benedictio perarum.*

Edition: Appendix 3.

Montpellier, Bibliothèque interuniversitaire, Section Médecine, MS 399, fols. 142r–143v.

Paris Pontifical, first half of 13th c.

*Ad benedicendas cruces iste dicuntur.*

*Benedictio super peram et super baculum peregrinorum, et cum peram sacerdos benedicere voluit, ponat eam super altare; Tunc aspergat eam equa benedicta et post mittat in collum peregrine dicens.*

*Ad dandum baculum.*

Orleans, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 144, fols. 138v–140r.

Chartres Pontifical, early 13th c.

*Benedictio vexilli.*

*Ad profiscendum in itinere.*

*Ad benedicendam peram; Ad dandam peram; Ad dandum baculum.*

Edition: Appendix 2.

Oxford, Magdalen College, MS 226, fol. 246r–v.

Pontifical from the Diocese of Canterbury, late 12th c.

*Benedictio baculi.*

*Quando dederis scutum.* [This is added to the manuscript on an inserted folio and is incomplete]

Edition: H.A. Wilson. *The Pontifical of Magdalen College: With an Appendix of Extracts from Other English Mss. of the Twelfth Century.* London: Henry Bradshaw Society, 1910, 206–9.

Paris, Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal, MS 332, fols. 24v–25v, 40v–41r.

Paris Pontifical, second half of 13th c.

Fols. 24v–25v: *Benedictio signaculorum crucis.*

Fols. 40v–41r: *Ad peram benedicendam; Ad dandam peram; Ad dandum baculum.*

Edition (for *Benedictio signaculi crucis* only): Lucy Pick. “*Signaculum caritatis et fortitudinis: Blessing the Crusader’s Cross in France.*” *Revue bénédictine* 105 (1995): 413–14.

Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, MS 406, fol. 385r–v.

Paris missal (from the *Capella Regis*), c.1400.

*Benedictio pere et baculi peregrinorum.*

*Tunc aspergat aqua benedicta deinde ponat peram in collo peregrine, dicens.*

*Deinde ponat baculum in manu peregrine dicens.*

*Deinde signet eum signo sancte cruces dicens.*

*Benedictio crucis.*

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 824, fols. 262v–263r.

Paris missal, 13th c.

*Benedictio crucis.*

*Ad dandum crucem.*

*Benedictio pere et baculi.*

*Ad dandam peram.*  
*Ad dandum baculum.*

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 831, fols. 353v–354r.

Paris Missal, 14th c.

*Benedictio pere et baculi peregrinorum; Tunc aspergatur aqua benedicta. Deinde ponat peram in collo peregrini dicens; Deinde ponat baculum in manu peregrini dicens; Deinde signet cum signo sancte crucis dicens.*

*Benedictio crucis.*

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 861, fol. 340r–v.

Paris Missal, from the Grands Confrérie de Notre-Dame de Paris, 14th c.

*Benedictio pere et baculi peregrinorum.*

*Tunc aspergatur aqua benedicta; Deinde ponat peram in collo peregrini dicens; Deinde ponat baculum in manu peregrini dicens; Deinde signet cum signo sancte cruce dicens.*

*Benedictio crucis.*

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 934, fols. 139v–141v.

Sens Pontifical, early 13th c., perhaps 1211–14.

*Benedictio vexilli.*

*Ad proficiscendum in itinere.*

*Ad benedicendam peram; Ad dandam peram; Ad dandum baculum.*

Digitized images available through Gallica: <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8432295p.r=934.langEN>.

Edition: Appendix 2.

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 945, fols. 142v–145r.

Chartres Pontifical, second half or end of 12th c.

*Benedictio vexilli.*

*Ad proficiscendum in itinere.*

*Ad benedicendam peram; Ad dandam peram; Ad dandum baculum.*

Edition: Appendix 2.

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 969, fols. 71v–73v.

Rouen Pontifical, 15th c.

