The Image of the Greek: Western Pilgrims’ Views of Eastern Monks and Monasteries in the Holy Land, c.1200-1500

Andrew Jotischky

Royal Holloway University of London

Andrew.Jotischky@rhul.ac.uk

I

Mark Twain knew just what to make of Greek Orthodox monks. In *The Innocents Abroad,* his celebrated account of a journey with a party of intrepid American travelers to the Mediterranean and the Holy Land in 1867, he describes a visit to the monastery of Mar Sabas, in the Judaean desert south east of Bethlehem. His discussion of the monks begins with a description of their physical appearance, before proceeding to draw conclusions about the conduct of their lives and the nature of their existence:

‘The present occupants of Mars Saba, about 70 in number, are all hermits. They wear a coarse robe, an ugly, brimless stove-pipe of a hat, and go without shoes. They eat nothing whatever but bread and salt; they drink nothing but water. As long as they live they can never go outside the walls, or look upon a woman – for no woman is permitted to enter Mars Saba, upon any pretext whatever. Some of these men have been shut up here for 30 years. In all that dreary time they have not heard the laughter of a child or the blessed voice of a woman; they have seen no human tears, no human smiles; they have known no human joys, no wholesome human sorrows. In their hearts are no memories of the past, in their brains no dreams of the future. All that is lovable, beautiful, worthy, they have put far away from them; against all things that are pleasant to look upon, and all sounds that are music to the ear, they have barred their massive doors and reared their relentless walls of stone forever…They are dead men who walk. But their large charity was above [considering such things]. They simply saw in us men who were hungry, and thirsty, and tired, and that was sufficient. They opened their doors and gave us welcome. They asked no questions, and they made no self-righteous display of their hospitality. They fished for no compliments.’[[1]](#endnote-1)

The interest in the figure of the oriental exotic, no less than the sentimentality, exaggeration and moralising tendency makes this passage typical of its time. Twain was certainly not the first nineteenth-century western traveler to be struck by the image of the eastern monk, nor what that image was taken to represent. We might compare his description with impressions from a generation earlier in Robert Curzon’s *Visits to Monasteries in the Levant,* published in 1849 but concerning a journey undertaken in 1833-4. Curzon muses on the appearance of the Coptic monks of the Egyptian monastery of Souriani:

‘…when I turned my eyes upon my companions and myself, it struck me that we also were somewhat remarkable in our way. First there was the old blind grey-bearded abbot, leaning on his staff, surrounded with three or four dark-robed Coptic monks…’He goes on to describe the monks thus:

‘as black as crows, tall, thin, ascetic men…they seemed to be an austere and dismal set of fanatics…[T]hey seemed to be men who fasted much and feasted little; great observers they were of vigils, of penance, of pilgrimages, and midnight masses; eaters of bitter herbs for conscience’ sake. It was such men as these who lived on the tops of columns, and took up their abodes in tombs, and thought it was a sign of holiness to look like a wild beast – that it was wicked to be clean, and superfluous to be useful in this world…’[[2]](#endnote-2)

These descriptions, which can be matched by others,[[3]](#endnote-3) also find visual expression in the evocations of the ruins and their contemporary inhabitants by David Roberts, Edward Lear and other artists.[[4]](#endnote-4) While they form a distinctive part of the orientalist tone of nineteenth-century travel-writing, they can also be seen as part of a longer tradition of western interest in the image of the eastern religious. In what follows, this interest will be explored through the Holy Land pilgrimage literature of the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries. I examine descriptions of Orthodox monks – mostly Greek – in the wider context of knowledge and understanding of Orthodox monasticism in the period when Europeans came increasingly into contact with them; I discuss the reasons for increased European interest in visiting Orthodox monasteries – especially St Katherine’s on Mt Sinai - and finally argue that this interest should be understood in light of growing concerns with tracing the origins of monasticism itself.[[5]](#endnote-5)

Taken as a whole, western pilgrims from the thirteenth century onward showed increasing ambition in the scope of their travels and greater breadth in their understanding of the parameters of the Holy Land and of its potential as a spiritual resource.[[6]](#endnote-6) Whereas most pilgrimage accounts in the period before this had a primary focus on shrines associated with biblical narratives, later medieval pilgrims also visited or wrote about monasteries whose appeal drew on traditions about the origins of Christian asceticism. Monasteries in Egypt and the Holy Land were seen by pilgrims as repositories of practises that stretched back to the desert fathers, but also as places where such practises could be witnessed in present time. Their current incumbents thus represented living guides to the kind of holiness that pilgrims expected to be generated by the land itself. In this way, monks and hermits in the Holy Land were portals to a past that western pilgrims typically tried to recover through an imagined reality reconstructed through affective memory.[[7]](#endnote-7)

In reading any travel account we must always be mindful of the instability of texts purporting to be personal accounts. As Nicole Chareyron has recently reminded us, travel accounts are constructed within frameworks of associative references: cultural, historical and geographical: ‘[L]e récit a une mémoire, toile de fond faite de références et d’influences culturelles, tant de l’auteur que du lecteur ciblé.’[[8]](#endnote-8) Anthony Bale has recently shown how a text such as John Mandeville’s *Book of Marvels and Travels,* appearing in mid-fourteenth century England, was appropriated by a range of readers to build up their own ‘textual repositories of memories’ of the Holy Land.[[9]](#endnote-9) Simulation and imagined reconstruction in which an idealized Holy Land represents certain presumptions on the part of readers paralleled, in Bale’s view, the architectural representations of the Holy Sepulcher or of Jerusalem more generally that proliferate in the visual culture of the Middle Ages.[[10]](#endnote-10) As with such physical representations, there is a good deal of overlap and repetition in textual iterations of certain memories and experiences. Nowhere is this more clearly expressed than in repeated attitudes towards the human object of the pilgrim’s gaze. As will become apparent, the observed characteristics of eastern monks were transmitted across different textual accounts of pilgrimages in ways that seem to undermine the individuality of the pilgrim’s experience, and at the same time suggest a singular objectivity in the presentation of knowledge about other cultures. Yet Shirin Khanmohamadi has cautioned against assuming that medieval observers invariably objectified non-Europeans. In contrast, she argues, pre-imperialist European ethnography is characterized by ‘fluid, complex and unpredictable relations between Latin Christian subjects and religious and cultural others’; the medieval gaze was, indeed, ‘often more fluid and open-ended than the ‘modern, fixed gaze of Orientalism and imperialism.’[[11]](#endnote-11) In fact, western writers describe non-Europeans in ways that disclose their own subjectivity and uncertainty in the face of the unfamiliar, and that result in a redefining of European identity. This insight is particularly helpful in understanding how the medieval subjects discussed in this article deployed the image of the Orthodox monk to shape their own attitudes to monasticism.

Pilgrimage accounts are inscribed sites at which associations and markers that may already be familiar to the pilgrim or the reader of a pilgrimage text are repeated and reinforced. This may render them particularly difficult sources of evidence to treat at the level of the descriptive, given that the relationship between observed visual or aural experience and fixed pre-existing points of reference in the mind of the author or pilgrim cannot invariably be determined. Nevertheless, repetition derived from textual borrowing need not detract from the value of an observation; after all, a textual trope, while recognized as such by the reader, may at the same time be taken as reflective of genuine experience. There are only so many ways of describing the appearance of Orthodox monks; moreover, consistency of appearance was itself a self-determining feature of monastic identity. In what follows, therefore, descriptions of Orthodox monks, monasteries and monasticism can be seen to partake of a range of associative references, even where such a description is based on personal experience or memory.

II

The appearance of an eastern monk, in this case Greek Orthodox, to western eyes, is epitomized in the account of the abbot of St Elias by Ambroise, the Anglo-Norman verse chronicler of the Third Crusade who was writing between 1194 and 1199. In June 1192, while Richard the Lionheart’s crusading army was advancing from Jaffa towards Jerusalem, he was approached by a delegation led by the hegoumen of the Greek Orthodox monastery of St Elias, a small monastery on the road south from Jerusalem to Bethlehem that had been rebuilt in the 1160s by Emperor Manuel Komnenos after its destruction in an earthquake.[[12]](#endnote-12) The incident is described thus by Ambroise:

‘The holy abbot was from St Elias and he lived on bread and rape. He had a long beard, allowed to grow naturally, and he seemed a holy creature. He said to the king that he knew of a place that he had long protected where a cross was hidden that the Lord God had put into his care. It contained a piece of the True Cross, of which there are many pieces. The good Christian, who was not an aged man, had by himself concealed and hidden it, until the land should be conquered. It had cost him dearly, for Saladin had asked for it a number of times from the abbot but the abbot had deceived him, so he had been restrained and put into tight bonds, but whatever harm they did him they could not force him to say where it was nor to give it up, but he said that he had lost it when Jerusalem was conquered.’[[13]](#endnote-13)

There are several points of interest in this passage, not least the identification on the part of the Orthodox monastic community with the cause of the crusaders, and the apparent use of torture by Saladin on the monk, but for present purposes we are concerned with the description of the appearance and manners of the abbot: a man with a long flowing beard, one allowed to grow naturally rather than being trimmed or barbered, with an appearance of personal holiness. Other western descriptions of Greek Orthodox monks from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries echo this point; for example, the Franciscan pilgrim Niccolò da Poggibonsi, whose pilgrimage took place in the 1340s, remarks on the long beards of the Sinai monks.[[14]](#endnote-14)

The overwhelming characteristic of Orthodox monks, as seen by western travelers and pilgrims, was austerity in their conduct of life.[[15]](#endnote-15) Remarks by western observers link appearance - sometimes including hair, beards and general physiognomy - to an inference of such austerity. The German pilgrim Thietmar, whose account describes a journey in the Holy Land, Syria and the Sinai in 1217, describes the Greek bishop who fed him as ‘grey-haired, venerable in character and reverend in appearance.’[[16]](#endnote-16) Niccolò da Poggibonsi describes Orthodox monks as invariably elderly, thin and long-bearded; while to the Florentine pilgrim Gucci, visiting the Holy Land in 1384, their appearance reflected their devoutness and the mortifications they practised; the hegoumen was ‘solemn and dignified’.[[17]](#endnote-17) Gucci’s companion Frescobaldi described the emaciated appearance of a single Greek hermit he found occupying the cliff-face monastery of Mt Quarantana: ‘pale and very thin, his eyes so deep-set in his head that he looked like death.’ [[18]](#endnote-18) The hermit, Frescobaldi says, was living in abject poverty, the last survivor of a community that had endured varying fortunes since its foundation in the sixth century; abandoned as early as the eighth century; resettled by Frankish hermits in the twelfth; then again by Orthodox monks by 1347.[[19]](#endnote-19)

In general, western pilgrims were impressed by the ascetic quality of eastern monastic life that they observed. Even allowing for the impressionability that might be expected of visiting pilgrims, monks at eastern monasteries appear as particularly devout in their practises of austerity. While describing his visit to Mar Sabas in the Judaean desert in 1483, the Dominican pilgrim Felix Fabri would remark that the resources needed to support 20 monks in the West would suffice for 100 eastern monks, whose expectations of comfort were plainer and whose manner of life simpler than those of their western counterparts.[[20]](#endnote-20) Thietmar described the simplicity of mealtimes in the refectory at Sinai: the monks ate at a bare table with no cloth, in silence. Their fare comprised bread, fish, and herbs dressed with oil. They drank water on all except feast days, when a small measure of wine was permitted. Every other day the monks fasted on bread and water in their own cells.[[21]](#endnote-21) The cells contained neither beds nor bedding: the monks slept on the bare floor.[[22]](#endnote-22) Personal asceticism was underwritten by the mentoring system at Sinai, as reported by Thietmar, in which a younger monk was always given a cell adjoining a more experienced one.[[23]](#endnote-23) Thietmar’s observations were repeated by successive western pilgrims to Sinai. Niccolò da Poggibonsi described the monks of Sinai as living ‘in great penitence’.[[24]](#endnote-24) The author of John Mandeville’s *Book of Marvels and Travels* (1357) described the monks as being ‘like hermits’, specifically drawing to their abstention from wine, the poverty of their diet and the frequency of their penances.[[25]](#endnote-25) Doubtless in reflection of the influence of this text, as much as of the experience of subsequent pilgrims, the same observations are made in fifteenth-century accounts. The fifteenth-century Italian pilgrim Gabriele Capodilista (1458) characterized the Sinai monks as living ‘the most perfect life’: they drink no wine, except on feast-days, and are always occupied in prayer, fasting and other devotions.[[26]](#endnote-26) Similarly, the German pilgrim Bernhard de Breydenbach (1486) remarked on the monks’ regime of manual labour, on the absence of ornamentation in the monastery, and that the monks drank no wine.[[27]](#endnote-27)

Frescobaldi characterizes the monastic day as being divided between the offices, private prayers in the monks’ own cells, manual labour in the garden and occupations such as mending clothes.[[28]](#endnote-28) Gucci’s account of the same pilgrimage gives more detail of the austerities practiced by the monks: they spent most of the day and night in saying the offices; and slept on the ground.[[29]](#endnote-29) Ludolph of Sudheim, in the mid-fourteenth century, concludes his description of St Katherine’s by asserting that there was no hatred or rancor among the monks; such was the extent of God’s grace over the whole place that no poisonous reptiles, scorpions or even flies could survive there.[[30]](#endnote-30)

In most pilgrimage accounts, from the thirteenth century onwards, personal and communal asceticism is linked to hospitality. The hospitality remarked on so favourably by Mark Twain had also been experienced by the French pilgrim Ogier d’Anglure among Coptic monks in 1395-6. After leaving Sinai, Ogier and his companions went on to Cairo, then travelled down the Nile by boat to the monastery of St Anthony, two days’ journey down river. Ogier describes a beautiful church and garden on the site of Anthony’s first eremitical dwelling, and about 30 monks, ‘appearing to be very good and devout people.’[[31]](#endnote-31) The pilgrims then struck off into the interior, and after four days arrived at the monastery of Anthony’s second dwelling: again, a beautiful house enclosed behind walls with a fine garden; about 100 monks led ‘a very holy and worthy life…. for at no time do they drink wine nor ever eat either flesh or fish, nor do they wear any linen clothing. And in truth they plainly show that they are good people, for they provide excellent cheer for the pilgrims and most willingly give them whatever victuals they can come by and ask nothing in return.’[[32]](#endnote-32) From here they went on still further into the desert to the hermitage of St Paul of Thebes, about a day’s march in the direction of the Red Sea. The monastery housed 60 monks, whose hospitality and kindness Ogier noted with gratitude: ‘for they gave us very good cheer, received us most sweetly and benignly, and quickly brought us such provisions of food as God had lent them.’ Even though the pilgrims had arrived around midnight, the monks got up out of bed ‘and were so diligent in serving us, and brought us hot meats as though each one of them were to be paid a hundred ducats.’[[33]](#endnote-33) Thietmar remarked on the kindness of the Greek bishop he encountered at Kerak, who brought him a gift of bread and cheese.[[34]](#endnote-34) Frescobaldi describes the ceremonial meal of bread, fish and half a glass of wine brought to pilgrims at Sinai.[[35]](#endnote-35) A century later, in 1486, Bernhard von Breydenbach and his party of German noble pilgrims were welcomed by the abbot and monks outside the monastery of Sinai and escorted into the church in ceremony.[[36]](#endnote-36) The Franciscan Francesco Suriano, who as we shall see was not well-disposed to the Greek Orthodox Church, nevertheless appreciated the welcome and the hospitality provided by the Sinai monks in 1494.[[37]](#endnote-37)

