Notes

Introduction

1 On the later crusades, see, to start, Norman Housley, *The Later Crusades: From Lyons to Alcazar, 1274–1580* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992); and Timothy Guard, *Chivalry, Kingship and Crusade: The English Experience in the Fourteenth Century* (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell Press, 2013). The most comprehensive recent general histories of the crusades are Christopher Tyerman, *God's War: A New History of the Crusades* (London: Penguin, 2007); and Paul Cobb, *The Race for Paradise: An Islamic History of the Crusades* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).

2 An influential collection of essays arguing for the multivocality and conflictual investments of medieval Latin and vernacular European cultures, but not concerned with crusade culture or the genre of romance, is Rita Copeland (ed.), *Criticism and Dissent in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

3 The term may also be used in a variety of more specialized ways, including to designate clinical disorders, hardwired responses to potential threats, and existential angst. On the general sense of the term, see *anxiety* and *anxietas* in the *Oxford English Dictionary* (*OED*) and the *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources* (*DMLBS*); on its history, see further William J. Bouwsma, "Anxiety and the Formation of Early Modern Culture," in Barbara C. Malament (ed.), *After the Reformation: Essays in Honor of J. H. Hexter* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1980), pp. 215–46. While I see post-1291 crusade culture as troubled by anxieties, I do not seek to corroborate the idea, upheld by Bouwsma and others, that the European later Middle Ages were "an age of unusual anxiety" in a general sense (p. 217).

4 See, e.g., the *DMLBS*, which distinguishes between "anxius" (durable) and "angor" (temporary); and, in the *OED*, the section on "Age of Anxiety."

5 While the connection between modern colonial novels and medieval crusade romances has not (to my knowledge) previously been made, that between novels and romances more generally has been debated extensively: see, e.g., Karen Sullivan, *The Danger of Romance: Truth, Fantasy, and Arthurian Fictions* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2018), pp. 26–59; Helen Swift, "Late

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Medieval Precursors to the Novel: 'Aucune chose de nouvel,'" in Adam Watt (ed.), *The Cambridge History of the Novel in French* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021), pp. 19–37.

6 Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (London: Penguin, 1978; repr. 1995), p. 42; Lisa Lowe, *Critical Terrains: French and British Orientalisms* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1992), p. 28; Yumna Siddiqi, *Anxieties of Empire and the Fiction of Intrigue* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008), p. 5. Some of the earliest scholars to critique *Orientalism* on these grounds are Albert Hourani, "The Road to Morocco," *New York Review of Books*, 26 (1979), 27–30 (esp. pp. 29–30); James Clifford, "On Orientalism," *History and Theory*, 19 (1980), 204–23 (for a general assessment of *Orientalism*'s tendency to relapse "into the essentializing modes it attacks," see p. 219); and Dennis Porter, "*Orientalism* and Its Problems," in Francis Barker, Peter Hulme, Margaret Iverson, and Diane Loxley (eds.), *The Politics of Theory: Proceedings of the Essex Sociology of Literature Conference, University of Essex* (Colchester, UK: University of Essex, 1983), pp. 179–93. In the Arab world, Said's book was also criticized for its "totalizing" and "essentialist mode": see Emmanuel Sivan, "Edward Said and His Arab Reviewers," in *Interpretations of Islam: Past and Present* (Princeton, NJ: Darwin Press, 1985), pp. 133–54. On the intellectual, ethical, and political questions raised by Said's homogenizing approach, see further Aijaz Ahmad, *In Theory: Classes, Nations, Literatures* (London: Verso, 1992), pp. 159–219 (esp. pp. 162–68); Robert Young, *White Mythologies: Writing History and the West* (London: Routledge, 1990), pp. 126–40; Ali Behdad, *Belated Travelers: Orientalism in the Age of Colonial Dissolution* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1994), pp. 9–13; and Leela Gandhi, *Postcolonial Theory: A Critical Introduction*, 2nd ed. (New York: Columbia University Press, 2019; 1st ed. 1998), pp. 77–80, who writes that Said "defeats the logic of his own intellectual egalitarianism by producing and confirming a reversed stereotype: the racist Westerner. After *Orientalism*, it becomes our task not only to demonstrate the ambivalence of the Oriental stereotype, but also – and crucially – to refuse the pleasures of an Occidental stereotype" (p. 79). See also, more recently, the introductions to Rahul Sapra, *The Limits of Orientalism: Seventeenth-Century Representations of India* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2011); Srinivas Aravamudan, *Enlightenment Orientalism: Resisting the Rise of the Novel* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012); and Jennifer Yee, *The Colonial Comedy: Imperialism in the French Realist Novel* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016).

7 Edward W. Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (London: Vintage Books, 1993). Srinivas Aravamudan's explanation of Said's position in *Culture and Imperialism* is useful: Said argues for the capacity of colonial literatures to "stage resistance to crude imperialist uses": "Orientalism," in David Kastan (ed.), *The Oxford Encyclopaedia of British Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), pp. 143–50 (p. 148). Said appears to have conceived *Culture and Imperialism* in part as a response to the early reception of

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Orientalism: see his comments on Lowe's *Critical Terrains* in *Culture and Imperialism*, pp. xxiv–xxv; see also Joseph A. Buttigieg and Paul A. Bové, "An Interview with Edward W. Said," *boundary 2*, 20 (1993), 1–25 (p. 2); and Valerie Kennedy, *Edward Said: A Critical Introduction* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2000), pp. 82–83. On Said's trajectory from *Orientalism* to *Culture and Imperialism* in relation to the work of Erich Auerbach, see Joe Cleary, "Said, Postcolonial Studies, and World Literature," in Bashir Abu-Manneh (ed.), *After Said: Postcolonial Literary Studies in the Twenty-First Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), pp. 129–46 (p. 133).

8 Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, pp. xx, xxv, 320.

9 On modern colonial novels, as well as the work by Elleke Boehmer (*Colonial and Postcolonial Literature* [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995]), Priyamvada Gopal (*Insurgent Empire: Anticolonial Resistance and British Dissent* [London: Verso, 2019]), and Jennifer Yee (*Colonial Comedy*), see, e.g., Siddiqi, *Anxieties of Empire*; Patrick Brantlinger, *Victorian Literature and Postcolonial Studies* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009); and Laura Chrisman, *Postcolonial Contraventions: Cultural Readings of Race, Imperialism, and Transnationalism* (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press), pp. 51–70. For Chrisman, while more nuanced than *Orientalism*, *Culture and Imperialism* itself is overly homogenizing in its approach (see esp. pp. 53–54).

10 Scholars arguing for the transformative pressures exerted by colonial losses and indigenous resistance on colonial literatures have sometimes situated their assessments against Homi K. Bhabha's notion of ambivalence as inscribed "at the very origins of colonial authority" (*The Location of Culture*, 2nd ed. [London: Routledge, 2004; 1st ed. 1994], p. 135). See esp. Priyamvada Gopal, *Insurgent Empire*, pp. 14–15 and 19–21, who builds on Leela Gandhi's critique of the "subtle determinism" in Bhabha's theories of ambivalence (Leela Gandhi, *Affective Communities: Anticolonial Thought, Fin-de-Siècle Radicalism, and the Politics of Friendship* [Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006], pp. 5–6).

11 Elleke Boehmer, *Colonial and Postcolonial Literature*, pp. 98–101, 138–56 (citation at p. 98). On Western critiques related to colonialism during the eighteenth to mid twentieth centuries, a field that bridges postcolonial studies and imperial historiography, see further Robert Young, *Postcolonialism*: *An Historical Introduction* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2001), pp. 73–112; Gopal, *Insurgent Empire*; Gandhi, *Affective Communities* and her 2019 epilogue essay, "If This Were a Manifesto for Postcolonial Thinking," to the second edition of Gandhi, *Postcolonial Theory*, pp. 178–80; Stephen Howe, *Anticolonialism in British Politics: The Left and the End of Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993); Gregory Claeys, *Imperial Sceptics: British Critics of Empire, 1850–1920* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010); Mira Matikkala, *Empire and Imperial Ambition: Liberty, Englishness and Anti-Imperialism in Late Victorian Britain* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2011); Nicholas

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Owen, *The British Left and India: Metropolitan Anti-Imperialism, 1885–1947* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007); and the classic study by Bernard Porter, *Critics of Empire: British Radicals and the Imperial Challenge*, 2nd ed. (London: I. B. Tauris, 2008; 1st ed. 1968).

12 Boehmer, *Colonial and Postcolonial Literature*, p. 145.

13 Gopal, *Insurgent Empire*, p. 454.

14 Yee, *Colonial Comedy*, pp. 28, 143. In this respect, Yee's approach resembles that of Lisa Lowe, who examines the relation between "dominant orientalist formations" and "emergent challenges to those formations" (*Critical Terrains*, p. 9); and that of Rahul Sapra, who explores "moments of resistance that can disrupt the discourse of 'Orientalism'" (*Limits of Orientalism*, p. 12).

15 Previous scholarship invested in decentering Orientalism as an explanatory framework for understanding medieval Christian–Muslim relations has tended to focus not on histories of crusade and countercrusade, as I do here, but rather on "histories of peaceful contact": see esp. Sharon Kinoshita's important *Medieval Boundaries: Rethinking Difference in Old French Literature* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006) (citation at p. 236). Another branch of medieval postcolonialism departing from the Orientalist model is on travel writing concerned principally with *non*-Muslim peoples: see Simon Gaunt, *Marco Polo's "Le Devisement du Monde": Voice, Language and Diversity* (Cambridge, UK: D. S. Brewer, 2013), esp. chapter 4; Kim M. Phillips, *Before Orientalism: Asian Peoples and Cultures in European Travel Writing, 1245–1510* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014); Shirin A. Khanmohamadi, *In Light of Another's World: European Ethnography in the Middle Ages* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013). Khanmohamadi's study does, however, have one chapter on encounters with Muslims on crusade (chapter 4, at pp. 88–112, on Jean de Joinville's *Vie de Saint Louis*). For an incisive critique of the early reception of *Orientalism* in medieval studies, see Sharon Kinoshita, "Deprovincializing the Middle Ages," in Rob Wilson and Christopher Leigh Connery (eds.), *The Worlding Project: Doing Cultural Studies in the Era of Globalization* (Santa Cruz, CA: New Pacific Press, 2007), pp. 61–75.

16 John V. Tolan, *Saracens: Islam in the Medieval European Imagination* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), pp. xviii, 105–34. For Tolan, the Muslim Other in epic and romance is "an essential foil for Christian virtue" (p. 129).

17 Suzanne Conklin Akbari, *Idols in the East: European Representations of Islam and the Orient, 1100–1450* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2009), pp. 159–99, 206–18 (citations at pp. 1 and 3). Akbari's important study allows for more ambivalence than does *Orientalism*, but locates that ambivalence not so much in crusade epics and romances as in works by Dante Alighieri and John Mandeville: see esp. pp. 53–66 and 228–35.

18 Geraldine Heng, *Empire of Magic: Medieval Romance and the Politics of Cultural Fantasy* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003), pp. 68, 197, 242. However, rather than engage with Said, Heng engages directly with

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Michel Foucault, whose theories on the relationship between power and knowledge underpin Said's conception of Orientalism.

19 Heng, *Empire of Magic*, pp. 3, 7, 93, 226.

20 Geraldine Heng, *The Invention of Race in the European Middle Ages* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2018), pp. 27, 113. The role of the crusades in stimulating ideologies of religious and racial difference is most extensively discussed in chapter 3, "War/Empire," pp. 110–80. On Heng's definition of race in relation to Said's formulation of Orientalism, see further my "Unsettling Orientalism: Toward a New History of European Representations of Muslims and Islam, c. 1200–1450," *Speculum*, 100:2 (forthcoming, April 2025).

21 Jeffrey Jerome Cohen, *Of Giants: Sex, Monsters, and the Middle Ages* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999) (citation at p. 133). See also his "On Saracen Enjoyment: Some Fantasies of Race in Late Medieval France and England," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 31 (2001), 113–46; and "Race," in Marion Turner (ed.), *A Handbook of Middle English Studies* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013), pp. 109–22, which argues that romances such as *Guy of Warwick*, *Bevis of Hampton*, and *The Sultan of Babylon* reduce "the world's messiness into clean binaries," "heroic knight" versus "monstrous Other" (pp. 109–10). See further Kofi Campbell, "Nation-Building Colonialist-Style in *Bevis of Hampton*," *Exemplaria*, 18 (2006), 205–32, which reads *Bevis of Hampton* as an "Orientalist fantasy of English Christian cohesion opposed to Saracen disintegration" and contrasts the protection offered by the Christian God with the "powerlessness" of the Muslim "gods" (pp. 209, 227); Leila K. Norako, "*Sir Isumbras* and the Fantasy of Crusade," *Chaucer Review*, 48 (2013), 166–89, which argues that *Sir Isumbras* projects "an idealized and universal version of Christianity that can, by means of its cohesion, permanently defeat Islam" and "an atemporal world wherein the lines between Self and Other are starkly drawn" (p. 167); and Janice Hawes, "Saracens in Middle English Romance," in Esra Mirze Santesso and James E. McClung (eds.), *Islam and Postcolonial Discourse* (New York: Routledge, 2016), pp. 15–30. See also, in a similar vein, the genre-based inquiries of Yin Liu, "Middle English Romance as Prototype Genre," *Chaucer Review*, 40 (2006), 335–53; and Melissa Furrow, *Expectations of Romance: The Reception of a Genre in Medieval England* (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell and Brewer, 2009), pp. 57–72 (esp. pp. 70–71). Two short essays that, while not informed by work in postcolonial studies, in my view fruitfully problematize Orientalist approaches to Middle English crusade romances are Robert Allen Rouse, "Crusaders," in Neil Cartlidge (ed.), *Heroes and Anti-Heroes in Medieval Romance* (Cambridge, UK: D. S. Brewer, 2012), pp. 173–83; and, in the same volume, Siobhain Bly Calkin, "Saracens," pp. 185–200.

22 Martin Aurell, *Des Chrétiens contre les croisades*, *XIIe–XIIIe siècles* (Paris: Fayard, 2013). Aurell's chronological structure is what enables him to demonstrate an increase in criticism over time. Compared to the wealth of scholarship on Western critiques of modern colonialism (a portion of which

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is referenced in note 11 above), the scholarship on critiques of crusading is in short supply. Aurell's book is preceded by two full-length studies that also focus on the period before 1291: Palmer A. Throop, *Criticism of the Crusade: A Study of Public Opinion and Crusade Propaganda* (Amsterdam: N. V. Swets and Zeitlinger, 1940); Elizabeth Siberry, *Criticism of Crusading, 1095–1274* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985). Criticism of crusading has hitherto not been considered a subject of postcolonial literary inquiry.

23 Brief assessments of critiques related to crusading after 1291 are offered by Elizabeth Siberry, "Criticism of Crusading in Fourteenth-Century England," in Peter W. Edbury (ed.), *Crusade and Settlement: Papers Read at the First Conference of the Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East* (Cardiff: University College Cardiff Press, 1985), pp. 127–34; Christopher Tyerman, *England and the Crusades, 1095–1588* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), pp. 261–62; and Housley, *Later Crusades*, pp. 377–82.

24 In the rest of this book, unless quoting from primary sources, I use the term "Muslim" rather than "Saracen." Usage of the term "Saracen" is being reassessed in medieval studies. Discussions that I have found illuminating include Shokoofeh Rajabzadeh, "The Depoliticized Saracen and Muslim Erasure," *Literature Compass*, 16 (2019), 1–8; Jerold C. Frakes, *Vernacular and Latin Literary Discourses of the Muslim Other in Medieval Germany* (New York: Palgrave, 2011), pp. 38–40; and Hélène Sirantoine, "What's in a Word? Naming 'Muslims' in Medieval Christian Iberia," in Chris Jones, Conor Kostick, and Klaus Oschema (eds.), *Making the Medieval Relevant: How Medieval Studies Contribute to Improving Our Understanding of the Present* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2020), pp. 225–38. On the construct of the polytheistic Muslim, see my discussion in Chapter 1.

25 Here, I adapt the phrase "dream of conversion," coined by Robert I. Burns, "Christian-Islamic Confrontation in the West: The Thirteenth-Century Dream of Conversion," *American Historical Review*, 76 (1971), 1386–434.

26 This is the central assertion of my "Unsettling Orientalism."

27 See Tolan, *Saracens*, pp. 135–69 (on Muhammad as heresiarch); Heng, *Invention of Race*, pp. 113, 116–18 (on anti-Muslim polemics and caricatures Muhammad) and pp. 127–35 (on legends of the Assassins serving to promote the idea that intemperance, unbridled sexuality, sensory pleasures, irrationality, deceit, and lack of moral discipline were the characteristics of Islam); and Akbari, *Idols in the East*, pp. 159–89 (on the stereotype of the intemperate, impetuous Muslim) and pp. 221–35 (on stories of Muhammad).

28 No modern edition of Bromyard's *Summa praedicantium* has yet been published. The text is, however, available in a late sixteenth-century transcription: John Bromyard, *Summa praedicantium* (Vienna: Apud Dominicum Nicolinum, 1586). On the date of the *Summa*, see Leonard E. Boyle, "The Date of the *Summa praedicantium* of John Bromyard," *Speculum*, 48 (1973), 533–37.

29 Bromyard, *Summa praedicantium*, "Crux," 17.32–33.

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30 Bromyard, *Summa praedicantium*, "Adulterium," 17.9–10; "Anima," 23.15; "Elemosina," 3.28.

31 Most of the scholarship that does reference wider traditions of crusade writing is on two romances: *Richard Coeur de Lion* and *The Siege of Jerusalem*, which are commonly placed in dialogue with pre-1291 crusade documents; I discuss this scholarship in Chapter 4. On issues that have taken precedence over crusade traditions in otherwise richly contextualized assessments of romances of religious warfare, see further my discussion in Chapter 1, p. 18; and Chapter 3, pp. 71–72, 74 and notes 1, 5, 14, 20.

32 On the cultural turn in crusade studies, see, e.g., Megan Cassidy-Welch and Anne E. Lester, "Memory and Interpretation: New Approaches to the Study of the Crusades," *Journal of Medieval History*, 40 (2014), 225–36.

33 As put by Robert Allen Rouse, "Scholarship on the articulation of English identity during the medieval period has been somewhat of a boom industry over the past twenty-five years": review of Emily Dolmans, *Writing Regional Identities in Medieval England: From the "Gesta Herwardi" to "Richard Coer de Lyon"* (Woodbridge, UK: D. S. Brewer, 2020), *Studies in the Age of Chaucer*, 44 (2022), 395–97. As well as Dolmans's recent study, see, e.g., Thorlac Turville-Petre, *England the Nation: Language, Literature and National Identity, 1290–1340* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), pp. 108–41; Diane Speed, "The Construction of the Nation in Medieval Romance," in Carol Meale (ed.), *Readings in Medieval English Romance* (Cambridge, UK: D. S. Brewer, 1994), pp. 135–57; Siobhain Bly Calkin, *Saracens and the Making of English Identity: The Auchinleck Manuscript* (New York: Routledge, 2005); Robert Allen Rouse, *The Idea of Anglo-Saxon England in Middle English Romance* (Cambridge, UK: D. S. Brewer, 2005), pp. 70–92; Thomas H. Crofts and Robert Allen Rouse, "Middle English Popular Romance and National Identity," in Raluca L. Radulescu and Cory James Rushton (eds.), *A Companion to Medieval Popular Romance* (Cambridge, UK: D. S. Brewer, 2009), pp. 79–95; and Marisa Libbon, *Talk and Textual Production in Medieval England* (Columbus: The Ohio State University Press, 2021), pp. 107–73. The scholarship to most fully integrate the study of nationhood with the study of crusade culture is on the romance of *Richard Coeur de Lion*: see esp. Suzanne Conklin Akbari, "The Hunger for National Identity in *Richard Coeur de Lion*," in Robert M. Stein and Sandra Pierson Prior (eds.), *Reading Medieval Culture: Essays in Honor of Robert W. Hanning* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2005), pp. 198–227; Suzanne M. Yeager, *Jerusalem in Medieval Narrative* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 48–77; and Heng, *Empire of Magic*, pp. 61–113.

34 Lee Manion, *Narrating the Crusades: Loss and Recovery in Medieval and Early Modern English Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014).

35 Ardis Butterfield, *The Familiar Enemy: Chaucer, Language, and Nation in the Hundred Years War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009); David Wallace, *Premodern Places: Calais to Surinam, Chaucer to Aphra Behn* (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2004). Recent studies include Marion Turner, *Chaucer:*

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A European Life (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2019); Elizaveta Strakhov, *Continental England: Form, Translation, and Chaucer in the Hundred Years' War* (Columbus: The Ohio State University Press, 2022); and Philip Knox, *The "Romance of the Rose" and the Making of Fourteenth-Century English Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2022).

36 I discuss two romances for which there are no extant Anglo-Norman or Latin source materials: *The Siege of Milan* and *Richard Coeur de Lion*.

37 Bernard Cerquiglini, *Éloge de la variante: Histoire critique de la philologie* (Paris: Seuil, 1989), translated into English by Betsy Wing as *In Praise of the Variant: A Critical History of Philology* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999). For Cerquiglini, "variance" is observable not just across, but also within, manuscripts: see further Arthur Bahr, "Miscellaneity and Variance in the Medieval Book," in Michael Johnston and Michael Van Dussen (eds.), *The Medieval Manuscript Book: Cultural Approaches* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), pp. 181–98. On the New Philology, a diverse set of attitudes toward medieval literatures and manuscripts that developed in the wake of Cerquiglini's study, see the critical overviews by Sarah Kay, "Analytical Survey 3: The New Philology," *New Medieval Literatures*, 3 (1999), 295–326; and Susan Yager, "New Philology," in Albrecht Classen (ed.), *Handbook of Medieval Studies: Terms, Methods, Trends* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2010), pp. 999–1006. A number of other studies have informed my thinking about translation/adaptation, including Rita Copeland, *Rhetoric, Hermeneutics, and Translation in the Middle Ages: Academic Traditions and Vernacular Texts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991); Ivana Djordjević, "Mapping Medieval Translation," in Judith Weiss, Jennifer Fellows, and Morgan Dickson (eds.), *Medieval Insular Romance: Translation and Innovation* (Cambridge, UK: D. S. Brewer, 2000), pp. 7–23; Phillipa Hardman and Marianne Ailes, *The Legend of Charlemagne in Medieval England: The Matter of France in Middle English and Anglo-Norman Literature* (Cambridge, UK: D. S. Brewer, 2017); and Jeanette Beer (ed.), *A Companion to Medieval Translation* (Leeds, UK: Arc Humanities Press, 2019).

38 See Chapter 1, note 53; p. 44 and note 99.

39 See Chapter 1, pp. 37–40; Chapter 2, pp. 62–64; and Chapter 4, pp. 108–9.

40 See Chapter 1, pp. 40–42; and Chapter 2, pp. 56–57.

41 See Chapter 4, pp. 117, 120–21, and 126–28.

42 In treating emotions as an aspect of my methodology, I am taking up the call of scholars such as Barbara H. Rosenwein and Johannes Lang not for separate histories of feeling but for studies that, aimed at intervening in various critical debates, systematically incorporate emotions into their analyses: see Jan Plamper, "The History of Emotions: An Interview with William Reddy, Barbara Rosenwein, and Peter Stearns," *History and Theory*, 49 (2010), 237–65 (p. 260); Barbara H. Rosenwein, "Problems and Methods in the History of Emotions," *Passions in Context*, 1 (2010), 1–32 (p. 24); and

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Johannes Lang, "New Histories of Emotion," *History and Theory*, 57 (2018), 104–20 (pp. 117–20).

43 Many introductory studies are available; a particularly concise and readable one is Barbara H. Rosenwein and Riccardo Cristiani, *What Is the History of Emotions?* (Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 2018).

44 Anthony Bale, *Feeling Persecuted: Christians, Jews, and Images of Violence in the Middle Ages* (London: Reaktion, 2010); Rita Copeland, *Emotion and the History of Rhetoric in the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2021); Sarah McNamer, *Affective Meditation and the Invention of Compassion* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010); Sif Ríkharðsdóttir, *Emotion in Old Norse Literature: Translations, Voices, Contexts* (Cambridge, UK: D. S. Brewer, 2017); Megan Moore, *The Erotics of Grief: Emotions and the Construction of Privilege in the Medieval Mediterranean* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2021). Collections of essays include Glenn D. Burger and Holly A. Crocker (eds.), *Medieval Affect, Feeling, and Emotion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019); Stephanie Trigg (ed.), "Pre-Modern Emotions," special issue, *Exemplaria*, 26 (2014); Frank Brandsma, Carolyne Larrington, and Corinne Saunders (eds.), *Emotions in Medieval Arthurian Literature: Body, Mind, Voice* (Cambridge, UK: D. S. Brewer, 2015); and Mary C. Flannery (ed.), *Emotion and Medieval Textual Media* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2018).