*Benedictio crucis pergentis Ierusalem.*

Edition (for cross elements only): Lucy Pick. “Signaculum caritatis et fortitudinis: Blessing the Crusader’s Cross in France.” *Revue bénédictine* 105 (1995): 414–16.

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 17334, fols. 59r–60r.

Soissons Pontifical, 12th c.

Manuscript lacks rubrics. Blessings are standard blessings for travel and for blessing scrip and staff.

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 18038, fols. 198v–200r.

Paris Pontifical, 15th c.

*Ad benedicendas cruces.*

*Benedictio super peram et baculum peregrinorum; Ad dandum baculum.*

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS NAL 1202, fols. 152v–154v.

Meaux Pontifical, c.1260–70.

*Ordo ad benedicendum crucem vel peram et ad dandam peram vel baculum.*

*Benedictio crucis.*

*Benedictio pere; ad dandam peram; ad dandum baculum.*

Paris, Bibliothèque de la Compagnie des Prêtres de Saint-Sulpice, MS R 4, fols. 140v–141v.

Senlis Pontifical, 1230–45.

*Benedictio crucis.*

*Benedictio pere; ad dandam peram; ad dandum baculum.*

Reims, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 341, fols. 1r–5v.

Reims Pontifical, c.1100.

*Pro iter agentibus; Ad peras benedicendas; Ad dandas peras; Ad baculos dandos.*

*Benedictio pro iter agentibus.*

Reims, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 342, fols. 62r–63v.

Reims Pontifical, 12th c.

*Benedictio vexilli.*

*Ad proficiscendum in itinere.*

*Ad benedicendam peram; Ad dandam peram; Ad dandum baculum.*

Edition: Appendix 2.

Reims, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 344, fols. 170r–174r.

Châlons-sur-Marne Pontifical, 14th c.

*Benedictio crucis lignee quem cooperienda est metallo.*

*Benedictio crucis metallizate.*

*Benedictio pere; Ad dandam peram; Ad baculum.*

Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense, MS 614, fols. 18r–22r.

Norman-Sicilian Pontifical, c.1200.

*Missa pro iter agentibus.*

*Benedictio crucis et perarum.*

Edition and translation: Derek A. Rivard. “*Pro iter agentibus: The Ritual Blessings of Pilgrims and Their Insignia in a Pontifical of Southern Italy.*” *Journal of Medieval History* 27 (2001): 388–95.

Cf. Appendix 3.

Rouen, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 370, fols. 138r–139v.

Reims Pontifical, first half of 13th c.

*Benedictio vexilli.*

*Ad proficiscendum in itinere.*

*Ad benedicendam peram; Ad dandam peram; Ad dandum baculum.*

Edition: Appendix 2.

St. Petersburg, Publichnaya Bibioteka, MS Q. V.I, no. 35, fol. 95r–v.

Sens Pontifical, 10th c.

*Benedictio quando contra paganos pugnandum est.*

Edition: Antonio Staerk. *Les Manuscrits Latins Du Ve Au XIIIe siècle conservés à la bibliothèque impériale de Saint-Petersbourg.* 2 volumes. Saint Petersburg; F. Krois, 1910, 151–73.

Sens, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 9, fols. 40v–42r.

Sens Pontifical, late 12th c.

*Benedictio vexilli.*

*Ad proficiscendum in itinere.*

*Ad benedicendam peram; Ad dandam peram; Ad dandum baculum.*

Edition: Appendix 2.

*Speculum* 88.1 (January 2013)

Siena, Biblioteca Comunale degli Intronati, MS G.V.12, 108v–109v.

Tyre Pontifical (copied from French sources), early 13th c.

*Benedictio vexilii.*

*Benedictio super proficiscendos in itinere.*

*Ad peram benedicendam; Quando datur ei pera; Quando datur ei baculus.*

Edition: Appendix 2.

Trier, Bistumsarchiv, MS 570, fols. 272v–274v, 282r–v.

German Pontifical, 1389–1419.

Fols. 272r–274r: *Ordo ad benedicendam [peram]* (illeg.).