Pilgrims to Sinai in particular were exposed to the quotidian life of the community, and had ample opportunity to observe monastic behavior. Ludolph of Sudheim describes eating in the refectory alongside the monks, sharing their diet of bread and pulses, with olives, dates, fresh vegetables and apples.[[38]](#endnote-38) The quality and quantity of fresh produce at Sinai was remarked on by most fourteenth-century pilgrims. Niccolò da Poggibonsi, Frescobaldi, Ogier d’Anglure and Nicolas de Martoni (1395) all remarked on the garden near the monastery in which the monks cultivated a variety of fruit and nut trees - date palms, figs, oranges, olives, apples, pomegranates, almonds and vines – watered by natural springs of fresh water.[[39]](#endnote-39) Ogier d’Anglure was impressed by the gardening expertise of the monks, and describes what sound like raised beds in which the trees flourished.[[40]](#endnote-40) This is another feature of eastern monastic life on which later pilgrims remarked: Henry Maundrell’s *Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem* of 1697 describes the monks of Belmont, near Tripoli, as ‘good-natured and industrious’, and as spending most of their time between divine services in 'cultivating their land, pruning their vineyards and other labours of husbandry’, and we might also be reminded of Patrick Leigh Fermor’s twentieth-century characterization of the typical Greek monk: ‘kind and hospitable old men…tending their poultry and half an acre of corn or a grove of olive trees, only exchanging their patched and tattered habits for black robes and a cylinder hat when they ride to market on their donkeys.’ [[41]](#endnote-41) This natural plenty from the orchard and garden at Sinai was not always sufficient to feed the entire community. The number of monks at St Katherine’s fluctuated, but even given the inconsistencies between different western accounts, there seems to have been considerable expansion during the fourteenth century. In the mid-fourteenth century Ludolph of Sudheim maintained that 400 monks lived in the monastery, supported by 40 lay brothers.[[42]](#endnote-42) This seems an overblown figure, especially given that his contemporary James of Verona (1335) estimated 100, but even so the numbers by the end of the century were considerable.[[43]](#endnote-43) In 1384 Gucci estimated 200 monks; eight years later the English pilgrim Thomas Brygg found only 100, but in 1395 Nicolas de Martoni thought there were 240.[[44]](#endnote-44) A year later Ogier d’ Anglure thought that the monastery had accommodation for 400 monks, but that normally only half that number was in residence.[[45]](#endnote-45) By the middle of the fifteenth century the numbers had dropped to about forty, and at the end of the century Suriano counted only twenty-six.[[46]](#endnote-46)

This drop in numbers cannot be separated from a growing institutional poverty, at least at Sinai, that makes the hospitality remarked on by pilgrims all the more striking. Gucci contrasted the spirit of hospitality shown by the monks to pilgrims with the meagre fare they were able to offer: salted fish, dates, bread and vegetables. He listed payments made by pilgrims to the monastery as alms and to cover the costs of their bread while they were staying there, and Ludolph of Sudheim thought that the monks would have found it impossible to survive without regular alms from the sultan of Egypt and from Orthodox Christians in Egypt.[[47]](#endnote-47) Frescobaldi brought gifts of rice, biscuit and vegetables with him from Cairo for the monks. Although he had been advised to do so in order to get preferential treatment from the monks, rather than because the monks needed the food,[[48]](#endnote-48) there is circumstantial evidence from one of the miracle stories associated with the monastery that the monks had at some point in the community’s history experienced such shortages of food that they were on the point of abandoning the site. Thietmar, James of Verona, Niccolò da Poggibonsi, Frescobaldi and Ogier d’Anglure all tell the story, with only slight variations of detail, of how the monks were on their way down from the mountain, having decided to abandon the monastery because of the extreme difficulties of living there, when the Blessed Virgin appeared to them and promised she would supply all their wants. The next day a camel load of provisions appeared miraculously at the monastery gate, accompanied by a child who informed the monks that it was Moses himself who had supplied the food.[[49]](#endnote-49) In fact the tradition of subsidising the Sinai monks with supplies goes back to the period of the foundation of the monastery: Gregory the Great sent clothing and bedding for use in the guest house at Sinai in the late sixth century.[[50]](#endnote-50) But by the second half of the fifteenth century, if not before, the struggles of the Sinai community could be seen in the appearance of the monks: Felix Fabri describes the ‘wretched and shabby’ appearance of the monks, and remarks on the inability of their resources to provide uniform clothing – they wore ‘different sorts of clothing, one of this sort, one of that’, but none of it of good quality material. There was, in fact, ‘nothing that did not speak of dire poverty.’[[51]](#endnote-51) Francesco Suriano, though observing both the poverty of the monastery and its exploitation at the hands of the local Arab population, was less sympathetic, attributing both the monks’ refusal to use the alms of Latins for their own benefit, and preferring to use them instead to feed the Arabs.[[52]](#endnote-52)

III

 Most western pilgrims’ observations of eastern monks arose from visits to Sinai. The cult of the martyr Katherine, venerated in the Greek-speaking world from at least as early as the eighth century, spread through Latin Europe from the mid- eleventh century onward.[[53]](#endnote-53) By the 1070s if not earlier the monastery of Holy Trinity Rouen claimed to have her finger bones, and the tradition of their healing properties and how the bones had arrived in Normandy was established before 1100. Versions of her *Passio* circulated in Latin and in northern French in Italy, France, England and Germany in the twelfth century. But pilgrimage to the shrine of St Katherine on Mt Sinai began in earnest only in the thirteenth century. The earliest records of the shrine or of the bones of the martyr being in the monastery date from two circumstantial Latin sources of the mid-twelfth century – one Limousin, one Norman.[[54]](#endnote-54) It was not until the first quarter of the thirteenth century, indeed, that the monks of Sinai themselves appear to have realised the treasure they had at their disposal. Indeed, there is no evidence of the monastery itself being associated with, less still dedicated to Katherine before the thirteenth century. The earliest detailed description of the shrine is that in the account of Thietmar, of 1217.[[55]](#endnote-55) The shrine, and the miraculous healing properties of the bones of St Katherine, are mentioned in the *Dialogues* of the Cistercian Caesarius of Heisterbach,[[56]](#endnote-56) and western pilgrims seem to have visited Sinai on and off throughout the thirteenth century. The golden age of pilgrimage to St Katherine from the West, however, came only after the loss of the Holy Land in 1291. Pilgrims did not stop going to the Holy Land, but the fourteenth century saw a flowering of pilgrimage to Sinai as part of the Holy Land experience; and the level of detail in pilgrims’ accounts indicates a forensic interest in the monastery and its monks as well as in the shrine itself.

What explains the growing interest in Sinai, and more generally in Orthodox monks and monasticism in general, in the late medieval West? Our exploration of this phenomenon must begin by considering briefly – and in somewhat impressionistic form - the state of knowledge of and interest in Orthodox monasticism in the West before the thirteenth century. As is well established, Orthodox monks were far from unknown as a sight in the West or to western pilgrims and travelers before the Crusades. Italo-Greek monks were a presence in Lotharingian abbeys in the ninth and tenth centuries: John of Gorze is said to have gathered Greek monks; at Toul in the tenth century Greek monks maintained a separate oratory alongside the Irish but as members of the same community.[[57]](#endnote-57) Individual Greek monks appear in western monasteries in the eleventh century: Archbishop Macarius of Antioch at Saint-Bertin, Ghent; a Jerusalem monk or priest Alagrecus at Utrecht; more famously, Anastasius, the Greek-speaking Venetian who became a monk at Cluny under St Hugh; Symeon of Trier, a Greek from Sicily who was a monk in Jerusalem and at Sinai before travelling to Normandy in the 1020s with Duke Richard’s returning pilgrimage, and ending his days as a hermit at Trier; and Constantine, the Greek monk who fetched up at Malmesbury and showed the monks how to grow vines.[[58]](#endnote-58) The visit of Nilus of Rossano and a group of Italo-Greek monks to Monte Cassino in the tenth century, and the interchange between them, has been much discussed in the literature.[[59]](#endnote-59)

Westerners could also observe Orthodox monasticism at first hand. Aside from the legacy of the Orthodox communities in Rome, Orthodox monasteries in Calabria, Apulia and north-eastern Sicily provided plentiful opportunities for interested Latins to observe their practices, as for example John of Matera did in the early twelfth century when he lived in a Greek monastery at Taranto.[[60]](#endnote-60) There were three Benedictine communities at one time or other between the tenth and late twelfth centuries on Mt Athos; and Abbot John III of Monte Cassino had spent some time on the holy mountain and in the Holy Land as a monk at the end of the tenth century.[[61]](#endnote-61) Dozens of western monks can be identified as pilgrims to the Holy Land in the eleventh century, and some of these sought direct experience of Orthodox monastic or liturgical life.[[62]](#endnote-62) Other western travelers professed interest in or admiration for Greek practices.[[63]](#endnote-63) Knowledge of and interest in Orthodox monasticism in the late Middle Ages, therefore, was scarcely new. But these examples tantalise. While they strongly suggest that Orthodox monasticism might be seen, at least as late as the end of the eleventh century, as an acceptable alternative to the Benedictine norm, they are fleeting glimpses caught only when the fog temporarily lifts and a piece of evidence stands out.

Equally tantalising are suggestive fragments of evidence about similarity of practises in eastern and western monasticism. One such is the near-parallel use of the same kind of reclining seat rather than a bed by two unconnected anchorites, the eleventh-century Greek Orthodox stylite Lazaros of Mt Galesion, and the twelfth-century English hermit Godric of Throkenholt.[[64]](#endnote-64)Another is the parallel ascetic practises connecting ascetic humility with manual labor in the kitchen, found both in early Palestinian desert monasticism and again in late tenth and eleventh-century Italian examples such as Liutulf, the monk of Monte Cassino who had accompanied Abbot John to the East and who on his return insisted on working in the monastic bakery, and Adalbert of Prague, who when he abandoned his bishopric to enter the monastery of San Bonifacio at Rome, occupied himself with cooking and washing up in the kitchen as a mark of humility – exactly as John the Armenian is said to have done at St Sabas by Cyril of Scythopolis in the sixth century.[[65]](#endnote-65) These examples stand out precisely because they are understated. We do not know what a Benedictine such as Emirardus of Anzy-le-Duc thought about his experience in an Orthodox monastery, perhaps because it was not sufficiently distinctive from his previous experience to demand explanation. When Nilus visited Monte Cassino, what the Cassinese monks wanted most to hear from him was how his practises of fasting differed from their own; only after that, how Nilus interpreted the Scriptures.[[66]](#endnote-66) At any rate we can say that there seems to have been little *discursive* interest in Orthodox monks or monasticism.

For this discursive interest, we need to look to the fuller sources from the thirteenth and especially the fourteenth centuries. What is striking about the later medieval interest of which we have given a flavour is a concern with the physical realities of Orthodox – more generally, eastern – monks and monastic life on the part of pilgrims. Most of the descriptions we have of Orthodox monks and monasteries come from pilgrimage accounts.[[67]](#endnote-67) Of course, pilgrimage to the Holy Land itself increased from the twelfth century onward, so it is hardly surprising to find an increase in the weight of evidence. But this is more than simply a matter of an increase in volume. The period in which Orthodox monks and monasteries could most easily have been visited and observed was in fact between 1099 and 1187, the period in which the territorial extent of the Crusader States was at its greatest, and therefore when the Judaean desert, the heartland of Orthodox monasticism in the Holy Land, was under Latin domination. Interactions and exchanges between Latins and Orthodox were, not surprisingly, frequent during this period at both institutional and personal levels. Although proximity made for competition and friction in some respects – for example, over sharing of sacred space, and institutional authority – it also meant that the Orthodox monk was a familiar figure within the Latin Church in the East.[[68]](#endnote-68) Moreover, Orthodox devotions specific to the Holy Land were appropriated into Latin patterns of worship, as for example in the case of the Easter fire ritual.[[69]](#endnote-69) Orthodox monks and clergy were a familiar sight to western pilgrims in the Holy Sepulcher and at other shrines, where their liturgies were carried out at their own altars.[[70]](#endnote-70)

Yet we find very little in the way of discussion from before the thirteenth century of Orthodox monks or the characteristics of Orthodox monastic life. When we do, it is more ambivalent than the foregoing pilgrimage accounts might lead us to expect. Indeed, Latin textual discourse appears notably hostile to Orthodoxy. Let us consider, for example, the beards and untrimmed hair of Greek monks, which as we have seen are physical characteristics associated in pilgrimage texts with asceticism and spiritual integrity. As Robert Bartlett has shown, hair, beards and beardedness had become subjects of debate among Latin clergy in the eleventh and twelfth-century West.[[71]](#endnote-71) At various times markers of aristocratic privilege, or alternatively of indolence and ineffectiveness, beards and long hair had sometimes by the early twelfth century come to be seen in western culture as attributes of frivolity, or triviality of attitude; most famously, in William of Malmesbury’s description of long-haired youths at the court of William II of England, of moral decadence.[[72]](#endnote-72) In contrast, reforming clergy and their advocates equated cropped, short hair with seriousness of purpose and moral rectitude. Clergy were by the ninth century expected to wear their hair short, and the *Rule of Benedict* obliged monks to undergo the tonsure and to be shaved regularly.[[73]](#endnote-73) To western observers, a beard that was allowed to grow naturally – like that of the Greek abbot of St Elias described by Ambroise - was incompatible with their image of the monk. In some regions that came under the control of a Latin administration, notably Cyprus after 1191 and Greece after 1204, shaving Greek monks’ beards might be a punishment for disobedience; effectively, a means of denying monastic status.[[74]](#endnote-74)

But the beardedness of Greeks and Greek Orthodox in general was also a signifier of wider moral qualities. As Bartlett has remarked, a sexual code was implicit in the way hair was worn. Archbishop Wulfstan of York, according to William of Malmesbury, told the Anglo-Saxons on the eve of the Norman Conquest that men who wear their hair like women will be no better than women in defending their country, and carried with him a pair of scissors in order to snip off the locks of men he saw sporting long hair.[[75]](#endnote-75) In the same way, William linked long hair (and fashionable clothing) with ‘softness of body’ and an effeminacy of manner that resulted in lack of manliness.[[76]](#endnote-76) Precisely the same sentiment is found in a western description of the peoples of the Latin East more or less contemporary with Ambroise, the *Tractatus de locis et statu terre sancta,* in which the lack of military capability of Greeks and Syrians is exposed:‘Alii sunt Suriani, armis inutiles, ex maiore parte barbam non sicut Greci nutrientes, sed ipsam aliquantulum castigantes*.*’[[77]](#endnote-77) The association of long hair with military inadequacy made explicitly here may - albeit in a particularly sharp reading - be considered implicit in the episode in Ambroise and the *Itinerarium regis Ricardi*, where the long-haired and bearded abbot can be seen as a hapless and defenceless victim of Saladin, while Richard I plays the role of the deliverer from torture and humiliation.

