Echoes of the Past and Present Crusades in Les Prophecies de Merlin

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in *Les Prophecies de Merlin*

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In recent decades, the impact of the crusades on what historians have always regarded as fictional literature, the epic and romance literature of the middle ages, has attracted the attention of a number of scholars of literature and of history as an indicator of the extent to which western writers and audiences were aware of and interested in events on the crusading frontiers of Christendom [1]. Some works, such as the Old French Crusade Cycle, are more obviously reflective of crusading than others, such as Arthurian literature. Yet direct references to crusading in the most unlikely works offer a persuasive indication of the impact of crusading ideology throughout medieval society.

The *Prophecies de Merlin* is a prose work of the last third of the thirteenth century. It comprises factual, 'prophetic' material relating to recent history interwoven with fictional material relating to Arthurian legend, the *matière de Bretagne*. Its complex structure and the fact that it can not be classified simply as 'fact' or 'fiction' have until recently discouraged scholars from using it. In 1926-27 Lucy Allen Paton published a detailed study, in which she identified four groups of manuscripts and edited one. James Douglas Bruce considered the work in his ground-breaking *The Evolution of Arthurian Romance from the Beginnings down to the Year 1300*, but after this short burst of interest the work slipped again into relative obscurity. It was omitted from Brian Woledge's *Bibliographie des Romans et Nouvelles en Prose Française Antérieurs à 1500* (1954-75) on the grounds that it is not a romance, although G. D. West included it in his *Index of Proper Names in*

French Arthurian Prose Romances (1977). Benjamin Kedar cited it in his *Merchants in Crisis* (1976) as a source of evidence on merchants, particularly Venetian merchants, in the 1270s. On the other hand, despite the references to crusading in both the factual and fictional parts of the text, David Trotter did not consider it in his *Medieval French Literature and the Crusades* (1987).[2] However, the publication in 1992 of the longest manuscript of the Group I family, Codex Bodmer 116 in the Bibliotheca Bodmeriana, Geneva, has drawn scholars' attention to this relatively underused work, and in recent years an increasing number of studies have drawn upon it [3].

Scholars agree that the *Prophecies* were composed by a Venetian writer in the period 1272-79. The work claims to have been translated for the emperor Frederick II by one 'Maistre Richart d'Irlande', although Frederick is generally presented unfavourably in the course of the *Prophecies* [4]. As its accepted provenance is a city deeply involved in the crusades to the Holy Land and in the Latin East[5], and the supposed patron of the work was himself a crusader, it is no surprise to discover references to actual crusades in the work. Indeed, the factual material in the *Prophecies de Merlin* contains many references to actual crusades, which were examined by Lucy Allen Paton in her analysis of the text [6].

However, two manuscripts of the Group I version of the *Prophecies*, both dating from the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century, also include in the fictional 'romance' part of the work an episode involving an organised crusade to Jerusalem, complete with a papal encyclical calling on western kings to join an expedition to save Jerusalem, a crusade indulgence, and details of recruitment and financing of the expedition [7]. Part of this episode also appeared in two of the manuscripts which Paton defined as 'Group IV': the Venice manuscript and the 1498 edition printed for

Antoine Vérard [8]. Although wars against the heathen are quite common in Old French

Arthurian romance, and have been considered in detail by David Trotter, those are

nearly always holy wars rather than crusades, lacking the organisational elements and

papal involvement which marked the institution of the crusade. As it is very unusual

to find descriptions of institutionalised crusading in medieval Arthurian literature, this

episode in the *Prophecies* would appear to merit attention. It is the purpose of the

present article to consider the possible historical sources for the crusading episode in

the fictional portion of this work, and to consider how the presumed authorship and

dating of the work can be reconciled to this aspect of its content.

The first part of the crusading episode follows the episode of Galehaut's tournament,

which also appears in some manuscripts of the prose *Tristan* and in Thomas Malory's

Morte Darthur [9]. A war between Arthur and the Saxons has concluded with the defeat

of the Saxons, who agree to pay tribute. Meanwhile two papal messengers have

arrived in Britain bearing letters from the emperor of Rome and the king of Ireland,

who are both in the Holy Land, appealing for aid for the city of Jerusalem. Arthur

sends the Saxon tribute to the Holy Land as aid. The two messengers return to Rome

with money given to them by the faithful, which the pope employs to recruit Christian

knights and footsoldiers to fight in defence of the Holy Land. These warriors sail to

East, where the emperor is encamped on the plains of 'Burtynuble'. They advance to

Jerusalem, which is being guarded by the king of Ireland. One Richard of Jerusalem is

crowned king of Jerusalem. As the war continues, the king of Baghdad sends envoys

to Jerusalem to treat with the Christians, but his Muslim envoys are unable to enter

the holy city [10].

The second part of the crusading episode describes the crusade of Archemays or Archemais, son of King Aguissant of Scotland, and the crusade of the Irish, Welsh, Listenois and those from the other islands of Britain [11]. The third and final part of the crusading episode appears only in one manuscript. Archemays and his troops arrive at the city of Charas, where they fight the king of Baghdad's forces and suffer heavy losses. In revenge, Archemays challenges the king of Baghdad to send his four best knights, whom he defeats and kills. He urges the king of Baghdad to become a Christian, but the king of Baghdad dismisses his offer and expresses his intention of continuing the war [12]. The crusading episode ends with the Christians still holding their own, but about to be attacked by the overwhelming forces of the king of Baghdad.

This crusading episode clearly reflects certain literary traditions. The general context is the post-Vulgate tradition of Arthurian prose romance; the crusading episodes can be compared to the Old French Crusade Cycle [13]. Archemays's urging of the king of Baghdad to become a Christian is a familiar motif from epic literature [14]. The king of Baghdad offers his daughter in marriage to Archemays, another familiar motif of fairytale and epic [15]. Yet the unavenged heavy defeat of the Christians in this battle is very unusual in Old French epic and romance; heavy losses are usually recovered or avenged later. It is possible that the author of the *Prophecies* intended to allow the Christians to recover their losses later in the story, but this is by no means certain.

The episode also reflects Christian myth: when Christ prevents the Muslims from entering the holy city of Jerusalem, the *Prophecies* are echoing the legend of Christ's letter to Adgar, king of Edessa, according to which no ritually unclean person could enter the city through the city gate by which Christ's letter had entered [16].