45 In crusade studies, this area of investigation was prefigured by Jonathan Riley-Smith in his influential "Crusading as an Act of Love," *History*, 65 (1980), 177–92. See Stephen J. Spencer, *Emotions in a Crusading Context, 1095–1291* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019); and the work of Susanna A. Throop: *Crusading as an Act of Vengeance 1095–1216* (Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2011); "Zeal, Anger and Vengeance: The Emotional Rhetoric of Crusading," in Susanna A. Throop and Paul R. Hyams (eds.), *Vengeance in the Middle Ages: Emotion, Religion, and Feud* (Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2010), pp. 177–201; and "Acts of Vengeance, Acts of Love: Crusading Violence in the Twelfth Century," in Laura Ashe and Ian Patterson (eds.), *War and Literature* (Cambridge, UK: D. S. Brewer, 2014), pp. 3–20. See also Stephen Benett, "Fear and Its Representation in the First Crusade," *Ex Historia*, 4 (2012), 29–54; Sophia Menache, "Emotions in the Service of Politics: Another Perspective on the Experience of Crusading (1095–1187)," in Susan B. Edgington and Luis García-Guijarro (eds.), *Jerusalem the Golden: The Origins and Impact of the First Crusade* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), pp. 235–54; and, by the same author, "Love of God or Hatred of Your Enemy? The Emotional Voices of the Crusades," *Mirabilia*, 10 (2010), 1–20.

46 Of course, the history of emotions is just one approach to studying the feelings, thoughts, ideologies, and experiences articulated in literary texts. While not framed as contributions to the history of emotions, two recent studies of crusade literature provide important insights for scholars working in that field: Marisa Galvez's *The Subject of Crusade: Lyric, Romance, and Materials, 1150 to 1500* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2020), which

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identifies in lyric poems and other materials a "courtly crusade idiom" that illuminates the "ethical unsettledness" and "hesitations" of crusaders who left their homes, loved ones, and earthly duties to engage in holy war (pp. 2, 6, 21); and Stefan Vander Elst's *The Knight, the Cross, and the Song: Crusade Propaganda and Chivalric Literature, 1100–1400* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2017), pp. 124–88, which argues that tropes of courtly love in crusade romances and *chansons de geste* served a propagandist function.

47 Sara Ahmed, *The Cultural Politics of Emotion*, 2nd. ed. (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2014; 1st ed. New York: Routledge, 2004); and her "Affective Economies," *Social Text*, 79 (2004), 117–39; Gandhi, *Affective Communities*; Jane Lydon, *Imperial Emotions: The Politics of Empathy across the British Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020).

48 See, notably, the sources compiled in Christoph T. Maier (ed. and trans.), *Crusade Propaganda and Ideology: Model Sermons for the Preaching of the Cross* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); and Jean Flori, *Prêcher la croisade (XIe–XIIIe siècle): Communication et propagande* (Paris: Perrin, 2012). Numerous sermons and encyclicals are also collected in Jonathan Riley-Smith and Louise Riley-Smith, *The Crusades: Idea and Reality, 1095–1274* (London: Edward Arnold, 1981); Norman Housley (ed. and trans.), *Documents on the Later Crusades, 1274–1580* (Basingstoke, UK: Macmillan Press, 1996); and Jessalynn Bird, Edward Peters, and James Powell (eds. and trans.), *Crusade and Christendom: Annotated Documents in Translation from Innocent III to the Fall of Acre, 1187–1291* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013).

49 Ahmed, "Affective Economies," pp. 119–20.

50 The trajectory traced here finds support in Aurell's *Des Chrétiens contre les croisades*, discussed above, but also, in a different way, in M. Cecilia Gaposchkin's *Invisible Weapons: Liturgy and the Making of Crusade Ideology* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2017), which argues for a shift in the liturgy of the crusades toward the more introspective, penitential, and reformative as expedition after expedition ended in failure. See chapters 2 and 6.

51 Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana: History of the Journey to Jerusalem*, ed. and trans. Susan B. Edgington (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 6, 30, pp. 442–43.

52 For an overview and critique of some influential work in affect studies, see Ruth Leys, "The Turn to Affect: A Critique," *Critical Inquiry*, 37 (2011), 434–72. On the implications of such terminological choices, see further Stephanie Trigg, "Introduction: Emotional Histories – Beyond the Personalization of the Past and the Abstraction of Affect Theory," *Exemplaria*, 26 (2014), 3–15; and, by the same author, "Affect Theory," in Susan Broomhall (ed.), *Early Modern Emotions: An Introduction* (London: Routledge, 2017), pp. 10–13.

53 This definition is from Barbara H. Rosenwein, "Worrying about Emotions in History," *American Historical Review*, 107 (2002), 821–45 (p. 837). On the

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emergence of social constructionism in the field of anthropology, its roots in the field of cognitive psychology, and its introduction into historical studies, see Rosenwein, "Problems and Methods in the History of Emotions," pp. 5–12; Damien Boquet and Piroska Nagy, "Pour une histoire des émotions. L'historien face aux questions contemporaines," in Damien Boquet and Piroska Nagy (eds.), *Le sujet des émotions au Moyen Âge* (Paris: Beauchesne, 2009), pp. 15–51; and Jan Plamper, *History of Emotions: An Introduction* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015), pp. 75–146. Though the dominant approach in anthropology and historically oriented scholarship, social constructionism has not been without its critics: see esp. William M. Reddy, "Against Social Constructionism: The Historical Ethnography of Emotions," *Current Anthropology*, 38 (1997), 327–51.

54 Damien Boquet and Piroska Nagy, *Sensible Moyen Âge: Une histoire des émotions dans l'Occident medieval* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 2015); translated into English by Robert Shaw as *Medieval Sensibilities: A History of Emotions in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 2018), p. 236. To reach these conclusions, Boquet and Nagy draw on work by Casagrande and Vecchio, some of which I cite in notes 57 and 58 below.

55 There is a vast body of scholarship on developments in the religious education of laypeople after Lateran IV. Outside the history of emotions, two recent studies are Aden Kumler, *Translating Truth: Ambitious Images and Religious Knowledge in Late Medieval France and England* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2011); and Claire M. Waters, *Translating Clergie: Status, Education, and Salvation in Thirteenth-Century Vernacular Texts* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016).

56 See Richard Newhauser, *The Treatises on Vices and Virtues in Latin and the Vernacular* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1993), pp. 142–50.

57 Silvana Vecchio, "Passions de l'âme et péchés capitaux: Les ambiguïtés de la culture médiévale," in Christoph Flüeler and Martin Rohde (eds.), *Laster im Mittelalter/Vices in the Middle Ages* (New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2009), pp. 45–64 (p. 59).

58 Carla Casagrande and Silvana Vecchio, "Les théories des passions dans la culture médiévale," in Boquet and Nagy (eds.), *Le sujet des émotions au Moyen Âge*, pp. 107–22 (p. 122).

59 Reginald Pecock, *The Folewer to the Donet*, ed. Elsie Vaughan Hitchcock, Early English Text Society EC 4 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1924), p. 96.

60 Some theorists included pride and envy in taxonomies of the passions, while others did not. On Jean de la Rochelle's taxonomy, which includes them, see, e.g., Simo Knuuttila, *Emotions in Ancient and Medieval Philosophy* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2004), pp. 234–35; Virginia Langum, *Medicine and the Seven Deadly Sins in Late Medieval Literature and Culture* (New York: Palgrave, 2016), p. 88; and Vecchio, "Passions de l'âme et péchés capitaux," pp. 57–58.

61 Boquet and Nagy, *Medieval Sensibilities*, p. 237.

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62 See Tomas Zahora, "Since Feeling Is First: Teaching Royal Ethics through Managing the Emotions in the Late Middle Ages," *Parergon*, 31 (2014), 47–72.
63 A modern edition of the Latin *De regimine principum* is yet to be published. For John Trevisa's translation, see Giles of Rome, *The Governance of Kings and Princes: John Trevisa's Middle English Translation of the "De Regimine Principum" of Aegidius Romanus*, ed. David C. Fowler, Charles F. Briggs, and Paul G. Remley (New York: Garland, 1997), I, 3, pp. 113–38.
64 See Knuuttila, *Emotions in Ancient and Medieval Philosophy*, pp. 214–15.
65 On this, see Carole Rawcliffe, *Medicine and Society in Later Medieval England* (Stroud, UK: Sutton, 1995), pp. 1–25; and Langum, *Medicine and the Seven Deadly Sins*.
66 A good example of the overlap between discourses on the passions, the vices and virtues, royal governance, and the humors can be found in the French Dominican friar Laurent of Orléans's immensely popular moral treatise *La somme le roi* (composed in 1279), which also circulated widely in Middle English translations and adaptations: e.g., *The Book of Vices and Virtues*, *Adventures and Grace*, the *Ayenbite of Inwyt*, the *Book for a Simple and Devout Woman*, and William Caxton's *Royal Book*. See *La somme le roi par Frère Laurent*, ed. Edith Brayer and Anne-Françoise Leurquin-Labie (Paris: Société des Anciens Textes Français, 2008), LV, 52–71, pp. 265–66.
67 Hans Robert Jauss, *Toward an Aesthetic of Reception*, trans. Timothy Bahti (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1982), pp. 22–25. I borrow the term "contract" from Fredric Jameson, "Magical Narratives: Romance as Genre," *New Literary History*, 7 (1975), 135–63: "Genres are essentially contracts between a writer and his readers" (p. 135). The overlap between Jameson's and Jauss's understandings of genre is noted by Helen Cooper, *The English Romance in Time: Transforming Motifs from Geoffrey of Monmouth to the Death of Shakespeare* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), p. 8n20.
68 Northrop Frye, "The Mythos of Summer: Romance" in *Anatomy of Criticism: Four Essays* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1957), pp. 186–206; and *The Secular Scripture: A Study of the Structure of Romance* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1976): "Romance avoids the ambiguities of ordinary life, where everything is a mixture of good and bad, and where it is difficult to take sides or believe that people are consistent patterns of virtue or vice. The popularity of romance, it is obvious, has much to do with its simplifying of moral facts" (pp. 35–36). For a recent assessment in this vein, see, e.g., Liu, "Middle English Romance as Prototype Genre": "It is fitting for Middle English romance to be defined in terms of prototypes, of 'best examples,' for these texts are about exemplarity" (p. 347).
69 On this, see further Roberta L. Krueger, "Introduction," in *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval Romance*, ed. Roberta L. Krueger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 1–9 (p. 6); Francis O'Gorman, "Realism and Romance," in Robert L. Caserio and Clement Hawes (eds.), *The Cambridge History of the English Novel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), pp. 485–99 (p. 485).

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70 General genre-based discussions of Middle English romance have often featured as reference works or as introductions to edited collections: see Jane Gilbert, "A Theoretical Introduction," in Ad Putter and Jane Gilbert (eds.), *The Spirit of Medieval English Popular Romance* (Harlow, UK: Longman, 2000), pp. 15–31 (citation at p. 24); Christine Chism, "Romance," in Larry Scanlon (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval English Literature, 1100–1500* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 57–70; and Neil Cartlidge, "Introduction," in Neil Cartlidge (ed.), *Heroes and Anti-Heroes in Medieval Romance*, pp. 1–8. This is not to say that Anglo-Norman romances and *chansons de geste* lack complexity of characterization; Middle English romances clearly build on the potential of their sources. On the relationship between Middle English crusade romances and *chansons de geste*, see further my "Crusade Romances and the Matter of France," in Helen Cooper and Robert R. Edwards (eds.), *The Oxford History of Poetry in English, vol. 2 (1100–1400)* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2023), pp. 339–55.

71 On the gentry audience of romance, see Michael Johnston, *Romance and the Gentry in Late Medieval England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014). For more general discussions, see Rosalind Field, "Romance in England, 1066–1400," in David Wallace (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Medieval English Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 152–76 (p. 167–70); Cooper, *English Romance in Time*, pp. 11–13; Nancy Mason Bradbury, "Popular Romance," in Corinne Saunders (ed.), *A Companion to Medieval Poetry* (Chichester, UK: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), pp. 289–307 (pp. 293–96); Derek Brewer, "The Popular English Metrical Romances," in Corinne Saunders (ed.), *A Companion to Romance: From Classical to Contemporary* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2007), pp. 45–64 (pp. 45–46); and Ad Putter, "A Historical Introduction," in Putter and Gilbert (eds.), *The Spirit of Medieval English Popular Romance*, pp. 1–15. For a discussion of the lower end of the social spectrum, see Michael Johnston, "New Evidence for the Social Reach of 'Popular Romance': The Books of Household Servants," *Viator*, 43 (2012), 303–32, who offers evidence that manuscripts of *Amis and Amiloun* and *Sir Isumbras* were owned by fifteenth-century household servants. On the oral delivery of romance, see Karl Reichl, "Orality and Performance," in Radulescu and Rushton (eds.), *A Companion to Medieval Popular Romance*, pp. 132–49; and Linda Marie Zaerr, *Performance and the Middle English Romance* (Cambridge, UK: D. S. Brewer, 2012).

72 A particularly compelling critique of the tenacious idea that Middle English romances are narratively "unsophisticated" is offered by Ralph Hanna, *London Literature, 1300–1380* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 104–47. Scholars of modern popular fiction have also countered earlier denigrations of that fiction as offering "uncritical gorging," emphasizing instead its ability to create enthusiasts who thrive off its pleasures and cognitive demands: see Roger Luckhurst, "The Public Sphere, Popular Culture, and the True Meaning of the Zombie Apocalypse," in David Glover (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Popular Fiction* (Cambridge:

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Cambridge University Press, 2012), pp. 68–85 (p. 68); and, in the same volume, Nicola Humble, "The Reader of Popular Fiction," pp. 86–102.

73 Cooper, *English Romance in Time*, pp. 12–13 (p. 13). On the role of debate in late medieval English culture, see further Thomas L. Reed, *Middle English Debate Poetry and the Aesthetics of Irresolution* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1990). For a discussion of romance as a genre invested in asking questions, see the introduction to Katherine C. Little and Nicola McDonald (eds.), *Thinking Medieval Romance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), pp. 1–10.

74 I discuss the historical evidence in the chapters that follow. For an overview of previous scholarly definitions of the crusade romance, see Siobhain Bly Calkin, "Crusade Romance," in Siân Echard and Robert Allen Rouse (eds.), *The Encyclopedia of British Medieval Literature* (Chichester, UK: Wiley-Blackwell, 2017), pp. 583–89.

75 This corpus of romances is largely, though not entirely, distinct from Manion's in *Narrating the Crusades*, which focuses on *Sir Isumbras*, *Octavian*, *The Sultan of Babylon*, and the B-version of *Richard Coeur de Lion* (I discuss the A-version). On these versions of *Richard Coeur de Lion*, see my discussion in Chapter 4.

Chapter 1

1 For an account of this campaign, and of other Carolingian campaigns in al-Andalus under Charlemagne's authority, see Samuel Ottewill-Soulsby, "'Those Same Cursed Saracens': Charlemagne's Campaigns in the Iberian Peninsula as Religious Warfare," *Journal of Medieval History*, 42 (2016), 405–28.

2 Robert of Reims, *Robert the Monk's History of Jerusalem: Historia Iherosolimitana*, trans. Carol Sweetenham (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2006), p. 81.

3 Philippe de Mézières, *Letter to King Richard II, a Plea Made in 1395 for Peace between England and France*, ed. and trans. G. W. Coopland (Liverpool, UK: Liverpool University Press, 1975), p. 70.

4 Some examples are Robert of Reims, *Robert the Monk's History of Jerusalem*, p. 81; Ambroise, *The History of the Holy War: Ambroise's "Estoire de la Guerre Sainte,"* trans. Marianne Ailes; notes Marianne Ailes and Malcom Barber (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell Press, 2011), pp. 145–46; Helen J. Nicholson (trans.), *The Chronicle of the Third Crusade: A Translation of the "Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi"* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 1997), pp. 5, 21, 300; Jean Leclercq (ed.), "Un sermon prononcé pendant la guerre de Flandre sous Philippe le Bel," *Revue du moyen âge latin*, 1 (1945), 165–72; Roger Stanegrave, *Li charboclois d'armes du conquest precious de la Terre Sainte de promission*, in Jacques Paviot (ed.), *Projets de croisade (v. 1290–v. 1330)* (Paris: Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, 2008), pp. 293–387 (p. 386); Pierre Dubois, *The Recovery of the Holy Land*, ed. and trans.

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Walther I. Brandt (New York: Columbia University Press, 1956), p. 87; Marino Sanudo Torsello, *The Book of the Secrets of the Faithful Cross: Liber secretorum fidelium crucis*, trans. Peter Lock (Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2011), p. 206; Honorat Bovet, *Medieval Muslims, Christians, and Jews in Dialogue: The "Apparicion Maistre Jehan de Meun" of Honorat Bovet*, ed. and trans. Michael Hanly (Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2005), p. 104; and Jean Germain, "Le discours du voyage d'oultremer au très victorieux roi Charles VII, prononcé en 1452 par Jean Germain, évêque de Chalron," *Revue de l'Orient latin*, ed. C. Schefer, 5 (1895), 303–42, trans. Norman Housley (ed. and trans.), *Documents on the Later Crusades, 1274–1580* (Basingstoke, UK: Macmillan Press, 1996), pp. 142–43. See also Maurice Keen, *Chivalry* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1984), p. 107; Jace Stuckey, "Charlemagne as Crusader? Memory, Propaganda, and the Many Uses of Charlemagne's Legendary Expedition to Spain," in Matthew Gabriele and Jace Stuckey (eds.), *The Legend of Charlemagne in the Middle Ages: Power, Faith, and Crusade* (New York: Palgrave, 2008), pp. 137–52; and Anne Latowsky, "Charlemagne, Godfrey of Bouillon, and Louis IX of France," in Anthony Bale (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to the Literature of the Crusades* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), pp. 200–214.

5 See, however, Lee Manion, *Narrating the Crusades: Loss and Recovery in Medieval and Early Modern English Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), pp. 107–45, on *The Sultan of Babylon* in relation to crusading in Iberia; and Phillipa Hardman and Marianne Ailes, *The Legend of Charlemagne in Medieval England: The Matter of France in Middle English and Anglo-Norman Literature* (Cambridge, UK: D. S. Brewer, 2017), pp. 72–73, 296–97, who propose a specific crusading context (among many other non-crusading contexts) for understanding the Charlemagne romances as a group: the threat to Europe posed by the Ottomans.

6 See Robert Warm, "Identity, Narrative and Participation: Defining a Context for the Middle English Charlemagne Romances," in Rosalind Field (ed.), *Tradition and Transformation in Medieval Romance* (Cambridge, UK: D. S. Brewer, 1999), pp. 87–100; Marianne Ailes, "La réception de *Fierabras* en Angleterre," in Marc Le Person (ed.), *Le rayonnement de Fierabras dans la littérature européenne* (Lyon: Centre d'étude des Interactions Culturelles, Université Jean Moulin Lyon 3, 2003), pp. 177–89; Phillipa Hardman and Marianne Ailes, "How English Are the English Charlemagne Romances?," in Neil Cartlidge (ed.), *Boundaries in Medieval Romance* (Woodbridge, UK: D. S. Brewer, 2008), pp. 43–55; Phillipa Hardman, "Knight, King, Emperor, Saint: Portraying Charlemagne in Middle English Romance," *Reading Medieval Studies*, 38 (2012), 43–58; and Melissa Furrow, "*Chanson de geste* as Romance in England," in Laura Ashe, Ivana Djordjević, and Judith Weiss (eds.), *The Exploitations of Medieval Romance* (Cambridge, UK: D. S. Brewer, 2010), pp. 57–72.

7 Hardman and Ailes, "How English," p. 53; Ailes, "La réception de *Fierabras*," p. 189.

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8 Warm, "Identity, Narrative and Participation," p. 87.
9 *The Siege of Milan* is preserved uniquely in London, British Library, MS Additional 31042. I will refer to the following edition: Stephen H. A. Shepherd (ed.), *The Siege of Milan*, in *Middle English Romances* (New York: Norton, 1995), pp. 268–312.
10 *The Sultan of Babylon* also survives in a single manuscript: Princeton University Library, MS Garrett 140, c. 1450. References are given to the most recent edition: Alan Lupack (ed.), *Three Middle English Charlemagne Romances* (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 1990), pp. 7–103. Given the echoes it contains of Langland and Chaucer, *The Sultan of Babylon* could not have been written before the end of the fourteenth century. See Lupack's introduction to *Three Middle English Charlemagne Romances*, p. 1; H. M. Smyser, "The Sowdon of Babylon and Its Author," *Harvard Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature*, 13 (1931), 185–218 (esp. pp. 203–7); and Marcel Elias, "Crusade Romances and the Matter of France," in Helen Cooper and Robert R. Edwards (eds.), *The Oxford History of Poetry in English, vol. 2 (1100–1400)* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2023), pp. 339–55 (pp. 348–49).
11 The other Middle English Charlemagne romance for which there is no extant source material is *Rauf Coilyear* (which is not, however, a crusade romance), composed near the end of the fifteenth century and preserved only in an edition printed in 1572.
12 Diana T. Childress, "Between Romance and Legend: 'Secular Hagiography' in Middle English Romance," *Philological Quarterly*, 57 (1978), 311–22, labels the poem a "secular hagiography" or "secular legend"; Dieter Mehl, *The Middle English Romances of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries* (London: Barnes and Noble, 1969), pp. 152–53, calls the poem a "homiletic romance"; Suzanne Conklin Akbari, "Incorporation in the *Siege of Melayne*," in Nicola McDonald (ed.), *Pulp Fictions of Medieval England: Essays in Popular Romance* (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 2004), pp. 22–44, explores how hagiographic, devotional, and eucharistic themes are deployed.
13 On biblical anger, see, e.g., Laurent Smagghe, *Les émotions du prince: Émotions et discours politique dans l'espace bourguignon* (Paris: Garnier, 2012), pp. 168–72; and Yves Cattin, "Dieu d'amour, dieu de colère . . . justice et miséricorde dans le Proslogion (ch. VI–XI) d'Anselme de Canterbury," *Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses*, 69 (1989), 423–50.
14 Lactantius, *De ira dei*, in Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson (eds.), *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, 10 vols. (Buffalo, NY: Christian Literature Publishing, 1886), VII, 18 and 21, pp. 274–75, 277.
15 Augustine, *De civitate dei*, ed. J. P. Migne, Patrologia Latina 41 (Paris: Garnier Fratres, 1864), 9, 5, col. 260; Augustine, *The City of God against the Pagans*, trans. R. W. Dyson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p. 365.
16 Alcuin of York, *De virtutibus et vitiis*, ed. J. P. Migne, Patrologia Latina 101 (Paris: Garnier fratres, 1851), 31, col. 634; Rachel Stone (trans.), "Translation

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of Alcuin's *De virtutibus et vitiis liber*," *Heroic Age: A Journal of Early Medieval Northwestern Europe*, 16 (2015), XXIV, 30, http://jemne.org/issues/16/stone.php.

17 Hincmar of Reims, *De cavendis vitiis et virtutibus exercendis*, ed. Doris Nachtmann, Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Quellen zur Geistesgeschichte des Mittelalters 16 (Munich: Monumenta Germaniae Historica, 1998), pp. 153–57.

18 Thomas of Chobham, *Summa confessorum*, ed. Frederick Broomfield (Paris: Nauwelaerts, 1968), p. 414; trans. Susanna A. Throop, "Zeal, Anger and Vengeance: The Emotional Rhetoric of Crusading," in Susanna A. Throop and Paul R. Hyams (eds.), *Vengeance in the Middle Ages: Emotion, Religion, and Feud* (Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2010), pp. 177–201 (p. 190).

19 Thomas Aquinas, *The "Summa Theologica" of Thomas Aquinas*, trans. Fathers of the English Dominican Province (London: Burns Oates and Washbourne, 1922), IIa 2ae 158, 1–8.

20 In Trevisa's translation of Giles, *The Governance of Kings and Princes: John Trevisa's Middle English Translation of the "De Regimine Principum" of Aegidius Romanus*, ed. David C. Fowler, Charles F. Briggs, and Paul G. Remley (New York: Garland, 1997), I, 3, pp. 128–29.

21 Geoffrey Chaucer, "The Parson's Tale," in Larry D. Benson (ed.), *The Riverside Chaucer*, 3rd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008; 1st ed. 1987), lines 535–45.

22 Stephen D. White, "The Politics of Anger," in Barbara H. Rosenwein (ed.), *Anger's Past: The Social Uses of an Emotion in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1998), p. 140.

23 White, "Politics of Anger," pp. 142–44; see further Richard E. Barton, "'Zealous Anger' and the Renegotiation of Aristocratic Relationships in Eleventh and Twelfth Century France," in Rosenwein (ed.), *Anger's Past*, p. 158.

24 Throop, "Zeal, Anger and Vengeance," pp. 184–201.

25 Jacques de Vitry, I, 4, Troyes, Bibliothèque Municipale, 228, in Christoph T. Maier (ed. and trans.), *Crusade Propaganda and Ideology: Model Sermons for the Preaching of the Cross* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 85–86.