These sentiments were adapted and expanded upon by Jacques de Vitry in his *Historia Orientalis* in the 1220s. Having expatiated on the military weakness of the *Suriani* in gendered terms (*velut mulieres inutiles*), Jacques accuses them of deceit and duplicity (*Sunt autem homines magna ex parte infideles, duplices et more Graecorum velut vulpes dolosi, mendaces et inconstantes…aliud in ore, aliud in corde habentes*), and then proceeds to discuss their marriage customs and treatment of women, which as he remarks are culturally identical to those of the Saracens. In the same sentence he draws in the beardedness of the *Suriani:*

‘Commixti sunt enim inter eos et didicerunt opera eorum, uxores suas more Saracenorum recludentes, et tam ipsas quam filias suas linteaminibus undique ne videri possint involventes; barbas autem sicut Saraceni, Greci et sicut omnes fere Orientales non radunt, sed cum magna diligencia eas nutrientes, in ipsis quam plurimum gloriantur, virilitatis signum, vultus honorem, hominis auctoritatem et gloriam, ipsam barbam reputantes.’[[78]](#endnote-78)

While Jacques attempts to link beardedness with moral weakness and untrustworthiness, there is a tension in his categorization not apparent in the more lapidary *Tractatus,* since he is also aware that among the *Suriani* beardedness is a sign of masculinity. We have, then, a clear indication of a different set of values in east and west.

Although the period from 1099 to 1291 provides some of the most detailed and spiritually sophisticated pilgrimage accounts, there is scarcely a mention of Greek monasteries. The monastery of St Sabas was known about, but mentioned by very few Latin pilgrims, and there is little evidence that it was visited. To take just one example, the English pilgrim Saewulf, who was in the Holy Land in 1102, knew about the monastery, but was completely mistaken both about its whereabouts – he located it west of Jerusalem rather than south-east, and about the history of its founder – he thought Sabas was one of the 72 disciples of Christ.[[79]](#endnote-79) Yet the monastery of St Sabas had a metochion in Jerusalem; Sabaite monks were a presence at the Easter liturgy; and in the mid twelfth century at least, the feast of St Sabas (6th December) was celebrated by the Latin canons of the Holy Sepulcher, and marked with a procession to the church of St Sabas in the city. [[80]](#endnote-80) Moreover, St Sabas was also well known among Latin elites: among the monastery’s patrons in the twelfth century was Queen Melisende, and at least one of its abbots, Meletios, was a *confrater* of the Hospital of St John.[[81]](#endnote-81) But if we had to rely on Latin pilgrimage accounts for our knowledge of the monastery in the period between 1099 and 1291, we would know very little for certain about its activities, and might indeed conclude that it had ceased functioning in the thirteenth century, when in fact we know that the monastery continued to flourish as a centre of manuscript production, and of original hymnographic and hagiographic composition, well into the fourteenth century.[[82]](#endnote-82) The same picture holds true of other Orthodox monasteries in the Holy Land: Sinai, as already intimated, was largely ignored by western pilgrims before the thirteenth century.

This apparent paradox between close proximity and lack of interest about Orthodox practice is mirrored in the wider framework of interactions between the dominant Latin Church and the Orthodox and eastern Christian community more generally. Christopher MacEvitt has characterized this paradox as ‘rough tolerance’, arguing that the Latin authorities followed a largely pragmatic course of *laissez-faire* in respect of Orthodox ecclesiastical institutions and customs.[[83]](#endnote-83) But, as he is aware, the borrowing and appropriation of devotional forms and spaces, and more generally of cultural modes and values in visual art,[[84]](#endnote-84) occurred within a framework that was uneven, and in which the ‘positive’ attitudes that such influences might appear to suggest are scarcely matched by attitudes to Orthodox subjects of the Crusader States, whether Greeks or members of other eastern confessions, as expressed in textual sources. We need only consider the categorization of subject peoples in Latin sources from the late twelfth century onwards, found at its fullest development in Jacques de Vitry’s *Historia Hierosolymitana* but first appearing in the anonymous *Tractatus de locis et statu terre sancte,* to appreciate the dissonance between interaction in practice and the expression of cultural and doctrinal difference.[[85]](#endnote-85) Even a pilgrimage text that appears to view Orthodox and eastern clergy with a degree of tolerance, such as Burchard of Mt Zion’s *Descriptio Terrae Sanctae*, repeats the identical categorization of difference according to a hierarchy determined by Latin ecclesiology.[[86]](#endnote-86) Neither the need to find a way for the Orthodox community and Orthodox monasteries to function within a Latin hierarchy, nor western tastes for eastern or Orthodox liturgical or devotional practices – nor, for that matter, aesthetics - seem to have resulted in an observable interest in the figure of the Orthodox monk as representative of a particular tradition, nor in functioning Orthodox monasteries as bearers of that tradition.

Clearly, then, something changed to induce the interest we have already seen on the part of western pilgrims in Orthodox monasticism in the thirteenth century and later. One factor in the arousal of fresh western interest in eastern monasticism was a rethinking of the conceptual boundaries of the Holy Land itself. Elizabeth Mylod has recently shown how thirteenth-century pilgrimage extended the idea of the Holy Land to include a range of new sites, as a necessary response to the loss of territory, and therefore sites, in 1187.[[87]](#endnote-87) A striking example is the pilgrimage of Thietmar in 1217: the pilgrim, unable to enter Jerusalem freely, at first tried to avoid the holy city altogether, then attempted to bypass it in disguise and was captured and only released on the intervention of a group of Hungarian Muslims.[[88]](#endnote-88) The whole pilgrimage account is constructed around the twin poles of two sites outside the traditional boundaries of Holy Land pilgrimage: the shrine of the icon of the Blessed Virgin at Saidnaya, in Syria, and the shrine of St Katherine at Sinai.[[89]](#endnote-89) Moreover, the ways in which the accounts of Thietmar and other later medieval pilgrimage texts are composed suggests that pilgrims regarded these parts of their itineraries as integral to the whole. For Ogier d’Anglure, the Egyptian part of the itinerary was not simply bolted on to a Holy Land pilgrimage, but something both planned from the start and crucial to Ogier’s whole conception of the pilgrimage. He begins his account by proclaiming his intention to go ‘to the Holy Sepulcher in the holy city of Jerusalem, and to go on to the shrine of St Katherine of Mt Sinai in the deserts of Arabia, where the greater part of the body of the said St Katherine lies, and the shrines of St Anthony and St Paul, the first hermit, in the deserts of Egypt.’[[90]](#endnote-90)

There were practical reasons for changing the traditional basis of pilgrimage itineraries. At various periods in the fourteenth century, western pilgrims needed to obtain permits from the Mamluk authorities in order to be able to visit the holy places in Jerusalem. The Irish Franciscan Symon Semeonis, who went to Egypt and the Holy Land in 1322-4, described the process of securing a permit from the sultan of Egypt to exempt him, as a mendicant, from paying the normal dues levied on pilgrims.[[91]](#endnote-91) Once in the Holy Land, pilgrims were often frustrated by the restrictions placed on them by the authorities. The length of time spent at the holy places was often scarcely more than in a modern package tour. Thomas Brygg, who made his pilgrimage in 1392-3, spent only three weeks in the Holy Land (3rd – 25th December), about half the time he had needed to get from Alexandria to Sinai and then on from Sinai to Hebron.[[92]](#endnote-92) Niccolò da Poggibonsi, who did not have a permit, complained that Christian pilgrims were only permitted to spend a day and a night in the Holy Sepulcher on payment of a fee – without payment, the Muslim doorkeeper threw pilgrims out after the space of three Our Fathers.[[93]](#endnote-93) Moreover, as a penniless mendicant, he only escaped a beating at the hands of the Mamluk authorities for failure to pay the prescribed sum of 72 dirhems because a Cypriot paid it on his behalf. A whole series of tolls, in fact, was levied on pilgrims at shrines and for travelling through the Holy Land: Niccolò had to pay ‘tributes’ to travel from Acre to Nazareth, Bethany, Beth Hagla, and again at various stages on the journey from Jericho to Damascus.[[94]](#endnote-94) The obstacles placed in the way of pilgrims in the Holy Land after 1291, therefore, probably had the effect of making shrines that were not subject to the same restrictions more popular.

Practical and financial considerations, however, do not tell us the whole story. Some of the new sites that occur in Latin pilgrimage accounts were simply places with scriptural associations whose potential had never been developed before, but others were indicative of new directions of piety: an interest in the ‘affective’, in the miraculous, and in Christian as well as biblical history. To Ogier d’Anglure, as we have seen, visiting the monasteries founded on the site where he understood monasticism to have had its origins was an essential component of pilgrimage to the Holy Land. If we break down his itinerary into three elements – Jerusalem, Sinai and the Egyptian monasteries – the three seem to have more or less equal weighting in his account.

Orthodox pilgrimage had always been characterized by what might be termed a ‘layered’ effect: Greek Orthodox pilgrims visited not only biblical sites but also those sites that had been sanctified by the lives of Christian ascetics who had chosen to live there because of biblical associations.[[95]](#endnote-95) Thus in his pilgrimage in 1106-7, the Russian abbot Daniel visited the monastery of St Sabas, and the tombs of Sabas himself, John the Armenian, John of Damascus and Theodore of Edessa, all Sabaite monks, in order to commemorate the ‘holy fathers’ who lived ‘in this fearful waterless wilderness’.[[96]](#endnote-96) Similarly, John Phokas’ pilgrimage account in 1177 mixes contemporary holy men and women along with those from biblical and post-biblical history. By flattening out the past into a single continuous narrative, this strategy introduces a different element into pilgrimage. The economy of salvation is extended beyond the Gospel narrative into the early Christian past and even the present day; thus, Phokas seeks out ‘living saints’ such as the anonymous Georgian hermit living in the ruins of the monastery of St Gerasimus by the Jordan.[[97]](#endnote-97) At the monastery of St Sabas, he remarks on the tombs of ‘the ancient poets, Cosmas and John; near them those of the Forty Inspired Men who were chosen by God, and of whom six spoke directly with God.’ At the monastery of St George Choziba, ‘we saw several sanctified men, one of whom as a standard-bearer who spoke directly with God.’[[98]](#endnote-98)

This extension of the pilgrimage text into a meditation on the relationship between the holiness of place and the virtue of those who ‘cultivate’ that place finds its way into Latin pilgrimage accounts in the thirteenth century. The account of Thietmar, as in other respects also, is something of a pioneer here. We have already mentioned the miracle associated with the monastery of Sinai in which the Blessed Virgin caused camel loads of provisions to appear miraculously just as the monks were on the point of abandoning the site.[[99]](#endnote-99) Another miraculous episode recorded by Thietmar tells the story of a Sinai monk leading a shipment of oil for the monastery through the desert. The monk and his camel are attacked by Beduins who steal the oil, but when the robbers open up the saddle bags they find that the oil has turned into blood; whereupon they return the camel to the monk, begging him to give them just a small portion of this miraculous oil. But when the monk opens up the bag, it becomes pure oil again, with no sign of the miraculous blood.[[100]](#endnote-100) Miracles such as this are the reward of those who follow a life of self-denial and prayer in extreme conditions - both environmental and in terms of potential danger from hostile neighbours. Stories such as this bear all the hallmarks of an oral exchange between pilgrims and monks, perhaps mediated by guides. Thietmar acknowledges as much, when he says that he learned how the body of St Katherine was discovered and brought to the monastery from his guide.[[101]](#endnote-101) But pilgrims may also have acquired knowledge of such traditions before arriving at Sinai, from any of the network of dependencies of the monastery, for example in Cyprus and Crete, or indeed from Latin artists and monks working either at Sinai or at the monastery’s dependency in Acre. [[102]](#endnote-102)

The process by which such traditions developed and matured is well demonstrated in the case of another miracle story told by Thietmar, concerning the Orthodox monastery of Chariton, known in Greek sources as the Old Laura, at Wadi Kharitoun/Tekoa, south of Bethlehem. This fifth-century foundation was, despite various vicissitudes, still flourishing in the crusader period.[[103]](#endnote-103) It is mentioned by more than a dozen Latin pilgrimage accounts between the mid-twelfth and mid-fourteenth centuries, but there is no evidence that any of these are based on actual visits.[[104]](#endnote-104) Most of these mentions are very short – Thietmar’s, only a paragraph, is one of the longer ones. In all cases, the miracle story appears to be the only thing that Latin pilgrims know about the monastery. The content of the miracle is not particularly complex, but the construction of the tradition is more so. The story is that Chariton gathered his monks to announce his impending death, upon which they unanimously declared that they could not face living without him, and begged God to be allowed to die with him. Some time after this collective death, the monastery, now abandoned, was raided by Saracens. They found the mass burial and tried to burn the bodies but found that, miraculously, the flames would not consume them. Some elements of the story, notably the final teaching delivered to the distraught monks, appear to come from the sixth-century Greek *Life* of Chariton.[[105]](#endnote-105) Abbot Daniel visited the monastery as part of his pilgrimage in order to see the tombs of 500 martyred monks preserved ‘as if they were still alive’ – one of which, the body of St Cyriacus, was apparently uncorrupted, and gave off a sweet odour.[[106]](#endnote-106) This tradition may have found its way to Thietmar, like those concerning St Katherine, by oral transmission, since we know that Thietmar spoke with Greek monks during his pilgrimage.[[107]](#endnote-107) But it might have had its genesis in the episode told about Chariton in John Cassian’s *Conferences*, in which a large body of monks at his laura were killed by Arab bandits, and their bodies fought over as relics by the two local bishops.[[108]](#endnote-108) Thietmar was probably familiar with the *Conferences*, and may have conflated this episode with the voluntary deaths of the monks, which was also reported in the 1130s in the pilgrimage guide of Fretellus.[[109]](#endnote-109) The monastery of Chariton had nothing like the appeal of Sinai – there was no healing oil to be collected, for one thing – but the story of the unburnt bodies was evidently a stock item in the pilgrim repertoire as late as the fourteenth century.