The episode also reflects historical events. The expeditions described in these manuscripts are never called 'crusades' or even 'pilgrimages', the usual term for a crusade in the Middle Ages. Their organisation is however typical of the twelfth and thirteenth-century military expeditions from Western Europe to the Holy Land [17]. They are initiated by the pope, who sends a letter to the West urging Christians to go to the aid of the holy places, in particular the holy city of Jerusalem: *cele sainte terre ou Nostre Sires Ihesu Cris fu mors, penes et traveillies*, as Cod. Bodmer 116 expresses it [18]. In return, the pope offers forgiveness of sins that have been confessed to a priest. The pope's letter is accompanied by letters from the military leaders in the Holy Land, setting out the predicament of the Christians in the East and calling urgently for aid [19]. The crusaders will be paid with money that has been collected from the faithful to assist the crusade [20]. These procedures would have been familiar to the original audience of the *Prophecies de Merlin* as being normal for a crusade, and indicate that these expeditions were intended to be interpreted as crusades.

Some aspects of this episode bear strong similarities to aspects of individual historical crusades. The most obvious parallels are with the Third Crusade. Paton observed that the battle at Burtinuble during Archemays' crusade is 'a faint echo' of Richard I's capture of a Muslim caravan on the plains below Bait Nūbā during the Third Crusade [21]. The echo is faint because, whereas Richard I's attack on the Muslim caravan was successful, Archemays's fictional forces are massacred outside Charas and the Archemays episode breaks off before the battle at Burtinuble. In fact, this episode is not a direct reproduction of any one crusade: some events and places have no obvious parallel with recent history, while others are clearly echoes of aspects of various crusades. These echoes of historical crusades will now be considered.

King Arthur's gold is carried to the Holy Land by one *Henri li Cortois* - a detail reminiscent of King Henry II of England sending money for the relief of the Holy Land prior to 1189, as recounted in various contemporary and later medieval accounts of the Third Crusade [22]. King Arthur is responding to an appeal for help from the emperor of Rome and the king of Ireland, who are both in the Holy Land: historically Frederick I, emperor of Rome, set off for the Third Crusade, although he never reached the Holy Land. In the *Prophecies* the king of Ireland asks the pope to sell Ireland, if a buyer may be found; these words are reminiscent of the famous remark attributed by Richard of Devizes and by William of Newburgh to King Richard I during his preparations for the Third Crusade, that he would have sold London if he could have found a buyer [23].

The king of Jerusalem is named Richard, which was never the name of a king of Jerusalem but was the name of two English crusade leaders, King Richard I in 1189-92 and his nephew Earl Richard of Cornwall in 1240-41. Of the two, King Richard appears at first glance to be the more likely inspiration for this figure: historically he had a strong claim to the kingdom of Jerusalem, although he gave the kingdom to his nephew Count Henry of Champagne rather than take it himself [24]. Yet there are also echoes of Earl Richard of Cornwall's crusade of 1240-41. During the Third Crusade Jerusalem was in Muslim hands; during Richard of Cornwall's crusade it was in Christian hands, as here. Whereas during the Third Crusade the emperor Frederick I played no effective role because he died *en route* to the Holy Land, Richard of Cornwall was acting as the representative of his brother-in-law, the emperor Frederick II. In the *Prophecies* 'King Richard of Jerusalem' declares that he cannot act without the consent of the emperor of Rome, implying a connection with the crusade of Richard of Cornwall rather than Richard the Lionheart. In the

Prophecies the emperor of Rome receives Richard of Jerusalem with great joy when the latter arrives in the plain of Burtynuble. Similarly, Frederick II welcomed Richard with joy when he arrived in Italy on his journey home from the Holy Land and entertained him regally for four months [25]. In the same way as King Richard of Jerusalem's crusade is aided by King Arthur of England's money, brought east by Henry the Courteous, so Richard of Cornwall's crusade was supported and partly financed by his brother King Henry III of England. Like Richard of Jerusalem in the *Prophecies*, the historical Richard of Cornwall received much support and financial aid from the pope. However, in the *Prophecies* the emperor apparently has a hand in Richard's coronation as king of Jerusalem; yet although Richard of Cornwall acted on the emperor's behalf in the Holy Land, the emperor had no part in promoting him to any office in the East. It is true that when Richard of Cornwall was elected king of the Romans in 1257, his former friendship with Frederick (died 1250) may have helped him acquire influence in Germany and Italy. Yet he was not regarded as a successor to Frederick II, for the Hohenstaufen candidate was Alfonso X of Castile [26]. 'Richard of Jerusalem', therefore, is not a direct parallel of any one historical figure, but combines aspects of two historical King Richards who campaigned in the kingdom of Jerusalem.

In the same way, the 'emperor of Rome' in the *Prophecies* does not clearly parallel any single historical emperor, but echoed recent western emperors who had crusaded in the East. From the *Historia regum Britanniae* of Geoffrey of Monmouth onwards the 'Roman emperor' had been a stock character of Arthurian romance, but as a political enemy, as in the vulgate *Merlin* and *La Mort le Roi Artu* [27]. The emperor in the crusading episode in the *Prophecies* is a different figure altogether from emperors elsewhere in Arthurian romance. He is a positive figure who assists

Christendom, in a context where literary convention did not demand his presence, but recent history did.

Successive western emperors and emperors-elect had been involved in crusades to the Holy Land. The emperor in the *Prophecies* closely ressembles both Frederick I Barbarossa and his grandson Frederick II of Hohenstaufen. Frederick I Barbarossa took part in the Second Crusade and set out on the Third Crusade but died tragically *en route*, but his son, Duke Frederick of Swabia, played an important role during the Third Crusade at the siege of Acre before his death from disease in January 1191. Frederick II led a crusade to the Holy Land in 1228-29. After negotiation with the Egyptian sultan al-Kamil, he recovered Jerusalem in the Treaty of Jaffa of 18 February 1229 [28].

The emperor in the *Prophecies* instructs the pope to pawn (*metre en gages*) his crown and his two children (*enfans*) in order to provide money to defend the holy city [29]. There is an echo here of the legend of the Last Emperor, very popular in the West in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, according to which the Last Emperor would lay down his crown in Jerusalem [30]. There are also parallels with the two emperors Frederick. One such appears in the *Itinerarium peregrinorum*, an English work of the early 1190s, based here on a German source. This states that Frederick Barbarosa had two sons, and left one behind to rule his realm (Henry), while he took the other (Frederick, duke of Swabia) with him on crusade [31]. Yet this parallel is not very satisfactory, as these two were adults and in fact Frederick had four sons when he set out on crusade. The other parallel is with the crusade of Frederick II. In 1228 when he set out on the crusade, Frederick II left behind in Europe his two legitimate sons, Henry (VII) and Conrad (he also had illegitimate sons, but the author of this episode could reasonably have discounted them). Conrad was an infant, born in 1228; Henry

had been born in 1211, so was around seventeen years old, and was legally not yet an adult [32]. In short, there are echoes of the two emperor Fredericks in the *Prophecies*'s emperor's two children.

Frederick II recovered Jerusalem from the Muslims, albeit by treaty; Jerusalem was not in Christian hands during Frederick I's crusade. In this respect the emperor in the *Prophecies* echoes Frederick II rather than Frederick I. Yet the emperor in the *Prophecies* is on good terms with the pope; Frederick II had been excommunicated by the pope before he reached the Holy Land. Again, the *Prophecies* paralleled recent history without duplicating it.