26 Gilbert de Tournai, III, 4, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, lat. 15953, in Maier (ed. and trans.), *Crusade Propaganda and Ideology*, pp. 200–201.

27 According to Gerd Althoff, such rituals of peace and renewed friendship possessed a contractual value: see his "Friendship and Political Order," in Julian Haseldine (ed.), *Friendship in Medieval Europe* (Stroud, UK: Sutton, 1999), pp. 91–105.

28 See David Green, *The Hundred Years War: A People's History* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2014), pp. 104–24, who notes that "defense of the realm" was "central to the promotion and manifestation of royal authority in the later Middle Ages" (p. 124); and also W. R. Jones, "The English Church

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and Royal Propaganda during the Hundred Years War," *Journal of British Studies*, 19 (1979), 18–30.

29 Hugo of Lüttich, *Peregrinarius*, ed. Franz Unterkircher (Leiden: Brill, 1991), pp. 32–52, lines 399–1206.

30 On the English members of Mézières's order, see Timothy Guard, *Chivalry, Kingship and Crusade: The English Experience in the Fourteenth Century* (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell Press, 2013), pp. 171–73; Adrian Bell, "English Members of the Order of the Passion: Their Political, Diplomatic and Military Significance," in Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski and Kiril Petkov (eds.), *Philippe de Mézières and His Age* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), pp. 321–45; and Stefan Vander Elst, "'Tu es pélerin en la sainte cité': Chaucer's Knight and Philippe de Mézières," *Studies in Philology*, 106 (2009), 379–401 (pp. 381–82).

31 Philippe de Mézières, *Le songe du vieil pelerin*, ed. G. W. Coopland, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), I, 76, pp. 396–403.

32 Mézières, *Letter to King Richard II*, ed. and trans. Coopland, pp. 26–27, 99. See further Philippe Contamine, "Guerre et paix à la fin du Moyen Age: L'action et la pensée de Philippe de Mézières (1327–1405)," in Hans-Henning Kortüm (ed.), *Krieg im Mittelalter* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2001), pp. 181–96.

33 Mézières, *Letter to King Richard II*, ed. and trans. Coopland, pp. 24, 97.

34 Eustache Deschamps, "Complainte de l'Eglise," in Auguste-Henry-Edouard De Queux de Saint-Hilaire and Gaston Raynaud (eds.), *Oeuvres complètes*, 11 vols. (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1878–1903), VII, pp. 293–311.

35 John Mandeville, *The Book of John Mandeville*, ed. Tamarah Kohanski and C. David Benson (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 2007), lines 46–48.

36 John Gower, *Vox Clamantis*, in G. C. Macaulay (ed.), *The Complete Works of John Gower*, 4 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1899), IV, 3, lines 307–10.

37 On this, in relation to Old French, see White, "Politics of Anger," p. 135; and Robert Francis Cook, *The Sense of the "Song of Roland"* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1987), p. 51n69.

38 See *Middle English Dictionary* (*MED*), *tene* n.(2), 3. (c) sorrow, grief; care, anxiety, distress; 4. (a) vexation, chagrin; anger, wrath; and *gref* n., 3. (a) anger, hostility, spite; 4. (a) sorrow, mental distress. See also, on the polysemy of the Old English word *teona*, which meant "the hurt" that had been "done to someone" and which raised "the emotion of shame, anger and/or grief," Michiko Ogura, *Words and Expressions of Emotion in Medieval English* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2013), p. 65.

39 See further Sarah McNamer, *Affective Meditation and the Invention of Medieval Compassion* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010), p. 11n43. As noted by McNamer, *compassioun* is a relatively late term, appearing around 1340 and deriving from both Latin and Old French (see *MED*, *compassioun*, n.).

40 Paulin Paris (ed.), *La chanson d'Antioche*, 2 vols. (Paris: J. Techener, 1848), I, 32, p. 53.

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41 Odo of Deuil, *De profectione Ludovici VII in Orientem: The Journey of Louis VII to the East*, ed. and trans. Virginia Gingerich Berry (New York: W. W. Norton, 1948), pp. 6–7.

42 Jacques de Vitry, "Sermones vulgares," in J. B. Pitra (ed.), *Analecta novissima spicilegii Solesmensis: Altera continuatio*, 2 vols. (Paris: Typis Tusculanis, 1888), II, p. 421; trans. Jonathan Riley-Smith and Louise Riley-Smith, *The Crusades: Idea and Reality, 1095–1274* (London: Edward Arnold, 1981), p. 134.

43 Ibid., p. 421; trans. Riley-Smith and Riley-Smith, *Crusades: Idea and Reality*, p. 134.

44 The full-length study on vengeance is Susanna Throop, *Crusading as an Act of Vengeance* (Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2011). Numerous other sources linking sorrow or compassion to military aid or retribution are available. See, e.g., Gunther of Pairis, "Historia Constantinopolitana," in *Exuviae sacrae Constantinopolitanae*, ed. Paul Riant, 3 vols. (Geneva: Fick, 1877), I, pp. 62–64, trans. Riley-Smith and Riley-Smith, *Crusades: Idea and Reality*, pp. 70–71; and Bernard of Clairvaux, *Epistolae*, ed. J. P. Migne, Patrologia Latina 182 (Paris: Garnier fratres), no. 363, cols. 565–67, trans. Riley-Smith and Riley-Smith, *Crusades: Idea and Reality*, pp. 95–96. This rhetoric was also used to implement papal taxes and to collect alms in exchange for indulgences: see, e.g., Augustin Theiner (ed.), *Vetera monumenta historica Hungariam sacram illustrantia*, 2 vols. (Rome: Typis Vaticanis, 1864), II, 660–62, trans. Housley (ed. and trans.), *Documents on the Later Crusades*, pp. 78–80; and Jürgen Sarnowsky (ed.), "Die Johanniter und Smyrna (1344–1402)," *Römische Quartalschrift*, 87 (1992), 70–71, trans. Housley (ed. and trans.), *Documents on the Later Crusades*, pp. 101–2.

45 Norman P. Tanner (ed.), *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, 2 vols. (London: Sheed and Ward, 1990), I, p. 309.

46 See Sylvia Schein, *Fideles Crucis: The Papacy, the West, and the Recovery of the Holy Land, 1274–1314* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), pp. 114–15.

47 R. B. C. Huygens (ed.), *Excidium Aconis gestorum collectio: Magister Thadeus civis Neapolitanus, Ystoria de desolatione et conculcatione civitatis Acconensis et tocius Terre Sanctae* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004), II, lines 750–58; my translation.

48 Philippe de Mézières, *The Life and Times of Saint Peter Thomas by Philippe de Mézières*, ed. Joachim Smet (Rome: Institutum Carmelitanum, 1954), pp. 120–21; trans. Housley (ed. and trans.), *Documents on the Later Crusades*, p. 86.

49 At lines 94–96, the emphasis is likewise on Charlemagne's duty to avenge the lord of Milan: "To Charles that beris the flour-de-lyce; / Of other kynges he berys the pryce / And he sall wreke thy wrethis alle."

50 On religious weeping, see esp. Piroska Nagy, *Le Don des larmes au Moyen Âge* (Paris: Albin Michel, 2000). The practice of calling upon God's assistance through weeping is amply documented across cultures. For instance, Elina Gertsman, "Introduction: 'Going They Wept and Wept.' Tears in Medieval

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Discourse," in Elina Gertsman (ed.), *Crying in the Middle Ages: Tears of History* (New York: Routledge, 2012), p. xiii, refers to St. Bernard, who "invoked the power of tears to call upon Christ to restore the dead to life." See also Rachel S. Mikva, "Weeping as Discourse between Heaven and Earth: The Transformative Power of Tears in Medieval Jewish Literature," in Gertsman (ed.), *Crying in the Middle Ages* pp. 156–72, who discusses the connection between weeping and divine mercy, and refers to biblical precedents (Psalm 56:9–10 and Isaiah 30:19); Kimberley Christine Patton, "'Howl, Weep and Moan, and Bring It Back to God': Holy Tears in Eastern Christianity," in Kimberly Christine Patton and John Stratton Hawley (eds.), *Holy Tears: Weeping in the Religious Imagination* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2005), pp. 255–73; and Smagghe, *Les émotions du prince*, p. 380.

51 A. Chroust (ed.), *Historia de expeditione Friderici imperatoris*, in Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Scriptores rerum Germanicarum NS 5 (Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1928), p. 7; trans. Riley-Smith and Riley-Smith, *Crusades: Idea and Reality*, p. 65.

52 For similar emotional rhetoric, in a different context, see Sara Ahmed, "Affective Economies," *Social Text*, 79 (2004), 117–39; Ahmed also writes on pain, injury, and collective response in *The Cultural Politics of Emotion*, 2nd ed. (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2014; 1st ed. New York: Routledge, 2004) (see esp. pp. 20–41).

53 Turpin's is the most accusatory of three heavenly addressed complaints in Middle English crusade literature; the other two feature in *Firumbras* and *Capystranus*. See Mary Isabelle O'Sullivan (ed.), *Firumbras*, in *Firumbras and Otuel and Roland*, Early English Text Society OS 198 (London: Oxford University Press, 1935), lines 1121–22; and Shepherd (ed.), *Capystranus*, in *Middle English Romances*, lines 465–512. The episode in *Firumbras* is unparalleled in the French source texts; for a discussion, see my "Interfaith Empathy and the Formation of Romance," in Mary C. Flannery (ed.), *Emotion and Medieval Textual Media* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2018), p. 115.

54 Maldwyn Mills, "Introduction," in *Six Middle English Romances* (London: Dent, 1973), p. xiii.

55 Akbari, "Incorporation in the *Siege of Melayne*," pp. 26–27.

56 Thomas H. Crofts and Robert Allen Rouse, "Middle English Popular Romance and National Identity," in Raluca L. Radulescu and Cory James Rushton (eds.), *A Companion to Medieval Popular Romance* (Cambridge, UK: D. S. Brewer, 2009), p. 93; Stephen Shepherd, "'This Grete Journee': *The Sege of Melayne*," in Maldwyn Mills, Jennifer Fellows, and Carol M. Meale (eds.), *Romance in Medieval England* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1991), pp. 124–25; and Shepherd (ed.), *Middle English Romances*, pp. 389–90.

57 A portion of the thirteenth-century evidence is, however, concisely discussed by Martin Aurell, *Des Chrétiens contre les croisades, XIIe–XIIIe siècles* (Paris: Fayard, 2013), pp. 299–304.

58 These accusations bear affinity with medieval Christian rituals of humiliation of the saints: see Patrick Geary, "Humiliation of Saints," in Stephen Wilson

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(ed.), *Saints and Their Cults: Studies in Religious Sociology, Folklore and History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), pp. 123–40.

59 Antoine de Bastard (ed.), "La colère et la douleur d'un templier en Terre Sainte," *Revue des langues romanes*, 81 (1974), 333–73 (p. 356), lines 1–8; English translation mine.

60 Alfred Jeanroy (ed.), "Le troubadour Austorc d'Aurillac et son sirventés sur la Septième Croisade," *Romanische Forschungen*, 23 (1907), 81–88 (pp. 82–83), lines 1–2, 12, 16, 22–23; English translations mine. Both Ricaut Bonomel and Austorc d'Aurillac's songs are based on an earlier *canso* of Peirol d'Auvergne. See Jaye Puckett, "'Reconmenciez novele estoire': The Troubadours and the Rhetoric of the Later Crusades," *Modern Language Notes*, 116 (2001), 844–89 (p. 878n59).

61 Linda Paterson (ed.), "Austorc de Segret: *[No s]ai qui·m so tan suy [des]-conoyssens*," *Lecturae tropatorum*, 5 (2012), 1–16 (p. 12): "Ni re no say tan fort suy esbaÿtz: / si Dieus nos a o dïables marritz, / que Crestïas e la ley vey perida, / e Sarrazis an trobada guandida" (I know nothing, I am so bewildered: God or a devil has so afflicted us that I see Christians and the Christian religion destroyed, and Saracens have found safe haven).

62 Matthew Paris, *Chronica majora*, ed. Henry Richards Luard, 7 vols. (London: Longman, 1872–83), v, pp. 169–70; Matthew Paris, *Chronicles of Matthew Paris: Monastic Life in the Thirteenth Century*, ed. and trans. Richard Vaughan (Gloucester, UK: Alan Sutton, 1984), p. 256.

63 Ibid., p. 170; trans. Vaughan, p. 256.

64 Salimbene de Adam, *Cronica*, ed. Giuseppe Scalia, 2 vols. (Turnhout: Brepols, 1999), II, 645, pp. 672–73; *The Chronicle of Salimbene de Adam*, ed. and trans. Joseph L. Baird, Giuseppe Baglivi, and John Robert Kane (Binghamton, NY: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1986), p. 453.

65 He was canonized in 1297. On the cult of Saint Louis, see M. Cecilia Gaposchkin, *The Making of Saint Louis: Kingship, Sanctity, and Crusade in the Later Middle Ages* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2008).

66 These letters were edited by Reinhold Röhricht in Riccoldo da Monte di Croce, "Lettres de Ricoldo de Monte-Croce sur la prise d'Acre (1291)," in *Archives de l'Orient latin*, 12 vols. (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1884), II, pp. 258–92. They were translated into French by René Kappler in Riccoldo da Monte di Croce, *Riccold de Monte Croce: Pérégrination en Terre Sainte et au Proche Orient. Lettres sur la chute de Saint Jean d'Acre* (Paris: Champion, 1997); and into English by Rita George-Tvrtković, *A Christian Pilgrim in Medieval Iraq: Riccoldo da Montecroce's Encounter with Islam* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012), pp. 137–73. These letters are discussed, with different emphases, by Iris Shagrir, "The Fall of Acre as a Spiritual Crisis: The Letters of Riccoldo of Monte Croce," *Revue Belge de philologie et d'histoire*, 90 (2012), 1107–20. In what follows, I refer to Röhricht's edition; all English translations are mine.

67 Riccoldo da Monte di Croce, "Lettres de Ricoldo de Monte-Croce," ed. Röhricht, pp. 269–70.

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68 Ibid., p. 288.
69 Ibid., p. 271.
70 Ibid., p. 275.
71 Ibid., p. 286.
72 Ottokar von Steiermark, *Ottokars Österreichische Reimchronik*, ed. Joseph Seemüller (Hannover: Hahn, 1890), lines 52359–63.
73 *The Sultan of Babylon* is believed to have its direct source in lost Anglo-Norman versions of *La destruction de Rome* and *Fierebras*, which in turn stem from the (Anglo-Norman) texts found in London, British Library, MS Egerton 3028. The Egerton manuscript was edited by Louis Brandin in "*La destruction de Rome* et *Fierabras*, MS Egerton 3028, Musée Britannique," *Romania*, 64 (1938), 18–100. For the antecedent, longer version of *La destruction de Rome* contained in the Hanover manuscript, see Johann Heinrich Speich (ed.), *La destructioun de Rome (d'après le ms. de Hanovre IV, 578)* (Bern: Peter Lang, 1988). On the possibility that *La destruction de Rome* was an insular text altogether, see Marianne Ailes, "What's in a Name? Anglo-Norman Romances or *Chansons de geste*?," in Rhiannon Purdie and Michael Cichon (eds.), *Medieval Romance, Medieval Contexts* (Cambridge, UK: D. S. Brewer, 2011), pp. 61–76 (pp. 66–67). For the earlier continental version of *Fierabras*, see Marc Le Person (ed.), *Fierabras: Chanson de geste du XIIe siècle* (Paris: Champion, 2003). On the possible sources, influences, and historical elements at the origin of the legend and texts of *La destruction de Rome*, see Speich's introduction to *La destructioun de Rome*, pp. 7–15. The most complete study of the relationship between the English and French renderings of *Fierabras* is Marianne Ailes, "A Comparative Study of the Medieval French and Middle English Verse Texts of the Fierabras Legend," 2 vols. (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Reading, 1989).
74 Jeffrey Jerome Cohen, "On Saracen Enjoyment: Some Fantasies of Race in Late Medieval France and England," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 31 (2001), 113–46, 113–46 (p. 126).
75 See esp. lines 995–110, 2149, 2135, and 2943–44.
76 See lines 754, 962, 2169–70, and 2458; 413–18 and 784–86; 164, 237, 935, 956, 1013, and 1756; 1051–53 ("Ferumbras with grete araye / Rode forthe, Mahounde him spede, / Tille he came nyghe there Charles lay") and 1737; 1221–22 and 1254; 49, 75, 136, 207, 979, and 2163; 447–49 (the Muslim character's salvation features in the Egerton manuscript, but the quoted line is unique to *The Sultan of Babylon*).
77 See further John V. Tolan, *Sons of Ishmael: Muslims through European Eyes in the Middle Ages* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2008), pp. 79–100.
78 Roger of Wendover, *Rogeri de Wendover Chronica: Sive, Flores historiarum*, ed. Henry O. Coxe, 5 vols. (London: Sumptibus Societatis, 1841–44), IV, p. 195; Jessalynn Bird, Edward Peters, and James Powell (eds. and trans.), *Crusade and Christendom: Annotated Documents in Translation from Innocent III to the Fall of Acre, 1187–1291* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), pp. 245–46.

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79 Michel Pintoin, *Chronique du religieux de Saint-Denys*, ed. M. L. Bellaguet, 6 vols. (Paris: Crapelet, 1839), II, pp. 487–523 (p. 498); English translation mine.
80 H. M. Smyser has traced the first few lines of this passage (963–78) to the influence of *Piers Plowman.* See Smyser, "The Sowdon of Babylon and Its Author," 205–6.
81 Other passages in which sorrow is expressed include the following: lines 339, 362, 574, 704–6, 847, 1188, 1307, 1435, 2058, 2209; anger: lines 527, 824, 1156, 2902; fear: lines 297, 302, 486, 493–94, 659–60, 878, 1337; shame: lines 558, 567, 1275–78, 1295; joy: lines 675, 691, 854, 3199; and love of God or gods: lines 413, 425, 2841.
82 In English literature, see Cindy Vitto, *The Virtuous Pagan in Middle English Literature* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1989); Frank Grady, *Representing Righteous Heathens in Late Medieval England* (New York: Palgrave, 2005); Alastair Minnis, "Other Worlds: Chaucer's Classicism," in Rita Copeland (ed.), *The Oxford History of Classical Reception in English Literature, vol. 1 (800–1558)* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), pp. 413–34.
83 See, e.g., Margaret A. Jubb, "Enemies in the Holy War, but Brothers in Chivalry: The Crusaders' View of Their Saracen Opponents," in Hans van Dijk and Willem Noomen (ed.), *Aspects de l'épopée romane: Mentalités, idéologies, intertextualités* (Groningen: E. Forsten, 1995), pp. 251–59.
84 On the theme of king–vassal conflict, see, e.g., François Suard, *La chanson de geste* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1993), pp. 79–80 and 93–101.
85 For the parallel passage in the Egerton manuscript, see Brandin (ed.), *Fierabras*, in "*La destruction de Rome* et *Fierabras*," lines 60–85.
86 The pervasiveness of accusations of treachery in crusade documents can be traced back to the debacle of the Second Crusade, imputed by many to the treachery of the Greeks; see Giles Constable, "The Second Crusade as Seen by Contemporaries," *Traditio*, 9 (1953), 213–79. Sarah Kay, *The Chansons de Geste in the Age of Romance: Political Fictions* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), ascribes the topos of treachery in *chansons de geste* to internal problems plaguing feudal society (p. 234).
87 See Brandin (ed.), *Fierabras*, in "*La destruction de Rome* et *Fierabras*," lines 649–717.
88 Stephen J. Spencer, *Emotions in a Crusading Context, 1095–1291* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), pp. 209–39.
89 Odo of Deuil, *La croisade de Louis VII, roi de France*, ed. Henri Waquet (Paris: P. Geuthner, 1949), p. 36; for the English translation, see James Brundage, *The Crusades: A Documentary Survey* (Milwaukee, WI: Marquette University Press, 1962), p. 108.
90 Charles Wendell David (ed. and trans.), *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi: The Conquest of Lisbon* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1936), pp. 80–81.
91 Ibid., pp. 152–53.
92 Ibid., pp. 166–67. On Christian infighting during the Second Crusade, see Constable, "Second Crusade," pp. 273–74.

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93 Jaques de Vitry quotes from Ecclesiastes 28:11 on the perils of anger. See Jessalynn Bird, "James of Vitry's Sermons to Pilgrims," *Essays in Medieval Studies*, 24 (2008), 81–113 (p. 98).

94 Sanudo Torsello, *Book of the Secrets of the Faithful Cross*, pp. 438–39; for the Latin, see *Gesta Dei per Francos, sive orientalium expeditionem et regni Francorum Hierosolymitani historia*, ed. J. Bongars, 2 vols. (Hannover: Typis Wechelianis, 1611), II, pp. 275–76.

95 Ludolph of Suchem, *Ludolphi de itinere terrae sanctae liber*, ed. Ferdinand Deycks (Stuttgart: Gedruckt auf Kosten des Litterarischen Vereins, 1851), p. 42; Ludolph of Suchem, *Description of the Holy Land, and of the Way Thither*, ed. and trans. Aubrey Stewart (London: Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund, 1895; repr. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), pp. 54–55.

96 See, e.g., Michael Camille, *The Gothic Idol: Ideology and Image-Making in Medieval Art* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 129–51; Marianne Ailes, "The *chanson de geste*," in Bale (ed.), *Cambridge Companion to the Literature of the Crusades*, pp. 25–38 (pp. 27–28); Sharon Kinoshita and Siobhain Bly Calkin, "Saracens as Idolaters in European Vernacular Literatures," in David Thomas and Alex Mallett (eds.), *Christian–Muslim Relations: A Bibliographical History, vol. 4 (1200–1350)* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), pp. 29–44. On the eighth- and ninth-century Byzantine origins of this construct, see Suzanne Conklin Akbari, *Idols in the East: European Representations of Islam and the Orient, 1100–1450* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2009), pp. 203–5.

97 On the image of the polytheistic, idolatrous Frank in Arabic jihād poetry, see Osman Latiff, *The Cutting Edge of the Poet's Sword: Muslim Poetic Responses to the Crusades* (Leiden: Brill, 2017). On the origins of this image, see G. R. Hawting, *The Idea of Idolatry and the Emergence of Islam: From Polemic to History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), chapter 2.

98 See Lupack (ed.), *The Sultan*, lines 276–77 (the emotion word is "woode"); 308–12 (he turns "blake, pale and wan" and becomes "nyghe woode"); 410–11 ("wod"); 2103–15 (he "was nere wode for tene" and "made grete lamentacion"); 2431–49 (his emotional state is unspecified, but his counsellors assert that if he does not repent, "Vengeaunce shalle than on you come / With sorowe, woo and wrake"); 2493–2517 ("grete sorowe and mournyng mode"; he "cryed as he were wode"); and 2755–82 ("Whan tidynnges to him were comen / Tho was he a fulle sory man"). In the Egerton, see Brandin (ed.), *Fierabras*, in "*La destruction de Rome* et *Fierabras*," lines 1310–15.

99 The author of *Otuel and Roland* incorporates an episode of divinely directed rebuke in the passage linking the two sources he or she conflates, the *chanson de geste* of *Otinel* and the *Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle*: see O'Sullivan (ed.), *Firumbras and Otuel and Roland*, lines 1526–58. The Middle English Auchinleck *Guy of Warwick* also supplements the early thirteenth-century Anglo-Norman version with one such scene: see Julius Zupitza (ed.), *The Romance of Guy of Warwick*, Early English Text Society ES 42, 49, and 59

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(Bungay, UK: Clay and Sons, 1883, 1887, 1891; repr. London: Oxford University Press, 1966), lines 3642–54. The London Thornton version of *Richard Coeur de Lion* interpolates a twenty-two-line episode in which Muslims rebuke their gods between lines 3664 and 3665. See Karl Brunner (ed.), *Der Mittelenglische Versroman über Richard Löwenherz* (Vienna: W. Braumüller, 1913), note to lines 3664–65. See also Judith Perryman (ed.), *The King of Tars* (Heidelberg: Winter, 1980), lines 646–60; Sidney J. H. Herrtage (ed.), *Sir Ferumbras*, Early English Text Society ES 34 (London: Oxford University Press, 1879; repr. 1903 and 1966), lines 3204–8 and 4927–40; and O'Sullivan (ed.), *Firumbras*, lines 769–71, 1076, and 1385–92.

100 Akbari, *Idols in the East*, pp. 200–21 (citations at pp. 206 and 216). Geraldine Heng calls these scenes "outright literary fantasies" aimed at "racing the enemy": see Heng, *The Invention of Race in the European Middle Ages* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2018), p. 117.

101 Gerard J. Brault, "Le portrait des Sarrasins dans les chansons de geste, image projective?," in *Au carrefour des routes d'Europe: La chanson de geste* (Aix-en-Provence: CUERMA, Université de Provence, 1987), pp. 301–11.

