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**THE LIFE AND WRITINGS OF  
ODO OF DEUIL: ABBOT OF  
SAINT-DENIS**

**A Dissertation for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy**

**2013**

**Conor McCann**

**Trinity College Dublin**

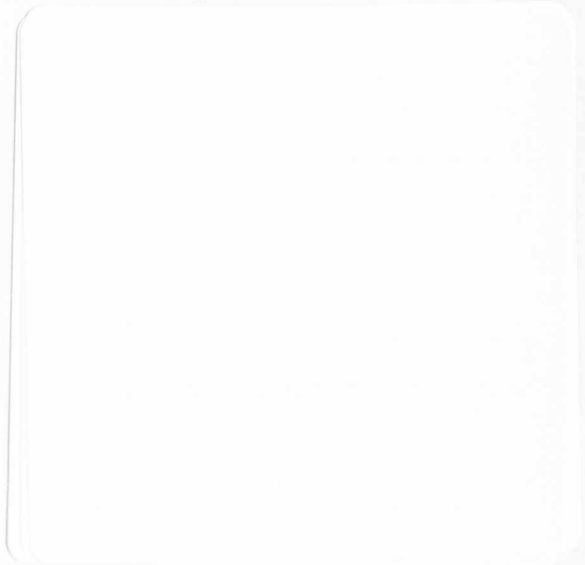


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## SUMMARY

Odo of Deuil is best known in modern historiography as an eyewitness historian of the Second Crusade, having participated in that expedition as the chaplain of King Louis VII of France. Odo's account of the crusade, the *De Profectione Ludovici VII in Orientem*, constitutes the most important narrative of the event. Odo, however, has often come in for criticism in modern historiography for what are seen as his intolerant views regarding the Byzantine Empire and also his lack of criticism of Louis's actions. Odo has thus been somewhat pigeon holed simply as an anti-Greek crusading historian. This is particularly unfortunate given that Odo was a monk at the famous French abbey of St. Denis during the abbacy of the powerful Abbot Suger. Indeed, following Suger's death in 1151, Odo himself became the abbot of St. Denis.

This thesis challenges the perspective of Odo as simply a crusading historian and seeks instead to assess him as an historian in his own right, rather than solely a gatherer of facts regarding the Second Crusade. It also aims to present Odo in a broader twelfth-century context. The approach adopted in this thesis has been aided immeasurably by the fact that it has made full use of another written work by Odo which has not previously been examined in detail. This second work, found in MS. 348 of Queen's College, Oxford, describes Odo's role in the 1156 rediscovery of a relic, purportedly that of Christ's tunic, at the priory of Argenteuil. The text also contains a history of the tunic written by Odo.

The thesis is divided into four separate sections. Section I consists of one chapter, which is concerned largely with the reconstruction of Odo's biographical detail to the greatest extent that is possible. This chapter outlines the crisis that faced Odo in the early months of his abbacy at St. Denis.

Section II consists of three chapters, numbered 2 – 4. These chapters are concerned with Odo's better known work, the *De Profectione*. Chapter 2 examines how the *De Profectione* adhered to contemporary models of eyewitness writing, using the evidence gathered about Odo's language to demonstrate the various layers of information that exist in Odo's account. The chapter also examines the relationship of the *De Profectione* to two other sets of sources: the letters sent by Louis VII back to France

from the Crusade, and the narrative accounts of the First Crusade, one of which Odo is known to have consulted. Using a comparative linguistic approach, the chapter posits that Odo may well have acted as Louis's secretary whilst on crusade and that he may have written the king's letters. The identity of the First Crusade history read by Odo is also narrowed down, with important evidence gathered that suggests Odo had consulted the *Gesta Francorum*. Chapter 3 expands the examination of Odo's language, demonstrating how he made use of various *colores rhetorici* in order to colour his narrative. It is also argued in this chapter that the *De Profectione*, despite Odo's protestations otherwise, was always intended as a stand alone history. Chapter 4 examines Odo's depiction of the three major Christian groups involved in the Second Crusade, that is the Greeks, the Germans and the French. Taking each group in turn, the chapter demonstrates the importance of treating twelfth-century writers in their proper context by showing how Odo's depiction of both Louis and the Germans was obviously influenced by the thinking of Abbot Suger. The chapter also shows how Odo's treatment of the Greeks, although hostile, had much more thought behind it than has often been recognised. In particular Odo's conception of the 'Book of Life' and his statement regarding the absence of the Greek Emperor Manuel I Comnenus from its records, demonstrates how he was keenly aware the important of the written word and well understood the significance of memorialisation. Section III consists of the further three chapters, all concerned with Odo's lesser known Queen's College text. Chapter 5 provides a strong demonstration of Odo's authorship of the text, whilst also speculating as to why Odo felt moved to write it. Chapter 6 subsequently provides the first full length commentary on the content of Odo's narrative. Chapter 7 returns to the detailed linguistic analysis of section II, using a comparative approach to demonstrate that Odo had clear knowledge of a range of written historical and pseudo-historical sources. This is of great significance as such conclusions were impossible when only the *De Profectione* was available. Odo is also placed firmly in his twelfth-century context through the demonstration of his familiarity with contemporary *topoi* found in relic accounts such as the one he composed. Finally, section IV consists of one chapter, numbered 8, which looks at both of Odo's written works, using them to assess how Odo viewed history and the importance of historical writing. It is demonstrated through a close analysis of the content that Odo clearly regarded historical writing and knowledge as a form of spiritual edification.

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## Abbreviations

Arbusow, *Colores Rhetorici* – Arbusow, Leonid, *Colores Rhetorici: Ein Auswahl rhetorischer Figuren und Gemeinplätze als Hilfe für Übungen an mittelalterlichen Texten* 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Göttingen, 1963).

Berry, *De Profectione* – Berry, Virginia *De Profectione Ludovici in Orientem* (New York, 1948), Introduction: pp.xiii–xliv and critical apparatus.

Brown, Cothren, ‘Windows’ – Brown, E.A.R; Cothren, M.W, ‘The Twelfth Century Crusading Window of the Abbey of Saint Denis’, *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 49 (1986), pp. 1–40.

Constable, ‘Second Crusade as seen by Contemporaries’ - Constable, Giles, ‘The Second Crusade as seen by Contemporaries’, *Traditio* 9 (1953), pp.213–79.

CCCM - *Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Medievalis*.

Gasparri, *Oeuvres 1 – Suger: Oeuvres Tome 1*, ed. Françoise Gasparri (Paris, 1996).

Gasparri, *Oeuvres 2 – Suger: Oeuvres Tome 2*, ed. Françoise Gasparri (Paris, 2001).

Grant, *Abbot Suger* – Grant, Lindy, *Abbot Suger of Saint Denis. Church and State in early Twelfth Century France* (London, 1998).

MGH – *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*

MGH SS – *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptores*, ed. G.H Pertz *et al.*, 32 vols (Hannover, Weimar, Stuttgart and Cologne, 1826–1934).

MPL – *Patrologia Latina* ed. J.P. Migne (Paris, 1844–1855).

Odo, *De Profectione* – Odo of Deuil, *De Profectione Ludovici VII in Orientem*, ed. and trans. V.G. Berry (New York, 1948).

Phillips, 'De Profectione as a source' – Phillips, Jonathan 'Odo of Deuil's *De Profectione Ludovici VII in Orientem* as a source for the Second Crusade' in M. Bull and N. Housley (eds), *The Experience of Crusading Vol. 1 - Western Approaches* (Cambridge, 2003), pp.80–95.

Phillips, *Second Crusade* – Phillips, Jonathan *The Second Crusade: Extending the frontiers of Christendom* (New Haven, 2007).

Queen's MS. 348 – Odo of Deuil's unnamed text concerning the discovery of the tunic of Christ in MS. 348 of the Queen's College Oxford, fols. 48<sup>v</sup> – 65<sup>v</sup>.

RHC, Occ – *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Historiens Occidentaux*, 5 vols (Paris, 1844-95).

RHGF – *Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France*, ed. M. Bouquet et al., 24 vols (Paris, 1737–1904).

Suger, *Vita Ludovici* – Suger, *Vie de Louis VI le Gros*, ed. and trans. Henri Waquet, (Paris, 1929).

William, *Dialogus* – William of St. Denis, *Dialogus Apologeticus: Le Dialogue Apologetique du moine Guillaume, Biographe de Suger*, ed. A. Wilmart, *Revue Mabillon*, 32 (1942), pp. 80–118.



# Introduction

Odo of Deuil was a figure who achieved a degree of prominence in the mid-twelfth century. On the Second Crusade he was the chaplain to King Louis VII of France. He recorded his experiences on the crusade in writing, with his *De Profectione Ludovici VII in Orientem* constituting the most important source of information regarding the expedition. Outside of his crusading involvement, Odo was a monk at the famous abbey of St. Denis, near Paris. In the 1130s and 40s Odo worked as a travelling reformer on behalf of the abbey. This work also briefly continued following his return from the crusade as Odo was elected abbot of St-Corneille at Compiègne in 1150. That Odo was frequently chosen for reforming work is an indication of the importance in which he was held by Abbot Suger of St. Denis, one of the best known figures of twelfth century historiography. The prominent position of Odo within the St. Denis hierarchy was confirmed in 1151, when, following the death of Suger, he was elected as abbot. The early years of Odo's abbacy were marked by crisis, with his authority resisted by some within the abbey. He was, however, able to emerge with his authority intact. During the crisis his reputation was defended by Bernard of Clairvaux, who wrote about his familiarity with Odo and his knowledge of his good standing. In the years following the crisis of his early abbacy, Odo composed another written text, this time dealing with the 1156 rediscovery and display of a relic, purportedly that of Christ's tunic, at the priory of Argenteuil. He died in 1162.<sup>1</sup>

Odo thus appears as a figure of some standing, the chaplain of the French king, the trusted deputy of Suger and a person who could call upon the help of Bernard of Clairvaux. In addition to these impressive personal connections, Odo also wrote two historical works in a period when a distinctive royal historiography was beginning to emerge at St. Denis. It thus appears strange that Odo of Deuil has largely remained on the fringes of modern historical research.

Odo is seen occasionally in examinations of twelfth-century historical events and processes, but only rarely as the central object of scrutiny. Those examinations that have focussed on Odo have generally sought to assess the accuracy of the information

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<sup>1</sup> For a full examination of Odo's career see pp.9–29 below.

contained in his writing rather than seeking to discern how those works were shaped by the historical context in which they were written.

There appear to be several reasons for the lack of a proper detailed examination of Odo of Deuil as an historical personage and writer. Odo is undoubtedly best known as the author of the *De Profectione Ludovici VII in Orientem*. The *De Profectione* deals with the disastrous involvement of Louis VII and the French in the Second Crusade of 1145–9 and constitutes the most important source of information for the oriental leg of the crusade. This fact has linked the study of Odo with that of the Second Crusade. That Odo was almost always associated with the Second Crusade did not encourage scholars to devote particular attention to him. This was because the historiography of the Second Crusade itself went through a period of relative neglect in the twentieth century. For much of this period the most recent monograph on the expedition was Kugler's 1866 *Studien zur Geschichte des zweiten Kreuzzugs* until the 2007 publication of Jonathan Phillips's *The Second Crusade: Extending the frontiers of Christendom*.<sup>2</sup> For much of the intervening period of almost a century and a half there was a paucity of scholarly examinations of both the Second Crusade and of Odo and his *De Profectione*, the reasoning for which may have been related to the very nature of the *De Profectione* and the other major sources for the expedition. The narrative of the *De Profectione* ends just prior to the arrival of Louis in Antioch in March 1148. The major narrative sources for the German leg of the expedition are hampered by the reluctance of their author, Bishop Otto of Freising, to dwell upon his own involvement in the crusade.<sup>3</sup>

As Phillips and Hoch stated in 2001 'This gloomy response, most famously represented by Otto of Freising's unwillingness to describe his own crusading experiences, has until recently discouraged modern historians and their students. In comparison to the wealth of information on the successful First Crusade, the material for the main campaign of 1147–48 is relatively sparse. Odo of Deuil's incomplete account of Louis VII's journey to the East and Otto of Freising's desire to pass over the event are not, at first sight, such rich fare'.<sup>4</sup> The relative lack of attention paid to the

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<sup>2</sup> Bernhard Kugler, *Studien zur Geschichte des zweiten Kreuzzugs* (Stuttgart, 1866); Phillips, *Second Crusade*.

<sup>3</sup> Otto of Freising, *Gesta Friderici I Imperatoris*, ed.G. Waitz and Bernhard von Simson MGH *Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum* (Hannover, 1997), pp.218–9.

<sup>4</sup> Jonathan Phillips and Martin Hoch, 'Introduction' in Phillips and Hoch (eds) *The Second Crusade: Scope and Consequences* (Manchester, 2001), p.2.



Second Crusade may also be explained by the fact that the expedition lacks something of the emotional appeal of the other crusading expeditions of the late eleventh and twelfth centuries. It was also undoubtedly a failure, at least in its eastern form. The supposedly colourless, less attractive, nature of the Second Crusade was summarised by Virginia Berry in her chapter on the expedition written in 1969: 'In histories of the crusading movement the Second Crusade generally figures briefly as a fiasco, modelled slavishly on the First Crusade, but without its mythic power, and lacking the vigorous secular quality of the Third and Fourth Crusades. This estimate is partly deserved; but existing records show that the Second Crusade had a complicated character of its own and formed a turning point in the development of the crusades'.<sup>5</sup> In the long period between the publication of Kugler's and Phillips's monographs the most influential treatment of Odo probably appeared in Constable's important 1953 study, 'The Second Crusade as seen by contemporaries.' Constable acknowledged the status of the *De Profectione* as the most important source for the Second Crusade, but bemoaned the fact that the usefulness of the text was, in his opinion, compromised by its persistent criticism of the Greeks and its uncritical attitude towards King Louis VII. Constable's criticism of the *De Profectione* as a source extended to his taking issue with Odo as a person. He differed from the assessment made by Topping in a 1951 review of Henri Waquet's edition of the *De Profectione*. Topping had described Odo as an 'ecclesiastical of real stature, only less distinguished than his master and predecessor, Suger'.<sup>6</sup> Constable disagreed with this perspective, stating that 'there is no evidence that he was outstanding either for his intellect or his practical ability'.<sup>7</sup>

Constable's conclusions regarding the utility of the *De Profectione* have been modified in the wake of a renewed historiographical interest in the Second Crusade that preceded the publication of Phillips's monograph. John Rowe, examining the confused origins of the Second Crusade, wrote, 'Let us not be too quick to impugn Odo's veracity... For all his enthusiasm for Louis and the crusade, there is a sober side to Odo

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<sup>5</sup> Virginia Berry, 'The Second Crusade' in Marshall W. Baldwin (ed.) *A History of the Crusades: Vol 1 The First Hundred Years* (Madison, 1969), p.463.

<sup>6</sup> Peter Topping, 'Henri Waquet: La Croisade de Louis VII Roi de France. Review' *Speculum* 26 (1951), p.386.

<sup>7</sup> Constable, 'Second Crusade as seen by Contemporaries' pp.217-8.

as a writer of history that should not be ignored.’<sup>8</sup> George Ferzoco, writing in the same 1992 volume, *The Second Crusade and the Cistercians*, echoed Rowe’s sentiments when he wrote, ‘This is not to say that what Odo explicitly recounts is untrustworthy, despite his propagandistic approach to the episode [Louis’s decision to take the cross]...Odo had a privileged position in observing the activities of the French crusaders’.<sup>9</sup> This challenge to Constable’s statements regarding the usefulness of the *De Profectione* recently found its fullest expression in Phillips’s essay ‘Odo of Deuil’s *De Profectione Ludovici VII in Orientem* as a source for the Second Crusade’.<sup>10</sup> This piece, which preceded his monograph and anticipated its treatment of the *De Profectione*, argued that Odo’s source was more subtle in its treatment of Louis and the Greeks than had been acknowledged by Constable. This study now stands as the best examination of the historical utility of the *De Profectione* in relationship to the Second Crusade.

These reassessments of Constable’s conclusions on the utility of the *De Profectione*, along with the emergence of a fresh interest in the study of the Second Crusade are welcome and important historiographical developments. It remains true, however, that there has been little in the way of a reassessment of Constable’s statement on Odo as a person and on his standing as an ecclesiastical figure. The re-examinations of the *De Profectione*, while of obvious historical importance, have largely remained focussed on the information that can be extracted from the account and how this information is of use in making clearer the events of the Second Crusade. This situation brings to mind Wallace-Hadrill’s statement regarding the historians of the early Middle Ages, and in particular Bede and Gregory of Tours, that in seeking to extract information from our sources we can forget that they were the product of historians, whose presentation of information was influenced by their own context. In this context the historian merely becomes a ‘storehouse of information’.<sup>11</sup> The usage of historical accounts largely as mines of facts has also been criticised by Jacques Le-Goff, although his somewhat hard conclusions were perhaps influenced by his personal partisanship for

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<sup>8</sup> John G. Rowe, ‘The Origins of the Second Crusade: Pope Eugenius III, Bernard of Clairvaux and Louis VII of France’ in Michael Gervers (ed.) *The Second Crusade and the Cistercians* (New York, 1992), p.82.

<sup>9</sup> George Ferzoco, ‘The Origin of the Second Crusade’ in Michael Gervers (ed.) *The Second Crusade and the Cistercians* (New York, 1992), p.95

<sup>10</sup> Phillips, ‘*De Profectione* as a source’.

<sup>11</sup> J.M Wallace Hadrill, *Early Medieval History* (Oxford, 1975), pp.96–7; This opinion has been echoed recently by Martin Heinzelmann: M. Heinzelmann, *Gregory of Tours: History and Society in the Sixth Century* (Cambridge, 2001), p.2.



a particular *Annales* approach to history: 'It is clear that the historians who are the most inclined to rely solely on facts are not only unaware that a historical fact results from a process of montage and that establishing it requires both technical and theoretical work, but also blinded by an unconscious philosophy of history that is often slender and incoherent'.<sup>12</sup>

While Le Goff's words are harsh, it is true that a fuller examination of Odo as a writer and the influences to which he was subject is required. This is particularly true because Odo was a member of a St. Denis milieu that is itself considered historically important. There has also been no proper examination of Odo in his capacity as an historian working in an established St. Denis context. Suger, Odo's predecessor as abbot at St. Denis, has been afforded much attention both as a writer of history and as a figure of mid twelfth-century France.<sup>13</sup> Suger, of course, has left more written works than Odo and was also of greater political importance than his successor. His involvement with the rebuilding of the abbey of St. Denis has also given him an important status in the history of architecture. Suger's biography of King Louis VI, *Vita Ludovici Grossi*, has led to him being given particular prominence in the gradual emergence of St. Denis as a centre of French royal historiography. This royal historiography reached its fullest expression from the thirteenth century, with the St. Denis *Grandes Chroniques de France* serving as an 'official' history of the Capetian kings of France. Although Spiegel, in her important 1978 study of the *Grandes Chroniques de France*, stated that it was no longer possible to view Suger as the 'founding father' of such a tradition, she still concluded that 'it is probable that Suger supervised, or at least stimulated, the beginnings of royal historiography at the abbey'.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> Jacques Le-Goff, *History and Memory*, trans. S.Rendall and E.Claman (Oxford, 1992), pp.103-4.

<sup>13</sup> Two biographies of Suger have been published relatively recently: Lindy Grant, *Abbot Suger of Saint Denis: Church and State in Early Twelfth Century France* (London, 1998); Michel Bur, *Suger abbé de Saint-Denis: regent de France* (Paris, 1991). The Abbot has also been the subject of a number of essay collections: Rolf Grosse (ed.), *Suger en question: regards croisés sur Saint-Denis* (Munich, 2004); Paula Gerson (ed.), *Abbot Suger and Saint-Denis: A Symposium* (New York, 1986); There have been a voluminous number of articles written about Suger, many of which will be cited below. The broad perspective of recent scholarship on the Abbot is indicated by the work of Françoise Gasparri. This includes new editions of most of Suger's written works and his letters and charters: Gasparri, *Oeuvres 1*; Gasparri, *Oeuvres 2*; She has also published a variety of important articles: Gasparri, 'Suger de Saint-Denis. Pratiques, forms, langages d'une culture écrite au XIIe siècle' *Scrittura e civiltà* 20 (1996), pp.111-35; Gasparri, 'La politique de Suger à travers ses chartes' *Bulletin de la Société nationale des antiquaires de France* (2000), pp.89-95; Gasparri, 'L'abbé Suger de Saint-Denis. Mémoire et perpétuations des œuvres humaines' *Cahiers de Civilisation médiévale, Xe-XIIIe siècles* 44:175 (2001), pp.247-57.

<sup>14</sup> Spiegel, *The Chronicle Tradition of Saint-Denis* (Brookline, 1978), pp.44-5.



It was in the twelfth century that a number of manuscripts of historical compilation were produced at St. Denis. These mark the true beginnings of a distinct St. Denis historiography.<sup>15</sup> This period is also notable for the cultivation at St. Denis of mythologies that would later be incorporated into the *Grandes Chroniques*. The most significant example of this is perhaps the legendary account of Charlemagne's journey to the East, which likely emerged at St. Denis in the first half of the twelfth century, possibly in relation to the abbey's annual Lendit fair.<sup>16</sup> In her survey of the St. Denis chronicle tradition Spiegel does devote some space to Odo, commenting on the *De Profectione*.<sup>17</sup> That the *De Profectione* was not used by the compilers of the *Grandes Chroniques* limited Spiegel's interest in Odo. So too did the fact that she was unaware of his other written work.

This thesis will thus undertake a much fuller examination of Odo and his writings than has previously been attempted. Much of this investigation naturally involves a particular focus on Odo's written works. They will be examined, however, not only in order to see *what* Odo wrote and thus how that information can be used to reconstruct a chronological order of events but also to attempt to ascertain *why* Odo presented his information in a particular manner and *how* he set about presenting his information. The intellectual framework in which Odo developed his ideas will be considered, with an assessment of how his presentation of information and his usage of sources fitted into the broad context of the twelfth-century but also the more specific context of monastic historical writing and particularly the historical traditions that were being cultivated at St. Denis. The detailed examination of Odo's previously little known account of the rediscovery and display of the Tunic of Christ at Argenteuil in 1156 forms a significant part of this approach. Indeed it is fair to say that an examination of Odo as attempted in this thesis would be much less possible were it not for the emergence of the Argenteuil text.

As detailed above, one of the reasons for the lack of any proper examination of Odo as a writer was perhaps due to his association with the Second Crusade and his status solely being that of the author of a crusade history, albeit one with a significant connection to St. Denis. The emergence of the Argenteuil text allows for a broader

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<sup>15</sup> Spiegel, *The Chronicle Tradition of Saint-Denis*, pp.39–44.

<sup>16</sup> Odo's knowledge of this legendary account is examined below, pp.229–40.

<sup>17</sup> Spiegel, *The Chronicle Tradition of Saint-Denis*, pp.53–5.

perspective of Odo's work to be taken. One of the most obvious benefits comes from the fact that the Argenteuil text is structurally different from the *De Profectione*. While Odo's crusading history is largely a piece of eyewitness reportage, the Argenteuil text contains numerous passages where Odo has instead had to make use of other written historical accounts, selecting and editing their content to fit with the purpose of his own writing. This automatically gives an insight into Odo's knowledge of historical writers that is much less visible through the *De Profectione* alone. The Argenteuil text also provides a useful point of comparison to the crusading history, demonstrating how Odo's views and writing methods could differ with circumstance. A much fuller view of Odo both as a writer and as a person dealing with historical information is thus possible.

The thesis is divided into four sections. The first section is concerned with Odo's biography, particularly his career as a travelling reformer prior to the Second Crusade and his election to the abbacy of St. Denis following the death of Suger, an event that was opposed by factions within the abbey. Section II, which is divided into three chapters, (numbered 2–4), deals with the *De Profectione*. In chapter 2 the accuracy of the source is thematically examined in conjunction with an investigation of the ways in which Odo presented his information. The relationship of the *De Profectione* to other sources is also considered, with the possible role of Odo in the composition of Louis VII's crusading letters highlighted. The identity of a history of the First Crusade known to have been consulted by Odo is also investigated. Chapter 3 expands the examination of the manner in which Odo presented his information, considering how his usage of *colores rhetorici* and affected modesty influenced his use of language. Odo's knowledge of the convention of *captatio benevolentiae* is demonstrated and the relationship of this knowledge to the status of the *De Profectione* as a stand-alone work of history is also considered. Chapter 4 examines how Odo presented the three major Christian national groupings involved in the oriental leg of the Second Crusade. An assessment will be made of the extent to which his depiction of the Germans and the French was influenced by his St. Denis background and specifically the writings of Suger. The controversial issue of his treatment of the Greeks is also considered, with a consideration of how Odo's usage of *colores rhetorici* influenced his depiction of the Emperor Manuel I Comnenus. Section III of the thesis is concerned with Odo's Argenteuil text. This section is divided into three chapters,

(numbered 5–7). Chapter 5 provides an introduction to the little known text. The evidence for Odo's authorship of the account is outlined and his reasons for having written the text are assessed. The chapter also contains a brief overview of the history of the relic, purportedly that of Christ's tunic, which was displayed in 1156. Chapter 6 provides the first full commentary on Odo's text, fully outlining its content in English. The veracity of some of the claims made by Odo in the text is also considered. Chapter 7 is a full analysis of the content of the Argenteuil text, with the sources used by Odo in constructing his narrative identified and the intellectual context in which he composed such a work of hagiography also outlined. Finally, Section IV, which consists of one chapter, (numbered 8), deals with Odo's writing as a whole, considering what it can tell us about Odo as an historian, or a writer of historical texts. This chapter assesses exactly what Odo considered his works to be and how exactly he perceived the importance of historical writing. A full Latin edition, with critical apparatus, of Odo's Argenteuil text is also included as an appendix to the thesis.



## Section I - Biography

# Chapter One

### *The Life of Odo of Deuil*

Concise biographies of Odo of Deuil have previously been written, typically in broad histories of the abbey of St. Denis or in the prefaces to editions of his historical writings. All these biographies have been notably brief. They have also been hampered by either the lack of knowledge of key sources, or the failure to examine fully the available evidence.

Virginia Berry's note on Odo's life, found in the introduction to her edition of the *De Profectione Ludovici VII in Orientem*, states as fact that 'only in 1147' with the departure of Louis on the crusade does Odo 'emerge as an individual'. She writes that prior to this point 'nothing is known of Odo's earlier life'.<sup>1</sup> Dom. Michel Felibien's '*Histoire de l'abbaye royale de Saint Denis*' is similarly silent on Odo's activities prior to his involvement in the crusade.<sup>2</sup> Both of these accounts appear to have been wholly unaware of the *Dialogus Apologeticus*, a work written by William of St. Denis in the early 1150s.<sup>3</sup> This work is arguably the critical source of information for the events of Odo's career, particularly in the period prior to the Second Crusade. It was written by William, who was also responsible for a biography of Suger, at some point after 1154 in order to ingratiate himself with Odo following the crisis of the early years of Odo's abbacy of St. Denis. This crisis had seen William exiled from St. Denis.<sup>4</sup> Waquet's edition of the *De Profectione* does not suffer from this fault, and his biographical examination of Odo is perhaps the most complete that can be found in the secondary literature.<sup>5</sup> However, it too is incomplete. Waquet, like Berry, Felibien and most other scholars who have had an interest in Odo, was unaware of Odo's other work, his account of the discovery and history of the tunic of Christ at Argenteuil in 1156. There is no full biographical account of Odo dealing with this event, one which could reasonably be viewed as the apogee of his career as abbot. The opening section of this

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<sup>1</sup> Berry, *De Profectione*, pp. xiv – xv.

<sup>2</sup> Michel Felibien, *Histoire de l'abbaye Royale de Saint-Denys en France* (Paris, 1706), pp.192–98.

<sup>3</sup> William, *Dialogus*.

<sup>4</sup> See below, p.20.

<sup>5</sup> Henri Waquet, *La Croisade de Louis VII : Roi de France* (Paris, 1949), pp.2–14.

chapter aims to provide a comprehensive biographical treatment of Odo of Deuil, incorporating all of the available direct and contextual evidence and assessing the veracity of claims made in the secondary literature for which limited evidence survives.

The name 'Odo of Deuil' is the one most often employed by modern historians to refer to the St. Denis historian of the Second Crusade. It is known to historians from Odo's letter to Abbot Suger which prefaces the *De Profectione*, where he styled himself *Odo de Deogilo*.<sup>6</sup> This identifies Odo as having been from Deuil in the valley of Montmorency, about eight kilometres distant from the abbey of St. Denis. All that is known about Odo's family is that he had a brother named Roger who, whilst acting as a witness to an 1157 charter issued in favour of St. Denis, identified himself as a knight (*miles*).<sup>7</sup> Odo was thus likely from a family that was at least a member of the minor nobility. Given that Odo died in 1162 and had been considered senior enough to be elected as abbot just over a decade earlier, it seems likely that he was born in the first decade or so of the twelfth century. It is also reasonable to assume that Odo would have received his education at St. Denis. This was the case for Suger, who had been presented to the abbey as an oblate.<sup>8</sup> Odo was perhaps remembering his own educational experiences when he chose to illustrate the capacity of Archbishop Hugh of Rouen as a teacher with a quotation from Juvenal, possibly known from one of Jerome's letters, which referred to a hand being hauled under a rod.<sup>9</sup>

It is for the decade prior to Odo's departure on crusade that slightly clearer evidence for his activities becomes available, although it is still incomplete. The critical source of information for this period is the *Dialogus Apologeticus* of William of St. Denis, particularly Chapter 12 of that work. A passage in this chapter, supposedly narrated by Gaufred, the figure with whom William of Saint Denis converses in his *Dialogus*, describes the somewhat peripatetic early career of Odo *longo ante provectionem suam tempore*.<sup>10</sup> This brief account begins with a description of Odo's character. Gaufred states that although Odo did not have the title of abbot at this point, his *eloquium, exemplum, vita* and *verba* were all worthy of one. This had been attested

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<sup>6</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, p.2.