Other characters within this crusading episode have no direct parallels in historical crusades, but echoed contemporary reality. No Irish king ever went on crusade, but the Irish, and especially the Hiberno-Norman nobility, were involved in crusading during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Some members of the Hiberno-Norman nobility were involved in the Third Crusade and the crusade of Richard of Cornwall; some were involved in the crusade of William Longsword, who joined Louis IX's first crusade of 1248-54, others undertook to join King Henry III of England on crusade in the 1250s, and many were involved in the crusade of the Lord Edward (1271-72). Edward had been overlord of Ireland since 1254, and in that sense was 'king of Ireland'. Likewise, the Scots were involved in crusading throughout the Middle Ages, although they were never as prominent as Archemays is in this episode. There was a Scottish presence on the Third Crusade and on the crusade of Richard of Cornwall; a large number took the cross in the late 1240s and early 1250s, many of whom set out on crusade although some commuted their vows. Many also took the cross in the 1260s and joined the second crusade of Louis IX (1270) or the Lord Edward's crusade. In particular, the Lord Edward's crusade included members of the

highest Scottish nobility, including Robert Bruce the elder, lord of Annandale (one of the claimants of the Scottish throne in 1290-92), his son Robert Bruce, Alexander de Balliol, Eustace de Balliol, John de Vescy and Alexander de Seton. The Welsh also had some involvement in crusading, as they do here. The appearance of the Irish and Scottish in this episode, playing a major role in the crusades, reflects the increasing significance of the kingdom of Scotland in western European politics in the thirteenth century, and the political significance of the Hiberno-Norman nobility – who also held extensive estates in England and in the Welsh March. In addition, the fact that the *Prophecies* are ascribed to one 'Maistre Richart d'Irlande' might help to account for the prominence given to the 'king of Ireland' in this episode, although there is no evidence that the actual author of the *Prophecies* had any connection with Ireland [33].

Some of the geographical references in this crusading episode relate to the actual geography of the Holy Land, and their importance in this episode echoes various crusades. 'Burtinoble' or 'Burtynuble' is a variant spelling of Bait Nūbā, on the road between Jaffa and Jerusalem and an important station for the crusading army during Richard I's crusade [34]. Although Bait Nūbā is not actually on the plains but in the hills overlooking the plain, the composer of the *Prophecies* would not have been able to deduce this from the written sources, here principally Ambroise the trouvère and the compiler of the *Itinerarium peregrinorum*. Both of these writers, while claiming to be eyewitnesses of the events they describe, implied that Bait Nūbā lies on the plain [35]. 'Ramacort/Ramort' recalls Ramla, also called Ramula (in Latin) and Rames (in Old French), another important site during the Third Crusade, and one of the sites recovered for Christendom by treaty by Frederick II during his crusade [36]. 'Japhes' is the Old French name for Jaffa, an important port on the coast of the kingdom of Jerusalem that played a significant role during the crusades of King

Richard, Frederick II and Richard of Cornwall [37]. 'Charas', 'Karas', 'Arkans' or

'Akaras' echoes the important port of Acre. The fact that in the *Prophecies* this city is

in Muslim hands is reminiscent of the Third Crusade, in which the first object of the

crusade was to recapture Acre from the Muslim forces that had captured it in July

1187. Other place names in this episode, such as Sarraz/Sarras and Orberice/Oberiche,

derive from literary tradition. Although modern scholars have proposed various

parallels in actual geography, for the audience of the *Prophecies* these were simply

exotic names associated with the Holy Land in the Grail story.[38]

Some details of this episode cannot be linked to any single crusade yet directly

reflected contemporary actuality. The detailed description of the raising of a crusade

is the most striking example. In the second part of the episode the emperor is still in

the Holy Land, and further relief forces have come out from the West with papal

encouragement, bringing money as well as warriors; this reflects the situation in the

crusader states in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries without directly echoing any

actual events. The heavy defeat which the Christians suffer from the sultan of

Baghdad at Charas/Acre echoes numerous heavy defeats suffered by the Christians at

the hands of Muslim sultans, but particularly the repeated defeats inflicted on them

outside Acre by Baibars, the Mamluk sultan of Egypt, during the 1260s [39]. The

sultan's promise to meet the pilgrims on the plains of Burtinuble for a final battle

echoes the situation in the crusader states by the 1270s, when the *Prophecies* were

being composed: the Latin Christians held only a small area of the coast, and lacked

the resources to withstand a prolonged onslaught.

In short, the gloomy prospects for the Christians at the end of this fictional

episode are very similar to the situation of the Latin Christians in the East at this time.

While there were still hopes that the situation could be recovered, and discussions

about a new crusade were held at the Second Council of Lyons in 1274 under the presidency of Pope Gregory X, there was no consensus over the best way to halt Mamluk advance. The situation was complicated by the advance of the pagan Mongols, who had conquered Baghdad in 1258. Although their progression west had been halted in 1260 by their defeat at ʿAin Jālūt in Galilee by the Mamluk sultan Qutuz, they still threatened Muslim Syria, and some Western commentators regarded the Mongol Il-khan as a potential convert and ally – like the 'king of Baghdad' here [40]. The latter part of this 'fictional' crusading episode in the *Prophecies* reflects both this uncertainty and this hope: fears of final disaster, but hopes that the kingdom of Jerusalem could yet be saved and its enemies converted to Christianity. Given the long association of Venice with the crusading movement and the Latin East, these fears and hopes must have been of great concern both to the Venetian author of the *Prophecies* and to the intended audience of the work.

However, there is an obvious problem here: what were the Venetian author's sources for the historical details in this crusading episode? The episode makes no reference to any Italian involvement, despite the fact that the maritime republics of Genoa, Venice and Pisa played a significant role in the crusades; and despite the fact that Venice plays a major role in the references to the crusades in the factual, 'prophetic' sections of the *Prophecies*. On the contrary, the focus of this fictional episode is on English crusading expeditions, combined with the crusading involvement of other realms within the British Isles, especially Ireland and Scotland. Richard I's crusade also appears in the factual, 'prophetic' sections of the *Prophecies*, indicating that his crusade was well known to the author and intended audience, but there is no reference in the factual sections to his father's money or Richard offering to sell London to finance his crusade, as there is in the 'fictional' episode. The author

of the 'fictional' crusading episode may have drawn the references to Bait Nūbā, Jaffa and Ramla from the source for the 'factual' prophecy elsewhere in the work, but the other allusions to the Third Crusade in the fictional episode are independent of that prophecy. Whereas the 'prophetic' episode could have been drawn from a Venetian account of the crusading campaigns (in which the Venetians played a prominent role), the selection of the particular aspects taken from Third Crusade for the fictional episode indicates that the author knew, either directly or indirectly, the detailed English or Norman-authored accounts of this crusade such as Ambroise's *Estoire de la Guerre Sainte*, Richard of Devizes's or William of Newburgh's chronicles or the *Itinerarium peregrinorum*, which include these aspects.

