

Guides to the Holy Land: Geographical and Textual Scales

Abstract

The article explores some of the problems raised by the study of Medieval guides to the Holy Land, by taking into consideration a group of small Latin texts and their French and Italian adaptations. It focuses on how to create a corpus of related texts, on understanding the development of the tradition and on the relationships between the texts of the corpus. It then studies the manuscript corpus of the guides and how they have been compiled and repurposed as part of a larger text in the *Rothelin Continuation* of William of Tyre.

The topics chosen are useful to test some of the scale-related concepts used in philology, especially those focusing on the organizational complexity of texts in order to understand the gradient from scribal variation to editorial intervention, compilation and authorial creation.¹

Keywords

Guides to the Holy Land; Textual corpora; Manuscript tradition; Redactional intervention; Translation and adaptation.

A wide range of texts describing the geography of the Holy Land have been written from the capture of Jerusalem at the end of the First Crusade to the end of the Middle Ages and beyond; they have recently attracted much attention from historians and philologists alike.

Some of them are presented as accounts of actual pilgrimages, while others are drawn from existing sources, which sometimes go back to Late Antiquity.² Latin texts were frequently rewritten and adapted to reflect the evolving geopolitical situation of the Holy Land. Similarly, the translation of these texts into the vernaculars of the Romance languages also involved a certain degree of adaptation. It is also interesting to observe that existing guides were sometimes used by later pilgrims, influencing direct or eyewitness accounts.

In this article, I will analyse a group of related guides that ultimately derive from a Late Antique itinerary (the *Itinerarium Burdigalense*). These texts offer an insightful case study for the relevance of certain

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2. For an overview of the tradition see Pringle, “Twelfth-century Western Pilgrimage literature”.

philological concepts in a broader discussion of scale-related issues.

1. Scales in the field of philology

Many methodological tools of a philologist's work are related to the concept of scale, and the implications of scale-related issues are at the centre of the teaching and practice of philology. And yet, I suspect that the term *scale* is not used explicitly in our field of studies very often. As Julio Escalona observed in a study that provides an overview of the different understandings of scale in human sciences:

It is easy to detect a number of topics with strong connections to scale issues that remain mostly unconnected to scale and other associated notions because of lack of a higher-level comprehensive framework, even if (...) scale and scale change is precisely what they are about (Escalona 22).

For this reason I would like to present a specimen of my current research from this angle, in order to see how some of the questions we ask as philologists in the different steps of our research measure up against the different ways of understanding the concept of scale. I will first outline very briefly some of the methodological tools introduced by philologists such as Cesare Segre and Alberto Varvaro that I will use in this study and then connect them with different ways of understanding the concept of scales.

The first two concepts describe how variation in textual traditions is a function of the relationship of the scribe to the text. While comparing the experiences of editors of classical (i.e. Latin and Greek) texts and those of vernacular (i.e. Romance) texts, Alberto Varvaro proposed drawing a distinction between 'active' and 'quiescent' manuscript traditions, implicitly comparing textual variation to volcanic activity. Varvaro conceded that, generally speaking, the intrinsic nature of the tradition of classical and vernacular texts may explain why the former is usually 'quiescent' while the second is usually 'active', but he immediately added that these two kinds of tradition can coexist no matter what the language or the chronology of the texts is, and that ultimately it is the attitude of the scribes towards the text that determines the degree of 'activity' of the tradition (*Identità linguistiche*, 580–82).³

Building on his study of the manuscript tradition of the *Chanson de Roland*, Cesare Segre introduced the concept of stylistic diasystem (borrowing from Uriel Weinreich's study of languages in con-

3. For further considerations from an editorial point of view on this topic see Guglielmetti, "L'edizione dei testi".

tact) in order to explain how variant readings introduced by a scribe are motivated by aesthetic and stylistic idiosyncrasies not unlike those belonging to the author. A manuscript copy bears a stratification of the author's stylistic features and those of the scribes who copied the text in the course of time, creating a diasystem that is not only made of several strata of linguistic features but also of several strata of stylistic choices made by individual scribes. It is only by collating all manuscripts of a given text and by establishing their mutual relationships that a philologist can correctly identify the different strata in order to get as close as possible to the origin of the tradition (Segre, *La tradizione*, 148–183 and 194–205; *Semiotica filologica*, 54–70).

At the end of the 1990s, Romance philologists turned with ever growing interest to the relationship between literary texts and the codicology of the manuscript (a steadily growing trend since the 1960s that would become dominant at the turn of the twenty-first century). In two seminal studies Varvaro called on scholars to pay attention to the material condition of textual transmission in order to define the nature of Medieval textuality itself (*Identità linguistiche*, 285–355 and “Il testo letterario”). From the arrangement of pre-existing texts in a manuscript anthology to the creation of narrative cycles and/or compilation into larger textual units to the thorough re-elaboration of source material in a new (‘original’) literary text there is a gradual progression given by the degree of internal cohesion and coherence. Varvaro uses another metaphor drawn, this time, from painting and speaks of texts “a campitura grossa” (‘with a coarsely painted background’), texts “a campitura fine” (‘with a finely painted background’) and “testi unitari” (‘unified texts’) referring to the degree of blending of the source material in the new text at the end of the process of assembling/composition (“Il testo letterario”, 402–08).

This categorization consciously echoes Bonaventura da Bagnoregio's definition of the roles of scribe, compiler, commentator and author based on the degree of personal contribution in elaborating previously existing materials (*In primum librum sententiarum*, proem. quaest. iv), which has also been commented on by both Malcolm B. Parkes (“The Influence”, 58–59) and Alastair Minnis (*Medieval Theory of Authorship*, 94–103). Parkes's study of the medieval concepts of *ordinatio* and *compilatio* also opened the ground for the study of the interplay between book production and literary composition that Varvaro developed in the study of Romance literatures.

Varvaro also makes an important observation: due to the fact that medieval vernacular texts were mainly read aloud or sung, and

broken down into episodes for oral performances, the gradient of cohesion may be perceived mostly by the authors themselves and not by the audience. As with the concepts of ‘active’ and ‘quiescent’ traditions, there is a complex interplay of subjectivities involved in the relationship between medieval authors and the audience, which revolves around a subject-matter, or *matière*, that is usually presented as inherited from a pre-existing tradition.

This ‘triangular’ interplay of author/audience/subject-matter has been studied by Cesare Segre, who introduced the idea of “enucleazione” in a series of articles (collected in *Dai metodi ai testi*, 205–60) about how short texts, such as the *Folies Tristan*, the Spanish romances or short *chansons de geste* (*Ronsasvals*, *Testament de Charlemagne*), are able to digest a longer narrative – and even, sometimes, an entire cycle – by narrating an episode that alludes in different ways to the entirety of the text or the tradition from which it is enucleated. What we have here is the reverse of the compilation process, whereby the short text (the episode or ‘fragment’) gestures towards the entirety of the narrative. Segre shows that the reduction in scale can actually result in a concentration of narrative values; in order to achieve this, the author must expect from his prospective audience a general awareness of the narrative tradition to which they are referring. Once again, the negotiation between different subjectivities at both ends of the chain of transmission of the literary message hinges on a shared pre-existing tradition.

These concepts reflect on the two main aspects of a philologist’s work: one studying the manuscript transmission (“tradizione attiva” and “quiescente”) and the other the production of texts by authors (“enucleazione”), with the concepts of stylistic diasystem and the scale of textual cohesion bridging in some way the gap between them. They highlight a dialectic and dynamic vision of the production and transmission of texts as a process (Segre, “Testo”) that focuses on organizational complexity in order to try to understand the qualitative differences between these processes.

They relate to different kinds of scale:⁴ the different degrees of intensity of a phenomenon such as textual variation in manuscript tradition, the degree of internal coherence of a text and the degree of interconnectedness in a series of related texts, the relationship of a given text to both larger and smaller organisational structures (the cycle, the *matière*, the literary genre versus the single episode or fragment that may reflect an entire narrative). They also take into account the subjectivities involved and the social and cultural rele-

4. These considerations can be compared with Escalona, *Early Middle Ages*, 11–20.

vance of textual production and circulation: the point of view of the author and the point of view of the reception by medieval and contemporary audiences. The very distinction between ‘author’, ‘editor’, ‘scribe’ can, as we have seen, be considered from the point of view of scale. Critics and philologists (representing a particular kind of readership) are also very concerned with the scale of observation on which they operate: this is clear from the emphasis on the selection of a meaningful corpus of texts and the importance of identifying significant textual units for comparison between texts.

In the following sections, I will attempt to shed light on the production and circulation of the guides to the Holy Land, building on the concepts that I discussed previously. The first three paragraphs will mainly deal with issues related to the dynamics of active and quiescent tradition. The author of each text (or redaction of a given text) felt free to recast previously existing material (active tradition), although the wording of individual sets of information may be passed down with a certain degree of textual inertia (quiescent tradition).⁵ This prompts further questions about the extent of the author’s involvement in the creation of a new text, which could be explored in the context of Segre’s stylistic diasystem and Varvaro’s “campitura grossa”/“campitura fine”.

In the final section Varvaro’s concepts, in conjunction with Parkes’s and Minnis’s discussions of *ordinatio* and *compilatio*, will prove useful in studying the reception of the guides through their manuscript context. This context offers an explanation for the creation of a new text, the so-called *Colbert-Fontainebleau Continuation* of William of Tyre, through the juxtaposition of a series of short texts that were frequently copied together.

Every step in my analysis will build on the comparison between guides on both the macro- and micro-levels. On the macro-level, this will involve considering each guide’s overall structure and/or the overall shape of the tradition. On the micro-level, this will involve examining the readings of individual passages. In this final case, the standard tools of philological analysis for the evaluation of manuscript readings (the concepts of innovation and scribal error) will be employed in order to establish the relationship between texts within our corpus.

2. Building a corpus of texts

A large body of texts dealing with the geography and ethnography of the Holy Land has survived since Late Antiquity, when the practice

5. This situation can be compared to that of the ‘modular’ texts described by Sacchi.

of pilgrimage started to become widespread. Several collections of texts were published in the nineteenth century, although sometimes on the basis of an incomplete knowledge of the manuscript tradition. Despite the fact that the information it contains needs to be updated, the inventory published by Reinhold Röhricht (*Bibliotheca geographica Palaestinae*) at the end of the same century is still an invaluable tool for accessing information about texts and manuscripts.⁶

A survey of this tradition is made easier by a series of volumes that provide translations of the main texts along with extensive scholarly introductions and annotation. These have been published in the last decades by Wilkinson (*Egeria's Travels; Jerusalem Pilgrims; Jerusalem Pilgrimage*) and lately by Pringle (*Pilgrimage to Jerusalem, Three Pilgrimages to the Holy Land*).⁷ The comprehensive collection, published by De Sandoli, while still useful for a *prima facie* assessment because it allows simultaneous access to almost all texts, has been superseded by the state of current research.

The texts belonging to this tradition are of different nature. Some texts are attributable to authors who signed their work and sometimes registered their own pilgrimage experience. Others, like those I will be studying, are anonymous and provide a very sketchy account of a limited part of the geography of the Holy Land. They are often referred to as 'guides to the Holy Land'; although they do not record impressions of actual pilgrimages, they offer the outline of a possible journey through a 'route description' that mimics the personal experience of someone visiting the holy sites, while not aiming at an organized 'survey description' of the regions.⁸

Most of the 'guides to the Holy Land' I will be studying have been known to scholars since the nineteenth century, but most of the earlier editions have been recently replaced by new critical editions based on a better understanding of the manuscript tradition, thanks to Gabriele Giannini, Denys Pringle, Fabio Romanini and Beatrice Saletti. Some of them, though, still require further study in order to understand their role in the development of the tradition.

Here below is a list of the texts included in my corpus; wherever possible, I have added the dating proposed by the editors or by other scholars. In this paragraph, I will explain the reasons for grouping them together and outline some of the problems in dealing with this tradition.

a) The Latin Texts:

Innominatus I (ed. Keskiaho 98–102), c. 1105;

Innominatus VII (ed. Pringle, "Itineraria I", 54–73 [five versions:

6. A new online inventory is part of the ongoing project [Reading the Holy Land](#), directed by Jonathan Rubin (Bar Ilan University), last accessed 28/07/2025. I thank Giulia Greco for drawing my attention to this online resource.

7. See also Franzoni and Lonati, which provides an annotated Italian translation of the same texts.

8. On the opposition of 'route' and 'survey' description see Taylor and Tversky. For a discussion of spatial models in Medieval romance see Fuksas.

A E G Lux P1]), c. 1165–c. 1170;

Innominatus V (ed. Pringle, “Itineraria II”, 92–95), c. 1165–c. 1175;

Innominatus IX (ed. Golubovich, *Bibliotheca*, I, 405–08), 1229–39;

Innominatus X (ed. Golubovich, *Bibliotheca*, I, 408–10), 1229–39.

b) The French Texts:

French Innominatus I (ed. Bonnardot-Longnon, *Le saint voyage*, 117–20), undated;

French Innominatus VII (ed. Pringle, “Itineraria I”, 74–89 [three versions: *B*, *Lon*, *P²*]), thirteenth century.

French Guide F “Ome entre dedenz Jerusalem” (ed. Giannini, *Un guide français*, 209–12);

French Guide B “Qui droitement les veut requerre” (ed. Giannini, *Un guide français*, 256–60);

French Guides VPW “Qui droitement vuet aler en Jerusalem” *V*; “Premierement l’en va” *PW* (ed. Giannini *Un guide français*, 272–98);

French Guide C “Ki dritement veut aler en Jerusalem” (ed. Giannini, *Un guide français*, 308–14).

Les pelrinages communes (ed. Romanini and Saletti 118–41).

c) Gabriele Giannini (*Un guide français*, 144) has linked to this group two Italian guides:

Itinerario ai luoghi santi (ed. Dardano 161–68), 1260–91;⁹

Viagi ke debono fare li pelegriani (ed. Antonelli 59–60), undated.

An Italian translation of the French text of *Innominatus I*, which prefaces the Italian translation of the *Eracles* in ms. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Pluteo 61.45 (17 August 1347 according to the colophon) has been brought to the attention of scholars by Paolo Riboldi (“La tradizione”, 83–87), and will be published by Pantalea Mazzitello.

Some of these texts have already been grouped together in the past. John Wilkinson outlined a general view of the tradition when he wrote that *Innominatus VII* “is partly based on the *First Guide* and the end of it is very like the *Second Guide*. In its turn this *Seventh Guide* formed the basis of two more guides written after 1187”, namely *Innominati V* and *IX* (*Jerusalem Pilgrimage*, 19–20).

More recently, a group of guides deriving from a common ances-

9. Giannini, *Un guide français*, 157. Dardano 158 proposed a date post 1270.

10. Romanini and Trovato, *Sulla genealogia e la cronologia II*. As far as I know, the article has not yet appeared in print, although its conclusions are mentioned by Beatrice Saletti in Romanini and Saletti 77.

11. In the following pages, I will rely, as far as possible, on the aforementioned English translations by Wilkinson, Hill and Ryan, and by Pringle. However, I will provide a closer translation of the text whenever necessary for the purposes of the discussion.

tor, comprising *Innominati V, IX, X, Les pelrinages communes* and the texts now identified by Giannini as *French Guides B, C, F, P, V, W* has been identified by Paolo Trovato and Fabio Romanini¹⁰ and by Gabriele Giannini, who also mentioned *Innominatus VII* in connection with *F* (*Corpora et edition*, 7), although the reference was later dropped in his edition (*Un guide français*, 143–59). He also added, as we have seen, two of the three Italian texts.

When we put Wilkinson's views alongside the ones put forward by recent scholarship we can start to grasp a fuller picture of the development of the tradition: a text similar to *Innominatus I*, perhaps through a version closer to *Innominatus VII*, may be the shared source behind the rest of the tradition, down to the vernacular guides, mentioned by Romanini and Trovato, and by Giannini. It is significant that Wilkinson saw *Innominatus VII* precisely as the source of *Innominati V* and *IX* (*X* being just a different redaction of this last guide): he thus identified the entire background for the vernacular texts.

A clear indication that all texts belong to the same tradition is given by the fact that they share a similar incipit:¹¹

Innominatus I: Si quis ab occidentalibus partibus Iherusalem adire uoluerit, solis ortum semper teneat, et Iherosolimitanae loci oratoria ita inueniet, sicut hic notatur.

Innominatus VII: Si quis in Ierusalem ire voluerit, ortum solis semper teneat.

Innominatus IX: Si quis de Iopem in Ierusalem ire voluerit ortum solis semper teneat.

Innominatus X: Si quis voluerit ire ab Acon ad montem Carmelum sunt leugue .viii. (...).

(*Innominatus I*: If anyone should want to reach Jerusalem from places in the West, he should travel continually towards the rising of the sun, and he will find the following sanctuaries in the region of Jerusalem).

Innominatus VII: If any should want to enter Jerusalem, let him go to the east continuously.

Innominatus IX: If anyone should want to go from Joppe to Jerusalem, he should keep towards the rising of the sun.

Innominatus X: If anyone should want to go from Acre to Mount Carmel, it is eight leagues (...).

Innominati IX–X modify the sentence but retain the same pattern (and, in the case of *Innominatus IX*, the wording) of the original sentence. The only guide that sets itself apart from the rest of the tradi-

tion is *Innominatus V*, which begins in the first person:

<E>go ivi de Accon in Caifam, quod est sub monte Carmeli, ubi fuit Helias propheta. Et inde veni Cesaream, deinde Assur, deinde Ioppen, deinde Rama, deinde Pentapoli, deinde Ierusalem, ubi intratur ad portam sancti Stephani, ubi fuit lapidatus. Tunc intratur ad sepulcrum Domini (...).

(I went from Acre to Caiaphas, which is under Mount Carmel, where the prophet Elijah was. And then I came to Caesarea, then to Assur, Joppe, Ramallah and the Pentapolis, and then to Jerusalem, where one enters through Saint Stephen's Gate, where he was murdered. Then one enters the Lord's Sepulchre).

The sentence pattern shared by *Innominati I, VII, IX* and *X* is not found elsewhere in the tradition of the short guides to Jerusalem, and may be considered a distinctive feature of this group.

All texts, with the exception of *Innominati V* and *IX*, also share the almost exclusive focus on Jerusalem and the nearby area, with places further afield (such as the river Jordan, Mount Sinai etc.) being only mentioned as the point of arrival of excursions starting from Jerusalem (see §3). It thus becomes possible to consider the description of an itinerary to Jerusalem by *Innominati V* and *X* (*Innominatus IX* only mentions Jaffa in the first line) as a later addition.