Fol. 282r–v: *Ordo ad suscipiendum signum sancte crucis* (identical to Bamberg Lit. 56).

Troyes, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 1341, fols. 73v–74r.

Pontifical made for Constantinople, first half of 13th c.

*Benedictio vexilli.*

*Benedictio pere et baculi; Ad dandam peram; Ad dandum baculum.*

Edition (though missing the *Benedictio super proficiscendos in itinere*): Appendix 2.

Digitized at: [http://patrimoine.agglo-troyes.fr/simclient/integration/EXPLOITATION/dossiersDoc/voirDossManuscrit.asp?INSTANCE=EXPLOITATION&DOSS=BKDD\\_MS\\_1341\\_00#](http://patrimoine.agglo-troyes.fr/simclient/integration/EXPLOITATION/dossiersDoc/voirDossManuscrit.asp?INSTANCE=EXPLOITATION&DOSS=BKDD_MS_1341_00#).

Troyes, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 2140, fols. 22v–28r.

Langres Pontifical, c.1200.

*Ad peram benedicendam; Ad baculum.*

*Ad crucem.*

Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Borghese 14, fols. 144v–145v.

Riga Pontifical, 14th c.

*Benedictio crucis quando aliquis vult ire ultra mare.*

*Oratio pro recuperatione terre sancte.*

Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Ottob. lat. 330, fols. 273r–v, 305v–309r.

Maguelonne Pontifical, southern France, 15th c.

Fol. 273r–v: *Ordo ad imponendam crucem cruce signandis.*

Fol. 305v: *Benedictio ad sportam peregrinis dandum; Benedictio ad dandum baculum; Benedictio ad iter peregrinorum.*

Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Ottob. lat. 502, fol. 109r–112v; 132v–133r.

Pontifical and elements of an Augustinian Sanctorale, 14th–15th c., no localization, but probably southern?

Fols. 109r–112v: *Benedictio crucis ultra mare euntium.*

Fols. 132v–133r: *Quando datur crux proficiscenti ad loca.*

Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. lat. 6748, fols. 52v–54r.

Montereale Pontifical, 14th c.

*Benedictio crucium peregrinorum; In primis celebrator missa; Benedictio crucis; Benedictio perarum.*

Edition: Appendix 3.

Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. lat. 9340, fol. 47r–v.

Pontifical from Saint-Pons de Thomiers (near Montpellier), then later at Montecassino, 14th c.

*Benedictio super pera et baculo; Ad dandum baculum.*

*Ad dandum crucem; Hic detur crux infigans scapule dextre dicens.*

Vich, Museo Episcopal, MS 66, fols. 55v–56v, 76v–77v.

Vich Sacramentary, Catalonia, 1038.

Fols. 55v–56v: *Missa pro fratribus in uia dirigendis; Pro iter agentibus.*

Fols. 76v–77v: *Oratio pro iter agentibus* (including prayers from scrip and staff).

Edition: Alejandro Olivar, ed. *El Sacramentario de Vich*. Monumenta Hispaniae Sacra, Serie Liturgica 4. Barcelona: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Instituto P. Enrique Flórez, 1953, 173–75; 215–17.

## APPENDIX 2: NORTHERN FRENCH RITE

[O] Orleans, BM 144, fols. 138v–140r (Chartres Pontifical, early 13th c.)

[P<sub>1</sub>] Paris, BnF lat. 934, fols. 139v–141v (Sens Pontifical, early 13th c., perhaps 1211–1214)

[P<sub>2</sub>] Paris, BnF lat. 945, fols. 142v–145r (Chartres Pontifical, second half or end of 12th c.)

[R<sub>1</sub>] Reims, BM 342, fols. 62r–64r (Reims Pontifical, 13th c.)

[R<sub>2</sub>] Rouen, BM 370, fols. 138r–139v (Reims Pontifical, first half of 13th c.)

[S<sub>1</sub>] Sens, BM 9, fols. 40v–42r (Sens Pontifical, late 12th c.). S<sub>1</sub> serves as the base manuscript.