This knowledge of details of British crusades could indicate that this episode was put together before 1272 as a separate Arthurian episode by an author with some connection with Britain and that it was later incorporated into the *Prophecies de Merlin* by the Venetian compiler. But this is unlikely, for this episode does not survive in any work outside the *Prophecies*. It is more likely that the possible allusions to British crusades, especially the crusades of Richard of Cornwall and of his nephew the Lord Edward, are a result of Richard's and Edward's connections with and visits to north-eastern Italy between 1241 and 1273.

Both Richard and Edward were known in Italy. When Richard was travelling back from the Holy Land in 1241 he received a royal welcome from the Italian cities on his route. Subsequent to his election and coronation as king of the Romans in 1257 he made great efforts to win over support in north Italy among the Guelfs. Richard was also involved in the organisation of the crusade of his nephew the Lord Edward. Edward's crusade overwintered in Sicily 1270-71 after returning from King Louis IX of France's failed crusading expedition to Tunis. Richard of Cornwall's eldest son,

Henry of Almain, accompanied Edward's crusade to Tunis and back to Sicily, but early in March 1271 Edward sent him back to England to assist the political situation there. Henry was murdered while attending mass in Viterbo on 13 March; a notorious atrocity that won its perpetrator a place in Dante's *Inferno*.

Edward travelled back through Italy on his return from the Holy Land during the winter of 1272-73. In February he met the pope, Gregory X, at Orvieto; in May he and his queen Eleanor were entertained by the bishop of Reggio. As King Henry III of England had died 16 November 1272, Edward was by this time acknowledged king of England. Hence King Edward I of England and lord of Ireland, and his English, Hiberno-Norman and noble Scottish crusaders were present in Italy at the period when the composition of the *Prophecies* was beginning. It would have been reasonable and possible for an author who was producing a work based in the reign of Edward's legendary predecessor on the English throne, King Arthur, to have used the crusading exploits of Edward and his family as source material [41].

If this part of the *Prophecies* were indeed written in the wake of the inconclusive crusade of the Lord Edward, its unfinished state was appropriate. The episode ends on a realistic note of gloom coupled with a hope that the enemy may yet be converted to Christianity, which reflected the position in the Holy Land at the time of Edward's crusade.

To sum up: the fictional crusading episode in the *Prophecies de Merlin* contains elements which echo events in three historical crusades of the period 1189-1241, as well as the actual situation in the crusader states at the time of writing, combined with fictional epic and romantic material of the late twelfth century and the thirteenth century. The most obvious allusions are to the Third Crusade, which also receives

prominent mention in the factual, 'prophetic' sections of the *Prophecies* (including

reference to events at Bait Nūbā), but in addition there are echoes of the crusades of

Frederick II and Earl Richard of Cornwall, which are not mentioned elsewhere in the

Prophecies, while the reference to the 'king of Ireland' recalls the presence of the

Lord Edward, overlord of Ireland, in the Holy Land 1271-72. The echoes of Frederick

II's crusade strengthened the author's claim that the work was written for Frederick

II; allusions to the crusade of Richard of Cornwall could also have reflected the

latter's connection with Frederick II. The author of this episode combined this

historical material with the familiar and appealing features of the entertaining

Arthurian romance to create a new Arthurian episode which had direct relevance and

interest to the audience, presumably in order to make the whole work more effective

and attractive to this audience. As we do not know exactly why the *Prophecies* were

composed, except to exalt the Venetians and denigrate Emperor Frederick II, it is not

possible to deduce why actual crusades were integrated into the story in this way.

Perhaps the incorporation of references to actual crusades, including a 'good'

crusading emperor who is so like and yet so unlike Emperor Frederick II,

strengthened the intended message of the work.

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NOTES

[1] See, for example, Jean Flori, *L'idée de croisade dans quelques chansons de geste du cycle de Guillaume d'Orange*, in *Medioevo Romanzo*, t. 21 (1997), p. 476-495; idem, *La croix, la crosse et l'épee: La conversion des infidèles dans 'La Chanson de Roland' et les chroniques de croisade*, in *Plaist vos oïr bone cançon vallant? Melanges de Langue et de Littérature Médiévales offerts à François Suard*, t. 1, Lille, 1999, p. 261-272; idem, *Des chroniques à l'épopée ... ou bien l'inverse? (A propos du Picard Pierre l'Ermite)*, in *Perspectives médiévales*, t. 20 (1994), p. 36-44; etc. See also Maurice Keen, *Chaucer's Knight, the English Aristocracy and the Crusade*, in *English Court Culture in the Later Middle Ages*, ed. V. J. Scattergood and J. W. Sherborne, London, 1983, p. 45-61; idem, *Chivalry*, New Haven and London, 1984; idem, *Nobles, Knights and Men-at-Arms in the Middle Ages* (London, 1996); etc; Robert Cook, *Crusade Propaganda in the Epic Cycles of the Crusade*, in *Journeys Toward God: Pilgrimage and Crusade*, ed. Barbara N. Sargent-Baur, Kalamazoo, 1992, p. 157-175. See also, for instance, Malcolm Barber, *The Social Context of the Templars*, in *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, t. 34 (1984), p. 27-46: here 41; reprinted in his *Crusaders and Heretics, 12th-14th Centuries*, Aldershot, 1995, no. VIII; David Jacoby, *La littérature française dans les états latins de la Méditerranée orientale à l'époque des croisades: diffusion et création*, in *Essor et fortune de la*

chanson de geste dans l'Europe et l'Orient latin. Actes du IXe Congrès International de la Société Rencesvals pour l'Étude des Épopées Romanes, Padua and Venice, 1982, p. 617-646; reprinted in his *Studies on the Crusader States and on Venetian Expansion*, Northampton, 1989, ch. II; David Jacoby, *Knightly Values and Class Consciousness in the Crusader States of the Eastern Mediterranean*, in *Mediterranean Historical Review*, t. 1 (1986), p. 158-186; reprinted in his *Studies on the Crusader States and on Venetian Expansion*, Northampton, 1989, no. I; Hans E. Meyer, *The Crusades*, trans. John Gillingham, Oxford, 1988 (2nd edn), p. 85-86, 192-193. Helen Nicholson, *Love, War and the Grail: Templars, Hospitallers and Teutonic Knights in Medieval Epic and Romance, 1150-1500*, Leiden, 2001.