This impression seems to be confirmed by a look at the French guides belonging to our group. *French Innominatus VII B* and *Lon*, as well as *French Guide F* start by mentioning the entry to Jerusalem by St Stephen's Gate. *French Innominatus VII P²* and *French Guide BPVW* all begin with a shorter or longer mention of the route(s) from the North to Jerusalem, followed by a close rendition of the incipit of their Latin exemplars:

French Innominatus VII P²: Qui velt savoir le tierre de promission et les sains lius et le voie dou pelerinaiges: a chiaus ki viennent a Acre pour aler a Iherusalem et pour vir le sepulcre Nostre Signor sont .ij. voies apparillies a aler a Iherusalem: li une par Samarye et li autre par Mauritaine, qui est Yudee apielee. Qui velt aler a Jherusalem et vir le sepulchre Nostre Signor et aourer le crois ou li membre Nostre Signor furent mis, il se tiegne adies vers orient et entreche par le porte saint Estievene, qui por chou est dite li porte saint Estievene, car il fu dehuers par devant le porte lapides.

French Guide B § 10.2: Qui droitement veut entrer en Jherusalem entre tout droit par la porte de saint Estiene (...) = *French Guide W* par. 5.3.

French Guide V § 6.1: Primerament, qui droytemant vuet intrer en Jerusalem, intre tot droit por la porte saint Estiene (...).

French Guide C § 6.1: Et ki dreitement vot entré, si dei entré par la parte (*sic*) seint Estevene (...).

(*French Innominatus VII P2*: If anyone should want to know about the Promised Land, the holy places and the pilgrimage route: to those who come from Acre to go to Jerusalem and to see our Lord's Sepulchre, two routes are available: the first one is through Samaria and the other one through Mauritania, which is called Judaea. *If anyone wants to go to Jerusalem and see Our Lord's Sepulchre, and to worship the Cross where the limbs of Our Lord were laid, he must always head east, and enter through the Gate of St Stephen, that is named the Gate of St Stephen because he was stoned to death in front of the gate.*

French Guide B §10.2: Whoever wants to enter Jerusalem correctly must go straight in by the gate of St Stephen.

French Guide V § 6.1: First, whoever wants to enter Jerusalem correctly goes straight in by the Gate of St Stephen.

French Guide C § 6.1: Whoever wants to enter correctly must go in by the gate of St Stephen).

The phrase *Qui [droitement] veut aler* is the exact equivalent of *Si quis... adire voluerit*. The only guide from this group that has entirely omitted the sentence, which was perhaps considered out of place, since it was no more at the beginning of the text, is *French Guide P*.

Another pointer to the fact that the mention or the description of the 'northern route' is a later independent addition is the fact that this part reads differently in *Innominati V* and *X*, and in the French guides. Perhaps it would be worth exploring the possibility that other sources were used and that the more developed form that we find in the French guides and in the *Itinerario* is due to borrowing from other traditions.¹²

12. From this point of view it could also be useful to consider that other guides, outside the corpus I will study, have a description of the 'northern route': see for example *Innominatus II* (Pringle, "Itineraria II" 76–77).

The discussion of the guides' incipit thus highlights two of the main problems in handling this tradition: how to correctly identify each of these texts and to distinguish it from the others (since, for example, they share the same incipit, and/or are quite similar in their wordings) and how to take into account the possibility that hybridization (or *compilatio*) of different traditions took place in individual texts or in families of texts.

All of our texts are anonymous and they appear in manuscripts either without a title, or with generic titles designating their contents. Thus, the titles given by reference works such as Röhricht's *Bibliotheca*, usually drawn from earlier editions, are often misleading. For example, the texts recognised by Giannini as belonging to the same tradition (*French Guides B, C, P, V, W*) had been listed by Röhricht under two different headings: *Les pelerinages por aler en Jerusalem* (*BPW*) and *Les chemins et les pelerinages de la Terre Sainte* (*CV*) (Röhricht 51 and 54), because they had been printed as such by Michelant and Raynaud (87–103, 176–88, 189–99). These are the manuscript headings for Giannini's *French Guides*:

Ce sunt les sains pelerinages que l'en doit requerre en la Terre sainte par ordene *B*;

Puis que vous avés oï de la conquete de la terre d'outremer,¹³ vous deviserai je les sains lieux et les pelerinages de la terre *P*;

Ce sont les chamins, qui droytament vuet aler de la cité d'Acre en Jerusalem, et les pelerinages de los sains et les luoqs qui sont en la droite vie *V*;

Ce sont les pelerinaiges por aler en Jerusalem *W*.

(These are the holy pilgrimages sites that one must seek for in the Holy Land, listed in order *B*;

Since you have heard about the conquest of the land beyond the sea, I will describe to you the holy places and the pilgrimages of the land *P*;

These are the routes for all who want to go correctly from Acre to Jerusalem, and the saints' pilgrimages and the places that are in the correct route *V*;

These are the pilgrimages to go to Jerusalem *W*).

C is the only manuscript of this group that does not have a heading for its text of the guide. Clearly the nineteenth-century authors chose one manuscript's heading (*W* and *V*, in this case) and ignored the fact that the tradition offered a wider range of possible titles, or, rath-

13. This manuscript (Paris, BnF, fr. 9082) is a witness of the *Eracles*; for this text, he is usually referred to by the siglum F77 on the base of the *recognition codicum* by Folda: see Handyside and Edbury and Gaggero.

er, that none of these headings could be seen as representative of an authorial intention.

Sometimes the same or a similar heading is applied to different texts. Compare for example the aforementioned heading from ms. *P* with the following:

Oiés la devise del saint liu de Jerusalem (Bern, Burgerbibliothek, 113);

Chi commence li ensaignemens des sains lius d'outre mer (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France [BnF], fr. 1553);

Li saint leu de Jerusalem (Paris, Bibliothèque de l' Arsenal [Arsenal], 4797 and Bern, Burgerbibliothek, 340).

(Hear the description of the holy place of Jerusalem;
Here begins the teaching of the holy places beyond the sea;
The holy place of Jerusalem).

The first two headings introduce copies of Old French translations of the *Innominatus VII*, while the third one introduces the translation of the *Innominatus I*. Thus, three different texts (and for *Innominatus VII*, two widely varying versions) can be featured under the same (very generic) title.

The process of hybridization stands in contrast to the inertia (or the 'quiescence') that, as we shall see, characterizes the way in which geographical information is passed on from one guide to another (Sacchi, 162–63). We may exemplify it by looking at some of the later items in the tradition.

The *Itinerario* published by Maurizio Dardano is close to the C text, as established by Giannini (*Un guide français*, 316), although it gives an amplified text. The *Itinerario* lacks its beginning because of the loss of a folio in the only manuscript that has come down to us (Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Panciatichi 32, f. 1r–8v): as it stands, it begins mid-way with a story about how a lord of Caesarea brought crocodiles in the area, which is only found in the C French text.

As far as I know, scholars working on the French and Italian texts have not noticed the similarity between these texts and the anonymous *Descriptio locorum* (De Vogüé 430–31):

Quomodo corcodrilli Cesaree habeantur breviter dicam.
Antiquitus Cesaree duo fratres pari dominio regnabant:
quorum maior quia solus non regnabat fratri suo, qui et

leprosus notabatur, necis tetendit insidias: excogitans apud se, quod si ex Nilo duo paria corcodrillorum predictis in fluminibus habere posset, a fratre suo qui temporibus estivis fluminea frequentabat balnea, forsitan perituro, regno suo permetteretur. Quod sic revera contigit, sicque solus maior regnavit.

French Guide C, §3.1: En cel mareys sunt muz de caucatris, unes feres bestes les queles i mist un riches hom ky estoyt en Sesaire e los fist norir, car il les quida fere devorer suen frere pur un conteke ke aveit esté entre eus, e pur ceo les fist il aporter de Egipte. E un jur amena ou lui son frere pur baigner, pur covertement ocire. E sun frere fu plus sachaut de lui, si le fist primes descendre et les bestes k'yl aveit nori tantost le tirerent en parfund, si ke unkes puis ne fu trovez (Giannini, *Un guide français*, 309).

(*Descriptio locorum*: I will briefly explain why there are crocodiles in Caesarea. In ancient times, two brothers ruled over their father's land in Caesarea. The elder brother set up a deadly trap because he could not rule alone without his brother, who was also a leper. He thought that, if he could put two crocodiles from the Nile in the aforementioned rivers, he would obtain the kingdom from his brother, who during the summer went bathing in the river, and would perhaps die. This really came to pass, and thus the elder brother ruled alone.

French Guide C, §3.1: In that marsh are many crocodiles, ferocious beasts, which a rich man who was in Caesarea put there; and he had them fed, for he wanted them to eat his brother because of a dispute that there was between them, and for that reason he had them brought from Egypt. And one day he brought his brother to bathe, in order to kill him covertly. And his brother was cleverer than he: he made him go down first and the beasts that he had raised immediately dragged him to the deep, so that he was never found again.)

14. The story is not found in the two redactions of Fretellus's treatise (Boeren; Mansi), nor in its French translation known as the *Terre de Promission* (Roesle): see Trovato, *Sulla genealogia e la cronologia*, and Greco 20–24 and 107–15. Greco's PhD thesis provides reliable critical editions of both redactions. A critical edition of the *Terre de Promission* is currently being prepared by Davide Battagliola.

The *Descriptio locorum*, derived from the H (or HS) redaction of the *Descriptio de locis sanctis* by Rorgo Fretellus, adds several passages to its source text, such as the anecdote about the crocodiles.¹⁴ The presence of crocodiles in the Nahr al-Zarqa (Nahal Tanninim) is men-

15. Abel, I, 470–71, and Pringle, *Pilgrimages*, 109, 168 and 308. Ambroise, *Estoire de la Guerre Sainte*, ed. Croizy-Naquet, v. 5985–92 tells the story of two soldiers from Richard I's army who were eaten by crocodiles in this river. This incident is also mentioned in the *Itinerarium Peregrinorum* (Stubbs 256; Stubbs dates the episode to 30 August 1191). I would like to thank Denys Pringle for drawing my attention to these accounts. On this section of the *Itinerarium* (the so-called IP₂) see Spencer.

tioned by Strabo (xvi, 2) and Pliny (v, 17), as well as by other medieval pilgrims;¹⁵ none of these accounts corresponds to the narrative shared by our texts, whose source has, to my knowledge, yet to be identified.

The Italian text (Dardano 161–62) expands on the C version transforming it into a cautionary tale about the retribution of treason. It is hard to explain why the vernacular texts give an entirely different ending to the story, in which it is the treacherous brother who gets eaten by crocodiles.

Among the texts edited by Giannini only C mentions the presence of crocodiles near Caesarea, while the B and W texts only have a brief mention of the fact that crocodiles had been brought to the area by one lord of Caesarea (Giannini, *Un guide français* 258 and 274). It is possible to think that, rather than expanding on the short mentions found in the other texts (Giannini, *Un guide français* 316), it is C that comes closest to the group's exemplar, while the others have shortened a text that was originally closer to the *Descriptio*.

After relating the anecdote about crocodiles, the *Itinerario* moves to Arsuf, Jaffa, Lydda, Ramallah, Ascalon, Gaza, La Forbie, Bethenuble (Bayt Nuba), Montjoie, and finally Jerusalem. At the beginning of the section on Jerusalem we find a sentence lacking from the French text(s):

Gerusalem si è assisa in nel mezzo del mondo. Da l'una parte verso oriente si è la terra di Rabia e verso meçogiorno si è la terra d'Egitto e verso occidente si è lo grande mare e verso tramontana si è la terra di Soria e'l mare di Cipri.

(Jerusalem sits at the centre of the world. On one side, to the east, there is the land of Arabia, to the south there is the land of Egypt, to the west there is the great sea, and to the north [where the wind from the north blows] is the land of Syria and the sea of Cyprus).

The sentence as it stands is not found in any of the texts that Giannini has linked to the *Itinerario*. It ultimately derives from the *Descriptio de locis sanctis* by Rorgo Fretellus (a. 1137–38):

Iherusalem, gloriosa Iudee metropolis, iuxta phylosophos in medio mundi sita est. Regnavit autem in ea David XXXta IIIbus annis et dimidio, reprobato Saule (ed. Greco, §25).

(According to philosophers, Jerusalem, the glorious metrop-

olis of Judaea, sits at the centre of the world. David reigned over it for thirty-three and a half years, defeating Saul).

The sentence circulated widely in later texts, and even in eyewitness accounts: the two sentences I have quoted from Fretellus are repeated *verbatim* by John of Würzburg (Huygens 86), and the first one is translated at the beginning of an isolated version of the *Innominatus VII* in French (London, British Library [BL] Royal 13 A XIV) as edited by Pringle (“Itineraria I” 76: “Jerusalem la gloriuse cité es assise enz mi le monde. Cestes sunt les pelerinagis [*sic*]”).

Like the London manuscript, however, the Italian text does not repeat the second sentence from Fretellus, so it must have drawn the sentence from an intermediate source. The best match, to my knowledge, is offered by the *De viris Agarenorum*, an ethnographic and geographic treatise that presents itself as a report addressed by a patriarch of Jerusalem to Innocent III:¹⁶

Jherusalem gloriosa Judaeae metropolis in medio mundi sita est, cui ab oriente adjacet Arabia, a meridie Aegyptus, a septentrione mare Cyprium, ab occidente mare magnum (Bongars, *Gesta Dei per Francos*, I, 1126).

(Jerusalem, the glorious metropolis of Judaea, sits at the centre of the world. It borders Arabia to the east, Egypt to the south, the sea of Cyprus to the north, and the great sea to the west.)

A similar statement opens the *Tractatus de locis et statu sancte terre*, a geographic and ethnographic text which has often been lumped with the *De viris* and other texts, including proper guides to the Holy Land, such as *Innominati V* and *IX* (see Kedar 111–22, the quotation on 123):

Terra jerosolimitana in centro mundi posita est, ex maiori parte montuosa, ubere gleba fertilis. Cui ab oriente adiacet Arabia, a meridie Aegyptus, ab occidente Mare Magnum, a septentrione Syria.

(The land of Jerusalem sits at the centre of the world. It is mostly mountainous and fertile thanks to its rich soil. It borders Arabia to the east, Egypt to the south, the Great Sea to the west, and Syria to the north).

The *Itinerario* is closer to the *De viris Agarenorum*: it speaks of *Gerusalem* and lacks the information “ex maiori parte montuosa, ubere gleba fertilis”; the adjective *gloriosa* is also noteworthy in the light of

16. The name of the patriarch is often given as Haymarus Monachus but, according to Edbury and Rowe 15 n. 4 the correct form should be ‘Monachus’. See also the entry *Monachus Florentinus* in the [MIRABLE database](#) (last accessed 28/07/2025). An edition of the *Relatio* is being prepared by Christine Gadrat Ouerfelli: Pitts, “Summay Version”, 314).

the connection with Fretellus discussed here. Probably the *De viris Agarenorum* served as an intermediary between Fretellus and the other texts; the *Tractatus* further revised the inherited text, while the *Itinerario* translated it faithfully.

The author of the *Itinerario* did not need to access the Latin text of the *De viris Agarenorum* in order to get the information he inserted in his text. The *De viris* has also been translated into Old French (*La terre des Sarrazins*): Röhrich, (43–44) lists nineteen witnesses and other have been added by Hunt and Pitts, who also produced two critical editions (based on a limited survey of the manuscript tradition) of the ‘summary’ and ‘amplified’ version. The relevant passage from the ‘summary’ version in Pitts’s edition (“Summary Version”, 306, l. 65–67) reads:

Jerusalem est assis en miliu le mund, si cum li autre livret dist.
De l’une part vers le orient est une terre ke est apelé Arabie; de
l’autre part vers midi est la terre de Egypte. De l’une part est la
grant mer vers le occident; de l’autre part est la terre de Surye e
la mer de Cipre.

(As the other booklet says, Jerusalem sits at the centre of the world. On one side, to the east, is a land called Arabia; on the other side, to the south, is the land of Egypt. On one side, to the west, is the great sea; on the other side is the land of Syria and the sea of Cyprus.)

Pitts’s text is based on manuscript Cambridge, University Library, Gg. 6. 28 (ff. 57r–61v) where *La terre des Sarrazins* follows Giannini’s *French Guide C* (the text is on ff. 52r–57r: see §5). The sentence “si cum li autre livret dist”, lacks from other manuscripts of the text (such as Cambridge, St John’s College, l. 11, also used by Pitts, and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 137 edited by Hunt). As Pitts (“Summary Version”, 302) noted, this is a reference to the translation of the *Tractatus de locis et statu sancte terre*, that immediately follows *La terre des Sarrazins* (ff. 61v–69v).¹⁷

What we have here, then, is a variant reading that refers to the particular arrangement of texts found in the collection that the scribe was copying or assembling, an example of *compilatio* building a meaningful sequence of texts that tend to coalesce, as the cross-reference in Pitt’s text shows. As we shall see (§5), the French text of the *De viris* was also copied along with other Old French guides to the Holy Land. The Italian translator of the *Itinerario* may have had a

17. A list of the contents of the manuscript is in Giannini, *Un guide français*, 122, but the French versions of the *De viris* and the *Tractatus* are given as a single item.

French source where a guide close to *C* was compiled along with the *De viris* (and, possibly the *Tractatus*) in French: proximity in the manuscript context would have made it possible for the aforementioned sentence to be transferred from one text to another.

From these examples it is already clear that, as far as guides to the Holy Land are concerned, it is hard to tell apart the dynamics of the manuscript context, textual transmission and the production of variant redactions of existing texts from the creation of new texts. These alternatives represent scales of different degrees of authority on a continuum (Parkes, “The influence”, 35–70: see §1), even more so than in the case of other types of text, such as the ones studied by Guglielmetti, ‘L’edizione dei testi’.

3. The representation of space and the purpose of the texts

In this section, I will show how the transition from the *Itinerarium* to the guides to Jerusalem involves, on the small scale, the selection and rearrangement of sentences from the earlier text, which, on the larger scale, translates into an entirely different perception of space. I will compare this change in the texts to the changes in the visual representation of the Holy Land from the Tabula Peutingeriana to the ‘Crusader’ and ‘diagram’ maps.

As we saw (§2), according to Wilkinson the text at the beginning of the tradition is *Innominatus I*. This text provides a link with Late Antiquity, since the bulk of its description of Jerusalem and the nearby areas is drawn from the *Itinerarium Burdigalense*, dated to 333 AD.

The *Itinerarium* is essentially a list of *mansiones* and *mutationes* on a route from Bordeaux to the Holy Land and back to Milan, with the indication of the distance in miles from one to another (see Cuntz 85–102). Starting from §§577,7–78,1 (“civitas Thyana, unde fuit Apollonius magus”) we get short pieces of information, mainly focusing on episodes from the Old and the New Testament, which become full paragraphs of geographic description once the route reaches Nablus, and then Jerusalem up to Hebron (§§587,1–99,9), where the entries revert to brief indications that disappear altogether after a passing mention of Alexander the Great at §606,1–2.