[S<sub>2</sub>] Siena Biblioteca Comunale degli Intronati, MS G.V.12 (Tyre Pontifical, early 13th c.<sup>162</sup>)

[T] Troyes, BM 1341, fols. 73v–74r (Roman Pontifical made for Constantinople, first half of 13th c.<sup>163</sup>)

In addition, according to Leroquais, *Pontificaux*, Chartres, BM 195 belonged to this family, including the *Benedictio vexilli*, *Ad profiscendum in itinere*, *Ad benedicendam peram*; *Ad dandam peram*; *Ad dandum baculum*, from pp. 208–211. The manuscript was destroyed during World War II.

Orthography and word order follows S<sub>1</sub>. Abbreviations have been expanded. The letters *ij*, *uv*, and some *cts* have been modernized. Variations in word order and spelling (except on occasion if of interest) have not been noted. Variants are otherwise noted in the notes. Items in square brackets are editorial.

Benedictio vexilli [O P<sub>1</sub> P<sub>2</sub> S<sub>1</sub> S<sub>2</sub>R<sub>1</sub> R<sub>2</sub> T]<sup>164</sup>

Inclina domine aurem tuam ad preces nostre humilitatis, et per interventum beati Michaelis archangeli tui, omniumque celestium virtutum; presta nobis auxilium dextere tue, ut sicut benedixisti Abraham<sup>a</sup> adversus quinque reges triumphantem, atque David regem in tui<sup>b</sup> nominis laude, triumphales congressus exercentem, ita bene[+]dicere er sanct[+]ificare digneris vexillum hoc, quod ob defensionem sancte ecclesie contra hostilem rabiem defertur; quatinus in nomine tuo fideles et defensores<sup>c</sup> populi dei illud consequentes, per virtutem sancte<sup>d</sup> crucis triumphum et victoriam se ex hostibus acquisisse letentur. Qui cum deo patre<sup>e</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> Abraham] Habraam P<sub>1</sub>; Abraam S<sub>2</sub> <sup>b</sup> in tui] intui R<sub>1</sub> T <sup>c</sup> defensores] defensores S<sub>2</sub>, *with i exp.*  
<sup>d</sup> sancte] represented as a cross [+] in the text in P<sub>2</sub> <sup>e</sup> patre] et spiritu sancto add S<sub>2</sub>

<sup>162</sup> Cristina Dondi, *The Liturgy of the Canons Regular of the Holy Sepulchre of Jerusalem: A Study and Catalogue of the Manuscript Sources*, Bibliotheca Victorina 16 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004), 202–5.

<sup>163</sup> Note that this was one of Andrieu's models for RP13; see RP13, pp. 219–23.

<sup>164</sup> Cf. Ps. 85.1.

Ad proficiscendum in itinere<sup>a</sup>. [O P<sub>1</sub> P<sub>2</sub> S<sub>1</sub> S<sub>2</sub> R<sub>1</sub> R<sub>2</sub>]

Ps. Qui habitat in adiutorio [Ps. 90.1]. Ps. Levavi oculos [Ps. 120.1]. Ps. De profundis [Ps. 129.1].

Ps.<sup>b</sup> Pater noster. Et ne nos. Salvos fac servos tibi<sup>c</sup>. Convertere domine<sup>d</sup>. Illustra faciem tuam<sup>e</sup>. Dominus conservet eos. Esto illis domine turris<sup>f</sup>. Angelis suis mandatum<sup>g</sup>. Nichil proficiet inimicus.<sup>h</sup> Mitte eis domine. Domine exaudi orationem meam.<sup>i</sup> Dominus vobiscum.