102 Riccoldo da Monte di Croce, "Lettres de Ricoldo de Monte-Croce," ed. Röhricht, pp. 275–76.

103 Ibid., p. 266.

104 Bastard (ed.), "La colère," 356, lines 21–23; English translation mine.

105 See, e.g., Psalms 43:23: "Arise, why sleepest thou, O Lord? Arise, and cast us not off to the end." See also Psalms 7:7, 16:13, 34:23, 41:10–11, and 77:65.

106 Jeanroy (ed.), "Le troubadour Austorc d'Aurillac," 82–83, lines 1–3, 13–24; English translation mine.

107 On Austorc, see further Linda Paterson, *Singing the Crusades: French and Occitan Lyric Responses to the Crusading Movement, 1137–1336* (Cambridge, UK: D. S. Brewer, 2018), pp. 199–201.

108 Bastard (ed.), "La colère," 357, lines 27–28; English translation mine.

109 Riccoldo da Monte di Croce, "Lettres de Ricoldo de Monte-Croce," ed. Röhricht, p. 280.

110 Ibid., pp. 275, 283–84.

111 Ibid., p. 276.

112 Paris, *Chronica majora*, ed. Luard, V, pp. 169–70; Paris, *Chronicles*, ed. and trans. Vaughan, p. 256.

113 Salimbene de Adam, *Cronica*, ed. Scalia, II, 645, pp. 672–73; *The Chronicle of Salimbene de Adam*, ed. and trans. Baird, Baglivi, and Kane, 645, p. 453.

114 As noted by A. J. Forey, "Western Converts to Islam (Later Eleventh to Later Fifteenth Centuries)," *Traditio*, 68 (2013), 153–231 (pp. 157–58).

115 See Forey, "Western Converts," pp. 170–71; Benjamin Z. Kedar, "Multidirectional Conversion in the Frankish Levant," in James Muldoon (ed.), *Varieties of Religious Conversion in the Middle Ages* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1997), p. 194; and T. W. Arnold, *The Preaching of Islam: A History of the Propagation of the Muslim Faith*

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(London: Constable, 1913), pp. 72–76. While such cases of voluntary conversion during sustained military engagements or in their aftermath are widely attested in both Christian and Muslim sources, forced conversion following military defeat or during captivity was also very common: see Forey, "Western Converts," pp. 181–214. As seen in Riccoldo's account, discussed above, European authors also frequently commented on the conversion to Islam not just of crusaders and settlers but of Christians more generally. See also the reports of William of Tripoli, Humbert of Romans, and Fidenzio of Padua, discussed by Schein, *Fideles Crucis*, p. 97; and John V. Tolan, *Saracens: Islam in the Medieval European Imagination* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), pp. 204–5. For an overview of key geopolitical developments contributing to the spread of Islam from the early to the late Middle Ages, and of the various reasons for which individuals converted, see the general introduction to Nimrod Hurvitz, Christian C. Sahner, Uriel Simonsohn, and Luke Yarbrough (eds.), *Conversion to Islam in the Premodern Age: A Sourcebook* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2020), pp. 1–30; and Clint Hackenburg, "Christian Conversion to Islam," in David Thomas (ed.), *Routledge Handbook on Christian–Muslim Relations* (New York: Routledge, 2018), pp. 176–84, esp. pp. 179–81.

116 See the introduction to Hurvitz, Sahner, Simonsohn, and Yarbrough (eds.), *Conversion to Islam*, p. 10; Tolan, *Saracens*, pp. xiii–xv; and Patricia Crone, *The Nativist Prophets of Early Islamic Iran: Rural Revolt and Local Zoroastrianism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), pp. 14–16, who emphasizes the wide currency of this rationale across time and place.

117 An argument that was unsurprisingly also invoked by Muslim poets and polemicists during the crusades: see, e.g., Paul Cobb, *The Race for Paradise: An Islamic History of the Crusades* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), p. 192; and Latiff, *Cutting Edge*, pp. 130–5.

118 On this, see Camille, *Gothic Idol*, pp. 129–51.

119 See, e.g., O'Sullivan (ed.), *Firumbras*, lines 265–70 and 1427–30; and Herrtage (ed.), *Sir Ferumbras*, lines 2564–75.

120 Fidenzio of Padua, *Liber recuperations Terre Sancte*, in G. Golubovich (ed.), *Biblioteca bio-bibliografica della Terra Santa e dell'Oriente Francescano*, 20 vols. (Quaracchi: Collegio di S. Bonaventura, 1913), II, pp. 9–60 (p. 21); trans. Tolan, *Saracens*, p. 211.

121 Riccoldo da Monte di Croce, "Lettres de Ricoldo de Monte-Croce," ed. Röhricht, p. 271.

Chapter 2

1 On the equally important character of the Muslim queen or princess who converts to Christianity, see Sharon Kinoshita, *Medieval Boundaries: Rethinking Difference in Old French Literature* (Philadelphia: University of

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Pennsylvania Press, 2006), pp. 46–73, who analyzes *La prise d'Orange*; and Suzanne Conklin Akbari, *Idols in the East: European Representations of Islam and the Orient, 1100–1450* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2009), pp. 173–89, who discusses the figure of Floripas in the *Fierabras* tradition. On Floripas, see also Marcel Elias, "Crusade Romances and the Matter of France," in Helen Cooper and Robert R. Edwards (eds.), *The Oxford History of Poetry in English, vol. 2 (1100–1400)* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2023), pp. 346–47.

2 Three Middle English adaptations of *Fierabras* survive: *Sir Ferumbras*; the fragmentary *Firumbras*; and *The Sultan of Babylon*, which conflates *Fierabras* and *La destruction de Rome*.

3 The three Middle English *Otuel* romances, not translations so much as free adaptations, are ultimately based on the Anglo-Norman version of the *chanson de geste* entitled *Otinel*, found in Cologny-Geneva, Bodmer Library MS 168 and composed sometime in the later stages of the thirteenth century. The Auchinleck and Fillingham versions are presumed to share a common lost Middle English source close to the Anglo-Norman text, whereas the Thornton version is reportedly an independent adaptation, closer to the Bodmer Library manuscript than to the other extant French version (this one of continental origin, preserved in Vatican City, Vatican Library reginenses latini MS 1616, and written during the second half of the twelfth century), yet containing points in common with both. See O'Sullivan's introduction to *Firumbras and Otuel and Roland*, Early English Text Society OS 198 (London: Oxford University Press, 1935), pp. xlviii–lx; and Paul Aebischer, *Etudes sur Otinel: De la chanson de geste à la saga norroise et aux origines de la légende* (Bern: Francke, 1960), pp. 96–104. Aebischer's book is the most comprehensive study to date of the interrelationship between the different *Otinel* texts. The continental French version of the Vatican Library manuscript, with lacunae supplied from the Anglo-Norman text of the Bodmer Library manuscript, is edited in François Guessard and Henri Victor Michelant (eds.), *Les anciens poètes de la France*, 10 vols. (Paris: F. Vieweg, 1858–70), I, pp. 1–92. The Bodmer Library manuscript is the only complete version of *Otinel*; I am grateful to Diane Speed for providing access and permission to refer to her transcription. Although research for this chapter was conducted using Speed's transcription, I also consulted the recently published edition of the Bodmer *Otinel* by Elizabeth Melick, Susanna Fein, and David Raybin (eds.), *The Roland and Otuel Romances and the Anglo-Norman "Otinel"* (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 2019). A fragment of the Anglo-Norman version is also found in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, nouvelles acquisitions françaises MS 5094, edited by Ernest Langlois, "Deux fragments épiques: *Otinel*, *Aspremont*," *Romania*, 12 (1883), 438–58; a fragment of only four lines of the continental French version is, moreover, preserved in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds Notre-Dame MS 273. For the dates of composition of the Old French texts, see Ronald N. Walpole, "Otinel," in Geneviève Hasnohr and Michel Zink

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(eds.), *Dictionnaire des lettres françaises: Le Moyen Âge*, 2nd ed. (Paris: Fayard, 1994; 1st ed. 1951), p. 1089; and Françoise Veilliard, *Bibliotheca Bodmeriana Catalogues, 2: Manuscrits français du moyen âge* (Cologny-Geneva: Bodmer Library, 1975), p. 93. I will refer to the following editions of the Middle English romances: for the Aunchileck version, Sidney J. H. Herrtage (ed.), *The Tale of Rauf Coilyear with the Fragments of Roland and Vernagu and Otuel*, Early English Text Society ES 39 (London: Oxford University Press, 1882; repr. 1931 and 1969); for the Fillingham version, O'Sullivan (ed.), *Firumbras and Otuel and Roland*; for the Thornton version, Sidney J. H. Herrtage (ed.), *The Sege off Melayne and The Romance of Duke Rowland and Sir Otuell of Spayne, Together with a Fragment of The Song of Roland*, Early English Text Society ES 35 (London: Trübner, 1880; repr. 1931).

4 See, however, with different emphases, Shirin A. Khanmohamadi, *In Light of Another's World: European Ethnography in the Middle Ages* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013). We discuss two sources in common: Jean de Joinville's *Vie de Saint Louis* and John Mandeville's *Travels*. See also Zeynep Kocabiyikoglu Cecen, "The Use of 'The Saracen Opinion' on Knighthood in Medieval French Literature: *L'Ordene de Chevalerie* and *L'apparicion Maistre Jehan de Meun*," *Medieval History Journal*, 19 (2016), 57–92.

5 Benjamin K. Kedar, *Crusade and Mission: European Approaches towards the Muslims* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1984), pp. 57–65.

6 On this, see John V. Tolan, *Saracens: Islam in the Medieval European Imagination* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), pp. 201–2; and Elizabeth Siberry, "Missionaries and Crusaders, 1095–1274: Opponents or Allies?," *Studies in Church History*, 20 (1983), 103–10 (p. 105).

7 The most comprehensive study is Peter Jackson, *The Mongols and the West, 1221–1410* (Harlow, UK: Longman, 2005). See also "The Mongol Crusades, 1241–1262," in Jessalynn Bird, Edward Peters, and James Powell (eds. and trans.), *Crusade and Christendom: Annotated Documents in Translation from Innocent III to the Fall of Acre, 1187–1291* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), pp. 306–10; and Tolan, *Saracens*, pp. 200–201. On papal attempts to convert the Mongols, see Jean Richard, "Le discours missionnaire: L'exposition de la foi chrétienne dans les lettres des papes aux Mongols," in Jean Richard (ed.), *Croisés, missionnaires et voyageurs: Les perspectives orientales du monde latin medieval* (London: Variorum, 1983), pp. 257–68.

8 Bird, Peters, and Powell (eds. and trans.), *Crusade and Christendom*, pp. 307–8.

9 Matthew Paris, *Chronica majora*, ed. Henry Richards Luard, 7 vols. (London: Longman, 1872–83), IV, p. 115; Josepho Alberigo (ed.), *Conciliorum oecumenicorum decretal* (Bologna: Istituto per le Scienze Religiose, 1973), p. 297. These are translated in Bird, Peters, and Powell (eds. and trans.), *Crusade and Christendom*, pp. 311, 315, and 331.

10 Robert I. Burns, "Christian-Islamic Confrontation in the West: The Thirteenth-Century Dream of Conversion," *American Historical Review*, 76 (1971), 1386–434.

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11 T. Hudson Turner, "Unpublished Notices of the Times of Edward I, Especially of His Relations with the Moghul Sovereigns of Persia," *Archaeological Journal*, 8 (1851), 44–51; Sylvia Schein, *Fideles Crucis: The Papacy, the West, and the Recovery of the Holy Land, 1274–1314* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), pp. 188, 214.
12 Riccoldo da Monte di Croce, *Riccold de Monte Croce: Pérégrination en Terre Sainte et au Proche Orient. Lettres sur la chute de Saint Jean d'Acre*, ed. and trans. René Kappler (Paris: Champion, 1997), pp. 112–13. In what follows, when citing Riccoldo's *Liber peregrinationis*, I refer to Kappler's edition and modern French translation; all English translations are mine.
13 On this, see Schein, *Fideles Crucis,* pp. 162–75.
14 See Antony Leopold, *How to Recover the Holy Land: The Crusade Proposals of the Late Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2000), p. 110; and Vincent J. DiMarco, "The Historical Basis of Chaucer's Squire's Tale," in Kathryn L. Lynch (ed.), *Chaucer's Cultural Geography* (New York: Routledge, 2002), pp. 56–75 (p. 64).
15 William of Adam, *How to Defeat the Saracens*, ed. Gilles Constable (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 2012), pp. 57–61; Marino Sanudo Torsello, *The Book of the Secrets of the Faithful Cross: Liber secretorum fidelium crucis*, trans. Peter Lock (Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2011), p. 66. On the *Directorium*, see DiMarco, "Historical Basis of Chaucer's Squire's Tale," p. 65; and Aziz Suryal Atiya, *The Crusade in the Later Middle Ages* (London: Methuen, 1938), p. 107.
16 Norman P. Tanner (ed.), *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, 2 vols. (London: Sheed and Ward, 1990), I, p. 309; Rutebeuf, "Lament of the Holy Land," in Bird, Peters, and Powell (eds. and trans.), *Crusade and Christendom*, p. 393.
17 Luis Gonzalez Anton, *Las uniones aragonesas y las cortes del reino, 1283–1301*, 2 vols. (Saragossa: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Cientificas, 1975), II, pp. 450–51; English translation mine.
18 Pamela Drost Beattie, "'*Pro Exaltatione Sanctae Fidei Catholicae*': Mission and Crusade in the Writings of Ramon Lull," in Larry J. Simon (ed.), *Iberia and the Mediterranean World of the Middle Ages: Studies in Honor of Robert I. Burns* (Leiden: Brill, 1995), pp. 113–29 (p. 121); Leopold, *How to Recover the Holy Land*, p. 103; Kedar, *Crusade and Mission*, p. 196.
19 Pierre Dubois, *The Recovery of the Holy Land*, ed. and trans. Walther I. Brandt (New York: Columbia University Press, 1956), pp. 41 and 118–19.
20 See further Jean Delumeau, *La peur en occident (XVIe–XVIIIe siècles): Une cité assiégée* (Paris: Fayard, 1978), esp. pp. 262–72.
21 Other attacks on Turkish-held coastline include Lampsacus (1359), Adalia (1361), Alexandria (1365), Ayas (1361, 1367), Jaffa (1367), Tripoli (1367, 1403), Beirut (1403), and Bodrum (1407). See Timothy Guard, *Chivalry, Kingship and Crusade: The English Experience in the Fourteenth Century* (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell Press, 2013), p. 22, and, more generally, pp. 21–50.
22 For a brief view, see Norman Housley, *Contesting the Crusades* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), pp. 129–32; or Christopher Tyerman,

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God's War: A New History of the Crusades (London: Penguin, 2007), pp. 843–45.

23 Augustin Theiner (ed.), *Vetera monumenta historica Hungariam sacram illustrantia*, 2 vols. (Rome, 1859–60) I, pp. 660, 986; Jürgen Sarnowsky, "Die Johanniter und Smyrna (1344–1402)," *Römische Quartalschrift*, 87 (1992), 45, 47–98 (p. 70). Both are translated in Norman Housley (ed. and trans.), *Documents on the Later Crusades, 1274–1580* (Basingstoke, UK: MacMillan Press, 1996), pp. 78–80 and 101–2.

24 Woodburn O. Ross (ed.), *Middle English Sermons*, Early English Text Society OS 209 (London: Oxford University Press, 1940), p. 255.

25 Philippe de Mézières, *Le songe du vieil pelerin*, ed. G. W. Coopland, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), II, 282, p. 428.

26 Unfortunately for Boucicaut, however, Murad was at peace with the Mamlūks at the time. See Denis Lalande (ed.), *Le livre des fais du bon messire Jehan le Maingre, dit Bouciquaut* (Geneva: Droz, 1985), pp. 61–62; and Denis Lalande, *Jean II le Meingre, dit Boucicaut (1366–1421): Étude d'une biographie héroïque* (Geneva: Droz, 1988), pp. 27–28.

27 Helly is said to have served under Murad for three years. See Philippe Gardette, "Jacques de Helly, figure de l'entre-deux culturel au lendemain de la défaite de Nicopolis," *Erytheia: Revista de estudios bizantinos y neogriegos*, 24 (2003), 111–24 (pp. 113–14); Kiril Petkov, "The Rotten Apple and the Good Apples: Orthodox, Catholics, and Turks in Philippe de Mézières' Crusading Propaganda," *Journal of Medieval History*, 23 (1997), 255–70 (p. 266).

28 James Hankins, "Renaissance Crusaders: Humanist Crusade Literature in the Age of Mehmed II," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 49 (1995), 111–207 (p. 129); Benjamin Weber, *Lutter contre les Turcs: Les formes nouvelles de la croisade pontificale au xve siècle* (Rome: École française de Rome, 2013), pp. 54–58.

29 Peter Grillo (ed.), *La Chrétienté Corbaran*, in *The Old French Crusade Cycle VII. The Jerusalem Continuations.* Part 1*: La Chrétienté Corbaran* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1984). See John V. Tolan, *Sons of Ishmael: Muslims through European Eyes in the Middle Ages* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2008), pp. 66–78.

30 Sidney J. H. Herrtage (ed.), *Sir Ferumbras*, Early English Text Society ES 34 (London: Oxford University Press, 1879; repr. 1903 and 1966), lines 759–60. On the popularity of the *Fierabras* tradition in late medieval England, in both English and French renderings, see Marianne Ailes, "La réception de *Fierabras* en Angleterre," in Marc Le Person (ed.), *Le rayonnement de Fierabras dans la littérature européenne* (Lyon: Centre d'étude des Interactions Culturelles, Université Jean Moulin Lyon 3, 2003), pp. 177–78. On the relationship between the English and French versions, see Marianne Ailes, "Comprehension Problems and Their Resolution in the Middle English Verse Translations of *Fierabras*," *Forum for Modern Language Studies*, 35 (1999), 396–407. *Sir Ferumbras* is the closest of the three Middle English versions to the original Old French *chanson*, the "Vulgate," published as Marc Le Person (ed.), *Fierabras: Chanson de geste du XIIe siècle* (Paris: Champion,

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2003); it also bears affinities with the late fifteenth-century prose version of Bagnyon, with which it shares a common, no longer extant source. See Jehan Bagnyon, *L'histoire de Charlemagne*, ed. Hans-Erich Keller (Geneva: Droz, 1992). For instances of the amplifications mentioned above, see Herrtage (ed.), *Sir Ferumbras*, lines 54–55, 59–62, 81, 94–109, 121–23, 363, 379, and 437.

31 Judith Perryman (ed.), *The King of Tars* (Heidelberg: Winter, 1980). The chronicles in question are Matthew Paris's *Flores historiarum* and Thomas of Walsingham's *Historia Anglicana*. See Lilian Herlands Hornstein, "The Historical Background of *The King of Tars*," *Speculum*, 16 (1941), 404–14; and Dorothee Metlitzki, *The Matter of Araby in Medieval England* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1977), pp. 137–38.

32 Geoffrey Chaucer, *Man of Law's Tale*, in Larry D. Benson (ed.), *The Riverside Chaucer*, 3rd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008; 1st ed. 1987), lines 236–37. See Metlitzki, *Matter of Araby in Medieval England*, pp. 136–60; and Jennifer R. Goodman, "Marriage and Conversion in Late Medieval Romance," in James Muldoon (ed.), *Varieties of Religious Conversion in the Middle Ages*, (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1997), pp. 115–28. For a discussion of the *Man of Law's Tale* in terms of "the role of marriage, proselytizing, trade, and money as tools that further crusading goals," see Siobhain Bly Calkin, "The Man of Law's Tale and Crusade," in Christopher Cannon and Maura Nolan (eds.), *Medieval Latin and Middle English Literature: Essays in Honour of Jill Mann* (Cambridge, UK: D. S. Brewer, 2011), pp. 1–24 (pp. 2–3).

33 See also lines 31–32: "Ni3t & day it was his þout, / To bring cristendom to nout"; and 47–48: "& alle flei were togidere sworn, / flat cristendom scholde be lorn."

34 See Guessard and Michelant (eds.), *Otinel*, lines 100–150; the Anglo-Norman text follows closely.

35 The Thornton version, however, assigns a different identity to the man killed by Otuel: see Diane Speed, "Chivalric Perspectives in the Middle English Otuel Romances," in Ruth Evans, Helen Fulton, and David Matthews (eds.), *Medieval Cultural Studies: Essays in Honour of Stephen Knight* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2006), pp. 213–24 (p. 216).

36 See *Middle English Dictionary* (*MED*), *fērd* n.(1), 2. something inspiring fear, danger. The semantic overlap comes from the Old English term *fēar*, meaning "sudden danger/peril": see Michiko Ogura, *Words and Expressions of Emotion in Medieval English* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2013), p. 68.

37 See Guessard and Michelant (eds.), *Otinel*, lines 261–64; the Anglo-Norman text is even more succinct.

38 See also lines 563–65: "As þe king stod in doute, / He spak to his folk aboute, / & seide to alle þat þere were."

39 See further Schein, *Fideles Crucis*, p. 216.

40 See Leopold, *How to Recover the Holy Land*, p. 96; and Schein, *Fideles Crucis*, p. 122.

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41 Roger Stanegrave, *Li charboclois d'armes du conquest precious de la Terre Sainte de promission*, in Jacques Paviot (ed.), *Projets de croisade (v. 1290–v. 1330)* (Paris: Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, 2008), pp. 322–23, 330–31, 373–74.
42 Sanudo Torsello, *The Book of the Secrets of the Faithful Cross*, trans. Lock, p. 417.
43 Riccoldo da Monte di Croce, "Lettres de Ricoldo de Monte-Croce sur la prise d'Acre (1291)," ed. Reinhold Röhricht, in *Archives de l'Orient latin*, 12 vols. (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1884), II, p. 269.
44 Gilbert of Tournai, *Collectio de scandalis ecclesiae*, ed. Autbert Stroick, *Archivum Franciscanum historicum*, 24 (1931), 33–62 (p. 39); English translation mine.
45 Riccoldo da Monte di Croce, "Lettres de Ricoldo de Monte-Croce," ed. Röhricht, e.g., pp. 272–74; on Llull, see Leopold, *How to Recover the Holy Land*, p. 85.
46 Stanegrave, *Li charboclois*, in Paviot (ed.), *Projets de croisade*, p. 331.
47 Philippe de Mézières, *Letter to King Richard II, a Plea Made in 1395 for Peace between England and France*, ed. and trans. G. W. Coopland (Liverpool, UK: Liverpool University Press, 1975), pp. 24–30, 97–130; Philippe de Mézières, *Une epistre lamentable et consolatoire: Adressée en 1397 à Philippe le Hardi, duc de Bourgogne, sur la défaite de Nicopolis (1396)*, ed. Philippe Contamine and Jacques Paviot (Paris: Société de l'histoire de France, 2008), e.g., pp. 142–43, 135, 168, 171, 188; Honorat Bovet, *Medieval Muslims, Christians, and Jews in Dialogue: The "Apparicion Maistre Jehan de Meun" of Honorat Bovet*, ed. and trans. Michael Hanly (Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2005), pp. 100–101, lines 661–64.
48 Geraldine Heng, *Empire of Magic: Medieval Romance and the Politics of Cultural Fantasy* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003), pp. 3, 45, 46, 67, 93, 104, 281.
49 Aelred of Rielvaux, *De speculo caritatis*, in Anselme Hoste and Charles H. Talbot (eds.), *Aelredi Rievallensis. Opera Omnia, I: Opera ascetica* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1971), 2, 26, p. 102, cited in Barbara H. Rosenwein, *Generations of Feeling: A History of Emotions, 600–1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), pp. 99–100.
50 See, e.g., John Gower, *Confessio Amantis*, ed. Russell A. Peck; Latin trans. Andrew Galloway, 3 vols. (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 2013), I, 1, line 1912; Arthur Brandeis (ed.), *Jacob's Well: An English Treatise on the Cleansing of Man's Conscience*, Early English Text Society OS 115 (London: Trübner, 1900), p. 76, line 11, and p. 78, lines 16, 31; W. N. Francis (ed.), *The Book of Vices and Virtues: A Fourteenth Century English Translation of the "Somme le roi" of Lorens d'Orléans*, Early English Text Society OS 217 (London: Oxford University Press, 1942), p. 15, lines 19, 24–25; and Harriet Hudson (ed.), *Sir Isumbras*, in *Four Middle English Romances: Sir Isumbras, Octavian, Sir Eglamour of Artois, Sir Tryamour* (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 2006), line 31.