<sup>7</sup> Archives Nationales LL89 ff.359 – 60. <http://saint-denis.enc.sorbonne.fr/inventaire/tome1/notice317> (accessed September 6 2012)

<sup>8</sup> Grant, *Abbot Suger*, p.78.

<sup>9</sup> Queen's College MS.348 fol.58.v; Juvenal *Satires* 1; Jerome, *Epistola ad Domnionem*, MPL XXII, col.0516.; For an analysis of Odo's source for this passage see below pp.251 –2.

<sup>10</sup> William, *Dialogus*, p.102.



to Gaufred by numerous suitable witnesses, possibly ones who had witnessed him undertaking the work which Gaufred refers to as having been *reformatio disciplinae*.

According to the *Dialogus* Odo first found himself sent to Poitou (*Pictavorum partes*). His role in Poitou, or indeed even his exact location there, is unclear. There is a greater amount of clarity regarding Odo's next destination. The *Dialogus Apologeticus* states only that he was despatched to a location in Berry (*Bituricensium partes*). Further surviving evidence indicates that Odo was made prior of La-Chapelle-Aude in 1135. This appointment is perhaps evidence of Suger's trust in Odo. La-Chapelle-Aude had proved problematic for the abbot, with the Dionysian priory's rights over its churches coming into dispute on several occasions. The priory's church at Estivareilles was usurped by monks of the abbey of Egedun in 1122 and its control over the churches of St-Désiré and Courçais being disputed with the abbey of La Chiusa in the 1130s.<sup>11</sup> Two charters involving Odo survive in the priory's fragmentary cartulary.<sup>12</sup> The content of these charters is of incidental interest to Odo's broader biography. The first merely records the donation of a mill house by the priory. The second details Odo's veto of a marriage for fear of losing control of a chapel. The two charters are notable because in each of them Odo is referred to as *Odo de Diogilo*, thus making them the only surviving source, other than the preface to the *De Profectione*, in which Odo is identified by his place of birth. That Odo only appeared in two charters suggests that his time at La-Chapelle-Aude was brief. The *Dialogus Apologeticus* records that following his time there Odo was sent to England. Grant has suggested this was perhaps so that he could oversee the properties of St. Denis during the anarchy of King Stephen's reign.<sup>13</sup> Whilst Grant is necessarily speculating given the lack of other direct information, circumstantial evidence does support her claim. In the summer of 1150 Suger received a letter from King Stephen, assuring the abbot that he would strive to protect those St. Denis properties situated in land under his control.<sup>14</sup> Whilst this letter was likely part of the wider diplomatic situation regarding the duchy of Normandy in which Suger was involved at the time, it does indicate that he was also well aware of the danger that

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<sup>11</sup> A summary of the problematic nature of La-Chapelle-Aude is provided in Grant, *Abbot Suger* pp.212–3, a more complete history of the priory and its priors is found in *Fragements du Cartulaire de la-Chapelle-Aude*, ed. M Chazaud (Moulins, 1860), pp. LXXXI–VII.

<sup>12</sup> *Fragements*, pp.91–2, 119–20.

<sup>13</sup> Grant, *Abbot Suger*, p.205.

<sup>14</sup> Suger, *Lettres* in Gasparri, *Oeuvres 2*, p.148; *Regesta regum Anglo-Normannorum* vol. III, ed. H.A Cronne and R.H.C Davis (Oxford, 1968), p.278

political instability posed to the properties of St. Denis.<sup>15</sup> There is some evidence for the links that St. Denis enjoyed with England in this period and for the interest of the abbey in possessions across the channel. A dossier of five charters, likely forged in the eleventh century, advanced St. Denis's claims over properties in Rotherfield, Hastings, Pevensey and London. These forgeries were possibly inspired by the steps taken by King William I of England in 1069 to begin confirming rights and holdings.<sup>16</sup> An earlier 1059 charter of King Edward the Confessor which granted land to St. Denis at Taynton near Oxford is probably authentic.<sup>17</sup> It is also known that the abbey held the Oxfordshire priory of Deerhurst, and its two possessions of Northmoor and Taynton. These were the subject of a dispute between St. Denis and the monks of Reading in the late 1140s.<sup>18</sup> Following Odo's time in England Suger can also be seen to have been in correspondence with a number of bishops in England. Between 1147 and 1150 Suger received four letters from English bishops – one each from the bishops of Hereford and Salisbury and two from Henry of Blois, bishop of Winchester.<sup>19</sup> Despite the evident links between St. Denis and various institutions in the south of England, the *Dialogus* does not reveal where Odo was sent. It does, however, state that Odo enjoyed his time amongst the people there.<sup>20</sup>

Odo is undoubtedly best known in modern historiography for the role he received following his return from England. At his 1145 Christmas court, held at Bourges, King Louis VII possibly announced his intention to depart on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. By the following year the organisation of what is now known as the Second Crusade had become more concrete, with Louis taking the cross at Easter 1146 in Vézelay. Odo became Louis's chaplain for the crusade, accompanying him for the duration of the expedition. He possibly also acted as secretary to the king and therefore would have

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<sup>15</sup> Grant, *Abbot Suger*, pp.283–6; Lindy Grant, 'Suger and the Anglo Norman world' in C.Harper Bill (ed.) *Anglo Norman Studies XIX, proceedings of the Battle Conference 1996* (Woodbridge, 1997), pp.51–68.

<sup>16</sup> Harmut Astma and Jean Vezin, 'Le dossier suspect des possessions de Saint-Denis en Angleterre revisité (VIIIe – IXe siècles)' in Wolfram Setz (ed.), *Fälschungen im Mittelalter IV MGH Schriften 33* (Hannover, 1988), pp.211–36.

<sup>17</sup> P.H Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters: An annotated list and bibliography* (London, 1968), n.1028 p.305.

<sup>18</sup> Giles Constable, 'Suger's Monastic Administration' in P.L Gerson (ed.) *Abbot Suger and Saint-Denis: A Symposium* (New York, 1986), p.22.

<sup>19</sup> Michel Nortier, 'Étude sur un recueil de lettres écrites par Suger ou à lui adressées (1147-1150)' *Journal de Savants* 1 (2009), pp.42, 45, 89, 91 ; Suger, *Lettres* in Gasparri, *Oeuvres II*, pp.107, 111, 128, 149.

<sup>20</sup> William, *Dialogus*, p.102.



written his letters.<sup>21</sup> The *De Profectione Ludovici VII in Orientem* was the literary result of Odo's association with Louis on crusade. In the letter to Abbot Suger that prefaces the *De Profectione* Odo briefly describes the close personal relationship that he had enjoyed with Louis: *Ego igitur, cum in via sancti Sepulcri gloriosi regis Ludovici beneficia ubertim senserim et secretius familiaritati adhaeserim, referendarum gratiarum affectum quidem habeo.*<sup>22</sup> This prefatory letter also confirms Odo's position as chaplain in his statement: *sicut capellanus illi surgenti sepius aderam et cubanti.*<sup>23</sup> For the circumstances surrounding Odo's appointment as Louis's chaplain and also for a number of details regarding his activities prior to the departure of the crusade, the *Dialogus Apologeticus* is again the critical source. William revealed that it was Odo's impressive reforming work which led to his appointment as Louis's chaplain. He wrote that whilst Odo was working at reforming the house of St-Vaast at Arras, his work came to attention of the local bishop, Alvisus. Alvisus, who himself participated in the crusade, dying en-route to Constantinople, was a friend of Suger.<sup>24</sup> According to William, it was on the suggestion of Alvisus that Odo was chosen to accompany Louis to the east.<sup>25</sup> The *Dialogus* also describes at some length the preparations made by Odo prior to his departure on the crusade. William's account again contains details that Odo chose not to record in the *De Profectione*, with perhaps the most significant addition being William's statement that Odo met Pope Eugenius III while the pope visited Paris. This was almost certainly around Easter 1147, which the pope spent at the abbey of St. Denis.<sup>26</sup> William wrote that, as he was known to Eugenius, he introduced Odo to the pontiff in the *atrium* of an unidentified building. He claims that he spoke with Eugenius and acted as a witness to the correct, religious, nature of Odo's life. The pope is then described as having personally granted Odo his blessing and permission to participate in the crusade. Following Odo's receipt of this permission, he and William are recorded as having dined with the pope. These details of Odo's contact with the pope, an event which presumably would have been of considerable personal importance, are entirely absent from the narrative of the *De Profectione*. William also wrote that he personally helped Odo to raise funds for the expedition by bequeathing him with a 'fair sized'

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<sup>21</sup> For an examination of Odo's possible role in the composition of Louis's crusading letters see below pp.60–8.

<sup>22</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, p.2.

<sup>23</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, p.4.

<sup>24</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, p.44.

<sup>25</sup> William, *Dialogus*, p.102; Grant, *Abbot Suger*, p.159.

<sup>26</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, p.14.

book with the intention that it would be used as a security (*pignus*) for borrowed money. He also provided Odo with another gift intended to aid him on his pilgrimage in the form of an unnamed *libellus* which detailed the journey of those pilgrims who had captured Antioch and Jerusalem in the First Crusade.<sup>27</sup>

The evidence of the *De Profectione* demonstrates that during the course of Louis's pilgrimage Odo was a member of his close entourage. This is evidenced by the descriptions found in Odo's history, which indicate that he was probably an eyewitness to negotiations and almost certainly a member of the royal party that was allowed to enter the palaces and religious shrines of Constantinople. It also appears that Odo acted as Louis's personal secretary during the course of the crusade, with the letters of the French king seemingly having been accessed and very possibly written by him. One of the king's letters to Suger even mentions Odo by name, conveying greetings to his abbot.<sup>28</sup> There is certainly no reason to doubt Odo's own statement that he enjoyed the 'generous favours' of the king and that he was closely associated with him throughout the crusade.<sup>29</sup> Here William's *Dialogus Apologeticus* again proves a useful source as it contains a number of passages describing the close relationship between Odo and Louis during the crusade.<sup>30</sup> The fact that the narrative of the *De Profectione* ends with the arrival of the French at Antioch means that Odo's movements while the French were in the Holy Land remain slightly unclear. It is likely that he was in Louis's entourage when he visited Jerusalem and similarly it is likely that he attended the council of Palmarea on 24 June 1148 which finalised the fateful decision to attack Damascus, a project that Odo appears to have been aware of when writing the *De Profectione*.<sup>31</sup> It is all but certain that Odo returned to France at the same time as Louis. It is, however, impossible to say whether Odo accompanied the French army which besieged Damascus.

Following his arrival back from the crusade, Odo was quickly returned to his familiar duty of being despatched to help the reform of troublesome monasteries. William stated that Odo was put in control of the abbey of Compiègne. He wrote in his

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<sup>27</sup> The possible identity of this *libellus* is examined below, pp.68–81.

<sup>28</sup> *Ludovici Francorum Regis ad Sugerium*, RHGF XV, p.487; *Études sur les Actes de Louis VII* ed. A.Luchaire, (Paris, 1885), pp.171–2.

<sup>29</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, p.3.

<sup>30</sup> William, *Dialogus*, pp.106, 108.

<sup>31</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, p.118; For the dating of the *De Profectione* see below, pp.34–9.



*Dialogus* that Odo had been selected by Suger after the abbot had approvingly observed his character and habits. Odo's appointment was apparently made *non sine regis et obitatum omnium favore*.<sup>32</sup> William provided little detail on Odo's time at Compiègne, merely recording that he was only there for a period of five months, ending with Suger's death. Unlike his other reforming activities, Odo's time at Compiègne, which was more specifically spent at the abbey of St-Corneille, is documented in sources other than the *Dialogus Apologeticus*. The purpose of Odo's abbacy at St-Corneille was that of reform, specifically the imposition of the Benedictine Rule on what was a foundation of canons. The subject of the reform of St-Corneille was first raised by Pope Eugenius III in a letter dated 19 June 1150. This letter is more famous for its role in the historiography of the putative '1150 Crusade', with much of the text detailing the grave state of the eastern church and the reform of Compiègne mentioned only at the very end, with Eugenius asking Suger to embark on the reforming work with the assistance of Bishop Baldwin of Noyon.<sup>33</sup> The plan for the reform, and the course it took are detailed in a number of further letters. Suger firstly wrote to Baldwin regarding the arrangements for Odo being made abbot, stating that he would be blessed on the feast of St. Corneille.<sup>34</sup> The later letters of Suger on the subject of St-Corneille confirm that the consecration of Odo as abbot took place on the arranged date and that Suger was himself present along with Baldwin and Louis VII. This was not, however, the end of the matter. A subsequent letter was sent by Baldwin to Suger which confirmed that Odo had been consecrated as abbot but also urged that the papal confirmation of this position was acquired as soon as possible.<sup>35</sup> The letter stressed the importance of this confirmation relative to one issued by the king. The reason for Baldwin's anxiety for the securing of papal confirmation was because Odo's appointment as abbot had been resisted by the canons minor of St-Corneille, who did not appreciate that they were being replaced with Benedictine monks. A subsequent series of letters reveals the precise form that the canons' resistance had taken. At some point after 14 September

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<sup>32</sup> William, *Dialogus*, p.109.

<sup>33</sup> *Cartulaire de Saint-Corneille de Compiègne: Tome I*, ed. Émile Morel (Montdidier, 1904), p.114 ; Giles Constable, 'The Crusading Project of 1150' in B.Z Kedar, J. Riley-Smith and R. Hiestand (eds), *Montjoie: Studies in Crusade History in Honour of Hans Eberhard Mayer* (London, 1997) pp.67–76; Constable, 'Suger's Monastic Administration', p.21.

<sup>34</sup> September 14 ; Suger, *Lettres* in Gasparri, *Oeuvres* 2, pp. 67–9;

<sup>35</sup> Baldwin of Noyon, *Epistola Baldwin ad Sugerii*, RHGF XV, p.526 ; Grant has highlighted the incongruity of Baldwin's letter to Suger, which appears to suggest that the Abbot was not present when Odo was blessed. She has suggested that this was perhaps the result of later rewriting: Grant, *Abbot Suger*, p.281 n.28,



Suger wrote to Eugenius III, outlining the conduct of the canons. He wrote that at Odo's consecration as abbot and despite the presence of Louis, the dean and a number of the canons had subjected Suger and Baldwin to taunts. Suger's letter named a certain Giraud du Port as having been particularly guilty. At the end of his letter he also described how some the canons had seized a number of the relics housed at the priory, namely a thorn reputed to have come from the biblical crown and the holy cloak of Christ amongst other treasures.<sup>36</sup> Further detail about the revolt of the canons against the installation of Odo is provided by a letter, which can again only be roughly dated to the period following September 14, sent by Suger to Count Raoul of Vermandois. This letter describes how, the day following Suger's departure from Compiègne, the canons had returned to St-Corneille armed and led by a certain Philip, who was the treasurer of St-Corneille and a younger brother of Louis VII. It was this armed group which carried off the relics of the priory, as had already been described in Suger's letter to Eugenius. The letter to Raoul adds that the invaders barricaded the doors of the priory and cut the ropes of its bells so that the newly installed monks could not quickly raise the alarm. Suger wrote that the mob insulted the new inhabitants of the priory and even threatened them with death. The invaders were, however, eventually chased away. These details were confirmed by a similar letter sent by Bishop Baldwin of Noyon to Eugenius.<sup>37</sup> It was this untenable situation of tension between the deposed canons and the newly installed monks that made it necessary for Odo quickly to receive the papal confirmation of his position. To aid Odo in his journey to Rome, Suger wrote to both Abbot Peter the Venerable of Cluny and Abbot Bernard of Clairvaux asking them to urge the Pope to welcome Odo kindly. These letters had identical wording and briefly described Odo as a *virum venerabilem* and an *approbatam personam*, although Bernard would possibly already have been familiar with him from the period immediately prior to the Second Crusade.<sup>38</sup> Odo arrived in Rome in December 1150. On 10 December Eugenius III issued the privilege which confirmed Odo as abbot at Compiègne along with the imposition there of the rule of St. Benedict.<sup>39</sup> In the period of Odo's absence en-route to Rome Suger and Louis VII had strove to solve the problems that had emerged at Compiègne. Suger had evidently written to Louis urging him to solve the

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<sup>36</sup> Suger, *Lettres* in Gasparri, *Oeuvres* 2 pp.70–5; *Cartulaire de Compiègne* I, p.126.

<sup>37</sup> *Cartulaire de Compiègne* I, pp.125–26.

<sup>38</sup> Suger, *Lettres* in Gasparri, *Oeuvres* II, pp.76–7.

<sup>39</sup> *Cartulaire de Compiègne* I pp.129–31 ; *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum* II, ed. P.Jaffé, (Leipzig, 1888), p.9 n.9422.

dispute as, although no copy of this communication survives, Louis's response does. He told Suger that he was not immediately able to travel to Compiègne but that he would seek the help of his mother, Adelaide, in controlling Philip.<sup>40</sup> Louis did eventually confirm the exclusion of the canons of St-Corneille and Odo's position as abbot in a charter that can be roughly dated to the final months of 1150.<sup>41</sup>

In any case Odo, following his return from Rome, would have had little or no time to enjoy the new found stability of his position as abbot of Saint-Corneille. As noted above, William described Odo's time at Compiègne as a short period of five months. In reality it was even shorter due to the necessity of Odo's mission to Rome and it was December before he received the required confirmation of his position from Eugenius. Indeed Odo was still to return from Rome when Suger died on 13 January 1151, leaving the abbacy of St. Denis vacant.

Following Suger's death, Odo was elected as the new abbot of St. Denis. William's *Dialogus* provides a relatively detailed account of the election process. It describes how, following Suger's funeral and burial, which was attended by Louis VII, twelve senior members of the abbey were assembled. The *Dialogus* has Gaufred, who appears to have been amongst the select twelve, describe how all the brothers arrived at *una sententia* and that they agreed to elect Odo with *una vox*.<sup>42</sup>

The election of Odo as abbot would appear to have been the culmination of his reforming work in various locations. It has been correctly pointed out that Odo was not a member of Suger's 'inner circle', in the sense that he had not usually been based at St. Denis. Odo did not appear as a witness in any of Suger's charters, while many of the younger monks with whom Suger surrounded himself at the end of his abbacy were frequent witnesses.<sup>43</sup> Odo, however, must have possessed a personality that had similarities to that of Suger. Scholarly assessments of Odo's character have agreed on this, or at least on the fact that Suger thought he saw something of himself in Odo. Grant states that Suger trusted Odo, and 'thought highly of him'. That Odo was frequently chosen to help in the work of reform is presented by Grant as showing that

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<sup>40</sup> *Actes de Louis VII*, pp.181–2.

<sup>41</sup> *Actes de Louis VII*, p.182 ; *Cartulaire de Compiègne* I, p.123.

<sup>42</sup> William, *Dialogus*, p.109.

<sup>43</sup> Constable, 'Suger's Monastic Administration', p.25.



Odo had something of Suger's own ability to manage men.<sup>44</sup> In his biography of Suger the French scholar Michel Bur suggests that the abbot's frequent use of Odo was due to more sentimental reasons. Bur writes that Odo was not lacking in intelligence, but that the reason he found himself in Suger's good graces was simply because that he reminded the Abbot of himself: '*même origine, mêmes responsabilités administrative locales, mêmes missions à l'étranger*'. Bur is of the impression that Suger may have been wrong to follow his instinct, stating, '*En fait, il y avait dissemblance profonde et Eudes [Odo] était moralement bien inférieur à son aîné*'.<sup>45</sup> Grant expresses a similar sentiment when stating that there is a suspicion that 'as an old man, Suger did not always delegate wisely'.<sup>46</sup> Grant's suspicion is directly informed by her knowledge of events that dominated the early years of Odo's abbacy and although he is less clear, it is to be suspected that Bur's thinking on Odo's 'moral failings' was subject to the same influences.

Gaufred's report of the election, on the other hand, provides a contemporary account of Odo's character as it was viewed by the electors that is at odds with these assessments. In the *Dialogus* Gaufred's account of the election is designed as a response to an unidentified group of people which cast aspersions on the validity of the process that saw Odo become abbot. Gaufred states that this group had claimed that the process of Odo's election had taken place too quickly. This doubt about Odo's election should be seen the context of the later controversies which embroiled him and which will be detailed below. It should also be noted that all of the content in the *Dialogus*, including the statements attributed to Gaufred, were ultimately written by William of St. Denis. As will be seen, William had found himself exiled from St. Denis in the early years of Odo's abbacy. The *Dialogus* was an attempt on his part to repair relations with Odo and thus there is likely some degree of exaggeration in his account of Odo's attributes. Nevertheless for Odo to have been made aAbbot of St. Denis he must have displayed certain impressive qualities.

In William's *Dialogus* Gaufred states that the twelve *seniores* who acted as electors were picked from the community of St. Denis with the help of the king and the bishops who had assembled for Suger's funeral. In making their decision on whom to

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<sup>44</sup> Grant, *Abbot Suger*, p.205.

<sup>45</sup> Michel Bur, *Suger: Abbé de Saint-Denis, régent de France* (Paris, 1991), p.276.

<sup>46</sup> Grant, *Abbot Suger*, p.205.

elect as abbot, the electors were guided by a number of pieces of advice. Gaufred tells William that they were forbidden from choosing someone from outside the community as their abbot. He also relates advice that was supposedly passed on by the ailing Suger regarding his successor. According to the *Dialogus*, Suger apparently did not name anyone as his choice. He did, however, advise the monks of St. Denis to choose someone whose election could not be refuted by law. He also implored them to act unanimously in making their choice in order to avoid the type of controversy and schism that he knew could emerge in the event of a disputed election.<sup>47</sup> Suger's supposed deathbed warning about the dangers of rupture within the abbey also appears in William's encyclical letter reporting the death of Suger that is attached to the end of his *Vita Sugerii*, although not in the context of a discussion surrounding the election of his successor.<sup>48</sup> Having borne this advice in mind Gaufred then records in the *Dialogus* the various attributes that were important in the new abbot:

*Maturam tam annis quam moribus, utique literis  
apprime eruditum, humilem et, quod maximum est,  
testimonio religionis insignem, non neophitum, sed  
scientem optime quicquid apud nos consuetudinis  
esset et traditionis, non extraneum sed nostrum, non  
ingorum nobis sed omnibus notissimum*<sup>49</sup>

In describing the subsequent election, Gaufred tells William that, after considering the various options, there was only one candidate who was acceptable under these categories. He does not name him at this point, but the candidate was obviously Odo. Despite the *Dialogus* presenting Odo as the ideal candidate to have succeeded Suger, that Gaufred was responding to unnamed critics of the election is an indication that events at St. Denis quickly took a turn for the worse as Odo found himself at the centre of controversy.

The years immediately following Odo's elevation to the abbacy of St. Denis saw numerous serious allegations being levelled against him. In a related development a coterie of monks at St. Denis who had been loyal to Suger appear to have openly

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<sup>47</sup> William, *Dialogus*, p.110.

<sup>48</sup> William, *Vita Sugerii* in Gasparri, *Oeuvres* 2, p.367.

<sup>49</sup> William, *Dialogus*, p.111.



rejected the authority of Odo as their abbot. Odo faced allegations of financial impropriety in his position as abbot and charges that he had sought to marginalise members of Suger's family who remained at St. Denis. In this period he was also accused of murder, a claim that possibly had its roots in the other controversies. The origins of the crisis of Odo's early abbacy are not entirely clear, due largely to the nature of the surviving sources. William, who had rebelled against Odo, wrote the *Dialogus Apologeticus* following his rapprochement with the abbot. The text often deals with matters in an oblique, stylised, manner. William was also responsible for a letter sent from exile at St-Denis-en-Vaux to a number of monks at St. Denis, although its major importance is in indicating that William had been exiled in the first place.<sup>50</sup> Other than these St. Denis sources mentions of the crisis at the abbey are restricted.

The only information regarding the supposed charge of murder levelled against Odo comes from three letters that were written in his defence by Bernard of Clairvaux. Two of these letters were addressed to Eugenius III and the third to Hugh, cardinal bishop of Ostia. Bernard's first letter to Eugenius makes reference to charges being made against Odo without specifically stating what they were. Bernard himself stated that he was convinced of both the falsity of the charges and of Odo's innocence. He wrote of Odo's good reputation and stated that he was himself familiar with him. The one specific detail in Bernard's initial letter is the charge that the accusations against Odo had originated with a certain Raymond. Bernard does not appear to have known this Raymond personally but wrote that he had learned of his personality. Raymond, according to Bernard's sources, was a man driven to deceit by his ambition and a wolf in sheep's clothing.<sup>51</sup> Bernard's second letter to Eugenius III goes into more detail regarding the charges made against Odo. It notes that he had been accused of financial mismanagement, particularly the accumulation of debt, as well as the misappropriation of lands. Bernard wrote that he thought Odo innocent of these charges, before outlining the more serious accusation of murder. The supposed victim is not named in this letter, although Bernard does make the oblique suggestion that he was a man whom Odo had actually recently saved from death.<sup>52</sup> Bernard's letter to Bishop Hugh of Ostia repeats

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<sup>50</sup> William of Saint Denis, 'Epistola Willelmi Monachi S.Dionysii ad Quosdam ex Suis Comonachis', MPL CLXXXVI, cols. 1471 – 74.

<sup>51</sup> Bernard of Clairvaux, *Epistola CCLXXXV* in J.Leclercq and H.Rochais (eds) *Sancti Bernardi Opera* VII (Rome, 1977), pp.200–1.

<sup>52</sup> Bernard, *Epistola CCLXXXVI*, *Sancti Bernardi Opera* VII, pp.201-2.



his defences of Odo against the charges of fiscal impropriety and alienation of property. It also refers to the murder victim's name as Gerard. Bernard again states that Odo had previously gone to lengths to defend Gerard from the threat of death. This third and final letter concludes with another statement regarding the untrustworthy nature of Raymond, whom Bernard regarded as the source of the accusations against Odo.<sup>53</sup>

Bernard's letters illustrate both the extent of the crisis of authority suffered by Odo and also the lengths that his opponents were apparently willing to go to. That Bernard felt moved to write his series of letters appears to demonstrate that news of events at St. Denis had spread far beyond that abbey and that serious attempts were being made to undermine Odo's authority. Unfortunately they also raise a number of questions that appear now to be unanswerable due to a lack of evidence. The identity of the Raymond who was the target of Bernard's ire appears impossible to ascertain, as does that of the unfortunate Gerard. Bernard's letters tell us nothing about the positions held by these men. Grant has noted that there is no evidence for a Raymond having been a monk at St. Denis in the twelfth century. She has also noted that the name was relatively unusual for northern France. The identity of Gerard has proved similarly elusive.<sup>54</sup> Glaser's suggestion that he may have been Suger's nephew, named Gerard, is inaccurate as that particular Gerard witnessed a St. Denis charter later in Odo's abbacy.<sup>55</sup>

Bernard's letters are the only sources which refer to accusations of murder made against Odo. Evidently the charge did not stick, a fact with which Bernard's correspondence may or may not have helped. What the letters illustrate, however, is that, although Odo was evidently facing a crisis at St. Denis, he was still able to draw on the support of influential public figures in contemporary France. This is a tendency that is again evident in 1156 when Odo was involved with the display of the Holy Tunic at Argenteuil.

Prior to the 1942 publication of Wilmart's edition of the *Dialogus Apologeticus* Bernard's letters were the only known source which detailed the allegations of financial impropriety that had been made against Odo. The lack of knowledge of the *Dialogus*

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<sup>53</sup> Bernard, *Epistola CCLXXXVII*, *Sancti Bernardi Opera* VII, p.202.

<sup>54</sup> Grant, *Abbot Suger*, p.290.

<sup>55</sup> Hubert Glaser, 'Wilhelm von Saint-Denis: Ein Humanist aus der Umgebung des Abtes Suger und die Krise Seiner Abtei von 1151 bis 1153', *Historisches Jahrbuch*, 85 (1965), p.316;

led to the underdeveloped biographies of Felibien and Berry. While the *Dialogus* has nothing to add about the mysterious charge of murder, it does provide further context for the rebellion against Odo's authority.<sup>56</sup> As noted above, the text is often oblique. This is particularly the case as it was written by William following his return from exile, in an attempt to reconcile himself with Odo. The dialogue form of the text, however, does mean that it contains a certain amount of criticism of Odo's abbacy. These criticisms generally appear only to be refuted in the course of the imagined dialogue between William and Gaufred. While the timeline of the problems faced by Odo is obscure, the *Dialogus* appears to confirm that opposition to his abbacy emerged soon after his election. The major complaints put forward by William relate to Odo's supposedly unfair and irregular promotions. William complained to Gaufred that soon after taking power, Odo began to promote young members of the community to positions of authority that far outweighed their experience. He also makes the suggestion that Odo was guilty of giving favourable promotions to those who were related to him.<sup>57</sup> Later in the *Dialogus* William raised a similar point regarding the members of Odo's inner circle and the seemingly disordered manner of the promotions he made:

*Dic enim michi, videaturne tibi viri boni esse quod idem dominus et abba nulli fere usque ad hanc diem delegavit officium quin adiceret: 'Nosti quid opus michi sit, et hoc agamus ne quis quicquam habeat'. Unde effecisse dicitur ut et ministros fideles habeat paucissimos, et tenuiores reddiderit redditus universos.*<sup>58</sup>

In response to these complaints Gaufred reminded William that Suger had supposedly acted in the same manner in the early years of his abbacy. He also stated that Odo had little choice but to act in this manner as at the beginning of his abbacy he was entangled in debts. Gaufred also stated that Odo's actions were necessary in order to mitigate the hostility of those who would otherwise have opposed him. Given the nature of the *Dialogus*, it is unsurprising that Gaufred's statement is not entirely clear. It does seem, though, that his reference to debts acts as corroborating evidence of the claims reported in Bernard's letters regarding Odo's financial mismanagement of the abbey. Glaser has even suggested that it could be some indication that Odo was

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<sup>56</sup> Glaser, 'Wilhelm von Saint-Denis', pp.300–22.