It is in this section that the ‘pace’ of the *Itinerarium*, moving on a smaller scale, changes and, besides longer distances measured in miles and leagues, we also find indications of direction, such as “in

parte extra”, “non longe”, etc. (see the passages quoted in the Appendix), as will be normal with the proper guides later on.

The relationship between the *Itinerarium Burdigalense* and *Innominatus I* has been established by Titus Tobler (238–39). Wilkinson (*Jerusalem Pilgrimage*, 4–6) and Pringle (“Itineraria III”, 5–11) have provided useful tables comparing the places mentioned in both texts and in other guides related to *Innominatus I* that are not part of the group I am considering here. Wilkinson also italicized the relevant passages in his translation of *Innominatus I* (87–89). Keskihio (73 n. 21) has provided a list of the passages from the *Itinerarium* used by *Innominatus I* with reference to the edition by Otto Cuntz:

<i>Itinerarium</i>	St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, 732, p. 104–14
§§590,5–93,4	§§589,7–99,9
§§594,7–98,3	
§§587,5–88,10	§§587,6–89,6
§598,9	

Keskihio has shown that the list of passages used by *Innominatus I* largely overlaps with the excerpts from the *Itinerarium* found in the St. Gallen manuscript (Cuntz viii), suggesting that the author of the *Innominatus I* may have worked from a similar arrangement of excerpts, instead of reworking the *Itinerarium* in its complete form. This finding highlights once more that the creation of a new text can be kick-started by the process of enucleating and rearranging sentences from a pre-existing text, which is comparable to Segre’s *enucleazione* (§2).

The sequences from the *Itinerarium* are reordered so that the basic structure of the tour described in *Innominatus I* changes its meaning (the interrupted line marks the points where there is a break in the textual sequence due to its reorganization by way of suppression or, more often, reordering; placenames in brackets are not found in the *Innominatus I*; I use the headings of the main sites given by Pringle’s table):

§§590,5–591,1–7: -----	Temple area;
§§592,4–7 + 593,1–4 + 594,1–4: -----	Mount Sion (1), Praetorium Pilati, Holy Sepulchre complex;
§§592,4–7 + 593,1–4 + 594,1–6,1: -----	Mount of Olives;
§§594,6–7 + 595,1–4 + 596,1–10:	Jehosaphat Valley, Tombs of Isaiah [Heze

	kiah], Bethany, Jericho;

§§597,1–10:	[Rachab’s House, Dead Sea];

§598,1/2–3:	River Jordan, Transjordan;

§§591,7 + 592,1–4:	Mount Sion (2);

§§587,1–5 + 588,1–10:	Sichem, Sechar;

§§598,4–8 + 599,1–9:	[Rachel’s Tomb], Bethlehem, [Bethasora, Terebinth,] Hebron.

The omission of Rachel’s Tomb is puzzling, because this site is constantly present in later guides from our group, where it serves as the starting point for the excursion towards Bethlehem.

The re-arrangement of textual segments from the *Itinerarium* is significant because it entails a change in the representation of space given by the *Innominatus I*: instead of a linear sequence where places are listed according to the Roman road system, the route starts from the Holy City of Jerusalem, whence two excursions start: one to the East, from the Mount of Olives to the river Jordan, and one to the South, from Mount Sion to Hebron.

This basic structure is recognizable in the rest of the tradition, despite the variants introduced in each text and manuscript. A distinctive feature of the later guides taken into consideration here (starting with the *Innominatus VII*) is that it is specified that pilgrims should enter Jerusalem from St Stephen’s Gate (as was normal from the mid-twelfth century: Pringle, *Churches*, III, 306 and *Twelfth-century Western Pilgrimage literature*), and that the first site to be visited is the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, instead of the *Templum Domini* (the Dome of the Rock): this reflects both the changes to routes starting from the mid-twelfth century and the changes in the structure of pilgrimage and devotion. Also, the excursions outside Jerusalem are presented in a different order:

- a) Mount Sion and nearby places;
- b) from Jehoshaphat Valley to the River Jordan (sometimes even to Mount Sinai);
- c) from David’s Gate to Bethlehem or Saint Abraham [Hebron

(al-Khalil)] (sometimes further south).

The change in the representation of space between the *Itinerarium* and the small guides tradition will become clear if we refer to two kinds of maps contemporary with both the *Itinerarium* and *Innominatus I*.

The arrangement of *mansiones* in the *Itinerarium* can be easily followed on section ix of the *Tabula Peutingeriana*, which, although dated to c. 1200, is a copy of a Late Antique model: the *Tabula* follows the road system of the Roman Empire and consists of a scroll made up by eleven sections that unfold for 6.75 metres.¹⁸ The different regions are spread out horizontally and the hierarchy of the different points on the maps is provided, as in modern maps, by their respective importance: see for example, on section ix, the depiction of Antioch and that of Jerusalem/Ælia Capitolina. Because of its conception and the way in which it was supposed to be read and used, the *Tabula* truly embodies the linear movement of the route.

On the other hand, the representation of space in the *Innominatus I* and related guides can be compared to two families of maps of Jerusalem:¹⁹ the so-called ‘Crusader maps’, represented by a large family of twelve twelfth-century manuscripts, and the ‘diagram’ maps, copied in mss. Bruxelles, Koninklijke Bibliotheek van België (KBR), IV 462 (the last surviving quire of a larger manuscript) and London, British Library, Harley 658.²⁰

The first family of maps is frequently associated with texts on the history of the Crusades, such as the *Gesta Francorum Hierusalem expugnantium*, included in Lambert of Saint-Omer’s *Liber floridus* (Figure 1). One of the best-known examples (and one of the more ancient) is ms. Saint-Omer, Bibliothèque de l’Agglomération, 776, f. 50v, where the map is copied almost halfway through the *Gesta* (ff. 36–64). The second family is associated with compendia of Biblical history, such as Peter Comestor’s *Historia scholastica* and its continuation by Peter of Poitiers (Bruxelles IV 462)²¹ and Peter of Poitiers’s *Compendium Historie in Genealogia Christi* (Harley 658). As Vorholt has noticed, the map on the Brussels fragment is accompanied by short Latin texts describing an itinerary through Jerusalem and the nearby places. Although much shorter, the text (published in *Appendix 2* of Vorholt’s article) is fairly close to the tradition we are analysing, despite some minor discrepancies, although it has not been studied in relationship with it as far as I am aware.²²

In both families, Jerusalem is represented as a circle, and in the ‘Crusader maps’ the main streets inside the city also form a cross – or

18. The map can be viewed [online](#) on the website of the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek: (last accessed 07/06/2023). See also the annotated reproduction by Rathmann, *Tabula Peutingeriana*.

19. For an overview of this tradition, see Harvey, *Medieval Maps of the Holy Land*.

20. For the complete list of manuscripts see Vorholt, *Studying with Maps*, 165–67; the article gives a thorough analysis of the manuscripts of the second family.

21. Only the last quire of the manuscript has been preserved, containing the end of the continuation by Peter of Poitiers and the map: Vorholt, *Studying with Maps*, 179–80.

22. The text also survives in ms. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 11019, pp. 276–77 (Vorholt, *Studying with Medieval Maps*, 179 n. 48).



Fig. 1: Crusader map: Saint-Omer, Bibliothèque de l'Agglomération, 776, f. 50v.

rather a T shape – inside the city. These features have been seen as a trace of the influence of the so-called O-T world maps (such as the Hereford map): the shape of Jerusalem thus mirrors the shape of the world itself, while the city is itself at the centre of the world, according to the guides to the Holy Land (see §3 and Appendix) and to its depiction in Medieval world maps. Thus, the Medieval maps of Jerusalem have an implicit symbolic meaning which sets them apart from the more ‘neutral’ representation given by the *Tabula Peutingeriana*.

Another feature shared by both families of maps of Jerusalem and by the O-T world maps is their orientation: the East is to the top of the image, while North is to the left. In Jerusalem maps, this means that St Stephen’s Gate is on the left, while David’s Gate is at the bottom, the Sion Gate on the right, and the Golden Gate (painted yellow on Saint-Omer 776) and Jehoshaphat Gate at the top. This orientation has a religious meaning, as is shown by the fact that in the Hereford world map Christ is represented at the top of the map, corresponding to the East.

In the case of the Jerusalem maps, it is worth noting that, start-

ing with the *Innominatus VII*, all guides from our group (as well as the accompanying text on Bruxelles IV 462) state that pilgrims should enter Jerusalem precisely from St Stephen's Gate: its position on the left side of the map allows the viewer of the map to 'enter' Jerusalem as if they were reading a text. As we have seen, the indication of St Stephen's Gate as the point of entry into Jerusalem reflects the practice that had been in use since the mid-twelfth century. It is therefore possible that the correspondence between the guides and the maps is due to the two traditions developing in parallel. Although it is not possible to prove a direct link between the maps and the guides to the Holy Land, it is worth pointing out that the main locations represented inside and outside Jerusalem are the same as those mentioned in our texts.

Writing about the 'diagram' maps, Vorholt (*Studying with Maps*, 172) has argued that "the lines [linking place-names in these representations] can be understood as routes taken by pilgrims who are coming from overseas. The visual prominence and sheer number of these lines or pathways can be considered the most distinguishing feature of the map", and that "[guides] can enter into a fruitful relationship with drawn maps – especially in this case, where both the text and the map concentrate on indicating sites and the relationship between them" (179).

Maps and guides also share their Western provenance: thus, they may best be understood as reflecting the desire of people living in the West to visualize Jerusalem and the nearby sites; the fact that they seem to be building on one another and that they sometimes contain anachronisms and inaccurate information make their connection with direct experience through pilgrimage questionable.

On the other hand, guides could still be used to plan a pilgrimage, and indeed sometimes they were repurposed to function as, or to look like, accounts of actual pilgrimages: such is the case with the *Innominatus V*, which uses the first person singular in the introductory lines, only to revert to the third person as soon as it falls in line with the other guides with the description of the entrance to Jerusalem (see §2 and Pringle, "Itineraria II" 62–63).

Maps, as guides, are featured in manuscripts as tools to better understand the texts that they accompany (see §2 and §5, where we will focus on the process of *compilation*). Both could also be used for private devotion.²³ In connection with this idea Vorholt (*A Twelfth-Century Map of Jerusalem*, 248–53) has looked at the function of the re-

23. See Rudy and, for 'virtual' pilgrimage in Rome, Lawton.

alistic detail of ‘portholes’ appearing on the Holy Sepulchre as depicted in some of the maps (London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius E. IV, f. 143r; Den Haag, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 76 F 5, f. 1r; Uppsala, Universitetsbibliotek, C 691, f. 39v) : “The ‘port holes’ are shown on two other maps [Den Haag and Uppsala] from this family and, in both cases, are almost abraded from frequent touching or kissing, thus providing clear evidence that such maps were used as a means of tangible contact with the tomb of Christ” (p. 253).

Guides are also said to have served as a means of performing a spiritual pilgrimage if actual travelling to the Holy Land was impossible. In my corpus, the only explicit statement proving this is in the opening lines of the Italian *Viagi ke debbono fare li pelegriani* (Antonelli 59, my punctuation):

Questi sonno e viagi ke debbono fare li pelegriani ke vanno
oltramare per salvare l’anima loro, e che può fare ciascuna
persona stando nela casa sua, pensando in ciascuno luogo ke
di sotto è scritto; e in ogni santo luoco dica uno Paternostro
con Avemaria.

(These are the journeys that the pilgrims going beyond the
sea in order to save their souls must do, and that anyone can
do at home by meditating on each of the places mentioned
below, and by reciting a *Pater noster* and an *Ave Maria* for
each place).

Guides to the Holy Land and maps of Jerusalem thus provide a visual representation of a space that is no longer perceived only as a route, but is organized according to the revelation of a symbolic meaning underlying the route. Although it is not possible to establish a direct link between the verbal and visual texts, they both show how the information about the holy places inherited from the previous tradition could be construed in a new and meaningful way, but also that it could be accessed through different medias, although guides usually were not accompanied by maps.

4. Textual filiations

Moving from the starting point of our tradition to the relationships between extant Latin and French guides, we will again start on a small scale, comparing readings from several texts in order to build

a coherent picture of the development of the tradition. The interplay between patterns of scribal intervention and/or error and extratextual information must also be taken into account in order to understand the significance of the differences between one text and another. I will base my analysis on two passages relating to (A) the description of the Holy Sepulchre and (B) the *Praetorium Pilati*. The full texts of these passages from all the guides in my corpus are given in the appendix, with full references to the editions referred to above (§1).

The description of the Holy Sepulchre in the *Itinerarium Burdigalense* and in the series of short guides derived from the *Innominatus I* provides an overview of the development of the tradition from one guide to the others, and across the languages.

There are essential differences between the building described by the *Itinerarium*, *Innominatus I* and, at least, *Innominatus VII*. The *Itinerarium* (dated to 333) refers to the Constantinian building, which would be dedicated two years later, in 335, and sacked in 614, while *Innominatus I* was writing soon after the conquest of Jerusalem in 1099; at that time the Holy Sepulchre and the basilica built by Constantine had been destroyed in 1008, rebuilt and damaged yet again as a result of the crusaders' expedition. *Innominatus VII* was writing ca. 1165, at a time when major changes had been made to the structure of the building, bringing the holy sites lying to the east of the Sepulchre, such as Calvary, inside a single structure, as we see it today (Pringle, *Churches*, III, 6–39 and Id., *Twelfth-century Western Pilgrimage literature*).

Nevertheless, these differences are not immediately clear from our texts, first of all because each of them relies on previous information, which entails a certain degree of inertia in registering new developments (see Pringle, "Itineraria III", 4, 12–14 on the *Itinerarium* and *Innominatus I*). It must also be noted that each description focuses on individual sites and their relative positioning within the church, and does not try to give the reader an overall sense of the structure, although, at the time when *Innominatus VII* and the related guides were written, the church of the Holy Sepulchre as we know, creating a unified space for all of the relevant sites, was already standing.

Besides combining information drawn from the *Itinerarium Burdigalense* into a different image of the city of Jerusalem, *Innominatus I* also left out some information (§3), and added new entries about four traditions that are not mentioned by the *Itinerarium*: the idea that Adam was buried on the spot on Calvary where Christ was crucified (which was an integral part of the legend of the Holy Cross);²⁴ that, on the same spot, Abraham sacrificed to God; that Joseph of

24. Baert, *A Heritage of Holy Wood*.

25. This tradition can be faintly traced back to passages such as Ps. 73, 12 (“Deus autem rex noster ante saecula: operatus est salutem in medio terrae”) and Ez 5,5 (“Haec dicit Dominus Deus: ista est Ierusalem. In medio gentium posui eam et in circuitu eius terras”), whence the key idea in medieval geography that, as we already saw, Jerusalem stands at the centre of the world was derived: see Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae*, XIV, iii, 21 (“In medio autem Iudeae civitas Hierosolima est, quasi umbilicus regionis totius”). Kloistermann, *Apocrypha*, III, p. 9 and Resch, *Agrapha*, p. 289 [Apokryphon 93] considered the episode mentioned in the guides to the Holy Land one of Jesus’s *agrapha*.

26. Giannini (*Un guide français*, 144–45), considers this to be a distinctive feature of *Innominati V*, *IX*, and *X*.

Arimathea (along with Nicodemus, who is mentioned explicitly in the following guides) buried Christ after taking him down from the Cross (Matthew, 27, 57–60; Mark 15, 42–46; Luke 23, 50–53; John 19,38–40); and that the centre of the world (the *omphalos*) was located in the church of the Holy Sepulchre.²⁵

Innominatus VII adds further elements to the description: the column of the flagellation and Christ’s prison, the chapel of the finding of the True Cross by Saint Helena, and the chapel of the Adoration of the Cross. It is worth noting that, while referring to the deposition of Christ, in the extant versions this text does not mention Joseph of Arimathea. We may, however, question whether the manuscript witnesses of the Latin *Innominatus VII* accurately reflect the exemplar of this text, since the French versions of it and *Innominati IX* and *X* do mention him; on the other hand, the story of Joseph of Arimathea was so well known that it would have been easy to insert him into the text.

A similar example of the difficulty of establishing the relationships between texts and manuscript versions is provided by the passage about the distinction between Calvary and Golgotha: this is perhaps the most striking feature of the description of the Holy Sepulchre for a modern reader, who knows from the Gospels that the two names are the Latin and Greek equivalents for the same place-name (Matthew 27,33; Mark 15,22; John 19,17). The two alternative designations had been repurposed as two parts of the same site, so that Calvary (i.e. the place where Christ died on the Cross) came to refer to the elevated part of the site while the base of the mound became associated with Adam’s burial at Golgotha (Pringle, *Churches*, III, 36, 38–40, 47, see pl. iv, xxiii–xxiv). This notion surfaces in pilgrim accounts as early as Saewulf’s (whose journey dates from July 1102–September 1103) and Theoderic’s (who travelled in 1171–74; for both accounts see Huygens 65–66 and 155–56; for the dating and sources of these texts, see Pringle, *Three Pilgrimages*, 9–18 and 27–37).²⁶

Our texts are divided into two groups: a) the *Itinerarium* only mentions Golgotha in connection with Christ’s crucifixion, and *Innominatus I* (along with its French translation) mentions Calvary and Golgotha as synonyms but also links the site both to the Crucifixion and Adam’s burial. On the other hand, b) the Latin *Innominati V*, *VII*, *IX*, *X* and all the French texts deriving from them mention the distinction between Calvary and Golgotha, linking the first to Christ’s crucifixion and the second to Adam’s burial.

There is a further distinction in the (b) group, when we look at

the Latin texts. *Innominatus VII* mentions that Christ's blood fell on the rock, underneath which was Adam's head. *Innominati V, IX, X* all share a more expressive sentence, stating that Christ's blood pierced through the rock and fell on Adam's head: "sanguis Domini (*Christi Inn. IX*) saxum perforavit et cecidit super caput Adam" (Giannini, *Un guide français*, 147–48). This reading may be connected to the variation found in the *Innominatus VII* manuscripts: *G* reads *per petram* instead of *ad petram E* and *super petram Lux*, but it is *AP^I* that seem to provide the link with the second group, reading "sanguis Dominis cecidit *per petram super caput Adam*": it is easy to see how *perforavit* may have stemmed from the idea of blood falling *through* the stone.