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51 See, for an overview, Carla Casagrande and Silvana Vecchio, *Histoire des péchés capitaux au Moyen Âge*, trans. Pierre-Emmanuel Dauzat (Paris: Aubier, 2002), pp. 19–65.
52 Chaucer, *Parson's Tale,* in Benson (ed.), *Riverside Chaucer*, line 402; Francis (ed.), *Book of Vices and Virtues*, p. 16, lines 31–32.
53 Francis (ed.), *Book of Vices and Virtues*, p. 17, lines 11–13.
54 Richard Lavynham, *A Litil Tretys on the Seven Deadly Sins*, ed. Johannes Petrus Wilhelmus Maria van Zutphen (Rome: Institutum Carmelitanum, 1956), p. 1.
55 Brandeis (ed.), *Jacob's Well*, p. 82, lines 14–15. See also Chaucer, *Parson's Tale,* in Benson (ed.), *Riverside Chaucer*, line 487.
56 Aelred of Rielvaux, *De speculo caritatis*, ed. Hoste and Talbot, 3, 4, p. 108; see also Rosenwein, *Generations of Feeling*, p. 79, on Alcuin of York.
57 See Casagrande and Vecchio, *Histoire des péchés capitaux*, pp. 79–80.
58 Thomas Aquinas, *The Summa Theologica of Thomas Aquinas*, trans. Fathers of the English Dominican Province (London: Burns Oates and Washbourne, 1922), IIa 2ae 36, 1; Casagrande and Vecchio, *Histoire des péchés capitaux*, p. 76. On Aquinas and the sins, see Eileen C. Sweeney, "Aquinas on the Seven Deadly Sins: Tradition and Innovation," in Richard G. Newhauser and Susan J. Ridyard (eds.), *Sin in Medieval and Early Modern Culture: The Tradition of the Seven Deadly Sins* (Woodbridge, UK: York Medieval Press, 2012), pp. 85–106. Pride and envy do not feature in Aquinas's taxonomy of the passions; they are, however, included in other influential late medieval taxonomies, such as Jean de la Rochelle's. See Simo Knuuttila, *Emotions in Ancient and Medieval Philosophy* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2004), pp. 234–35.
59 Middle English texts drawing upon Augustine include Chaucer, *Parson's Tale*, in Benson (ed.), *Riverside Chaucer*, line 483; Brandeis (ed.), *Jacob's Well*, p. 82, lines 23–24; and Francis (ed.), *Book of Vices and Virtues*, p. 22, lines 17–19.
60 Gower, *Confessio Amantis*, ed. Peck, II, 2, lines 68–70.
61 Mireille Vincent-Cassy, "L'envie au Moyen Âge," *Annales. Economies, Sociétés, Civilisations*, 35 (1980), 253–71; Tanner (ed.), *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, I, pp. 267–68.
62 John Gower, *Vox Clamantis*, in G. C. Macaulay (ed.), *The Complete Works of John Gower*, 4 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1899), IV, 5, line 513; John Gower, *The Major Latin Works of John Gower: The Voice of One Crying, and the Tripartite Chronicle*, trans. Eric W. Stockton (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1962), pp. 206–7.
63 See, e.g., Auchinleck (ed. Herrtage), lines 88, 103–4, 323, 384, 581, 1144, 1275, and 1458; lines 235–40, 652–54, and 1028; lines 109–10, 235–254, 325–28, 519–24, 1071, 1151–56, and 1163–70.
64 See Fillingham (ed. O'Sullivan), lines 511–17; and Thornton (ed. Herrtage), lines 518–28.
65 The citations are from the Thornton version (ed. Herrtage), lines 764 and 766. As noted by Speed, "Chivalric Perspectives," pp. 216–17, the element of

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secrecy is especially pronounced in the Thornton rendering. The Auchinleck also refers to the peers' endeavors as "auntres" (lines 706 and 708).

66 See Guessard and Michelant (eds.), *Otinel*, lines 1071–82.

67 See also Calkin, "Saracens," in Neil Cartlidge (ed.), *Heroes and Anti-Heroes in Medieval Romance* (Cambridge, UK: D. S. Brewer, 2012), pp. 187–89; and, by the same author, *Saracens and the Making of English Identity: The Auchinleck Manuscript* (New York: Routledge, 2005), pp. 32–33, on this episode with different emphases.

68 Guessard and Michelant (eds.), *Otinel*, lines 1108–11.

69 Paris, *Chronica majora*, ed. Luard, V, p. 131; *Chronicles of Matthew Paris: Monastic Life in the Thirteenth Century*, ed. and trans. Richard Vaughan (Gloucester, UK: Alan Sutton, 1984), p. 227.

70 Ibid., p. 133; trans. Vaughan, pp. 228–29.

71 Ibid., p. 147; trans. Vaughan, p. 239.

72 Ibid., pp. 148–49; trans. Vaughan, pp. 240–41; "modestam" changed to nominative "modestiam."

73 Ibid., p. 151; trans. Vaughan, p. 242.

74 Jean de Joinville, *Histoire de Saint Louis, credo et lettre à Louis X*, ed. Natalis de Wailly (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1874), p. 244; *Joinville and Villehardouin: Chronicles of the Crusades*, trans. Caroline Smith (London: Penguin, 2008), p. 255.

75 Gilbert of Tournai, *Collectio de scandalis ecclesiae*, ed. Stroick, pp. 33–62; Keith Walls, *John Bromyard on Church and State: The "Summa Praedicantium" and Early Fourteenth-Century England* (Market Weighton, UK: Clayton-Thorpe, 2007), pp. 203–13, 118–20.

76 Stanegrave, *Li charboclois*, in Paviot (ed.), *Projets de croisade*, pp. 330–37.

77 John Mandeville, *The Book of John Mandeville*, ed. Tamarah Kohanski and C. David Benson (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 2007), lines 1300–18.

78 Elizabeth Siberry, *Criticism of Crusading, 1095–1274* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), pp. 72–108.

79 John Bromyard, *Summa praedicantium* (Vienna: Apud Dominicum Nicolinum, 1586), "Crux," 17.32–3.

80 Bromyard, *Summa praedicantium*, "Adulterium," 17.9–10; "Anima," 23.15; "Elemosina," 3.28; see further Walls, *John Bromyard on Church and State*, pp. 203–5. In the absence of a modern edition of the *Summa*, Walls's book, though offering little critical engagement with the text, is useful for its summaries, translations, and references. On analogical approaches to Islam, in writings by John Bromyard, Riccoldo da Monte di Croce, Johann Schiltberger, and others, see further my "Unsettling Orientalism: Toward a New History of European Representations of Muslims and Islam, c. 1200–1450," *Speculum*, 100:2 (forthcoming, April 2025).

81 See, e.g., the two episodes in Bromyard, *Summa*, "Elemosina," 3.28–9; see further Walls, *John Bromyard*, p. 24.

82 Riccoldo da Monte di Croce, "Lettres de Ricoldo de Monte-Croce," ed. Röhricht," p. 275; English translation mine.

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83 Riccoldo da Monte di Croce, *Riccold de Monte Croce: Pérégrination*, ed. and trans. Kappler, pp. 158–73. I am not the first to note this connection: see George-Tvrtković, *A Christian Pilgrim in Medieval Iraq: Riccoldo da Montecroce's Encounter with Islam* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012), pp. 65–66. The letters are believed to have been largely redacted in the immediate aftermath of the fall of Acre but to have been completed c. 1300, around the same as the *Liber peregrinationis*, when Riccoldo was back in Florence. See Kappler's introduction, p. 12.

84 Riccoldo da Monte di Croce, *Riccold de Monte Croce: Pérégrination*, ed. and trans. Kappler, pp. 167–73 (pp. 172–73).

85 Johann Schiltberger, *Reisen des Johannes Schiltberger aus München in Europa, Asia und Afrika von 1394 bis 1427*, ed. Karl Friedrich Neumann (Munich: Selbstverl, 1859), pp. 130–32; Rodriguez (ed.), *Muslim and Christian Contact in the Middle Ages: A Reader* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2015), pp. 278–79.

86 Schiltberger, *Reisen*, pp. 132–34; translation adapted from Rodriguez, *Muslim and Christian Contact*, pp. 279–81.

87 Michel Pintoin, *Chronique du religieux de Saint-Denys*, ed. M. L. Bellaguet, 6 vols. (Paris: Crapelet, 1839), II, pp. 488–91, 494–95, 498–99 (pp. 488 and 490); English translations mine.

88 Ibid., p. 499. Here, Bāyazīd rebukes the crusaders for their vanity, gluttony, and lechery.

89 Bovet, *Medieval Muslims, Christians, and Jews in Dialogue: The "Apparicion Maistre Jehan de Meun" of Honorat Bovet*, ed. and trans. Hanly, pp. 60–61, 84–85 (line 335), 98–99 (lines 633–39), 100–1 (lines 677–78), 102–3 (line 683). The work's providential framework is presented in Bovet's dedication to Jean de Montaigu, pp. 60–61: "Car sans amender nostre vie, j'ay paour que Dieux ne nous aydera, et sy doubte que les Sarrazins durement ne griefvent Crestianté, se autrement nous ne retournons a la mercy, pitié et miséricorde de Dieu; car tout appertement il est adviz qu'il soit courroucé contre son pueple, par especial quant il nous a osté la tres clere lumiere de sainte Eglise et laissié prendre tel avancement aux annemis de nostre foy" (Because without reforming our lives, I fear that God may no longer help us, and thus fear that the Saracens may grievously afflict Christianity, unless we return to the grace, the worship, and the mercy of God; because it is quite clearly apparent that he is angry with his people, especially seeing how he has taken from us the bright light of Holy Church and allowed so much progress by the enemies of our faith).

90 John of Gaunt and Philip the Bold of Burgundy were to be the crusade's leaders, but Gaunt was forced to withdraw and Philip entrusted the leadership to his son, John of Nevers. See Christopher Tyerman, *England and the Crusades, 1095–1588* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), pp. 300–301; John France, *The Crusades and the Expansion of Catholic Christendom, 1000–1714* (London: Routledge, 2005), pp. 375–76; and Housley, *Contesting the Crusades*, pp. 131–32. J. J. N. Palmer, *England,*

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France, and Christendom, 1377–99 (London: Routledge, 1972), pp. 180–210, argued that an English contingent of up to one thousand soldiers, under the orders of John Beaufort (John of Gaunt's illegitimate son), was present, but his thesis has, since its publication, failed to convince. The consensus, in the absence of further evidence, seems to be that some English knights accompanied the French and Burgundian forces.

91 Jean Froissart, *Oeuvres de Froissart*, ed. Kervyn de Lettenhove, 25 vols. (Brussels: Victor Devaux et cie, 1867–77), XV, pp. 315–16.

92 Mézières, *Une epistre lamentable et consolatoire*, ed. Contamine and Paviot, p. 113; English translation mine.

Chapter 3

1 The consensus, as noted by Rosalind Field, "From *Gui* to *Guy*: The Fashioning of a Popular Romance," in Alison Wiggins and Rosalind Field (eds.), *Guy of Warwick: Icon and Ancestor* (Cambridge, UK: D. S. Brewer, 2007), pp. 44–60 (p. 50), is that the author of *Gui de Warwick* was a canon of Osney Abbey in Oxfordshire. Emma Mason has argued that *Gui* was commissioned on the occasion of the marriage between Henry Earl of Warwick and Margery D'Oilley; the romance's purpose, Mason contends in a later article, was to retrieve the reputation of the earldom. See Mason, "Legends of the Beauchamps' Ancestors: The Use of Baronial Propaganda in Medieval England," *Journal of Medieval History*, 10 (1984), 25–40; and Mason, "Fact and Fiction in Crusading Tradition: The Earls of Warwick in the Twelfth Century," *Journal of Medieval History*, 14 (1988), 81–95.

2 Fulcher of Chartres, *The Deeds of the Franks and the Other Pilgrims to Jerusalem*, ed. Rosalind Hill (London: Nelson, 1962), pp. 1–2.

3 Bernard of Clairvaux, "Liber ad Milites Templi: De laude novae militiae," in Jean LeClercq and H. M. Rochais (eds.), *Sancti Bernardi Opera*, 8 vols. (Rome: Cistercienses, 1963), III, pp. 312–31; for the English translation, see C. Greenia (trans.), *In Praise of the New Knighthood* (Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, 1977).

4 Jonathan Riley-Smith, "Crusading as an Act of Love," *History*, 65 (1980), 177–92; see also Christoph T. Maier (ed. and trans.), *Crusade Propaganda and Ideology: Model Sermons for the Preaching of the Cross* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 57–59; Michael Routledge, "Songs," in Jonathan Riley-Smith (ed.), *The Oxford History of the Crusades* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), pp. 90–110 (pp. 97–101).

5 See Velma Bourgeois Richmond, *The Legend of Guy of Warwick* (New York: Garland, 1996), pp. 49–106, who documents *Gui/Guy*'s popularity during the fourteenth century. For a list and description of the sixteen manuscripts and fragments to have reached us, see Marianne Ailes, "*Gui de Warewic* in Its Manuscript Context," in Wiggins and Field (eds.), *Guy of Warwick*, pp. 12–21. There survive five manuscripts and fragments of the Middle

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English version, three from the fourteenth century and two from the fifteenth century. For further details, see Alison Wiggins, "The Manuscripts and Texts of the Middle English *Guy of Warwick*," in Wiggins and Field (eds.), *Guy of Warwick*, pp. 61–80 (pp. 61–65).

6 Denis Lalande (ed.), *Le livre des fais du bon messire Jehan le Maingre, dit Bouciquaut* (Geneva: Droz, 1985); Guillaume de Machaut, *La prise d'Alixandre*, ed. and trans. R. Barton Palmer (New York: Routledge, 2002).

7 See Antony Leopold, *How to Recover the Holy Land: The Crusade Proposals of the Late Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2000), pp. 96–97.

8 John Gower, *Mirour de l'Omme*, in G. C. Macaulay (ed.), *The Complete Works of John Gower*, 4 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1899), I, lines 23893–964; John Gower, *Vox Clamantis*, in G. C. Macaulay (ed.), *The Complete Works of John Gower*, 4 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1899), IV, 5, lines 1–292; Philippe de Mézières, *Le songe du vieil pelerin*, ed. G. W. Coopland, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), I, pp. 397 and 85; Philippe de Mézières, "Philippe de Mézières and the New Order of the Passion," ed. Abdel Hamid Hamdy, *Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts, Alexandria University*, 18 (1964), 43–104 (pp. 45–46). I discuss these sources in the body of the chapter.

9 Mézières, *Songe du vieil pelerin*, ed. Coopland, I, pp. 397 and 85.

10 Kenneth Fowler, *The King's Lieutenant: Henry of Grosmont, First Duke of Lancaster* (London: Elek, 1969), pp. 104–6; Celia M. Lewis, "History, Mission, and Crusade in the *Canterbury Tales*," *Chaucer Review*, 42 (2008), 353–82 (p. 358).

11 Timothy Guard, *Chivalry, Kingship and Crusade: The English Experience in the Fourteenth Century* (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell Press, 2013), pp. 50–51, 60–63.

12 Henry of Grosmont, *Le Livre de seyntz medicines: The Unpublished Devotional Treatise of Henry of Lancaster*, ed. E. J. Arnould (Oxford: Blackwell, 1940); John Clanvowe, *The Works of Sir John Clanvowe*, ed. V. J. Scattergood (Cambridge, UK: D. S. Brewer, 1975).

13 These examples are given by Barbara H. Rosenwein, "Who Cared about Thomas Aquinas's Theory of the Passions?," *L'Atelier du Centre de recherches historiques*, 16 (2016), https://doi.org/10.4000/acrh.7420.

14 *Guy/Gui*'s amorous ethics tend to be mentioned only in passing. The couple of studies that focus on the protagonist's identity as a crusader do not engage with wider traditions of crusade writing; see Robert Allen Rouse, "An Exemplary Life: Guy of Warwick as Medieval Culture Hero," in Wiggins and Field (eds.), *Guy of Warwick*, pp. 94–109; and Rebecca Wilcox, "Romancing the East: Greeks and Saracens in *Guy of Warwick*," in Nicola McDonald (ed.), *Pulp Fictions of Medieval England: Essays in Popular Romance* (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 2004), pp. 217–40.

15 The only study, to my knowledge, to have documented the connection between crusading and love-service in post-1291 political discourse is Stefan

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Vander Elst's *The Knight, the Cross, and the Song: Crusade Propaganda and Chivalric Literature, 1100–1400* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2017), which analyzes Nicolaus of Jeroschin's *Krônike von Prûzinlant*, the *chansons* of the Second Crusade Cycle, and Guillaume de Machaut's *La prise d'Alixandre* as crusade propaganda.

16 Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, Advocates MS 19.2.1 (A; the Auchinleck manuscript), edited by Julius Zupitza, *The Romance of Guy of Warwick*, 2nd ed., Early English Text Society ES 42, 49, and 59 (London: Oxford University Press, 1966; 1st ed. as three volumes in 1883, 1887, and 1891). A is the only complete fourteenth-century Middle English version. When A was adapted, there were two versions of the Anglo-Norman *Gui* in existence (see Maldwin Mills, "Techniques of Translation in the Middle English Versions of *Guy of Warwick*," in Roger Ellis [ed.], *The Medieval Translator: II* [London: Centre for Medieval Studies, 1991], pp. 209–29 [pp. 210–11]). According to Mills, the first – and earliest – is best represented in the text of Edwardes manuscript (British Library MS Additional 38662) (E) (1225–50), edited by Alfred Ewert, *Gui de Warewic: Roman du XIIIe siècle* (Paris: Champion, 1932) and translated into modern English by Judith Weiss, *Boeve de Haumtone and Gui de Warewic* (Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2008); and the second appears in Cambridge Corpus Christi College MS 50 (C) (end thirteenth century); and, in a more reworked form, in Wolfenbüttel Herzog August Bibliothek MS Aug. 87.4 (G) (late thirteenth to early fourteenth century). While the resemblances (first noted by Mills) between the unpublished text of G and the Auchinleck version "limit the relevance of many pronouncements on the relationship between the Anglo-Norman and Middle English texts" (Ivana Djordjevic, "*Guy of Warwick* as a Translation," in Wiggins and Field [eds.], *Guy of Warwick*, pp. 27–43 [p. 42]), I rely on Mills's assertion that the second half of A (Guy's post-confessional life) bears far more resemblance to E than G (p. 215). I have also consulted Ewert's critical notes on the manuscript variations between E and C when comparing E and A.

17 See, e.g., Wilcox, "Romancing the East"; Wiggins, "Manuscripts and Texts," p. 69; and Siobhain Bly Calkin, *Saracens and the Making of English Identity: The Auchinleck Manuscript* (New York: Routledge, 2005), pp. 19–20.

18 See Paul Price, "Confessions of a Godless Killer: *Guy of Warwick* and Comprehensive Entertainment," in Judith Weiss, Jennifer Fellows, and Morgan Dickson (eds.), *Medieval Insular Romance: Translation and Innovation* (Cambridge, UK: D. S. Brewer, 2000), pp. 93–110 (p. 107); William Calin, *The French Tradition and the Literature of Medieval England* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995), p. 86; Susan Crane, "Guy of Warwick and the Question of Exemplary Romance," *Genre*, 17 (1984), 351–74 (p. 352); and Judith Weiss, "The Exploitation of Ideas of Pilgrimage and Sainthood in *Gui de Warewic*," in Laura Ashe, Ivana Djordjević, and Judith Weiss, (eds.), *The Exploitations of Medieval Romance* (Cambridge, UK: D. S. Brewer, 2010), pp. 43–56 (p. 47).

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19 I borrow the term "ennobling" from C. Stephen Jaeger, *Ennobling Love: In Search of a Lost Sensibility* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999). See, in particular, chapter 11, "Virtue and Ennobling Love: Value, Worth, Reputation." While Jaeger groups religious theories and chivalric homosocial practices into a single conceptual understanding of love, I argue for the existence of fundamental tensions between the two traditions.

20 The scholarship concerned with the romance's chivalric ethics is mainly confined to close readings of the protagonist's maturation as a knight and to the historical contexts of penitential discourse. See Velma Bourgeois Richmond, *The Popularity of Middle English Romance* (Bowling Green, OH: Bowling Green University Popular Press, 1975), pp. 149–93; and Andrea Hopkins, *The Sinful Knights: A Study of Middle English Penitential Romance* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), pp. 70–118.

21 Guard, *Chivalry, Kingship and Crusade*; Christopher Tyerman, *England and the Crusades, 1095–1588* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988); Maurice Keen, "Chaucer's Knight, the English Aristocracy and the Crusade," in V. J. Scattergood and J. W. Sherbone (eds.), *English Court Culture in the Later Middle Ages* (London: Duckworth, 1983), pp. 45–61.

22 N. H. Nicolas (ed.), *The Controversy between Sir Richard Scrope and Sir Robert Grosvenor in the Court of Chivalry*, 2 vols. (London: Bentley, 1832). See Keen, "Chaucer's Knight"; and Nigel Saul, *For Honour and Fame: Chivalry in England, 1066–1500* (London: Bodley Head, 2011), pp. 115–17.

23 Nicolas (ed.), *Controversy*, II, p. 161.

24 For his full biography see Timothy Guard, "Sabraham, Nicholas (*b. c.* 1325, *d.* in or after 1399)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004–16), www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/92452.

25 Guard, *Chivalry, Kingship and Crusade*, p. 17, divides English participation in the later crusades "into three periods of heightened activity broadly synonymous with the ebb and flow of the Anglo-French conflict: 1307–1346, 1360–1375 and 1389–1403."

26 Mason, "Legends of the Beauchamps' Ancestors"; and, by the same author, "Fact and Fiction in Crusading Tradition"; Yin Liu, "Richard Beauchamp and the Uses of Romance," *Medium Aevum*, 74 (2005), 271–87; John Frankis, "Taste and Patronage in Late Medieval England as Reflected in Versions of *Guy of Warwick*," *Medium Aevum*, 66 (1997), 80–93.

27 Guard, *Chivalry, Kingship and Crusade*, 43–45; Anthony Tuck, "Beauchamp, Thomas, Twelfth Earl of Warwick (1337x9–1401)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004–16), www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/1841.

28 On this, and other efforts by Richard Beauchamp to foster connections with Guy, see Frankis, "Taste and Patronage."

29 On this, see Mason, "Fact and Fiction," p. 90.

30 Viscount Dillon and W. St John Hope (eds.), *Pageant of the Birth, Life and Death of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, 1389–1439* (London: Longmans, 1914), p. 44; Keen, "Chaucer's Knight," p. 54.

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31 The classic study of amorous discourse and chivalry in the Arthurian tradition is Richard Barber, *The Knight and Chivalry*, 3rd ed. (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell Press, 1995; 1st ed. 1970), chapter 5 ("The Romances of Chivalry").
32 For a discussion of similar authorial treatments of the onset of love, see David Burnley, *Courtliness and Literature in Medieval England* (London: Longman, 1998), pp. 169–70. See also Tracy Adams, *Violent Passion: Managing Love in the Old French Verse Romance* (New York: Palgrave, 2005), pp. 37–73, who argues that "romance composers borrowed their symptoms of amor principally from Ovid's love writings" (p. 37).
33 For an excellent study of late medieval French romances of *amour* and *armes*, see Rosalind Brown-Grant, *French Romance of the Later Middle Ages: Gender, Morality, and Desire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), chapter 1.
34 See, e.g., lines 755–56, 791–842, 1067–68, 1077–82, 1167–76, 1909–12, and 2847–56.
35 See, e.g., lines 1053–54, 4262, and 21:4–5.
36 See, e.g., lines 1070–72 ("And best is teld vnder sunner, / & mest frendes haþ y-wonne"); 1089–1108 (love of King Athelstan and Earl Rohaut after he wins "pris" in "euerich cuntre"); 1263–64 ("þer he dede him preyse miche, / þe Lombardes him loued inliche"); 1676–79 ("Gij hadde þe priis verrament. / Was þer non in al þat lond, / þat his dent mi3t astond / þer-fore men loued him swiþe miche"); 1685–88 ("Now he is comen to þe douk Reyner, / þat him loued and held dere; / He him vnder-feng wiþ worþschipe, / & dede him miche manschipe. / So long in þat cuntre bileued he is, / þat ouer alle þer he is praised y-wis"); 2875–88, 3067–74, 3287–93, 3345–46, 3375–82, 3724–26, 4103–6, 4184–89 (Emperor Hernis's love, praise, and worship); and 7135–36 (Athelstan welcomes Guy: "For he him herd preyse so miche: / þe king him loued, sikerliche"). This overlap between love and praise is, moreover, semantically ingrained: see *Middle English Dictionary* (*MED*), "louen" v.(4) and "loven" v.(2), esp. 6.
37 Also noted by Guard, *Chivalry, Kingship and Crusade*, p. 4.
38 On this, see Norman Housley, "The Crusading Movement, 1274–1700," in Riley-Smith (ed.), *Oxford History of the Crusades*, pp. 258–90 (p. 261); Christopher Tyerman, "'New Wine in Old Skins'? Crusade Literature and Crusading in the Eastern Mediterranean in the Later Middle Ages," in Jonathan Harris, Catherine Holmes, and Eugenia Russell (eds.), *Byzantines, Latins, and Turks in the Eastern Mediterranean World after 1150* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 265–89 (p. 279); and Maurice Keen, *Nobles, Knights and Men-at-Arms in the Middle Ages* (London: Hambledon, 1996), pp. 31–33.
39 Christopher Tyerman, *God's War: A New History of the Crusades* (London: Penguin, 2007), p. 855; Guard, *Chivalry, Kingship and Crusade*, p. 76 (see note 15 for a full list of Garter knights who served in Prussia).
40 See Albert S. Cook, "Beginning the Board in Prussia," *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 14 (1915), 375–88.
41 Tyerman, *God's War*, p. 885. See also Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, p. 260.