<sup>57</sup> William, *Dialogus*, p.89.

<sup>58</sup> William, *Dialogus*, p.92.



involved in some form of simony, although the *Dialogus* itself does not state this explicitly.<sup>59</sup>

The *Dialogus* also airs the complaint, related to that regarding Odo's poor appointments, that upon becoming abbot he began to persecute members of the community who were related to Suger, forcing a number of them from the abbey.<sup>60</sup> This complaint about Odo's conduct also appears in the *Historia Pontificalis* of John of Salisbury, a work that was possibly written as late as 1164.<sup>61</sup> John wrote that Suger had died leaving St. Denis in perfect order. He continued claiming that Odo, upon his succession to the abbacy, acted to ruin Suger's family and concurrently did great damage to St. Denis as a whole. John's account also states that Louis did little to help Suger's family. This lack of action was reportedly due to the recent expulsion of a certain Simon, Suger's nephew, from the royal chancery. John reported that Simon had been forced to flee the kingdom to seek refuge with Eugenius III.<sup>62</sup> The notion that members of the Suger family might have been exiled from St. Denis is plausible, particularly if they were among those people who opposed Odo's abbacy. As noted above, William of St. Denis was certainly exiled to St-Denis-en-Vaux for a number of years. He is, indeed, the only person who can be certainly said to have been exiled.<sup>63</sup> His letter from exile, however, indicates that Odo may not have expelled everyone who had been associated with Suger, or who had been associated with the revolt against his authority. William's letter is largely an exercise in style, describing his new surroundings in language typical of the classical *topos* of the *locus amoenus*: indeed William's letter includes that term, indicating the self-conscious nature of his composition.<sup>64</sup> The letter is addressed to a quartet of St. Denis monks who themselves were all called William. The *incipit* of the letter thus distinguishes the addressees by the positions that they held in the abbey: William the precentor, William the cellarer, William the notary and one William *medicus*. This final name may indicate that the

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<sup>59</sup> Glaser, 'Wilhelm von Saint-Denis', p.315.

<sup>60</sup> William, *Dialogus*, p.91.

<sup>61</sup> Marjorie Chibnall, *Historia Pontificalis* (London, 1956), p.xxviii.

<sup>62</sup> John of Salisbury, *Historia Pontificalis*, ed. and trans. Marjorie Chibnall (London, 1956), p.87; Glaser, 'Wilhelm von Saint-Denis', pp. 315–8; Constable, 'Suger's Monastic Administration', p.20. Luchaire, *Études sur quelques manuscrits de Rome et de Paris* (Paris, 1899), pp.59–60. For Simon's role at the royal chancery see Luchaire, *Actes de Louis VII*, p.52.

<sup>63</sup> William, 'Epistola', cols.1471–74.

<sup>64</sup> Ernst Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages* (London, 1953), pp. 196–201.



final William was a physician, a fact noted by Felibien.<sup>65</sup> Berry has stated that the four Williams who received this letter were evidently associates of the exiled William and that it is possible they had also been members of Suger's inner circle, as the exiled William seems to have been. That they were not exiled from St. Denis would appear to suggest that Odo did not conduct a full purge of those who had been associated with Suger.<sup>66</sup> John of Salisbury's suggestion that Odo had specifically set out to ruin Suger's family also appears to have been unfounded. An undated charter, issued by Odo in his capacity as abbot, which conferred absolution from excommunication on a certain Payen de Praeriis, was witnessed by two members of the Suger family. These were namely Theoderic, *major* of Mours, along with his brother, who is identified only as *Sugerius*, and Gerard, the nephew of Abbot Suger.<sup>67</sup> The presence of Gerard as a witness to this charter would also appear to rule him out as having been the same Gerard who was allegedly killed by Odo.<sup>68</sup> The persistence of the Suger family in the affairs of St. Denis through the supposed crisis of Odo's abbacy can also be seen in an 1152 charter issued by Odo in favour of Robert the Almoner. This charter was signed by a certain *Sugerius sacerdos*.<sup>69</sup> This member of the Suger family can be seen to have witnessed a number of other charters in the course of Odo's abbacy.<sup>70</sup> This evidence supports Grant's conclusion that, while the family of Abbot Suger might have suffered some loss of influence following his death, its presence was not completely diminished. That during Odo's period of office members of the Suger family acted as witnesses to abbey documents suggests that John of Salisbury's statement should be regarded as hyperbole.

While the origins and course of the crisis faced by Odo are unclear, its conclusion is somewhat easier to place. In late 1153 Odo again made the journey to Rome, to the newly elected Pope Anastasius IV. The *Dialogus* gives the impression that one of Odo's aims in making the journey was so that he could prove his innocence

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<sup>65</sup> Grant, *Abbot Suger*, p.292; Felibien, *Saint-Denys*, p.200.

<sup>66</sup> Grant, *Abbot Suger*, p.291.

<sup>67</sup> Archives Nationales LL1157 fol.699. <http://saint-denis.enc.sorbonne.fr/cartulaire/tome1/saint-martin/acte4>; (Accessed September 6 2012); Grant, *Abbot Suger*, p.291.

<sup>68</sup> See above, pp.19–20.

<sup>69</sup> Archives Nationales LL1158 fols 557-8. <http://saint-denis.enc.sorbonne.fr/inventaire/tome1/notice294> (Accessed September 6 2012); Grant, *Abbot Suger*, p.291.

<sup>70</sup> Archives Nationales LL1157 fols 61–2. <http://saint-denis.enc.sorbonne.fr/inventaire/tome1/notice318> (Accessed September 6 2012); LL1158 fol.591. <http://saint-denis.enc.sorbonne.fr/inventaire/tome1/notice321> (Accessed September 6 2012)

against those who had menaced him. This innocence, according to Gaufred, was confirmed by Anastasius.<sup>71</sup> The diplomatic evidence that survives from Odo's journey is somewhat more prosaic. It confirms that Odo arrived in Rome in early December. Odo did indeed receive a bull from Anastasius, but rather than being a grand statement of his innocence against any charges, the bull was instead a confirmation of the rights and possessions of St. Denis. A further judgement was also issued in favour of St. Denis against the convent of St. Michael at Verdun.<sup>72</sup> The significance is that the *Dialogus* viewed Odo's 1153 journey to Rome as the end of the crisis in his abbacy. It can be said that from then on he was in complete control of St. Denis.

As to why the crisis emerged in the first place it seems likely that factionalism had been a problem in the latter years of Suger's long abbacy. As detailed above the encyclical letter of William of St. Denis attached to the end of his *Vita Sugerii* records that on his deathbed Suger urged the assembled monks of the abbey to preserve its unity, and work hard to prevent 'scandal, sedition or schism'.<sup>73</sup> Grant has viewed this statement as clearly implying that factionalism had taken hold at St. Denis in the years prior to Suger's death.<sup>74</sup> The events of the early years of Odo's abbacy would appear to bear out this theory. That the *Dialogus* records Suger as having made the same statement reinforces the impression. It is possible that whoever succeeded Suger would have faced similar difficulties, especially from figures such as William of St. Denis, who had been so devoted to the old abbot that he was moved to compose his *Vita*. It is perhaps to Odo's credit and a testament to his wider connections that he managed to survive the challenges to his authority.

Following the successive controversies that had emerged around his installation at St-Corneille and the early years of his rule at St. Denis, the remaining years of Odo's abbacy were relatively calm. It was in 1156 that Odo can next be seen to have been involved in events other than those of normal abbatial administration. In that year Odo can be said with certainty to have attended the ostension of the Holy Tunic of Christ at Argenteuil, which took place in October. Prior to this event Odo had possibly travelled to Spain on behalf of his abbey. The evidence for this journey is, however, slim. Odo's

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<sup>71</sup> William, *Dialogus*, p.117.

<sup>72</sup> *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum* II, ed. P. Jaffé (Leipzig, 1888), p.92 n.9769 n.9770 ; Jacques Doublet, *Histoire de l'abbaye de St Denys en France* (Paris, 1625), pp.497-8.

<sup>73</sup> William, *Vita Sugerii* in Gasparri, *Oeuvres* 2, p.367.

<sup>74</sup> Grant, *Abbot Suger*, pp.288-9.



purported Iberian journey is recorded in Felibien's *Histoire de l'abbaye royale de Saint Denis*. According to Felibien's account Odo travelled to Spain in the early months of 1156. In Toledo, on 12 February, he is recorded as having presented an arm of Saint Eugene of Deuil to King Alfonso VII of León and Castile. Eugene, who was reputed to have been one of the early disciples of St. Denis, was also considered to have been the first bishop of Toledo. His association with Deuil, in the area of Montmorency, also gave the saint a geographical association with Odo. The specificity of Felibien's information on Odo's supposed Spanish journey is notable, particularly the dating of his meeting with Alfonso. Felibien also commented on the joy and respect shown by the king upon his receipt of the relic.<sup>75</sup> Unfortunately, however, the abbreviated reference stating from where Felibien derived this information does not clearly indicate his source.<sup>76</sup> This problem appears to have been encountered by other historians dealing with Odo's supposed journey to Spain. An article of 1985 mentions Odo's gift to Alfonso of Eugene's arm but only provides a footnote to Felibien.<sup>77</sup> Felibien himself related Odo's supposed 1156 journey to the pilgrimage made to Santiago de Compostela by Louis VII from October 1154 to January 1155. There is, however, frustratingly little contemporary evidence regarding the details of this pilgrimage. As Graboïs has indicated, contemporary records of the event were content to record that Louis had travelled to Compostela and that he had been received in Spain by Alfonso, who was also his stepfather.<sup>78</sup>

The only surviving evidence that suggests that Odo may perhaps have been in Spain in the early months of 1156 comes in the form of a charter of Alfonso XII dated to 10 January of that year. The charter records that Alfonso had granted property to Odo and the abbey of St. Denis at Fornellos, near the town of Burgos. A later record of the donation is preserved in the St. Denis inventory of charters in French, along with the Latin names of the donors.<sup>79</sup> The Cartulaire Blanc of St. Denis does not, however, contain a copy of the original Latin charter. This gap is again filled by Felibien, who

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<sup>75</sup> Felibien, *Saint-Denys*, p.196.

<sup>76</sup> Felibien, *Saint-Denys*, p.196 – Felibien's note beside his account of these events simply reads 'Dub. Till. Baill.' His work contains no explanation of this abbreviation.

<sup>77</sup> Brown, Cothren, 'Windows', p.29 n.123.

<sup>78</sup> Aryeh Graboïs, 'Louis VII pèlerin', *Revue d'histoire de l'Église de France* 74:192 (1988), p.15; Robert de Torigny, *Chronique*, vol 1, ed. L. Delisle (Rouen, 1879), p.289.

<sup>79</sup> Archives Nationales, LL1189 fols 371–372, <http://saint-denis.enc.sorbonne.fr/inventaire/tome1/notice333> (accessed 5 September 2012)



reproduced a copy of the Latin original in his history of St. Denis.<sup>80</sup> While this charter records Odo's name as the beneficiary of Alfonso's donation, it does not state if he was personally present when it was issued. Given the lack of clarity on the matter, all that can be said with confidence is that Felibien had access to a source, now lost, that recorded a journey made by Odo to Spain in 1156. That a record of the January 1156 charter actually survives provides some corroboration of Felibien's claim, but it is not conclusive evidence for its veracity. A further piece of circumstantial evidence for Odo having had an interest in Spain in 1156 is found in his account of the rediscovery and display of the Argenteuil tunic later in that year. Odo's text describes how a lay pilgrim named Hubert received a miraculous vision which told him to travel to Argenteuil to view the tunic rather than to his intended destination of Santiago de Compostela.<sup>81</sup> This attempt to piggyback the new Argenteuil shrine on the popularity of the well known Galician destination is in keeping with a typical *topos* of hagiographical literature.<sup>82</sup> That Odo choose Compostela as the pilgrimage destination that was being usurped in his text is perhaps suggestive of its having been at the forefront on his mind in 1156. Such evidence, however, remains circumstantial.

There is much less doubt over the circumstances of the next major event of Odo's abbacy: his involvement in the display of a recently rediscovered relic at Argenteuil, supposedly the tunic of Christ. The tunic was discovered or rediscovered at the priory of Argenteuil, a dependent of St. Denis, in 1156. The relic was subsequently publically displayed at Argenteuil on 10 October. Odo's presence at this display had previously been known through a charter of Archbishop Hugh of Rouen. Hugh's charter, which also granted an indulgence for those who travelled to view the tunic, briefly listed the prominent northern French ecclesiastical figures that were present at the initial ostension of the relic. Odo was listed amongst the attendees and described by his title of abbot of St. Denis. Despite Hugh's charter being well known since its publication by Gerberon in his 1686 history of the tunic, previous biographies of Odo have not mentioned his role in its display. This lack of interest was perhaps understandable because, if based solely on Hugh's charter, the display appears to have been a minor event in Odo's career. It is known now that Odo regarded the discovery and display of

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<sup>80</sup> Felibien, *Saint-Denys*, Justificatives pp. cix – cx; Brown, Cothren, 'Windows', p.29.

<sup>81</sup> Queen's College MS. 348, fol. 51<sup>r</sup>

<sup>82</sup> See below, p.190 n.59.

the tunic as being of major significance. This is indicated by Odo's decision to write an account of the discovery, display and history of the relic. This text, contained in MS. 348 of the Queen's College Oxford, has not been the subject of any lengthy scholarly examination and as a result is still largely unknown.<sup>83</sup>

In this account Odo also described himself as having played a prominent role. The opaque nature of much of the text makes it difficult to discern if the tunic was actually discovered in 1156 or if it was simply decided in that year that it was to be redisplayed.<sup>84</sup> Odo wrote that he had travelled to Argenteuil in order to celebrate the feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin on 15 August 1156. This arrangement was described as customary and it had presumably arisen out of Argenteuil's status as a dependent priory of St. Denis. Odo described how he personally viewed the tunic during his August stay after having been the recipient of a miraculous vision. His account also details the October veneration of the relic and the process of organisation that had preceded it. While the narrative does not explicitly state that it was the case it is likely that Odo would have been involved in the arrangements that he described. This is particularly the case given Odo's position as abbot of St. Denis and the attendant responsibility that he had over Argenteuil. That he recorded himself as having been present at Argenteuil a number of months prior to the ostension and described how he had been the recipient of a vision relating to the tunic serves to emphasize the impression that Odo played an important role in organising the display. If this were the case then it serves as a demonstration of the extent to which Odo had rehabilitated his reputation following the scandals of his early abbacy. Indeed, it raises the question of the extent to which his broader reputation was ever damaged. While John of Salisbury recorded the harm that Odo was supposedly doing to St. Denis his was the only voice of dissent outside of the abbey. Odo was himself able to rely on the support of a figure as prominent as Bernard of Clairvaux. In either case, the 1156 ostension of the Tunic of Christ at Argenteuil could reasonably be described as the apogee of Odo's career as Abbot. In the years following he appears not have been associated with any large 'set

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<sup>83</sup> See section III below, pp.171–262.

<sup>84</sup> On the inconsistent narrative of Odo's Argenteuil text see below, pp.210–12.



piece' events or controversies and was instead solely involved in the administration of St. Denis. This was the case until 1162 and his death.<sup>85</sup>

The scandals of the early years of Odo's abbacy have clearly coloured historians' judgements of him. Grant has described Odo as 'hapless' whilst Bur's identification of 'moral failures' appears to assume that Odo was guilty of *something*, although he does not state what. Such judgements are perhaps unfair on Odo, at least on a personal level. It is a fact that he defeated the early challenges to his authority. By the mid-1150s he was in undisputed control of St. Denis. Although William of St. Denis, one of the chief agitators against Odo, returned from his exile, he subsequently wrote the *Dialogus* as a refutation of the charges that had previously been made against the abbot. One could argue that such a decision could simply have been pragmatic, but even if it was, it is clear where the power then lay at St. Denis. On a personal level Odo appears to have been a tough individual. Such an attribute would have been essential to survive the successive crises that faced his rule at St-Corneille and then St. Denis. As Bur pointed out, there are parallels with Suger's own early career, with both men having travelled widely in the service of their abbey prior to becoming abbot. The rest of this thesis is concerned with Odo on an intellectual level. It will demonstrate how Odo's written work fitted into the 'St. Denis' tradition that had had recently been exemplified by Suger, whilst also assessing Odo as an individual writer in his own right, examining how he constructed his texts and ultimately how he viewed the writing of history.

### **Architecture at St. Denis during Odo's abbacy**

One of the many notable aspects of Abbot Suger's famous career was the architectural innovations that he instituted at St. Denis. Suger oversaw the construction of a new abbey church, recording details in his writing of the newly built east and west ends of the abbey church and their decoration. It is these texts, coupled with their influential translation by the famed art historian Erwin Panofsky, that have done much

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<sup>85</sup> Berry, *De Profectione*, p.xvi n.16.



for Suger's reputation as an artistic patron.<sup>86</sup> The attention devoted to Suger's architectural patronage has led to some interest in improvements apparently made to St. Denis whilst Odo was abbot, although the available evidence is scant. A life sized statue of the Merovingian King Dagobert I, regarded as the founder of St. Denis, was possibly commissioned by Odo in the final years of his abbacy. Wright has stated that the statue was 'perhaps carved around 1160' although this tenuous dating appears to have been based entirely on an interpretation of the drapery of the statue as represented in an engraving, since much of the original monument is now lost.<sup>87</sup>

Of more interest than the Dagobert statue is the purported connection of Odo with a series of twelve stained glass windows. Ten of these windows depicted events from the First Crusade, while the remaining two displayed scenes relating to the legendary pilgrimage of Charlemagne to the East. These windows no longer exist, having been destroyed in the French revolution, so like the statue of Dagobert modern interpretation of them rests on engravings of the originals made by Montfaucon in the early eighteenth century.<sup>88</sup> While these representations of the original windows have survived, the order in which they were displayed, and indeed their location within the abbey church, is unknown. In their 1985 article examining these windows and attempting to order them in their original context Brown and Cothren stated their belief that the windows were commissioned by Odo in his time as abbot. They state that the windows were commissioned prior to Louis VII's departure on a pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela.<sup>89</sup> This attribution is also linked to Brown and Cothren's belief that Odo was the first figure at St. Denis to display knowledge of Charlemagne's legendary pilgrimage, which was recorded in the Latin *Descriptio Qualiter Karolus Magnus*. They also state that there is 'no reason to doubt' that Odo was responsible for a related forged charter asserting the rights of St. Denis over the priory of La-Chapelle-Aude. As will be demonstrated later in this thesis these are problematic positions to base an argument on.<sup>90</sup> Lindy Grant has labelled the arguments for Odo's responsibility as unconvincing, pointing out that iconography of the windows means that they were more likely to have

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<sup>86</sup> Suger, *Abbot Suger on the Abbey Church of St-Denis and its Art Treasures*, ed. and trans. E. Panofsky (Princeton, 1976).

<sup>87</sup> Georgia Sommers Wright, 'A Royal Tomb Program in the reign of St. Louis' *Art Bulletin* 56 (1974), pp. 229–30.

<sup>88</sup> Brown, Cothren, 'Windows', pp. 1–2.

<sup>89</sup> Brown, Cothren, 'Windows', pp. 28–9.

<sup>90</sup> On the Charlemagne legend and the forged charters see below, pp. 229–40.

been commissioned prior to Louis's departure for the Holy Land in 1147.<sup>91</sup> In addition to this, Brown and Cothren themselves admit that stylistically the windows appear more suited to the 1140s and share similarities with other windows normally associated with Suger.<sup>92</sup> It thus appears likely that the windows were commissioned by Suger while he was abbot, probably in the mid-1140s, prior to the departure of Louis VII on crusade. If this was the case then it has important consequences for this thesis, particularly as evidence regarding the Legend of Charlemagne and its status at St. Denis in the 1140s.

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<sup>91</sup> Grant, *Abbot Suger*, p.158, n.14.

<sup>92</sup> Brown, Cothren, 'Windows', p.33.

## Section II – *De Profectione Ludovici VII in Orientem*

The *De Profectione Ludovici VII* is undoubtedly the better known of Odo's two works. Its fame is largely due to the fact that it is the major surviving source for the events of the Second Crusade of 1145–49, specifically the Eastern leg of what is now considered to have been a wider European movement which also took in the capture of Lisbon in Iberia and an expedition against the Wendish Slavs.<sup>1</sup> Divided into Seven Books, the *De Profectione* describes the involvement of King Louis VII of France in the Second Crusade, from his initial announcement of a desire to go on pilgrimage to his eventual arrival at Antioch in early 1148. Odo's narrative concludes at that point and so does not include any record of the disastrous siege of Damascus in July 1148.

The text of the *De Profectione* has survived in only one known manuscript, dating from the late twelfth or early thirteenth century. Previously held at the College of Medicine in Montpellier, the only surviving manuscript of the *De Profectione* is now kept in Brussels at the Bibliothèque royale Albert Ier (MS. Bruxelles, 4190–4200).<sup>2</sup> The Latin text was first printed in the seventeenth century by François Chifflet.<sup>3</sup> A French translation of the text, largely lacking in critical apparatus, was first published by Guizot.<sup>4</sup> Sections of the text relating to the German involvement in the crusade were edited in the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* by Waitz.<sup>5</sup> There are two modern critical editions of the *De Profectione*, both of which appeared in the same year. Virginia Berry's edition, with an accompanying English translation, is unsurprisingly the most widely used by English language crusading scholars.<sup>6</sup> The edition by Henri Waquet is similar to Berry's, though lacking a translation and even replicates some of the American edition's oversights in identifying Biblical quotation.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Phillips, *Second Crusade*, pp. xxvi – xxviii.

<sup>2</sup> Berry, *De Profectione*, pp. xxxii – xl;

<sup>3</sup> Odo of Deuil, *De Profectione Ludovici VII in Orientem* ed. F.Chifflet in *Sancti Bernardi Clarevallensis Abbatis Genus Illustre Assertum* (Dijon, 1660), pp.9–77.

<sup>4</sup> Odo of Deuil, *De Profectione Ludovici VII in Orientem* trans. M.Guizot in *Collection des mémoires relatifs à l'histoire de France*, vol.XXIV (Paris, 1825), pp.277–384.

<sup>5</sup> Odo of Deuil, *De Profectione Ludovici VII in Orientem* ed. G.Waitz MGH SS XXVI (Hannover, 1882), pp.59–73.

<sup>6</sup> John La Monte, 'Virginia Berry: *De Profectione Ludovici VII in Orientem*. Review', *Speculum* 23 (1948), pp. 502 – 4.

<sup>7</sup> Peter Topping, 'Henri Waquet: *La Croisade de Louis VII Roi de France*. Review' *Speculum* 26 (1951), pp. 385 – 7; A prominent quotation from the Pauline epistles on the first page of the *De Profectione* has been missed by all previous editors of the text, see below, p.84.



Given its importance for the history of the Second Crusade, it is unsurprising that a number of secondary works have dealt with the *De Profectione*. The importance of the text was noted by Kugler in his history of the Second Crusade, who commented on Odo's eye for detail.<sup>8</sup> This positive view of the *De Profectione* was shared by Berry, who commented in the introduction to her edition of the text that 'even if there were many other histories of the crusade, Odo's would be an outstanding source of information, because it contains a wealth of authoritative detail, the breadth and variety of which is really amazing'.<sup>9</sup> In his review of Berry's edition La Monte stated that Odo 'was a remarkably objective historian'.<sup>10</sup> In a corresponding review of Waquet's edition Topping wrote that: 'It is now no exaggeration to regard Odo as an ecclesiastical of real stature, only less distinguished than his master and predecessor, Suger'.<sup>11</sup> The value of the work was subsequently challenged by Giles Constable in his important survey of the sources for the Second Crusade. Whilst he acknowledged that the *De Profectione* was the most important account of the crusade, Constable took issue with Topping's characterisation of Odo as a person of 'real stature', stating that 'there is no evidence that he was outstanding either for his intellect or his practical ability'. Constable wrote that Odo's charges of Greek treachery undermined the usefulness of the *De Profectione* and he also unfairly stated that Odo 'only casually mentioned' the expedition of Conrad III.<sup>12</sup>

Recently Phillips has sought to reassess the value of the *De Profectione* as a source for the Second Crusade. While acknowledging that the *De Profectione* had a strong anti-Greek element to it, he has demonstrated that on occasion Odo praised the conduct of the Eastern Christians. The value of the account for military information is also highlighted as is the fact that Odo's was perhaps more critical in his depiction of Louis VII than he had previously been given credit for.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> Bernhard Kugler, *Studien zur Geschichte des Zweiten Kreuzzuges* (Stuttgart, 1866), pp.11–13.

<sup>9</sup> Berry, *De Profectione*, p.xviii.

<sup>10</sup> La Monte, 'De Profectione Review', p.504.

<sup>11</sup> Topping, 'Croisade de Louis VII review', p.386.

<sup>12</sup> Giles Constable, 'Second Crusade as seen by Contemporaries' pp.217–8.

<sup>13</sup> Phillips, 'De Profectione as a source'.

## **Chapter 2 – The *De Profectione Ludovici VII* – Dating, accuracy and nature of the work**

This chapter aims to examine the *De Profectione* in the manner that the accounts of the First Crusade, particularly the *Gesta Francorum* have been assessed. The date of composition of Odo's text, an issue of some debate, will be examined. This will be followed by an evaluation of the *De Profectione* as an eyewitness text, with a clear demonstration of how Odo's writing adhered to the accepted models of eyewitness veracity. An overview of the content of the *De Profectione* will then examine the accuracy of Odo's content, assessing to what events he was actually an eyewitness and what events he heard about at second hand as well as highlighting areas where Odo's account is lacking in detail. Finally the relationship of the *De Profectione* with other sources will be highlighted. In particular it will be demonstrated, through textual analysis, that the history of the First Crusade that Odo is recorded as having consulted prior to his departure was most likely the anonymous *Gesta Francorum* or one of its derivatives. It will also be shown that it is likely that Odo was either responsible for the composition of the letters of Louis VII from the crusade or that these documents were at least consulted during the writing process of the *De Profectione*.

### ***Date of Composition***

The date of composition of the *De Profectione* has been a matter of some debate, with no one proposal winning widespread acceptance. Two schools of thought exist on the issue. One holds that the work was composed in the Levant during the period of time spent there by the French. This was the view of Virginia Berry. Similarly, Waquet, in his edition of the text, concluded that Odo probably wrote his account in the period following the council of Palmerea, but prior to the failure of the siege of Damascus.<sup>14</sup> A contrary viewpoint, put forward by Mayr-Harting, argues that the work was written following Odo's return to France, with a desire for anti-Greek propaganda being a potential motivating factor.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> Henry Waquet, *Eudes de Deuil, La Croisade de Louis VII, Roi de France* (Paris, 1949), p.10.

<sup>15</sup> Mayer-Harting, 'Odo of Deuil, the Second Crusade, and the monastery of St. Denis' in M. A. Meyer (ed.) *The Culture of Christendom: Essays in Medieval History in Commemoration of Denis L.T Bethel* (London, 1993), pp.225–41.

The final event described by Odo is the arrival, by ship, of Louis VII at Antioch. This provides a *terminus post quem* of March 1147. While Odo's deference towards Suger was at least partially motivated by the conventions of affected modesty, the references to the abbot in the work make clear that it was written while he was still alive. This provides an almost certain *terminus ante quem* of January 1151.

It should also be noted that Odo's account is written from the perspective of someone who was still engaged in the east. This is made explicitly clear in Odo's prefatory letter to Suger, where he wrote about still being engaged *in agone itineris*.<sup>16</sup> Mayr-Harting has suggested that this could be a reference to the continuing 'spiritual journey' of Odo following his return to France. He argues that the entire text could be construed as an extended metaphor, but admits himself that it is impossible to prove this.<sup>17</sup> However Odo can be observed to have made similar references elsewhere in the text, most notably in the first lines of Book Two, where he apologises for his overlong reminiscing about France:

*Intereram laetis rebus, et patriae meae nomina scribens et rerum reminiscens quod laetus videram sine taedio diutis recolebam.*<sup>18</sup>

In addition, the epistolary format of the text, with its direct addresses to Suger would seem to have better suited the work if it was written while Odo was absent from France. There is little in the text that suggests it might have been written following Odo's return home. One seemingly inconsistent piece of phrasing can be observed in the account of the French army crossing into Asia Minor. Here Berry has correctly pointed out that Odo's references to the 'near side' (*citra*) and 'far side' (*ultra*) of the arm of St. George are written from the perspective of someone in France.<sup>19</sup> This is, however, a minor point, which may simply have been a mistake made on Odo's part, or a deliberate switching of perspective for the benefit of Suger. It certainly does not outweigh the evidence which suggests Odo was writing whilst still in the Levant. It should also be noted that Mayr-Harting, in proposing his theory regarding Odo's text and 'spiritual journey' as metaphor, provided no examples of contemporary texts that had made prolonged use of such a complex rhetorical device. Twelfth-century writing

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<sup>16</sup> Odo, *De Profectione* p.2.

<sup>17</sup> Mayer-Harting, 'Odo of Deuil', pp.231–33.

<sup>18</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, p.20.