[2] See also Brian Woledge, *Bibliographie des Romans et Nouvelles en Prose Française Antérieurs à 1500*, Geneva and Lille, 1954-75, t. 1, p. 83; G. D. West, *Index of Proper Names in French Arthurian Prose Romances*, Toronto, 1977, p. xvii; Benjamin Z. Kedar, *Merchants in Crisis: Genoese and Venetian Men of Affairs and the Fourteenth-Century Depression*, New Haven and Yale, 1976, p. 24, 39-40, 75; David A. Trotter, *Medieval French Literature and the Crusades, 1100-1300*, Geneva, 1987. See also *Nicholson, Love, War and the Grail*, op. cit., p. 8, 23, 158, 175-176, 211-213.

[3] For editions, see: *Les Prophecies de Merlin, edited from MS 593 in the Bibliothèque Municipale of Reims*, ed. Lucy Allen Paton, London and New York, 1926-7, t. 1; *Les Prophesies de Merlin (Cod. Bodmer 116)*, ed. Anne Berthelot, Cologny-Geneva, 1992. A third manuscript remains unpublished: British Library Additional Manuscript 25434 (henceforth cited as BL Add. ms. 25434). Studies include: James Douglas Bruce, *The Evolution of Arthurian Romance from the Beginnings down to the Year 1300*, Baltimore, 1928 (2nd edn); repr. Gloucester, Mass., 1958, t. 2, p. 28-30, and note 25 for a bibliography of works published to 1917; *Prophecies*, ed. Paton, *op. cit.*,

t. 2; Paul Zumthor, *Merlin le Prophète: un thème de la littérature polémique de l'historiographie et des romans*, Lausanne, 1943, p. 101-107, 261-272; Cedric E. Pickford, *Miscellaneous French Prose Romances*, in *Arthurian Literature in the Middle Ages: a Collaborative History*, ed. Roger Sherman Loomis, Oxford, 1959, p. 348-357: here p. 352-354; Rosemary Morris, *The Character of King Arthur in Medieval Literature*, Cambridge-Totowa NJ, 1982 [Arthurian Studies IV], p. 62; Donald L. Hoffman, *Merlin in Italy*, in *Philological Quarterly*, t. 70 (1991), p. 261-275; Anne Berthelot, *Cartengles, Feragus, Mingles et le dragon de Babyloine: les variations du bestiaire apocalyptique dans 'Les Prophesies de Merlin'*, in *Fin des temps et temps de la fin dans l'univers médiéval*, Aix-en-Provence, 1993, p. 53-65; Anne Berthelot, *La Dame du Lac, Sebille l'enchanteresse, la dame d'Avalon… et quelques autres*, in *Europäische Literaturen im Mittelalter. Mélanges en l'honneur de Wolfgang Spiewok à l'occasion de son 65ème anniversaire*, Greifswald, 1994, p. 9-17; Richard Trachsler, *Brehus sans Pitié: protrait-robot du criminel arthurien*, in *La violence dans le monde médiéval*, Aix-en-Provence, 1994, p. 527-542; Nathalie Koble, « Les *Prophesies de Merlin*, roman en prose du XIIIe siècle. Édition critique et commentaire littéraire », *Position des Thèses de élèves de l'École nationale des Chartes*, 1997, pp. 193-197; Nathalie Koble, *Entre science et fiction: le prologue des Prophecies de Merlin en prose*, in *Prologues et épilogues dans la littérature du Moyen Age: Actes du colloque du Centre d'Etudes Médiévales et Dialectales de Lille 3. Université Charles-de-Gaulle, Lille 3, 23-24 septembre 1999*, ed. Aimé Petit, Lille, 2001, p. 123-138.

[4] *Prophecies*, ed. Paton, *op. cit.*, t. 1, p. 57, 75-76, t. 2 p. 23-33, 34-36, 143-156, 329-345; Hoffman, *Merlin* in Italy, *op. cit.*, p. 265; Berthelot, *Cartengles, Feragus, Mingles*, *op. cit.*, p. 55-56.

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[5] The association of Venice with the crusading movement and the Latin East has been extensively studied by historians. For a bibliography see the works cited under Venice in *Select Bibliography of the Crusades*, compiled by Hans Eberhard Mayer and Joyce McLellan, ed. Harry W. Hazard, in *A History of the Crusades*, general editor Kenneth M. Setton, Madison, 1969-89 (2nd edn), t. 6, p. 651. For more recent studies see, for example, the relevant papers in *I Comuni Italiani nel Regno Crociato di Gerusalemme*, ed. Gabriella Airaldi and Benjamin Z. Kedar, Genoa, 1986; David Jacoby, *Recherches sur la Méditerranée orientale du XIIe au XVe siècle : peuples, sociétés, économies*, London, 1979; idem, *Trade, commodities and shipping in the medieval Mediterranean*, Aldershot, 1997.

[6] *Prophecies*, ed. Paton, *op. cit.*, t. 2, p. 72-103.

[7] For Paton's analysis of this episode (her episodes 6(q), 12 (a-b) and 14), see *Prophecies*, ed. Paton, *op. cit.*, t. 1, p. 406-409 (the aid of Jerusalem and the exploits of Richard), 412-13 (crusade of Archemays) and p. 422, note 4 (continued from previous page: the crusade of Archemays, continued). For the text, see Codex Bodmer 116, in *Prophesies*, ed. Berthelot, *op. cit.*, p. 300-309, 323-325, 370-374; BL Add. ms. 25434, fols 149d-155c, 164c-165b. The latter manuscript ends before reaching the final section on the crusade of Archemays. For an analysis of Paton's 'Group I' manuscripts, see *Prophecies*, ed. Paton, *op. cit.*, t. 1, p. 3-19. As the precise reading varies from manuscript to manuscript and there is no published critical edition, I shall cite the different versions of the text separately.

[8] *Prophecies*, ed. Paton, *op. cit.*, t. 1, p. 35-37, describing Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, manoscritti francesi, Appendice, XXIX: for this episode, see p. 36 (Episode: I, 409 (No. 12b), fols 49c-51a); *Merlin: 1498*, with an introduction by C. E. Pickford, London, 1975, t. 3, fols 77a-78c: corresponding to *Prophesies*, ed.

Berthelot, *op. cit.*, p. 306-308, fols 149vb-150vb; BL Add. ms. 25434, fols 153d-155b.

[9] Eilert Löseth, *Le Roman en Prose de Tristan, le roman de Palamède et la compilation de Rusticien de Pise. Analyse critique d'après les manuscrits de Paris*, Paris, 1890; reprinted Geneva, 1974, p. 195-201, section 282.d: BN f. fr. ms. 12599; Thomas Malory, *Morte Darthur*, Book 10 chapters 40-49, in *The works of Sir Thomas Malory*, ed. Eugène Vinaver, Oxford, 1967 (2nd edn). This episode does not appear in the vulgate *Lancelot*.