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42 These examples are given by Guard, *Chivalry, Kingship and Crusade*, pp. 67–68; and Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, p. 260.
43 Guard, *Chivalry, Kingship and Crusade*, p. 124.
44 See, e.g., Cook, "Beginning the Board in Prussia," p. 183; and William Urban, "The Teutonic Knights and Baltic Chivalry," *Historian*, 56 (1994), 519–30 (p. 523).
45 Jean Froissart, *Chroniques*, ed. Siméon Luce, 15 vols. (Paris: Mme Ve. J. Renouard, 1869–1975), VII, p. 145.
46 Norman Housley describes Boucicaut's life as an "incessant search for battlefields on which he could earn praise for his prowess." See Housley, "One Man and His Wars: The Depiction of Warfare by Marshal Boucicaut's Biographer," *Journal of Medieval History*, 29 (2003), 27–40 (p. 30). On Boucicaut's biography, see also Denis Lalande, *Jean II le Meingre, dit Boucicaut (1366–1421): Étude d'une biographie héroïque* (Geneva: Droz, 1988).
47 Lalande (ed.), *Le livre des fais*, e.g., I, 11, pp. 40–42; I, 17, pp. 65–67; I, 19, pp. 80–82.
48 Ibid. I, 11, p. 42.
49 Ibid, I, 8, p. 28.
50 Ibid. I, 8–9, pp. 27–35 (pp. 27, 31). The chapter headings read: "Ci parle d'amours, en demonstrant par quelle maniere les bons doivent amer pour devenir vaillans"; and "Ci dit comment amours et desir d'estre ame crut en Bouciquaut courage et voulente d'estre vaillant et chevalereux." The centrality of love in upholding the knightly archetype to which Boucicaut aspired is, moreover, vividly reflected in the foundation of his very own order of chivalry, "L'Ordre de la Dame Blanche en Escu Vert," which purported to protect defenseless women against oppressive lords. See I, 38, pp. 160–71.
51 Subsequent passages are slightly more specific, referring to "sa dame" as an incentive for chivalric pursuits beginning in Prussia. See ibid., I, 11, pp. 40–41.
52 Ibid., I, 19, pp. 80–81.
53 See Lalande (ed.), *Le livre des fais*, e.g., I, 10, p. 37 (Louis II of Bourbon dubs Boucicaut knight at the age of twelve); I, 12, p. 43 (the author elaborates on Louis's love for Boucicaut); I, 13, p. 47 (Louis makes Boucicaut his lieutenant in the aftermath of a campaign in Guyenne); I, 16, p. 64 (Philippe of Artois, out of love for Boucicaut, commends him to Charles VI); I, 17, p. 65 (assertion of Charles VI's love for Boucicaut); and I, 19, p. 78 (Charles VI's "moult grant amour" for Boucicaut provides grounds for his appointment as marshal of France).
54 Ibid., I, 22, pp. 88–89; see also I, 16, p. 62, on Boucicaut's visit to Hungary.
55 Geoffroi de Charny, *The Book of Chivalry of Geoffroi de Charny*, trans. Richard W. Kaeuper and Elspeth Kennedy (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1996). Charny took part in the 1345 crusade to Smyrna with Humbert of Vienna. On Charny's career and the influences on his book, see Kaeuper's introduction, pp. 3–64.
56 Charny, *Book of Chivalry*, trans. Kaeuper and Kennedy, 12, pp. 94–95, and 20, pp. 120–23.

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57 Ibid., 17–18, pp. 104–7.
58 Guillaume de Machaut, *Oeuvres*, ed. Ernest Hoepffner, 3 vols. (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1908–21), II, pp. 206–212, lines 1345–1504.
59 Machaut, *La prise d'Alixandre*, ed. Palmer, lines 181–88.
60 Ibid., lines 269–71.
61 See, for instance, Peter's reaction on being abandoned by his men after the taking of Alexandria, ibid., lines 3558–62: "Lors dist honneur · anours · et dames / que direz vous quant vous verrez / ces gens qui sont si esserez / certes jamais naront honnour / par droit · fors toute deshonneur" (Then he said "honor, love, and ladies! / What will you say when you see / These men drawn up here in their ranks? / Surely they will never have any claim / On honor but complete dishonor instead"). Worldly and divine love in fact find a form of conceptual unity in the figure of the Virgin Mary, cast in the double role of goddess and lover (see, e.g., lines 8765–67). Peter's status as a *miles Christi* is established from the inception through a divine message (lines 307–10) and is maintained throughout the narrative.
62 Nicolaus von Jeroschin, *The Chronicle of Prussia by Nicolaus von Jeroschin: A History of the Teutonic Knights in Prussia, 1190–1331*, trans. Mary Fischer (Farham, UK: Ashgate, 2010), p. 130. On this, and for other relevant passages, see further Vander Elst, *The Knight, the Cross, and the Song*, pp. 124–55.
63 Albert's interest in the crusade is bluntly stated: to be dubbed knight, thus acquiring higher honor (according to the poet) than that provided by his noble birth. Peter Suchenwirt's work was translated by Cook, "Beginning the Board in Prussia," pp. 378–87 (see pp. 378 and 382–83).
64 On this, see Joachim Bumke, *Courtly Culture: Literature and Society in the High Middle Ages*, trans. Thomas Dunlap (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991; 1st ed. in German 1987), pp. 368–69.
65 Andreas Capellanus, *Andreas Capellanus on Love*, ed. and trans. P. G. Walsh (London: Duckworth, 1982), pp. 287–325, esp. pp. 287–301.
66 Albert Pauphilet (ed.), *La queste del Saint Graal* (Paris: Champion, 1923), pp. 66–67.
67 Honorat Bovet, *The Tree of Battles*, ed. and trans. G. W. Coopland (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1949), pp. 143–44.
68 William Caxton (trans.), *The Book of the Knight of the Tower*, ed. M.Y. Offord, Early English Text Society SS 2 (London: Oxford University Press, 1971), p. 164.
69 Christine de Pizan, *Le livre des trois vertus*, ed. Charity Cannon Willard (Paris: Librairie Honoré Champion, 1989), pp. 116–18 (p. 116); Christine de Pizan, *The Treasure of the City of Ladies, or, The Book of the Three Virtues*, trans. Sarah Lawson (Harmondsworth, UK: Penguin, 1985), pp. 102–3 (p. 102).
70 H. S. Offler, "Thomas Bradwardine's 'Victory Sermon' in 1346," in A. I. Doyle (ed.), *Church and Crown in the Fourteenth Century* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2000), pp. 1–40 (at pp. 6 and 13 of introduction; paragraph 32 of Latin text).

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71 Ghillebert de Lannoy, *Oeuvres de Ghillebert de Lannoy: Voyageur, diplomate et moraliste*, ed. C. Potvin (Louvain: Lefever, 1878), p. 450.

72 In the early thirteenth-century *Gui*, the protagonist blames himself, not Felice, for his companions' deaths. See Ewert (ed.) and Weiss (trans.), *Gui*, line 1423. The lines blaming Felice were interpolated in the late thirteenth-century Anglo-Norman version contained in Cambridge Corpus Christi College MS 50.

73 Whereas *Gui* features the death of seven companions, ascribed to their lack of armor, the Auchinleck increases this number to thirty and omits reference to the armor. See Ewert (ed.) and Weiss (trans.), *Gui,* lines 4668 and 4699–4700. See also *Guy*, lines 7105–6, which feature the protagonist's dedication to Felice taking precedence over his friendship with Tirri: "No were it for þe loue of mi leman, / Nold ich neuer wende þe fram." Guy's departure leads to Tirri's imprisonment for felony and the seizure of his lands (147:1–152:12).

74 Herhaud's role as guarantor of the worldly value system of his protégé is established when Guy appeals to him for advice (*consilium*) and aid (*auxilium*) in the lead-up to the two first major conflicts they engage in (the battle of Segyn against the German emperor Reiner, and the defense of Emperor Hernis of Constantinople against the Saracen forces). In both cases, Herhaud's concerns are with the opportunities for "pris" and "los" afforded to Guy by these expeditions (see lines 1909–12 and 2847–56). For a useful discussion of heterosexual love as a "functional" way of gaining status in competition with other men, see Ruth Mazo Karras, *From Boys to Men: Formations of Masculinity in Late Medieval Europe* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003), pp. 47–57.

75 The passage corresponding to Auchinleck lines 25:7–9 in *Gui* reads: "Mais pur lui unc rien ne fis, / Pur ço sui las e chaitif" (But I never did anything for Him, and so I am wretched and despicable); Ewert (ed.) and Weiss (trans.), *Gui*, lines 7625–26.

76 For instances of these elaborations, see lines 22:11, 26:5, 29:9, 37:8–9, 84:8–9 (barefoot trope, poor clothes, and begging); 89:5–9, 197:5–6, 221:5–6 (rejection of material wealth); 21:11–12, 22:1, 25:11–12 (emotional dimension of compunction); 25:2–3, 26:1–2, 27:11–12, 44:6, 47:10, 107:8 (devotion to the Passion and divine guidance); and 36:5–7, 44:1–45:2, 142:4–6, 179:8 (penitential pilgrimage and love of God).

77 The Auchinleck version, moreover, enhances this tension between "old" and "new" life by a change in meter, from rhyming couplets to tail-rhyme stanzas, just before the account of Guy's wedding with Felice and the conversion scene. On this metrical change, see, e.g., Price, "Confessions of a Godless Killer," pp. 97–100; and Field, "From *Gui* to *Guy*," pp. 56–57.

78 Gower, *Mirour de l'Omme*, in Macaulay (ed.), *Complete Works of John Gower*, I, lines 23893–23964 (quotations at lines 23895, 23898, 23901–3, and 23961); John Gower, *Mirour de l'Omme: The Mirror of Mankind*, trans. William Burton Wilson and Nancy Wilson Van Baak (East Lansing, MI: Colleagues Press, 1992), pp. 312–15.

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79 Ibid., lines 23941–52; trans. Wilson and Van Baak, p. 313.
80 John Gower, *Confessio Amantis*, ed. Russell A. Peck; Latin trans. Andrew Galloway, 3 vols. (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 2013), II, 4, lines 1664–65.
81 Gower, *Vox Clamantis*, in Macaulay (ed.), *Complete Works of John Gower*, IV, 5, lines 1–292; *The Major Latin Works of John Gower: The Voice of One Crying, and the Tripartite Chronicle*, trans. Eric W. Stockton (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1962), V, 1–6, pp. 196–204.
82 Geoffrey Chaucer, *The Book of the Duchess,* in Larry D. Benson (ed.), *The Riverside Chaucer*, 3rd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008; 1st ed. 1987), lines 1019–33.
83 On the Order of the Passion, see further Philippe Contamine, "'Les princes, barons et chevaliers qui a la chevalerie au service de Dieu se sont ja vouez': Recherches prosopographiques sur l'ordre de la Passion de Jésus-Christ (1385–1395)," in Martin Nejedly and Jaroslav Svátek (eds.), *La noblesse et la croisade à la fin du Moyen Age: France, Bourgogne, Bohême* (Toulouse: FRAMESPA-UMR, 2009), pp. 43–64; and Andrea Tarnowski, "Material Examples: Philippe de Mézières' Order of the Passion," *Yale French Studies*, 110 (2006), 163–75.
84 Tyerman, "'New Wine in Old Skins,'" p. 275.
85 Mézières, *Songe du vieil pelerin*, ed. Coopland, I, pp. 397 and 85; English translation mine.
86 Mézières, "Philippe de Mézières and the New Order of the Passion," ed. Hamdy, pp. 45–46; English translation mine. The *Sustance de la chevalerie de la passion de Jhesu Crist* details the order's foundational premise, values, and objectives.
87 Grosmont, *Le Livre de seyntz medicines*, ed. Arnould, p. 77, line 11, and p. 78, lines 18–19; Grosmont, *The Book of Holy Medicines*, trans. Catherine Batt (Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2014), pp. 143–44.
88 Mézières, "Philippe de Mézières and the New Order of the Passion," ed. Hamdy, p. 64; English translation mine.
89 Tarnowski, "Material Examples," p. 166.
90 On Grosmont and the importance of humility, modeled on Christ, see *Book of Holy Medicines*, trans. Batt, pp. 106–12.
91 Ibid., pp. 64, 85–86, 90–91, 102. On Mézières and the social function of crusader dress, see Anne Romine, "Philippe de Mézières (c. 1327–1405) and the Controversy over Crusader Dress in the Fourteenth Century," *Allegorica*, 29 (2013), 36–51.
92 Albrecht Classen, "Introduction: Friendship – The Quest for a Human Ideal and Value from Antiquity to the Early Modern Time," in Albrecht Classen and Marilyn Sandidge (eds.), *Friendship in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Age* (New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2010), pp. 1–183; Klaus Oschema, "Sacred or Profane? Reflections on Love and Friendship in the Middle Ages," in Laura Gowing, Michael Hunter, and Miri Rubin (eds.), *Love,*

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Friendship, and Faith in Europe, 1300–1800 (Basingstoke, UK Palgrave, 2005), pp. 43–65. See also Reginald Hyatte, *The Arts of Friendship: The Idealization of Friendship in Medieval and Early Renaissance Literature* (Leiden: Brill, 1994), pp. 43–86.

93 Aristotle, *The Nicomachean Ethics*, ed. and trans. H. Rackham (Cambridge, MA: Loeb, 1926), VIII, 3; Cicero, *Laelius de amicitia*, ed. and trans. Robert Combès (Paris: Belles Lettres, 1983).

94 See Oschema, "Sacred or Profane?," p. 47.

95 Augustine, *The Soliloquies of St. Augustine*, trans. Rose Elizabeth Cleveland (London: Williams and Norgate, 1910), 1, 12, p. 20, and 1, 13, p. 22; Augustine, *The Confessions*, ed. and trans. Philip Burton (New York: Knopf, 2001), p. 74; Aelred of Rielvaux, *Spiritual Friendship*, ed. and trans. Lawrence C. Braceland and Marsha L. Dutton (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2010), 1, 8, and 2, 18. And, for a discussion, see Classen, "Introduction," pp. 14–18 and 30–37.

96 Thomas Aquinas, *The "Summa Theologica" of Thomas Aquinas*, trans. Fathers of the English Dominican Province (London: Burns Oates and Washbourne, 1922), IIa 2ae 23, 1 and 3.

97 Innocent III, "Quia maior," in Georgine Tangl (ed.), *Studien zum Register Innocenz III* (Weimar: H. Böhlau, 1929), p. 90; trans. Jonathan Riley-Smith and Louise Riley-Smith, *The Crusades: Idea and Reality, 1095–1274* (London: Edward Arnold, 1981), p. 120.

98 "In dilligendo proximum ex caritate non diligimus nisi Deum" (We in fact love but God when we love our neighbour out of charity). Eudes of Châteauroux, "Sermo in conversione Sancti Pauli et exhortatio ad assumendam crucem," in Maier (ed. and trans.), *Crusade Propaganda and Ideology*, pp. 130–31.

99 As further exemplified by propagandists' frequent citation of Matthew 16:24: "If any man will come after me, let him deny himself and take up his cross and follow me." See, e.g., Rosalind Hill (ed.), *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum: The Deeds of the Franks and the Other Pilgrims to Jerusalem* (Edinburgh: Nelson, 1962), p. 1.

100 The report of Martin's sermon is given by Gunther of Pairis. See Gunther of Pairis, "Historia Constantinopolitana," in Paul Riant (ed.), *Exuviae sacrae Constantinopolitanae*, 3 vols. (Geneva: Fick, 1877), I, p. 64; trans. Riley-Smith and Riley-Smith, *Crusades: Idea and Reality*, p. 71.

101 Robert Somerville (ed.), *The Councils of Urban II* (Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1972), p. 74; Anton Chroust (ed.), *Quellen zur Geschichte des Kreuzzuges Kaiser Friedrichs I* (Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1928), p. 9; cited in Christopher Tyerman, *How to Plan a Crusade: Reason and Religion in the High Middle Ages* (London: Allen Lane, 2015), p. 139.

102 Tyerman, *How to Plan a Crusade*, p. 139.

103 Christine Chism, "Friendly Fire: The Disastrous Politics of Friendship in the Alliterative *Morte Arthure*," *Arthuriana*, 20 (2010), 66–88 (p. 82); and, by the same author, "Romance," in Larry Scanlon (ed.), *The Cambridge*

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Companion to Medieval English Literature, 1100–500 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 57–70 (see pp. 61–62 for a discussion of *Amis and Amiloun*).

104 The wrathful nature of Guy's decision is conveyed to the emperor by Herhaut in a later passage: "'Sir,' quaþ he, 'it is Gij, / þat in wreþe fram þe wil parti; / Vnto þe soudan he wil fare'" (3325–27).

105 *Gui* reads: "Quant Gui ot que ço fu Terri, / Le preux, le vaillant, le hardi, / De pité comence a plorer" (When Gui heard it was Terri, the brave, the valiant, the bold, he began to weep for pity); Ewert (ed.) and Weiss (trans.), lines 4787–89.

106 In *Gui*, the protagonist's rationale for the oath, omitted in the Middle English version, reads thus: "'Sire Terri,' ço dist Gui le ber, / 'Mult grant honur fait vus ai, / Quant pur vus tant sejurné ai / En cest pais e en ceste cité; / Mult m'en devez saveir bon gré'" (And noble Gui said: "My lord Terri, I have done you much honour by staying behind so long in this land and in this city; you ought to be very grateful to me"). Ibid., lines 5040–44.

107 The stipulations of mutual devotion inherent in the troth-plight are couched in the following terms: "Ich wil þat we be treuþe-pli3t / & sworn breþer anon ri3t / . . . / Vnder-stond now to mi resoun, / þat noiþer oþer after þis / No faile oþer while he liues is" (4907–12). The benefits that Tirri derives from the bond are enumerated at lines 7041–70.

108 Historians have argued for understandings of sworn associations of brotherhood as determined by protection, defense, and armed aggression (Brent D. Shaw, "Ritual Brotherhood in Roman and Post-Roman Society," *Traditio*, 52 [1997], 327–55 [pp. 329, 350, 354]); as legal bonds of mutual aid (Maurice Keen, "Brotherhood in Arms," *History*, 47 [2007], 1–17); as motivated by material profit (K. B. McFarlane, "A Business Partnership in War and Administration, 1421–1445," *English Historical Review*, 78 [1963], 290–309 [p. 291]); as accepted components of ecclesiastical practice (Alan Bray, *The Friend* [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003], p. 25); and as a form of institutionalized gay marriage (John Boswell, *Same-Sex Unions in Premodern Europe* [New York: Villiard Books, 1994]).

109 Lines 46:1–2 and 138:7. *Gui* does not explicitly couch the protagonist's motives in terms of love: "Pur vus me sui ore combat" (For your benefit I have just fought now); Ewert (ed.) and Weiss (trans.), line 8937.

110 *Gui* likewise portrays the protagonist's relationship with God as a feudal one but omits the language of friendship. See ibid., lines 8309–26.

111 On this, see Maier (ed. and trans.), *Crusade Propaganda and Ideology*, pp. 56–57.

112 Guy's rejection of "gold" and "fe" is unparalleled in *Gui*, as is the emphasis on his love for Tirri. See Ewert (ed.) and Weiss (trans.), lines 10227–31. Leaving Tirri, Guy offers cautionary advice on how to be a good steward and eschew the mistakes of the "prout" Duke Berard (230:1–231:6).

113 See also line 243:10 ("Bid him for seynt Charite") and line 245:7 ("'Pilgrim,' quaþ þe king, 'par charite'"). The corresponding passages of *Gui* likewise

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posit divine love, brotherly charity, and compassion as motives for action, but less emphatically; the repeated reference to "seynt Charite" is, for instance, unparalleled. See ibid., lines 10925–11008.

114 Guy's example is held up for emulation in the final lines of the poem: "Now god leue ous to liue so, / þat we may þat ioie com to. / Amen, par charité" (299:8, 10–12). The phrase "par charité" does not feature in *Gui.*

115 Charles Swan and Wynnard Hooper (eds. and trans.), *Gesta Romanorum* (New York: Dover, 1959), tale 172, "Of Mental Constancy," pp. 325–33.

116 Georgiana Lea Morril (ed.), *Speculum Gy de Warewyke* (London: Trübner, 1898). The treatise is also contained in the Auchinleck manuscript. For a view that contemporaries saw little relationship between the two works, see, e.g., A. S. G. Edwards, "The *Speculum Guy de Warwick* and Lydgate's *Guy of Warwick*: The Non-Romance Middle English Translation," in Wiggins and Field (eds.), *Guy of Warwick*, pp. 81–93.

117 Morril (ed.), *Speculum Gy de Warewyke*, lines 5–6. See also lines 8–9: "þu loue god ouer alle þing / And þin emcristene loue also"; and lines 324–44: "For i wole speken of charite / . . . / Hit is, loue god ouer alle þing, / In þouht, in dede, and in speking. / And if þu wolt euere come þerto, / An-oþer þing þu most do: / þu most loue, hu-so hit be, / þin emcristene forþ wid þe / . . . / For men seiþ soþ, bi wit[te] myne: / 'Whoso loueþ me, he loueþ myne.' / But þu loue [þyn em] cristene þat bi þe be, / þat alday [þou] mait hem ise, / Hou maitou loue god, I ne can deuise, / Whom þu miht sen on none wyse!"

118 Ibid., particularly lines 28–36, 81–96, 113–14, 149–57, 679–83.

119 See Rutebeuf, "Lament of the Holy Land," in Jessalynn Bird, Edward Peters, and James Powell (eds. and trans.), *Crusade and Christendom: Annotated Documents in Translation from Innocent III to the Fall of Acre, 1187–1291* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), p. 393.

120 Fidenzio of Padua, *Liber recuperationis Terrae Sanctae*, in G. Gobulovich (ed.), *Biblioteca bio-bibliografia della Terra Sancta*, 20 vols. (Quaracchi: Collegio di S. Bonaventura, 1913), II, pp. 15, 35–38. That Fidenzio emphasizes these qualities when discussing how to preserve the Holy Land is also noted by Lee Manion, *Narrating the Crusades: Loss and Recovery in Medieval and Early Modern English Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), p. 66.

121 Ramon Llull, *Ramon Llull: A Contemporary Life*, ed. and trans. Anthony Bonner (Barcelona: Barcino-Tamesis, 2010), 1, 2, pp. 30–31.

122 Ramon Llull, *The Book of the Ordre of Chyvalry*, trans. William Caxton and ed. A. T. P. Byles, Early English Text Society OS 168 (London: Oxford University Press, 1926), pp. 92–93. On Martorell's *Tirant lo Blanc* and *Guy*, see Richmond, *Legend of Guy of Warwick*, pp. 153–62.

123 On this, see Housley, "Crusading Movement," pp. 259–63. *Sapientia* and *potestas* denoted, in sum, wise men for advice and optimized recruitment and military strategies for maximal efficacy.

124 Mézières, "Philippe de Mézières and the New Order of the Passion," ed. Hamdy, p. 48.

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125 On *Guy* and Gloucestershire during the fourteenth century, see Richmond, *Legend of Guy of Warwick*, p. 104. On Chaucer and *Guy*, see Laura A. Hibbard Loomis, "Chaucer and the Auchinleck MS: Thopas and *Guy of Warwick*," in Percy Waldron Lond (ed.), *Essays and Studies in Honor of Carleton Brown* (New York: New York University Press, 1940), pp. 111–28. For an account of Clanvowe's career, see K. B. McFarlane, *Lancastrian Kings and Lollard Knights* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), pp. 151–85.

126 See Guard, *Chivalry, Kingship and Crusade*, pp. 10 and 37–38; and Timothy Guard, "Ryvere, Sir John (*b.* 1313, *d.* after 1364)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004–16), www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/92453.

127 He drives the point home by specifying that ignoring *caritas* is the way to eternal damnation: "And alle þoo þat loue not so God and here nei3ebour þei been in þe broode wey þat leedeþ to þe deeth of helle peyne þat euere shalle lasten." Clanvowe, *Works of Sir John Clanvowe*, ed. Scattergood, pp. 79–80, lines 855–58. The passage on divine and neighborly love spans lines 795–870 (i.e., to the end of the treatise).

128 See John Scattergood, "The Date of Sir John Clanvowe's *The Two Ways* and the 'Reinvention of Lollardy,'" *Medium Aevum*, 79 (2010), 116–20.

129 L. C. Hector and Barbara F. Harvey (eds. and trans.), *The Westminster Chronicle: 1381–1394* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982), pp. 480–81.

130 On this, see Siegrid Düll, Anthony Luttrell, and Maurice Keen, "Faithful unto Death: The Tomb Slab of Sir William Neville and Sir John Clanvowe, Constantinople 1391," *Antiquaries Journal*, 71 (1991), 174–90 (esp. p. 184); and Bray, *Friend*, pp. 17–19.