IV

 The fourteenth century was the golden age of pilgrimage to Sinai. Although Thietmar had made it a central plank of his pilgrimage as early as 1217, and it is mentioned in many of the minor accounts, none of the other major thirteenth-century pilgrimage texts – Wilbrand of Oldenburg (1211-12), Philip of Savona or Burchard of Mt Sion (1280s) – show the same interest. In the fourteenth century, however, it attracted consistent attention: from Symon Semeonis in 1322-4, James of Verona in 1335, Niccolò da Poggibonsi in the 1346-7s, Gucci and Frescobaldi in 1384, Ogier d’Anglure, Thomas Brygg, Nicolas de Martoni in the 1390s.[[110]](#endnote-110) Throughout the fifteenth century European pilgrims continued to record visits to Sinai: Gabriele Capodilista and Roberto de Sanseverino in the 1450s, Alessandro di Filippo Rinuccini in the 1470s, Bernard von Breydenbach and Felix Fabri in the 1480s, Francesco Suriano in the 1490s. Egypt offered more to enterprising pilgrims interested in Greek monks and monasteries, however, than the shrine of St Katherine and the complex of chapels on Mt Sinai. Ogier d’ Anglure’s unusual desire to visit the monastery of St Anthony by the Red Sea is a case in point. Other pilgrims seem to have been well-informed about the monastic history of Egypt, and to have been prepared to allow that knowledge to guide what they saw. Both Bernhard von Breydenbach and an anonymous French pilgrimage account of the fifteenth century remark on the hermitage of the early Christian Egyptian hermit Onouphrios, at the bottom of an orchard at the foot of Mt Sinai.[[111]](#endnote-111) The French text associates Sinai with the Thebaid, where ‘in antiquity there was a multitude of monks’; there Paul the first hermit lived in a cave at the foot of the mountain, and caused water to spring up miraculously from the ground where he had planted a palm branch. In the same location Antony lived a celestial life to the age of a hundred.[[112]](#endnote-112)

 Paradoxically, western interest in Sinai and St Katherine began to increase just at the time that relations between Roman and Greek Orthodox Churches were worsening, in the aftermath of the crusaders’ seizure of Cyprus in 1191 and Constantinople in 1204, and the subsequent imposition of Roman primacy.[[113]](#endnote-113) The thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, indeed, saw the sharpening of Latin views about Orthodox theology and practises. *Disputationes,* which had been staged between selected – or sometimes self-selecting – Greek and Latin clergy on questions of dogma and custom since the mid-eleventh century or even earlier, continued to represent normative discourses between the papacy and the Greek Orthodox patriarchate of Constantinople.[[114]](#endnote-114) Moreover, discussions about possible union, which dominated papal thinking at the 2nd Council of Lyons (1274), were revived, only to be dashed, in the mid-fourteenth century, amid expectations of the acceptance of Roman primacy by Emperor John VI Cantacuzene.[[115]](#endnote-115) Greek-Latin contacts at the highest level, therefore, did not appear to provide an ideal matrix in which western pilgrims’ curiosity about Greek monks and monastic practises could be fulfilled. Such a conclusion appears to be warranted, moreover, by the accents conveyed in some pilgrimage accounts. Thus we find repeated in Mandeville’s *Marvels and Travels* the self-same formulae about the errors of eastern Christians that are first encountered in the late twelfth-century *Tractatus,* and further developed by Jacques de Vitry and Burchard of Mt Zion.[[116]](#endnote-116) Pilgrim authors were all too aware that the hospitality, the ascetic practises and air of devotion that so impressed them in Sinai monks were juxtaposed with errant, even deplorable, theological and doctrinal attitudes. Francesco Suriano, whose long experience of the East as the Franciscan Guardian of Mt Zion between 1493 and 1515 underscores his *Treatise on the Holy Land,* provides the clearest example of this tension. As we have seen, he was moved by the hospitable welcome of the Sinai monks when he made his pilgrimage in 1493. But even while appreciating their ‘love and charity’, he deplored their intransigence in refusing to accept alms from western pilgrims: ‘[they] hate us and the Church of Rome so that they would sooner die of hunger than eat of things bought from Catholic alms.’[[117]](#endnote-117) Bernhard von Breydenbach, who was so impressed by the Sinai monks’ asceticism and devotion, attributed the discord and strife he found among them to divine punishment for their sinful disobedience to the Roman Church.[[118]](#endnote-118) Likewise, Felix Fabri, though acknowledging the poverty and asceticism of Greek Orthodox monks both at St Sabas and at Sinai, nonetheless denounced the Orthodox as a whole as schismatics who had fallen into error.[[119]](#endnote-119)

Such paradoxes should not in themselves surprise us. Bernhard and Suriano were following the Catholic line after the collapse of the attempts at reunion at the Council of Ferrara. But the reality of Greek-Latin relations was too complex and multivalent to be reduced to debates over theological, political and ecclesiological conditions for union. The pilgrimage of Thietmar to Sinai, for example, only thirteen years after the Latin conquest of Constantinople, coincided with the official protection extended by Pope Honorius III to the monastery and its possessions in Latin territories.[[120]](#endnote-120) Papal attitudes to Greek monks, indeed, tell quite a different story from that presented in theological disputation or political negotiation. Innocent III’s letter to the monks of the Great Laura and other monasteries on Mt Athos in 1213 regrets the recent spoliation of the holy mountain by Latins, takes the monasteries under papal protection, and speaks flatteringly of the spiritual fertility of this above all other mountains.[[121]](#endnote-121) Papal communication with Athonite monasteries over the next two hundred years reveals respect for the way of life of the monks, but at the same time periodic frustration at what popes regard as disobedience against papal primacy.[[122]](#endnote-122) Equally telling, perhaps, is the evidence for royal interest in and support for Athonite monasteries, such as that offered by James II of Aragon in response to the damage caused by the Catalan Company in 1307-11.[[123]](#endnote-123) It has been suggested that James’s knowledge of Mt Athos came from the interest in Greek monasticism shown by Arnold of Villanova; mutual interest, perhaps, given that his *Spiritual Treatises* were translated into Greek in 1305.[[124]](#endnote-124)

Most authors of pilgrimage texts probably acquired their knowledge of Greek monasticism from less rarified sources than Arnold: for example, the *Golden Legend,* the mid-thirteenth century compilation by the Dominican Jacobus de Voragine which must have been, for many westerners, their first introduction to some early Christian saints; or from a similar compilation such as Jean de Mailly’s earlier *Abbrevatio in gestis et miraculis sanctorum*.[[125]](#endnote-125) The *Golden Legend,* however, seems to have reflected the predilection for contemplative rather than active saints that André Vauchez found so characteristic of late medieval constructions of sanctity. In this sense, it may have been as much a symptom as a cause of the interests revealed by later medieval pilgrims.[[126]](#endnote-126)

The period of the reception of early Christian saints in western popular imagination was also one in which questions about monastic origins and identities had become particularly vexed in the West. Debates and polemics among the mendicant orders and regular clergy over the antiquity of a given order – for example, between Dominicans and Carmelites, or between the Augustinian Hermits and canons regular [[127]](#endnote-127)– were by the 1370s involving Benedictines as well. A series of treatises from English Benedictine monasteries, notably Durham, Bury St Edmunds and St Albans, and new commentaries on the Rule of Benedict, such as those by Richard of Wallingford, abbot of St Albans (d.1366) and John of Beverley, a Durham monk active in the early 1340s, testify to a lively concern with the origins of the monastic profession.[[128]](#endnote-128) There are non-English examples of this phenomenon – the treatise *De origine, fundatoribus et regulis monachorum et monacharum,* which survives in a manuscript now in Vienna, probably comes from a Tuscan Benedictine monastery.[[129]](#endnote-129) The argument is remarkably similar to that in the Durham monk Uthred of Boldon’s *De substantialibus regule monachalis,* which addresses the link between contemporary monasticism and the Old Testament prophets.[[130]](#endnote-130)

These concerns were perhaps particularly felt in polemical contexts: Uthred’s works can be read as counter-blasts to Wycliffite attacks on monasticism in England; similarly, the Bohemian text, which dates from the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century, may best be read in the context of the Hussite reform agenda. But interest in monastic origins can also be found elsewhere. The treatise *A quo tempore et a quibus patribus monachi duxerunt originem*, written by a monk of Bury St Edmunds, is found in a manuscript written for Hugh de Chivery, abbot of Tournus, Burgundy (1361-7), which also contains the *Speculum monachorum* of Bernard of Monte Cassino. [[131]](#endnote-131) Characteristic of all these works is the notion that Benedictine monasticism existed *realiter* in the Old Testament, even though Benedictine monks only received their rule at a particular moment in history. Treatises on monastic history such as *A quo tempore,* or similar derivative works in Durham Cathedral Library in MS B.III.30 and MS B.IV.41, traced the origins of monasticism back to Elijah, Elisha, and the sons of prophets, following the familiar path laid out by John Cassian in the fifth century and taken up again, for example, by the *Exordium magnum* of the Cistercians in the early thirteenth century.[[132]](#endnote-132) Similarly, Uthred of Boldon’s *Regula paradisi superaddita* examines monastic history through early Christian authors and exemplars: Philo, the *Ecclesiastical History* of Sozomen, with its accounts of eremitical wanderings in Syria and Palestine; Pachomius’ foundation at Tabennesi; the monks of the Thebaid; Anthony, Hilarion, and Egyptian monks familiar from the *Apophthegmata Patrum* and Cassian: the two Macarii, John, Aurelius, Serapion, Dioscorus; Basil of Caesarea.[[133]](#endnote-133)

Monastic writers such as Uthred did not have to stray very far from the basic repertoire of their cloister library to find the evidence for such largely derivative works. But there are also signs of a more enterprising interest in early, particularly Egyptian monasticism in the fourteenth-century West. One such sign is the first Latin translation of the *Heavenly Ladder* by the Sinai monk John Climacus*,* made by the Spiritual Franciscan Angelo da Clareno in the 1320s.[[134]](#endnote-134) Angelo’s *Expositio regulae fratrum Minorum* reveals the depth of his immersion in Greek patristics – specifically, his knowledge of the Cappadocian Fathers, Athanasius and Ephraim of Syria.[[135]](#endnote-135) In his *Epistola excusatoria,* written to Pope John XXII to explain his rebellion against conventual authority, Angelo defends himself against the charge that he ‘thought the eastern Church superior to the western.’[[136]](#endnote-136) Angelo had learned Greek while resident on the Greek island of Trizonia, in the Gulf of Corinth, in the 1290s; other Spiritual Franciscans, of course, were active in Armenia, and some, notably Pietro da Macerata, caused tensions with conventuals when in Cyprus. Raoul Manselli has argued that these eastern experiences in the period between the 1290s and the 1320s were critical in the development of the Spirituals’ understanding of their vows.[[137]](#endnote-137) Certainly, Angelo’s other translations from the Greek monastic corpus seem to confirm this: they include the Rule of Basil, the Basilian *Ascetic Constitutions,* the text known as the *Verba S. Macarii,* and possibly Isaac the Syrian’s *Collationes.* Basil provided a critical resource in Angelo’s defence of his interpretation of his vows, and his refusal to be bound by the Franciscan hierarchy’s interpretation. Greek studies had long been promoted by Dominicans in priories within the Latin Empire of Constantinople – in particular at the *studia generalia* at Constantinople itself, Pera, and the *stadium linguarum* at Caffa – but these resources were mostly deployed in furnishing theological arguments against Orthodoxy.[[138]](#endnote-138) R.G. Musto identified over 200 manuscripts of Angelo’s translations from the Greek, so the circulation of these works was wide. Subsequently Angelo’s follower, the Augustinian friar Gentile da Foligno translated his Latin *Heavenly Ladder* into Italian.[[139]](#endnote-139)

The interest outlined here in the roots of monasticism should doubtless be seen within a context of dissatisfaction in some quarters in the West with contemporary monks and mendicants. Felix Fabri’s comment that a hundred Greek monks could live on the resources that supported only twenty in the West is particularly telling in this regard.[[140]](#endnote-140) In a more rarified sphere, Angelo da Clareno’s partiality – as it appeared to contemporaries – for Greek monasticism cannot be understood without taking into account his opposition to his own Franciscan Order’s compromise on the doctrine of poverty.[[141]](#endnote-141) Mendicant and monastic reflections on the origins of the monastic profession in the fourteenth century were taking place at a time when criticism of the religious orders was, as is well attested, becoming increasingly articulate, and finding voice in vernacular as well as learned discourse.[[142]](#endnote-142) We should therefore be alive to the potential for criticism of ‘domestic’ religious implicit in depictions of the austere manner of life of Greek monks. Such austerity, calling to mind the assumed practices of the first monks, naturally served as a mirror held up to monks and friars in the West. Witnesses to such austerity as was evident at a monastery such as Sinai might also be led to contrast the material and political vulnerability of the monastery favourably with the political influence of friars at papal and royal courts in the West, which came under criticism in the fourteenth century not only from radical theologians such as Wyclif but from reformers and primates.[[143]](#endnote-143) In seeking to provide quasi-genealogical associations for their professions with the first monks, writers such as Uthred of Boldon, or Carmelite polemicists such as Felipe Ribot (c.1390s) may indeed have been aware of attractions on the religious imagination exercised by contemporary eastern monks.[[144]](#endnote-144) Some of the most trenchant and well-informed criticism of perceived abuses among religious orders, after all, came from members of the orders themselves.[[145]](#endnote-145)

Equally, however, the growing wider interest in Greek monks shows that questions of theology and authority did not invariably drive prevailing ideas; perhaps, indeed, that an appreciation and understanding of the historical spirituality of Greek monasticism outweighed in the eyes of pilgrims, monastic writers such as Uthred, and some reformers, the intransigence of Greek monasticism as a bloc to Roman primacy or to union. The work of humanist scholars and translators of Greek such as Ambrogio Traversari in the early fifteenth century should be seen in this light.[[146]](#endnote-146) In the 1420s Traversari began translating a Greek manuscript containing an important work of sixth-century monastic hagiography, the *Spiritual Meadow* of John Moschus.[[147]](#endnote-147) Similar ascetic works, notably the *Historia monachorum in Aegypto* and Palladius’ *Historia Lausiaca,* had been known in Latin since the fifth century, but Moschus was not widely known. More arcane still were his translations of the *Life of Daniel the Stylite* from Symeon Metaphrastes’ eleventh-century *Menologion* and of the *Vita sanctorum Eugeniae, Proti et Hyacinthi.* By 1424 Traversari had become more interested in patristic literature, but his route to the Cappadocian Fathers and John Chrysostom came by way of the desert fathers.[[148]](#endnote-148)