<sup>19</sup> Odo, *De Profectione* p.72 ; p.73 n.30.



was more often than not highly derivative in the sense that writers relied on a selection of commonplaces and *topoi* in constructing their narrative. As will be demonstrated throughout this thesis, Odo frequently turned to familiar modes of expression in order to make his works adhere to contemporary norms of composition.<sup>20</sup> Given his typical conservatism, it seems fair to suggest that the idea of Odo having employed an ornate form of writing, that was itself a *rara avis*, seems exceedingly unlikely.

The same can be stated of the arguments put forward by Beate Schuster. Schuster's thinking on the *De Profectione* is similar to that of Mayr-Harting, in that she also argues that the composition of Odo's work took place in France. It is at this point of agreement, however, that the theories then diverge. Schuster, in putting forward a theory that might be described as eccentric, argues that not only was the *De Profectione* written in France but that the narrator of the text, Odo, was himself a literary creation based on an historical figure.<sup>21</sup> This postmodern argument ignores everything that is known about twelfth-century manners of composition, whilst other sections of the text blatantly misunderstand sections of the source material.<sup>22</sup>

The very nature of the *De Profectione* provides the impression that Odo was writing it while absent from St. Denis. The work focusses largely on reportage of events, containing relatively few biblical citations, none of them lengthy. Nor does it extensively incorporate other written sources. This is a different approach from that employed by Odo in his other work, the *Inventio* of the Argenteuil tunic, written at a time when he clearly had free access to a wide range of written sources, as would have been the case if the *De Profectione* was composed in France.

If the *De Profectione* was written by Odo whilst he remained in the Levant then it needs to be examined just how soon it was after the events he described that he began writing. Louis VII remained at Antioch for the three months prior to June 1148, a stay made famous by subsequent rumours regarding the behaviour of his wife, Eleanor of

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<sup>20</sup> See for example pp.213–17 below.

<sup>21</sup> Schuster, Beate, 'The Strange Pilgrimage of Odo of Deuil' in G. Althof, J. Fried and P.J.Geary (eds), *Medieval Concepts of the Past: Ritual, Memory, Historiography* (Cambridge, 2002), pp.253–78;

<sup>22</sup> Schuster, 'Strange Pilgrimage' p.255, cites an apparent claim by Virginia Berry regarding the similarity of William of Tyre and Odo's accounts of a 'French defeat'. The section of Berry cited does not in fact make this claim. Furthermore, the battle being described by Schuster in fact involves the German crusading party. On the same page Schuster begins an analysis with the statement 'if we were dealing with a modern text'. Such an approach is not appropriate for the correct examination of twelfth century writing.

Aquitaine.<sup>23</sup> This period would have provided ample time for Odo to have written his history. Berry takes the view that it was at Antioch that Odo wrote his history. In her dating of the text she points to Odo's curious statement regarding Damascus: *Marcescunt flores Franciae antequam fructum faciant in Damasco*.<sup>24</sup> Berry views this statement as signifying that Odo was writing prior to the siege of Damascus of 24–29 July 1149 and was here referring to the planned expedition, arguing that it dates the writing of the *De Profectione* to the period before the siege. Certainly it would appear a strange remark if written in the aftermath of the French defeat. Berry states that plans to besiege that city 'were doubtless in the air before the crusaders left Antioch in June'.<sup>25</sup> The final decision to attack Damascus was taken at the council of Palmerea on 24 June 1148. Louis, Conrad and King Baldwin III of Jerusalem were all in attendance. According to William of Tyre, various options about where might be attacked were discussed before it was unanimously agreed that Damascus was the target.<sup>26</sup>

It was long thought that the decision to attack Damascus was contrary to the interests of the kingdom of Jerusalem, which had maintained a peace treaty with its Muslim neighbour.<sup>27</sup> More recently, however, it has been argued that the impetus to attack Damascus actually came from the kingdom of Jerusalem. A statement made by Otto of Freising suggests that as early as May 1148 Conrad had agreed to a proposal to attack Damascus, made by King Baldwin III of Jerusalem and Patriarch Fulcher of Jerusalem.<sup>28</sup> Previously cordial relations between the Latin kingdom and Damascus had recently soured, with improved relations between Damascus and Aleppo increasing the threat felt by Jerusalem.<sup>29</sup> It is debatable when Louis VII would first have heard about the plan to attack Damascus. He would still have been based in Antioch at the point when Conrad was apparently agreeing to the Jerusalemite plan. No mention is made of the scheme in his letter sent from Antioch to Abbot Suger. The first occasion where it can be stated with certainty that Louis was in direct contact with the hierarchy of the

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<sup>23</sup> John of Salisbury, *Historia Pontificalis*, ed. Marjorie Chibnall (London, 1956) pp.52–3; William of Tyre, *Chronicon* ed.R.B.C Huygens CCCM 63 (Turnhout, 1986), p.755.

<sup>24</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, p.118.

<sup>25</sup> Berry, *De Profectione*, p.xxiii.

<sup>26</sup> William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, pp.760–1; Jonathan Phillips, *Second Crusade*, p.217.

<sup>27</sup> Martin Hoch, 'The Choice of Damascus as the Objective of the Second Crusade: A re-evaluation', in M.Balard (ed.) *Autour de La Première Croisade* (Paris, 1996), pp. 359 – 69.

<sup>28</sup> Phillips, *Second Crusade*, p.213; Otto of Friesing, *Gesta Friderici I Imperatoris*, ed.G. Waitz and Bernhard von Simson MGH *Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum* (Hannover, 1997), p.89.

<sup>29</sup> Hoch, 'The Choice of Damascus', p.363.



kingdom of Jerusalem occurred following his departure from Antioch.<sup>30</sup> William of Tyre recorded that, anxious to hasten the southward progress of the French, Patriarch Fulcher of Jerusalem travelled north to Tripoli, meeting Louis there in June.<sup>31</sup> Given the apparent role of Fulcher in asking Conrad to attack Damascus, it seems possible that he may have made similar overtures to Louis whilst at Tripoli. Certainly the doubt about whether Louis had any awareness of the Damascus plan prior to his departure from Antioch exposes Virginia Berry's statement that chatter was 'doubtless in the air' as a vague one, supported by no real evidence. This obviously has some consequence for her conclusions regarding the dating of the *De Profectione* and where exactly Odo wrote the work.

It is reasonable to suggest that if Louis and Fulcher held an audience, at which the Damascus scheme was first discussed, that Odo would either have been present at the audience or immediately privy to information emanating from it. This sort of access to Louis and eye-witnessing of negotiations is a feature of the *De Profectione*.<sup>32</sup> The siege itself took place in July 1148, with the troops of the kingdom of Jerusalem approaching the south of the city on Saturday 24 July. What followed is well known as the final fiasco of the disastrous Second Crusade. The ill-advised decision taken by the Latin armies to refocus their attack towards the south east of Damascus, on the other side of the city from the well supplied and watered area where they had initially convened, effectively doomed the enterprise. By the Tuesday, faced with the prospect of the arrival of significant Muslim reinforcements, a decision was taken to abandon the siege.<sup>33</sup> If Odo's reference to Damascus was made prior to that expedition, but necessarily following its conception, there was thus a period of little over a month available to Odo when he might have written the reference to Damascus. It is of course possible that the reference was inserted into a narrative that had otherwise been completed at Antioch. The unfortunate survival of only one manuscript of the *De Profectione* makes this hypothesis extremely difficult to prove. The view that Odo wrote the *De Profectione* whilst at Antioch is supported by a number of references in the text to Jerusalem and the Holy Sepulchre. In his prefatory letter Odo refers to the crusading expedition as *iter Ierosolymitano*. The same letter contains a reference to the

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<sup>30</sup> Phillips, *Second Crusade*, p.215; Hoch, 'The Choice of Damascus', p.366.

<sup>31</sup> William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, p.756.

<sup>32</sup> See below, pp.40–46.

<sup>33</sup> Phillips, *Second Crusade*, pp. 220–5.



*Via Sancti Sepulcri*.<sup>34</sup> One of the central themes of Odo's history is the piety of Louis VII.<sup>35</sup> Had Louis visited Jerusalem whilst Odo was still writing his history it is reasonable to assume that the visit would have merited some attention from Odo. Louis's precise motives and objectives at the outset of the crusade remain a matter of debate. What is more certain is that when leaving Antioch he intended to travel south to Jerusalem. The visit of Patriarch Fulcher and the council of Palmerea delayed him from making this visit. It could therefore be argued that Odo wrote much of the *De Profectione* whilst at Antioch, possibly even the prefatory letter to Suger which indicated a desire to move toward Jerusalem. The Antioch stay is the only period of sufficient length for Odo to have written his history whilst he remained in the East. Based on the evidence available today, the oblique reference to the Damascus expedition may either have been inserted at a slightly later date or Odo concluded his writing in the period following the departure from Antioch. It is impossible to state with certainty when the *De Profectione* was written, but early 1148 is the explanation which fits most closely with both the textual and circumstantial evidence.

### **The accuracy of the *De Profectione* and its relationship to other sources**

An assessment of Odo's skill and methodology as an historian requires an examination of the accuracy of his writing and the manner in which information is presented. The information contained in the *De Profectione* has generally been found to be accurate when it can be corroborated by other sources. This supporting evidence is indicated in the extensive critical apparatus of Virginia Berry's edition. This is not to deny that biases distorted how Odo presented his information, but rather to acknowledge that the events described by Odo by and large had a basis in fact. This has been summed up by Mayr-Harting in an observation that Phillips correctly describes as 'elegant': 'Odo is a perfect example of the distinction that one must make between factual reliability, which he has, and objective judgement, which he certainly lacks'.<sup>36</sup> The manner in which Odo presented the participants in the crusade, and the influences that were working upon him, will be examined later in this thesis. In making an initial assessment of his accuracy, it would be futile to again seek to corroborate everything

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<sup>34</sup> This was likely, however, to have been a simple shorthand for the expedition, see below, pp.69–74.

<sup>35</sup> See below, pp.128–38.

<sup>36</sup> Mayr-Harting, 'Odo of Deuil' p.227; Phillips, '*De Profectione* as a source' p.81.

Odo described. Instead the different layers of writing in the *De Profectione* will be highlighted along with how an awareness of the underlying structure of the work can help in an understanding of its content and an assessment of Odo as a writer in his own right.

### *Eyewitnessing and the use of the first person in De Profectione*

The accounts of the First Crusade written by those who personally participated in the expedition have recently been subjected to an analysis examining precisely how their information was presented. Noah Harari has demonstrated how the *Gesta Francorum*, while presenting eyewitness information, does so in a manner that differs from the normal form of an eyewitness report. The anonymous writer of the *Gesta* consistently employed the third person, relating that the events that occurred affected the Franks as a whole, rather than the author himself. The first person was not used at all in the *Gesta*, nor was the reflexive reference to the self, *mihi*. Indeed Harari, whilst not doubting the eyewitness nature of the *Gesta*, correctly points out that nowhere in that source does the author explicitly state that he had participated in the crusade.<sup>37</sup>

Harari contrasts the approach of the author of the *Gesta Francorum* with that which was employed by Fulcher of Chartres in his *Historia Hierosolymitana*. The *Historia* features numerous records of Fulcher's personal experiences and his own observances made while on the journey. These sections of the *Historia* naturally made use of the first person. The use of the first person and the special significance of eyewitness accounts were linked to the definition of history provided by Isidore of Seville in his *Etymologies*.<sup>38</sup> Isidore's definition gave the eyewitness a prominent role: *Apud veteres enim nemo conscribat historiam, nisi is qui interfuisset, et ea quae conscribenda essent vidisset. Melius enim oculis quae fiunt deprehendimus, quam quae auditione colligimus.*<sup>39</sup> This relationship between eyewitnesses and the truth led to those who were presenting their writing as eyewitness testimony frequently stressing the accuracy of what they reported.

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<sup>37</sup> Yuval Noah Harari, 'Eyewitnessing in accounts of the First Crusade', *Crusades* 3 (2004), p.87.

<sup>38</sup> Jeannete Beer, *Narrative Conventions of Truth in the Middle Ages* (Geneva, 1981), p.23.

<sup>39</sup> Isidore, *Etymologiae*, ed. W.M Lindsay (Oxford, 1911, repr. 1985), Liber I, XLI.



The desire of writers to demonstrate the veracity of their information led ‘true’ eyewitness accounts to display particular characteristics. Harari has highlighted four common features. Firstly, aware that their audience might not believe them, accounts drew the reader’s attention to the importance of truth in historical accounts. Secondly, the greater reliability of eyewitnessing was stressed. Thirdly, the author made clear the events that they directly eyewitnessed, even inserting themselves into the action. Finally, when relaying information that they did not directly eyewitness, accounts insisted upon the reliability of their secondary source of information.

Harari briefly mentions the *De Profectione*, amongst other sources, in his analysis of eyewitnessing. In addition, in his study of renaissance military memoirs, he compares texts such as the *De Profectione* to that sixteenth-century genre.<sup>40</sup> Such a broad comparison appears inappropriate. It is more reasonable to state that in the particular stylistic tradition of crusading histories Odo’s *De Profectione* is more akin to Fulcher’s *Historia*. This much is clear from the outset of the *De Profectione* and Odo’s prefatory letter to Abbot Suger. Here Odo stated his desire that a record of the deeds of Louis VII would survive for posterity and assured Suger that, due largely to the access afforded to him as chaplain, he had a particular knowledge of the king’s actions on crusade.<sup>41</sup>

Throughout the main body of the *De Profectione* Odo’s perspective shifts between the first person, used for personal insights, and the third person plural, used to describe the collective action of the French. A number of the instances of Odo’s use of the first person are related to the direct references made by him to Suger and to his stylistic desire for brevity.<sup>42</sup> This type of usage can be observed at the beginning of Book Two, where Odo apologised for having taken too long over his descriptions and stated that he had only done so as he was happy to have been writing about France.<sup>43</sup>

On other occasions the first person is employed as Odo dramatically placed himself at the heart of the action being described, one of the eyewitness ‘commonplaces’ identified by Harari. A prominent example of this variety of usage can

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<sup>40</sup> Yuval Noah Harari, ‘Eyewitnessing in accounts of the First Crusade’, pp. 77–99; Yuval Noah Harari, *Renaissance Military Memoirs: War, History and Identity, 1450 – 1600* (Woodbridge, 2004), p.188.

<sup>41</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, p.2.

<sup>42</sup> On brevity and affected modesty see pp.85–90.

<sup>43</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, p.20.



be observed in Odo's description of the French rout at Mount Cadmus and his own role in warning the camp: *Ego interim, qui sicut monachus hoc solum poteram, vel Dominum invocare vel ad pugnam alios incitare, mittor ad castra. Rem refero.*<sup>44</sup> Elsewhere Odo used the first person to offer his personal observations on the geographical conditions encountered whilst on the march. On occasion these observations have been modified in view of events and experiences from later in the crusade. Recalling the landscape of Hungary he stated that at the time he considered it mountainous, but subsequently thought it flat in comparison to the landscape of Asia Minor.<sup>45</sup>

Throughout the *De Profectione* Odo engaged in a number of the other eyewitness commonplaces noted by Harari. On two occasions, whilst describing the difficulties encountered by the French in pursuing trade with Greek towns, Odo stated that some people would perhaps suggest that the towns should have been seized. In the first instance Odo stated that as these people were not present at the events, they were therefore not aware of the circumstances of the unnamed town and the difficulty of capturing it. In the second instance, referring to the town of Adalia, Odo dismissed those who might make such a suggestion as *ignari*.<sup>46</sup> Similarly Odo was keen to emphasize that his own eyewitnessed information was accurate. He assured the reader at one point that when describing the actions of the Greeks, he was not merely inventing a Greek whom he had never seen, indeed he seemed afraid of being accused of doing so. He stated that anyone who had experience of the Greeks would have described them in similar terms, thus affirming the importance of his own eyewitness experience.<sup>47</sup>

Odo fulfilled another of Harari's eyewitness commonplaces in a number of descriptions of events that he did not directly witness. In these instances he assured the reader of the reliability of his sources. The miraculous appearance of a white knight during the French victory at the Maeander valley, in the days after Christmas 1147, provides a prominent example of this kind. Here Odo can again be seen to have been keen not to be deceiving people. He assured his reader that although he did not

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<sup>44</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, p.116.

<sup>45</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, p.30.

<sup>46</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, pp.106, 134.

<sup>47</sup> Odo, *De Profectione* pp.55–6.

personally witness it, other people saw the knight. He stated that this appearance was surely related to what he regarded as a God given French victory.<sup>48</sup>

The examination of Odo's language allows the identification of the events described in the *De Profectione* at which he was undoubtedly present. For much of the history this is unnecessary, as Odo was evidently with the French army as it travelled through Europe and then Anatolia. It does, however, aid an examination of Book One of the *De Profectione*. The first book of Odo's history is entirely concerned with the preparations taken by Louis VII prior to his departure on the crusade. These preparations took the form of a succession of royal gatherings. The first of these was at Bourges at Christmas 1145 when, according to Odo, Louis supposedly revealed the 'secret of his heart', a statement taken by some to indicate that Louis desired to make a pilgrimage to the East. He did not, however, take the cross at this point. Following the Christmas court Louis took the cross at Vézelay in Easter 1146. Odo's description of what happened at Vézelay is lacking in detail. He stated that he did not include a full account of the miracles that occurred there in his history, so as not to abandon his theme, but did not reveal if he was personally present or from whom he may have derived his information.<sup>49</sup> Specific details regarding those who attended the council at Vézelay are not present in Odo's history. While he does attest to the presence of Bernard of Clairvaux, information on secular French attendees is limited to a statement that Louis was accompanied by *proceres multi*. A more complete list of attendees can be found in a later, fragmentary, life of Louis VII.<sup>50</sup> The narrative then moves forward almost a year, to an assembly convened by Louis at Étampes on 16 February 1147. There is no mention at all of a meeting held at Châlons on 2 February that was attended by Louis, Bernard of Clairvaux and representatives of Conrad III.<sup>51</sup> Odo's description of the proceedings of the meeting at Étampes is brief, dealing largely with the appointment of Suger as regent for the French kingdom.<sup>52</sup> Following the description of the Étampes assembly the narrative of Book One moves forward to describe the arrival of Eugenius III at St. Denis for Easter and the subsequent arrival of Louis in mid-June, prior to his departure on crusade. Odo's description of Louis's activities at St. Denis is not

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<sup>48</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, p.112.

<sup>49</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, pp. 8–10.

<sup>50</sup> Phillips, *Second Crusade*, p.66; *Historia Gloriosi Ludovici VII*, RHGF, XII, p.126.

<sup>51</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, p.12, n.29; *Vita Sancti Bernardi*, RHGF, XIV, p.378.

<sup>52</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, p.14.



exhaustive, but it does contain significant detail regarding the ceremonies conducted at the abbey prior to the king's departure.<sup>53</sup> This increase in detail was no doubt influenced by Odo's position as a monk of St. Denis and his loyalty to his abbey. The ceremonies at St. Denis and Paris were also, however, the first events in the *De Profectione* at which Odo can be placed with certainty. This is indicated by the *Dialogus Apologeticus* of William of St. Denis, which describes how Odo was introduced to Eugenius III whilst the pontiff was at Paris.<sup>54</sup> Odo's presence is also attested to by his language. His account of Louis's time at Paris is the first point in the *De Profectione* where he made use of the first person to describe what he had witnessed. The reader is assured by Odo of the authenticity of Louis's visit to a leper colony with the phrase *certe vidi*, 'I certainly saw'.<sup>55</sup> It thus cannot be stated with certainty that Odo was a direct eyewitness to the events described in Book One prior to arrival of Louis VII at St. Denis. This may explain the lack of detail in his description of the attendees at Vézelay.

It might also account for a seeming inaccuracy in his description of Suger's election as regent. Odo presented Suger as having freely taken on the role at Étampes and paraphrased Matthew 11:30 in describing it as *onus Christi ex levitate sensisti*.<sup>56</sup> Other sources suggest that Suger did not take on the regency so willingly. In his *Vita Sugerii* William wrote that the abbot initially refused as he thought the position a burden.<sup>57</sup> If it were only William who contradicted Odo the testimony of the *De Profectione* would be more persuasive. William's other claims about Suger's supposedly poor family and the Abbot's supposed misgivings about the crusading enterprise are likely to have been exaggerated.<sup>58</sup> But William's comments on Suger's misgivings are corroborated by the *Breve Chronicon Sancti Dionysii*, which recorded that Suger was only willing to take the position following the receipt of papal approval.<sup>59</sup> The weight of evidence is thus against Odo's account of Suger having quickly and happily taken on the role.<sup>60</sup> Phillips has suggested that the issue of the

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<sup>53</sup> For an analysis of this ceremonial see below, pp.131–38.

<sup>54</sup> See above, p.13.

<sup>55</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, p.16.

<sup>56</sup> Odo, *De Profectione* p.14.

<sup>57</sup> William, *Vita Sugerii* in Gasparri *Oeuvres* 2, pp.333–5.

<sup>58</sup> Rolf Große, 'La famille de l'abbé Suger', *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* 162:2 (2004) pp. 497 – 500; Grant, *Abbot Suger*, pp. 156–7.

<sup>59</sup> *Breve Chronicon Sancti Dionysii*, RHGF XII pp.215–6.

<sup>60</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, p.15 n.36; Grant, *Abbot Suger*, pp.156–7.



regency might not have been resolved until Eugenius met Louis at Dijon on 30 March or even until the pontiff's eventual arrival at Paris the following month. Odo's apparent inaccuracy supports the argument that he was not personally present at Étampes. If, as suggested above, the St. Denis ceremonies were the first at which Odo was personally present and the issue of the regency had been resolved in the intervening period this could provide an explanation for Odo's inaccuracy. Odo may only have heard about Suger's appointment as regent following its final resolution and was perhaps not aware of his abbot's initial reticence. This would explain what is otherwise an odd passage in the *De Profectione*. It would be curious if Odo, having known about Suger's initial doubts, would then have written a contradictory account about his election in a work that was addressed to Suger and which was perhaps intended to have been first read by Suger.

Following Book One of the *De Profectione* it is reasonable to assume that Odo, given his proximity to Louis VII, was an eyewitness to many of the events that he described. This is indicated by the usages of the first person detailed above. In certain sections of the text where the first person is not employed can also be discerned that Odo was personally present at events. The beginning of Book Four, for example, is comprised of a detailed description of Constantinople. The gates of the city were closed to the vast majority of the French contingent. Odo wrote how Louis visited the city and was conducted on a tour of its shrines by Emperor Manuel I Comnenus. He did not use the first person in his description of Constantinople, but did provide descriptions of the streets of the city and also of the interior of the Blachernae palace. These descriptions would not have been possible had Odo remained outside the wall. A further account of the sumptuous nature of a feast provided by Manuel is also suggestive of the fact that Odo personally accompanied Louis during his visit to the city.<sup>61</sup> These passages also serve as a demonstration of how Odo's factual accuracy was sometimes coloured by his biases. Whilst at Constantinople Louis celebrated the feast of St. Denis with the Greeks on 9 October. A discrepancy is evident in Odo's description of these events. Perhaps seeking to preserve the dignity of Louis, Odo stated that the two monarchs met as equals and sat with each other in two chairs.<sup>62</sup> This differs from the account of the Greek historian Kinnamos, who stated that Manuel received Louis while seated in a

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<sup>61</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, pp.62–6.

<sup>62</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, pp.58–60.

high throne, allowing him to tower over the French king, thus demonstrating his superiority.<sup>63</sup> Kinnamos was not an eyewitness to these events, whilst Odo probably was. However, given the grandeur of the Byzantine court, and their feeling of superiority toward Latins, it seems likely that Phillips is correct in asserting that it was Odo rather than Kinnamos who edited their account at this point.

Odo's detailed description of the clothing and manners of the entourage of the Greek messengers received by Louis in Germany is similarly suggestive of his being a direct eyewitness to negotiations that took place. In this case Odo did not immediately use the first person but instead employed the second person subjunctive of *videre*, *videas*, in order to convey to the reader what they would have seen had they been present. However following this description Odo did employ the first person in attempting to convey the extent of Greek flattery but stated that he would not be able to do so – *non possum*.<sup>64</sup> Odo's presence at negotiations that took place during the course of the crusade is also suggested by his usage of speeches to convey differing viewpoints, a usage that is examined below.

### **Odo's other sources of information**

There are passages in the *De Profectione* for which Odo could not possibly have been an eyewitness, nor have had immediate access to eyewitnesses. The major examples of this are found in his passages dealing with the German crusading contingent led by King Conrad III. Odo's treatment of the Germans, and the influences on his approach, are examined elsewhere in this thesis.<sup>65</sup> Regarding his sources of information on the travails of the German army it is evident from his vocabulary that he largely relied on a mixture of rumours circulating in the French camp, more accurate reports from messengers and finally face to face discussion with some members of the German army.

That Odo's writing reflected broader moods circulating in the French camp regarding the Germans is indicated in his report of French plundering in Bulgaria. Odo complained about both the expensive rate of exchange and the meagre supplies offered

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<sup>63</sup> John Kinnamos, *The Deeds of John and Manuel Comnenus* ed. and trans. Charles M. Brand (New York, 1976), p.69; Odo, *De Profectione*, p.58 ; Phillips, *Second Crusade*, p.191.

<sup>64</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, p.26.

<sup>65</sup> See below, pp.109–27.



by the Greeks, but admitted that want had led some of the French to plunder. He speculated that it was widespread plundering conducted by the Germans that had made Greek settlements wary of the crusaders. This opinion was recorded by Odo as having been held by *aliqui*, indicating that he was reporting an opinion held by some in the French army.<sup>66</sup> Elsewhere Odo's vocabulary indicates that information about problems faced by the Germans came to the French from elsewhere. In his description of the flood of 8 September which engulfed the German army as it camped on the plain of the Choerobacchi, Odo stated that the French had heard that the rain shower which led to the disaster was only slight. In order to convey how the French received this information he wrote *sicut audivimus*.<sup>67</sup> The accuracy of Odo's second-hand reporting of the disaster is slightly suspect. The flood was well documented by a number of other sources, including an eyewitness in the form of Bishop Otto of Freising. Otto wrote that the rain prior to the flood was torrential, contrasting with Odo's report.<sup>68</sup> The German Annals of Würzburg also describe a heavy rain shower as having preceded the flood.<sup>69</sup> Writing in the early thirteenth century, the Greek historian Niketas Choniates stated that torrential rain caused the flood and that the river, named the Melas, only flooded in such conditions.<sup>70</sup>

Odo used the same phrasing, *sicut audivimus*, on a further three occasions to indicate information that he had received at second hand. Two of these usages concern the Germans. The first describes how, when both crusading armies were marching through Hungary, a pretender to the throne named Boris approached Louis and Conrad in turn asking them for aid against the Hungarian King Geisa II. Odo wrote that the French had heard the Boris had promised and indeed, given, much to the Germans.<sup>71</sup> Given the lack of other contemporary sources it is not possible to gauge the accuracy of this claim. Odo did, however, state that, at the time of Conrad's entry into Hungary, the Hungarian and German kings were enemies with each other.<sup>72</sup> This comment demonstrates how he was well aware of the wider contemporary political situation in

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<sup>66</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, p.40.

<sup>67</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, p.48; For a report of the flood and assessment of the German lack of planning see Phillips, *Second Crusade*, pp. 172–3.

<sup>68</sup> Otto of Freising, Otto of Friesing, *Gesta Friderici I Imperatoris*, ed.G. Waitz and Bernhard von Simson MGH *Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum* (Hannover, 1997), p.66.

<sup>69</sup> *Annales Herbipolenses*, MGH SS 16, p.4.

<sup>70</sup> Niketas Choniates, *O City of Byzantium*, trans. Harry S. Magoulias (Detroit, 1984), pp.37–8.

<sup>71</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, p.54.

<sup>72</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, p.32.



Europe. In 1146 Boris had made contact with Conrad through Labezlaus, duke of Bohemia.<sup>73</sup> This resulted in German knights attacking and capturing the Hungarian stronghold of Bosau the following year. After purchasing Bosau back, Geisa then attacked and defeated the duke of Bohemia in September 1146.<sup>74</sup>

Odo's final usage of *sicut audivimus* in reference to what had been heard about the Germans was in reference to the number that had supposedly died from hunger in Anatolia, with the figure of 30,000 quoted.<sup>75</sup> Numerical estimates in medieval histories were often fanciful and in this case Berry has noted that Odo's 'extravagant tale' was being relayed at second hand.<sup>76</sup> Much of Book Five deals with the problems encountered by the Germans in Anatolia and their defeat at Dorylaeum on 25 October. Odo would obviously have had to have derived his information regarding these events at second hand. His text suggests that surviving members of the German contingent were asked about what had happened to them. Describing how the French and German armies met each other near the lake of Nicaea: *Requiruntur illi ordinem, modum, seu causam tanti infortunii.*<sup>77</sup>

Odo's account of what befell the Germans appears to be correct in many key details. The description in the *De Profectione* is well informed regarding the split of the German army into two separate sections and their apparent lack of provisions. Odo also provided accurate information regarding the arrow wounds received by Conrad.<sup>78</sup> He was also well aware of the important role played by Count Bernard of Plötzkau in defending those who were travelling on foot.<sup>79</sup> Odo's principal explanation for the defeat suffered by the Germans was that Manuel Comnenus had supplied them with a treacherous guide. Odo described how, after leading the German army into the labyrinthine mountains, the Greek guide abandoned the army. They were subsequently slaughtered by Turkish troops who had assembled on the surrounding mountains. Yet Conrad's own letter from the crusade to Abbot Wibald of Corvey, sent in early 1148,

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<sup>73</sup> Otto of Freising, *Chronica sive Historia de Duabus Civitatibus* ed. A Hoffmeister, MGH SS. Rer. Germ. 45. (Hannover, 1912), p.367.

<sup>74</sup> Berry p.32 n.31.

<sup>75</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, p.96.