131 N. H. Nicolas (ed.), *Testamenta vetusta*, 2 vols. (London: Nichols and Son, 1826), I, p. 164.

132 Maurice Keen, "Chaucer and Chivalry Revisited," in Matthew Strickland (ed.), *Armies, Chivalry and Warfare in Medieval Britain and France* (Stamford, UK: P. Watkins, 1998), pp. 1–12 (p. 11).

133 Chaucer, "General Prologue," in Benson (ed.), *Riverside Chaucer*, lines 43–100. See further Marcel Elias, "Chaucer and Crusader Ethics: Youth, Love, and the Material World," *Review of English Studies*, 70 (2019), 618–39.

Chapter 4

1 John Gower, *Vox Clamantis*, in G. C. Macaulay (ed.), *The Complete Works of John Gower*, 4 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1899), IV, 3, lines 307–10.

2 John Gower, *The Minor Latin Works*, ed. and trans. R. F. Yeager; with *In Praise of Peace*, ed. Michael Livingston (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 2005), lines 249–51.

3 John Gower, *Confessio Amantis*, ed. Russell A. Peck; Latin trans. Andrew Galloway, 3 vols. (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 2013), II, 3, lines 2488–90, 2492–94.

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4 Ibid., II, 4, lines 1679–81.
5 On Ralph Niger's critique of crusading on moral and providential grounds, see George B. Flahiff, "*Deus non vult:* A Critic of the Third Crusade," *Mediaeval Studies*, 9 (1947), 162–88 (p. 171); on Wolfram von Eschenbach's ambivalence, see J. A. Hunter, "Wolfram's Attitude to Warfare and Killing," *Reading Medieval Studies*, 8 (1982), 97–114; for Humbert of Romans's response to moral objections to crusading, see "Opus tripartitum," ed. E. Brown, *Fasciculus rerum expetendarum et fugiendarum*, 2 vols. (London: Impensis Richardi Chiswell, 1690), II, pp. 191–98, trans. Jonathan Riley-Smith and Louise Riley-Smith, *The Crusades: Idea and Reality, 1095–1274* (London: Edward Arnold, 1981), pp. 103–17 (pp. 104–6). See also Benjamin Kedar, *Crusade and Mission: European Approaches towards the Muslims* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1984), pp. 97–99, as well as my discussion of accounts of the crusader siege of Jerusalem in 1099 in this chapter.
6 John Wyclif, *Select English Works of John Wyclif*, ed. Thomas Arnold, 3 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1869–71), III, p. 139; see also Elizabeth Siberry, "Criticism of Crusading in Fourteenth-Century England," in Peter W. Edbury (ed.), *Crusade and Settlement: Papers Read at the First Conference of the Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East* (Cardiff: University College Cardiff Press, 1985), pp. 127–34 (p. 128).
7 John Trefnant, *The Register of John Trefnant, Bishop of Hereford (A.D. 1389–1404)*, ed. William W. Capes (Hereford, UK: Wilson and Phillips, 1914), pp. 360–61 (on Walter Brut), pp. 368 (on William Swinderby), and p. 377 (for a refutation of Swinderby's arguments by William of Colwyll and John Netton). See further Ben Lowe, *Imagining Peace: A History of Early English Pacifist Ideas, 1340–1560* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997), p. 119; Siberry, "Criticism of Crusading," p. 128.
8 H. S. Cronin (ed.), "The Twelve Conclusions of the Lollards," *English Historical Review*, 22 (1907), 292–304 (p. 302).
9 Celia M. Lewis, "History, Mission, and Crusade in the *Canterbury Tales*," *Chaucer Review*, 42 (2008), 353–82, esp. pp. 357–59; see also Christopher Tyerman, *England and the Crusades, 1095–1588* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), pp. 264–65.
10 John Clanvowe, *The Works of Sir John Clanvowe*, ed. V. J. Scattergood (Cambridge, UK: D. S. Brewer, 1975), pp. 20 and 69.
11 Henry of Grosmont, *Le livre de seyntz medicines: The Unpublished Devotional Treatise of Henry of Lancaster*, ed. E. J. Arnould (Oxford: Blackwell, 1940), p. 17; and Lewis, "History, Mission, and Crusade," p. 358.
12 On Bromyard's critique of inter-Christian warfare, see Lowe, *Imagining Peace*, pp. 111–12.
13 Keith Walls, *John Bromyard on Church and State: The "Summa Praedicantium" and Early Fourteenth-Century England* (Market Weighton, UK: Clayton-Thorpe, 2007), pp. 206, 213.

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14 Philippe de Mézières, "Philippe de Mézières and the New Order of the Passion," ed. Abdel Hamid Hamdy, *Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts, Alexandria University*, 18 (1964), 43–104 (p. 67). The importance of avoiding inhumane warfare was also emphasized in the context of the Hussite Crusades: see Norman Housley, *Religious Warfare in Europe, 1400–1536* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), pp. 164–66.

15 See also my discussion of Honorat Bovet's anticrusade stance in the Conclusion.

16 See esp. Marino Sanudo Torsello, *The Book of the Secrets of the Faithful Cross: Liber secretorum fidelium crucis*, trans. Peter Lock (Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2011), pp. 29–30; and the many passages in Philippe de Mézières, *Letter to King Richard II, a Plea Made in 1395 for Peace between England and France*, ed. and trans. G. W. Coopland (Liverpool, UK: Liverpool University Press, 1975). I discuss these sources in the body of the chapter; relevant passages are referenced in notes 36, 37, and 38.

17 Geraldine Heng, *Empire of Magic: Medieval Romance and the Politics of Cultural Fantasy* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003), pp. 61–113; Nicola McDonald, "Eating People and the Alimentary Logic of *Richard Coeur de Lion*," in Nicola McDonald (ed.), *Pulp Fictions of Medieval England: Essays in Popular Romance* (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 2004), pp. 124–50; Suzanne M. Yeager, *Jerusalem in Medieval Narrative* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 48–77; Heather Blurton, *Cannibalism in High Medieval English Literature* (Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave, 2007), pp. 105–31.

18 Ralph Hanna and David Lawton (eds.), *The Siege of Jerusalem,* Early English Text Society OS 320 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003). See Hanna and Lawton's introduction for the dating of the text, its manuscripts, and its sources. On the poet's reliance on John of Tynemouth, unidentified by Hanna and Lawton, see Andrew Galloway, "Alliterative Poetry in Old Jerusalem: *The Siege of Jerusalem* and Its Sources," in John A. Burrow and Hoyt N. Duggan (eds.), *Medieval Alliterative Poetry: Essays in Honour of Thorlac Turville-Petre* (Dublin: Four Courts, 2010), pp. 85–106.

19 *The Siege of Jerusalem* is found alongside *Richard Coeur de Lion*, *Duke Roland and Sir Otuel of Spain*, and *The Siege of Milan* in London, British Library, MS Additional 31042 (London Thornton), and alongside *Octavian* and *Sir Isumbras* in London, British Library, MS Cotton Caligula A.ii.

20 William of Tyre, *A History of Deeds Done beyond the Sea*, trans. Emily A. Babcock and A. C. Krey, 2 vols. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1887–1961), I, 8, p. 341. The Old French *Eracles* survives in no less than sixty-four manuscripts and was translated into Castilian in the late thirteenth century, Italian in the mid fourteenth, and English by Caxton in 1481 (for Caxton's version, see *A Middle English Chronicle of the First Crusade: The Caxton Eracles*, ed. Dana Cushing, 2 vols. [Lewiston, NY: Edwin Miller, 2001]). Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana: History of the Journey to*

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Jerusalem, ed. and trans. Susan B. Edgington (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 4, 24, p. 433.

21 Sanudo Torsello, *Book of the Secrets of the Faithful Cross*, trans. Lock, pp. 191–94.

22 Pierre Dubois, *The Recovery of the Holy Land*, ed. and trans. Walther I. Brandt (New York: Columbia University Press, 1956), p. 77.

23 Interestingly, as will be discussed in this chapter, it is to promote the virtue of compassion that Titus and Vespasian are invoked. See Mézières, *Letter to King Richard II*, ed. and trans. Coopland, pp. 16–17.

24 Mary Hamel, "*The Siege of Jerusalem* as a Crusading Poem," in Barbara N. Sargent-Baur (ed.), *Journeys toward God: Pilgrimage and Crusade* (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications), pp. 177–94; Roger Nicholson, "Haunted Itineraries: Reading the *Siege of Jerusalem*," *Exemplaria*, 14 (2002), 447–84.

25 Elisa Narin van Court, "*The Siege of Jerusalem* and Augustinian Historians: Writing about Jews in Fourteenth-Century England," *Chaucer Review*, 29 (1995), 227–48; Bonnie Millar, *The "Siege of Jerusalem" in Its Physical, Literary, and Historical Contexts* (Dublin: Four Courts, 2000), pp. 141–80; Michael Johnston, "Robert Thornton and *The Siege of Jerusalem*," *Yearbook of Langland Studies*, 23 (2009), 125–62; Suzanne M. Yeager, "Jewish Identity in *The Siege of Jerusalem* and Homiletic Texts: Models of Penance and Victims of Vengeance for the Urban Apocalypse," *Medium Aevum*, 80 (2011), 56–84.

26 Suzanne Conklin Akbari, "Placing the Jews in Late Medieval England," in Ivan Davidson Kalmar and Derek J. Penslar (eds.), *Orientalism and the Jews* (Waltham, MA: Brandeis University Press, 2005), pp. 32–50; Suzanne Conklin Akbari, *Idols in the East: European Representations of Islam and the Orient, 1100–1450* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2009), pp. 124–33; Suzanne M. Yeager, "*The Siege of Jerusalem* and Biblical Exegesis: Writing about Romans in Fourteenth-Century England," *Chaucer Review*, 39 (2004), 70–102; Marco Nievergelt, "The *Sege of Melayne* and the *Siege of Jerusalem*: National Identity, Beleaguered Christendom, and Holy War during the Great Papal Schism," *Chaucer Review*, 49 (2015), 402–26; Christine Chism, *Alliterative Revivals* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), pp. 155–88.

27 Akbari, *Idols in the East*, p. 129.

28 Yeager, "*The Siege of Jerusalem* and Biblical Exegesis," p. 71.

29 See Carole Rawcliffe, *Medicine and Society in Later Medieval England* (Stroud, UK: Sutton, 1995), pp. 1–25.

30 It is noted in passing by Hamel, "*The Siege of Jerusalem* as a Crusading Poem," p. 178. For noncrusading treatments of the theme, in *The Siege* and other narratives of the *Vengeance de Nostre-Seigneur* tradition, see Yeager, "Jewish Identity in *The Siege of Jerusalem*"; and Maija Birenbaum, "Affective Vengeance in Titus and Vespasian," *Chaucer Review*, 43 (2009), 330–44.

31 On this, see H. E. J. Cowdrey, "Cluny and the First Crusade," *Revue bénédictine*, 83 (1973), 283–311 (pp. 301–2). The encyclical can be found

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in Sergius IV, "Encyclique de Sergius IV relative à un projet de croisade," ed. Jules Lair, *Bibliothèque de l'école des chartres*, 18 (1857), pp. 246–53, and was translated into English by Thomas G. Waldman in "The 'Encyclical' of 'Sergius IV,'" in *The First Crusade: The Chronicle of Fulcher of Chartres and Other Source Materials*, ed. Edward Peters, 2nd ed. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998; 1st ed. 1971), pp. 298–302.

32 Susan B. Edgington and Carol Sweetenham (trans.), *The "Chanson d'Antioche": An Old French Account of the First Crusade* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011). See the introduction, pp. 38–39, on the later versions.

33 Sergius IV, "Encyclique de Sergius IV," ed. Lair, pp. 250–51; Sergius IV, *First Crusade*, trans. Waldman and ed. Peters, pp. 299–300.

34 "Amis," dist Nostre Sire, "saciés a ensient / Que dela oltremer venront novele gent, / De la mort de lor pere pranderont venjement /. . . / Et ki pris et finés iert en cel errement / L'arme del cors ira en nostre salvement" ("My friend," said Our Lord, "be assured that a new race will come from over the sea to avenge the death of their Father . . . The soul of every man who is taken and killed on this journey will receive My salvation"). Suzanne Duparc-Quioc (ed.), *La chanson d'Antioche* (Paris: P. Geuthner, 1976), laisse 11, lines 205–11; Edgington and Sweetenham (trans.), *The "Chanson d'Antioche,"* p. 107.

35 Ibid., laisse 13, line 246, and laisse 14, lines 262–63; trans. Edgington and Sweetenham, pp. 108–9.

36 Book 1 is prescribed as a syrup to liberate and cleanse; book 2 aims to induce health and perfect freedom; and book 3 instructs on conservation against relapse. Sanudo Torsello, *Book of the Secrets of the Faithful Cross*, trans. Lock, pp. 29–30.

37 Mézières, *Letter to King Richard II*, ed. and trans. Coopland, pp. 30, 46, 103.

38 Ibid., p. 31. For a brief summary of these ideas, see Philippe Contamine, "'Les princes, barons et chevaliers qui a la chevalerie au service de Dieu se sont ja vouez': Recherches prosopographiques sur l'ordre de la Passion de Jésus-Christ (1385–1395)," in Martin Nejedly and Jaroslav Svátek (eds.), *La noblesse et la croisade à la fin du Moyen Age: France, Bourgogne, Bohême* (Toulouse: FRAMESPA-UMR, 2009), pp. 43–64 (p. 44).

39 Mézières, "Philippe de Mézières and the New Order of the Passion," ed. Hamdy, p. 43.

40 Also noted by Yeager, "*The Siege of Jerusalem* and Biblical Exegesis," pp. 76–77.

41 The text does not specify that the man Josephus brings is a Jew, but the context makes clear that he is brought from within the city and is undoubtedly a Jew. This contrasts with the main source for this section of the narrative, the *Legenda aurea*, where the man is a former servant of Titus. See the notes to these lines in Hanna and Lawton's edition, pp. 144–45.

42 See Simo Knuuttila, *Emotions in Ancient and Medieval Philosophy* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2004), pp. 214–15; Peter King, "Emotions in Medieval Thought," in Peter Goldie (ed.), *Oxford Handbook of Philosophy of Emotion*

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(Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), pp. 167–87 (pp. 167–68); and Michael Livingston (ed.), *The Siege of Jerusalem*, (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 2004), note to lines 1049–62.

43 Richard Lavynham, *A Litil Tretys on the Seven Deadly Sins*, ed. Johannes Petrus Wilhelmus Maria van Zutphen (Rome: Institutum Carmelitanum, 1956), p. 11.

44 Thomas Aquinas, *The "Summa Theologica" of Thomas Aquinas*, trans. Fathers of the English Dominican Province (London: Burns Oates and Washbourne, 1922), IIa 2ae 158, 4.

45 Siegried Wenzel (ed. and trans.), *Fasciculus morum: A Fourteenth-Century Preacher's Handbook* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1989), pp. 118–21, cited in Daniel Lord Smail, "Hatred as a Social Institution," *Speculum*, 76 (2001), 90–126; for Giles of Rome, in John Trevisa's Middle English translation, see Giles of Rome, *The Governance of Kings and Princes: John Trevisa's Middle English Translation of the "De Regimine Principum" of Aegidius Romanus*, ed. David C. Fowler, Charles F. Briggs, and Paul G. Remley (New York: Garland, 1997), I, 3, 7, p. 128.

46 Giles of Rome, *Governance of Kings and Princes*, trans. Trevisa and ed. Fowler, Briggs, and Remley, I, 3, 7, p. 127.

47 Augustine, *De civitate dei*, ed. J. P. Migne, Patrologia Latina 41 (Paris: Garnier Fratres, 1864), 19, 7, col. 634; Augustine, *The City of God against the Pagans*, trans. R. W. Dyson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p. 929.

48 "Tradidit enim Deus noster crucis adversarios in manibus nostris. Severissima namque super eos ultio divina adeo incubuit, ut dum urbem destructam castrumque eversum, agros depopulatos, terram in solitudinem redactam, nullum in agris incolam, luctus gemitusque eorum conspicimus, vicis eorum et eventus malorum misereri libeat, condolerique et compati eorum infirmitatibus, et quod nondum finem habeant flagella celestis iusticie, certe quia nec inter nos Christianos etiam correcte sunt inter flagella actionis culpe" (For our God has delivered the enemies of the cross into our hands. And divine vengeance has pressed upon them with such severity that, as we see the city in ruins and the castle overthrown, the fields depopulated, the land reduced to solitude, with no inhabitant in the fields, and as we behold their mourning and lamentations, we are inclined to feel pity for them in their vicissitudes and evil fortunes and to suffer with them on account of their infirmities and to feel sorry that the lashings of divine justice are not yet at an end; and particularly are we moved to sorrow because not even among us Christians have sins been corrected amid the scourgings of his action). Charles Wendell David (ed. and trans.), *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi*: *The Conquest of Lisbon* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1936), pp. 182–83.

49 Ibid., pp. 182–83. Similar directives were given by authors of guidebooks on chivalry and warfare. Honorat Bovet declares that all good Catholics must feel grief and pity in the face of tribulations and wars; and Christine de Pizan situates compassionate sorrow for the fate of enemies as a stipulation for virtuous princes. See Honorat Bovet, *The Tree of Battles*, ed. and trans.

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G. W. Coopland (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1949), p. 91; and Christine de Pizan, *The Book of the Body Politic*, ed. and trans. Kate Langdon Forhan (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 15 and 29.

50 Sanudo Torsello, *Book of the Secrets of the Faithful Cross*, trans. Lock, p. 236.

51 Ibid., pp. 191–92. See, for the original Latin, *Gesta Dei per Francos, sive orientalium expeditionem et regni Francorum Hierosolymitani historia*, ed. J. Bongars, 2 vols. (Hannover: Typis Wechelianis, 1611), II, p. 119.

52 Mézières, *Letter to King Richard II*, ed. and trans. Coopland, pp. 17, 89.

53 Ibid., pp. 17, 90.

54 Other examples include Guillaume de Machaut, *La prise d'Alixandre*, ed. and trans. R. Barton Palmer (New York: Routledge, 2002), lines 6976–78, where the author presents Peter I of Cyprus torn between joy and grief in battle; and Bovet, *Tree of Battles*, p. 112, where Julius Caesar is portrayed as weeping over the decapitated head of Pompey.

55 On the Romans' mercy and compassion in Josephus and Higden, see Josephus, *The Jewish War*, ed. and trans. Gaalya Cornfeld (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1982), e.g., V, 4, 361, p. 381; V, 4, 372, p. 382; X, 6, 450, p. 389; V, 7, 522, pp. 395–96; VI, 3, 215, p. 417; and Ranulph Higden, *Polychronicon Ranulphi Higden Monachi Cestrensis; together with the English Translation of John Trevisa and of an Unknown Writer of the Fifteenth Century*, ed. Joseph Rawson Lumby, Rolls Series 41, 9 vols. (London: Longman, 1865–86) IV, esp. pp. 438–39, where the author claims that the Romans were more merciful of the Jews than were the Jews with each other.

56 See lines 641–44 and 1169–72.

57 Van Court, "*The Siege of Jerusalem* and Augustinian Historians," p. 234. For Vespasian's cursing, see lines 677 and 786.

58 On the torture of Christ by the Jews, see lines 503–4; on the execution of Caiaphas as vengeance for the Passion, see lines 725–28.

59 Unlike Roger d'Argenteuil's *Bible en françois*, *The Siege* specifies that Caiaphas is tortured from prime until sundown (707); has the Romans pierce his sides (also 707), thus making the parallel with Christ's crucifixion more explicit; and gives the number of Jews who commit suicide. For the corresponding passages of the *Bible en françois*, which served as the *Siege*-author's sole source for lines 205–80 and 321–728, see A. E. Ford (ed.), *La vengeance de Nostre-Seigneur* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1993), pp. 116–17, lines 460–81. See further Phyllis Moe, "The French Source of the Alliterative *Siege of Jerusalem*," *Medium Aevum*, 39 (1970), 147–54.

60 On this, see Jeremy Cohen, *Sanctifying the Name of God: Jewish Martyrs and Jewish Memories of the First Crusade* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), pp. 1–9 (esp. pp. 1–4).

61 Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, ed. and trans. Edgington, 1, 27, pp. 52–53. For a discussion of the evaluative rhetoric of anger in Latin accounts of the Rhineland massacres, see Kate McGrath, "The 'Zeal of God': The Representation of Anger in the Latin Crusade Accounts of the 1096 Rhineland Massacres," in Kristine T. Utterback and Merrall Llewelyn

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Price (eds.), *Jews in Medieval Christendom: "Slay Them Not"* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), pp. 25–44.

62 Eliezer bar Nathan, *The Persecutions of 1096*, in *The Jews and the Crusaders: The Hebrew Chronicles of the First and Second Crusades*, trans. Shlomo Eidelberg (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1977), pp. 83–84.

63 William of Newburgh, *Historia de rebus anglicis*, in Richard Howlett (ed.), *Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II, and Richard I*, Rolls Series 82, 4 vols. (London: Longman, 1884–89), I, 4, 7–10, pp. 308–22. Though not carried out exclusively by crusaders, the anti-Jewish uprisings of 1190 are aligned at the outset with the religious zeal of Richard I's expedition to the Holy Land (see already p. 279, and pp. 310 and 313–14). On Josephus's influence on Newburgh's account, see van Court, "*The Siege of Jerusalem* and Augustinian Historians," pp. 239–41.

64 See esp. lines 1247–1252: "þe peple in þe pauyment was pite to byholde / þat were enfamy[n]ed [and] def[e]te wham hem fode wanted. / Was no3t on ladies lafte bot þe lene bones / þat were fleschy byfore and fayre on to loke; / Burges with balies as barels or þat tyme / No gretter þan a grehounde to grype on þe medil."

65 Josephus, *Jewish War*, ed. and trans. Cornfeld, VI, 3, 199, 200, 204, pp. 416–17; Higden, *Polychronicon Ranulphi Higden*, ed. Lumby, pp. 444–47.

66 Eliezer bar Nathan, *Persecutions of 1096*, trans. Eidelberg, p. 83.

67 Ibid., p. 85.

68 See esp. Josephus, *Jewish War*, ed. and trans. Cornfeld, VI, 3, 212, p. 417; and Higden, *Polychronicon Ranulphi Higden*, ed. Lumby, pp. 446–47.

69 Sanudo Torsello, *Book of the Secrets of the Faithful Cross*, trans. Lock, pp. 306–7; *Gesta Dei per Francos*, ed. Bongars, pp. 192–93.

70 Guillaume le Breton, *La Philippide*, in F. Guizot (ed.), *Collection de mémoires relatifs à l'histoire de France* 12 (Paris: Brière, 1825), pp. 197–99.

71 Josephus, *Jewish War*, ed. and trans. Cornfeld, VI, 3, 214–216, pp. 417–18; and Higden, *Polychronicon Ranulphi Higden*, ed. Lumby, pp. 446–47. In John Trevisa's translation of Higden in the same volume: "We come to a bataille of men, but now I see þat we fi3teþ a3enst bestes . . . but þese men devoureþ here owne children: þanne destroye we hem, for alle hir dedes stinkeþ."

72 Suzanne Conklin Akbari, "Erasing the Body: History and Memory in Medieval Siege Poetry," in Nicholas Paul and Suzanne M. Yeager (eds.), *Remembering the Crusades: Myth, Image, and Identity* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2012), pp. 146–73 (pp. 157–58).

73 On the popularity, translation, and dissemination of Robert's and William's chronicles, see Carol Sweetenham's introduction to Robert of Reims, *Robert the Monk's History of the First Crusade* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2005), trans. Carol Sweetenham, pp. 8–11; and Benjamin Z. Kedar, "The Jerusalem Massacre of July 1099 in the Western Historiography of the Crusades," *Crusades*, 3 (2004), 15–75 (pp. 31–35).

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74 Marcus Bull and Damien Kempf, "Introduction," in *Writing the Early Crusades: Text, Transmission, and Memory* (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell Press, 2014), pp. 1–8 (p. 2).

75 This claim finds its origin in the anonymous *Gesta Francorum*: "Tales occisiones de paganorum gente nullus unquam audiuit nec uidit . . . et nemo scit numerum eorum nisi solus Deus" (No-one has ever seen or heard of such a slaughter of pagans . . . and no-one save God alone knows how many there were). Rosalind Hill (ed.), *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum: The Deeds of the Franks and the Other Pilgrims to Jerusalem* (Edinburgh: Nelson, 1962), p. 92. See also, e.g., Guibert of Nogent, *Geste de Dieu par les Frances: Histoire de la première croisade*, trans. Monique-Cécile Garand (Turnhout: Brepols, 1998), pp. 7, 245; and Peter Tudebode, *Historia de Hierosolymitano Itinere*, trans. John Hugh Hill and Laurita L. Hill (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1974), pp. 11, 120.