This is all, of course, ‘high-end’ intellectual activity, and we cannot know how much, if any of it featured in the mental world of the fourteenth-century Italian, English and French pilgrims to Sinai. Although many of the pilgrims – James of Verona and Niccolò da Poggibonsi, for example - were friars, others, such as the Tuscans Frescobaldi and Gucci were prosperous and well-connected laymen. Nicolas de Martoni was a notary from the Terra di Lavoro: knowledgeable and well-versed in the Scriptures, classical mythology and romance literature, to be sure, but to a degree that remains conventional for someone of his upbringing.[[149]](#endnote-149) Ogier d’Anglure, a member of the nobility with a crusading heritage and a legal education, was in some ways the most surprising of the pilgrims.[[150]](#endnote-150)

Nevertheless, interest in the desert monks, especially those of Egypt, was also more widely visible in the fourteenth and early fifteenth-century West. The ‘anchorite’ fresco in the Camposanto in Pisa (itself thought by some to stand on earth brought back from the Holy Land), attributed to the school of Pietro Lorenzetti, shows in monumental form Anthony and Paul of Thebes, the prototypical Egyptian monks, Mary of Egypt and the hermit Zosimus by the Jordan, Macarius and the lions, the naked anchorite of Sinai Onouphrios and his disciple Paphnoutios, as well as other generic hermits of Egypt and Palestine.[[151]](#endnote-151) This is only one example of a number of Italian frescoes and painted panels, mostly from c.1350 onwards, celebrating the lives of the first monks. An early example, the ‘Death of St Ephraim and Scenes from the Lives of the Hermits’, attributed to Grifo di Tancredi (fl.1271-1303) and now in the National Gallery of Scotland (Edinburgh), dates from ca.1280-90.[[152]](#endnote-152) Onouphrios, who must have been a novelty to the western pilgrims who first saw his image on the painted columns at the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem in the 1160s, had by c.1500 become a familiar sight in churches from Rome to southern England.[[153]](#endnote-153)

Pilgrims who had seen such images, or who were familiar with textual discourses about monastic origins, naturally associated monks living in monasteries that stood on or close to the sites of those origins with that unbroken history. In describing what they saw, they were also describing, and perhaps affectively experiencing, monastic history: the bearded venerability of the contemporary monk represented the untrammelled hair and beard of Onouphrios; his visible austerity the ascetic practises of Anthony, Paul the Hermit and the desert fathers. Descriptions of the physical aspect and way of life of monks at Sinai, or St Anthony’s, were thus a means of continuing to perpetuate the ideal of the desert monks of antiquity. Repetition of such descriptions, especially in the fourteenth century and beyond, resulted in the formation of a stereotype, with the result that pilgrims and later visitors knew what to expect of the monks whom they saw when they travelled in the Greek Orthodox world. They might be thought of, following Hillel Schwartz, as mnemonic strands by which we generate a familiar past.[[154]](#endnote-154) Historians of medieval art and buildings have discussed this phenomenon in the material dimension, notably in thinking about the notion of the anachronic. Just as to a contemporary observer in the fifteenth century the physical presence of an Orthodox monk evoked figures from a distant but textually familiar past, so buildings or works of art such as icons might similarly resist ‘anchoring in time’. In a recent study, Alexander Nagel and Christopher Wood have discussed the ‘ontological stability’ of some works of art that, although of recent creation, might be valued and used as if they are in fact much older, a stratagem intended to ‘extract from the artefact the maximum possible referential reach.’ [[155]](#endnote-155) The conceptual substitution taking place in such images enabled the viewer to see an event, or a landscape, as occupying more than one time frame. Thus, the solitary monk seen by the pilgrim John Phokas in the ruins of the monastery of St Gerasimos was, in the viewer’s mind, at the same time a monk pursuing his own salvation and a conscious evocation of the founder, Gerasimos, who had first occupied the site centuries earlier. We might see Phokas’s solitary as performing an analogous function to an icon, in so far as he served as a portal to a deeper level of reality than that most obvious on the surface.

By the time that nineteenth-century travelers rediscovered the Levant, an image had emerged of the physical type of the eastern monk. It was an image, moreover, that carried with it an implied portmanteau of attributes, even when the travelers in question no longer had the same attitude toward the understood history and meaning represented by those attributes. Representations of Greek monks by later travelers convey an impression of timeless impassivity, concealing what might turn out to be welcoming friendliness towards strangers, contemplative self-absorption or simply vacuous idleness. This image of the Greek monk bears some relation to the development of a particular kind of pilgrimage tradition in the later Middle Ages: a tradition that may have had pragmatic causes, but that also tapped into much deeper roots in the Orthodox understanding of the relationship between holy places and the people who occupied them, and a tradition that both enabled and accompanied a lively interest in the origins of Christian monasticism in the later Middle Ages.

Preliminary versions of this article were given as papers to the ‘European History 1150-1500’ Seminar at the Institute for Historical Research, London, and at the Institute for Medieval Studies, Leeds. I am grateful to both audiences for helpful suggestions and comments; likewise to the anonymous reviewers for this journal for their constructive critiques.