<sup>76</sup> Berry, *De Profectione*, p.96 n.16.

<sup>77</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, p.90.

<sup>78</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, p.94 ; *Annales Palidenses*, MGH SS 16, p.83.

<sup>79</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, p.92; *Annales Palidenses*, pp.82–3; *Annales Magdeburgenses*, MGH SS 16, p.188.

contains no trace of such anti-Greek sentiment.<sup>80</sup> A number of later sources, including William of Tyre, do contain similar accusations of treachery.<sup>81</sup> Phillips has argued that William's charge of treachery was likely a result of his own outlook on the relationship between the Eastern and Western empires. His contention that the Greek guides may well have abandoned the German army out of a sense of self-preservation upon realising that it was increasingly surrounded by the Turks is sensible.<sup>82</sup> It is certainly easy to see how Odo would have rationalised such an action into a direct act of treachery, especially given that a similar approach informed his judgements on the Greeks throughout the *De Profectione*.<sup>83</sup> Odo's account gives a summary of the troubles suffered by the Germans that is accurate in key details. It remains, however, an account based on secondary information that may well have been confused. Recently Kostick, using the evidence of German annals, has suggested that there was a large scale loss of discipline in the German army that contributed to Conrad's defeat.<sup>84</sup> Odo's account provides no real insight into whether such a hypothesis is correct.

The final appearance of the phrase *sicut audivimus* is in relation to the fate of much of the French contingent at Adalia. Louis and the French had arrived there in January 1148 and a debate had eventually arisen amongst the king and his nobles on how best to proceed to Antioch. The decision was finally taken that the nobles would proceed by boat, whilst the poorer bulk of the expedition were to remain behind and try to proceed on foot. Odo is likely to have left by ship with Louis.<sup>85</sup> He did, however, provide an account of events at Adalia following the departure of the king. Amongst these details Odo wrote that it had been heard (*sicut audivimus*) that more than three thousand young men went with the Turks. This would appear to be a reference to their being taken into slavery or captivity, although Odo suggested that the French had willingly gone over to the Turks, viewing them as more generous and compassionate than the Greeks. An example of this supposed compassion is provided in Odo's description of Turks giving out alms to the poor at Adalia. His account continues to

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<sup>80</sup> *Conradi III et filii eius Heinrici Diplomata*, ed. Friedrich Hausmann MGH Diplomatum Regum et Imperatorum Germaniae, 9 (Vienna and Cologne, 1969), pp.354–7.

<sup>81</sup> William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, pp.743–5.

<sup>82</sup> Phillips, *Second Crusade*, p.181.

<sup>83</sup> On Odo and the Greeks see below, pp.139–61.

<sup>84</sup> Conor Kostick, 'Social unrest and the failure of Conrad III's march through Anatolia, 1147' *German History* 28:2 (2010), pp. 125–42.

<sup>85</sup> Berry, *De Profectione*, p.138 n.25.



suggest that these gifts were subsequently stolen by the Greeks. In a possible ironic allusion to the sacred host, Odo lamented *O pietas omni prodicione crudelior, dantes panem fidem tollebant*, whilst also stressing that it is was *certum* that the Turks did not make anyone deny their faith. No other source survives to corroborate these claims, but it does seem that Odo's account of Turks and their kind behaviour towards the poor French is exaggerated and idealised. The strongest indication of this is his assertion of his certainty that none of those Frenchmen who went away with the Turks would have been forced to deny their faith. Odo would have been in no position to verify such a claim, having already departed for Antioch. This account of extraordinarily kind Turkish behaviour, therefore, may simply have been a device used by Odo to further criticise what he saw as Greek treachery.

Thus the information in the *De Profectione* that was clearly gained at second hand presents certain questions about accuracy. Much of what Odo reported as an eyewitness has been found to be accurate even though his objectivity is open to question and he clearly applied certain biases in the manner he presented his information. The second-hand information he reported is perhaps, unsurprisingly, slightly less accurate. The reasons for this can vary – while his report of the conditions leading to the flood which inundated the Germans might simply have been due to poor information, his accounts of Greek treachery harming the Germans and Turkish kindness saving Frenchmen were the result of more obvious distortions in the former case and possibly invention in the latter. The paucity of corroborating evidence makes it impossible to be certain but it should be noted that within the *De Profectione* there exist different layers of information and understanding, with Odo's own eyewitness information perhaps being the most accurate and that which he heard at second hand in the field occasionally being relatively lacking in precision.

By examining where the first person is employing in the *De Profectione* it is possible to state with certainty the events that Odo eye-witnessed and those which he heard about at second hand. It should be stated, however, that although it adheres to the contemporary conventions of 'truthful' eyewitness accounts what was recorded the *De Profectione* was still the product of Odo's personal selectivity. Odo did not even attempt to hide his deliberate omission of certain details. There are three clear instances



in the *De Profectione* of the selective approach that Odo took to writing his history. The first of these is the deliberate suppression of the personal name of Manuel Comnenus, which Odo simply stated he was ignoring.<sup>86</sup> A further two examples of Odo's stated omission of information can be observed in the opening paragraphs of Book Two of the *De Profectione*. In a direct address to Suger, Odo stated that between the departure of Louis from St. Denis in June 1147 and the subsequent assembly of his army at Metz at the end of that month nothing happened in his kingdom that was worthy of remembrance (*memorandum*). Whilst this may appear to be a fair statement given that only a few weeks had elapsed between the two events cited by Odo, his choice of vocabulary is significant. His criteria of what was *memorandum* and thus worthy or preservation in writing is unclear. It is clear however that Odo was willing to suppress accounts of events that did not fit with his view of what was memorable by simply omitting them from his account. This tendency, most clearly demonstrated by the suppression of Manuel's proper name, is evident just a few lines after Odo's statement about events being memorable. Odo wrote that having arrived at Metz, Louis attempted to enact a number of laws to aid peace whilst the crusading army was on the march. Modern scholars are unaware of exactly what these laws constituted, because, as Odo stated, he decided not to record them since they were not well obeyed.<sup>87</sup> In her introduction to the *De Profectione* Berry treats Odo's stated decision not to record these laws as being in the same vein as the desire for brevity displayed at other points in the narrative.<sup>88</sup> It appears to be incorrect to group Odo's decision not to list Louis's laws with his other statements regarding brevity, given the stylistic difference between that statement and those occasions when he did stress that he was trying to be brief. Rather it is a clear indication that Odo was not always willing to record everything he witnessed or every bit of information to which he was privy. The reasons for Odo's stated omissions differed, but it needs to be recognised that when constructing a narrative reflecting 'the truth' monastic writers of the twelfth century were not interested in complete factual objectivity, but rather transmitting to posterity what they thought was correct and suitable for preservation in *memoria* and the edification of future readers.

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<sup>86</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, p.10. For the reasoning behind Odo's suppression of Manuel's name, see pp.161–68.

<sup>87</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, p.20; For a full examination of Odo's concept of *memoria* see pp.268–73.

<sup>88</sup> Berry, *De Profectione*, p.xxiv n.68.

## *Omissions in the De Profectione*

As the *De Profectione* is the major source for the Eastern leg of the Second Crusade, it is impossible to indentify fully points at which Odo may have omitted information simply due to the lack of potential corroborating sources. For much of the expedition he described, Odo is the only source of information. This is certainly true of contemporary accounts. A number of letters sent back to France by Louis VII stand as the only other first-hand French source for Louis's expedition and, as will be discussed below, Odo may have been involved in their composition. There are, however, a number of pieces of information regarding the French crusade that do not appear in the *De Profectione*. The most obvious omission in the text is the absence of detail regarding Louis's activity following his arrival at Antioch. As highlighted above, this lack of detail was most likely because of the date of composition of the *De Profectione* rather than as the result of deliberate omission by Odo.

### **Louis's early itinerary**

Book One of the *De Profectione* is concerned with the preparations made by Louis VII for his departure on crusade. The climatic episode of this book and of Louis's preparations as presented in the *De Profectione* was his visit to Paris and to the abbey of St. Denis in June 1147. Odo described how Louis visited a leper colony in Paris, where he did 'a praiseworthy thing which few... could imitate'. Koziol has interpreted this frustratingly vague statement as possibly an oblique reference to the royal touch, although no other source has linked that sacral power with Louis.<sup>89</sup> The account then details how Louis travelled from Paris to St. Denis received the *vexillum* of the Abbey, a ceremony described as the usual custom: '*qui semper mos... fuit*' of victorious French kings.<sup>90</sup> Pope Eugenius III was present for this ceremony. Having then dined with a number of the monks of the abbey Louis set out, with Book One of the *De Profectione* ending at this point. Presumably Odo set out with the king in his capacity as chaplain.

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<sup>89</sup> Geoffrey Koziol, 'England France and the Problem of Sacrality in Twelfth-Century Ritual' in T.N Bisson (ed.) *Cultures of Power: Lordship, Status, and Process in Twelfth-Century Europe* (Philadelphia, 1995), pp. 128–9.

<sup>90</sup> On this ceremony see below, pp.131–8.



His own eye-witnessing language indicates that he was present when Louis was at Paris, as does the account of William of St. Denis.<sup>91</sup>

Book Two of the *De Profectione* begins its description of Louis's itinerary at Metz, where the French army assembled. As noted above, the weeks between Louis's departure from St. Denis and the assembly at Metz are those that were dismissed by Odo as having had nothing *memorandum* occur during them. It has been pointed out that very little space in the *De Profectione* is dedicated to the movements of Louis within the kingdom of France itself.<sup>92</sup> Some implicit sense of the French king's itinerary can be grasped from Odo's account. It appears that Louis was at Rheims, with Odo recording how Archbishop Samson was made co-regent of the realm at this time. Luchaire also dates two of Louis' acts, issued at Rheims, to 8-15 June 1147.<sup>93</sup> That the French travelled through Verdun, outside the realm of the French king, is also implied by Odo's statement that Louis found the people of Metz 'subject to him voluntarily, as had been the case at Verdun'.<sup>94</sup> Any clear description of this stage of Louis's journey is, however, absent from the *De Profectione*. Odo may simply have omitted this information as he found it unworthy of record. Yet he found it necessary to allude back to the positive reception given to Louis at Verdun which he had initially chosen not to record. The information regarding the installation of Samson as co-regent also had to be inserted. It thus appears that Odo did not omit the information as it was not memorable, since important detail from the period does actually appear in some basic form. Rather his omission of a precise description of Louis's early itinerary has an important effect on the structure of his account. By moving directly from Louis's departure from St. Denis to his arrival at Metz Odo was able to afford the ceremony at his own abbey a greater prominence in his narrative. The ceremonial importance of the events St. Denis is undoubted, but by omitting events that occurred between Louis's departure from there and the gathering of his crusading army Odo was able to move his narrative neatly from St. Denis to the start of the crusade 'proper.'

### **The Papal Legates**

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<sup>91</sup> See above, p.13.

<sup>92</sup> Norman Golb, 'The Rabbinic Master Jacob Tam and Events of the Second Crusade at Rheims', *Crusades* 9 (2010), p.57.

<sup>93</sup> Luchaire, *Études sur les actes de Louis VII* (Paris, 1885), nos. 219 and 221.

<sup>94</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, p.20.



The *Historia Pontificalis* of John of Salisbury is one of the lengthier accounts of the Second Crusade that was not written by a participant in the expedition. John's narrative of the crusade provides a number of reasons for the failure of the expedition and echoes Odo's complaints about the treachery of the Greeks. He also stated that the expedition fell into trouble due to the failure of the papal legates appointed by Eugenius III to impose properly their authority. According to John, who is the only source regarding the legatine appointments, bishop Theodwin of Porto and Guy, cardinal priest of St. Chrysogonus were given the positions by Eugenius. John reported that Theodwin, a German, was regarded by the French as a barbarian and that Guy, a scholarly Florentine, was ill suited to the demands of the role. His account continues to record that the gap in legatine authority was filled by two bishops, namely Godfrey of Langres and Arnulf of Lisieux.<sup>95</sup>

The role of these two legates, or more precisely their failure to fulfil their roles correctly, receives no mention in the *De Profectione*. This omission may simply be because, as John wrote in the *Historia Pontificalis*, the legates had trouble imposing any authority on the expedition. Odo may thus have been unaware of their supposed status. This assertion is supported by William's report that Theodwin was poorly received by the French and that indeed, he could not speak the French language. Guy's ability to speak French was supposedly little better. William of Tyre's account of the crusade, written later in the twelfth century, is similarly silent regarding the legatine involvement. When the legates can be seen to have asserted their authority in Outremer it is in the period following the conclusion of Odo's narrative. Guy remained in the east following the failure of the crusade. He convened a council in, which both Patriarch Aimery of Antioch and the bishop elect of Tripoli failed to attend. This led to Guy suspending the unnamed bishop elect, although he would later have his name cleared by the pope.<sup>96</sup> This example of more active involvement on the part of the legate occurred following the conclusion of both the crusade and the narrative of the *De Profectione*. It is thus difficult to conclude whether Odo was aware of the presence of the legates on the

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<sup>95</sup> John of Salisbury, *Historia Pontificalis*, pp.55–6.

<sup>96</sup> John of Salisbury, *Historia Pontificalis* pp.74–5; I.S. Robinson, *The Papacy 1073–1198 Continuity and Innovation* (Cambridge, 1990), pp.357–8; On the involvement of Eugenius III in the crusade and for an overview of relations between the Roman Curia and the church in the crusader states both before and after the Second Crusade see Rudolf Hiestand, 'The Papacy and the Second Crusade' in J. Phillips and M. Hoch (eds) *The Second Crusade Scope: and Consequences* (Manchester, 2001), pp.32–53. The insignificant role of the Legates is specifically mentioned on p.38.

expedition and, if he was, whether he deliberately chose to suppress mention of their involvement. Although the perspective of his account is strongly French and monarchical, Odo did not attempt to hide other aspects of the papal involvement in the crusade. He recorded that Louis, following his taking of the cross at Vézelay, sent messengers to Pope Eugenius III, who in turn authorised Bernard of Clairvaux to preach the expedition. Whilst Odo made no direct mention of the papal bull *Quantum Praedecessores*, which is traditionally viewed as having ‘launched’ the Second Crusade, he was clearly aware of the document and familiar with its content. This is clear from the Book Five of the *De Profectione* where Odo disparagingly referred to the advice set out in the bull regarding the clothing of those participating in the crusade.<sup>97</sup> Elsewhere in his narrative Odo also acknowledged the papal and western Christian aspect of the expedition when he stated that it was a shame for the French and indeed for all of St. Peter’s subjects that the crusaders decided against attempting to capture Constantinople from the Greeks.<sup>98</sup> It is plausible that Odo, if he was aware of their presence, may not have mentioned the role of the legates due to his own personal sympathies with the positions taken by Godfrey of Langres, who was named by John of Salisbury as one of the churchmen who moved to fill the gap in authority left by the weak legates. Odo’s obvious sympathies with Godfrey, who is sometimes characterised as having headed an ‘anti-Greek’ faction in the French contingent, have previously been noted. The manner in which Odo elucidated his sympathy with Godfrey has not been properly detailed. It was through Odo’s usage of *oratio recta* and particularly the manner in which he presented speeches that Godfrey was given special prominence in the *De Profectione* narrative.

### **Speeches and Oratio Recta in the De Profectione**

A common feature of twelfth-century historical writing is the inclusion in accounts of speeches in *oratio recta*, often delivered as a ‘set piece’ prior to a battle. That these speeches were largely rhetorical fabrications of the authors has generally been accepted. Putting words into the mouths of figures in historical narratives was a convention that had its roots in the works of classical writers such as Sallust and

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<sup>97</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, p.94; See below, p.70.

<sup>98</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, p.58.



Lucan.<sup>99</sup> The *De Profectione* contains a relatively small number of speeches, or even pieces of direct speech, and they are generally not of the heroic ‘set piece’ nature commonly observed in contemporary histories. There are two pieces of minor direct speech in Odo’s account. The first is attributed to Bishop Godfrey of Langres who is described as having told Greek messengers to stop their excessive flattery of Louis VII.<sup>100</sup> The second instance is in Odo’s description of the death of Bishop Alvisus of Arras on 8 September 1147. The account describes how Alvisus supposedly spoke to assembled monks and clerks from his deathbed, asking them to sing the service customarily conducted on the feast of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin, as he would not be there to witness it himself.<sup>101</sup> This brief description is followed by a description of miraculous healings at Alvisus’s tomb. The pattern of healing described by Odo, with fever sufferers falling asleep beside the tomb and waking to find themselves cured, is linguistically similar to a miracle described in his Argenteuil *inventio*.<sup>102</sup> A final instance of brief direct speech is found in Odo’s description of the negotiations between emissaries of Manuel Comnenus and Louis VII regarding the conduct of the French army as it travelled through Greek lands. Specifically the Greek emissaries had requested that the French were not to attack any of the cities in Manuel’s territory. They also requested that any cities conquered from the Turks that had once been part of the Emperor’s territory were to be returned to Greek control. Odo’s report of this request seems to be accurate, given that letters despatched by Manuel to Eugenius III and Louis prior to the crusade hint at his desire for such an arrangement.<sup>103</sup> This request also has echoes of that made by Emperor Alexius I Comnenus during the First Crusade. Odo chose to render part of the French response to this request in the form of direct speech. It is clear, however, that he was using this device to summarise a viewpoint as he wrote that objections were put across by *quidam*, who stated that they should not agree to return any territory they conquered.

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<sup>99</sup> Matthew Kempshall, *Rhetoric and the Writing of History, 400–1500* (Manchester, 2011), pp.339–41.

<sup>100</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, p.26; On the importance of this passage for Odo’s conception of *Captatio Benevolentiae* see below, p.90.

<sup>101</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, pp.44–6.

<sup>102</sup> See below, p.192. ; Alvisus’s epitaph is recorded in the *Historia Monasterii Aquicinti* MGH SS 14, p.588.

<sup>103</sup> *Epistola Manuelis ad Ludovicium*, RHGF, XVI, p.9; *Epistola Manuelis ad Eugenium*, RHGF, XV, pp.440 – 1. As noted by Berry, this desire was particularly evident in the letter to Eugenius Odo, *De Profectione*, p.10 n.22; Venance Grumel, ‘Au Seuil de la II<sup>e</sup> Croisade: Deux Lettres de Manuel Comnène au pape’ *Études Byzantines* 3 (1945), p.161.



The other examples of *oratio recta* found in the *De Profectione* are fuller in length and could more reasonably be described as speeches. These occur at five separate points in the *De Profectione*. Two of these instances involve Bishop Godfrey of Langres. Godfrey's opposition to the Greeks is a recurring feature of the *De Profectione*. His complaint against the excessive flattery of the Greeks has already been noted. He was also one of a number who reported that men who he sent ahead to Constantinople had had goods stolen by the Greeks.<sup>104</sup> Odo's account describes how, while the French were encamped outside Constantinople in October 1147 Godfrey encouraged the assembled army to take the city. This appeal precedes a speech largely concerned with the misdeeds of Emperor John II Comnenus, father of Manuel. Odo has Godfrey describe how John had laid siege to the city of Antioch following the capture of the cities of Tarsus and Mamistra. This was done, according to Godfrey, with the help of Muslim forces. Godfrey concludes his appeal with the claim that Manuel was seeking to continue his father's attempts at the subjugation of Antioch and that therefore the crusaders should not trust him.<sup>105</sup> Between the bishop's exhortation to attack Constantinople and his criticisms of Manuel, Odo records that Godfrey also described the unfortunate death of John Comnenus. How John came to die by poisoning was apparently described in some detail by Godfrey:

*Deus autem, horum cognitor, iudex et vindex, voluit  
ut ipse sibi toxicatam sagittam infligeret et modico  
vulnere vitam indignam finiret.*<sup>106</sup>

Godfrey's appeal is immediately countered by another speech. Odo was again evidently summing up a position as he described how those who disagreed had replied with words *haec et similia*. Their argument, as presented by Odo, contrasted the wealth that could be gained through an attack on Constantinople with the spiritual rewards promised by the pope of the remission of sins that would be gained by continuing the march to the East and fighting the pagans. Phillips states that this contrast is ironic.<sup>107</sup> It seems likely that Odo was present as an eyewitness to this debate. It appears in the *De Profectione*

<sup>104</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, p.55.

<sup>105</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, p.70.

<sup>106</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, p.70; Odo's account of John's unfortunate demise has gone unnoticed by Browning, who has argued that the Emperor was in fact killed by his own men and the circumstances of the death subsequently covered up – Robert Browning, 'The Death of John II Comnenus' *Byzantion* 31 (1961), pp.229–35.

<sup>107</sup> Phillips, *Second Crusade*, p.192.

directly following his description of the celebrations of the feast of St. Denis, which concludes with a strong statement regarding the importance of eyewitness evidence.<sup>108</sup> In addition, whilst Odo presented Godfrey's speech and the response of his opponents as two sides of a debate, he expressed his personal opinion on the subject using the first person *credo*.<sup>109</sup>

Godfrey is also at the heart of the next series of speeches, with the subject of the Greeks again apparently exercising opinion within the French army. This second speech is recorded as having taken place when the French were at Nicomedia, where Louis discussed with assembled barons and bishops how he should respond to the overtures of Manuel. It is shorter and less detailed than Godfrey's previous appeal and essentially amounts to a statement that Louis should refuse to pay homage to Manuel and that the French could use force to attack the Greeks. This speech is again a summation of a position, with Odo having preceded his description of the speech with the statement, *Dicebant quidam et maxime Lingonensis*.<sup>110</sup> Godfrey's statements are again countered by Odo through the presentation of a general response from *alii*, presented in the form of a speech.<sup>111</sup> This speech again emphasises the fact that the French were supposed to be marching against Muslims rather than attacking the Greeks.<sup>112</sup>

These two speeches present the views of what were apparently two opposing groups of thought within the French crusading contingent. One group, represented by Godfrey of Langres, urged an attack on the Greeks. Odo agreed with this opinion and stated that in the initial debate at Constantinople the argument against attacking the city succeeded due to the trickery of the Greeks, who prevailed 'more by treachery than by force'. Odo's agreement with Godfrey's arguments is also indicated by the manner in which he presented the opposing speeches. Whilst Godfrey was clearly identified by Odo as the figure advising an attack on Constantinople and warning of the deceitful nature of the Greeks, he is only identified as arguing against an amorphous group that was not represented in the text by any particular figure. Odo's personal agreement with the viewpoint of Godfrey thus influenced the manner in which he recorded certain sections of *oratio recta* in the *De Profectione*, with the bishop presented on number of

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<sup>108</sup> See above, p.43.

<sup>109</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, p.70.

<sup>110</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, p.78.

<sup>111</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, p.78.

<sup>112</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, p.80.



occasions as the embodiment of anti-Greek views. Those people who presented pro-Greek arguments, with which Odo disagreed, were not afforded the representation of one figure in the narrative of the *De Profectione*.

The technique evident in Odo's presentation of the two debates about the Greeks again appears in the final book of the *De Profectione*. The French crusading contingent arrived in the town of Adalia in January 1148, suffering from hunger and lack of provisions and having suffered a disastrous defeat at Mount Cadmus a number of weeks earlier. Following the arrival at Adalia Odo detailed a series of discussions between Louis VII and his nobles over whether or not to pursue the land route to Antioch. Louis wished to take this route and made this known to his nobles. The nobles, however, objected to Louis's request and subsequently ships were procured from the Greeks for the purpose of ferrying the higher ranking members of the French crusade to Antioch. The bulk of the poorer pilgrims were thus left at Adalia, a fact confirmed by William of Tyre.<sup>113</sup>

This debate is presented in a manner similar to that of the discussions between Godfrey of Langres and his opponents. Odo wrote that Louis made a brief speech to his barons suggesting that they hasten onwards. The barons are described as having responded with a speech of their own, promoting the sea route. This is followed by two further short speeches, one delivered by Louis which promoted the land route through an appeal to the memory of the First Crusaders and a further response from the barons who assured the King that whilst they did not want to deprecate the memory of their ancestors their situation made the land route impossible.<sup>114</sup>

The final two instances of *oratio recta* in Odo's narrative differ in that they do not follow the argumentative structure clearly seen in the above examples. Both are attributed Conrad III. The nature of these two speeches is discussed at further length below.<sup>115</sup>

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<sup>113</sup> William of Tyre, *Chronicion*, pp.753–4.

<sup>114</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, pp.130–2.

<sup>115</sup> On these speeches see below, pp.116–7.



### *The crusading letters of Louis VII and their relationship to Odo's account*

Other than the *De Profectione* the only contemporary account to have emanated from the French crusading army were a series of letters sent from Louis VII. These were addressed to prominent figures who maintained the Capetian kingdom in his absence, in particular Abbot Suger. Constable has stated that these letters act as a 'useful corrective to Odo's attitude in the *De Profectione*', describing them as 'accurate and specific' with a comparatively 'sane and unprejudiced' viewpoint.<sup>116</sup> As demonstrated above, these letters are important for the corroboration of several of Odo's claims, particularly those regarding the latter stages of the French march in Anatolia.

Although numerous letters were sent from Louis back to France the majority of these were simply notices relating to deaths and requests for the subsequent redistribution of lands and wealth.<sup>117</sup> Constable correctly identifies three longer narrative letters, all addressed to Suger, as being the most significant. The first of these, from 1147, was despatched from the 'gates of Hungary'.<sup>118</sup> This letter is relatively brief, with Louis describing how the French had happily arrived in Hungary, guided by divine aid, and had been generously received by the people of that kingdom. The entirety of the second half of the letter is taken up with requests from Louis that Suger raise money for the crusade. This pattern is followed again in the letter from Constantinople, written soon after 8 October 1147. The letter begins with a brief description of the arrival of the French at Constantinople, just before the feast of St. Denis, on 9 October. Louis described how many of the French had already crossed from Constantinople into Asia Minor and how he himself was preparing to do so. The rest of the letter, aside from a brief notice of the death of Bishop Alvisus of Arras, is again concerned with procurement of funds for the aid of the crusade.<sup>119</sup>

The letter from Antioch is the longest and most detailed of the three major letters identified by Constable. Composed in Antioch in 1148, the letter devotes relatively little space to the familiar request that Suger raise money. Rather it reads like

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<sup>116</sup> Constable, 'Second Crusade as seen by contemporaries', p.218.

<sup>117</sup> See for example Louis's 1147 letter to Suger and his co-regents regarding the transfer of funds to the Templars: RHGF XV, p.496.

<sup>118</sup> Louis VII, *Epistola Ludovici de Portas Hungariae*, RHGF XV, p.487.

<sup>119</sup> Louis VII, *Epistola Ludovici de adventu suo Constantinopolim*, RHGF XV, p.488.

a *précis* of the *De Profectione*. Beginning with an account of the safe French arrival at Constantinople and their friendly reception by the emperor, the letter moves on to provide a brief narrative of the travails of the French in Anatolia. Louis described the constant danger posed to the French by Turkish attack. Particular attention is given to the disastrous defeat at Laodicea, with a list of the deceased, and the decision taken at Adalia to proceed to Antioch by sea. The letter concludes with the assurance that most of the French army survived the sea journey unharmed. Constable, despite highlighting the benefits of the letters as a supposed corrective to the *De Profectione*, does analyse who actually wrote the letters. He appears to regard them merely as the composition of Louis himself. A similar attitude is displayed in his account of letters sent from the German crusading army, where he describes ‘three letters written by the Emperor Conrad III’.<sup>120</sup> This is a somewhat surprising oversight given that Constable is one of the foremost authorities on the history of letter writing in the twelfth century.<sup>121</sup>

While Louis would certainly have played a role in the composition of the letters sent in his name it is unlikely, even as a literate man, that he would have written them himself. The responsibility would instead have been passed to an educated member of the king’s immediate circle. As chaplain to Louis Odo would have been a prominent candidate for this role. John France, in an article dealing with the logistics of supply for the crusade, comments that Odo ‘probably wrote the king’s own letters’.<sup>122</sup> However he does not develop this idea any further. In a brief biography of Odo, contained in his history of St. Denis, Felibien describes Odo’s role as not only that of chaplain to Louis VII during the crusade but also as having been a secretary.<sup>123</sup> Internal evidence in the *De Profectione* suggests that Odo was privy to correspondence sent to Louis. He wrote that a letter sent to Louis by Manuel Comnenus was filled with *prolixam adulationem*,<sup>124</sup> which could be regarded as an accurate description of that document.<sup>125</sup>

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<sup>120</sup> Constable, ‘Second Crusade as seen by Contemporaries’, p.219.

<sup>121</sup> Giles Constable, *Letters and Letter Collections* (Turnhout, 1976), pp.49–50: ‘Enough has been said about the way in which a letter was written to show that serious questions can be raised about the authorship. If only the outline of a letter was dictated, sometimes in the vernacular, to a scribe or secretary who wrote the letter in his own words and script, or even more if a colleague or secretary wrote a letter entirely in the name of someone else, who can be properly called the author?’; See also Constable, ‘Dictators and Diplomats in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries: Medieval Epistolography and the Birth of Modern Bureaucracy’, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 46 (1992), pp.37–46.

<sup>122</sup> John France ‘Logistics and the Second Crusade’ in J.J Pryor (ed.) *Logistics of Warfare in the Age of the Crusades* (Ashgate, 2006), pp.78–9.

<sup>123</sup> Michel Felibien, *Histoire de l’abbaye Royale de Saint-Denis en France* (Paris, 1706), p.192.

<sup>124</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, p.10.



Odo's proximity to the writing process is also demonstrated by the fact that in Louis's letter from Constantinople he is mentioned by name as passing on greetings to Suger.<sup>126</sup> Virginia Berry recognised the closeness of Odo to Louis's correspondence in her introduction to the *De Profectione*, stating that 'inasmuch as he was chaplain and an educated man, he probably had access to the diplomatic documents which came to the royal camp. Since many of these were read aloud before the king and supplemented by oral messages, the value of this privilege is less apparent in the case of Odo than in that of a historian who has to base the bulk of his narrative on archival material, but it probably aided him to verify impressions after the audiences'.<sup>127</sup> Berry did not, however, make the leap to suggest that Odo may have been directly responsible for writing Louis's letters.