The French tradition seems to follow this division into two groups. The reading found in *Innominatus VII* ("ubi sanguis Domini cecidit ad petram" [where the Lord's blood fell on the rock]) is translated by its French adaptations in *P²* ("ou li sans Nostre Signour chaï sour le pierre") and in the *Rothelin Continuation* of William of Tyre ("ou li sanc Nostre Seigneur cheï par mi la roche» [par 'through]).

The reading found in *Innominati V, IX, X* ("ubi sanguis Domini saxum perforavit et cecidit super caput Adam» [where God's blood pierced the rock and fell on Adam's head]) is translated by Giannini's *French Guides* ("la ou li sanc de Deu trepassé [perça B pertusa V] la roche et cheï sor la tete de Adam" FBV; "li leus ou le sanc de nostre vrai Sauvierre perça la roiche et chaï sus la teste d'Adam" W), while *P* ("ou le precieus sanc de Nostre Salveor chaï sus la teste d'Adam") is closer to *Innominatus VII* (this may be due to independent intervention of its source text), and *C* ("ou le sanc Jesu cheï e perça la roche") omits the reference to Adam's head.

Two versions of the French *Innominatus VII*, on the other hand, stray from the Latin text. *Lon* omits all reference to Golgotha (probably as a result of the rearrangement of the sequences of the description). More significantly, the *Innominatus VII B*'s reading seems to stand in a middle ground between the *E* and the *AP^I* texts of the *Innominatus VII* and the *Innominati V, IX, X*: "Gorgatas u li sans Nostre Segnor expandi et fendi li roche qui molt estoit grande. Et la fu li ciés Adan". It is especially the verb *fendi* ("pierced, cracked open") that brings this text closer to the second group's *perforavit* (rendered by the versions of the *French Guide* as *trepassé F²⁷ perça BWC pertusa V*, while *P* omits it); it is hard, though, to establish a direct link with the second group, since *fendi* echoes even more closely the Gospels' description of the consequences of Christ's death: "et terra mota est, et petrae scissae sunt" (Matthew 27,51).

27. I depart from Giannini's edition (trepassé... et cheï) because I believe that this form is better understood, in this context, as a form of the Perfect in -é attested in the Italian Pisan-Genoese manuscripts: see Zinelli, *I codici francesi*, 105–11.

Once again, given the wide circulation of the Holy Cross legend, it is difficult to determine whether the similarities between *French Guide FBV(C)* and *Innominatus VII B* are due to the collation of two exemplars or the independent rewriting of a single source text by the scribe responsible for this version of *Innominatus VII*.

The information on the *Praetorium Pilati* (B), while confirming the subdivision of the tradition into two groups (*Itinerarium* and *Innominatus I* versus the other guides), also shows how the differences in the tradition are not only explained by manuscript variation or editorial intervention, but also by the extra-textual transformation of traditions related to the Holy sites.

The earlier tradition (early fourth century) identified the site of the *Praetorium* “in the Tyropoeon Valley near the west wall of the Temple precinct” (Pringle, *Churches*, III, 93). In the twelfth century, two traditions developed: according to one of them, the place “where Pilate had sat in Judgment, was identified on Mount Sion, before the door of the church of St. Mary”; according to the second “the earlier tradition which had located the *Praetorium* close to the wall of the Temple was not forgotten, and from the earlier years following the Crusaders’ conquest of the city another location for it was already being shown on the northern side of the Temple precinct” (Pringle, *Churches*, III, *ibidem*). The House of Caiaphas is another building whose location varied in the same way as that of the *Praetorium*, since the two sites were connected in the Gospel narrative (see John, 18,12–28; a different account is found in Matthew, 26,57–75, Mark 14,53–73 and Luke 22,54–62; Pringle, *Churches*, III, 132–33).

The *Itinerarium* would seem to follow the earlier tradition: it mentions the house of Caiaphas during the ascent to Mount Sion, while the *Praetorium* is located in Tyropoeon Valley on the way north from Mount Sion towards the Nablus Gate (*porta Neapolitana*).²⁸ *Innominatus I*, building, as we have already seen, on the textual material drawn from the *Itinerarium*, seems to strengthen the association with the Templum Domini, through the rearrangement of textual sequences; between the Templum Domini and the *Praetorium* the only mention is of “domus Caiphae et columna adhuc ibi est, ad quam Christus ligatus flagellis caesus fuit” (“There is the House of Caiaphas, as well as the column to which Christ was tied and scourged”).

All the other guides, on the other hand, place the *Praetorium* and the house of Caiaphas on Mount Sion, in relation to the church of St Mary. The Latin *Innominatus VII* and *French Innominati B* and *P²* ver-

28. See the translation of the passage by Wilkinson, *Egeria’s Travels*, 153: “As you leave there and pass through the wall of Sion towards the Gate of Neapolis, down in the valley on your right you have some walls where Pontius Pilate had his house, the Praetorium where the Lord’s case was heard before he suffered. On your left is the hillock Golgotha”.

sions keep St Mary distinct from the *Praetorium*/house of Caiaphas. Starting from *Innominatus V* the last two buildings seem to be identified with the former (*Innominati V, IX, X*: “et hec [ecclesia] fuit domus Cayphae pretorium”), as is repeated by all *French Guides*, *Les pèlerinages communes*, the *Viagi* and the *Itinerario*. Although containing this piece of (mis-)information, all these texts also show a connection with the *Innominatus VII* because they all quote the words of Jesus to his disciples.

It is thus possible to stress the unity of the tradition despite the variation and adaptations undergone by the information: the inclusion of *Innominatus VII* allows one to better understand some of the features of the *French Guides*, even though it is not possible to identify one form of the Latin or vernacular texts that explains all of them.

A detail from the *Innominatus VII* may also highlight a case of a loop between textual variation and the reference to the current state of the Holy Land. The church of St Mary is said to be *desfaite* (*F*) or *abatue* (*BVPWC*), as indeed it had been in 1219–20 by al-Mu‘azzam ‘Īsā (Pringle, *Churches*, III, 268; Giannini, *Un guide français*, 148–49); this detail, which is not found in *Innominati V, IX, X*, has been used as a *terminus post quem* for the vernacular texts.²⁹ The reading “ubi ecclesia formosa in honore sancte Marie fundata est” in the Latin *Innominati VII E* and *G* (vs. *consecrata LuxAP¹*) raises the question of whether the readings *desfaite* and *abatue* may have arisen from a misunderstanding of *fundata* (‘founded’) for *fundita* (‘destroyed’) along the lines of the manuscript transmission. While the misunderstanding may still reflect a revision of the text on the base of the knowledge of recent developments in the Holy Land, this would further strengthen the relationship between the texts of our tradition.

A comprehensive view of the enlarged group of guides that we are taking into account also allows us to reconsider the place of individual guides in the tradition. An example of this is provided by *French Guide F*, the latest in the group to be known to scholars, thanks to its discovery made by Gabriele Giannini. While putting it in the context of the other French guides edited in his book and, as we have seen, with *Innominati V, IX, X*, Giannini (*Un guide français*, 146–47) also commented on the fact that several features set this version apart from these texts: among others, the reading *trespassé* for *perforavit* in the description of Golgotha/Calvary, that is not shared by the other *French Guides*.

For example, *F* does not describe the ‘northern’ route to Jerusa-

29. Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, 34–35 and Giannini, *Un guide français*, 149, 154 and 224.

lem, as all other texts considered by Giannini do. *French Guide F* shares the lack of this feature with the Latin *Innominati I* and *VII* and with their French adaptations; indeed, we saw (§2) that the description of the ‘northern route’ seems to be a later addition to the earlier core of the tradition, focusing on Jerusalem and the routes departing from it.

A further link between *French Guide F* and the *French Innominatus VII* is provided by the mention of the *omphalos*. Latin versions of this guide, along with the *Lon* and *P²* French texts, only mention its presence in the choir of the church, while *French Guide F* and *French Innominatus VII B* have Jesus himself indicating the point where the centre of the world lay:

French Innominatus VII B, §2.4: Et en mi le cuer est li lius u
Nostre Sire mist son doi et dist: *Ça est li milius del monde.*

French Guide F, §1.3: Et in dou quer de ceste gliçe meisme est
la ou Deu dist: *Ici est mi monde.*

(*French Innominatus VII B*, §2.4: In the middle of the choir is the place where Our Lord put His finger and said: *This is the centre of the world.*

French Guide F, §1.3: In the choir of this church is where God said: *This is the centre of the world.*)

The wording in the two texts is very close, and the fact that only these two guides in the entire group I am considering share this way of presenting the mention of the *omphalos* has to be taken into account when trying to establish the position of these two texts in their tradition: it is possible that *French Guide F* has drawn information from a text closer to *French Innominatus VII B*? This guide, on the other hand, has been seen standing aside from all other French textes because of the reading *trespassé*.

Other features indicated by Giannini (*Un guide français*, 147) as distinctive features of *F* as compared to *French Guides BCPVW* are found in the *Innominatus VII*: the first one is the mention of an altar dedicated to St Stephen in the church of St Mary on Mount Sion (see Appendix).

The second is the reference to a Latin inscription in the description of the tomb of the Virgin Mary by *French Guide F* §9.1:

Et enluec est la val de Juçafa et enluec est le sepoucre la ou tu
mise Notre Dame, et hi sunt escrit letres que dient en tel
maniere: IN TALAMO MATRIS GENITUS SAPIENTIA PATRIS

COLANT [GENUN] MENTES OMNES. UNQUE FRETITE, GENTES.

(And there is the Valley of Jehoshaphat, and there is the sepulchre where Our Lady was buried. On it, there is an inscription that reads as follows: *Born in his Mother's bed through the wisdom of the Father. May all minds worship. Weep no more, you people.*)³⁰

30. I would like to thank Denys Pringle for suggesting the translation of the inscription.

As Giannini observes the reading of the Latin sentence is corrupt (*genun*, *unque* = *umquam*, *fretite* = *fletite*) and it is not easy to understand the overall meaning of it, especially in relation to the monument where it is supposed to appear, since it seems to refer to Christ rather than to his mother; this particular sentence is not found elsewhere in the accounts, such as Theoderic's or John of Würzburg's, where the inscriptions are transcribed (Giannini, *Un guide français*, 220).

I think that, in order to begin to understand this difficult passage, it is possible to recognize that the first verse of the quotation has the form of a rhythmical imitation of the structure of a leonine hexameter ending in $\sim\sim ||$ at the caesura: *matris, mentes*, and $\sim\sim\sim\sim$ at the end of the line: Norberg, 101-106:

IN TALAMO MATRIS GENITUS SAPIENTIA PATRIS

COLANT [GENUN] MENTES OMNES. UNQUE FRETITE, GENTES.

The second verse's reading is problematic. As Giannini recognized, the aberrant reading *genun* appears as a scribal mistake. If the second verse is also a leonine hexameter, the two syllables of *genun* allow the structure of the verse to be preserved, even if the rhythm is awkward. I therefore use the *cruces desperationis*. If *genun* were omitted, the verse would require inverting *mentes omnes* in order to preserve the leonine rhyme, and positing a missing syllable at the beginning of the second hemistich: COLANT OMNES MENTES. [.] UNQUE FRETITE GENTES.

Once we recognise the rhythmic structure implied by the Latin quotation, we can identify yet another feature that *French Guide F* and the *Innominatus VII* group have in common. The recent edition of the Latin and French version of *Innominatus VII* by Denys Pringle has brought to light that the exemplar of this guide contained the texts of inscriptions appearing on the holy sites, that have been preserved to a different degree by the copies that have come down to us: *Lux* is the witness that best preserves this feature, despite its being incomplete (it ends at §5.4), but the other manuscripts (*E*, *AP*¹, *G*) sometimes have the text of inscriptions, even at places where *Lux*

does not have them (Pringle, “Itineraria I” 43). Two examples of this are in the variant readings for both passages in the Appendix.

This feature of the Latin text is seldom reflected by the French versions of *Innominatus VII*, but there are a couple of examples in *French Innominatus P²* (see for example the beginning of the description of the Holy Sepulchre, and the same inscription in *Lux*). These quotations can be compared with those made by John of Würzburg and Theoderic (see the notes to Pringle’s edition of *Innominatus VII*).

Manuscripts *Lux* and *AP¹* quote an inscription, which is also translated into French by *P²*, precisely at the same point as *French Guide F*:

Innominatus VII Lux: Inter Ierusalem et montem Oliveti est vallis Iosaphat, in qua sepulta est ab apostolis beata Maria.
HIC IOSAPHAT VALLIS, HIC EST AD SIDERA CALLIS
IN DOMINO FULTA FUIT HIC MARIA SEPULTA
SPES CAPTIVORUM, VITA, LUX ET MATER EORUM.
HINC EXALTATA CELOS PETIT INVIOLOATA.

Text of the inscription in *AP¹*: HINC EST JOSAPHAT. HINC EST ASSIDUA VALLAS.

French Innominatus VII P²: Entre Iherusalem et le mont Olivet est li valée Josaphat, ou sainte Marie fu ensevelie des apostles, fors de saint Thumas. De coi on dist: *Chi est li valée Josaphat, Chi est li voie au ciel. Sainte Marie fu chi ensevelie. En che liu li sainte Virgene fu essauchie et monta es chius.*

(*Innominatus VII Lux*: Between Jerusalem and the Mount of Olives is the Valley of Jehoshaphat, where the blessed Mary was buried by the Apostles.

*Here is the Valley of Jehoshaphat; from here a path leads to the stars./ Here Mary was buried, trusting in the Lord./ Hope of captives, their way, light and Mother,/ From here, lifted up inviolate, she sought the heavens.*³¹

French Innominatus VII Lux: Between Jerusalem and the Mount Of Olives is the Valley of Jehoshaphat, where saint Mary was buried by the apostles, outside the Church of saint Thomas. About this one says: *This is the Valley of Jehoshaphat, this is the path to the heavens. Saint Mary was buried here. In this place the saint Virgin was exhalted and she ascended to the heavens.*)

31. I adapt here the translation of the same inscription from Pringle, *Three pilgrimages*, 166–67.

32. Huygens 158 and 169; Pringle, “Itineraria I”, 64 n. 2.

The text in *Innominatus VII* coincides, with some variant readings (namely the transposition of the last two verses and *vita = via*), with the quotations by John of Würzburg and Theoderic.³² Despite being entirely different, the texts quoted here and by French Guide *F* share the same metrical structure (leonine hexameters), and they even have similar rhymes in the first verse. The coincidence seems to strengthen the connection between *French Guide F* and the *Innominatus VII* tradition.

It is possible that the scribe filled in a different quotation instead of something that was not easily readable any more in his exemplar, but it would then be hard to explain how it is possible that the two texts share such a high number of formal affinities. It is also possible that the verses that the *F* scribe so awkwardly put on a page may have been conjured up from memory precisely because they sounded so similar to those in the text being copied.

Although I do not know of any other example of the text as we find it in *French Guide F*, its reading must be considered a version of the leonine hexameter *In gremio matris residet Sapientia patris*, which had a very large circulation in Europe, starting from the mid-twelfth century, as an epigram accompanying visual (especially sculpted) images of the Virgin with the Child – the Virgin being allegorically interpreted as the *sedes Sapientiae*. According to Robert Favreau, who has studied the creation and early circulation of this verse, one of the earliest examples is an Adoration of the Magi in Santa Maria della Pieve in Arezzo (that Favreau would date to the second half of the thirteenth century: Fig. 2), where it is engraved on the throne where Mary is seated with Jesus on her lap. Several variants of this verse are attested, for example: *In gremio matris residet Sapientia patris*, or *Ad collum matris pendet Sapientia patris*.³³

The fact that the verse was attested in Italy from the early days of its circulation, and that it mainly circulated through visual arts in several forms makes it possible that the *F* scribe knew it by heart, from a context where it was probably adapted as the first verse of a distich: *genitus* (perhaps *genitum*) is probably to be understood as an object to colant, as Giannini correctly understood.

All these clues invite further investigation into the similarities between the *Innominatus VII* tradition and *French Guide F*, perhaps due to the contamination of different exemplars, that seem to stand out despite the difficulties in establishing with a sufficient degree of certainty the relationship between Latin and French guides.

The analysis of the patterns of textual filiation allows us to show how it is possible to single out some of the trends in the development

33. I summarize the discussion and examples from Favreau; see also Thérel, *À l'origine du décor*, 193. Favreau does not register the variant with *thalamus* instead of *gremium*. Denys Pringle pointed out to me that several texts using *thalamus* in relation to the Virgin giving birth to her son/spouse can be found in Hesbert-Prevost's *Corpus Antiphonarium Officii*: see for example vol. 3, nos. 3393, 3707, 4048 (the corpus is now available [online](#), last accessed 28/07/2025). None of them corresponds exactly with our text.



Fig. 2: Arezzo, Church of Santa Maria della Pieve, Adoration of the Magi.

of the tradition through the repurposing of textual material from previous guides or the modification or replacement of textual material, sometimes influenced by extra-textual information. In this sense, both structural features and micro-variant reading can prove useful in clarifying the relationships between the texts in a tradition so open to editorial intervention. Key to all understanding of this kind of texts, where the similarities between the texts due to the inertia of the tradition make it difficult to identify diagnostic readings, is the definition of the corpus and a comprehensive and systematic comparison of all versions.

5. From manuscript context to compilation

In this paragraph I will focus on the macro-textual scale of variation by turning my attention to the manuscript contexts of some of the guides we have studied so far.³⁴

34. A similar pattern of association of short texts in larger manuscript context see Chiesa.

I will show that the combination of shorter texts can result in the formation of a new macro-text with a certain degree of internal organization, the *Rothelin Continuation* of the Old French William of Tyre. I will mainly draw on evidence from the manuscript tradition of the vernacular texts, but I will use for comparison Jesse Keskiaho's study of the manuscript context of *Innominatus I* (73–78 for a description of the manuscripts' contents).

This short guide – probably the earliest example of this genre, as we have seen – is transmitted by eleven manuscripts, most of which are dated to the twelfth century. Some of them are small manuscripts containing only *Innominatus I* with either the anonymous *Gesta Francorum* or Peter Tudebode's *De Hierosolymitano itinere*:

- A Paris, BnF, lat. 5135A (first half of the twelfth century):
De Hierosolymitano itinere, Innominatus I, Marian office.
- B Paris, BnF, lat. 4892 (second half of the twelfth century):
Chronique de Saint-Maixent, De Hierosolymitano itinere, Innominatus I (incomplete).
- C London, BL, Harley 3904 (first third of the twelfth century):
De Hierosolymitano itinere, Innominatus I.
- E Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (BAV),
Reg. lat. 572 (first half of the twelfth century):
Gesta Francorum, Innominatus I, Missa in veneratione sacti Sepulchri, measures of Christ's body.
- H Città del Vaticano, BAV, Reg. lat. 641 (first half of the twelfth century):
Gesta Francorum, Innominatus I, Missa in veneratione sacti Sepulchri.