1. Mark Twain, *The Innocents Abroad*, *or, the New Pilgrims’ Progress,* introduction by Jane Jacobs (New York, 2003), 449. [↑](#endnote-ref-1)
2. Robert Curzon, *Visits to Monasteries in the Levant,* 5th edition (London, 1865), 102. [↑](#endnote-ref-2)
3. For example, Charles Martin, *Travels and Discoveries in the Levant*, 2 vols (London, 1865), vol 1, 182-3, Letter 14, describing the monastery of Zambika on Rhodes: ‘In the middle of the crowd was the only ecclesiastic in the monastery, an old gentleman with a venerable beard, a long gown, a black cap, such as we see in pictures of the 15th century, and a staff in his hand’, and the accompanying Plate 12. In this case he remarks that the monk’s beard and his own prevented unseemly contact of the flesh as the monk attempted to give him a traditional greeting. But compare his less favourable impression in vol 2, p.3, Letter 30, describing the monastery of St Ignatios at Achyrona on the Carian coast of Turkey: ‘They are governed by an Hegoumenos or Prior, of very unprepossessing and dirty aspect…there was about the whole monastery a look of squalid sloth which disgusted me much.’ [↑](#endnote-ref-3)
4. Edward Lear, ‘Mount Athos and the mountain of Stavroniketes’, oil on canvas 1857; David Roberts, ‘The Monastery of St Catherine, Principal Court’, lithograph 1842-9; see Susan Hyman (ed.) *Edward Lear in the Levant. Travels in Albania, Greece and Turkey in Europe 1848-1849* (London, 1988); Peter Clayton, *David Roberts’ Egypt* (London, 1990). [↑](#endnote-ref-4)
5. Throughout this discussion I refer mostly to Greek Orthodox monks, since the bulk of the evidence from western pilgrims concerns them; ‘Orthodox’ can therefore be taken to mean Greek Orthodox unless eastern Christian monks of different confessions are specified. [↑](#endnote-ref-5)
6. Pertinent recent work on later medieval Holy Land pilgrimage, of which only a selection can be given here, includes Kathryne Beebe, [*Pilgrim & preacher: the audiences and observant spirituality of Friar Felix Fabri (1437/8-1502)*(Oxford, 2014);](http://copac.jisc.ac.uk/search?title=Pilgrim%20%26%20preacher%3A%20the%20audiences%20and%20observant%20spirituality%20of%20Friar%20Felix%20Fabri%20(1437%2F8-1502).)  Kathryne Beebe, ‘Knights, cooks, monks and tourists: elite and popular experience of the late-medieval Jerusalem pilgrimage’, in Kate Cooper and Jeremy Gregory (eds), *Elite and Popular Religion*, Studies in Church History 42 (Woodbridge, 2006), 99-109; Michele Campopiano, ‘Islam, Jews and eastern Christianity in late medieval pilgrims’ guidebooks: some examples from the Franciscan convent of Mount Sion’, *Al-Masaq* 24 (2012): 74-89; Rob Lutton, ‘Richard Guldeford's Pilgrimage: Piety and Cultural Change in Late Fifteenth- and Early Sixteenth-Century England’ *History* 98 (2013): 41-78; F. Thomas Noonan, *The Road to Jerusalem: Pilgrimage and Travel in the Age of Discovery* (Philadelphia, 2007); Kathryn Rudy, ‘An illuminated English guide to pilgrimage in the Holy Land: Oxford, Queen’s College MS 357’, in Lucy Donkin and Hanna Vorholt (eds) *Imagining Jerusalem in the Medieval West* (Oxford, 2012), 219-42. [↑](#endnote-ref-6)
7. On monks as ‘portals to the past’, see Andrew Jotischky, ‘History and Memory as Factors in Greek Orthodox Pilgrimage to the Holy Land under Crusader Rule’, in *The Holy Land, Holy Lands and Christian History,* ed. R.N. Swanson, Studies in Church History 36 (Woodbridge, 2000), 110-22, esp.116-18. It may also be helpful to consider icons, and their production and use by westerners, in the wider context of which this affective tendency in pilgrimage constitutes a feature; see especially Kurt Weitzmann, ‘Icon Painting in the Crusader Kingdom’, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 20 (1966): 49-83, Kurt Weitzmann, ‘Thirteenth-Century Crusader Icons on Mount Sinai’, *Art Bulletin* 45 (1963): 179-203, and now Jaroslav Folda, ‘Mounted Warrior Saints in Crusader Icons: Images of the Knighthoods of Christ’, in *Knighthoods of Christ: Essays on the History of the Crusades and the Knights Templar presented to Malcolm Barber,* ed. Norman Housley (Aldershot, 2007), 87-107, Jaroslav Folda, *Crusader Art in the Holy Land: from the Third Crusade to the Fall of Acre* (Cambridge, 2005), 305- 45, and the more general discussion of ‘crusader art’ at 511-30; more generally on the icon as a devotional and cultural artefact, Robin Cormack, *Writing in Gold. Byzantine Society and its Icons* (London, 1985), Kurt Weitzmann, *The Icon: Holy Images – Sixth to Fourteenth Centuries* (New York, 1978). [↑](#endnote-ref-7)
8. Nicole Chareyron, *Ethique et esthétique du récit de voyage à la fin du Moyen Age* (Paris, 2013), 378. [↑](#endnote-ref-8)
9. Anthony Bale, ‘“ut legi”: Sir John Mandeville’s Audience and Three Late Medieval English Travelers to Italy and Jerusalem’, *Studies in the Age of Chaucer* 38 (2016): 201-37, at p.204. [↑](#endnote-ref-9)
10. Bale, ‘ “ut legi”, 207, citing Richard Krautheimer, ‘Introduction to an Iconography of Medieval Architecture,’ Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes 5 (1942): 3. See now more recent discussion of representational ‘copies’ of the Holy Sepulcher by Colin Morris, *The Sepulcher of Christ and the Medieval West: from the Beginning to 1600* (Oxford, 2005), building on Damiano Neri, *Il Santo Sepolcro riprodotto in Occidente* (Jerusalem, 1971); on the reception of the Holy Sepulcher by pilgrims, Robert Ousterhout, ‘Loca Sancta and the Architectural Response to Pilgrimage’, in *The Blessings of Pilgrimage,* ed. Robert Ousterhout (Urbana and Chicago, 1990), 108-24. [↑](#endnote-ref-10)
11. Shirin Khanmohadamdi, *In Light of Another’s Word. European Ethnography in the Middle Ages* (Philadelphia, 2014), 7. [↑](#endnote-ref-11)
12. Denys Pringle, *The Churches of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem. A Corpus. Vol 2. L-Z* (Cambridge, 1998), 224-6; John Phokas, *Ekphrasis,* PG 133:956. [↑](#endnote-ref-12)
13. *The History of the Holy War. Ambroise’s Estoire de la Guerre Sainte,* ed. Marianne Ailes and Malcolm Barber, 2 vols (Woodbridge, 2003), vol 1, 162-3, lines 10068-10092; ‘De Seint Helye iert li seinz abes,/Si viveit de pain e de rabes;/Barbe ot grant creüe od nature;/Bien sembloit seinte creature./Cil dist al rei c’un liu savoit,/Que longement guardé aveit, /[Ou] une croize steit reposte/Dont Dampne deu l’onfeit son oste./Une partiei ot de la croiz sainte/Dont ili ot partie mainte,/Que tut sols li bons cristïens,/Qui n’esteit trop ancïens,/Aveit illoc muciee e mise/Jusque la terre fust comquise;/Si l’aveit multchiers compare,/Car Salahadins demandee/L’aveit plus ors foiz a l’abé;/Mais li abés l’en ot gabé,/E si l’en mist il ende streit,/E l’en fist lïer multe streit,/Maison cpor mal qu’en li feïst/Ne pot tant faire qu’il deist/U ele iert ne qu’el fustrendue,/Ainz li dist qu’ill’aveit perdue/Quant Jerusalem fud comquise.’ The English translation is in vol 2, 167. The same episode is described in much less detail in the slightly later *Itinerarium peregrinorum et gesta regis Ricardi*, 5.53, ed. W. Stubbs, Rolls Series (London, 1864), 376, where the protagonist is the Orthodox bishop of Lydda. [↑](#endnote-ref-13)
14. Niccolò da Poggibonsi, *Libro d’Oltramare,* 216, eds. A. Bacchi and B. Bagatti (Jerusalem, 1945), 128. [↑](#endnote-ref-14)
15. The generic term used in many fourteenth and fifteenth century pilgrimage accounts to describe Greek monks is *kalogeros.* The term was used in Latin from at least the Agreement of Ravennika (1210), for the text of which, in a confirmation of Honorius III (1219), see *Bullarium Hellenicum. Pope Honorius III’s Letters to Frankish Greece and Constantinople (1216-1227),* ed. William O. Duba and Christopher D. Schabel (Turnhout, 2016), 261, no.87. For a slightly later usage see *Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum seu Relatio apocrisiarorum Gregorii IX de gestis Nicaeae in Bithynia et Nymphaeae in Lydia (1234),* 19, ed. G. Golubovich, *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 12 (1919): 449. It was already standard Greek usage by the middle of the twelfth century, when it is found in the *Etymologium Magnum,* the great lexicon composed at Constantinople in c.1150. It is also found in the vernacular: among several examples, Nompar de Caumont’s pilgrimage account of 1418 describes a monastery ‘des calogeres grex’ in Cyprus, *Le voyatge d’Oultremer en Jherusalem de Nompar, Seigneur de Caumont,* ed. Peter Noble, Medium Aevum Monographs New Series 7 (Oxford, 1975), 33; Felix Fabri (1483) uses the term ‘cologer’, *Felix Fabri, Die Sionpilger,* ed. Wieland Carls (Berlin, 1999), 245. [↑](#endnote-ref-15)
16. *Magistri Thietmari Peregrinatio,* 14, ed. J.C.M. Laurent (Hamburg, 1857), p.36. [↑](#endnote-ref-16)
17. *Libro d’Oltramare,* 216, p.128; *Pilgrimage of Giorgio Gucci to the Holy Places,* 77, trans. Theophilus Bellorini and Eugene Hoade, in *Visit to the Holy Places of Egypt, Sinai, Palestine and Syria in 1384,* (Jerusalem, 1948), 112. This kind of description was evidently a trope: James of Verona describes the monks of Sinai as ‘devout men, fathers of reverend age’, *Liber Peregrinationis fratris Jacobi de Verona,* 7, ed. R. Röhricht, *Revue de l’Orient Latin* 3 (1895): 238, and Bernhard von Breydenbach likewise remarked on the advanced age of many of the fathers of Sinai, *Bernhard von Breydenbach: Peregrinatio in terram sanctam. Eine Pilgerreise ins Heilige Land,* ed. Isolda Mozer (Berlin, 2010), 571. [↑](#endnote-ref-17)
18. Gabriella Bartolini and Franco Cardini (eds) *Nel nome di dio facemmo vela. Viaggio in oriente di un Pellegrino medievale* (Bari, 1991), 175. [↑](#endnote-ref-18)
19. Pringle, *Churches,* 252-8. [↑](#endnote-ref-19)
20. Felix Fabri, *Evagatorium in Terrae Sanctae, Arabiae et Egypti Peregrinationem,* ed. C. Hassler, 3 vols (Stuttgart, 1843), vol 2, 149. [↑](#endnote-ref-20)
21. *Thietmari peregrinatio,* 18, p.42; cf Ernoul, ‘Fragments relatifs à la Galilée’, in *Itinera Hierosolymitana Crucesignatorum (saec. XII-XIII),* ed. Sabino de Sandoli, 4 vols (Jerusalem, 1979-85)vol 3, p.424, who refers to 13 monks following a particularly austere regime. [↑](#endnote-ref-21)
22. *Thietmari peregrinatio,* 18, p.42. [↑](#endnote-ref-22)
23. *Thietmari peregrinatio,* 18, p.41. [↑](#endnote-ref-23)
24. *Libro d’Oltramare,* 216, p.128. [↑](#endnote-ref-24)
25. Sir John Mandeville, *The Book of Marvels and Travels,* 5, trans. Anthony Bale (Oxford, 2012), 32. [↑](#endnote-ref-25)
26. *Viaggio in Terrasanta di Santo Brasca (1480) con l’itinerario di Gabriele Capodilista (1458),* 158, ed. Anna Laura Momigliano Lepschy (Milan, 1966), 228. Gabriele’s account is followed here almost verbatim by Brasca, 295, p.137. [↑](#endnote-ref-26)
27. *Bernhard von Breydenbach,* 571. [↑](#endnote-ref-27)
28. Bartolini and Cardi, *Nel nome di Dio,* 156. [↑](#endnote-ref-28)
29. *Gucci,* 78, p.113. Anselm Adorno (1470-1) seems to have based his description heavily on those of previous pilgrims, *Itinéraire,* 228-30. [↑](#endnote-ref-29)
30. Ludolph of Sudheim, *De itinere Terrae Sanctae,* ed. G.A. Neumann, *Archives d’Orient Latin* 2 (1884): 346. In contrast, *Bernhard von Breydenbach,* 571, writing about a pilgrimage in 1486, drew attention to strife among the monks. [↑](#endnote-ref-30)
31. *Le saint voyage de Jherusalem du Seigneur d’Anglure,* 255, ed. François Bonnardot and Auguste Longon (Paris, 1888), 69; English translation in *The Holy Jerusalem Voyage of Ogier VIII, Seigneur of Anglure,* 255, trans. Roland A. Browne (Gainesville, 1975), 60. [↑](#endnote-ref-31)
32. *Le saint voyage,* 262, pp.70-2; *The Holy Jerusalem Voyage,* 61. [↑](#endnote-ref-32)
33. *Le saint voyage,* 266, p.72; *The Holy Jerusalem Voyage,* 62-3. [↑](#endnote-ref-33)
34. *Magistri Thietmari Peregrinatio,* 14, ed. J.C.M. Laurent (Hamburg, 1857), 36. [↑](#endnote-ref-34)
35. Bartolini and Cardini, *Nel nome di dio*, 154. By 1470 the monks were providing a dole of bread for the local Beduin for their continued protection, *Itinéraire d’Anselme Adorno en Terre Sainte (1470-1471)* ed. and trans. Jacques Heers and Georgette de Groer (Paris, 1978), 230. [↑](#endnote-ref-35)
36. *Bernhard von Breydenbach,* 569. See now Jean Meyers, ‘La *Peregrinatio in Terram Sanctam* de Bernhard de Breidenbach (1486) comme instrument de propaganda. A propos d’un ouvrage récent’, *Le Moyen Age* 115 (2009): 365-74. [↑](#endnote-ref-36)
37. Francesco Suriani, *Treatise on the Holy Land,* 126, trans. Theophilus Bellormini and Eugene Hoade, Studium Biblicum Franciscanum Publications 8 (Jerusalem, 1949), 187-8. See also *Felice et divoto ad Terram Sanctam viago facto per Roberto de Sancto Severino (1458-1459),* 55, ed. Maria Cavaglià and Alda Rossebastiano (Turin, 1999), 172. [↑](#endnote-ref-37)
38. Ludolph, *De itinere,* 346. [↑](#endnote-ref-38)
39. *Libro d’Oltramare*, 208, p.123; Bartolini and Cardini*, Nel nome del Dio,* 156; *Le saint voyage,* 197, p.48, *The Holy Jerusalem Voyage,* 46; Nicolas de Martoni, *Liber peregrinationis ad loca sancta,* ed. Léon Le Grand, ‘Pèlerinage à Jérusalem de Nicolas de Martoni, notaire italien (1394-1395)’, *Revue de l’Orient latin* 3 (1895): 607-8. [↑](#endnote-ref-39)
40. *Le saint voyage,*197, p.48, *The Holy Jerusalem Voyage*, 46; see also the testimony of Anselm Adorno in 1470-1; *Itinéraire,* 228. [↑](#endnote-ref-40)
41. Henry Maundrell, *A Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem, 1697*, ed T. Wright, *Early Travels in Palestine* (London, 1848), 406; Patrick Leigh Fermor, *Roumeli. Travels in Northern Greece,* new edition (London, 2004), 72. [↑](#endnote-ref-41)
42. Ludolph, *De itinere,* 346. [↑](#endnote-ref-42)
43. James, *Liber peregrinationis,* 230. [↑](#endnote-ref-43)
44. *Gucci,* 78, pp.112-13; Thomas Brygg*, The Itinerary in the Holy Land,* in Eugene Hoade, *Western Pilgrims,* (Jerusalem, 1952), 79; Martoni, *Liber peregrinationis,* 607. [↑](#endnote-ref-44)
45. *Le saint voyage,* 190, p.46, *The Holy Jerusalem Voyage,* 45. [↑](#endnote-ref-45)
46. *Viaggio in Terrsanta,* 158, p.228; Suriano, *Treatise,* 126, p.188. [↑](#endnote-ref-46)
47. *Gucci,* 78, pp.113-14, with the detail that the bread was only half-baked because the monks did not have enough fuel to get the ovens really hot. Much of the alms came from benefactors in the West; Gucci names Queen Joanna II of Naples (1344-81) as a particular patron; Ludolph, *De itinere,* 347. [↑](#endnote-ref-47)
48. Bartolini and Cardini, *Nel nome del Dio,* 157. [↑](#endnote-ref-48)
49. *Thietmari peregrinatio,* 23, pp.46-7; James, *Liber pergrinationis,* 7, p. 232; *Libro d’Oltramare*, 220, pp.129-30; Bartolini and Cardini, *Nel nome del Dio,* 157, and in abbreviated form in *Le saint voyage,* 201, p.49, *The Holy Jerusalem Voyage,* 47; also found in Mandeville’s *Marvels and Travels,* 5, p.34. [↑](#endnote-ref-49)
50. Gregory the Great, *Registrum epistolarum,* 11.2, CCSL 140A, 860. Ludolph of Sudheim, *De itinere,* 7, p.347, apparently knew this. [↑](#endnote-ref-50)
51. Felix Fabri, *Evagatorium,* vol 2, 503. Thietmar had referred to the poverty of the monks’ habits in 1217, *Thietmari peregrinatio,* 28, p.42. [↑](#endnote-ref-51)
52. Suriano, *Treatise,* 128, p.189. [↑](#endnote-ref-52)
53. Christine Walsh, *The Cult of St Katherine of Alexandria in Early Medieval Europe* (Aldershot, 2007), provides the best summary of these developments, on which this paragraph is substantially based. [↑](#endnote-ref-53)
54. C. Kohler (ed.) ‘Documents inédits concernant l’Orient latin et les Croisades (XIIe – XIVe siècles)’, *Revue de l’Orient latin*,7 (1899): 1-9: a letter of 1124 x 1152 from a monk of Grandmont, Guy de Blond, to the canons of Saint-Julien de Condon, accompanying a gift of relics including oil from the shrine of St Katherine at Sinai; B. de Breusillon (ed.) *La Maison de Craon 1050–1480*. *Etude historique accompagnée du Cartulaire de Craon*, I (Paris, 1893), p.101, no. 138: a document of 1169 detailing the provenance of a relic collection gifted to the church of Craon by Maurice II of Craon, and including an account of the acquisition of a relic of St Katherine from Sinai by Philip of Nablus, later Grand Master of the Templars. [↑](#endnote-ref-54)
55. *Magistri Thietmari Peregrinatio,* 19, pp.42-4. [↑](#endnote-ref-55)
56. Walsh, *Cult of St Katherine,* 86-8. [↑](#endnote-ref-56)
57. *Miracula S.Gorgonii* MGH SS 4: 246; *Vita S. Gerardi episcopi Tullensis*, AASS April 3, p.211; N. Huyghebaert, ‘Moines et clercs italiens en Lotharingie (VIIIe – XIIe siècle)’, *Annales du congrès archéologique et historique de Tournai* (1949), 1-17, Jean-Marie Sansterre, *Les moines grecs et orientaux à Rome aux époques byzantine et carolingienne (milieu du VIe s. – fin du IXe s.)*, 2 vols (Brussels, 1983), and see Anne Wagner, *Gorze au XI siècle. Contribution à l’histoire du monachisme bénédictin dans l’Empire* (Turnhout, 1995). [↑](#endnote-ref-57)
58. *Annales Gandenses* MGH SS 2:189; Jocundus, *Translatio S. Servatii,* MGH SS12:89-90; *Vita Anastasii,* PL149: 427-9; *Vita S*.*Symeonis*, AASS June 1, pp.88-101; William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum Anglorum*, 5.260–1, ed. Michael Winterbottom and Rodney M. Thomson, 2 vols., (Oxford, 2007), vol 1, 620–1; B. Bischoff, ‘Das griechische Element in der abendländische Bildung des Mittelalters’, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 44 (1951): 27-55. [↑](#endnote-ref-58)
59. *Vita S.Nili,* AASS Sept 7,pp.262-320; see for example Silvano Borsari, *Il monachismo bizantino nella Sicilia e nell’Italia meridionale prenormanne* (Naples, 1963); Pasquale Corsi, ‘Studi recenti sul monachesimo italo-greco’, *Quaderni medievale* 8 (1979): 244-61; Patricia McNulty and Bernard Hamilton, ‘*Orientale lumen et magrista latinitas:* Greek Influences on Western Monasticism (900-1100)’, in *Le Millénaire du Mont Athos, 963-1963: Etudes et mélanges,* 2 vols (Chevetogne, 1963-4), vol 1, 181-216; Enrico Morini, ‘Eremo e cenobio nel monachesimo greco dell’Italia meridionale nei secoli IX e X’, *Rivista di storia della Chiesa in Italia* 31 (1977): 354-90; Annick Peters- Custot, *Les Grecs de l’Italie méridionale post-Byzantine* (Paris, 2009); Paul Oldfield, *Sanctity and Pilgrimage in Medieval Southern Italy, 1000-1200* (Cambridge, 2014)*,* 43-5, 110. [↑](#endnote-ref-59)
60. Bernard Hamilton, ‘The monastic revival in tenth-century Rome’, *Studia Monastica* 4 (1962): 35-68; *Vita S.Iohannis a Mathera,* AASS June 5, pp.37-8; see in general Oldfield, *Sanctity and Pilgrimage,* passim; and for detailed examination of the potential for observation, Annick Peters-Custot, *Bruno en Calabre: histoire d’une foundation monastique dans l’Italie normande. S, Maria de Turri e S. Stefano del Bosco* (Rome, 2014). [↑](#endnote-ref-60)
61. Agostino Pertusi, ‘Monasteri e monaci italiani all’Athos nell’alto medioevo’, *Le Millénaire du Mont Athos,* 1, 217-51; Desiderius, *Dialogi,* 2.1-2, MGH SS 30:1126-8. [↑](#endnote-ref-61)
62. For three examples, *Vita S Hugonis* 4*,* AASS Apr 3, p.768 (Emirardus of Anzy-le-Duc); *Un grand mystique byzantine: la Vie de Syméon le nouveau théologien*, ed. and trans. I. Hausherr, 52-57, Orientalia Christiana 12 (Rome, 1928), 68–72 (a Latin bishop at St Mamas, Constantinople);.*Le cartulaire de Cormery*, ed. J. J. Bourassé (Tours, 1861), 104 (a Frankish knight professing as a monk at St Paul, Antioch). [↑](#endnote-ref-62)
63. For example, Olaf Tryggvason, king of Norway (995-1000), cited by Krijnie Ciggaar, *Western Travelers to Constantinople. The West and Byzantium 962-1204* (Leiden, 1996), 125. [↑](#endnote-ref-63)
64. Discussed in Andrew Jotischky, ‘Monastic Reform and the Geography of Christendom: Experience, Observation and Influence’, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society,* 5th ser 22 (2012):70-2, based on ‘The *Life and Miracles* of Godric of Throkenholt’, ed. Tom Licence, *Analecta Bollandiana*, 124 (2006): 15–43 and *The Life of Lazaros of Mt Galesion*, 18, 25, ed. and trans. Richard P. Greenfield (Washington, DC, 2000), p.99, p.122. [↑](#endnote-ref-64)
65. For Liutulf, *Chronicon Cassinense,* 2.30, ed. H. Hoffman, MGHSS 24 (Hanover, 1980), 221-3; Bruno of Querfort, *Vita S.Adalberti,* 14, MGH SS 4:602; *Kyrillos von Skythopolis,* ed. E. Schwartz (Leipzig, 1939), 205-6. See also the example of John of Gorze, *Vita S. Iohannis Gorgonis,* 77, MGH SS 4:358. [↑](#endnote-ref-65)
66. *Vita S.Nili,* 313-14; J. Leclercq, ‘Les relations entre le monachsime oriental et le monachisme occidental dans le haut moyen âge’, *Le Millénaire du Mont Athos ,* vol 2,69. [↑](#endnote-ref-66)
67. And these are overwhelmingly from accounts of pilgrimages to Sinai. Although western pilgrims visited Greek monasteries in Cyprus and Greece as well as Syria and the Holy Land, descriptions of monks are largely lacking from these. [↑](#endnote-ref-67)