As stated above, the letters sent by Louis corroborate to a large extent much of what is written by Odo, in particular the letter from Antioch, much of which reads like a *précis* of the *De Profectione*. The table below illustrates the particular parallels between Louis's Antioch letter and the *De Profectione*.

<i>Louis's letter from Antioch</i>	<i>De Profectione</i>
The French arrive in Constantinople safely ( <i>sanos et incolumes</i> ). They are subsequently greeted by the Emperor with appropriate ceremony: <i>Ibi vero ab Imperatore gaudenter honorificeque suscepti</i> .	<i>De Profectione</i> pp.58–60 (Berry): Louis receives an 'imperial' ( <i>Imperialiter</i> ) welcome from Manuel. The people of Constantinople also receive the king with due honour ( <i>regi obviam processerunt et eum honore debito susceperunt</i> )  p.66: Louis attends a luxurious banquet hosted by Manuel.
The French cross the Bosphorus into Anatolia after a period at Constantinople. They encounter problems there due to both	The phrase <i>Damna Pertulimus</i> appears at an earlier point in the <i>De Profectione</i> , during Odo's description of the French

<sup>125</sup> Manuel Comnenus, *Epistola Manuelis ad Ludovicum*, pp.9–10.

<sup>126</sup> Louis VII, *Epistola Ludovici ab Constantinopoli*, RHGF XV, p.488: '*Dilectus filius vester Odo monachus vos salutatur, quem pro reverentia Beati Dionysii honorifice nobiscum habemus.*'

<sup>127</sup> Berry, *De Profectione*, p.xix.



<p>the treachery of the Emperor and their own indiscipline. Louis's letter states that Turks were allowed to harry the French by the Emperor and that it was hard to maintain sufficient food supply.</p> <p><i>Transfretavimus ad Brachium, et per Romaniae partes direximus iter nostrorum, non pauca <b>damna pertulimus</b>, et graviter quidem in multis periculis vexati sumus</i></p> <p><i>In Multis Locis non poterant victui necessaria reperiri</i></p>	<p>march to Constantinople – p.40.</p> <p>The specific issues mentioned by Louis in his letter to Suger are all discussed at length in the <i>De Profectione</i>. The issue of food supply is a recurring one in Odo's narrative, with the vocabulary sometimes appearing close to that of Louis's letter: '<i>non possent alibi victualia inveniri</i>' – p.114.</p> <p>Odo refers to Anatolia as <i>Romania</i> once – p.86.</p>
<p>Disaster at Laodicea, loss of prominent Barons.</p>	<p>Louis's description of the battle and the corresponding passage in the <i>De Profectione</i> are compared in detail below.</p>
<p>Arrival at Adalia, discussion between Louis and his nobles over best course of action. Decision taken to sail to Antioch.</p>	<p>These negotiations are described in detail in the <i>De Profectione</i> pp.128–42.</p>

Where differences do exist they can be explained as a result of bias and hindsight leading to exaggeration by Odo in the *De Profectione* or, as suggested by Constable, an attempt to downplay the disasters of the crusade in letters to Suger.<sup>128</sup> This would explain the absence of any record in Louis's letter of Patzinak attacks, supposedly permitted by Manuel, and endured by the French as they travelled toward Constantinople.<sup>129</sup> The Antioch letter does not spare the Greeks from blame for the crusading failure, citing the problem of *fraus imperatoris* alongside French ignorance and also describing how they suffered daily attacks from the Turks who had entered Greek land *qui permissione Imperatoris*. Constable states that the letter clears Manuel of blame for the later problems of the French, particularly in his description of the

<sup>128</sup> Constable, 'Second Crusade as seen by Contemporaries', p.218.

<sup>129</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, p.52.

march to Adalia and subsequent naval departure for Antioch.<sup>130</sup> This interpretation, which appears to view the content of the first and second halves of the letter as being hermitically sealed from each other, can be called into question. Although the Antioch letter does not explicitly mention the Greeks in relation to the later problems encountered by the expedition its earlier statement that Turkish attacks occurred *quotidiana* with Greek permission. This can be viewed as a suggestion of Greek complicity in later events, especially given the letter's description of the disaster at Laodicia as having occurred 'on one of the days' (*in una dierum*). Berry has highlighted an apparent inconsistency between Odo's account of the sea voyage to Antioch and that found in Louis's letter. She has pointed out that the account, found on the final page of Book Seven, of Louis spending three weeks 'suffering shipwreck' on the way to Antioch, and his vessel being battered though not sinking, is at odds with the *felici navigatione* described in the letter.<sup>131</sup> This apparently contradictory evidence may be explained by Odo's stylistic considerations in the *De Profectione*. The idea of Louis risking shipwreck, *naufragium*, en-route to Antioch is first mentioned by Odo earlier in Book Seven. Here Odo described how ships were sought following discussion between Louis and his Barons, seemingly suggesting that the King was forced into making this decision:

*Qui requisiti cum paucitate non sufficerent et debilitate nihil valerent, coegerunt regem vellet nollet marina naufragia experiri, ut 'periculis in mari, periculis in solitudine, periculis ex gentibus, periculis ex falsis fratribus,' sicut et Pauli, permetteret Deus eius patientiam exerceri*<sup>132</sup>

Odo's placing of blame on the barons is significant, particularly as it is coupled with a quotation from Paul's second letter to the Corinthians.<sup>133</sup> Odo drew a direct parallel between the experiences of Paul, 'who suffered perils in the sea, in the wilderness, by the heathen and amongst false brethren' and those of Louis. The experiences of the French in Asia Minor are reflected by the danger *in solitudine* faced by Paul. The dangers posed by the *Gentiis* and *falsi fratres* were reflected by the dealings of the

<sup>130</sup> Constable, 'Second Crusade as seen by Contemporaries', p.218.

<sup>131</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, pp.142–3. fn. 27.

<sup>132</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, p.132.

<sup>133</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, p.133 fn.17; II Corinthians 11:26

French with the Turks and the Greeks. The mention of Louis ‘risking shipwreck’ clearly completes this sequence of allusions. The later mention of Louis ‘suffering shipwreck’ on the route to Antioch can be viewed in this sense. The praise of Louis was one of the central aims of the *De Profectione*. The facts of the crusade made this a problematic goal – Odo thus sought to portray Louis as some form of minor-martyr, continuing to progress despite numerous setbacks. Odo’s usage of the letters of St. Paul for his affected modesty will be highlighted below.<sup>134</sup> That he would thus have turned to Paul to provide a model for the sufferings of Louis is unsurprising, especially given the association of that Apostle with shipwreck. *Naufragium* and the related verb *naufrago* only appears on two occasions in the Latin Vulgate – each of these two instances are found in the epistles of Paul.<sup>135</sup> This would also not be the only occasion on which Odo drew Biblical parallels with events in one of his narratives. His treatment of the Emperor Manuel Comnenus appears to have been underlined by a Biblical understanding.<sup>136</sup> So too was his account of the discovery of the tunic of Christ at Argenteuil, with Odo’s statements on the importance of preserving a record of events in writing seemingly linked to an understanding of scripture.<sup>137</sup>

The language and style of Louis’s letters is also reminiscent of the *De Profectione*. The vocabulary of his letter from Antioch is reminiscent of Odo, with an obvious example being the appearance of the phrase *damna pertulimus* in both texts. Significantly, the letters also exhibit stylistic similarities with the *De Profectione*.

The letter from Antioch, recording the deaths of French noblemen, cuts the list of names short, citing grief at the recent occurrence:

*Fuerant enim mortui in ascensu montanae Laodiceae  
minoris, inter districta locorum, consanguineus  
noster Comes de Guarenna, Rainaldus  
Tornodorensis, Manasses de Bulis, Gaucherus de  
Monte-Gaii, Evrardus de Bretoilo, et caeteri  
quamplures, de quibus opportunius lator*

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<sup>134</sup> See below, p.84.

<sup>135</sup> 2 Corinthians 11:25; 1 Timothy 1:19

<sup>136</sup> See below, p.163.

<sup>137</sup> See below, p.285.



*praesentium annunciabit, quia dolor nos loqui latius  
non permittit.*

The account of the same incident in the *De Profectione* provides a similar list of names. A reason for curtailing the list is also provided:

*Videlicet Warenensem comitem et fratrem eius  
Evrardum de Britolio, Manassem de Bulis et  
Guacherium de Montegaio et alio; se non refero  
nomina omnium ne iudicetur sine utilitate  
prolixum.*<sup>138</sup>

Odo's reasoning that he did not wish to be too 'wordy' in listing the dead was probably borne out of the contemporary view of brevity as an aspect of style. However he did use the same reason as that provided in the Antioch letter, excessive grief, at another point in the *De Profectione*. Describing the passage of men across the Arm of St. George, Odo declined to name them, writing that, as well as trying to avoid being tedious to the reader, he did not wish to name the men due to his grief at their untimely deaths:

*Quorum nomina mihi dolor est recitari, quia mortes  
eorum immaturas aspexi (et esset forsitan legenti  
taedium qui quaerit utilitatis vel probitatis  
exemplum)*<sup>139</sup>

Here, as in the letter, *dolor* is used to refer to the grief that prevents a full listing of the names of the dead. In addition to their employment of stylistic brevity both the *De Profectione* and the letter could be viewed as employing a form of the rhetorical *color*, *occupatio*. *Occupatio*, sometimes referred to as *paralipsis*, involves the listing of names or the description of a situation whilst claiming to leave them unmentioned for reasons such as a lack of knowledge or unwillingness on the part of the narrator.<sup>140</sup> The usage of this rhetorical device, alongside the stylistic usage of brevity, in both the *De Profectione* and the letter from Antioch's description of French defeats in Asia Minor is notable.

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<sup>138</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, p.122.

<sup>139</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, p.80.

<sup>140</sup> Arbusow, *Colores Rhetorici*, p.54.

Further examples of *colores rhetorici*, reminiscent of the *De Profectione*, are found in Louis's letters to Suger. The Antioch letter, describes the French arriving at Constantinople *sanos et incolumes... cum magna laetitia et incolumitate totius exercitus miseratio divina perduxit*. This sentence appears to be an example of *paronomasia*, where two words sharing a common root and sound, but with a different meaning, are employed in close proximity. Here the adjective *incolumis*, meaning unharmed or safe, is paired with the related noun for safety, *incolumitate*.<sup>141</sup>

In the letter from the 'Gates of Hungary' Louis reminded Suger of the need to raise money on behalf of the crusade, writing '*de caetero, rerum status ipse nos admonet, immo et urget et arguit*'.<sup>142</sup> The word *immo* serves here as a contradiction, strengthening Louis' request – the one verb *admoneo*, meaning remind is superseded by two stronger verbs, *urget* meaning urge or verbally press and *arguit* meaning argue. This is an example of *correctio*, a colour involving rhetorical self correction of speech. In Latin this correction is often brought about by use of *immo*.<sup>143</sup> Examples of *correctio*, based around *immo*, are found frequently in the *De Profectione*.<sup>144</sup>

As noted above, the possibility that Odo was responsible for the composition of Louis's crusading letters had previously been advanced by John France and also suggested through Felibien's description of Odo as Louis's secretary. The similarities in content and tone between the *De Profectione* and Louis's three major crusading letters, coupled with Odo's prominent position as chaplain to the French king and his obvious closeness to the writing process, provide evidential weight for these claims. The Antioch letter in particular has a close resemblance to the *De Profectione*. There are a handful of differences in emphasis, and the letter records one more name than Odo's history in a list of deceased French nobles, but these discrepancies can be reasonably accounted for. They are certainly not legitimate reasons for discounting the possibility that Odo composed the letters. Given what is known about medieval letter composition, it is extremely unlikely that Louis personally wrote his communications from the crusade. Odo, given his education and status as Louis's Chaplain, is one of the likelier candidates

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<sup>141</sup> On *Paronomasia* in the *De Profectione* see below, pp.97–8.

<sup>142</sup> Louis, *De Portis Hungariae*, RHGF XV, p.487.

<sup>143</sup> Arbusow, *Colores Rhetorici*, p.54.

<sup>144</sup> On *Correctio* in the *De Profectione* see below, pp.100–1.

to have composed the letters. The examination above has added evidence to what was previously speculation.

### *The memory of the First Crusade and the De Profectione*

That the oriental leg of the Second Crusade was an unmitigated disaster goes without saying. The eventual capitulation of the Frankish armies at Damascus, after their travails in Anatolia, only looks worse when compared to the seemingly miraculous success of the First Crusade. The spectacular success of that initial expedition exerted a keen hold on the collective consciousness of the Christian west, with the memory of its success still strong fifty years later.<sup>145</sup> This memorialisation of the First Crusade was personally encountered by a number of the participants in the Second, notably Louis VII and Odo of Deuil. In the years prior to the Second Crusade Louis had received as a gift a compilation of the crusading histories of Fulcher of Chartres, Raymond of Aguiliers and Walter the Chancellor. Significantly this collection of texts was prefaced by a letter from the donor, a layman by the name of William Grassegals. Grassegals appears to have been a participant in the First Crusade, and his letter urged the young king to read of the exploits of his predecessors and to attempt to emulate them.<sup>146</sup> In Odo's case, he would surely have been aware of the dedication of a new cycle of windows at St. Denis depicting the events of the First Crusade. As will be detailed below, prior to his departure on the Second Crusade, Odo also received a *libellus* outlining the history of the first expedition to Jerusalem.

There has been much debate about the nature of crusading in the twelfth century and beyond concerning both the numbering of the major expeditions and what actually

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<sup>145</sup> Phillips, *Second Crusade*, pp.17–36; James M. Powell, 'Myth, Legend, Propaganda, History: The First Crusade, 1140-ca.1300' in Michel Balard (ed.) *Autour de la première croisade. Actes du colloque de la Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East, Clermont-Ferrand, 22-25 Juin 1995* (Paris, 1996), pp.134–5; Marcus Bull, 'The Capetian Monarchy and the Early Crusade Movement', *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 40 (1996), pp.40–5; Jonathan Riley-Smith, 'Family Traditions and Participation in the Second Crusade' in M.Gervers (ed.), *The Second Crusade and the Cistercians* (New York, 1992), pp.101–8; Susan B.Edgington, 'Albert of Aachen, St. Bernard and the Second Crusade' in J. Phillips and M. Hoch (eds) *The Second Crusade: Scope and Consequences* (Manchester, 2001), pp.54–69.

<sup>146</sup> William Grassegals, Dedicatory Letter to Louis VII, *RHC OC* 3, pp.317–8; The Grassegals text and the possible influence on Louis VII of the collection of histories he presented is examined in, Jay Rubenstein, 'Putting History to use: Three Crusade Chronicles in Context' *Viator* 35 (2004), pp.131–68.



constituted a 'crusade'.<sup>147</sup> This confusion stems from the contemporary sources, which did not impose uniform numbering on the expeditions. Orderic Vitalis, for example, described the 1107 expedition of westerners to the East as 'the third expedition of westerners to Jerusalem'.<sup>148</sup> The evidence suggests, however, that what we now call the Second Crusade was regarded by contemporaries as having a particular connection to the First. Jay Rubenstein has highlighted as an example the relevant entries in the *Annales Mosomagenses*. The entry for 1095 reads *motio Christianorum euntium Ierusalem*. For 1147, and the start of the Second Crusade the Annal reads *motio secunda Christianorum*. The two events, although separated by over half a century, were clearly linked thematically in the mind of the chronicler, standing out as the two large crusading actions of this period.<sup>149</sup>

The most obvious evidence for the special esteem the First Crusade held in the minds of those involved with the Second Crusade can be found in the papal bull *Quantum praedecessores*. The bull, first issued by Eugenius III in December 1145, explicitly looks back to the events of the First Crusade. *Quantum praedecessores* cites the example of Pope Urban II and his initiation of the crusade. Eugenius urged the French to follow the example of their forefathers in taking up arms to against the enemies of the cross of Christ. His appeal was specifically in response to the 1144 fall of Edessa. The influence exerted on Eugenius by written accounts of the First Crusade is clear from his statement that *antiquorum relatione didicimus, et in gestis eorum scriptum reperimus*.<sup>150</sup> Phillips has noted that Eugenius in appealing to the sense of history of the French nobility was not itself original. A number of the accounts of Pope Urban II's speech at Clermont in 1095 state that he had appealed to the Franks to emulate the deeds of their fathers.<sup>151</sup> It could be argued, though, that the case of the Second Crusade was slightly different, as whilst Urban was making an appeal based on a general memory of renown, Eugenius had a specific model for his appeal in the case of the First Crusade and the influence it exerted on the popular memory of his audience.

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<sup>147</sup> Christopher Tyerman, *The Invention of the Crusades* (London, 1998), pp.1–29; J.Riley-Smith, *What were the Crusades?*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn. (London, 1992); Giles Constable, 'The numbering of the Crusades', in G. Constable (ed.), *Crusaders and Crusading in the Twelfth Century* (London, 2008), pp.353–6.

<sup>148</sup> Orderic Vitalis, *Historia Ecclesiastica v.III*, ed. and trans. Marjorie Chibnall (Oxford, 1972), pp.182–3.

<sup>149</sup> *Annales Mosomagenses*, MGH SS 3, p.162. Rubenstein, 'Three Crusade Chronicles', p.146.

<sup>150</sup> Eugenius III, *Quantum Praedecessores*, RHGF XV, p.430.

<sup>151</sup> Phillips, *Second Crusade*, p.54.

Odo appears to have paid close attention to *Quantum Praedecessores*. At the outset of the *De Profectione* he referred to letters that were exchanged between Louis and Eugenius. His statement that Eugenius offered *peccatorum omnium remissionem* to those who participated in the crusade appears to be a reference to the remission of sins promised in the papal bull.<sup>152</sup> Later in his account Odo can be clearly seen to have cited the language of the bull, with his lamentation over the papal ban on dogs and falcons being brought on crusade replicating the *canes* and *acciptres* forbidden by Eugenius.<sup>153</sup> Thus, while Odo's account does not provide any clarity on whether Louis planned to journey to the East prior to the papal sanction for a crusade, Odo's familiarity with *Quantum Praedecessores* indicates that the content of the bull was subsequently well understood by members of the French expedition.

The influence of the broader memory of the First Crusade on the French expedition of the Second Crusade can be clearly observed in the *De Profectione*. Recounting a planned diversion of the French army after it had passed through Adrianople, Odo wrote that Louis opposed the plan as he did not want to do anything contrary to what he had heard the Franks had done, presumably on the First Crusade.<sup>154</sup> The legacy of the First Crusade appears again in Odo's description of Anatolia, which he calls *Romania*. Here he stated that much of the land was under the control of the Turks. They had captured it from the Greeks, leading Odo to lament: *Tali servitio retinent quod Francorum virtus, quia Ierosolymam conquisierunt, liberavit*.<sup>155</sup> The longest allusion to the First Crusade and its legacy comes in Book Seven of the *De Profectione*. Here Odo recorded discussions that took place between Louis and the senior members of the French expedition regarding whether or not to proceed by land to Antioch or to sail from the town of Adalia, where they had been sheltering. Odo's account preserves these negotiations in the form of lengthy speeches, presumably written by Odo as a means of summarising more detailed negotiation. Odo again described Louis's willingness to follow strictly the route of the First Crusaders, with the

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<sup>152</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, p.9.

<sup>153</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, p.94.

<sup>154</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, p.58.

<sup>155</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, p.88.



king appealing to his barons: *Nos nostrorum parentum gradiamur iter, quibus mundi famam et caeli gloriam probitas incomparabilis dedit.*<sup>156</sup>

Odo stated that in response to their king's plea the French barons assured Louis that they did not want to deprecate the memory of their forefathers. They still wished to sail from Adalia, however, given the losses they had suffered up until that point. The account records them as stating that one of the major reasons for these losses was the changed circumstances from the First Crusade to the Second. According to Odo's account, the barons stated that once their predecessors had crossed the Arm from Constantinople they were immediately in the lands of the Turks and they were able to maintain their military skill through warfare and the capture of cities. They compared this with their situation, stating that instead of meeting the Turks, they had met the fraudulent Greeks, *Nos autem Graecos fraudulentos in locis illorum invenimus*, whom they had foolishly spared.<sup>157</sup>

This brief overview of the First Crusade appears reasonable at first. It displays a clear awareness of the fact that the First Crusaders were instantly involved in fighting, following their passage over the Arm of St. George. Although it is not mentioned by name, the fighting that took place to capture the city of Nicaea in May and June 1097 provides the most obvious example of the instant warfare experienced by the the armies of the First Crusade following their passage from Constantinople.<sup>158</sup> While this part of Odo's account of the First Crusade appears accurate, the claims made in his narrative regarding the Greeks seem more curious. While it is unsurprising that Odo took the opportunity to criticise the Greek treatment of the Second Crusade, the implication of his statement, put into the mouths of the French barons, is that the First Crusaders encountered no problems with the Greeks at all. This claim is contrary to what many of the historians of the First Crusade recorded. The anonymous *Gesta Francorum* is particularly notable for its hostility toward the Byzantine Emperor at the time, Alexius I Comnenus.<sup>159</sup> Odo's statement it not even consistent with claims he had himself made earlier in his text. In his description of Louis's assembly at Étampes prior to the departure of the crusade, Odo stated that certain men in attendance warned that they

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<sup>156</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, p.130.

<sup>157</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, p.132.

<sup>158</sup> Thomas Asbridge, *The First Crusade: A New History* (London, 2004), pp.118–31.

<sup>159</sup> See below, p.150.



knew the Greeks to be treacherous, through both reading and their own experience.<sup>160</sup> As noted above, whilst it is almost certain that Odo did not report verbatim the actual speeches made on crusade, he does appear to have attempted at least to convey the tenor of what was said during discussions. The letter of Louis VII to Abbot Suger from Antioch confirms that a series of talks did take place between the King and his nobles. It is thus possible that Odo's potted overview of the events of the First Crusade reflected a simplified understanding of the event that existed in the minds of the French barons. They would not have read histories of the First Crusade and would have been familiar with the event through oral tradition, where the capture of cities and battles against the Turks may have taken on a more prominent role than the details of swearing oaths to the Emperor Alexius. The *Chanson d'Antioche*, an example of the vernacular oral tradition that would have helped form the nobility's memory of the First Crusade, does admittedly refer to disputes erupting at Constantinople between the leaders of the First Crusade and Alexius.<sup>161</sup>

It is unlikely that such a misunderstanding of the history of the First Crusade would have affected Odo, who had himself read about the events of the First Crusade in preparation for his own participation in Louis's expedition. This is indicated in the *Dialogus Apologeticus* of William of St. Denis. William, who was the librarian at the abbey, wrote that he presented Odo with a *libellus* relating to the history of the First Crusade. He also stated that Odo had enquired about the route of the first expedition.<sup>162</sup> This is further evidence of the perceived continuity between the First and Second crusades in the minds of its participants. It is also an insight into Odo's mind-set and approach, that he apparently regarded it as important to inform himself about the history of the crusading movement through consultation of written records. There has been some educated speculation about the identity of Odo's *libellus*. Rubenstein has drawn attention to the three crusade histories received prior to the second crusade by Louis VII, gifted by a certain William Grassegals. Grassegals's compendium of crusading accounts was made up of the works of William of Aguilers, Fulcher of Chartres and Walter the Chancellor. Although the manuscript appears to have been held at the abbey of St. Victor, it is not entirely inconceivable that Odo would have consulted it, although

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<sup>160</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, p.12.

<sup>161</sup> *Chanson d'Antioche*, ed. and trans. Susan B. Edgington and Carol Sweetenham (Fornham, 2011), pp.125–33.

<sup>162</sup> William, *Dialogus*, p.103.

as it was not stored at St. Denis, this would appear to rule it out as William's *libellus*. Rubenstein has argued that the content of the histories, particularly that of Fulcher's, could have had an influence on the attitudes of Louis whilst on crusade.<sup>163</sup> Phillips has also commented on what source Odo may have been presented with, noting that a copy of the *Gesta Francorum* was likely to have been present at St. Denis in the period before the Second Crusade.<sup>164</sup> A suitable method for assessing the influence of specific accounts of the First Crusade on Odo's writing is an examination of his use of crusading terminology and how his usages reflect those of earlier crusading accounts. This terminology includes the language employed to refer to the crusaders and the crusade itself.

### **The *Via Sancti Sepulcri* and the Crusade**

As Riley-Smith has highlighted, in the absence of one commonly agreed upon term to refer to the crusade, numerous diverse names were employed to denote the expeditions. These included terms such as 'the way of the cross' or 'the business of Jesus Christ.'<sup>165</sup>

In the *De Profectione* there is a concentration of Odo's references to the expedition as a whole in his prefatory letter to Abbot Suger. In this letter Odo referred to the expedition on three occasions. In each instance Odo used the same term, *Via Sancti Sepulcri*. Literally translated this term would mean 'The Road to the Holy Sepulchre' but Virginia Berry instead rendered it as 'the crusade'.<sup>166</sup> With this translation Berry chose to view Odo's reference to the Holy Sepulchre as a shorthand term for any armed expedition to the east, rather than a more literal statement on the destination of the crusade. This is also the view taken by Tyerman.<sup>167</sup> That Odo would repeat the same term on three occasions in his brief prefatory letter, suggests that he regarded this as the correct term for the crusade. Such concentrated repetition also rules out the possibility that Odo's use of the formulation was merely a chance combination of words. It was instead a phrase deliberately chosen and repeated. In the main body of the *De*

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<sup>163</sup> Rubenstein, 'Three Crusade Chronicles', pp.150–9.

<sup>164</sup> Phillips, *De Profectione* as source.

<sup>165</sup> Riley-Smith, *What were the crusades?*, p.2.

<sup>166</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, pp.2–5.

<sup>167</sup> Tyerman, *The Invention of the Crusades*, p.10.



*Profectione* Odo makes few references to the expedition as whole. Occasional references to the Holy Sepulchre and pilgrimage do continue to occur.<sup>168</sup>

The history of the usage of the phrase *Via Sancti Sepulcri* to denote a crusade is worth examining, as it provides a strong clue to the crusading sources to which Odo may have been exposed. Prior to the First Crusade, the term does not appear to have been in wide use. Following the advent of the First Crusade and the capture of Jerusalem slightly more widespread usage of *Via Sancti Sepulcri* becomes evident, with the term naturally occurring in crusading literature. The First Crusade produced a number of key eye-witness accounts which form the basis of modern scholarship on the subject. The anonymous *Gesta Francorum* is the most famous of the surviving accounts. It is also significant as a number of early twelfth-century histories which it as a major source. These include the histories of Guibert of Nogent, Robert the Monk and Peter Tudebode.<sup>169</sup> The eyewitness accounts of Raymond of Aguiliers and Fulcher of Chartres offer their own distinctive interpretations of the events of the First Crusade, although they are both reliant on the *Gesta* for sections of their work.<sup>170</sup> A different perspective is provided by the *Historia Ierosolimitana* of Albert of Aachen which is particularly notable due to the complete independence of its account from the *Gesta Francorum*.<sup>171</sup> It is, however, the *Gesta* and its successors, along with the accounts of Fulcher and Raymond, that had the most influence in early twelfth-century France. Nine manuscripts of the *Gesta* survive. Even more numerous are the remarkable number of surviving manuscripts of Robert the Monk's *Gesta*-derived history, which has survived in almost one hundred manuscripts.<sup>172</sup>

An examination of the terminology employed by the influential narrative histories of the First Crusade in reference to the expedition itself is illuminating. Neither

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<sup>168</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, pp.22, 28, 70 *et passim*.

<sup>169</sup> John France 'The use of the Anonymous *Gesta Francorum* in Early Twelfth Century Sources for the First Crusade' in A.V. Murray (ed.) *From Clermont to Jerusalem: The Crusades and Crusader Societies 1095 – 1500* (Turnhout, 1998), pp.29–42.

<sup>170</sup> Ibid; John France, 'The Anonymous *Gesta Francorum* and the *Historia Francorum qui ceperunt Iherusalem* of Raymond of Aguiliers and the *Historia de Hierosolymitano itinere* of Peter Tudebode: An Analysis of the Textual Relationship between Primary Sources for the First Crusade' in J. France and W.G. Zajac (eds) *The Crusades and their Sources: Essays presented to Bernard Hamilton* (Aldershot, 1998), pp. 39–70.

<sup>171</sup> Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana: A History of the Journey to Jerusalem*, ed. and trans. Susan B. Edgington (Oxford, 2007).

<sup>172</sup> The number of surviving manuscripts of the histories of the First Crusade is discussed by Carol Sweetenham in her translation of Robert the Monk's *Historia Hierosolymitana: Robert the Monk's History of the First Crusade*, ed. and trans. C. Sweetenham (Aldershot, 2005), pp.8–9.