Oratio.<sup>j</sup> [O P<sub>1</sub> P<sub>2</sub> S<sub>1</sub> S<sub>2</sub> R<sub>1</sub> R<sub>2</sub>]<sup>165</sup>

Adesto domine supplicationibus nostris, et viam famulorum tuorum in salutatis<sup>k</sup> tue prosperitate dispone, ut inter omnes huius vie et vite varietates, tuo semper protegantur auxilio. Per dominum.<sup>l</sup>

Alia<sup>m</sup>: [O P<sub>1</sub> P<sub>2</sub> S<sub>1</sub> S<sub>2</sub> R<sub>1</sub> R<sub>2</sub>]<sup>166</sup>

Deus infinite misericordie et maiestatis immense quem nec spatia locorum nec intervalla temporum ab his quos tueris abiungunt, adesto famulis tuis in te ubique fidentibus<sup>n</sup>; et per omnem quam<sup>o</sup> ituri sunt viam, dux eis et comes esse dignare; nichil illis adversitatis noceat, nichil difficultatis<sup>p</sup> obsistat, cuncta eis salubria cuncta sint prospera et sub ope dextere tue<sup>q</sup> quicquid iusto expetierint desiderio celeriter<sup>r</sup> consequantur effectu. Per.<sup>s</sup>

Alia<sup>t</sup>: [O P<sub>2</sub> S<sub>1</sub> S<sub>2</sub> R<sub>1</sub> R<sub>2</sub>]<sup>167</sup>

Prosperum iter faciat vobis deus salutarium nostrorum, perducaturque in vias directas<sup>u</sup>, per ardua montium, convexa valium, plana camporum, vada fluminum, secreta silvarum, protegatque vos auxilium domini ut nichil vobis prevaleat scandalum inimici. Amen.

[O P<sub>2</sub> S<sub>1</sub> S<sub>2</sub> R<sub>1</sub> R<sub>2</sub>]<sup>168</sup>

Per diem salutaris domini vos umbra circumtegat per noctem amica quies<sup>v</sup> ipsis<sup>w</sup> gratiam relatura confoveat, deducatque vos mirabiliter dextera domini, et prebeant<sup>x</sup> ante faciem nostrum<sup>y</sup> divine pacis angelum comitem. Amen.

[O P<sub>2</sub> S<sub>1</sub> S<sub>2</sub> R<sub>1</sub> R<sub>2</sub>]<sup>169</sup>

Absit a vobis invidia diaboli, causa spendii, ruina peccati, casus incommodi, sors periculi, solusque<sup>z</sup> trinitatis individue<sup>aa</sup> in auxilium vestrum atque presidium educi curam habeat et reduci. Amen. Quod ipse prestare dignitur.<sup>bb</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Ad proficiscendum in itinere] Benedictio super proficiscendo in itinere S<sub>2</sub> <sup>b</sup> Ps] Oratio S<sub>2</sub> <sup>c</sup> tibi] om. R<sub>2</sub>; tu P<sub>2</sub>; servos tibi S<sub>2</sub> <sup>d</sup> domine] add. usquequo R<sub>2</sub> S<sub>2</sub>; add. usque P<sub>2</sub> <sup>e</sup> tuam] om. P<sub>2</sub> O <sup>f</sup> turris] om. S<sub>2</sub> <sup>g</sup> mandatum] mandavit P<sub>1</sub>; mandavit de te S<sub>2</sub> <sup>h</sup> inimicus] om. S<sub>2</sub> <sup>i</sup> meam] et clamor meus P<sub>1</sub> <sup>j</sup> Oratio] Oremus P<sub>1</sub> P<sub>2</sub> R<sub>1</sub> R<sub>2</sub> <sup>k</sup> salutatis] salutis O P<sub>1</sub> R<sub>1</sub> R<sub>2</sub> S<sub>2</sub> <sup>l</sup> dominum] om. R<sub>1</sub>; add. nostrum R<sub>2</sub> S<sub>2</sub> <sup>m</sup> Alia] add. oratio S<sub>2</sub> <sup>n</sup> fidentibus] confidentibus P<sub>1</sub> <sup>o</sup> quam] qua R<sub>1</sub> R<sub>2</sub> <sup>p</sup> difficultatis] diffultatis S<sub>1</sub> <sup>q</sup> tue] add. interlin. aduit? [illeg.] S<sub>2</sub> <sup>r</sup> celeri] sceleri R<sub>2</sub> <sup>s</sup> Per] add. dominum nostrum R<sub>2</sub>; add. Christum S<sub>2</sub> <sup>t</sup> Alia] Benedictio R<sub>1</sub> R<sub>2</sub>; Oratio O; Oremus P<sub>2</sub>; Sequitur benedictio S<sub>2</sub> <sup>u</sup> directas] di interlin. above S<sub>1</sub>; rectas S<sub>2</sub> <sup>v</sup> quies] qui es R<sub>2</sub> S<sub>2</sub> <sup>w</sup> ipsis] ipsius S<sub>2</sub> <sup>x</sup> prebeant] prebeat P<sub>2</sub> R<sub>1</sub> R<sub>2</sub> S<sub>2</sub> <sup>y</sup> nostrum] vestram S<sub>2</sub> <sup>z</sup> solusque] solvique R<sub>1</sub> <sup>aa</sup> individue] add. angelis R<sub>1</sub> <sup>bb</sup> prestare dignitur] om. P<sub>2</sub> O S<sub>1</sub>; Quod ... dignitur] om. S<sub>2</sub>