76 In my discussion of these accounts, I build on Kedar's important article "The Jerusalem Massacre of July 1099."

77 Akbari, "Placing the Jews," pp. 37–39; Akbari, *Idols in the East*, pp. 127–28. The indebtedness of *The Siege*'s depictions of Jewish affluence to First Crusade chronicles was first noted by Chism, *Alliterative Revivals*, pp. 320–25.

78 Akbari, "Placing the Jews," pp. 39–43; Akbari, *Idols in the East*, pp. 129–33.

79 See Kedar, "The Jerusalem Massacre of July 1099," p. 31. As noted by Kedar, the scene, which finds its origin in a letter by the crusade's leaders to Pope Urban II, "came to epitomize the conquest of Jerusalem for generations of Westerners." The scene was also taken up at the end of the fifteenth century by Felix Fabri; see *The Wanderings of Felix Fabri*, trans. Aubrey Stewart (London: Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, 1892), 3, p. 308.

80 Siegebert of Gembloux, *Chronica*, ed. L. C. Bethmann, Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Scriptores 6 (Hanover: Hahn, 1844), p. 368.

81 Also, lines 603–5: "So was þe bent ouerbrad, blody byrunne, / With ded bodies about – alle þe brod vale – / My3t no stede doun stap bot on stele wede." See also Akbari, "Placing the Jews," p. 39.

82 Hill (ed.), *Gesta Francorum*, pp. 91–92.

83 Gilo of Paris, *The "Historia vie Hierosolimitane" of Gilo of Paris and a Second Anonymous Author*, ed. and trans. C. W. Grocock and J. E. Siberry (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), pp. 248–49, lines 344–46. Tancred's and Gaston's feelings of mercy are highlighted at lines 332–33: "Et eis sua signa dederunt / Tancretius Gastonque, piis affectibus acti" (And Tancred and Gaston gave them their banners, prompted by feelings of mercy).

84 Ibid., pp. 250–51, lines 359–61. A similar image of the crusaders wrathfully cutting down their enemies, driven to commit suicide out of terror and grief, is found in Robert of Reims's ambivalent rendering of the taking of Antioch in 1098. See Robert of Reims, *The "Historia Iherosolimitana" of Robert the Monk*, ed. Damien Kempf and Marcus Bull (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell Press, 2013), 8, p. 87; and *Robert the Monk's History of the First Crusade*, trans. Sweetenham, p. 185.

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85 It is relevant that William knew of the accounts of Albert of Aachen, Fulcher of Chartres, and Baudri of Bourgueil: see the introduction to William of Tyre, *History of Deeds*, trans. Babcock and Krey, p. 29.
86 My assessment aligns with Kedar, "Jerusalem Massacre of July 1099," pp. 26–27.
87 William of Tyre, *History of Deeds*, trans. Babcock and Krey, I, 8, 19, p. 370.
88 Ibid., I, 8, 19, p. 371.
89 See Roger of Wendover, *Roger of Wendover's Flowers of History*, trans. J. A. Giles, 4 vols. (Felinfach: Llanerch, 1993–96), I, 2, p. 433; Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, ed. Henry Richards Luard, 7 vols. (London: Longman, 1872–83), II, pp. 101–2.
90 William of Tyre, *History of Deeds*, trans. Babcock and Krey, I, 8, 19, p. 372.
91 Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, ed. and trans. Edgington, 6, 30, pp. 440–43.
92 The offensive is launched with Vespasian described thus: "þan wroþ as a wode bore he wendeþ his bridul: / 'Ȝif ȝe as dogges wold dey, þe deuel haue þat recche!'" (785–86, 829–32).
93 Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, ed. and trans. Edgington, 6, 30, pp. 442–43.
94 Yeager, *Jerusalem in Medieval Narrative*, pp. 48–77; Suzanne Conklin Akbari, "The Hunger for National Identity in *Richard Coeur de Lion*," in Robert M. Stein and Sandra Pierson Prior (eds.), *Reading Medieval Culture: Essays in Honor of Robert W. Hanning* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2005), pp. 198–227; Alan S. Ambrisco, "Cannibalism and Cultural Encounters in *Richard Coeur de Lion*," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 29 (1999), 499–528; Heng, *Empire of Magic*, pp. 63–113; McDonald, "Eating People," pp. 124–50.
95 On this, see Jean Flori, *Richard Coeur de Lion: Le roi chevalier* (Paris: Payot, 1999), pp. 416–17.
96 Ibid., pp. 418–22. This type of massacre was, according to Flori, most commonly ascribed to populations deemed "savage" and "barbarian."
97 Bromyard denounced Richard for his lapse into vanity and pride; see Timothy Guard, *Chivalry, Kingship and Crusade: The English Experience in the Fourteenth Century* (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell Press, 2013), p. 178.
98 The quotations are from John Trevisa's translation. See Higden, *Polychronicon Ranulphi Higden*, ed. Lumby, VIII, pp. 85, 89, 91, 119, and 121.
99 Ibid., VIII, p. 159.
100 The distinction between B-version and A-version manuscripts was originally made by Karl Brunner in his introduction to *Der Mittelenglische Versroman über Richard Löwenherz*, (Vienna: W. Braumüller, 1913), pp. 1–24, which remains the most comprehensive scholarly edition of the romance. Version B manuscripts: Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, MS Advocates 19.2.1 (the Auchinleck MS) (c. 1330); London, College of Arms, MS Arundel 58 (c. 1400–1450); London, British Library, MS Egerton 2862

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(*olim* Trentham-Sutherland) (c. 1390); London, British Library, MS Harley 4690 (fifteenth century); Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 228 (late fifteenth century). Version A manuscripts: Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College, MS 175/96 (c. 1400); London, British Library, MS Additional 31042 (the London Thornton MS) (c. 1440). Brunner's edition is based on the Gonville and Caius College, MS 175/96 (c. 1400) supplemented by one of the two early prints of the text by Wynkyn de Worde (1509 and 1528). Brunner's B-A distinction, and the classification of the former as "historical" and the latter as "romance-like," is, however, problematic because all extant manuscripts, apart from the earliest, the fragmentary Auchinleck, contain a certain amount of interpolated "romance" material. The designation of Egerton 2862 as a B-version manuscript is particularly problematic given that it is unique within B to contain the episodes of cannibalism. For a detailed table of the passages contained in each of the different manuscripts, see Brunner's introduction, pp. 15–17.

101 See Yeager, *Jerusalem in Medieval Narrative*, pp. 48–77; Akbari, "Hunger for National Identity"; Ambrisco, "Cannibalism and Cultural Encounters"; Heng, *Empire of Magic*, pp. 63–113; and McDonald, "Eating People."

102 London, British Library, MS Egerton 2862 (c. 1390) contains the episodes of cannibalism, but its opening lines are illegible (the manuscript begins at line 1857). The 1,200-line interpolation to the start of the narrative occurs after line 35 of the Auchinleck manuscript and is found in its most complete form in the A-version manuscripts, starting with Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College, MS 175 (c. 1400), which also contains the cannibalism episodes. Despite the fragmentary state of the Auchinleck, which breaks off at an earlier point in the narrative (at the start of the siege of Acre), the cannibalism episodes are consensually assumed to be later additions. They have no historical foundation in Richard's life, and, as noted by Philida Schellekens, their style, subject matter, and a number of linguistic features set them apart from the base narrative of the B version, which deals with historically attested events (see Philida M. T. A. Schellekens [ed.], "An Edition of the Middle English Romance: *Richard Coeur de Lion*," 2 vols. [unpublished doctoral thesis, Durham University, 1989], II, pp. 33 and 62). For a more extensive treatment of the romance's manuscript history, see Marcel Elias, "Violence, Excess, and the Composite Emotional Rhetoric of *Richard Coeur de Lion*," *Studies in Philology*, 114 (2017), 1–38.

103 Jeffrey Burton Russel, *Witchcraft in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1984), p. 167.

104 I quote here from John Trevisa's translation: "Also of þis Henry [Henry II, Richard's father] while he was a child y-norsched in þe kynges court of Fraunce, seynt Bernard þe abbot propheciede and saide in presence of þe kynges, 'Of þe devel he come, and to þe devel he schal'; and menede þerby boþe þe tyraundise of his fader Geffray þat geldede the bisshop of Sagye, and his owne cruelnesse þat slou3 seynt Thomas of Caunterbury." Higden, *Polychronicon Ranulphi Higden*, ed. Lumby, VIII, p. 35. The legend was

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invoked by Scottish chroniclers to support charges of treachery. See Walter Bower, *Scotichronicon*, ed. D. E. R. Watt, 9 vols. (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1987–98), V, pp. 16–19; Dan Embree, Edward Donald Kennedy, and Kathleen Daly (eds.), *Short Scottish Prose Chronicles* (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell Press, 2012), pp. 40–1, 56, 131, 270, and 285; and Katherine H. Terrell, "'Lynealy discendit of þe devill': Genealogy, Textuality, and Anglophobia in Medieval Scottish Chronicles," *Studies in Philology*, 108 (2011), 320–44.

105 As noted by Akbari, "Hunger for National Identity," p. 201.

106 Tournaments were often organized to accompany crusade preparations. See, e.g., Simon D. Lloyd, *English Society and the Crusade, 1216–1307* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), pp. 19–20.

107 Compare this, for instance, with the sentiments aroused by Guy of Warwick: "þai seyden hem among / þe pilgrim was non erþely man; / It was an angel, from heuen cam" (188:3–5). Guy in turn characterizes the Muslim giant Amoraunt thus: "It is . . . no mannes sone: / It is a deuel fram helle come" (95:10–11).

108 Kate McGrath, "The Politics of Chivalry: The Function of Anger and Shame in Eleventh- and Twelfth-Century Anglo-Norman Historical Narratives," in Belle S. Tuten and Tracey L. Billado (eds.), *Feud, Violence and Practice: Essays in Medieval Studies in Honor of Stephen D. White* (Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2010), pp. 55–69 (pp. 65–66).

109 David (ed. and trans.), *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi*, pp. 166–67.

110 On this, see John V. Tolan, *Sons of Ishmael: Muslims through European Eyes in the Middle Ages* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2008), pp. 82 and 85.

111 Ludolph of Suchem, *Ludolphi de itinere terrae sanctae liber*, ed. Ferdinand Deycks (Stuttgart: Gedruckt auf Kosten des Litterarischen Vereins, 1851), p. 42.

112 Richard's ungracious treatment of the minstrel is an interesting choice on the part of the adaptor in view of the popular legend of Blondel, which appears in earliest form in a thirteenth-century French prose chronicle. The legend tells of a minstrel who shows his dedication to Richard I by finding the location of the German prison in which the king is incarcerated, traveling and singing songs from castle to castle until finally hearing the captive monarch's voice in reply. See John Gillingham, "Some Legends of Richard the Lionheart: Their Development and Their Influence," in Janet Nelson (ed.), *Richard Coeur de Lion in History and Myth* (London: King's College Centre for Late Antique and Medieval Studies, 1992), pp. 51–69 (p. 55).

113 While fighting fairly is, to a degree, a modern misconception of chivalry, the violation of agreed-upon terms of combat was widely condemned. See, e.g., Flori, *Richard Coeur de Lion*, pp. 424–32; and, on Froissart's conception of chivalry, according to which "good knights fought fairly," Warren C. Brown, *Violence in Medieval Europe* (Harlow, UK: Longman, 2010), p. 280.

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114 The full-length study is Velma Bourgeois Richmond, *Laments for the Dead in Medieval Narrative* (Pittsburgh, PA: Duquesne University Press, 1966).
115 See Gerd Althoff, *Family, Friends and Followers*, trans. Christopher Caroll (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004; 1st ed. in German 1990); and his "Friendship and Political Order," in Julian Haseldine (ed.), *Friendship in Medieval Europe* (Stroud, UK: Sutton, 1999), pp. 91–105.
116 Heng, *Empire of Magic*, pp. 21–61.
117 On a trauma theory and crusade literature, see Siobhain Bly Calkin, "Narrating Trauma? Captured Cross Relics in Chronicles and *Chansons de Geste*," *Exemplaria*, 33 (2021), 19–43. In relation to noncrusading materials, see also Catherine A. M. Clarke, "Signs and Wonders: Writing Trauma in Twelfth-Century England," *Reading Medieval Studies*, 35 (2009), 55–77.
118 Fulcher of Chartres, *A History of the Expedition to Jerusalem, 1095–1127*, trans. Rita Ryan (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1969), 1, 15, p. 112; Ralph of Caen, *The Gesta Tancredi of Ralph of Caen: A History of the Normans on the First Crusade*, trans. Bernard S. Bachrach and David S. Bachrach (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2005), p. 116; Robert of Reims, *Historia Iherosolimitana*, ed. Kempf and Bull, 8, p. 88; Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, ed. and trans. Edgington, 5, 29, pp. 374–75; Gilo of Paris, *Historia vie Hierosolimitane*, ed. and trans. Grocock and Siberry, 8, pp. 214–15.
119 Gilo of Paris, *Historia vie Hierosolimitane*, ed. and trans. Grocock and Siberry, 8, pp. 214–15.
120 See Jay Rubenstein, "Cannibals and Crusaders," *French Historical Studies*, 31 (2008), 525–52 (p. 538).
121 Ralph of Caen, *Gesta Tancredi in expeditione Hierosolymitana*, in *Recueil des historiens des croisades. Historiens occidentaux* (Paris: Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, 1844–95), III, 97, p. 675; Ralph of Caen, *Gesta Tancredi of Ralph of Caen*, trans. Bachrach and Bachrach, p. 116.
122 Raymond of Aguilers, *Le "Liber" de Raymond d'Aguilers*, ed. John Hugh and Laurita L. Hill; introduction and notes trans. Philippe Wolff (Paris: P. Geuthner, 1969), p. 101.
123 The evidence is discussed by Rubenstein, "Cannibals and Crusaders"; see, in relation to Heng's argument, pp. 528–29.
124 Raymond of Aguilers, *Liber*, ed. Hugh and Hill, p. 101; English translation mine.
125 William of Tyre, *History of Deeds*, trans. Babcock and Krey, I, 4, 23, p. 222.
126 The most important scholarship on the Tafurs is Lewis A. Sumberg, "The Tafurs and the First Crusade," *Mediaeval Studies*, 21 (1959), 224–46; Jill Tattersall, "Anthropophagi and Eaters of Raw Flesh in French Literature of the Crusade Period: Myth, Tradition and Reality," *Medium Aevum*, 57 (1998), 240–53; and Magali Janet, "Les scènes de cannibalisme aux abords d'Antioche dans les récits de la première croisade: Des chroniques à la chanson de croisade," *Bien dire et bien aprandre*, 22 (2004), 179–91.
127 See Edgington and Sweetenham's introduction to *The "Chanson d'Antioche*," pp. 59 and 73–74.

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128 Duparc-Quioc (ed.), *La chanson d'Antioche*, pp. 218–21.
129 See esp. Tattersall, "Anthropophagi and Eaters of Raw Flesh," pp. 247–49.
130 William of Tudela (and anonymous successor), *The Song of the Cathar Wars: A History of the Albigensian Crusade*, trans. Janet Shirley (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 1996) omits reference to the Tafurs; see the Old Occitan original: *Histoire de la croisade contre les hérétiques albigeois*, ed. C. Fauriel (Paris: Imprimerie Royale, 1837), 18, p. 33.
131 Tattersall, "Anthropophagi and Eaters of Raw Flesh," p. 248.
132 Blurton, *Cannibalism in High Medieval English Literature*, p. 107.
133 Duncan McMillan (ed.), *La chanson de Guillaume*, 2 vols. (Paris: Picard, 1949), I, lines 1717–20.
134 C. Régnier (ed.), *La prise d'Orange* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1972), lines 341–47.
135 François Guessard and Henri Victor Michelant (eds.), *Floovant*, in *Les anciens poètes de la France*, 10 vols. (Paris: F. Vieweg, 1860), I, lines 1836–43.
136 See, e.g., Helen J. Nicholson (trans.), *The Chronicle of the Third Crusade: A Translation of the "Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi"* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 1997), 6, 27–28, pp. 370–72.
137 Sanudo Torsello, *Gesta Dei*, ed. Bongars, pp. 200, 202; Sanudo Torsello, *Book of the Secrets of the Faithful Cross*, trans. Lock, pp. 317, 321.
138 Following Aristotle, medieval philosophers distinguished the intellective and sensitive parts of the soul, which each had cognitive and appetitive faculties. Some thinkers (like Thomas Aquinas) confined emotions to the sensitive appetite while others (like John Duns Scotus and William of Ockham) identified emotions as features of appetite in general, sometimes as sensitive reactions, and sometimes as intellective attitudes. For an overview, see King, "Emotions in Medieval Thought," pp. 167–88.
139 Siobhain Bly Calkin, "Saracens," in Neil Cartlidge (ed.), *Heroes and Anti-Heroes in Medieval Romance* (Cambridge, UK: D. S. Brewer, 2012), pp. 198–99, also comments on how the episode of cannibalism signals troubling aspects of Richard's behavior, focusing on the issue of dynastic succession.
140 Manipulating the language of friendship to deceive was often frowned upon; see, e.g., C. Stephen Jaeger, *Ennobling Love: In Search of a Lost Sensibility* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999), p. 19. See also Chapter 3 of the present study, on Morgadour's use of the language of friendship to lure Guy into a trap in *Guy of Warwick*.
141 An interesting parallel is found in the Austrian poet Walther von der Vogelweide's *Novellino*, where Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn is portrayed as denouncing Christian kings for eating at tables more elevated than those of their subjects. See Walther von der Vogelweide, *The Single-Stanza Lyrics*, ed. and trans. Frederick Goldin (New York: Routledge, 2003), p. xxv.
142 Lesley A. Coote, "Laughing at Monsters in *Richard Cœur de Lyon*," in Adrian P. Tudor and Alan Hindley (eds.), *Grant Risée? The Medieval Comic Presence: Essays in Memory of Brian J. Levy* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006), pp. 193–211; Heng, *Empire of Magic*, pp. 73–78.

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143 For a discussion of accusations of "savage" and "uncivilized" warfare imputed by English authors to the Irish, Irish-speaking Scots, and Welsh, see John Gillingham, "Conquering the Barbarians: War and Chivalry in Twelfth-Century Britain," *Haskins Society Journal*, 4 (1992), 67–84. According to Larissa Tracy, many authors attempted to define English identity in opposition to brutality and torture: see *Torture and Brutality in Medieval Literature: Negotiations of National Identity* (Cambridge, UK: D. S. Brewer, 2012).

144 Gerald of Wales, *Expugnatio Hibernica: The Conquest of Ireland*, ed. and trans. A. B. Scott and F. X. Martin (Dublin: Royal Irish Academy, 1978), 4, 15–23, pp. 36–37.

145 According to Giles of Rome's *Super rhetoricum*, what differentiates a good king's anger from a tyrant's wrath is that the latter does not subside in response to fear and trembling. See Bénédicte Sère, "Déshonneur, outrages et infamie aux sources de la violence d'après le *Super rhetoricorum* de Gilles de Rome," in François Foronda, Christine Barralis, and Bénédicte Sère (eds.), *Violences souveraines au Moyen Âge: Travaux d'une école historique* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2010), pp. 103–12 (p. 109).

146 Paul R. Hyams notes that many medieval English writers disapproved of kings and lords who inflicted harm and humiliation to defenseless victims; see *Rancor and Reconciliation in Medieval England* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2003), p. 52.

147 See also lines 3613 ("Ffor drede we wende ffor to sterue"), 3619 ("Ffor drede hou we begunne to quake"), 3634 ("Ffor drede and dool we wende to deye"), and 3638 ("So sory were we þenne for drede").

148 London, British Library, MS Egerton 2862 (c. 1390); Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College, MS 175/96 (c. 1400); London, British Library, MS Additional 31042 (c. 1440).

149 Larry D. Benson (ed.), *Alliterative Morte Arthure*, rev. Edward E. Foster (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 1994), lines 842–55.

150 See Orderic Vitalis, *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, ed. and trans. Marjorie Chibnall, 6 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969–80), II, 4, pp. 231–32; Jean Froissart, *Chroniques*, ed. Siméon Luce, 15 vols. (Paris: Mme Ve. J. Renouard, 1869–1975), VII, p. 250; and Douglas Sugano (ed.), "Slaughter of the Innocents; Death of Herod," in *The N-Town Plays* (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 2007), esp. lines 89–104. The composite *Canso de la crozada* is particularly illuminating because it allows for a comparison between different authorial usages of emotional language within the same narrative. William of Tudela, the author of the first 131 laisses, shows support for the northern French of Simon de Montfort by stressing their composure and restraint, while largely omitting reference to the physical and emotional consequences of their actions; by contrast, William's anonymous continuer, who sides with the Cathars, repeatedly presents Simon as merciless and wrathful beyond reason, while emphasizing the grief, anguish, and fear of his victims. See William of

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Tudela (and anonymous successor), *Song of the Cathar Wars*, trans. Janet Shirley, on Simon's unbridled wrath, e.g., laisses 171–73, pp. 105–10; 179–80, pp. 117–18; and on the anguish, grief, and terror of the Cathars, e.g., laisses 176, p. 112; 178, p. 115; 198, p. 156.

151 Chaucer, *The Parson's Tale*, in Larry D. Benson (ed.), *The Riverside Chaucer*, 3rd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008; 1st ed. 1987), lines 532–78; from the same volume, *The Knight's Tale*, lines 1997, 2011.

152 Gower, *Confessio Amantis*, ed. Peck, II, 3, lines 23–24. On Chaucer, Gower, and war, see Nigel Saul, "A Farewell to Arms? Criticism of Warfare in Late Fourteenth-Century England," in Chris Given-Wilson (ed.), *Fourteenth Century England* (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell Press, 2002), pp. 131–46; and R. F. Yeager, "Pax Poetica: On the Pacifism of Chaucer and Gower," *Studies in the Age of Chaucer*, 9 (1987), 97–121.

153 William Langland, *Piers Plowman: A Parallel Text Edition of the A, B, C and Z Versions*, ed. A. V. C. Schmidt, 2 vols. (London: Longman, 1995–2008), I, C.6, lines 105–6. On anger in Langland, see Paul Megna, "Langland's Wrath: Righteous Anger Management in *The Vision of Piers Plowman*," *Exemplaria*, 25 (2013), 130–51.

154 Thomas Hoccleve, *The Regiment of Princes*, ed. Charles R. Blyth (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 1999), lines 5195–5201, 5229–30.

155 Saul, "A Farewell to Arms?"; Yeager, "Pax Poetica"; Lowe, *Imagining Peace*, pp. 68–147; John Barnie, *War in Medieval Society: Social Values and the Hundred Years War, 1377–99* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1974), pp. 117–38.

156 Michel Pintoin, *Chronique du religieux de Saint-Denys*, ed. M. L. Bellaguet, 6 vols. (Paris: Crapelet, 1839), II, pp. 487–96, 508–11.

157 Ibid., p. 500; English translation mine.

Conclusion

1 Bernard Cerquiglini, *Éloge de la variante: Histoire critique de la philologie* (Paris: Seuil, 1989); translated into English by Betsy Wing as *In Praise of the Variant: A Critical History of Philology* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999).

2 Priyamvada Gopal, *Insurgent Empire: Anticolonial Resistance and British Dissent* (London: Verso, 2019), pp. 1–32. Gopal, at pp. 9–13, buttresses her argument with Michel-Rolph Trouillot, *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1995).

3 I introduce this book in my "Unsettling Orientalism: Toward a New History of European Representations of Muslims and Islam, c. 1200–1450," *Speculum*, 100:2 (forthcoming, April 2025).

4 The classic study of European expansion and cultural change during the high Middle Ages is Robert Bartlett, *The Making of Europe: Conquest, Colonization,*

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and Cultural Change, 950–1350 (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993).

5 The place of the Ottomans in European cultural history is better established than that of the Ayyūbids and Mamlūks, but scholarship on the subject has focused principally on the early modern period, not the later Middle Ages. On early modern Anglo-Ottoman relations, see, e.g., Nabil Matar, *Islam in Britain, 1558–1685* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); Nabil Matar and Gerald MacLean, *Britain and the Islamic World, 1558–1713* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011); Gerald MacLean, *Looking East: English Writing and the Ottoman Empire before 1800* (Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave, 2007); and Daniel J. Vitkus, *Turning Turk: English Theater and the Multicultural Mediterranean, 1570–1630* (New York: Palgrave, 2003).

6 On anti-Orientalism in British and Irish modernist poetry, see Jahan Ramazani, *A Transnational Poetics* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), pp. 109–14; and, by the same author, *Poetry in a Global Age* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2020), pp. 133–54.

7 Honorat Bovet, *"L'Arbre des Batailles" d'Honoré Bonet*, ed. Ernest Nys (Brussels: Muquardt, 1883), pp. 86–87; Honorat Bovet, *The Tree of Battles*, ed. and trans. G. W. Coopland (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1949), pp. 126–27. On Bovet's little-studied anticrusade stance, see further Aziz Suryal Atiya, *The Crusade of Nicopolis* (London: Methuen, 1934), p. 123.

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