68. The general picture is summarized by Bernard Hamilton, *The Latin Church in the Crusader States. The Secular Church* (Aldershot, 1980), 159-211. See also Hans Eberhard Mayer, ‘Latins. Muslims and Greeks in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem’, *History* 63 (1978): 175-92; Benjamin Z. Kedar, ‘Latins and Oriental Christians in the Frankish Levant’, in Arieh Kofsky and Guy G. Stroumsa (eds) *Sharing the Sacred: Contacts and Conflicts in the Religious History of the Holy Land* (Jerusalem, 1998), 209-22; Alan V. Murray, ‘Franks and Indigenous Communities in Palestine and Syria (1099-1187): a Hierarchical Model of Social Interaction in the Principalities of Outremer’, in *East Meets West in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Times: Transcultural Experiences in the Premodern World,* ed. A. Classen (Berlin, 2013), 291-309. For some examples of tensions, Andrew Jotischky, ‘The Frankish Encounter with the Greek Orthodox in the Crusader States: the Case of Gerard of Nazareth and Mary Magdalene’, in *Tolerance and Intolerance. Social Conflict in the Age of the Crusades,* ed. M. Gervers and J. Powell (Syracuse, 2001), 100-14; Richard B. Rose, ‘The Vita of Saint Leontios and its Account of his Visit to Palestine during the Crusader Period’, *Proche-Orient Chrétien* 35 (1985), 238-57. [↑](#endnote-ref-68)
69. Andrew Jotischky, ‘Holy Fire and Holy Sepulcher: Ritual and Space in Jerusalem from the Ninth to the Fourteenth Centuries’, in *Ritual and Space in the Middle Ages,* ed. F. Andrews, Harlaxton Medieval Studies 21 (Donington, 2011), pp.44-60; Andrew Jotischky, ‘Greek Orthodox Monasteries in the Holy Land and their Liturgies in the period of the Crusades’, *Journal of Medieval History* 43 (2017): 438-54. [↑](#endnote-ref-69)
70. Jaroslav Folda, *The Art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land 1098-1187* (Cambridge, 1995), 228-45, on local Christian influence on decorative schemes and liturgical space in the Church of the Holy Sepulcher; more generally, Ora Limor, ‘Sharing Sacred Space: Holy Places in Jerusalem between Christianity, Judaism and Islam’, in *In Laudem Hierosolymitani: Studies in the Crusades and Medieval Culture in Honour of Benjamin Z. Kedar,* ed. Iris Shagrir, Ronnie Ellenblum and Jonathan Riley-Smith (Aldershot, 2007), 219-31; and for a parallel example in Syria, Benjamin Z. Kedar, ‘Convergences of Oriental Christian, Muslim and Frankish Worshippers: the Case of Saydnaya and the Knights Templar’, in *The Crusades and the Military Orders. Expanding the Frontiers of Medieval Latin Christianity,* ed. Zsolt Hunyadi and Jozef Laszlovsky (Budapest, 2001), 89-100. [↑](#endnote-ref-70)
71. Robert Bartlett, ‘Symbolic Meanings of Hair in the Middle Ages’, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th ser. 4 (1994): 43-60. The starting point for discussions of medieval beardedness is Giles Constable, ‘Introduction’ to Burchard of Belleveux, *Apologia de barbis,* ed. R.B.C. Huygens, *Apologiae Duae,* CCCM 62 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1985), 47-130; see also now Paul E. Dutton, *Charlemagne’s Mustache and Other Cultural Clusters of a Dark Age* (Basingstoke, 2004 ), 3-42; Conrad Leyser, ‘Long-haired kings and Short-haired Nuns’, *Medieval World* (1992): 37-42. [↑](#endnote-ref-71)
72. William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum,* 4.314, ed. R.A.B. Mynors, R.M. Thomson and M. Winterbottom, 2 vols (Oxford, 1998), vol 1, 558-60; see also Orderic Vitalis, *Historia Ecclesiastica,* 8.3.324-5, ed. and trans. Marjorie Chibnall, 6 vols (Oxford, 1968-86), vol 4, 186-91; for the connection drawn between long hair and sodomy at the Council of Westminster in 1102, *Councils and Synods, I (AD 871-1204),* ed. Dorothy Whitelock, Martin Brett and Christopher Brooke, 2 vols (Oxford, 1981), vol 2, 676-8, 681; see now H. Platelle, ‘Le problème du scandale: les nouvelles modes masculines aux XIe et XIIe siècles’, *Revue Belge de philologie et d’histoire* 53 (1975): 1071-96; Bartlett, ‘Symbolic Meanings of Hair’, 49-52; more generally, Maureen Miller, ‘Masculinity, Reform and Clerical Culture: Narratives of Episcopal Holiness in the Gregorian Era’, *Church History* 72 (2003): 25-52. Note, however, the counter-example of Louis VII of France, who cultivated a long-haired image as a deliberate evocation of a Merovingian connection, William W. Clark, Jr. ‘ “The recollection of the past is the promise of the future”. Continuity and Contextuality: Saint-Denis, Merovingians, Capetians and Paris’, in *Artistic Integration in Gothic Buildings,* ed. Virginia Chieffo Raguin, Kathryn Brush and Peter Draper (Toronto, 1995), 92-113. [↑](#endnote-ref-72)
73. *Benedicti Regula,* 1.7, ed. R. Hanslik, CSEL 75 (Vienna, 1975), 19; Constable, ‘Introduction’, 105-7. [↑](#endnote-ref-73)
74. *Bullarium Hellenicum. Pope Honorius III’s Letters to Frankish Greece and Constantinople (1216-1227),* ed. Christopher Schabel and William Duba (Turnhout, 2015), 498-505, no.230. In contrast, beardedness among the Greek laity was a marker of status, shown for example in the anger of Isaac Komnenos, as reported by Ambroise, at the news that Richard I had shaved the beards of the Cypriots who had submitted to him in 1191, *History of the Holy War*, I, 31, lines 1944-5. [↑](#endnote-ref-74)
75. William of Malmesbury, *Vita Wulstani,* 1.16.4, ed. M. Winterbottom and R.M. Thomson, *Saints’ Lives: Lives of SS*. *Wulfstan, Dunstan, Patrick, Benignus and Indract,* Oxford Medieval Texts (Oxford, 2002), 58. [↑](#endnote-ref-75)
76. *Historia Regum,* 4.314, pp. 558-60. [↑](#endnote-ref-76)
77. *Tractatus de locis et statu sancta terre*, ed. Benjamin Z. Kedar, in *The Crusades and their Sources. Essays Presented to Bernard Hamilton,* ed. John France and William G. Zajac (Aldershot, 1998), 124. [↑](#endnote-ref-77)
78. Jacques de Vitry, *Histoire orientale – Historia Orientalis,* 75, ed. and trans. Jean Donnadieu (Turnhout, 2008), 296. [↑](#endnote-ref-78)
79. ‘Saewulf’ ed. R.B.C. Huygens, *Peregrinationes Tres,* CCCM 139 (Turnhout, 1994), 71. [↑](#endnote-ref-79)
80. Charles Kohler, ‘Un rituel et un bréviaire du Saint-Sépulcre’, *Revue de l’Orient latin* 8 (1900-1): 431; Cristina Dondi, *The Liturgy of the Canons Regular of the Holy Sepulcher of Jerusalem. A Study and a Catalogue of the Manuscript Sources,* (Turnhout, 2004), 61-2. [↑](#endnote-ref-80)
81. Christopher MacEvitt, *The Crusades and the Christian World of the East: Rough Tolerance* (Philadelphia, 2008),122. A more pessimistic view of the Orthodox under Latin rule is taken by Johannes Pahlitszch, *Graeci und Suriani im Palästina der Kreuzfahrerzeit. Beiträge und Quellen zur Geschichte des griechisch-orthodoxen Patriarchats von Jerusalem*, Berliner historische Studien 33 (Berlin, 2001). The question has been more recently and widely examined by Camille Rouxpetel, ***L'Occident au miroir de l'Orient chrétien : Cilicie, Syrie, Palestine et Égypte (XIIe-XIVe siècle)* (Rome, 2015).** [↑](#endnote-ref-81)
82. Intellectual and cultural activity at St Sabas will be discussed in Bernard Hamilton and Andrew Jotischky, *Latin and Greek Orthodox Monasticism in the Crusader States* (Cambridge, forthcoming). [↑](#endnote-ref-82)
83. MacEvitt, *Crusades and the Christian World,* 21-6. [↑](#endnote-ref-83)
84. For remarks on visual culture, see especially Jaroslav Folda, *Crusader Art in the Holy Land from the Third Crusade to the Fall of Acre* (Cambridge, 2005), 511-30. [↑](#endnote-ref-84)
85. Jacques de Vitry, *Historia Hierosolymitana,* 75-82, pp. 294-332; *Tractatus de locis,* ed. Kedar, 124. For discussion of these texts, see Andrew Jotischky, ‘Ethnographic Attitudes in the Crusader States: the Franks and the Indigenous Orthodox People’, in *East and West in the Crusader States: Context, Contacts, Confrontations,* ed. K. Ciggaar and H. Teule (Louvain, 2003), 1-19. [↑](#endnote-ref-85)
86. Burchard of Mt Zion, *Descriptio Terrae Sanctae,* 13, ed. J.C.M. Laurent, *Peregrinatores medii aevi quatuor* (Leipzig, 1864), p.89. [↑](#endnote-ref-86)
87. Elizabeth Mylod, ‘Latin Christian Pilgrimage in the Holy Land, 1187-1291’, unpublished PhD thesis, University of Leeds, 2013. [↑](#endnote-ref-87)
88. *Magistri Thietmari peregrinatio,*8-9, pp.25-7. [↑](#endnote-ref-88)
89. See Philip Booth, ‘Thietmar: Person, Place and Text in Thirteenth-Century Holy Land Pilgrimage,’ unpublished PhD thesis, Lancaster University, 2017, for an excellent recent discussion. [↑](#endnote-ref-89)
90. *Le saint voyage,*2, p.1; *The Holy Jerusalem Voyage,* 13-14. The close conjunction of SS Anthony and Paul the Hermit with the shrine of St Katherine at Sinai was also made by Bernhard von Breydenbach, *Bernhard von Breydenbach,* 563. [↑](#endnote-ref-90)
91. *Itinerarium Symonis Semeonis ab Hybernia ad Terram Sanctam,* 77-80, ed. Mario Esposito, Scriptores Latini Hiberniae 4 (Dublin, 1960), 96-8. On arrival at Alexandria the ship on which he had sailed was first inspected by customs officials, a necessary first step before passengers could enter the city, *Itinerarium,* 24, p.46. [↑](#endnote-ref-91)
92. Brygg, *Itinerary,* 80-4. [↑](#endnote-ref-92)
93. *Libro d’Oltramare,* 21, p.19, 33, p.26. It is unclear from the text whether Niccolò is speaking of the church or simply of the edicule of the Holy Sepulcher itself. [↑](#endnote-ref-93)
94. *Libro d’Oltramare,* 10, pp.9-10;119, p.70;138, p.80;140, p.81;145, p.83;153, pp.88-9. [↑](#endnote-ref-94)
95. Jotischky, ‘History and Memory’, 110-22. [↑](#endnote-ref-95)
96. *The Life and Journey of Daniel, Abbot of the Russian Land,* 38, trans. W.F. Ryan in *Jerusalem Pilgrimage 1099-1185,* ed. John Wilkinson (London, 1988), 140-1. [↑](#endnote-ref-96)
97. Phokas, *Ekphrasis,* 23, PG 133:952. [↑](#endnote-ref-97)
98. Phokas, *Ekphrasis,* 19, PG 133:949. [↑](#endnote-ref-98)
99. See above, n.47. [↑](#endnote-ref-99)
100. *Magistri Thietmari peregrinatio,* 21, p.45. [↑](#endnote-ref-100)
101. *Magistri Thietmari peregrinatio,* 19, pp.43-4. [↑](#endnote-ref-101)
102. Mt Sinai owned property in Syria (Antioch and Latakia) as well as in the Holy Land, Cyprus and Crete, and confraternities in Constantinople, Nicholas Coureas, ‘The Orthodox Monastery of Mt Sinai and Papal Protection of its Cretan and Cypriot Properties’, in *Autour de la première croisade. Actes du colloque de la Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East (Clermont-Ferrand, 22-25 juin 1995),* ed. Michel Balard, Byzantina Sorbonensia 14 (Paris, 1996), 475-84; Folda, *Crusader Art in the Holy Land,* 307, on Latin monks and artists at Sinai. [↑](#endnote-ref-102)
103. Andrew Jotischky, ‘The Fortunes of War: An Eleventh-Century Greek Liturgical Manuscript (Sinai gr 512) and its History’ *Crusades* 9 (2010): 177, for evidence of its continued functioning in the thirteenth century. [↑](#endnote-ref-103)
104. *Descriptio locorum* (1131-43), 24, in S. d Sandoli, *Itinera Hierosolymitana Crucesignatorum,* vol 2, (Jerusalem, 1980), 100; *Rorgo Fretellus de Nazareth et sa description de la Terre Sainte,* ed. P.C. Boeren (Amsterdam, 1980), 30; John of Würzburg, *Descriptio locorum Terrae Sanctae,* ed. R.B.C. Huygens, *Peregrinatores Tres,* 137; *Anon. VI*, in de Sandoli, *Itinera,* vol 3,p.68, *Magistri Thietmari Peregrinatio*, 10, p.29; Charles Köhler, ‘Libellus de Pierre de Pennis de locis ultramarinis’, *Revue de l’Orient latin* 9 (1902): 367. [↑](#endnote-ref-104)
105. *Vita et conversatio et certamen sancti Charitonis*, PG 115: 899-918; G. Garitte (ed.) ‘La Vie prémétaphrastique de S.Chariton’, *Bulletin de l’institute belge de Rome*, 21 (1941): 5-49, with edition at 16-46. [↑](#endnote-ref-105)
106. *Daniel the Abbot,* 56, p.149. [↑](#endnote-ref-106)
107. *Magistri Thietmari peregrinatio,* 14, p.36. [↑](#endnote-ref-107)
108. John Cassian, *Collationes,* 6.1, ed. Michael Petschenig, CSEL 13 (Vienna, 2004), 153-4. [↑](#endnote-ref-108)
109. *Rorgo Fretellus,* 48, p.30. [↑](#endnote-ref-109)
110. Symon Semeonis did not himself visit Sinai, but it is evident from his account that by the 1320s the Greek Orthodox patriarch resident in Cairo acted as an agent on behalf of pilgrims intending to go to Mt Sinai, *Itinerarium,* 66, p.88. In the fourteenth century the cult of St Katherine also spread to Cyprus. Her supposed birthplace and the site of her learning to read was identified at Salamis, near Famagusta, and became part of the Franciscan pilgrimage ‘tour’, while in the fifteenth century a relic of her arm was venerated at Rhodes, *The Itineraries of William Wey,* Roxburghe Club (London, 1857), 52. [↑](#endnote-ref-110)
111. *Bernhard von Breydenbach,* 565; *Un Guide du Pélerin de Terre Sainte au XVe Siècle,* 17-18, ed. Régine Pernoud (Mantes, 1940), 38. [↑](#endnote-ref-111)
112. *Un Guide du Pélerin,* 38. [↑](#endnote-ref-112)
113. Nickiphoros Tsougarakis, *The Latin Religious Orders in Medieval Greece, 1204-1500,* Medieval Church Studies 18 (Turnhout, 2012); Jean Richard, ‘The Establishment of the Latin Church in the Empire of Constnatinople, 1204-1277’ in *Latins and Greeks in the Eastern Mediterranean after 1204*, ed. Benjamin Arbel, Bernard Hamilton and David Jacoby (London, 1989), 45-62; Nicolas Coureas; *The Latin Church in Cyprus* (Aldershot, 1997); Nicolas Coureas, *The Latin Church in Cyprus 1313-1378* (Nicosia, 2010); Christopher Schabel, ‘Religion’, in *Cyprus. Society and Culture 1191-1374,* ed. Angel Nicolaou-Konnari and Christopher Schabel (Leiden, 2005), 157-218. [↑](#endnote-ref-113)
114. M. Anastos, ‘Constantinople and Rome: a Survey of the Relations between the Byzantine and Roman Churches’, in *Aspects of the Mind of Byzantium: Political Theory, Theology and Ecclesiastical Relations with the See of Rome,* ed. S. Vryonis and N. Goodhue (Aldershot, 2001), 1-119. It is unclear whether Humbert of Silva Candida’s description of a disputation with Niketas Stethatos in 1054 is a reliable account of an actual event: C. Will, *Acta et scripta quae de controversiis ecclesiae Graecae et Latinae saeculo undecimo composite extant* (Leipzig, 1861), 150-1; but see now T. Kolbaba, ‘1054 Revisited: response to Ryder’ *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 35 (2011): 39. For the thirteenth century, see Jeffrey Brubaker, ‘Religion and Diplomacy: the Role of the *Disputatio* in Byzantine-Latin Relations after [↑](#endnote-ref-114)
115. O. Halecki, *Un empereur de Byzance à Rome: vingt ans de travail pour l’union des églises et pour la défense de l’Empire d’Orient, 1355-1375* (Warsaw, 1930); J. Meyendorff, ‘Projets de concile oecuménique en 1367’, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 14 (1960): 147-77; Donald Nicol, ‘Byzantine requests for an Oecumenical Council in the Fourteenth Century’, *Annuarium Historiae Concilium* 2 (1969): 69-95. [↑](#endnote-ref-115)
116. Mandeville, *Marvels and Travels,* 8, pp.56-7 (on the Syrian Orthodox). [↑](#endnote-ref-116)
117. Suriano, *Treatise,* 126-7, pp.188-9. [↑](#endnote-ref-117)
118. *Bernhard von Breydenbach,* 571. [↑](#endnote-ref-118)
119. *Les Errances de frère Felix, pèlerin en Terre Sainte, en Arabie et en Egypte,* vol 3, ed. Jean Meyers and Michel Tarayre (Paris, 2014), 194-6. [↑](#endnote-ref-119)
120. *Acta Honorii III,* ed. A. Tautu, CICO Fontes III (Rome, 1950), vol 3, 35-7, no. 17. [↑](#endnote-ref-120)
121. *Innocenti III Registrum,* no. 168, PL 216:956-8; G. Hofmann, *Rom und Athosklöster,* (Rome, 1926), 8. [↑](#endnote-ref-121)
122. *Regesti Honorii papae tertii,* ed. P. Pressutti (Rome, 1895), 126, no.4305: a letter of 22nd April 1227; Hoffman, *Rom und Athosklöster,* 9, 10, for letters of Clement VI (1343) and Pius II (1459) combining praise for Athonite monastic spirituality tempered by disapproval for Greek monastic attitudes to union. [↑](#endnote-ref-122)
123. A. Mundo, ‘Alphonse V d’Aragon et le Mont Athos’, in *Le Millénaire du Mont Athos,* I, 149-59. [↑](#endnote-ref-123)
124. J. Carrera, ‘Una versió grega de nou escrits d’Arnau de Vilanova’, *Analecta Sacra Tarraconensia* 8 (1932): 127-34 [↑](#endnote-ref-124)
125. Sherry L. Reames, *The Legenda Aurea. A Reexamination of its Paradoxical History* (Madison, 1985), 3-5, 197-209; Antoine Dondaine, ‘Le dominicain français Jean de Mailly et la *Légende dorée*’, *Archives d’histoire dominicaine* 1 (1946): 53-102. But Jerome might still prove a more direct source for some interested in monastic origins, as argued by Andrew Beresford, ‘Reading Jerome in Spain in the Middle Ages: the *Vida de Sant Paulo* and the Legend of St Paul of Thebes’, *Mediaeval Studies* 72 (2011): 1-37. [↑](#endnote-ref-125)
126. Reames, *The Legenda Aurea,* 198-200; André Vauchez, *La sainteté en Occident aux derniers siècles du Moyen Age* (Rome, 1981), 398-400. [↑](#endnote-ref-126)
127. On Dominicans and Carmelites see Andrew Jotischky, *The Carmelites and Antiquity. Mendicants and their Pasts in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 2002), 166-83; on disputes between Augustinian canons and friars, Kaspar Elm, ‘Augustinus canonicus – Augustinus eremita. A Quattrocento cause célèbre’, in *Christianity and the Renaissance. Image and Religious Imagination in the Quattrocento,* ed. Timothy Verdon and John Henderson (Syracuse, 1990), 84-107. [↑](#endnote-ref-127)
128. W.A. Pantin, ‘Some Medieval English Treatises on the Origins of Monasticism’, in *Medieval Studies Presented to Rose Graham,* ed. V. Ruffer and A.J. Taylor (Oxford, 1950), 189-215. [↑](#endnote-ref-128)
129. Robert A. Koch, ‘Elijah the Prophet, Founder of the Carmelite Order’, *Speculum* 34/4 (1959): 549. [↑](#endnote-ref-129)
130. W. A. Pantin, ‘Two Treatises of Uthred of Boldon on the Monastic Life’, in *Studies in Medieval History Presented to F.M. Powicke,* ed. R.W. Hunt, W.A. Pantin and R.W. Southern (Oxford, 1948), 368-85. [↑](#endnote-ref-130)
131. Pantin, ‘Some Medieval English Treatises’, 190-4. [↑](#endnote-ref-131)
132. Pantin, ‘Some Medieval English Treatises’, 190-1, 200-1. [↑](#endnote-ref-132)
133. Pantin, ‘Two Treatises’, 369-74. [↑](#endnote-ref-133)
134. Jean Gribomont, ‘La *Scala Paradisi,* Jean de Raithou et Ange Clareno’, *Studia Monastica* 2 (1960): 345-58. [↑](#endnote-ref-134)
135. Jean Gribomont, ‘L’*Expositio* d’Ange Clareno sur la règle des frères mineurs et la tradition monastique primitive’, in *Lettura delle fonti francescane attraverso i secoli: il 1400,* ed. G. Cardarapoli and M. Conti (Rome, 1981), 395-420. [↑](#endnote-ref-135)
136. *Angeli Clareni Opera,* I. *Epistolae,* ep.49, ed. Lydia von Auw, Istituto storico italiano per il medio evo 103 (Rome, 1980), 240-1. [↑](#endnote-ref-136)
137. Raoul Manselli, ‘Spirituali missionari: l’azione in Armenia e in Grecia: Angelo Clareno’, in *Espansione del francescanismo tra occidente e oriente nel secolo XIII: atti del VI convengo internazionale* (Assisi, 1979), 271-91. [↑](#endnote-ref-137)
138. Raymond-Joseph Loenertz, ‘Les Etablissements Dominicains de Péra-Constantinople’, *Echos d’Orient* 34 (1935): 332-49; Tommaso M. Violente, *La Provincia Domenicana di Grecia* (Rome, 1999), 321; Tsougarakis, *Latin Religious Orders in Medieval Greece*, 171, 176, 247. [↑](#endnote-ref-138)
139. R.G. Musto, ‘Angelo Clareno, OFM: Fourteenth-Century Translator of the Greek Fathers: an Introduction and a Checklist of Manuscripts and Printings of his “Scala Paradisi”’, *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 76 (1983): 215-38, 589-645. [↑](#endnote-ref-139)
140. Fabri, *Evagatorium,* vol 2, 149. [↑](#endnote-ref-140)
141. For the background, see David Burr, *Olivi and Franciscan Poverty. The Origins of the Usus Pauper Controversy* (Philadelphia, 1989). [↑](#endnote-ref-141)
142. For attacks on friars, Guy Geltner, *The Making of Medieval Antifraternalism: Polemic, Violence, Deviance and Remembrance* (Oxford, 2012); Carolly M. Erikson, ‘The fourteenth-century Franciscans and their Critics’, *Franciscan Studies* 35 (1975), 107-35; Paul Bretel, ‘Moines et religieux dans les conte de la Vie des Pères’, in De sens rassis: Essays in Honor of Rupert T. Pickens, ed. Keith Busby, Bernard Guidot and Logan E. Whalen, Etudes de la langue et littérature françaises 259 (Amsterdam, 2005) 35-50. [↑](#endnote-ref-142)
143. See for example the attack on the friars by Richard Fitzralph in the 1350s, Katherine Walsh, *A Fourteenth Century Scholar and Primate. Richard Fitzralph in Oxford, Avignon and Armagh* (Oxford, 1981), 349-451. [↑](#endnote-ref-143)
144. ##  Paul Chandler, ‘[The *Liber de institucione et peculiaribus gestis religiosorum Carmelitarum in lege veteri exortorum et in nova perseverancium ad caprasium monachum* by Felip Ribot : a critical edition with an introduction](https://copac.jisc.ac.uk/search?title=The%20Liber%20de%20institucione%20et%20peculiaribus%20gestis%20religiosorum%20Carmelitarum%20in%20lege%20veteri%20exortorum%20et%20in%20nova%20perseverancium%20ad%20caprasium%20monachum%20by%20Felip%20Ribot%20%3A%20a%20critical%20edition%20with%20an%20introduction)’, unpublished PhD thesis, University of Toronto, 1991.