Most of these manuscripts would seem to be of French provenance.³⁵ Only in one manuscript of this kind (*K*: Troyes, Bibliothèque Municipale, 2268) *Innominatus I* is instead associated with Robert the Monk's *Historia Hierosolymitana*.

Rosalind Hill (xxxviii) had already proposed that the texts contained in E “were probably associated with it [the *Gesta Francorum*] from its first publication in this form”. Her suggestion has been accepted by Keskiaho, who extended the analysis to the manuscripts containing Tudebode's text, whose relationships with the *Gesta Francorum* is much discussed: in Keskiaho's opinion the shared source of these chronicles was already associated with *Innominatus I* (69–73 and 95–96).

Innominatus I clearly serves to complete the information given by the historical text, but what is more interesting is the constant as-

35. Keskiaho's indications of provenance are not always explicit, but I assume that the indication “Continent” for *CE* refers to France; no indication is given for *AE* (74–77).

sociation of the two related chronicles with this text (which Keskiaho has tested by comparing the *stemma codicum* of *Innominatus I* and those obtained by samples of the *Gesta Francorum* and Tudebode's text); this association is already seen expanding through the association of the *Missa* in the *Gesta Francorum* manuscripts, and, possibly, the diagram with the measures of Christ's body, which is presented as a talisman against sudden death.³⁶

We find again the association of the three items in *G* (Cambridge, Gonville and Gaius College Library, 162/82, fourteenth century, of English provenance) where they are inserted in a series of texts related to the East, including Marco Polo, Odorico da Pordenone and *Historia Hierosolymitana* by Jacques de Vitry. A similar collection (but only containing an incomplete text of the *Gesta Francorum*) is in *O* (København, Kongelige bibliotek, Acc. 2011/5, another English fourteenth-century manuscript), the so-called *Courtenay compendium*³⁷ which is perhaps related to *G*.³⁸

Other contexts are less easy to understand, pending a direct analysis of the manuscripts: in *F* (El Escorial, Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de San Lorenzo, D. III. 11, second half of the twelfth century, of English provenance) the *Gesta Francorum-Innominatus I* is associated with an incomplete text of the *Vita Malachiae* by Bernard of Clairvaux; in *J* (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College Library, 22, twelfth century, no indication of provenance) *Innominatus I* is copied between the *Etymologiae* by Isidore of Seville and a *Bestiarium*, which is in turn followed by Isidore's *Synonyma*. It is interesting to note that, in manuscript *D*, Tudebode-*Descriptio* are followed in the same codicological unit by Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Prophetiae Merlini*.

The association of the Pseudo-Turpin's *Historia Karoli Magni* with Tudebode-*Innominatus I* in *D* (Montpellier, BIU, Section Médecine, H 142) and *Gesta Francorum-Innominatus I* in *I* (Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, E.e 103 [9783]) is, on the other hand, misleading,³⁹ because in both manuscripts the Pseudo-Turpin is copied on codicological units of different provenance from the unit containing the *Gesta* and the guide; on the other hand, as we will see, the French Pseudo-Turpin is frequently associated with one of the *French guides*.

Association with French chronicles in prose⁴⁰ is the most frequent context in the manuscript tradition of the *French Innominatus I*, but it is not the only one, thanks to the tendency of the thirteenth century to create large manuscript anthologies, but also to the fact that, as we saw in §3, this genre had both a historico-geographical and a

36. See the digital reproduction of ms. *E*, f. 67r [online](#) (last accessed 28.07.2025) and Hill 102–03.

37. A digital reproduction is available [online](#) (last accessed 28.07.2025).

38. Keskiaho 76 n. 29 and 78, based on a private communication by John Pryor.

39. A digital reproduction is available [online](#) (last accessed 28.07.2025).

40. Gaggero, "Les récits de témoins directs".

religious and spiritual relevance.

First of all, we find an arrangement of texts similar to what we find in twelfth-century copies of the Latin *Innominatus I* in Paris, Arsenal, 4797 (north-eastern Italy, beginning of the fourteenth century). This only contains the *Chronique d'Ernoul* (that mainly focuses on the history of the Holy Land from the death of Godfrey of Bouillon to 1231),⁴¹ followed by the French *Innominatus I* and the French version of *De viris Agarenorum* (*La terre des Sarrazins*). The same sequence of texts occurs in Bern, Bürgerbibliothek, 340, which is a direct copy of F26 but has lost the end of *Innominatus I* and the last text (see Gaggero, “Identification”).

We find again the French *Innominatus I* associated to a crusader chronicle in Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, 792 (listed by Röhrich 29, as L.f.13): this is a composite manuscript with additions from the fourteenth and fifteenth century to an earlier section copied in the thirteenth century (ff. 8–11, 23–46, 58–124). I will only take into consideration this section’s content.⁴² The bulk of the texts range from the moral treatise (*Livre de moralitez*) to the religious (including the exposition of *Credo* and *Pater* along with a sermon by Maurice de Sully, *Eructavit* and the verse *Vie de saint Eustache*), but also historical texts, such as the *Chronique abrégée des rois de France* (ff. 23–32);⁴³ on f. 58v–59v we find the French *Innominatus I* prefacing a French chronicle adapted from Fulcher of Chartres that seem to have come down to us only in this manuscript.⁴⁴

As Gasparini (514–15) has observed, a similar context is provided by manuscripts Paris, BnF, fr. 17177 and fr. 24431, copied by the same scribe from the diocese of Soissons. Giannini has recognized that manuscript fr. 24431, a partially dismembered manuscript, is to be completed with Paris, Arsenal 3114 and 3122, and that it can be dated to the years 1290–1300 (Giannini, “L’Arsenal 3114”, revising Meyer, “Notice fr. 17177”, 82–83 and Walpole, “Prolégomènes I”, 217–23).⁴⁵ Both manuscript fr. 17177 and fr. 24431 are made up of independent codicological units produced in the same workshop: unit 3 from fr. 17177 and 2 from fr. 24431 contain an almost identical arrangement of texts (**M** stands for ‘miniature’):

	Paris, BnF, fr. 17177	Paris, BnF, fr. 24431
f. 243vb	<i>Chi commencent plusieurs chroniques de plusieurs papes, empereurs, roys et besoignes</i>	

41. See Edbury and Gaggero.

42. Paul Meyer’s description (“Notice Sainte-Geneviève 792”, 498–503) is still valuable today. The description of contents in the JONAS database (last accessed 28.07.2025) does not acknowledge the presence of French *Innominatus I*. See also Gasparini 513–14. Daniele Sorba (“Prime indagini”) has now provided a precise account of the stages of production of the original core of the manuscript and the later additions of new quires, and a new detailed description that will be published as a result of the MERMAID project. An online reproduction of the manuscript is available on the ARCA website of the IRHT: (last accessed 28.07.2025).

44. The text is edited in *RHC, Historiens occidentaux*, V, 624–48.

45. I have not been able to access Henry Ravenhall, *The anachronic manuscript: voices of the past in BnF fr. 17177*, PhD thesis, King’s College London, 2020 (abstract, last accessed 28.07.2025).

f. 244r–45va	f. 244ra–va: <i>French annals</i> f. 244va–245va: <i>Latin annals</i>	= f. 27ra–28rb (28v blank)
f. 245vb	<i>Chi commencent li livres de geanologie (sic) et coronikes des roy de France</i>	
ff. 246r–54rb	M – <i>Chronique abrégée des rois de France</i>	= f. 29ra–38rb (part of f. 38rb and 38va blank)
f. 254vb	<i>Chi sont nommés les sains lieux de Jherusalem et d' (sic)</i>	
f. 255ra–55va	<i>French Innominatus I</i>	= f. 39ra–39va (part of the column blank)
f. 255va	<i>Chi commence l'estoire de ce que Charlemaignes conquesta et fist en Espagne</i>	
f. 255vb–67rb	French Pseudo-Turpin version I	= f. 39vb–53vb (part of the column blank)
f. 267v upper margin	<i>Ch'est l'estoire de Tangré d'Oteviller et Richart de Quarrel</i>	
f. 267va–b	<i>Histoire de Trancrède de Hauteville</i>	= f. 54ra–b
		(...)
f. 267v lower margin	<i>C'est la devise maniere et pour des .iiii. tamps de l'age d'un cas-cun home</i>	
f. 268ra–74vb	M – Philip of Novara, <i>Quatre tans d'aage d'home</i>	= ff. 161–67rb (end with AMEN)
	(...)	(...)

The shared texts of this section provide a coherent sequence of historical texts, closed by Philip of Novara's moral treatise. In both manuscripts, each text tends to begin on the first column of the recto of a new folio, and large blank spaces have been left to this effect; in fr. 17177 rubrics have usually been copied at the bottom of the last column on the folio before the beginning of a new text. A difference in the layout of the two manuscripts is due to the fact that fr. 24431 opened each new text with a miniature that has been cut off; in fr. 17177, on the other hand, only two miniatures have been planned, at the beginning of the *Chronique abrégée* (possibly for its ties to the French kings) and at the beginning of Philip of Novara's treatise (see Giannini, "L'Arsenal 314", pp. 95–98 and 105–06).

46. For a study and edition of this text, see Fedorenko.

In fr. 17177 the reduced space left between *Innominatus I*, Pseudo-Turpin and the History of Tancred of Hauteville,⁴⁶ together with the fact that only the first text has a larger red-and-blue pen-flourished initial seems to point to a closer association of the three items; in fr. 24431, *Innominatus I* and the Pseudo-Turpin are the only texts in this section to begin on the verso of a folio, while the short *Histoire* begins on a new folio (54ra).

The association of Pseudo-Turpin I and *Innominatus I* is justified by the tradition of Charlemagne's voyage to Constantinople and Jerusalem narrated in the *Descriptio* (or *Iter Hierosolymitanum*: Paris, BnF, lat. 1711) and by the *chanson de geste* of the *Voyage de Charlemagne*. A French version of the *Descriptio* was also interpolated in the most successful redaction of the 'Johannes' version of the Pseudo-Turpin (Walpole, *The Old French Johannes Translation*, I, xvii–xxii).

The association of the French Pseudo-Turpin tradition with *French Innominatus I* has been independently established by the planner of Paris, BnF, fr. 2137, because in this manuscript another version of the French Pseudo-Turpin (II) was used (Walpole, *An Anonymous Old French Translation*, 10–11). It is noteworthy that, once again, the description of Jerusalem prefaces the chronicle (ff. 151r–52v and 152v–86v), and that, as it is the case with the previous manuscripts, only *French Innominatus I* opens with a bigger red-and-blue seven-line initial, while Pseudo-Turpin, although introduced by a rubric on f. 152vb, only opens with a small two-line initial. The *Innominatus I*-Pseudo-Turpin II is itself preceded by Villehardouin's *Conquête de Constantinople* (ff. 47r–148v), which echoes the part of the legend on Charlemagne's voyage taking place in Constantinople; the fact that ff. 149–50 are left blank, however, invites caution about this assumption. The other texts in this collection (*Sept sages de Rome*, version A, ff. 1–46v, and *Chronique des ducs de Normandie*, ff. 186v–88v, incomplete) are more loosely associated with the theme of the text at the core of the collection, but both can be considered 'historical' texts from a medieval point of view (Gaggero, "Les récits des témoins directs", 352–54).

The last context we need to mention for *French Innominatus I* is its interpolation in two manuscripts of the second redaction of Brunetto Latini's *Tresor*: Paris, BnF, fr. 1109, f. 20vb–21rb and Paris, Arsenal, 2680, f. 15va–16rb, as Chabaille already remarked (*Li livres dou Tresor*, xxix–xxx, 63; see Annexe IV, 634–36). In both cases the guide is interpolated between I,62 (*Des livres dou Vieil Testament*) and I,63 (*Ci commence la nouvelle loi*), thus bridging the gap between two eras

of sacred history. Chabaille noted that the manuscripts are textually close, which hints at the presence of the interpolation in their shared source. This is the only instance where interpolation, instead of juxtaposition, is used to create a connection between *French Innominatus I* and another text: we pass a threshold, because the interpolation of the guide in the receiving text makes the former no longer recognizable as a separate textual entity to a reader who is not able to compare manuscripts as philologists do. Despite this, the context where *French Innominatus I* is inserted is comparable to the others that we have previously studied, since this part of the *Tresor* is dedicated to an outline of world history (on this section of the *Tresor*, see Rachetta, *Brunetto Latini*).

The manuscript contexts of the three versions of *French Innominatus VII* are not as easy to summarize, and I will only concentrate on the immediate context of our guide, instead of trying to summarize the overall structure of the collections, since all three manuscripts are wide-ranging anthologies of texts. I will refrain for the time being from commenting on manuscript London, BL, Royal 13 A XIV (a large collection of Latin texts).

The context provided by Paris, BnF, fr. 1553 for *French Innominatus VII* is overtly religious: the guide is copied between a *Vie de saint Brendan* (f. 255ra–66va) and a *Vie des saintes Marie et Marthe* (f. 269vb–271va). The association of our guide with these particular texts is not found elsewhere, but the contexts of the Latin versions still need to be studied and may provide useful information.

Manuscript Bern, Burgerbibliothek, 113 (F24 in the manuscript tradition of Ernoul-Bernard), on the other hand, is another large collection of texts from different genres, but Keith Busby (*Codex and Context*, I, p. 432) has commented on the relative unity of a section (f. 115r–99v) containing mostly texts on the Holy Land:

1. f. 115rb–va: Pierre de Beauvais, *Olympiade*;
2. f. 115va–c: *Histoire de Tancrede de Hauteville*;
4. f. 116ra–66rb: *Chronique d’Ernoul et de Bernard le Trésorier*;
5. f. 166rb–vc: *French Innominatus VII*;
6. f. 166vc–69va: *Lettre du Prêtre Jean*;
7. f. 169va–70rb: *Lapidaire anonyme*;
8. f. 170rc–75rb: *Chronique abrégée des rois de France*;
9. f. 175rb–78ra: *La terre des Sarrazins*;
10. f. 178ra–b: genealogy of the kings of France;

11. f. 178rb–98vc: Alart de Cambrai, *Livre de Philosophie et de Moralité*
12. f. 198vc–99vb: Huon de Saint Quentin, *La Complainte de Jérusalem contre Rome*.

Besides the general thematic coherence of this section, what is interesting here is that most of these texts had already appeared in context with *French Innominatus I*. This is the case with nos. 2, 4, 8, 9, while nos. 6, 7, 11 were also featured in Paris, BnF, fr. 17177 and/or 24431 outside the shared sections or the section copied by the same scribe that we have focused on. Also noteworthy is that no. 1 is associated with the *Chronique d'Ernoul* in manuscript Bern, Burgerbibliothek, 41 (F16). There thus seems to be a cluster of texts that tend to appear together and with vernacular guides to the Holy Land, whose patterns of manuscript tradition would repay further consideration. The association of the *Chronique d'Ernoul* text with a French guide, although a different one from the guide included in F25 and F26 (which also have *La terre des Sarrazins*), shows once again how the association of these kind of texts was sometimes done independently by individual scribes,⁴⁷ and was not necessarily due to manuscript filiation (although F24 is indeed textually related to F26 F25 for the *Chronique*; see Edbury and Gaggero 48 and 58–62; Gaggero, “Les récits de témoins directs”, 343–44 and 359).

47. Chiesa, *Una letteratura diffusa*, 4–5 and 8–10.

I will only briefly mention the manuscript contexts of the *French Guides* published by Giannini, who also provided in-depth studies of each collection,⁴⁸ and I will leave aside manuscript London, BL, Harley 2253 which is, as Royal 13 A XIV, a composite, multilingual manuscript.

48. Giannini, *Un guide français*, 11–140 for all manuscripts et 161–204 for F alone.

In two instances the guides edited by Giannini accompany a much bulkier text: *French Guide F* follows a copy of the first redaction of Brunetto Latini's *Tresor* in ms. Ferrara, Biblioteca comunale ariostea, II.280, ff. 173ra–73rb (Pisa, late thirteenth century), while *French Guide P* is transcribed after the *Eracles* (the compilation of the French translation of William of Tyre and its *Continuations*) in Paris, BnF, fr. 9082, ff. 343ra–45ra, copied in Rome (May 1295) by French scribes (F77). These are the context that are most similar to the ones that we have studied in the first part of this article.

Three manuscripts present the vernacular guides in a religious and didactic context. *French Guide B* is copied in a collection of religious texts between *Doctrinal Sauvage* and the *Epistre farcie de saint*

Estienne in manuscript Bruxelles, KBR, IV 1005 (Lorraine, fourteenth century), f. 35r–42r. *French Guide C* is part of a collection (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, GG.6.28, Anglo-Norman, fourteenth century) that has probably been affected by the loss of several folios, so that it is hard to assess its original structure: the manuscript contains the *Ordene de chevalerie* (which features Saladin as its main character) and the vernacular guide is followed by *La terre des Sarrazins* (ff. 57r–69v) and by version A of the *Sept Sages*, which also appeared in Paris, BnF, fr. 2137. The context provided by the two other texts in this manuscript (Nicole Bozon, *Le char d'orgueil* and the *Petite philosophie*) seems otherwise to create a moral and didactic background for the reading of the guide. The same is true for Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 2590 (northern France, last third of the fourteenth century), where the only other text copied is the short version of *Sydrac*.

Probably the most unique collection is Vatican, BAV, Vat. Lat. 3136 (dated to the fourteenth century), copied by a scribe writing in a Occitan-influenced French *scripta* and by a scribe transcribing Catalan texts. The contents of the manuscript concern the history and the regulations of the Hospitaller Order.

The manuscript contexts of the French guides show different degrees of interconnection with the surrounding texts: they usually complement the information given by longer texts, and only in the cases of the Pseudo-Turpin and the two manuscripts of Brunetto Latini's *Treasure* discussed above is there a progressive merging of ours with other works.

I would like to conclude this necessarily cursory overview by discussing the *Rothelin Continuation* of William of Tyre, whose sources and composition have already been studied by Foulet and Morgan.⁴⁹ This is an example of *compilatio* that results in the creation of what appears to be a new text mostly by joining together existing smaller textual units.⁵⁰

The first *Continuation* of William of Tyre ended, as did the Ernoul text from which it is drawn, with the events of 1231. While independent traditions developed in the Latin East, in the West the *Rothelin Continuation* was assembled in part from pre-existing textual material, bringing the narrative to the year 1261 (*RHC, Historiens occidentaux*, II, 489–639): thirteen manuscripts containing this text have come down to us. In four of them (manuscripts *F60 F61 F62 F63* in Folda's handlist) the *Eracles* is prefaced by a series of texts opening with the *Innominatus I* followed by short hagiographic texts that

49. Foulet, *Les sources* and Morgan, *The Rothelin Continuation*. See also Gaggero, "Pour l'étude des insertions métriques", 327–36 and Id., *La storia antica nella Continuazione Rothelin*.