[10] *Prophecies*, ed. Paton, *op. cit.*, t. 1, p. 406-409; *Prophesies*, ed. Berthelot, *op. cit.*, p. 300-309; BL Add. ms. 25434, fols 149d-155c. Events from the king of Ireland sallying out of Jerusalem to aid King Richard to the king of Ireland's refusal to abandon Jerusalem are also in the Venice manuscript, BM ms.fr., Appendice, XXIX, fols 49c-51a and *Merlin: 1498*, *op. cit.*, t. 3, fols 77a-78c.

[11] *Prophecies*, ed. Paton, *op. cit.*, t. 1, p. 412-413; *Prophesies*, ed. Berthelot, *op. cit.*, p. 323-325; BL Add. ms. 25434, fols 164c-165b.

[12] *Prophecies*, ed. Paton, *op. cit.*, t. 1, p. 422, note 4; *Prophesies*, ed. Berthelot, *op. cit.*, p. 370-374.

[13] For instance, Archemays' battle with the four Muslim knights to avenge the death of Christians can be compared to the duel between Richard de Chaumont and the two Muslim champions to clear Corbaran's name of treason in part of the Old French Crusade Cycle, *Les Chétifs* – although, unlike Corbaran, the king of Baghdad refuses to become a Christian: *The Old French Crusade Cycle*, ed. Emanuel J. Mickel, Jan A. Nelson, G. M. Myers, Peter R. Grillo *et al*., Alabama, Tuscaloosa and London, 1977-2003, t. 5, *Les Chétifs*, lines 239-1195.

[14] *La Chanson de Roland*, ed. F. Whitehead, Oxford, 1946 (2nd edn), lines 3597-600; *Les textes de la chanson de Roland*, ed. Raoul Mortier, t. 3: *La chronique de Turpin et les grandes chroniques de France*, Paris, 1941, ch. XX, p. 42-50; *The Vulgate Version of the Arthurian Romances, edited from Manuscripts in the British Museum*, ed. H. Oskar Sommer, Washington, 1908-16, t. 2: *Lestoire de Merlin*, p. 394 lines 5-23; for the new edition, see *Le Livre du Graal 1. Joseph d'Arimathie, Merlin, Les Premiers Faits du roi Arthur*, ed. Daniel Poirion, directed by Philippe Walter, with Anne Berthelot, Robert Deschaux, Irene Freire-Nunes and Gérard Gros, Paris, 2001, p. 808-1662.

[15] See André Moisan, *Répertoire des noms propres de personnes et de lieux cités dans les chansons de geste françaises et les oeuvres étrangères dérivées*, t. 1, vol. 2, Geneva, 1986, p. 991. The motif also appears in the work of the English chronicler Roger of Howden, writing at the end of the twelfth century. Saladin offers his niece in marriage to Robert of St Albans, a renegade Templar who leads a military expedition on his behalf: Roger of Howden, *Gesta regis Henrici Secundi: The Chronicle of the reigns of Henry II and Richard I*, ed. William Stubbs, London, 1867 [Rolls Series 49], t. 1, p. 341; Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, ed. William Stubbs, London, 1868-71 [Rolls Series 51], t. 2, p. 307.

[16] J. B. Segal, *Edessa 'The Blessed City'*, Oxford, 1970, p. 73-78.

[17] For a description of the procedure by which the papacy initiated crusades see Jonathan Riley-Smith, *What Were the Crusades?* Basingstoke, 2002 (3rd edn), p. 27-30, esp. p. 30; see also, for example, R. C. Smail, *Latin Syria and the West, 1149-1187*, in *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th series t. 19, 1969, p. 1-20.

[18] *Prophesies*, ed. Berthelot, *op. cit.*, p. 302, fol. 147va.

[19] BL Add. ms. 25434, fol. 150b-d; Cod. Bodmer 116, in *Prophesies*, ed. Berthelot, *op. cit.*, p. 300-302, fols 147ra-va. For papal promotion of the crusade in England in the thirteenth century see Simon Lloyd, *English Society and the Crusade, 1216-1307*, Oxford, 1988, p. 8-16; for other appeals for aid, letters from crusaders and from secular and religious leaders in the Latin East to England, see ibid., p. 23-41.

[20] BL Add. ms. 25434, fol. 151c; Cod. Bodmer 116, in *Prophesies*, ed. Berthelot, *op. cit.*, p. 303, fol. 148ra-b. For financing of English crusades in the thirteenth century see Lloyd, *English Society*, *op. cit.*, p. 16-23.

[21] *Prophecies*, ed. Paton, *op. cit.*, t. 2, p. 90, note 3; cf. t. 1, p. 412-413.

[22] Ambroise, *Estoire de la Guerre Sainte*, ed. Gaston Paris, Paris, 1897, lines 1369-72; *Itinerarium peregrinorum et gesta regis Ricardi*, ed. William Stubbs, t. 1 of *Chronicle and Memorials of the Reign of Richard I*, London, 1864-5 [Rolls Series 38], p. 26, Bk. 1 ch. 12; Hans Mayer, *Das Itinerarium peregrinorum. Eine zeitgenössische englische Chronik zum dritten Kreuzzug in ursprünglicher Gestalt*, Stuttgart, 1962, p. 269, lines 10-16. King Henry's money is also referred to by the Old French continuations of William of Tyre's chronicle: *L'Estoire de Eracles Empereur et la conqueste de la Terre d'Outremer* in *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades: Historiens occidentaux*, published by the Académie des inscriptions et de belles-lettres, Paris, 1841-95, t. 2, p. 46-47; *La Continuation de Guillaume de Tyr*, ed. Margaret Ruth Morgan, Paris, 1982, p. 43, sections 28-29, p. 68 section 55. For a much later version see the fourteenth-century Middle English verse romance *Richard Coeur de Lion*: *Der mittelenglische Versroman über Richard Löwenherz: kritische Ausgabe nach allen Handschriften mit Einleitung, Anmerkungen und deutscher Übersetzung*, ed. Karl Brunner, Vienna and Leipzig, 1913, lines 3264-8.

[23] Richard of Devizes, *The Chronicle of Richard of Devizes of the Time of King Richard the First*, ed. John Appleby, London and Edinburgh, 1963, p. 9; William of Newburgh, *Historia rerum Anglicarum*, in *Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II and Richard I*, ed. Richard Howlett, London, 1884-89 [Rolls Series 82], t. 1, p. 306: Bk. 4, ch. 5.