<sup>165</sup> Cf. Deshusses, *Le Sacramentaire Grégorien*, 1:438, LXXVIII (1317), *Missa pro iter agentibus*.

<sup>166</sup> Cf. Dumas, ed., *Liber sacramentorum Gellonensis*, 1:493 (no. 2792), *Orationis ad iter agentibus*; Heiming, ed., *Liber sacramentorum Augustodunensis*, 223–24 (no. 1814), *Oraciones ad iter agentibus*.

<sup>167</sup> Cf. Dumas, ed., *Liber sacramentorum Gellonensis*, 1:299 (no. 2098), *Benedictio cum egreditur in itinere*; Saint-Roch, ed., *Liber sacramentorum Engolismensis*, 277 (no. 1855), *Pro iter agentibus*.

<sup>168</sup> Cf. Dumas, ed., *Liber sacramentorum Gellonensis*, 1:299 (no. 2098), *Benedictio cum egreditur in itinere*; Saint-Roch, ed., *Liber sacramentorum Engolismensis*, 277 (no. 1855), *Pro iter agentibus*.

<sup>169</sup> Cf. Dumas, ed., *Liber sacramentorum Gellonensis*, 1:299 (no. 2098), *Benedictio cum egreditur in itinere*; Saint-Roch, ed., *Liber sacramentorum Engolismensis*, 277 (no. 1855), *Pro iter agentibus*.

Ad benedicendam peram<sup>a</sup> [O P<sub>1</sub> P<sub>2</sub> S<sub>1</sub> R<sub>1</sub> R<sub>2</sub> T]<sup>170</sup>

Domine Ihesu Christe qui tua ineffabili miseratione, patris iussione, spiritus sancti cooperatione de celo<sup>b</sup> descendere, ovemque perditam diabolica seductione voluisti querere, atque propriis humeris ad celestis patrie gregem referre, quique<sup>c</sup> precepisti natis matris ecclesie orando petere, benevivendo querere, ac pulsando perseverare quo citius invenire valeant salutaris premia vite te humiliter invocamus clementissime domine; quatinus sanctificando benedicere, atque benedicendo has peras digneris sanctificare, ut quicumque eas per<sup>d</sup> tui nominis amore instar humilis armature lateri suo applicare, sicque peregrinando suffragia sanctorum humili<sup>e</sup> comitante devotione studuerint querere, dextere tue protecti munimine, pervenire mereantur<sup>f</sup>, ad gaudia mansionis eterne. Qui vivis cum eodem patre et spiritu sancto deus.<sup>g</sup> Per.

Ad dandam peram<sup>b</sup> [O P<sub>1</sub> P<sub>2</sub> S<sub>1</sub> R<sub>1</sub> R<sub>2</sub> T]<sup>171</sup>

In nomine sancte et individue trinitatis, sit tibi iugum Christi mansuetum et leve ut sue protectionis custodia te ubique comitante ad portum salutifere remissionis misericorditer merearis attolli, atque eterne beatitudinis gratia feliciter prefrui. Per.