Fulcher of Chartres nor Raymond of Aguiliers employed the phrase *Via Sancti Sepulcri* in their narratives. In each account references to the Holy Sepulchre are generally restricted to direct mentions of the physical church itself, or the canons based there.<sup>173</sup> Fulcher generally referred to the *Sepulcrum Domini*.<sup>174</sup>

Of the major eyewitness accounts of the First Crusade, the only text that uses the term *Via Sancti Sepulcri* is the anonymous *Gesta Francorum*. Its usage of the term is not minor. *Via Sancti Sepulcri* appears on five occasions in the *Gesta*. In addition, variants of the term appear, *Sancti Sepulcri via* occurring twice and *Sancti Sepulcri iter* appearing on three occasions. *Via Sancti Sepulcri* and its variants are employed by the writer of the *Gesta* as an expression for the crusading mission as a whole, with the author viewing Jerusalem and the Holy Sepulchre as the goal of the expedition. The opening lines of Book One of the work state that those who wanted to follow God and bear his cross took the road to the Holy Sepulchre.<sup>175</sup> Book Two of the work records an apparent promise by the Emperor Alexius I Comnenus not to obstruct those travelling *in via Sancti Sepulcri*.<sup>176</sup> Four of the usages of the term *via Sancti Sepulcri* occur in Book Ten of the *Gesta*.<sup>177</sup> Book Ten also contains two usages of *Sancti Sepulcri iter*.<sup>178</sup> This greater concentration of the term in what is the final book of the work is understandable, given that the narrative concerns the crusade approaching its goal in Jerusalem. A number of the references are in relation to the reluctance of Bohemond of Taranto to leave Antioch, and the fear that this could stop the journey to Jerusalem, on the *via Sancti Sepulcri*, being delayed.

The extensive usage of *via Sancti Sepulcri* and its variants in the *Gesta Francorum* can clearly be demonstrated to have passed on to a number of the ‘successor works’ which based themselves on the anonymous account. Interestingly Guibert of Nogent made no use of the term. Both Robert the Monk and Peter Tudebode, however, clearly continued the usage of the term employed by their major source. In his *Historia*

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<sup>173</sup> Raymond of Aguiliers, *Historia Francorum qui ceperunt Iherusalem*, ed. John France, *Critical Edition of the Historia Francorum of Raymond of Aguiliers*, (University of Nottingham, unpublished PhD thesis, 1967), pp.212, 347, 359 *et passim*.

<sup>174</sup> Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, ed. Heinrich Hagenmeyer (Heidelberg, 1913), p.305, 332, 396 *et passim*.

<sup>175</sup> *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum*, ed. R. Hill, (Oxford, 1962), p.1.

<sup>176</sup> *Gesta Francorum*, p.12.

<sup>177</sup> *Gesta Francorum*, pp.76, 80, 81.

<sup>178</sup> *Gesta Francorum*, pp.72, 75.

*Hierosolymitana* Robert the Monk used the term *via Sancti Sepulcri* six times. The phrase appears in the first book of Robert's history as part of his description of the appeal of Pope Urban II at the Council of Clermont. Here Robert clearly linked the idea of setting out on the road to Holy Sepulchre with the act of taking the cross through his statement: *O quot diversae aetatis ac potentiae seu domesticae facultatis homines in illo concilio cruces susceperunt, et viam sancti sepulcri sponponderunt!*<sup>179</sup> Clearly Robert was presenting 'the road to the Holy Sepulchre' as shorthand for the expedition itself. The term appears a further five times throughout Robert's work. Its usage as a byword for the crusade itself is again demonstrated in Book II, in a description of the formation of Bohemond's army.<sup>180</sup>

Peter Tudebode's *Historia de Hierosolymitano itinere* contains five usages of *via Sancti Sepulcri*. In much the same manner as Robert's usage of the phrase Peter employed the *Via* as shorthand for participation in the crusading expedition itself. This is demonstrated in his account of Bohemond taking the cross, an action that is presented as an agreement to go on the road to the Holy Sepulchre.<sup>181</sup> The influence of the *Gesta* and its variants on crusading terminology is similarly evident in the *Historia Belli Sacri*, an account of crusade drawn from a compilation of disparate sources, including the *Gesta*, Robert the Monk, Peter Tudebode, Raymond of Aguiliers and Guibert of Nogent.<sup>182</sup> *Via Sancti Sepulcri* and slight variants are found throughout the *Historia Belli Sacri*, an unsurprising fact given a number of its source materials, and its compiler's particular taste for the *Gesta Francorum* and Peter Tudebode.<sup>183</sup>

There thus appears to be strong evidence that the usage of *via Sancti Sepulcri* as a byword for the crusading expedition found its clearest expression in the *Gesta Francorum*, a usage that was subsequently adopted by a number of the writers who employed the *Gesta* as a key source for their own histories. Following the burst of literary activity prompted by the First Crusade, the term can be observed in slightly more widespread usage, appearing in a number of early twelfth-century chronicles. The Chronicle of Monte Cassino used it to describe the journey of Bohemond of Taranto to

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<sup>179</sup> Robert the Monk, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, RHC Oc. 3, p.731; Sweetenham chooses to render Robert's usage of *Via Sancti Sepulcri* as 'pilgrimage to the Holy Sepulchre': *Robert the Monk's History of the First Crusade*, p.83.

<sup>180</sup> Robert the Monk, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, p.742.

<sup>181</sup> Peter Tudebode, *Historia de Hierosolymitano Itinere*, RHC Oc. 3, p.15.

<sup>182</sup> France, 'The Use of the Anonymous *Gesta Francorum*', p.37.

<sup>183</sup> *Historia Belli Sacri*, RHC Oc. 3 pp.174, 176, 178 et al.



the east.<sup>184</sup> Similarly, the *Annales Reicherspergenses* employed the term twice to describe the beginning of the crusade.<sup>185</sup> Even these two geographically diverse chronicles, however, were caught in the same broad sphere of influence. The Monte Cassino chronicle borrowed material from the *Gesta Francorum* for its account of the First Crusade, including its reference to the *via*.<sup>186</sup> The account of the crusade in the *Annales Reicherspergenses* simply copies sections of Robert the Monk, including his references to the *via sancti sepulcri*.

One apparently independent usage of the term can be found in the *Chronicon Malleacense*, which used it in reference to Bohemond's 'crusade' against the Byzantine empire of 1106-07.<sup>187</sup> This reference is cited by Norman Housley in his study of Jerusalemite imagery in the years following the First Crusade. Housley correctly points out the continued usage of references to Jerusalem, pilgrimage and the Holy Sepulchre in accounts of 'crusades' to both Spain and the Holy Land.<sup>188</sup> He mentions *via Sancti Sepulcri* as one of the terms employed in such accounts, but only cites the *Chronicon Malleacense* reference, along with a usage by Suger discussed below, as evidence.

Indeed, other than its use by the Chronicle of Monte Cassino, the *Patrologia Latina* reveals only one usage of *via Sancti Sepulcri* between those of Robert the Monk and Odo. The digital *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* offers similarly sparse examples. The example found in the *Patrologia Latina* is particularly notable as it occurs in a famous St. Denis source, the *Vita Ludovici Grossi* of Abbot Suger. Suger's usage of the term is one of the clearest examples of its usage as a byword for an expedition to the East as he used it to describe the return of a crusader, Guy Trusseau, from the Holy Land: *Unde cum Guido Trucellus filius Milonis de Monte Leherii viri tumultuosi et regni turbatoris, a via sancti sepulcri domum repedasset, fractus longi itineris anxietate, et diversarum poenarum molestia, et quia extraordinarie Antiochiam timore Corboranni per murum descendens.*<sup>189</sup>

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<sup>184</sup> *Chronica monasterii Casinensis*, MGH SS 34, (Redactio II, cod. C), p.478.

<sup>185</sup> *Annales Reicherspergenses*, MGH SS 17, p.449.

<sup>186</sup> France, 'The Use of Anonymous *Gesta Francorum*', p.37.

<sup>187</sup> *Chronicon Malleacense*, MGH SS 12, p.405.

<sup>188</sup> Norman Housley, 'Jerusalem and the Development of the Crusade Idea, 1099–1128' in B.Z Kedar (ed.) *The Horns of Hattin* (Jerusalem, 1992) pp.27–40.

<sup>189</sup> Suger, *Vita Ludovici*, p.36.



Suger's reference to Guy Truseau, and the manner of his escape from Antioch, also suggests that he was familiar with the *Gesta Francorum* or one of its derivatives, as it is in this body of work that the story of the Antioch desertions originated.<sup>190</sup> Elsewhere in the *Vita Ludovici* Suger referred to the papal blessing received by Bohemund for his disastrous 'crusade' of 1106-7 against Emperor Alexius I. Here he recounted how the papal legate, Cardinal Bishop Bruno of Segni, gave Bohemond blessing for the *Sancti Sepulcri viam*.<sup>191</sup>

This evidence strongly suggests that Odo was familiar with either the *Gesta Francorum* or one of its derivatives, with Robert the Monk's *Historia* perhaps being the most likely candidate if that was the case he had absorbed its content to the extent that he borrowed its favoured term for an expedition to the east. The likely presence of the *Gesta* at St. Denis, and its apparent use by Suger, increase the probability that it was that source which Odo had consulted. Whether it was the *libellus* presented to him by William of St. Denis is impossible to prove, but it must be considered probable. As noted above, the *Gesta* or one of its related histories had previously been suggested as the likely identity of Odo's *libellus*. The closeness of Odo's term for the crusading expedition with that of the *Gesta* provides a stronger evidential basis for such claims.

### **Odo's terms for the crusaders**

The accounts of the First Crusade, as well as referring to the crusaders using 'national' or 'ethnic' terms, also employed relatively new terminology, in fitting with the novelty of their enterprise. The clearest illustration of this new vocabulary can be seen in the frequent appearance of the term *milites Christi* in the *Gesta Francorum*.<sup>192</sup> *Miles Christi* first appears in St. Paul's second letter to Timothy (II Timothy 2:3). It was subsequently employed by supporters of the reform papacy in the polemical literature of the investiture contest.<sup>193</sup> Its usage in the *Gesta* was subsequently imitated, although to a lesser extent, by a number of the derivative sources.

There is only one instance in the *De Professione* of Odo, referring to crusaders, employing terminology similar to that of the *Gesta Francorum*. This occurs in Book

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<sup>190</sup> *Gesta Francorum*, p.56.

<sup>191</sup> Suger, *Vita Ludovici*, p.48.

<sup>192</sup> Conor Kostick, *The Social Structure of the First Crusade* (Leiden, 2008), p.20.

<sup>193</sup> Carl Erdmann, *The Origin of the idea of the Crusade*, trans. Marshall Baldwin and Walter Goffart (Princeton, 1977), pp.12-3, 339-41.

One of his history, where he stated that Bernard of Clairvaux had persuaded the Germans to join the *militia crucis Christi*.<sup>194</sup> This phrase has a loose similarity with the *milites Christi* of the *Gesta Francorum* and an obvious similarity with the term *militia Christi* which also appears with reasonable frequency in that work.<sup>195</sup> A difference in vocabulary exists in that Odo's *militia* is rendered most accurately as an army or a collective of soldiers. The *milites* of the *Gesta* are rendered as 'knights' or 'soldiers', with the singular *miles* corresponding to one soldier rather than a collective. Berry chooses to translate Odo's phrase as 'the soldiery of the cross of Christ'. This phrasing is again clearly different from the *Gesta*'s 'Soldiers of Christ' or 'Soldiery of Christ'. Indeed it seems possible that Odo coined the phrase *militia crucis Christi* himself. It appears in no source other than the *De Profectione* in both the *Patrologia Latina* and *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* databases. The phrase *militia Christi* occurs more commonly in these databases, including the appearance in Louis VII's letter from Antioch detailed above. The similarity of *militiae crucis Christi* to the widely used *Gesta* phrase suggests that Odo may have been inspired by one of the histories of the First Crusade, particularly given the evidence which suggests that his *libellus* was the *Gesta* or one of its derivatives. Just as the phrase *milites Christi* was drawn from the Pauline epistles, Odo's addition of the device of the cross to the *Gesta* formula was possibly inspired by the same Biblical source, the influence of which is clear elsewhere in the *De Profectione*.<sup>196</sup> Paul's letter to the Phillipians contains the phrase *inimicos crucis Christi*.<sup>197</sup> This phrase was subsequently widely used in the literature of the central Middle Ages, with the *Patrologia Latina* database recording its use in 117 separate works. A Second Crusade context can be found in Bernard of Clairvaux's usage of the phrase in his *De Laude Novae Militae*, while five of his letters also contain the same formulation.<sup>198</sup> It is plausible that Odo may have taken this well known phrase, originally drawn from one of his favoured biblical authorities, and simply turned it on its head, creating a positive connotation for the armies gathering for the crusade. It is

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<sup>194</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, p.12.

<sup>195</sup> *Gesta Francorum*, pp.14, 16, 74, 82, 86.

<sup>196</sup> See below, p.84.

<sup>197</sup> Phillipians 3:18

<sup>198</sup> Bernard of Clairvaux, *De Laude Novae Militae* in J. Leclercq and H. M. Rochais (eds) *Sancti Bernardi Opera* III (Rome, 1963), p.214; Bernard, *Epistolae LXXXII* (p.215), *CXXVI* (p.314) in J. Leclercq and H.M Rochais (eds) *Sancti Bernardi Opera* VII (Rome, 1974), pp.215, 314; *Epistolae CXCIV, CXCVIII, CCCXXXI* in J. Leclercq and H. M. Rochais (eds) *Sancti Bernardi Opera* VIII (Rome, 1977), pp. 50, 54, 269.



notable that Odo employed a similar phrase in his later *inventio* text. Describing the legendary pilgrimage of Charlemagne to the East, Odo stated that an initial appeal for aid came from the Byzantine Emperor, whose empire was being assailed by *hostes crucis Christi*.<sup>199</sup>

In any case Odo only employed the term on one occasion. Elsewhere in the *De Profectione* his language is much more typical of crusading accounts. The crusade is presented as the 'service of God', *Dei Servitium*, on three occasions. Two of these examples occur in one paragraph towards the end of Book Four, where Odo emphasised that Louis accepted Manuel's request for homage out of a desire to hasten forward and not delay the service of God.<sup>200</sup> It is also seen in Odo's record of a speech delivered by Conrad, when he is advising the French on the best road to follow through Anatolia.<sup>201</sup> The term *peregrini* is used on eight occasions to refer to those participating in the crusading expedition. An example of its usage can be seen in Odo's description of a quarrel between the French and the people of Worms, with the term employed twice in quick succession: *Oboritur tandem rixa. Peregrini autem nautas in fluvium projecerunt. Quo viso cives currunt ad arma, et vulneratis aliquibus unum illico peremerunt. Turbantur hoc scelere peregrini, clamari ignem pauperes, tam civibus exitiabilem quam etiam quibusdam nostris.*<sup>202</sup> Elsewhere Louis is seen to have decided to protect the Hungarian Boris as he feared doing anything that would ill befit a *peregrinus*. The usage of *peregrini* as a term to denote a participant in the crusade was not unusual, and had been a feature of the histories of the first crusade. Aryeh Graboïs has argued that in the case of the Second Crusade Louis VII treated the expedition almost exclusively as a pilgrimage, leaving the military affairs of the expedition to his nobles. In support of this argument he has stated that the *De Profectione* 'stressed the peregrinatory nature of Louis's crusade.'<sup>203</sup> There is, however, nothing new in Odo's usage of the term *peregrini* that provides evidence for this claim. Whilst Odo's references to the *via Sancti Sepulcri* and to *peregrini* may seem somewhat incongruous given that that stated objective of the crusade was Edessa, it should be remembered that in writing his history the major model available to him was that of the First Crusade and its attendant histories.

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<sup>199</sup> Queen's College, MS. 348. 62v

<sup>200</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, p.80.

<sup>201</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, p.104.

<sup>202</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, p.22.

<sup>203</sup> Graboïs, Aryeh, 'The Crusade of Louis VII, King of France: A Reconsideration' in P.W Edbury (ed.) *Crusade and Settlement* (Cardiff, 1985), p.98.



It was from these works, most probably the *Gesta Francorum* or a closely related history, that Odo drew some of the critical aspects of his terminology.

This chapter has demonstrated the various layers of information contained within the *De Profectione* and the manner in which the text may also be related to the content of the letters of Louis VII and have been influenced by a narrative of the First Crusade. The following chapter will expand the examination of the *De Profectione* by assessing how it made use of contemporary rhetorical devices and adhered to established modes of composition.

## Chapter 3

### *The Colores Rhetorici in the De Profectione*

In examining Odo of Deuil as an historian and his *De Profectione* as more than a mine of information regarding the Second Crusade, it is important to assess how the work was shaped by the structural *topoi* and literary conventions of the twelfth century. In particular an examination of Odo's employment of affected modesty can help to elucidate the reasons as to why the *De Profectione* was written. The assessment of Odo's use of other *colores rhetorici* can also indicate how he employed verbal devices in order to further the aims of his history.<sup>1</sup>

### *'Affected Modesty' and the purpose of the De Profectione*

In the introduction to her 1948 edition of the *De Profectione* Virginia Berry briefly examines the apparent modesty of Odo in his history. She highlights the fact that Odo 'presents himself as a mere transmitter of facts, a man who is furnishing raw material for Suger to use in a history of Louis VII'.<sup>2</sup> Berry agrees with Kugler's assessment that this modesty was confined to the prefatory letter.<sup>3</sup> She ends her brief examination of Odo's modesty by stating that it was 'not wholly sincere, perhaps because it was a conscious literary device or because the writer was deferring to Suger.'<sup>4</sup> This brief speculation that Odo may have been affecting his modesty for literary purposes is left undeveloped. Cioffi, in her 1991 note on Odo's usage of rhyming *cursus* in his work, is more forthright in her identification of Odo employing

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<sup>1</sup> The subject of medieval rhetoric and its relationship to historical writing has been a persistent area of enquiry. For an overview of the recent scholarship in the area see Martin Camargo, 'Defining Medieval Rhetoric' in C. J. Mews, C. J. Nederman and R. M. Thompson (eds) *Rhetoric and Renewal in the Latin West: 1100 – 1540* (Turnhout, 2003), pp.21–34; A recent detailed examination of the subject, with particular emphasis on historical writing is found in Matthew Kempshall, *Rhetoric and the Writing of History*, (Manchester, 2012); For the relationship between rhetoric and history see also John O. Ward, 'Some Principles of Rhetorical Historiography in the Twelfth Century' in Ernst Breisach (ed.) *Classical Rhetoric and Medieval Historiography* (Kalamazoo, 1985), pp.103–65; The *colores rhetorici*, which are dealt with in the second half of this chapter, are outlined in James Murphy, *Rhetoric in the Middle Ages* (Berkeley, 1979), pp.365–79, and in Arbusow, *Colores Rhetorici*, which this chapter makes particular use of.

<sup>2</sup> Berry, *De Profectione*, p.xvi.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*; Kugler, *Studien zur Geschichte des zweiten Kreuzzugs* (Stuttgart, 1866), p.11.

<sup>4</sup> Berry, *De Profectione*, p.xvii.

the *topos* of affected modesty in his preface, although she does not question that in writing the *De Profectione* Odo was gathering material for Abbot Suger of St. Denis.<sup>5</sup>

The origins of the literary *topos* of affected modesty have been traced by Curtius to Cicero. The original purpose of this *topos*, found in the introductory section of an oration, was to render the potential listener more favourably disposed to what he was hearing. Curtius explains that from its antique origins the concept of a 'modesty formula' became a widely used literary device, known as *captatio benevolentiae*, in the stylistic Mannerism of late Antiquity from which it was passed on to the literature of the Middle Ages.<sup>6</sup> This formula would often appear in the introductory passage of a work, known as the *exordium*. Here a writer would apologise for the rough and unrefined nature of his language and style (*sermo*), employing formulae such as *mea exiguitas, pusillitas, parvitas*.<sup>7</sup> Odo can be seen to have indulged in this form of modesty on three occasions in his brief letter to Suger that prefaces the *De Profectione*. He firstly stated that he could not detail to Suger facts concerning the crusade as he was still on the expedition and was hampered by fatigue and lack of skill (*imperitia praepedior et labore*). He continued to declare that although he wished to thank King Louis VII he was unable to do so due to his meagre ability (*referendarum gratiarum affectum quidem habeo, sed non ministrant vires effectum*).<sup>8</sup> Odo's final expression of his lack of literary abilities was combined with praise for those possessed by Suger:

*Ego vero, etsi impeditus sermone (sed non scientia rerum quae in via sancti Sepulcri gestae sunt, quippe qui sicut capellanus illi surgenti saepius aderam et cubanti) ut ita dixerim quasi balbutiendo, summatim vobis offeram veritatem literali eloquentia venustandam.*<sup>9</sup>

Odo's praise for Suger's writing was borne out of an awareness of the abbot's composition of a *Life of Louis VI*, mentioned in the introduction, and also a stated desire

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<sup>5</sup> C. A. Cioffi, 'The Epistolary Style of Odo of Deuil in his *De Profectione Ludovici VII in Orientem*' *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch* 23 (1991), pp.76–81.

<sup>6</sup> Ernst Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages* (London, 1979), pp.83, 412; Janson, *Latin Prose Prefaces: Studies in Literary Conventions* (Stockholm, 1964), p.124.

<sup>7</sup> Curtius, *European Literature*, pp.85, 411.

<sup>8</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, p.2.

<sup>9</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, p.4.



that Suger would use Odo's account of the crusade to compose a similar life of Louis VII.

The commonplace occurrence of *captatio benevolentiae* in the prefaces of medieval historical works means that investigation of the precise source from which a particular author may have derived his usages is often futile. In the case of Odo, however, it is possible to discern a direct source for, and potentially a general influence over, a number of his 'modest' pronouncements. In the very first line of his preface, immediately prior to his stating how fatigue and lack of skill are hampering him, Odo wrote that he wished to convey some facts regarding the crusade to Suger but he was unable to do so.<sup>10</sup> This sentence, as has been pointed out by various editors of the text, is a slight rephrasing of St. Paul in Romans 7:18: *velle adiacet mihi perficere autem bonum non invenio*. Odo has bent the sense of the scriptural text to suit his affected modesty, removing the word *bonum* and thus Paul's wish that he could do good, and instead appending a statement regarding his apparently forlorn desire to record the events of the crusade. The Pauline theme in Odo's preface is continued in the statement, seen above, beginning *etsi impeditus sermone, sed non scientia rerum*. This is a clear quotation of 2 Corinthians 11:6: *et si inperitus sermone sed non scientia*. Somewhat surprisingly this obvious biblical allusion has not been noticed by any of the modern editors of the *De Profectione*. That the apostle Paul was engaging in some form of affected modesty in this instance was discussed by Augustine, who concluded that the Apostle's statement was 'a concession to his detractors rather than an acknowledgement of the truth'.<sup>11</sup> Augustine's thoughts on Paul as a model of style are found in the fourth book of his *De Doctrina Christiana*, which served as an important guide to rhetoric in the twelfth century. That the Pauline epistles remained a valid model for style in the twelfth century is also suggested by a letter of Peter the Venerable, dating to March 1151. Peter wrote that, while Cicero and other Roman authorities were good models of style, the letters of Paul were also worthy of imitation.<sup>12</sup> This evidence is in contrast to the conclusions of Curtius, who stated that the *captatio benevolentiae* found in medieval accounts was solely derived from classical sources and that they were distinct

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<sup>10</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, p.2. '*Velle adiacet mihi, perficere autem non invenio, ut de via sancti Sepulchri vobis aliqua idonee denote quae mandetis stilo vestro memoriae sempiternae*'

<sup>11</sup> Augustine, *De Doctrina Christiana*, ed. and trans. R. P. H. Green, (Oxford, 1995), pp.214–5.

<sup>12</sup> Peter the Venerable, *The Letters of Peter the Venerable, Vol 1* ed. Giles Constable (Oxford, 1967), pp.425–6.

from the devotional formulae derived from scripture. Odo clearly employed the Pauline epistles as a source of affected modesty, yet he remained firmly within the tradition of *captatio benevolentiae*. Indeed, given his prominent use of St. Paul it is a strong possibility that Odo received an education in the art of letter writing in which the Pauline epistles were used as a model.

### **Odo's epistolary preface and the purpose of his work**

It is Odo's presentation of his work as little better than 'a series of rough notes' for Suger to work on, that Berry and Kugler have regarded as the primary example of his modesty.<sup>13</sup> Indeed, despite not properly recognising Odo's usage of *captatio benevolentiae*, Berry does speculate that Odo's true purpose for writing could perhaps be found in his statement that he wishes to thank Louis VII following their close association on crusade.<sup>14</sup> The possibility that Odo's claim to be merely gathering facts was not entirely genuine can be borne out by further analysis of the preface to the *De Profectione*.

Although not as widely debated as the date of composition of the *De Profectione*, the question of Odo's initiative in deciding to write his history remains important. It is particularly significant in the context of a study of Odo as an historian of the twelfth century. Odo's stated reason for having written the *De Profectione* is found in the epistolary preface of the work, addressed to Abbot Suger of St. Denis. Here Odo reminded Suger of how he had recorded the deeds of Louis VI. He stated that it would be a crime if a similar account of the deeds of Louis VII were not left for posterity. Odo appears to have wished to leave this task to Suger. After bemoaning his own deficient style, Odo declared that with the *De Profectione* he was briefly (*summatim*) outlining facts that Suger could employ in a future history of Louis VII, doing justice to the subject with his literary ability. The link to Suger resurfaces throughout the body of the *De Profectione*, with Odo directly addressing his Abbot on three occasions. At the beginning of Book Two Odo suggests that Suger would perhaps like to have it recorded that Archbishop Samson of Rheims was his co-regent.<sup>15</sup> In Book Six, having briefly diverted his account to mention a dispute between King Conrad III of Germany and

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<sup>13</sup> Berry, *De Profectione*, pp.xvi–xvii.

<sup>14</sup> Berry, *De Profectione*, p.xvii.

<sup>15</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, pp.20–1.



Louis over the castle of Estusin, Odo told Suger that he thought the information was necessary to include despite it not being directly relevant to the crusade.<sup>16</sup> The final mention of Suger comes at the conclusion of the *De Profectione*, with Odo again directly addressing the abbot in order to assure him of Louis's wellbeing.<sup>17</sup> These mentions are not entirely incongruous in the context of a historical work, particularly if the *De Profectione* is considered a history sent in epistolary form. A St. Denis example of a similar type of engagement with a particular reader can be seen in the *Vita Sugerii* of William of St. Denis. On various occasions in the body of that work William directly addressed a certain Gaufridus.<sup>18</sup> William's *Vita* also provides evidence that Suger intended to write a life of Louis VII, whatever Odo's true intentions in writing the *De Profectione* were. In his *Vita* of Suger William referred to the Life of Louis VI written by his former abbot and stated that at the time of his death he had been working on a similar account regarding Louis VII.<sup>19</sup>

While the entirety of the *De Profectione* might be considered a history in epistolary form, the separate nature of Odo's prefatory letter to Suger is significant. As noted above, the preface or *exordium* was typically the place where *captatio benevolentiae* would be employed. The employment of an epistolary form for the preface was a practice that can be traced as far back to the Greeks, from Archimedes onwards.<sup>20</sup> In the tenth and eleventh centuries almost every historical work employed a dedicatory epistle as its preface. Greater variation emerged during the twelfth century, with 'double prefaces' increasingly employed, often with one preface containing a specific dedication and the other constituting a more general foreword.<sup>21</sup> In the case of the *De Profectione*, although Odo did not state that it was explicitly the case, it seems reasonable to assume that the work is dedicated to Suger, to whom the preface was addressed and at whom the content of the work was aimed. The preface also mentions St. Denis, stating that the purported rewriting of Odo's material by Suger can also be overseen by the saint. This is again a convention: the dedication of a work to God or a

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<sup>16</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, pp.102–3.

<sup>17</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, pp.142–3.

<sup>18</sup> William of St. Denis, *Vita Sugerii* in Gasparri, *Oeuvres* 2, pp.293, 353.

<sup>19</sup> William, *Vita Sugerii*, pp.305–7.

<sup>20</sup> Janson, *Latin Prose Prefaces*, p.106.

<sup>21</sup> Bernard Guenée, 'L'histoire entre l'éloquence et la science: quelques remarques sur le prologue de Guillaume de Malmesbury à ses *Gesta regum Anglorum*', *Comptes rendus des Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 126:2 (1982), pp.360–1.



saint or a request for divine aid was a common feature of contemporary historical prefaces.<sup>22</sup>

A common *topos* found in epistolary prefaces and related to *captatio benevolentiae* is the claim that a work has only been composed due to the request or command of a friend, patron or superior.<sup>23</sup> The person making the request would often be the dedicatee of the completed work. Such requests were often cited as a reason for a work written despite the supposedly defective style of the author. An epistolary preface could also contain requests from the author that the dedicatee read the work in order to correct it.<sup>24</sup> A twelfth-century example of this antique *topos* is found in the preface to Suger's *Life of Louis VI*. In the prefatory epistle of this work, addressed to Bishop Joscelin of Soissons, Suger stated that he was sending the work to be judged by his friend's *scientia*. He underlined his rhetorical intention with the statement *ego scribendo, vos corrigendo*.<sup>25</sup> A further development on this theme can be seen in the late antique prefatory *topos* according to which an author states that he has not written an independent work but that he has instead gathered a selection of relevant information for the use of the reader. These statements were not necessarily always employed in a rhetorical sense and they could be taken literally, especially when employed in the prefaces of works of translation or compilation. The theme can be seen to have been employed by more original writers, such as Jerome.<sup>26</sup> This modesty *topos* continues to be evident in the historical and hagiographical writing of the Middle Ages. Gregory of Tours, in the preface to his late sixth century *Liber in Gloria Confessorum*, stated to imaginary future readers that they are free to expand upon the facts conveyed in this brief, rustic account.<sup>27</sup> This form of modesty continued through the Middle Ages and can be found in the writing of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. In the preface to his *Gesta Hammaburgensis Ecclesiae Pontificum* of circa 1072 Adam of Bremen wrote that he was leaving material for those who would be able to write it in a better manner

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<sup>22</sup> Gertrud Simon, 'Untersuchungen zur Topik der Widmungsbriefe mittelalterlicher Geschichtsschreiber bis zum Ende des 12. Jahrhunderts', *Archiv für Diplomatik* 4 (1958), pp.106–8.

<sup>23</sup> Curtius, *European Literature*, p.85.