[24] On King Richard I's hereditary claim to the kingdom of Jerusalem, see John O. Prestwich, *Richard Coeur de Lion: Rex Bellicosus*, in *Richard Coeur de Lion in History and Myth*, ed. Janet Nelson, London, 1992, p. 1-16: here p. 6-7; John Gillingham, *Roger of Howden on Crusade*, in *Medieval Historical Writing in the Christian and Islamic* Worlds, ed. D. O. Morgan, London, 1987, p. 60-75: here p. 72 note 27; reprinted in John Gillingham, *Richard Coeur de Lion: Kingship, Chivalry and War in the Twelfth Century*, London and Rio Grande, 1994, p. 141-153, here p. 146 note 27, and see also p. 101; John Gillingham, *Richard I*, New Haven and London, 1999, p. 186 and note 48, p. 195-196.

[25] BL Add. ms. 25434, fols 151d-152a,153b; Cod. Bodmer 116, in *Prophesies*, ed. Berthelot, *op. cit.*, p. 303, fol. 148rb, p. 305, fol. 149rb. On Richard of Cornwall's crusade, see Peter Jackson, *The Crusades of 1239-41 and their Aftermath*, in *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, t. 50 (1987), p. 32-60; this replaces the the older accounts such as Sidney Painter, *The crusade of Theobald of Champagne and Richard of Cornwall, 1239-41*, in *Crusades*, ed. Setton, *op. cit.*, t. 2, p. 463-486, and see p. 463, note, for a full bibliography of works written before 1962; see also, for instance, N. Denholm-Young, *Richard of Cornwall*, Oxford, 1947, p. 38-44, esp. p. 43. See also Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, ed. H. R. Luard, London, 1872-83 [Rolls Series 57], t. 4, p. 138-145, and p. 145-148, 166 for Richard's warm reception by the emperor after the crusade; and see *L'Estoire de Eracles Empereur*, *op. cit.*, p.

421-422: having restored the fortifications of Ascalon, Earl Richard entrusts them to the emperor Frederick's *bailli* in Jerusalem.

[26] Lloyd, *English Society*, *op. cit.*, p. 17, 83, 225-226; Robert Stacey, *Politics, Policy and Finance Under Henry III, 1216-1245*, Oxford, 1987, p. 123, 126, 140; Denholm-Young, *Richard of Cornwall*, *op. cit.*, p. 38-39.

[27] *Lestoire de Merlin*, *op. cit.*, p. 424-427, 431-441; *La Mort le Roi Artu, roman du XIIIe siècle*, ed. Jean Frappier, Geneva, 1964, p. 206-9, section 160 line 2 – section 161 line 7.

[28] Rudolf Hiestand, *Kingship and Crusade in twelfth-century Germany*, in *England and Germany in the High Middle Ages*, ed. Alfred Haverkamp and Hanna Vollrath, Oxford, 1996, p. 235-265; Claudia Naumann, *Der Kreuzzug Kaiser Heinrichs VI*, Frankfurt am Main, 1994, p. 107-108, 177-178, 223, 230; Peter W. Edbury, *The Kingdom of Cyprus and the Crusades, 1191-1374*, Cambridge, 1991, p. 31-33, 56; Bernd Ulrich Hucker, *Kaiser Otto IV*, Hanover, 1990, p. 127-131, 137-142. On Frederick II's crusade of 1228-29, see Hans Eberhard Mayer, *The Crusades*, trans. John Gillingham, Oxford, 1988 (2nd edn), p. 228-238; David Abulafia, *Frederick II: a Medieval Emperor*, London, 1988, p. 164-201; Jean Richard, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, trans. Janet Shirley, Amsterdam, 1979, t. 1, p. 232-239; Keith Giles, *The emperor Frederick II's crusade, 1215-1231*, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Keele, 1987. For a full bibliography of the crusade to 1962 see Thomas C. Van Cleve, *The Crusade of Frederick II*, in *Crusades*, ed. Setton, *op. cit.*, t. 2, p. 429-482: here p. 429-430, note.

[29] BL Add. ms. 25434, fol. 150c; Cod. Bodmer 116, in *Prophesies*, ed. Berthelot, *op. cit.*, p. 301, fol. 147rb.

[30] Norman Cohn, *The Pursuit of the Millennium: Revolutionary Millenarians and Mystical Anarchists of the Middle Ages*, London, 1993, p. 74. For a late twelfth-century Old French example of this legend see R. C. D. Perman, *Henri d'Arci: the Shorter Works*, in *Studies in Medieval French Presented to Alfred Ewert in Honour of his Seventieth Birthday*, intro. E. A. Francis, Oxford, 1961, p. 279-321: here p. 296, lines 191-6; cf. p. 305 for Latin original.

[31] *Itinerarium peregrinorum*, ed. Stubbs, *op. cit.*, Bk. 1, ch. 18, p. 34; *Itinerarium peregrinorum*, ed. Mayer, *op. cit.*, p. 279, lines 18-21. In fact the emperor Frederick I Barbarossa left four sons behind him when he departed on the Third Crusade, Henry (later Henry VI), Otto count of Burgundy, Philip (provost of Aachen, later duke of Swabia) and Conrad: *La Continuation de Guillaume de Tyr*, *op. cit.*, p. 84, section 74, and notes 3-6; cf. Peter W. Edbury, *The Conquest of Jerusalem and the Third Crusade: Sources in Translation*, Aldershot, 1996, p. 75, note 113.

[32] Shulasmith Shahar, *Childhood in the Middle Ages*, trans. Chaya Galai, London and New York, 1990, p. 28: a male was not considered legally adult until he was 21 or older.

[33] My comments on the involvement of the Irish and Hiberno-Normans in the crusades are based on Ronan McKay's paper 'Ireland and the Crusades', given at the symposium 'Ireland and the Crusades from the Twelfth to the Twentieth Century' at University College Dublin, Friday 10 September 1999. This paper was based on his unpublished M.A. thesis, *Ireland and the Crusades, 1095-1327*, University College Dublin, 1993. At the time of writing there is no published scholarly work on Ireland and the crusades. For the involvement of the Scots in the Third Crusade and in the crusades of the thirteenth century see Alan Macquarrie, *Scotland and the Crusades, 1095-1560*, Edinburgh, 1997 (2nd edn), p. 28-30, 40-41, 47-51, 56-63. Those who

accompanied Richard of Cornwall included Richard de Toni, nephew of King Alexander II of Scotland, p. 40-41. For Welsh involvement in crusading, see Huw Pryce, *Gerald's Journey Through Wales*, in *The Journal of Welsh Ecclesiastical History*, 6 (1989), p. 17-34: especially p. 23-24. For Maistre Richart d'Irlande, see *Prophecies*, ed. Paton, *op. cit.*, t. 2, p. 328-345.