Ad dandum<sup>i</sup> baculum<sup>i</sup> [O P<sub>1</sub> P<sub>2</sub> S<sub>1</sub> S<sub>2</sub> R<sub>1</sub> R<sub>2</sub> T]<sup>172</sup>

Accipe baculum sustentationis vel defensionis domini nostri Ihesu Christi quo sustentante gressus itineris tui<sup>k</sup> firmiter pergere ac fortiter resistere valeatis venenosis impulsionibus serpentis antiqui. Per.

### APPENDIX 3: NORMAN SICILIAN RITE

[P] Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, MS A. 92, fols. 115r–116v (likely to have been made for Palermo; dated to 1167). Rite is entitled *Missa pro iter agentibus*. P serves as base manuscript.

[M] Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, MS 678, fols. 67r–68v (1200, probably for Messina). Rite is entitled *Benedictio crucium peregrinorum*.

[V] BAV, MS Vat. lat. 6748, fols. 52v–54r (14th c. Monreale, Sicily). Rite is entitled *Benedictio crucis peregrinorum*.

Note that a more developed version of this same rite is found in Rome Casantense 614, fols. 18r–22r, and has been edited by Derek A. Rivard, “*Pro iter agentibus*: The Ritual Blessings of Pilgrims and Their Insignia in a Pontifical of Southern Italy,” *Journal of Medieval History* 27 (2001): 365–98.

Manuscripts and their relationship to one another are all described in Richard Gyug, “From Beneventan to Gothic: Continuity and Change in Southern Italian Liturgical Ceremonies,” in *Classica et Beneventana: Essays Presented to Virginia Brown on the Occasion of Her 65th Birthday*, ed. Frank Thomas Coulson and Anna Grotans (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008), 293–310.

Orthography and word order follows P. Abbreviations have been expanded. The letters *ij*, *uv*, and some *cts* have been modernized. Variations in word order and spelling (except on occasion if of interest) have not been noted. Variants are otherwise given in the notes. Items in square brackets are editorial.

<sup>a</sup> Ad benedicendam peram] Benedictio pere et baculi T <sup>b</sup> de celo] om. S<sub>2</sub> T <sup>c</sup> quique] quicque T <sup>d</sup> per] pro P<sub>2</sub> R<sub>1</sub> <sup>e</sup> humili] om. T <sup>f</sup> mereantur] mereamur P<sub>2</sub> <sup>g</sup> Qui vivis ... sancto deus] Qui vivis et regnas ... sancto deus R<sub>1</sub>; Qui vivis T; qui vivis cum eodem patre S<sub>2</sub> <sup>h</sup> Ad dandam peram] Quando datur ei peram S<sub>2</sub> <sup>i</sup> dandum] dandam P<sub>2</sub> R<sub>1</sub> <sup>j</sup> Ad dandum baculum] Quando datur ei baculi S<sub>2</sub> <sup>k</sup> tui] vestri P<sub>1</sub> P<sub>2</sub> R<sub>1</sub> R<sub>2</sub> T

<sup>170</sup> Cf. RP12 XLVII.1, p. 265.

<sup>171</sup> Ibid.

<sup>172</sup> Cf. RP12 XLVII.3, p. 265, and see also Reims 341.

Missa pro iter agentibus.<sup>a</sup>

Redime me domine [Ps. 25.11–12]. Psalmus<sup>b</sup>: Iudica me domine [Ps. 25.1]. Oratio: XVIII<sup>c</sup>. Adesto domine supplicationibus nostris, et viam famulorum tuorum. Epistola: Locutus est dominus ad Abraham. Egredere de<sup>d</sup> [cf. Genesis 12.1]. R) Domine refugium<sup>e</sup> [Ps. 89.1].