50. For a similar case of a historical narrative composed by joining together shorter texts, see Nicholson, *The Construction of a Primary Source*.

shift the tone of the compilation towards the religious (Rinoldi, “La tradizione”, 83–94).

The *Rothelin Continuation* opens with a brief passage criticizing Frederic II’s politics in the Holy Land for its negative effects (I). The narrative is immediately interrupted by a large geographical-ethnological excursus. Chapters ii–ix consist of a description of Jerusalem, which can also be read in independent manuscripts of the *Chronique d’Ernoul* (§§clxxii–clxxxiv), from which it was left out when that chronicle was joined to the translation of William of Tyre, probably because the translation already contained a description of the Holy City. Chapters x–xi consist of an expanded version of *French Innominatus VII*; chapters xii–xiv contain a prophecy (the *Prophécie le fils Agap*),⁵¹ which is also found as a self-standing text, as in manuscript Paris, BnF, fr. 781, where it follows the *Chronique d’Ernoul*; chapters xv–xviii contain *La Terre de Sarrazins*.

51. The several version of this text have been studied by one of my students in her final MA dissertation (Scapolo, *Le profezie*).

It is easy to see how this section is made up mostly of texts that belonged to the same manuscript contexts, and that, as we have seen, were also often copied together in anthology manuscripts. The compiler of this section achieved a degree of textual coherence by creating transitions from one textual segment to the other:

Chronique d’Ernoul, § clxxii: Mais ançois que je vous die comment il assega Jherusalem et comment il le prist, vous dirai l’estat comment elle siet. Jherusalem n’est pas en cel liu ou elle estoit quant Jhesucris fu crucefiés, ne u il resuscita de mort a vie. Adont, quant Jhesucris estoit *en tiere*, estoit li cités sour le Mont de Syon, mais elle n’i est ore pas.

Rothelin Continuation, II: *Pour ce que li plus des bons Crestienz parollent et oient volantierz parler de la sainte cité de Jherusalem et des Sainz Leuz ou Nostre Sirez fu morz et viz, nous dironz coumant ele seoit au jour que li Sarrazin et Salehadinz la conquistrent suer les Crestienz. Aucunes genz porront estre qui le porront oir. Cil cui il desplera porront trespasser cest leu. Jerusalem est citez la plus glorieuse et la plus principal del monde. Ele siet prez de Damas a .iii. journees. Ele ne siet pas en cel leu ou ele seoit quant Nostre Sirez Jhese Criz fu crucefiez. Ele seoit suer le mont de Syon; mes ele n’i siet ore pas.*

(*Chronique d’Ernoul*, § clxxii: Before I tell you how <Saladin> besieged Jerusalem and how he took it, I will describe the

state of the city and how it sits. Jerusalem is no longer in the place where it was when Jesus Christ was crucified, nor in that where He rose again from death to life. For when Jesus Christ was on earth, the city was on Mount Sion; but it is not there anymore.

Rothelin Continuation, II: Since most good Christians like to talk about the holy city of Jerusalem and of the holy places where Our Lord was dead and alive, we will tell how the city sat on the day that the Saracens and Saladin conquered it from the Christians. There may be someone that will like to hear it. Those who do not will be able to read further. Jerusalem is the most glorious and important city in the world. It is located three days' journey from Damascus. Jerusalem is no longer in the place where it was when Jesus Christ was crucified. It was on Mount Sion; but it is not there anymore.)

The added passage (in italics), while introducing the description drawn from the *Chronique*, also seems to point out to its original place in the source text, where it precedes, as I said, the description of the siege of Jerusalem by Saladin. Its nature of document of a by-gone era explains why all the verbs in the description have been changed from the present indicative to the imperfect in the following chapters. Finally, the permission to skip the passage given to those who may not be interested also seems to underline its digressive nature.

French Innominatus VII B, title-§1: Oiés la devise del saint liu de Jherusalem. Qui onques les vora cerkier por orer si voist par le porte saint Estevene. Defors le porte devant l'Asnerie est li lius u il fu lapidés. En Jherusalem est li mostiers del Sepucre, devant le cuer auquel prés est li sepucres Ihesu Crist.

Rothelin Continuation, X: Or vous avons dist coumant la sainte cité de Jherusalem seoit au jour que Salehadinz et li autre Sarrazin la conquistrent suer les Crestienz. Apres vous dironz del pelerinnaiges coumant li pelerin i aloient. Cil qui sont en Occident, c'est a dire celx qui sont el roiaume de France et d'Alemaingne et des autrez terres, qui sont en cele partie del monde, qui vuellent aller en cele Sainte Terre doivent tenir la voie droit verz oriant. En cel jour doivent entrer en Jherusalem par la porte Saint Estienne; devant cele porte fu il lapidés. Il doit aller tout droit en l'esglyse del Sepulcre Nostre Seigneur Jhesu Crist.

(*French Innominatus VII B*, title-§1: Listen to the description of the holy place of Jerusalem. Anyone who will want to visit it to pray will have to go through saint Stephen's Gate. The place where he was stoned to death is located in front of the Asnerie. Inside Jerusalem is the Church of the Sepulchre, and in front of its choir is Sepulchre of Jesus Christ.

Rothelin Continuation, X: We have now told how the holy city of Jerusalem sat on the day that Saladin and the other Saracens conquered it from the Christians. Now we will tell about the pilgrimage routes taken by the pilgrims going there. Those in the West – namely those in France, Germany and in the other lands on that side of the world – who want to go to the Holy Land, have to take the route straight east. On that day they must enter Jerusalem through saint Stephen's Gate; he was stoned to death in front of that gate. He (?) must go straight to the Church of the Sepulchre of Our Lord, Jesus Christ.)

The author introduces a transition from the description of Jerusalem drawn from the *Chronique d'Ernoul* to the one from the *Innominatus VII* by repeating some of the things that had already been said in the introduction to chapter II. They try to avoid the impression of redundancy (since the information given by *Innominatus VII* overlaps with the one given in the previous section) by introducing this section as a description of the *pelerinaiges* in the Holy Land. On the other hand, the sentence “Cil qui sont ... verz orient” echoes the Latin “<S>i i quis vult intrare Iherusalem, ortum sous semper teneat” more closely than any other extant French version of this text.

Prophécie le filz Agap (Paris, BnF, fr. 4946): Ch'est l'exposition du livre au filz Agap <qui estoit mescreans de la loy Mahomet>. Ichil filz Agap fu fisiciens et philosophes et autant sonne li mos de philosophe comme ameeur de science.

Rothelin Continuation, XII: Vous avez oi une partie des Sainz Leuz et des pelerinaiges de la Sainte Terre d'Outremer, einsinc comme les genz du paiz les moustroient et devoient au jour que cil granz princes Mahometoiz, Salehadinz, conquist la Sainte Terre suer les Crestienz. Mes pour ce que les mescreanz avoient a cel jour .i. escrit et ont encorez que .i. Sarrazin Mahometois avoit fait grant tenz devant ce que ce avenist, par quoui cil, qui ceste estoire liront et celui escrit, porront auques savoir que il dist assez

*des choses qui avindrent au tenz Salehadin, et devant lui et après
(assez en i a qui ne sont mie encorez avenues); par quoi li
Sarrazin tiennent cel escrit a prophecie, et dient que tout
avandra quan qu'il i a escrit ; pour ce le dironz nous a cex qui oïr
le voudront.*

XIII: Ce est l'exposicion del livre le fil Agap, qui estoit mescreanz de la loi Mahommet. Icil filz Agap fu fisicienz e filosofhes. Et autant sonne le mot de filosofhes come atirerres de sciences.

(*Prophécie le fils Agap*: This is the interpretation of the Book of Agap's son, who was an infidel of Mohammed's law. Agap was a physician and a philosopher – the word *philosopher* means 'lover of knowledge'.

Rothelin Continuation, XII: You have heard about some of the holy places and of the pilgrimages of the Holy Land beyond the sea, as the inhabitants of the land showed them and described them when the great Muslim prince, Saladin, conquered the Holy Land from the Christians. The infidels had, and still have, a text that a Muslim Saracen wrote long before this happened. Through this text, those who will read both this history and the text itself will learn that the author predicted many of the events that happened during Saladin's time, as well as before and after him (and some things that have yet to happen). For this reason, the Saracens consider this text to be prophetic, and say that everything written in it will come to pass, thus, we will tell anyone who wants to listen.

XIII: This is the interpretation of the Book of Agap's son, who was he was an infidel of Mohammed's law. Agap was a physician and a philosopher – the word *philosopher* means 'lover of knowledge'.

The transition from *Innominatus VII* to the *Prophécie* occupies an entire small chapter in the *RHC* edition. The introduction has a cumbersome and winding syntax, and insists on the relevance of the new material for an understanding of Saladin's times. It also tries to justify the relevance of the text for the reader of its time by insisting that some parts of the prophecy still have to come true.

Despite this, the whole of this part of the *Rothelin Continuation* is slightly out of kilter with the narrative that it started to continue where the first Continuation broke off. However, it still manages to

integrate itself with the previous narrative, just as each of the other sections that the author stitches together did when they were copied as self-standing texts in manuscript anthologies as the one we previously analysed.

La terre de Sarrazins (Cambridge, UL, Gg. 6. 28): Li apostle de Rome Innocent vout saver les custumes de la tere de Sarazins. Eynz ke le hoste de Crestiens ert apresté et apareillé, si manda al patriarche de Jerusalem ke il enqueist la verité e les custumes e les nuns des hauz Saracins ke tenent les terres, e ke il le mandast a la glise de Rome par ces letres. Li patriarche enquist la verité de la terre e fist a saver a l'Apostolie, e dist en tele manere cum vus orrez après.

Rothelin Continuation, XV: Salehadinz desherita moult de genz et conquist plus terre que tuit li mescreant Mahommetoiz qui avoient esté grant tenz devant lui. Moult li avint bien, tant con il vesqui, de toutes ses emprisses. Et tantost con il fu morz si enfant pardirent prez que tout si comme li patriarches de Jherusalem le manda a l'apostole. Li apostoles de Rome, Innocenz li Tierz, manda au patriarche de Jherusalem que il enqueist et encerchast les uz et les coustumes des mescreanz princes encontre les quiex li Crestien aloient conquerre leur terrez. Li patriarches l'enquist et le remanda a l'apostoile par ses letrez en tel maniere.

XIX: Par les Sainz Leuz que nouz vous avonz devant nommez, avoit, au tenz que li Crestiens tenoient la Sainte Terre, granz esglyses, moustierz et chapelles beles et richez (...).

(*La terre de Sarrazins*: The Roman Pope, Innocent, wanted to know about the habits of the Saracen's land. When the Christian army was ready to leave, he sent a message to the Patriarch of Jerusalem asking him to let him know the truth about the habits and names of the important Saracens that rule those lands, and that he sent this information to the Church in Rome in his letters. The patriarch sought find out the truth about the land and inform the Pope, and he told him everything as you will hear.

Rothelin Continuation, XV: Saladin disinherited many people and conquered more land than any other infidel Muslim before him. He was lucky in all his endeavours while he lived.

However, when he died, his children lost almost everything, as the Patriarch of Jerusalem wrote to the Pope. Pope Innocent sent a message to the Patriarch of Jerusalem, asking him to research the usages and habits of the infidel princes whose lands the Christians wanted to conquer. The Patriarch researched the information and sent it to the Pope.

XIX: Thanks to the holy places that we mentioned before, when the Christians held the Holy Land there were great churches, monasteries, and beautiful and rich chapels).

With the beginning of the section that reuses *La terre de Sarrazins* we have the impression that the author tries to move the narrative along by mentioning Saladin's death. When they need to get back to Frederic II, once they have exploited all the pre-existing material, they try to use the lengthy digression in order to explain the florid state of the land before the Muslim conquest, and how Frederic II, due to the terms of the peace he agreed, was not able to restore the land to its previous state.

It is easy to see how the connections established between the different sections by the author of the *Rothelin Continuation* are very superficial. They limited their work to a cut and paste from previously existing material, and tried to stitch together the different sections without caring for their relationship with the overall narrative. This is indeed a text with a *campitura grossa* in Varvaro's words, where the broad brushstrokes of the compiler to conceal the heterogeneous nature of his source materials cannot disguise the places where they are pasted together.

And yet, thanks to this very low-key effort to create an overall discourse from these *membra disiecta*, and by thus giving the reader a reason to continue reading at the end of each section, the compiler has led us to perceive a higher degree of integration between them than we would have perceived if the source materials had been left standing by themselves as in anthology manuscripts.

6. Conclusion

The study of a group of guides to the Holy Land has allowed us to explore some of the scale-related problems that scholars face when working with such an interrelated corpus.

The detailed study of the extant guides that has been carried out in recent scholarship have shown that the classifications proposed

by nineteenth-century scholars such as Röhrich are sometimes misleading. In this sense, much work remains to be done on the basis of the new critical editions that have been published recently. The problem of the reliability of critical editions, and of the need of editions based on an extensive examination of the manuscript tradition is crucial in the study of this tradition.⁵²

52. On these two points, see Trovato and Kedar; Trovato, “Come pubblicare i testi di pellegrinaggio”.

On the macro and micro scale, the choice of texts to be included in my corpus has proved to be of paramount importance in order to get a clear picture of the development of the tradition. The inclusion of *Innominatus VII* in its Latin and French redactions allowed us to identify a major split in the tradition and to reconsider some of the features of Giannini’s *French Guide F*.

The choice of textual units for comparison between texts is also of great importance: in the case of our guides, the smallest significant unit is the sentence (or group of sentences) about each site; on the other end of the scale, it is important to consider the way in which units are organised to form an ‘itinerary’ (Sacchi).

The interplay between tradition and individual texts, on which the studies by Segre and Varvaro mentioned at the beginning of this article focused, comes to the fore, but the terms of the problem are somewhat reversed. Instead of asking what of a pre-existing tradition is preserved in the texts that have come down to us, it is necessary to establish the criteria that allow us to distinguish a new text from a variant version of an existing guide (Orlandi; Guglielmetti). The shared ‘traditional’ features in the guides to the Holy Land are not only a matter of content, but also a matter of wording.

A correct interpretation of the internal development of the tradition through the recognition of texts, variant redactions and ‘normal’ copies and their relationships is also important in order to confirm or reconsider the chronology of the tradition by matching the two time scales of internal development and historical events in the Holy Land. Guides to the Holy Land, as short texts, stand between the macro-textual dimensions represented by the literary genre at one end, and their integration into broader manuscript contexts and/or larger textual constructs at the other. The study of the first sections of the *Rothelin Continuation* is instructive in this sense.

A study of the manuscript context of the Latin and vernacular guides is also a desideratum in order to update the current state of research. Keskiaho’s findings, which confirmed Hill’s hypothesis about the circulation of the *Gesta Francorum*, and Giannini’s in-depth analysis of the tradition of French guides are still isolated examples.

None of these questions is new to philology, but it may be useful to relate them all to the concept of scale in order to see them all from a unified perspective and thus bridge the gap between philological and linguistic, literary or historical analysis, as concepts such as Cesare Segre's stylistic diasystem have in some ways long urged us to do. It may also help to foster a much-needed interdisciplinary discussion between philology and contemporary humanities.

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Appendix

Latin texts are arranged in chronological order; although recent editions by Denys Pringle have produced parallel texts for some of the Latin texts, I have chosen only one text, after checking its possible relationships with the vernacular texts. French texts that are considered adaptations of one given Latin guide follow immediately their exemplars; when more than one version is known from the manuscripts, they have been arranged according to the degree of closeness in the rendition of the Latin text. I have listed independently the texts lately published by Giannini, and the two Italian texts belonging to this tradition.

The texts are quoted from the standard editions quoted at §2 of this article; I have modified the use of the diacritics and the punctuation every time I thought it necessary to achieve a better reading of the text. Since I intend to examine the manuscript tradition of the *French Innominatus I* elsewhere, for the time being I have transcribed the passage from only one manuscript (see below). For the Latin text of *Innominatus VII* I give a selection of variant readings from the parallel texts edited by Pringle.

1. *Itinerarium Burdigalense*

B) 592,4–5 and 593,1–93,4: [a] In eadem ascenditur Sion et paret ubi fuit domus Caifae sacerdotis, [b] et columna adhuc ibi est, in qua Christum flagellis ceciderunt. (...) Inde ut eas foris murum de Sion, euntibus ad portam Neapolitanam ad partem dextram deorsum in valle sunt parietes, [c] ubi domus fuit sive praetorium Pontii Pilati; ibi dominus auditus est, antequam pateretur (*follows in A*).

A) 593,4–94,4: (*follows from B*): [1] A sinistra autem parte est monticulus Golgotha, ubi dominus crucifixus est. [2] Inde quasi ad lapidem missum est cripta, ubi corpus eius positum fuit et tertia die resurrexit; ibidem modo iussu Constantini imperatoris basilica facta est, id est dominicum, mirae pulchritudinis habens ad latus exceptoria, unde aqua levatur, et balneum a tergo, ubi infantes lavantur.

2.1 *Innominatus I*

B) 98, 3–10: [a] In Iherusalem est cubiculum uno lapide cooperatum, ubi Salomon Sapientiae librum scripsit, [b] et ibi inter

templum et altare in marmore, ante aram, sanguis Zachariae fusus est. [c] Inde non longe est lapis ad quem per singulos annos Iudaei ueniunt, et unguentes eum lamentantur et sic cum gemitu redeunt. [d] Ibi est domus Ezechiae regis Iuda cui ter quinos annos Deus addidit. [e] Deinde est domus Caiphae et [f] columna adhuc ibi est, ad quam Christus ligatus flagellis caesus fuit. [g] Ad portam Neapolitanam est pretorium Pilati, ubi Christus a principibus sacerdotum iudicatus fuit (*follows in B*).

A) 98, 10–16: [1] Inde non longe est Golgotha, id est Caluariae locus, ubi Christus Dei filius crucifixus est. Et ibi Adam primus homo sepultus fuit, ibi Abraham Deo sacrificauit. [2] Inde quasi ad magni lapidis iactum uersus occidentem est locus, ubi Ioseph ab Arimathia sanctum domini Ihesu corpus sepeliuit, [3] ibique est ecclesia a Constantino rege speciose fabricata. [4] A Monte Caluariae sunt tredecim pedes usque ad medium mundum contra occidentem. [5] A sinistra parte est carcer ubi Christus fuit carceratus.