[34] 'Betenoble' or 'Betenopolis' in the *Itinerarium peregrinorum*, ed. Stubbs, *op. cit.*, Bk. 4 ch. 34, Bk. 5 ch. 49 – Bk. 6, ch. 3, Bk. 6 chs 6 – 9, p. 303, 368-383, 392-396; 'Bettenuble' in Ambroise, *Estoire de la Guerre Sainte*, *op. cit.*, lines 7629, 9813. The spelling varies between the different versions of the 'continuations of William of Tyre': see, for instance, *Estoire de Eracles Empereur*, *op. cit.*, p. 178, *La Continuation de Guillaume de Tyr*, *op. cit.*, p. 133, section 132, and *Chronique d'Ernoul et de Bernard le Trésorier*, ed. L. de Mas Latrie, Société de l'histoire de France, Paris, 1871, p. 278, where it is variously 'Bethenuble', 'Bethunuble', 'Betunule' or 'Batenuble'.

[35] Ambroise, *Estoire de la Guerre Sainte*, *op. cit.*, lines 9824 ('joste le pié de la montaine'), 9830 ('en la valee'), 9889-91 ('a val en la plaine… devers les tentes as Franceis'); *Itinerarium peregrinorum*, ed. Stubbs, *op. cit.*, Bk 5 chs 49, 51: p. 369 ('ea valle qua resederat… exercitus'), 370 ('Saraceni a montanis descendentes in plana versus tentoria Francorum').

[36] For Ramla during the Third Crusade see Ambroise, *Estoire de la Guerre Sainte*, *op. cit.*, lines 6855, 6878, 7204, 7229, 7455, 7467, 7475, 7841, 7843, 8956, 10165, 10572, 10705, 10755, 11892, 11907; *Itinerarium peregrinorum*, ed. Stubbs, *op. cit.*, Bk. 4 chs 23-4, 29, 32, Bk. 5 chs 2, 34, 52, Bk. 6 chs 1, 6, 11, 31, 33, p. 280-281, 290, 297-9, 309-310, 346, 373, 380, 392, 398, 432, 435. For the recovery of Ramla during

Frederick II's crusade, see Giles, *The emperor Frederick II's crusade*, *op. cit.*, p. 185-187.

[37] For the role of Jaffa during the Third Crusade, see Mayer, *The Crusades*, *op. cit.*, p. 147-149; for a fuller appreciation of the significance of Jaffa during this crusade see Ambroise, *Estoire de la Guerre Sainte*, *op. cit.*, lines 6928-9, 6941-56, 6989-7074, 7185-94, 7658, 7851, 8273, 9009, 9087, 10568, 10716, 10745, 10777-1800; *Itinerarium peregrinorum*, ed. Stubbs, *op. cit.*, Bk. 4 chs 23-27, 29, 34, Bk. 5 chs 3, 12-13, 34-35, 52, Bk. 6 chs 6, 9-27, 30, p. 280-286, 289, 304, 311, 324-325, 347-348, 373, 392, 397-429, 431. The role of Jaffa during this crusade passed into legend: see the fourteenth-century verse romance *Richard Coeur de Lion*, *op. cit.*, lines 5932, 5950, 6442, 6550, 6619-7166. For Jaffa during Frederick II's crusade, see Giles, *The emperor Frederick II's crusade*, *op. cit.*, p. 102-104 and p. 161-216 on the Treaty of Jaffa, 1229; Van Cleve, *Crusade of Frederick II*, *op. cit.*, p. 454, 459, 455-456. For Jaffa during Richard of Cornwall's crusade, see Mayer, *Crusades*, *op. cit.*, p. 257; Jackson, *Crusades of 1239-41*, *op. cit.*, p. 46; Painter, *Crusade of Theobald of Champagne*, *op. cit.*, p. 483.

[38] In the story of Joseph of Arimathea and the *Queste del Saint Graal*, 'Sarraz' or 'Sarras' is a city in the Middle East, ruled by non-Christians. For the many appearances of Sarras in Old French prose romance, see West, *An Index of Proper Names in French Arthurian Prose Romances*, *op. cit.*, p. 275. James Douglas Bruce concluded that the name must be derived from the Old French word '*Sarrazin*', so that 'Sarraz' is simply 'the city of Saracens': Bruce, *Evolution*, *op. cit.*, t. 1, p. 423, note 155. Yet in 1953 Constantin Marinesco noted the similarity between the name 'Seras' which appears in Catalan romance, apparently a variant on 'Sarras', and the 'ciutat de Ssiras' which appears in the Catalan Atlas of 1375: the Iranian city of

Shiraz, ancient Persepolis: Constantin Marinesco, *Du nouveau sur 'Tirant lo Blanch'*, in *Estudis Romanics*, t. 4 (1953-4), p. 139-156, 197-203: here p. 189. Perhaps 'Sarraz' was originally Shiraz - although the geographical position of Shiraz is much further east than the 'Sarraz' of Arthurian romance. Orberice/Oberiche is a variant on Orbrie, which appears frequently in Old French epic literature, particularly from the late thirteenth century onwards. As Orberike, Orberice or even Betique it appears in the prose *Estoire del Saint Graal* and associated works and the *Livre d'Artus*: Moisan, *Répertoire des noms propres*, *op. cit.*, t. 1, vol. 2, p. 1300; West, *An Index of Proper Names in French Arthurian Prose Romances*, *op. cit.*, p. 238. For an early example of the word see, for instance, *La Chanson d'Aspremont*, ed. Louis Brandin, Paris, 1923, line 4470: 'cil elme fendent et cil clavain d'Orbrie'. It is possible that 'Orbrie' is a version of 'Arabie' and that Arabia was originally meant.

[39] For a defeat in 1266 outside Acre, see *Annales de Terre Sainte*, ed. Reinhold Röhricht and Gaston Raynaud, *Archives de l'Orient Latin*, t. 2 (1884), p. 427-461: here 452-3. For defeats in 1266, 1267 and 1269, see *L'Estoire de Eracles Empereur*, *op. cit.*, p. 455, 458.

[40] For western European expectations of the Mongols at this period, see Silvia Schein, *'Gesta Dei per Mongolos' 1300. The Genesis of a Non-event*, in *English Historical Review*, t. 94 (1979), p. 805-819.

[41] For Richard of Cornwall's welcome by the Italian cities, see Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, *op. cit.*, t. 4, p. 166-167. For Richard's attempts to win support in Italy, see Denholm-Young, *Richard of Cornwall*, *op. cit.*, p. 104-105. For the murder of Henry of Almain, see ibid., p. 150-151, and J. R. Maddicott, *Simon de Montfort*, Cambridge, 1994, p. 370-371: and see Dante's *Inferno*, xii, 118-20. For the Lord Edward's crusade and Italy, see Bruce Beebe, *Edward I and the Crusades*,

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unpublished Ph.D. thesis, St Andrew's University, 1970, p. 11-12; Lloyd, *English*

Society and the Crusade, p. 113-153: esp. p. 139-144; Christopher Tyerman, *England*

and the Crusades 1095-1588, Chicago and London 1988, p. 124-132; Maurice

Powicke, *The Thirteenth Century, 1216-1307*, Oxford, 1962 (2nd edn), p. 223-226.