 [↑](#endnote-ref-144)
145. J.W. O’Malley, *Giles of Viterbo on Church and Reform: A Study in Renaissance Thought* (Leiden, 1968), remains a classic study; see now Dieter Mertens, ‘Monastische Reformbewegungen des 15.Jahrhunders: Ideen—Ziele—Resultate’, in

*Reform von Kirche zur Zeit der Konzilien von Konstanz (1414-1418) und Basel (1431-1449): Konstanz-Prager Historisches Kolloquium (11.-17.Oktober 1993)*, ed. Ivan Hlaváček and Alexander Patschovsky (Constance, 1996), 157-181. For a summary of reforming ideas in English Benedictinism, J.G. Clark, ‘The Religious Orders in Pre-Reformation England’ in J.G. Clark (ed), *The Religious Orders in Pre-Reformation England* (Woodbridge, 2002), 1-33. [↑](#endnote-ref-145)
146. Charles Stinger, *Humanism and the Church Fathers: Ambrogio Traversari (1386-1439) and Christian Antiquity in the Italian Renaissance* (Albany, 1977); but see also now Marzia Pontone, *Ambrogio Traversari Monaco e Umanista: Fra Scrittura Latina e Scrittura Greca* (Turin, 2010). [↑](#endnote-ref-146)
147. Stinger, *Humanism,* 127; Pontone, *Ambrogio Traversari,* 131-2, 288-9. This was a twelfth-century manuscript, Florence Bibl. Med. Laur. Plut. MS 10.3. [↑](#endnote-ref-147)
148. Pontone, *Ambrogio Traversari,* 132-3; Stinger, *Humanism,* 128. [↑](#endnote-ref-148)
149. *Vers Jérusalem*. *Itinérarires croisés au XIVe siècle,* trans. Michel Tarayre, Nicole Chareyon and Jean Meyers (Paris, 2008), 23-30. [↑](#endnote-ref-149)
150. *The Holy Jerusalem Voyage,* 8-9. [↑](#endnote-ref-150)
151. Bram de Klerck, ‘Het Heremietenideaal in de Toscaanse Schilderkunst van het Tre-en Quattrocento’, *Millennium: Tijdtschriftvoor Middeleeuwse Studies* 4 (1990): 121-36; Neta Bodner, ‘Earth from Jerusalem in the Pisan Camposanto’, in *Between Jerusalem and Europe. Essays in Honour of Bianca Kühnel,* ed. Renana Bartal and Hanna Vorholt (Leiden, 2015), 74-93. [↑](#endnote-ref-151)
152. <https://www.wga.hu/support/viewer_m/z.html>, accessed on 16th October 2017. [↑](#endnote-ref-152)
153. Fernando Villasenor Sebastían, ‘Iconografía de San Onofre en la sede romana de la Orden de Caballería del Santo Sepolcro de Jerusalén’, in *La Orden del Santo Sepolcro. Actas,* (Zaragoza, 2009), 341-56; Gustav Kühnel, *Wall Painting in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Berlin, 1988), 93-4, but see also Jaroslav Folda, *The Art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land, 1098-1187* (Cambridge, 1995), 364-71; John Edwards, ‘The Wall Painting at Idsworth, Hampshire, Reconsidered’, *The Antiquaries Journal* 63 (1983), 79-94. Representations of St Anthony were plentiful; see for example Rose Graham, *A Picture Book of the Life of St Anthony the Abbot* (London, 1937). [↑](#endnote-ref-153)
154. Hillel Schwartz, *The Culture of the Copy: Striking Likenesses, Unreasonable Facsimiles* (New York, 1997), 278. [↑](#endnote-ref-154)
155. Alexander Nagel and Christopher Wood, *Anachronic Renaissance* (New York, 2010), 29. [↑](#endnote-ref-155)