2.2. *French Innominatus I* (text of Paris, BnF, fr. 2137, ff. 151ra–51va):

B) [a] En iherusalem a .i. saint leu couvert d'une pierre. ou Salemons escrit le livre de Sapience. [b] Et ilec meismes entre le temple et l'autel el marbre devant fu le sanc zacharie le filz Barachie expanduz. [c] Ileques prés est la pierre ou les Juis venoient chascun an, et oignoient d'uile d'olive et ploroient et fesoient granz lamentacions, et s'en reperoient plorant et lamentant. [d] Ilec est la meson Ezechie le roy d'Ynde qui (*sic*) nostre sires Diex aloigna sa vie de .xv. anz. [e] Après est la meson Cayphas et [f] la coulombe ou Nostre Seigneur fu lié et batu a l'estache et plaié des escourgiees. [g] A la porte de Naples est li pretoires Pylate la ou Jhesucrist fu jugiez des princes de la loy et des prestres (*follows in B*).

A) [1] Ne gueres loing de la n'est (*sic*) Golgatas: c'est le mont d'Escauuaire ou li filz Dieu fu crucifiez, et Adan le premier home i fu enfoï. Et ilec primes sacrefia Abraham a Damedieu. [2] Ilec vers occident le giet d'une pierre est le leu ou Joseph d'Abarimathie enseveli le cors Nostre Seigneur. [3] Et ilec est l'eglyse que Costentin l'emperiere de Rome et de Costentino-ble fist fere molt richement. [4] Del mont d'Escauuaire si a .

xiii. piez sanz plus jusque la ou le milieu dou monde est vers orient. [5] Par devers senestre si est la chartre ou l'en dist que Dieu fu mis.

3.1. *Innominatus VII*, §§2.2 (text of ms. E):

A) §2.2–2.5: [1] *Intra portam sursum ad dextram est mons Calvarie, ubi crucifixus erat Dominus.* [2] *Subtus est Golgata, ubi sanguis Domini cecidit ad petram.*¹ Et ibi fuit caput Adam.² Abraham sacrificium fecit.³ [3] *Ex alio latere ad pedes montis Calvarie est locus et columpna, ubi Dominus fuit flagellatus,* [4] *et propre, contra orientem per descensus*⁴ .xlviiii.^{or 5} *graduum, est locus ubi sancta crux a sancta Elena fuit inventa.* [5] *In ecclesia est sepulcrum Domini,* [6] *et ibi iuxta, contra orientem in medio chori, est medius mundus,*⁶ *ubi Dominus fuit positus quando Nichodemus deposuit eum de cruce.* [6] *A sinistro latere est carcer Domini, et ibi propre est locus ubi sancta crux adoratur.*⁷

¹cecidit ad petram] super petram *Lux* cecidit per petram *AP₁G*. ²Et ibi fuit caput Adam] Et ibi Ade capud positum fuit *Lux* super caput Adam *AP¹* et ibi fuit captus Adam *G*. ³Abraham sacrificium fecit] Habraham quoque ibi sacrificium Deo fecit *Lux* Et ibi Abraham sacrificium fecit Domino *lack AP¹*. ⁴descensus] descensum *AP¹*. ⁵.xlviiii.] .xl. *AP¹* quadraginta duorum *G*. ⁶mundus] mundi *AP₁* mundus ubi dicitur: PONDERAT HIC MONTES, TERRA PALMAQUE RECLUDENS *Lux*. ⁷ sancta crux adoratur] adoratur sancta crux *LuxG* sancta crux adorabatur *G*.

B) §§4.2–4.6: [A] Ad meridiem est mons Syon, ubi ecclesia formosa in honore sancte Marie fundata¹ est, in qua etiam migravit ad celum,² cuius sanctissimum corpus in vallem Iosaphat est deportatum.³ [b] A sinistro latere⁷ illius est capella, ubi fuit pretorium <in quo Dominus> est iudicatus.⁸ [c] A dextro⁹ vero latere¹⁰ est Galilea, ubi Dominus apparuit Simoni et mulieribus. [d] Sursum⁵ iuxta chorum est ubi Spiritus sanctus descendit super apostolos.⁶ [e] Et in eadem ecclesia est tabula,⁷ supra quam Christus cenavit, quando dixit:⁸ *Accipite, et comedite: hoc est corpus meum.* [f] Et inferius est locus ubi lavit discipulorum pedes, et ibi pila in qua erat aqua. Et in eodem loco stabat Ihesus quando dixit:

Pax vobis, et ibi palpavit Domini latus Thomas. [g] Et a sinistro latere est altare sancti Stephani, ubi fuit sepultus.⁹ [h] Extra ecclesiam est quedam parva ecclesia, ubi pretorium fuit, in quo Dominus¹⁰ flagellatus,¹¹ spinis coronatus atque illusus, et hic fuit domus Caiphe.¹²

¹fundata] consecrata *Lux*AP¹. ²etiam migravit ad celum] migravit ad Dominum *Lux* migravit a corpore EXALTATA EST SANCTA DEI GENITRIX AP¹ ipsa de hoc seculo migravit ad Christum G. ³est deportatum] est repositum *Lux* fuit translatum AP¹ est sepultum G. ⁴In sinistro... iudicatus] *lacks* G; illius... iudicatus] *lack Lux*AP¹. ⁵Sursum] *lacks Lux*. ⁶descendit super apostolos] super apostolos *Lux* descendit super capud FACTUS EST AUTEM REPENTE DE CELO SONUS AP¹ super discipulos descendit quando illud FACTUS EST REPENTE DE CELO SONUS ADVENIENTIS etc. G. ⁷tabula] mensa *Lux*. ⁸quando dixit] accipiens panem gratias egit ac fregit et dedit discipulis suis et ait *Lux* quando eis dixit G. ⁹sancti... sepultus] uni corpus sancti Stephani fuit sepultus *Lux* sancti Stephani, num ibi sepultus fuit iuxta exclesiam. ¹⁰in quo Dominus] ubi Domius fuit iudicatus AP¹. ¹¹flagellatus] flagellatus iudicatus G. ¹²et hic fuit domus Caiphe] SANCTUS SANCTORUM DAMPNATUR VOCE PRO SERVIS BELLUM PATITUR DEUS ATQUE FLAGELLUM ISTE SPINIS CORONATUR QUO MUNDUS IURE REGATUR et erat ista domus Caiphe *Lux* et illa domus Caiphei AP¹ et ibi fuit Cayph G.

3.2. French *Innominatus VII B*

- A) §§2.1–2.4: [5] En Jherusalem est li mostiers del Sepucre, devant le cuer auques pres est li sepucres Jhesu Christ. [1] A destre en haut est li mons de Calvaire a .xv. degrés u Nostre Sire fu mis en la crois et çou est meismes li lius u Nostre Sire conmanda sa mere a saint Jehan l’Ewangleiste, et u il dist: *Feme, vois ci ten fil*. Après dist al disciple: *Vois ci ta mere*. [1a] Defors le porte, a la senestre partie, est li ates s. Jehan Batiste. [2] Par desos le mont de Calvaire est Gorgatas u li sans Nostre Segnor espandi et fendi li roche qui molt estoit grande. Et la fu li ciés Adan, et la fist Abraham sacrefise a Deu. [3] El costé bas, al pié del mont de Calvaire est la colombe u Deu fu loiés et batus. [4] Et pres d’iluec, vers oriant, a descendre de .xl. degrés, li lius u Sainte Elaine trova

le Vraie Crois. [6] Et en mi le cuer est li lius u Nostre Sire mist son doi et dist: *Ça est li milius del monde*. La fu mis Nostre Sire quant Joseph et Nichodemus le misent jus de le Crois. [8] A la senestre partie el costé del cuer est li lius u on aore se Sainte Crois.

- B) §§4.2–4.6: [a] Devers midi est li Mont Syon u il a une eglise de Nostre Dame u de trespasa et de la fu portés ses cors saintimes el val de losafas des apostres. [c] En la destre partie de l’eglise est basilica u Dex aparut a Symeon et as femes. [d] Amont el cuer descendi li Sains Espirs sor les apostres. [e] Et la est la table u Dex fist le cene a ses apostres, quant il dist: *Prendés et mangniés, car c’est mes cors*. [f] Et la desos est le lius et li vaissiaus u Nostre Sire lava les piés de ses apostres et la estoit Jhesu Cris devant ses apostres et la dist il a iaus: *Pax vobis*, et iluec toucha s. Thumas la plaie del precieus cors Jhesu Crist. [g] Et iluec a senestre est li atés sains Estevenes fu ensevelis. [h] Defors l’eglise de Mont de Syon a une eglise en laquele est li pretoires u Dex fu jugiés et tormentés et coronés et degabés. Et en cel liu estoit li maisons Caifas.

3.3. French *Innominatus VII Lon*

- A) §§2.1–2.5: [4] En miliu la vile est un mut grot muster. Dedenz cel muster est le sepulchre, enclos de riche ovre et de noble. [1a] A l’entree de muster estirent Noster Dame e seint Johan quant Noster Seingnor dyt: *Veez ici voster fiz*. E dyt a seint Johan: *Veez ici voster mere*. [1b] Prés de l’us de muster desus esturent les tres Maries e decirerent lure chevelure tant cum l’em cruciferent Noster Seingnor. [1] Cum vus entrés al muster bien a destre est le munt Calvarie a munter par .xviii. degrés. [3] A poy de iloc dedenz le muster est le piler ou Noster Seingnor fu liez e battu. [4] Prés d’iloc est le lius u seint Elene truvat la seinte veraic croiz. [4a] De iloc a un poy est le lius u Noster Seingnor fu en prisune e la chaene ky fu entur sun col. [6] Devant le haut auter est milu le monde. Iloc mist Joseph de Aremathie le cors Noster Seingnor quant il le pris aval de la croiz, e iloc le lava e envolipa en un drap de sindoyne. [6a] Prés de le haut autere; a destre put l’em oir cure le flum de Parais.
- B) §4.2–4.5: [a] Dehors le muris de Ierusalem al sud est mund Syon. Iloc fu Nostre Seingnor jugé a la mort. [e] Iloc fit il la

ceine. [f] Iloc lava il les piez de cei deciples. Iloc est le vessel u lure pees furunt lavés dedens.

3.4. *French Innominatus VII P²*

- A) §§2.1–2.5: [o] En l'entree des portes de che sepulchre est cis viers escriis: quid mulier ploras, iamiam quod queris adoras. [1] Dehuers le porte est li eglise, dalés le liu de Cauvaire, ou sainte Marie et sains Jehans Euvangelistes estoient, quant Nostre Sires dist: *Femme, vois chi ten fil*. Et au desciple dist: *Vois chi te mere*. [1a] Dehuers le porte au seniestre autel est mis sains Jehans Euvangelistes, [1b] et la priés fu enfouis sains Jakemes, que Herodes fist decoler. [1bis] Devens l'eglise haut au diestre costé de l'autel est li mons de Cauvaire ou Nostre Sires fu crucefiés. [2] Desous est Golgatas, ou li sans Nostre Signour chaï sour le pierre, et la est li tieste Adam et en ce liu sacrefia Abreham a Diu. [2b] Et de l'autre costé au piet dou mont de Cauvaire est li eglise saint Leurant [3] et en l'autel a de le coulombe a lequele Nostre Sires fu loiés et batus. [4] Et priés contre orient par .xliiii. degrés est li lius ou li sainte Crois fu trouvee de sainte Elaynne. [5] En l'eglise est li sepulchres Nostre Signour. [5a] Et priés est li lius ou Marie Magdelainne chaï as piés Nostre Signour. [6] Et la dalés contre orient est li moiene partie dou monde. [6b] Et en mi le cuer est Joseph et Nichomenus, qui misent ius Nostre Signour de le crois, [6c] et la desous est li sans Ihesucrist, [6d] et priés est li lius ou il fu envolepés ou sydoine. [7] A seniestre autel dou cuer est li chartre ou Nostre Sires fu mis et [8] priés est li lius ou on aoure le sainte Crois.
- B) §4.2–4.6: [a] A miedi est li mons de Syon, ou sainte Marie trespasa, et la est une eglise molt biele, qui est edefié en l'ounour de li, de coi on dist que Nostre Dame i avoit trespasé. De cui li saintismes cors est des apostles portés ou val Josaphat, [b] a seniestre costé de l'eglise, et la ne fu mie sains Thumas. [c] A destre est Galylee, ou Nostre Sires apparut a Symon et as femmes. [d] Haut dalés le cuer est li lius ou Nostre Sires descendi sour les apostles. [e] Et la est li table ou Nostre Sires manga avoec ses disciples. [f] Et desous est li lius ou Nostre Sires lava les piés de ses disciples et dist: *Pais soit a vous*. Et la tasta sains Thumas le costé Nostre Signour. [g] Et a seniestre costé fu li sepulture saint Estievene. [h] Dehuers l'eglise est une petite eglise ou li pretoires fu, ou

Nostre Sires fu jugiés et batus et couronnés d'espines. Et la estoit li maisons Caÿphe prinche. [h'] Et la a de le coulombe a lequele Nostre Sires fu loiés, et Lycostratus estoit cis lius apielés, et sains Pieres renoia la Nostre Signour.

3.5. *French Innominatus VII Rothelin*,

A) X: [1] A l'entree des portes del Sepulcre, par deforz a destre, estoit la chapele de mont Escalvaire ou Nostre Sirez fu cruxefiez. [2] Desouz est li leuz de Golgata, ou li sanc Nostre Seigneur cheï par mi la roche. La disoit on que li chiez Adan fu trouvez après deluge. La fist Abraham sacrefice a Nostre Seigneur. La dist Nostre Sirez au larron repantant et merci criant: *Amen, te di! Hui seras avec moi en Paradiz*. La reçut Longis sa veue par le sanc Nostre Seigneur qu'il atoucha a ses iex. [4] A destre dou pié du mont d'Escavaire estoit li leuz ou sainte Helainne trouva la vraie Croiz. [5] Em mi le cuer de l'esglyse estoit li Sepulcrez Nostre Seigneur Jhesu Crist, [6] e la delez estoit li compaz que Nostre Sirez mesura de sa main, ou mi leu del monde si comme l'en disoit. La fu Diex mis, quant il fu mis jus de la croiz. La fu ennoinz et envelopez del suaire. [7] A senestre partie del cuer estoit la chartre Nostre Seigneur. La endroit s'aparut il premierement a Marie Magdalene, aprez la rexurrections. [8] A destre du haut autel tout amont aouroit on la vraie Croiz. La veille de Pasque, a heure de nonne passee, quant li solauz atouchoit de l'imaige saint Gabriel le braz qui estoit peinz amont del sepulcre verz le chanel, venoit li sainz feuz du ciel et prenoit a une des lampes del Sepulcre. [8a] A senestre forz de la porte del Sepulcre estoit li autiex de saint Jehan Baptistre.

B) XI: [i] A senestre avoit une chapele, et ce fu la maissonz Kaÿphas, la ou Nostre Sirez fu liez et jugiez et escharniz et batus et escopiz et couronnez d'espines. (...) [h] Dejoust l'esglyse de monte Syon estoit une petite esglyse ou fu li Prestoirez de quoi il parolle en l'Euvangile. [h'] Outre mont Syon avoit une eglyse. La fu sainz Pierrez, quant il ot Nostre Seigneur renoié. Cele eglyse estoit apelee *Galli Cantum*.

4. *Innominatus V*

A) §2: [1] *Tunc intratur ad sepulcrum Domini, ubi est circulus quem Dominus dixit esse in medio mundi.* [2] *In dextera*

chori est mons Calvarie, ubi passus est Dominus in cruce. [3] Subtus est Golgotha, ubi sanguis Domini saxum perforavit et cecidit super caput Adam. [4] Ante Golgotha sunt sepulti reges Ierusalem. [5] Retro tumbam magni altaris est columna, ubi Dominus fuit flagellatus et ligatus. [6] Iuxta ibi per descensum quadraginta graduum est locus, ubi beata Helena invenit sanctam Crucem. [7] Ad dexteram chori est carcer Domini et chatena.

- B) §7: [a] Inde carpitur via in montem Sion, ubi in ecclesia magna beata Virgo migravit a seculo. [b] Ibi autem est quedam capella, in qua Dominus fuit iudicatus et flagellatus et spinis coronatus. [c] Et hec fuit domus Caiphe et Pretorium. [d] Super ecclesiam magnam montis Sion est capella Spiritus Sancti, ubi descendit super apostolos in Pent(ecoste). [e] Ibi est altare, ubi cenavit cum discipulis suis. [f] Ibi subtus est locus, ubi lavit Dominus pedes discipulorum. [g] Et ibi intravit Dominus ianuis clausis ad discipulos et dixit: *Pax vobis*.

5. *Innominatus IX*

- A) Golubovich, *Bibliotheca*, I, 405: In civitate est sanctum Sepulchrum. [1] In choro est medium mundi, ubi Nicodemus et Joseph ab Arimathia posuerunt corpus Iesu. [2] Ad exitum chori ad sinistram partem est mons Calvarie, ubi fuit Dominus crucifixus: ibique fecit Ahraam sacrificium Deo. [3] Subtus est Golgotha, ubi sanguis Christi saxum perforavit et cecidit super caput Adam. [4] Retro locum Calvarie est columna, in qua Dominus fuit ligatus et flagellatus. [5] Iuxta V° (*sic?*) per descensus XL graduum est locus, ubi sancta crux fuit inventa ab Helena.
- B) *Ibid.*, 406: [a] In monte Syon est ecclesia devastata, ubi migravit beata Virgo Maria a seculo et exinde fuit ducta in losaphat per manus angelorum. [b] Coram illa ecclesia magna est capella quedam ubi Dominus fuit legatus et flagellatus et ad mortem iudicatus. Et hec fuit domus Cayphe pretorium. [c] Super ecclesiam magnam est capella Sti. Spiritus ubi ascendit super Apostolos in die pentecostem, [d] et ibi supra est quodam altare in quo cenavit Dominus cum discipulis suis. [e] Et inferius est locus ubi lavit pedes Dominus discipulis suis, Petro ultimo.

6. *Innominatus X*

- A) Golubovich, *Bibliotheca*, I, 408: Primo Sepulcrum Xpi. [1] Et in coro medium mundi, [2] deinde ad exitum chori ad sinistram est mons Calvarie, ubi fuit Dominus crucifixus. [3] Et subtus in Golgotha ubi sanguis Domini saxum perforavit et cecidit super capud Adam. [3a] Coram Golgotha iacent omnes reges Jerusalem. [4] Retro tumbam magni altaris est columna, ubi Dominus fuit ligatus et flagellatus. [5] Iuxta ibi per descensum XL graduum est locus, ubi beata Ehlena invenit veram crucem.
- B) *Ibid.*, 408: [a] In ecclesia magna montis Sion migravit a seculo beata Virgo Maria. [b] Et ibi ante est quedam capella in qua fuit Dominus iudicatus et flagellatus, et spinis coronatus, et hec fuit domus Cayphe et pretorium. [c] Super ecclesiam magnam montis Sion est capella Sti. Spiritus ubi ascendit super apostolos in die Pentecosten. [d] Desuper vero est quoddam altare ubi est tabula Domini super quam cenavit cum discipulis suis. [e] Et subtus est locus et pila ubi Dominus lavit pedes discipulorum. Et ubi intravit Dominus Yhs. ianuis clausis et dixit: *Pax vobis*.