V) Priusquam. Alleluya. V) Letatus sum in his [Ps. 121.1]. Evangelium. Euntes predicate [Mt 10.7]. Off.: Gressus meos [Ps. 118.133]. Co<sup>f</sup>) Tu mandasti [Ps. 118.4].

Benedictio crucium peregrinorum et perarum<sup>g</sup>:<sup>173</sup>

Rogamuste domine sancte pater omnipotens eterne deus, ut digneris benedicere hoc signum crucis ut sit his famulis tuis remedium salutare, sit soliditas spei, profectus bonorum operum, redemptio animarum, sit solamen et protectio ac tutela contra seva iacula inimicorum. Per.

Deinde aspergat eas aqua benedicta et imponat super humeros eorum dicens:

In nomine domini nostri Ihesu Christi accipe signum sancte crucis singulare presidium contra insidias visibilium et invisibilium inimicorum, ut qui te hoc prius redemit per gratiam rursus per hoc te salvet per veniam Ihesus Christus dominus noster. Qui.

Impositis omnibus dicat<sup>b</sup>, In conspectus gentium [Ps. 97.2]:

Oratio:<sup>i174</sup>

Deus qui beate crucis patibulum quod prius erat scelestis ad penam convertisti<sup>i</sup> redemptis ad vitam, concede his famulis tuis eius vallari presidio, cuius sunt armati vexillo. Per<sup>k</sup>.

Benedictio Perarum:<sup>175</sup>

Deus invicte virtutis, potentie immense, qui famulis tuis invicticia arma tribuisti<sup>l</sup>, quem sumus hanc peram devote humilitatis benedicere digneris, ut venerande crucis vexillum cuius etiam in ea, est designate figura, sit invictissimum robur eorum contra antike hostis nequissima temptamenta. Per.

Tunc det eis dicens:

In nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti, accipe peram habitum peregrinationis tue, tutelam contra insidias omnium inimicorum visibilium et<sup>m</sup> invisibilium, quam securus perferas ad sepulcrum domini nostri ihesu Christi, vel quocumque pergere cupis, et peracto itineris cursu, sanus et incolumis cum volueris ad nos revertaris<sup>n</sup>. Amen.

Datis omnibus dicat:

Angelus qui fuit cum Tobia, ipse comitetur vobiscum in terram peregrinationis nostre. Benedicat vobis dominus ex Syon,<sup>o</sup> et videatis. [cf. Ps. 127.5]

Beati Omnes.

Gloria. Kyrie Eleyson. Pater noster. Ostende. Salvos fac. Esto eis domine<sup>p</sup>. Mitte eis. Domine exaudi Dominus vobis.

Oratio<sup>q</sup>:

Famulos tuos quos domine tua semper gratia perveniat tua misericordia subsequatur, tua dextera benedicat, et incolumes eos quo cupiunt ire perducatur. Per.

<sup>a</sup> Missa pro iter agentibus] Benedictio crucium peregrinorum. In primis celebrator missam M <sup>b</sup> Psalmus] om. P <sup>c</sup> Oratio XVIII] om. P <sup>d</sup> Egredere de] add. terra V <sup>e</sup> refugium] add. sacrosancta P <sup>f</sup> Co] V M <sup>g</sup> Benedictio crucium peregrinorum et perarum] Post missam sequitur benedictio crucis M V <sup>b</sup> dicat] dicens M <sup>i</sup> Oratio] om. M V <sup>i</sup> convertisti] convertistis M V <sup>k</sup> Per] add. eum P <sup>l</sup> tribuis] tribuisti M <sup>m</sup> visibilium et] om. M V <sup>n</sup> revertaris] reverti M <sup>o</sup> ex Syon] exion M; exsyon P <sup>p</sup> domine] om. M <sup>q</sup> Oratio] om. M

<sup>173</sup> Cf. RGP XL.98, 1:157, *lignum crucis* replaced with *signum crucis*.

<sup>174</sup> Cf. RGP XL.102, 1:159.

<sup>175</sup> Cf. RP13 XX.6, p. 420.