7.1. *French Guide F*

- A) §§1.2–3.3: Et après t'en vais a une grant ygliçe, la ou est le sepoucre ou nostre seingnor Damedeu fu mis. [1] Et in dou quer de ceste gliçe meisme est la ou Deu dist: *Ici est mi monde*. Et Nicodem et Juçep et le .iii. Marie mistrent le corz Jesu Crit, puis qu'il l'osterent de la crois, en celui luec meismez. [2] En la destre parte de celle gliçe meismes est la montee dou mount Cauvaro, la ou Damedeu fu mis en crois et enluec fist Abraam sacrifice a Deu. [3] Et desouz a celui luec est Gorghotra, la ou li sanc de Deu trepassé la roche et cheï sor la tete de Adam. [4] Derieres le trefune dou grant autel de ceste igliçe meisme est la colonne la ou nostre sire Deu fu liez et batuz. [5] Et delés souz une eschale de .xl. degrés est la ou sante Eleine trovoiz la sante crois. [5a] Da l'autre lés droit de le yglise meisme est la charcere la ou Deu fu mis, et ançois est la chaene.
- B) §§7.1–4: [Entre] [a] Envers midi diver la cité est mont Si[mi] on et una grant ygliçe desfaites, et la si reposea Notre Dame,

[c] et jus a la chapelle descendi lo Saint Esperit soure li apostres le jorz de Pentecoste. [d] Et enluec est le table la ou Notre Sire suppé avec li apostres et [e] disout est le leu la ou Deu lavés les piez as apostres, et ancois i est la pile. Et eluec vint Deu quant il dist: *Pes vobiz*, et dist a Thome: *Met enci ton doiz et ta mano e-mon costee*. [e'] Et enluec est l'autel de saint Ystefen et [b] dedenz celle ygliçe fu Deu jugiez et batus et coronez d'espine, et cest fu le pretorio et la maison de Chaÿfas.

7.2. French Guide B

A) §§10.2–11.4: Qui droitement veut entrer en Jherusalem entre tout droit par la porte de Saint Estiene et doit querre par droit les sains leus dou Saint Sepukre. [o] Premierement doit requerre le verai saint sepulcre de nostre segnor Dieu Jhesu Crist. [1] Après est ou cuer le compas de Nostre Segnor et si est le leu ou Nichodemus et Joseph [et] ab Arimathie mistrent le cors Jhesu Crist por laver. [2] Après a l'issue dou cuer a senestre est mont de Calvaire, ou Jhesu Crist fu mis en la sainte vraie croiz, [3] et par desous est Golgathas, la ou li sans Jhesu Crist perça la roche et chaï sus le chief Adam. [4] Enaprès derrier la tribune dou maistre auter est la colombe ou Nostre Segnor fu liié et batu par devant Pylate, et il-lueques fu il batu por nos tous. [5] Et encoste a descendues de .xl. degrés. La est li fains ou sainte Elaine trova la sainte veraie crois et [5a] après est li tresors la ou la veraie crois soloit estre, qui fu perdue en l'ost.

B) §§14.1–3: [a] Et par la irés en monte Syon et ilueques en l'eglyse qui est abatue trespasa la mere Dieu. [b] Et illueques devant a une chapele la ou Nostre Sires fu jugiés et batus et flaelés et d'espines coronés, et ce fu la mison de Caïphas et li pre[ti]toires. [c] Desus la grant eglyse est la chapele dou Saint Esperit et illuec descendi il sus ses apostles [e] et lor lava lor piés mout doucement et entra es portes closes et lor dit: *Pax vobis*.

7.3. French Guide V

A) §§6.1–5: Primerament, qui droytemant vuet intrer en Jerusalem, intre tot droit por la porte Saint Estiene, et doit querre les sains luoqs. [o] Primerament le saint sepulcre Nostre

Seignor est illueques après, [1] c'est a ssaveoir au cuer ont est le compas de Nostre Seignor, e ssi est enssi le luoq ont Nichodemus et Josep ab Aramacia miront sson benoit cors quant ilh ffu encevellis après la benoyta passion. [2] A la yssue dou cuer, a la senestre mayn est monti Calvayre, ce est le luoq ont Dieus ffu mis en la croys, [3] e dessus est Golgota, ce est le luoq ont le ssanc Nostre Seignor pertusa la roche e chaï sur la teste de Adam. [4] Enaprès derriers la tribune dou maistre autel, desos monti Calvayre est la colompne ont nostre seignor Jesu Crist ffu liés e batus. [5] Et illueques decoste une dissendue de .xl. degrés est le luoq ont madame sainte Helena trova la veraya crois. [5a] Enaprès, a l'ichue dou cuer prés dou ssepulcre est la preisson de Nostre Seignor a mayn destre, et illueques est la [...]na dont ilh ffu liés.

- B) §§9.1–3: Vers mydi sur la cité de Jerusalem est monte Syon. [a] La est le luoq e la grant yglise qui est abatue, ont nostre dame sainte Maria trespasa et d'illuoq la portarent a Josaphat. [b] Illueques est une chapele ont nostre Ssire ffon jutgiés e batus e flagelés e d'espines coronés. Et sse ffu le pretoire de Chaïphas et ssa maisson. [c] Sur le grant yglise abatue est l'ygli[...]ou Saint Esperit. Illueques dichendi le Saint [...] sus les apostles le jorn de la Pentecosta. [d] Et [...] a mayn destre est la table on Dieus cena avec ses diciples. [e] Et aqui dessotz est le luoq ont Nostre Ssire lava les piés a sses apostles, et encore y est la pi<l>e. Illueq intra Dieus portes closes e dist a sses dissiples : *Pas ssoit a vos*. E dist a Thomas: *Met yssi ton doit e ta mayn e<n> mon costé*. [e'] Dessost monte Ssyon est une chapele que l'on apela Gualilea. Illueq aparec Nostre Sires as bones femas et a Ssymeon. [e''] En monte Ssyon ffu enoingt le roy Salamon.

7.4. French Guide P

- A) §§6.1–5: [1] Emprés d'iqui, ce est a ssaveoir au cuer ou est le compas de Nostre Seignor, et si est ausi le lieu ou Nichodemus et Joseph ab Aramatie mistrent son beneet cors quant il fu ensevelis après sa beneete passion. [2] A l'issue du cuer, a la senestre main <est> mont de Calvaire, ou Dex fu mis en crois, [3] et par desous est Golgota, ou le precieus sanc de Nostre Salveor chaï sus la teste d'Adam. [4] Emprés la tribune decoste le maistre autel, desouz monte Calvaire

e<st> la colompne ou Nostre Sire fu liés et batus. [5] Iluec a une descendue de .xl. degrés et est le lieu ou madame sainte Helene trova la vraie crois. [5a] Emprés le cuer, a l'issue a main destre du sepulcre est la prison de Nostre Seignor et la doit estre une chaiene dont il fu liés.

- B) §§9.1–3: Vers midi sur la cité de Jherusalem est monte Syon. [a] La fu la grant yglise qui est abatue, ou Nostre Dame trespasa et d'ilueques l'emporterent li apostre a Josaphas. [b] Et iluec devant est une chapele ou Nostre Sire fu jugiés et batus et tormentés et d'espines [tormentés et] coronés. Ce fu le pretoire Cayfas et sa maison. [c] Sus la grant yglise abatue est la chapele du Saint Esperit. Iluec descendi li Sains Esperis sus les apostres. [e] Iluec est le lieu ou Nostre Sire lava les piés de ses apostres, encore i est la pile. La entra Diex portes closes et lot dist: *Pax vobis*. Adonc dist il a saint Thomas: *Met ci ta main et ton doi et ne soies pas mescreant*. [e"] U mont de Syon fu enoint le roi Salomon.

7.5. French Guide W

- A) §§6.1–5: [1] Emprés d'iluec, c'est a savoir ou cuer ou est le compas de Nostre Seignor, et si i est ausi li leus ou Nichodemus et Joseph [de] ab Arimachie mistrent son benoeit cors quant il fu enseveliz après sa benoeite passion. [2] A l'issue dou cuer, a la senestre main est li monz de Calvaire, li leus ou Dieu fu mis en la croiz, [3] et desouz est Golgota, li leus ou le sanc de nostre verai Sauvierre perça la roiche et chaï sus la teste d'Adam. [4] Enaprès derriere la tribune dou mestre autel, desouz mont de Calvaire est la colombe ou nostre sire Jesu Crist, verais Dieu et verais hons, fu liés et batus. [5] Et illuecques decoste a une descendue de .xl. degrez est li leus ou madame sainte Helaine trova la sainte verai[t]e crois. [5a] Enaprès dou cuer, a l'issue dou sepulchre a main destre est la prison de Nostre Seignor et doit la estre une chaeine dont il fu liés.
- B) §§9.1–9.3: Vers midi sus la cité de Jherusalem est le mont de Syon. [a] La est li leus de la grant yglise Abacuc, ou nostre dame sainte Marie trespasa et d'illuecques la porterent li apostre en Josaphat. [b] Illuecques devant a une chapele ou nostre sire Jesu Crist fu jugiez et batuz et flacillez et d'espines

coronez. Ce fu le pretoire de Cayphas et sa meison. [c] Sus la grant yglise Abacuc est la chapeile dou Saint Esperit. Illuecquies descendi li Sainz Esperiz sus ses apostres. [d] Illuecques desouz est li leus ou Nostre Sires lava les piez de ses apostres, et encore i est la pile. [e] Illuecques entra Dieu a portes closes sus ses apostres et lor dist: *Paiz soit o vos*. Adonc dist il a saint Thomas: *Meit ci ta main et ton doit en mon costé et ne soies mie mescreanz, mes feau*. [e''] Ou mont de Syon fu enoinz li rois Salemon.

7.6. French Guide C

- A) §§6.1–5: [o] Primerement deit requere le verei sepulcre Jesu Crist. [1] Après en le quer est le compas e le cercle ou Nichodemus e Joseph de Arimachie mistrent le cors Jesu kant il le veleint ensevelir. [2] A l'issue de cuer, a la senestre main est mont Calvarie, ou Deu fu mis en la croys, e ileukes fist saint Abraham sacrifice a Deu. [3] E par desuth est Golgatha, ou le sanc Jesu cheï e perça la roche, e unkore pert. [4] Enaprès derere la tribune del mestre auter, suth mont Calvarie est columpne ou Jesu fu batu. [5] E ilekes encoste si ad une descendue de .xl. degrez jekes al liue ou saint Helene trova la saint croyz Nostre Seingnur. [5a] E enaprès a l'issu del sepulcre a main destre est un liue ke l'om apele la prisun Nostre Seignur, ou il fu mis en prison, e la soleit estre ausi une chene dunt il fu liez.
- B) §§9.1–9.3: Vers mi jor sur la cité est mont Syon [a] e la est la grant eglise abatu ou Nostre Dame trepassa, e d'ilekes la porterent les apostles en Josaphat. [b] Ilekes devant est une chapele ou Nostre Seignur fu jugez e escharniz e escoupez e flagellez e vituperez e de espines corunez, e ceo fu le pretorie Caïphas, la ou furent assemblez les Juys au concil encontre Nostre Seignur. [c] Sus la grant eglise abatue est la chapele de Saint Esperit. <Ilekes descendi le Saint Esperit> sur les apostles le jor de Pentecoste. [d] E ilekes a main destre sur le auter est la table sur quel Deu cena ou ces disciples e [e] la desuth est le liu ou Nostre Sire lava les pés a ces disciple e unkore i pert la pyle. Ilekes entra il les portes closes a ces disciples vel apostles e lur dist: *Pais seit ou vous*. E ilekes dist il a saint Thomas: *Metez ici ton dei e ta meyn en mon costé, e ne seez mescreant, mes seez feel*.

8. *Les pelrinages communes*

- A) §§18–25: Et le entré en la cité est parmy la porte ou seint Estevene fust lapidé. [o] E pus vendrez a Seint Sepulcre e la frez vus vos oreysouns. [1] Le compas dedenz le cuer ne est mie loyns de le Sepulcre, e la est un peroun le quel Dieu dit qe fust la meene du mounde. [2] Mount Calvarie, ou Jesu fust crucefié, est al destre part de le cuer, [3] e uncore est le sang apparysant sur la roche, q'est apelé Golgatha. [3a] Et deprés yl y a une tounbe de pierre ou gisent les .vii. reys, qe furent jadis de la cité, e Godefroy de Boylloun. [4] Delees le haut auter, la est le piler a qui Jesu fust lyé quant fust flaelé. [5a] Deprés est la prisone, e la cheyne dont Dieu fust encheyné en meisme la prisone, e la furent vewes le jour de Pas[c]he [les] tresi Maries. [5] E delees descendrez .xl. degrees, e la trova seinte Eleyne la Seinte Croyz.
- B) §§49–55: Et par la poez passer vers le mount Syon. [a] La devya Nostre Dame, e les apostles la ensevelyrent grant piece de yleque en le Val de Josaphat. [d] En le mount Syon fist Dieu sa cene, e [e] lava les pyés de ces apostles. E la vint Jesu a eux e lur dit: *Pax vobis*. E la mostra ces playes a seint Thomas. [b] E noun pas loin de yleque est le liw ou Jesu fust defolee e coroné d'espynes. E la fust le paleis e la pretorie Cayphas.

9. *Viagi*, 59:

- A) Appresso entrarete nela chiesa del Sepolcro e [1] ine trovarete lo luogo ke fue chiamato monte Calvario duve lo nostro signore Iesu Cristo fue posto in croce. [2] Di sotto a monte Calvario trovarete Gorgotas, là uve el sangue dele piaghe di Cristo cadde sopra la pietra e quella pietra si fesse inmantenente e videlo cadere la Vergine Maria ch'era ine e fue molto piena di dolore. [3] E nel coro dela chiesa del Sepolcro si è lo luogo due lo nostro signore Iesu Cristo fue posto quando si levò dela croce involto in uno pannolino e ine si dice nel meço del mondo. [3a] Anco trovarete nel coro dela chiesa uno altare di Greci e ine aparbe Cristo ala Maddalena quando risuscitò Laçaro. [3b] E a l'entrata del Sepolcro si è la pietra duve stava l'angelo quando disse ale tre Marie che Cristo era risuscitato, [3c] e ine appresso trovarete lo monumento dove lo nostro signore Iesu Cristo fue messo,

[3d] e su più alto un poco troverete la pietra ke fue posta sopra lo monumento. [5a] Nela chiesa detta si troverete a mano sinistra el luogo due Cristo fue messo in pregione. [5] E poi troverete lo luogo due santa Elena trovò la croce due Cristo fu posto, k'era niscosta con quella de' due ladroni che fuoro posti in croce quando Cristo. [4] E apresso troverete la colonna due fue legato e battuto. [4a] E poscia andarete ala chiesa delli Armini e troverete due fu tagliato el capo a santo Iacomo.

B) E inde andarete a Monte Syon e [b] troverete una chiesa, la prima ke troverete, e ine fue coronato di spine. [d] E apresso entrarete nel monasterio di monte Syon e troverete la tavola due Cristo cenò coli suoi apostoli e ine lo' lavò e piei. [d'] E apresso troverete lo luogo due Cristo mandò lo Spirito Santo sopra gli apostoli lo dì di Pasqua Rosada.

10. *Itinerario*

A) 165: Primeramente de l'uomo ciere e dimandare lo verace sancto sipulcro del Nostro Singnore Ihesu Christo: cioè là 'v'elli fue soppellito apresso la sua beneditta passione. In quella ecclesia dello benedetto sipulcro, cioè in quello chuolo, [1] si è lo compassio del Nostro Singnore Ihesu Christo che fece quando elli misuroe il mondo. [1a] Apresso di quine si è lo cierchiello in nel quale Gosepe di Abaramatia mise lo benedetto corpo del Nostro Singnore Ihesu Christo quando elli lo dispuose di su la croce. Quine fue elli uncto di mirra e d'aloè e d'altri preziosi ungenti. [2] Poi alla scita del chuolo a man manca si è monte Calvario, là ove Dio fue messo in croce. [3] Di sotto si è Gholgota, lo luogo là ove sangue del Nostro Singnore cadde e passò la sassa. [4] E quine presso dentro dalle trefuni dello mastro altare sotto monte Calvario si è la colonna là ove lo Nostro Singnore Ihesu Christo fu legato e battuto dalli giudei tutto inudo inna[n]zi sua beneditta passione. [5] Allato di quine a una disciesa di .xl. scalei di gradi si trova l'uomo lo luogho là ove sancta Lena trove la sancta verace croce del Nostro Singnore Ihesu Christo. [5a] E apresso dello chuolo alla uscita del sipulcro a man diritta si è la pregione del Nostro Singnore e devi essere la catena colla quale eh fue legato.

B) 166–167: Apresso di sopra verso la cittade trova l’uomo uno monte che à nome monte Sioni: [a] là è la grande ecclesia abbatuta e lo luogo là ove Nostra Donna sancta Maria trapassò. Di quine la portàno li angioi in Giusafas. [c] Di sopra a quella grande ecclesia abbatuta si è la capella di sancto Spirito. Quine venne lo sancto Spirito sopra li Apostoli lo giorno della Piantacosta. E quine di sopra si è l’altare. [d] A mano diritta trova l’uomo la tavola, là ove il Nostro Singniore mangiò coli suoi apostoli. [e] Et quine di sotto si è lo luogo là ove Nostro Singniore lavò li piedi alli apostoli suoi. Et ancora vi si vede la pila. [d’] Quine apresso si è lo luogo là ove ‘l Nostro Singnore introe, essendo le porte chiuse, e dimostrossi alli apostoli e disse loro: *Pax vobis*. Et allora disse a sancto Meo: *Metti tua mano î nel mio costato e non sii incredulo*. [b] Quine presso si ae una cappella davanti la grande ecclesia abbatuta. Quine si è lo luogo là, ove il Nostro Singnore Ihesu Christo fue giudicato e battuto e fragellato e di spine incoronato dalli falsi giudei. Quello era giàe lo pretorio di Caifas, là ove lo consiglio fue fatto contra lui.