<sup>24</sup> Janson, *Latin Prose Prefaces*, pp.141–3.

<sup>25</sup> Suger, *Vita Ludovici*, p.2.

<sup>26</sup> Janson, *Latin Prose Prefaces*, p.151.

<sup>27</sup> Gregory of Tours, *Liber in Gloria Confessorum*, ed. Bruno Krusch MGH SS Rerum Merovingicarum 1,2 (Hannover, 1885), pp. 297–8; Simon, 'Untersuchungen zur Topik (1958)', p.117.

than he was able.<sup>28</sup> It is this theme that appears closest to the claims made by Odo in his preface, so that Gertrud Simon includes him as an example of this *topos* in her comprehensive study of themes in medieval historical prefaces.<sup>29</sup>

It is notable that no further suggestion is given in the body of the *De Profectione* that the work was to be considered as a rough template. On various occasions Odo did, however, stress the need for brevity. Berry, in her brief introductory assessment of Odo's abilities as an historical writer, appears to have taken these statements at face value, describing how Odo wished to pass over dull instances quickly in a desire to describe incidents which would arouse the 'surprise and emotion' of the reader.<sup>30</sup> Odo's statements on the importance of brevity should rather be recognised as another expression of affected modesty which, despite the views of Kugler and Berry, are not confined to the preface of the *De Profectione*. It was a common *topos* of medieval writing for an author to claim that he wished to spare the reader from *fastidium* or boredom.<sup>31</sup> Examples of this can be found in Suger's life of Louis VI, with the author assuring readers that he will avoid lingering over details in order to prevent *fastidium* and stating at another point that if he were to have written everything possible about Louis's life then *tedium generarent*.<sup>32</sup> Odo employed this form of modesty in the *De Profectione*, with a clear example evident at the beginning of Book Two. Here he expressed his fear that his account was running on too long and stated that *taediosa est semper longa loquacitas pluribus occupatio*.<sup>33</sup> Odo again discussed the need to avoid *taedium* in Book Four, on this occasion presenting as justification for his not listing the names of various prominent members of the French crusading party who had been killed in the course of the expedition.<sup>34</sup> In her introduction to the *De Profectione* Berry wrote that the work's 'technique and the plan do not harmonize with the idea of Odo as a mere gatherer of facts' and concluded that Odo wrote his history in order to praise Louis VII and also to disclose the misfortunes suffered by the French while on

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<sup>28</sup> Adam of Bremen, *Gesta Hammaburgensis*, ed. Bernhard Schmeidler MGH SS Rerum Germanicarum 2 (Hannover, 1917), p.3.

<sup>29</sup> Gertrud Simon, 'Untersuchungen zur Topik der Widmungsbriefe mittelalterlicher Geschichtsschreiber bis zum Ende des 12. Jahrhunderts' (1958) pp.52 – 119.

<sup>30</sup> Berry, *De Profectione*, p.xxix.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid*; Janson, *Prose Prefaces*, pp.96, 154–5.

<sup>32</sup> Suger, *Vita Ludovici*, p.182.

<sup>33</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, p.20.

<sup>34</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, p.80.



crusade.<sup>35</sup> The assessment of Odo's affected modesty and its compliance with the conventions of contemporary medieval writing help to support this viewpoint.

While it cannot be definitively proved that Odo always intended the *De Profectione* as a separate work, the idea must be considered a strong possibility. It is true that Suger wished to write a *Vita* of Louis VII, to complement his earlier work about Louis VI. But this in itself is not evidence that Odo truly intended his work to act as a mere source of information. Indeed, as will be seen later, Odo imprinted his own distinct style on the *De Profectione* both in his use of rhetoric and in his presentation of the separate national groupings of warriors involved with the Second Crusade. The approaches he employed in these instances demonstrate that, while Odo was working in a St. Denis tradition that had been elucidated and exemplified by Suger, he was by no means a mere gatherer of information. He instead sought to craft a distinct version of the history of Louis's crusade that was suitable for transmission to the *memoria* of future generations.

Curtius describes how the usage of affected modesty, in its various forms, was a very frequent occurrence in medieval texts and that it was also used with varying degrees of suitability. He noted that, in particular, the *fastidium* formula can often appear 'decidedly misplaced' when viewed through modern eyes.<sup>36</sup> In the case of Odo, however, it can be demonstrated that he was not merely filling his work with the hallmarks of affected modesty for the sake of it or because he felt that this was the 'correct' way to compose a work. Instead it appears that Odo had a more subtle understanding of *captatio benevolentiae* and that he was well aware of its nature and usage.

A recurring theme in the early books of the *De Profectione* is the arrival of messages sent by the Byzantine Emperor, Manuel Comnenus, to the French king, Louis VII. Odo described how, while Louis was preparing to embark on the expedition, he received a scroll from Manuel containing *prolixam adulationem*.<sup>37</sup> Odo returned to this theme when describing the arrival of the French crusading army at Regensburg. Here Greek messengers again arrived, delivering letters from Manuel to Louis. Odo appears

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<sup>35</sup> Berry, *De Profectione*, pp. xxvii–xviii

<sup>36</sup> Curtius, *European Literature*, p.85.

<sup>37</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, p.10.



to have found the manner of the Greek emissaries odd. He recorded how, on this occasion, the French first encountered what they would later learn was the *mos Graecorum*, describing the subservient manner and silken clothing of the retinue of young men who accompanied the Greek messengers. When detailing the actual content of the letters delivered by the emissaries, Odo searched for a familiar literary analogy. In describing what he regarded as the excessively flattering tone of these letters Odo made direct reference to the device of *captatio benevolentiae*, stating that in his attempt to capture the goodwill of the French, Manuel had employed words that were too affectionate as they had not come from genuine sentiment:

*Chartas autem plenarie interpretari partim non decet, partim non possum; nam prima pars earum et maxima tam inepte humiliter captabat benevolentiam ut verba nimis affectuosa, quia non erant ex affectu, non solum imperatorem sed etiam mimum, dicerem dedecere*<sup>38</sup>

It should be noted that a similar allusion appears in Suger's *Life of Louis VI*. Describing the coronation of Henry I as king of England, Suger stated that the new king confirmed the ancient customs of the realm. He wrote that this was done in order that *captanda eorum benivolentia*.<sup>39</sup> Odo's statement, however, was related to the written content of Greek letters and was thus a much clearer allusion to the rhetorical convention of *captatio benevolentiae*. Odo linked his criticism of the over indulgent letter with the annoyance of Bishop Godfrey of Langres at the behaviour of Greek messengers and interpreters, whom he saw as spending too much time flattering the king. Odo wrote that the bishop urged the messengers to stop repeating terms such as *gloriam, maiestatem, sapientiam, et religionem* so often in regard to Louis.<sup>40</sup> The Greeks would of course have used flattering language in reference to Louis – however the words that Odo recorded them as using echo those associated with the classical roots of *captatio benevolentiae*.<sup>41</sup> Curtius states that in Roman antiquity formulas of submission naturally

<sup>38</sup>Odo, *De Profectione*, p.26.

<sup>39</sup>Suger, *Vita Ludovici*, p.100.

<sup>40</sup>Odo, *De Profectione*, p.26.

<sup>41</sup>As Berry has pointed out, an idea of the titles used by the Greeks for foreign visitors can be gained from Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Cerimoniis aulae Byzantinae*, II, ed. J. Reiske, *Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantiae*, 8 (Bonn, 1829), p.279.

developed into glorification of the Emperor. He notes how the poet Horace employed the formula *maiestas tua* and Pliny the Younger *tua pietas* in correspondence with the Emperor.<sup>42</sup> Odo himself engaged in this manner of flattery in his prefatory letter to Suger, referring to his superior's literary eloquence. The apparent similarity between the flattery of the Greeks and Latin affected modesty and Odo's exasperation at trying to understand the Greeks is underlined with statement that *Non possum autem quia Franci adulatorum, etiam si velint, non possunt Graecos aequare*. Odo was well aware that affected modesty was used in France and he himself engaged in it in the *De Profectione*. His problem with the Greek flattery was that he regarded them as overusing it: a view that could also have been influenced by hindsight following the failure of the crusade. The mention of *captatio benevolentiae* is thus not just an attempt to describe the Greek documents but can also be viewed as an attempted rationalisation or explanation of the unfamiliar diplomatic procedure employed by the Greeks.

Odo was thus clearly familiar with the principles of *captatio benevolentiae* and affected modesty. This is evidenced by both his preface, with its usage of the Pauline Epistles, and by the text of the *De Profectione* proper. It is the context of this form of rhetoric that helps to make clear the aims of the *De Profectione* and Odo's methods in constructing his text, rather than the generalised misunderstandings of Berry.

### *The use of Colores Rhetorici in the De Profectione*

The concept of affected modesty and *captatio benevolentiae* is closely related to the broader idea of the use of rhetoric in prose. A detailed examination of Odo's understanding and use of *colores rhetorici* forms a crucial aspect in the assessment of Odo's learning and its position in the context of contemporary intellectual life at the abbey of St Denis. The classification and definition of the various *colores* were laid out in handbooks of rhetoric. The oldest Latin example of such a work is the anonymous first-century BC *Rhetorica ad Herennium*. Formerly attributed to Cicero, the *ad Herennium* was considered an authority on rhetoric during the Middle Ages.<sup>43</sup> This work or one of its derivatives would have likely been encountered by Odo during his education in St. Denis. The teaching of rhetoric, alongside that of grammar and dialectic,

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<sup>42</sup>Curtius, *European Literature*, p.84.

<sup>43</sup>Curtius, *European Literature*, p.66; *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, ed. and trans. Harry Caplan (Cambridge ma, 1954), p.viii.



constituted one of the three parts of the *trivium* and was thus a central aspect of education in the twelfth century. This teaching would have been based on classical literature and employed handbooks such as the *ad Herennium*, the *De Inventione* of Cicero and Book Four of Augustine's *De Doctrina Christiana*.<sup>44</sup> The work of Augustine was particularly significant as it reconciled rhetoric, which had pagan origins, with writing on Christian subjects.<sup>45</sup>

The use of rhetorical figures, or *colores rhetorici*, was a common feature in much twelfth-century writing, including that of history. Bernard Guenée has argued that during the twelfth century those writing history became increasingly aware of the autonomy of their genre. He states that this awareness led to the idea that '*un bel ouvrage historique exige à la fois scientia et eloquentia*', with *scientia* meant here as usefulness.<sup>46</sup> However the use of rhetorical language by historians did not always have to be solely in the pursuit of eloquence. Whilst eloquence was regarded as an important attribute of written works, the rhetoric was also frequently employed in order to further the aims and underline the points of historical works. This point is illustrated in the work of Abbot Suger, particularly his *Vita Ludovici Grossi*, which provided a potential template for Odo's use of *colores*. The usage of *colores* can be readily observed in the *Vita Ludovici*, although a complete analysis of Suger's employment of them has never been attempted. Indeed to modern readers Suger's attempts at eloquence are often seen to have failed and his writing has often been criticised for its apparent clumsiness and lack of style. Waquet, in his 1929 edition of the *Vita Ludovici*, states that '*Suger manque totalement de goût*'. He characterises Suger's use of *colores* as '*combinations de mots et de lettres*', though provided no further analysis.<sup>47</sup> It is true that Suger favoured the use of ornate language and *paronomasia* that could appear to have no obvious purpose other than the creation of rhythm. Waquet did identify a '*jeu de mots*' used by Suger when described the actions of Count Ebles of Roucy. Suger wrote that Ebles, who had been laying waste to churches, was confronted on the field of battle by the young Prince Louis, who demanded in negotiations with his men that the church was to be protected. Suger wrote here that Louis 'besought and demanded' this:

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<sup>44</sup> David Luscombe, 'Thought and Learning', *New Cambridge Medieval History*, 4 (Cambridge, 1998), p.470.

<sup>45</sup> On the handful of *colores* in Odo's Queen's College MS. 348 account see pp.185–7 below.

<sup>46</sup> Bernard Guenée, 'L'Histoire entre l'éloquence et la Science', p.369.

<sup>47</sup> Waquet, *Vita Ludovici*, p.xvi.



*impetravit et imperavit*. Waquet identified that this play on words was in imitation of Augustine in his commentary on the Psalms.<sup>48</sup> This episode of *paronomasia* obviously appealed to Suger, since he borrowed it, but it has no obvious purpose in moving the narrative forward or underlining his objectives in writing. In his description of the arrival of the German King Henry V at Rome in 1111, Suger wrote that three thousand troops had been assembled, *triginta millium militum*.<sup>49</sup> This play on words again has no immediate purpose and it would appear to fall into Waquet's general category of 'combinations of words and letters'. The context of this passage, however, is important. Suger had stated that Henry's army was of a remarkable size, describing it as *mirabilis*. The play on words, emphasises this point by holding the attention of the reader through the similarity of *millium* and *militum*.

This use by Suger of simple rhetorical devices to underscore the narrative of his writing can be observed elsewhere in his work, in a description of Louis's involvement in the siege of the castle of Montaignu in 1103 which was held by Thomas de Marle. The castle was besieged by Ebles de Roucy. According to Suger, Thomas, who was on other occasions one of the main villains of his work, came to Louis asking for aid. Suger's account describes how Louis rode to Montaignu and thus forced Ebles and the other assembled men to leave as they did not wish to attack their future lord. Suger stated that they left out of 'love and fear', rendered in the ablative so it read *amore et timore*.<sup>50</sup> The rhyme of the two nouns links the completely opposed emotions of love and fear. Those who withdrew from the siege supposedly did so as they held these emotions in relation to Louis and his position as their future king. The play on words joins the contrasting emotions as valid expressions of how royal power was to be regarded. The same contrast between love and fear was again used by Suger in his description of the arrival of Emperor Henry V and the Germans in Rome in 1111. Pope Paschal II was described as having loved the Franks, but feared the Germans. *Amor* and *Timor* were again used by Suger: *et cum amore Francorum, quia multum servierant, et timore et odio Theutonicorum*.<sup>51</sup> The two nouns stand in opposition to each other, but are again linked by their rhyme. This has the effect of underlining the differing opinions of Paschal regarding the French and the Germans and thus emphasising one of the

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<sup>48</sup> Suger, *Vita Ludovici*, p.28. n.1.

<sup>49</sup> Suger, *Vita Ludovici*, p.60.

<sup>50</sup> Suger, *Vita Ludovici*, p.32.

<sup>51</sup> Suger, *Vita Ludovici*, p.60.

recurring themes of Suger's work, the superior standing of the French as opposed to their eastern neighbours.<sup>52</sup> The usage of rhetoric to underline this contrast has been noted by Curta in his examination of Suger's depiction of the Germans. He has noted that in Suger's famous description of the incursion of Henry V into France in 1124, his account makes use of the figure of metonymy to speak about the collective fighting spirit of France. This was contrasted with the brazenness of its enemies.<sup>53</sup> The whole point of the passage was then emphasised through alliteration *Indignata igitur hostium inusitatam audaciam usitata Francie animositas, circumquaque movens militarem delectum, vires et viros, pristinae virtutis et antiquarum memores victoriarum, delegat.*<sup>54</sup> It should also be noted that in this passage, Suger employed *trahectio*, a variety of pun, when he was describing the *vires et viros*, making use of the similarity in sound between *vis* (strength) and *vir* (man) when both rendered in the accusative plural.

It is not possible here to conduct an exhaustive survey of Suger's use of *colores rhetorici*. Instead it should be recognised that in his writing Suger made use of what may appear to be simple, throwaway, plays on words that in fact helped to emphasise points of his narrative and the central themes of his work. As Curta has highlighted, Suger also made use of more complex *colores*, such as metonymy, alongside his basic wordplay: their intended effect was, however, the same. As shall be demonstrated, Odo, in the *De Professione*, made similar use of the possibilities of the Latin language in order to emphasise the central themes of his own narrative.

Other historical works in the twelfth century can be seen to have employed rhetorical colours in an attempt to add 'savour' and weight to the points being expressed by the text. Winterbottom has demonstrated how Suger's contemporary, the chronicler William of Malmesbury employed rhymed prose, often partnered with antithesis to underline his points. William's use of antithesis is particularly notable as it reflects his own doubts about the speeches he encountered in his sources. Elsewhere he employed repetition in order to emphasise events such as the making of peace between kings. The content and message of the history was enhanced by the manner in which it was

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<sup>52</sup>On the influence of Suger's attitude towards the Germans on Odo see below, pp.124–6.

<sup>53</sup>Florin Curta, 'Furor Teutonicus: A note on ethnic stereotypes in Suger's deeds of Louis the Fat' *The Haskins Society Journal* 16 (2005), p.64 n.16.

<sup>54</sup>Suger, *Vita Ludovici*, p.64.



written.<sup>55</sup> Beer has similarly highlighted how in the late eleventh century William of Poitiers, in his *Gesta Guillelmi II*, frequently employed stylistic devices in order to further his purpose of praising Duke William.<sup>56</sup> The most prominent twelfth-century illustrations of the relationship between rhetoric and history are seen in the histories of the First Crusade. This is particularly the case of those texts which presented themselves as rewritings of the ‘crude’ eyewitness accounts of the anonymous *Gesta Francorum* and of Fulcher of Chartres. This tendency is particularly evident in Guibert of Nogent’s *Gesta Dei Per Francos*. Guibert, however, appears to have regarded the account of Fulcher of Chartres not as having been lacking in rhetoric or the use of *colores*, but rather to have applied them incorrectly and to have badly matched style and content. This was something that Guibert stated he would correct.<sup>57</sup> Ward has argued that this rhetorical rewriting helped to emphasise the importance of Jerusalem in the rewritten accounts of Pope Urban II’s speech at Clermont. Thus describing Guibert’s version of Urban’s speech, Ward comments that the use of ‘*exclamatio*’, ‘*denominatio*’, ‘*interregatio*’ and ‘*repetitio*’ ‘heighten the climax’ of the passage. Ward also highlights the opening passage of Baldric of Dol’s *Historia Hierosolimitana* as a prominent example of the usage of rhetoric to emphasise the importance of Jerusalem to his account. The first word of Baldric’s account is Jerusalem, the merits of which are then expounded in a triad of expanding phases. This description is then followed by five clauses describing the torments suffered by the city. The device of *similiter cadens* was used to link each clause, as they each ended with verbs rendered in the perfect passive participle accusative – *decoratam, obsessam, dirutam, orbatam, perpressam*.<sup>58</sup> Rhetoric was thus an important aspect of historical writing in the twelfth century, as demonstrated by its usage by Suger and by those writers who took it upon themselves to rewrite the eyewitness accounts of the First Crusade. The devices employed by Baldric and Guibert may have been more ornate than those found in Suger’s work, but they were used with the same purpose of adding emphasis. Given the prominence of the use of *colores* in twelfth-century writing, it is unsurprising that the

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<sup>55</sup> Michael Winterbottom, ‘The Language of William of Malmesbury’ in C. J. Mews, C. J. Nederman and R. M. Thompson (eds) *Rhetoric and Renewal in the Latin West 1150–1540: Essays in Honour of John O. Ward* (Turnhout, 2003), pp.145–6.

<sup>56</sup> Jeanette Beer, *Narrative Conventions of Truth in the Middle Ages* (Geneva, 1981), pp.16–7.

<sup>57</sup> Guibert of Nogent, *Dei Gesta per Francos et cing autres textes*, ed. R. B. C. Huygens, CCCM 127A (Turnhout, 1996), pp.329–30; Ward, ‘Principles of Rhetorical Historiography’, p.136.

<sup>58</sup> Baldric of Dol, *Historia Jerosolimitana*, RHC Occ 4, p.11; Ward, ‘Principles of Rhetorical Historiography’, p.139.



*De Profectione* contains numerous examples of Odo having made use of a rhetorical repertoire beyond the simple formulas of *captatio benevolentiae*.

In the introduction to her edition of the *De Profectione* V.G. Berry briefly addresses Odo's style, commenting that throughout the work it is 'highly rhetorical.' Berry continues to state that *anaphora* (repetition) is Odo's favourite type of figure, demonstrated by its prominence in the 'relatively small' number of figures employed by Odo.<sup>59</sup> A number of examples of Odo's rhetorical style are provided by Berry in her footnotes. She makes no claim to have provided an extensive list nor does she attempt any analysis concerning Odo's choice of *colores*. Ward's overview of a number of the principles of rhetorical techniques in history writing also briefly mentions Odo's use of rhetorical techniques, highlighting his use of short set speeches in order to elucidate different points of debate.

C.A. Cioffi has also offered a brief assessment of Odo's style, focussing not on the *colores rhetorici* but rather on his apparently heavy use of various forms of rhythmic *cursus*. Using a form of statistical analysis Cioffi has suggested that Odo employed varieties of *cursus* in 94% of his sentence endings.<sup>60</sup> Cioffi's results are, however, hampered by both the brevity of her report and methodological problems in her analysis.<sup>61</sup> The analysis in this chapter will focus on *colores rhetorici* independently from the *cursus*.

Berry's statement that *anaphora* was Odo's favoured rhetorical technique is not strictly incorrect. Berry appears to have regarded *anaphora* as a catch all-term for any use of word repetition, including the repetition of a word in an altered form. The technical definition of the rhetorical colour *anaphora* is the recurrence of the same

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<sup>59</sup> Berry, *De Profectione*, p.xxvii.

<sup>60</sup> Cioffi, 'The Epistolary Style of Odo of Deuil', p.80.

<sup>61</sup> The accuracy of statistical analyses of texts' *cursus* usage is a subject of debate. Analyses producing results of exceptionally high percentages of usage are open to question particularly if they are spread over a large number of variations of *cursus*, as is the case with Cioffi's analysis. It is also notable that Cioffi employs Berry's modern edition of the *De Profectione* in order to conduct her survey. The usage of modern editions of texts can significantly skew results. The particularly high percentage that she reports is also remarkable due to the fact, admitted by herself, that such figures would only be found in the most scrupulous devotees of the *cursus*. These people would almost exclusively be found working in the papal curia. Cioffi's comparison of Odo and Suger's use of *cursus*, already undermined by the use of modern editions, is further compromised by her choice of editions – Waquet for Suger and Berry for Odo, when for such a comparison employing Waquet's editions of both texts would have been the correct approach.

word or phrase at the beginning of several sentences or elements of sentences.<sup>62</sup> It is one of a number of *colores* grouped by Arbusow into a general category of ‘word repetition’. This category is further subdivided into repetition of words with no change in meaning or emphasis and repetition of words but with a change in meaning or emphasis.<sup>63</sup> These forms of repetition were employed in order to add explanation and amplification to expression. The most important forms of repetition were *traductio* and *adnominatio* (also called *paronomasia*) as they could be combined with other figures to heighten their effect. It was the broad category of repetition that Odo employed most often, with *colores* from both of Arbusow’s sub-categories being employed.

### ***Paronomasia***

Paronomasia falls into the latter of Arbusow’s two groups of repetition. It is defined as the contrast of two words with the intention being the modification of the latter word’s meaning so that it will be quite different from that of the first word. This can be achieved through various techniques, such as playing the active and passive form of verbs against each other, using a noun and a verb that share a common stem or contrasting two words of the same stem, with one being only slightly modified.<sup>64</sup> In modern English *paronomasia* would more commonly be known as a pun, or as a form of ‘playing on words.’ This is the *color* that Odo utilised most frequently in the *De Profectione*. The basic purpose of *paronomasia* is the demonstration of a skill with words being employed to enliven a narrative. On occasion Odo appears to have employed *paronomasia* purely for the sake of it.

Odo’s use of *paronomasia* is evident from the first book of the *De Profectione*, in his description of the French army’s journey through Europe. An example of this can be seen in his account of Louis VII’s reception at Worms on the feast of SS. Peter and Paul on 29 June 1147. Here Odo, in a conventional usage, employed the noun *sollemnitas* to refer to the celebration of the feast, partnering it with *sollemniter*, an adverb with which it shares a common stem:

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<sup>62</sup> Arbusow, *Colores Rhetorici*, p.37.

<sup>63</sup> Arbusow, *Colores Rhetorici*, pp.36–7.

<sup>64</sup> Arbusow, *Colores Rhetorici*, p.42.



*Huius clerus et populous civitatis in sollemnitate apostolorum Petri et Pauli regem valde sollemniter susceperunt.*<sup>65</sup>

With this usage of *paronomasia* Odo drew a linguistic parallel between the celebration of the feast day and the reception of Louis.

Odo also employed *paronomasia* in order to draw direct contrasts between words. Referring for the first time to a subject that later becomes one of his main themes of discontent, the rate of exchange offered to the French by the Byzantines, Odo stated:

*Hic primo cupream monetam staminas offendimus, et pro una earum quinque denarius et pro duodecim solidis marcam tristes dabamus vel potius perdebamus.*<sup>66</sup>

He followed this play on words with the claim that the Greeks had ‘stained themselves with perjury’ by going back on an earlier promise of reasonable markets and exchange rates. His play on the similarity in sound between the two contrasting verbs *perdere* and *dare* has the effect of underlining the contrast between the French crusaders’ expectation of fair exchange and the reality of what they received. The *paronomasia* is employed to lead directly into the charge of *perirurum*. This example is also significant as it demonstrates Odo employing *paronomasia* in conjunction with another *color*, in this case *contentio* or antithesis.

In addition to employing *paronomasia* across entire sentences on a number of occasions Odo used the *color* in a series of words coming in quick succession in order to amplify the actions being described. In Book One of the *De Profectione* Odo provided an account of the visit of Louis to the abbey of St. Denis prior to the departure of the crusade, held in order that the king could pray before the relics held there. Describing the King's arrival Odo wrote ‘*Tunc ipse humillime humi prosternitur*’<sup>67</sup>

The same method is employed in the final book of the *De Profectione* during the account of the disastrous defeat of the French army in the mountains of Anatolia. In apportioning blame for the defeat all extant accounts singled out the figure of Geoffrey of Rancon, baron of Poitou, for particular blame. This was largely due to his actions in

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<sup>65</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, p.22.

<sup>66</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, p.40.

<sup>67</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, p. 16.



leading the French vanguard too far ahead of the main body of the army. Odo's account of these events begins with the statement *ordinat acies in quo Gaufridus de **Rancone rancorem** meruit sempiternum*.<sup>68</sup> Here Odo explicitly links the person of Geoffrey of Rancon with the disaster. The partnering of his surname with *rancor* is a clear comment on Geoffrey's actions and also a demonstration of Odo's opinion of them.

### *Traductio*

The figure of *traductio* is closely related to that of *paronomasia*.<sup>69</sup> It can consist of the use of two very similar sounding words of the same root modified almost imperceptibly or the repetition of the same word but with a different meaning. Odo can be seen to have used it in the *De Profectione* when, recording the decision of Louis not to hand the fugitive Boris, a pretender to the throne, over to the Hungarian king Geza III he wrote *iudicaverunt ut rex regi pacem **servaret** et viro nobili licet capto vitam **servaret***.<sup>70</sup> Here the verb *servo* has been used twice by Odo, rendered in the imperfect subjunctive third person. However, despite the words being identical grammatically, they appear to have been intended to have been read in a different sense. In the first instance Odo wrote how Louis was seeking to preserve the peace, whilst in the second instance he was referring to the desire of the king to protect the life of Boris, who was his captive.

### *Similiter Cadens and Similiter Desinens*

These two *colores* are closely related to each other. Both describe the construction of a sequence of rhyming word endings. These rhyming words can appear consecutively or at a corresponding point in successive sentences. *Similiter cadens* refers to the appearance in a sentence of two or more words of the same case and with the same ending, creating a rhyming effect. *Similiter desinens* constitutes the rhyming ending of words that are indeclinable.<sup>71</sup> Whilst attempts, such as that of Cioffi, to recognise an overarching scheme based on the *cursus* running throughout the *De Profectione* may prove difficult, in the context of smaller units of text it is possible to discern examples

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<sup>68</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, p.114.

<sup>69</sup> Arbusow, *Colores Rhetorici*, p.42.

<sup>70</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, p.38.

<sup>71</sup> Arbusow, *Colores Rhetorici*, p.75.

where Odo sought to impose some form of rhythm.<sup>72</sup> An example of this can be seen in his description of the disappointment felt by King Geza III of Hungary following the refusal of Louis to hand over Boris. Here Odo wrote '*Ergo rex Hungarus, se nostris non credens sed tristis abscedens, tutiora et remotiora sui regni requirit.*'<sup>73</sup> This example demonstrates Odo's use of both *similiter cadens*, through the rhyming of *credens* with *abscedens* and *similiter desinens* through the rhyming of *tutiora* with *remotiora*.

Much like his use of *paronomasia* Odo can also be seen to employ these *colores* in conjunction with antithesis. Describing the behaviour of Greek officers at Adalia he employed *similiter desinens* in drawing a contrast between their apparent love of money and fear of the Turks '*Illi ergo, de argento cupidi et contra Turcos timidi.*'<sup>74</sup>

### *Correctio*

In her brief examination of rhetorical colours in the *De Profectione*, Berry highlights Odo's liking for the usage of statements based upon contrasts. These could be based on the usage of the word *quam* or they could take the form of Odo making a statement only immediately to contradict it.<sup>75</sup> As an example Berry chose Odo's description of the supposedly duplicitous Greek guide provided to the Germans: *tamen a duce (immo a truce)*.<sup>76</sup> This passage again demonstrates Odo's propensity to combine the usage of *colores* in order to achieve a desired effect, with the rhyming of *duce* and *truce* being an example of *similiter desinens*. It is also significant due to the manner in which Odo bases his correction of *duce* (leader) to *truce* (bleeder) around the term *immo*.

The use of *immo* as a pivot on which rhetorical self corrections of speech can be made is characteristic of the colour *correctio*, with Arbusow citing it as the term most commonly employed for this purpose.<sup>77</sup> Numerous examples of this form of *correctio*, additional to the one noted by Berry and based around *immo*, can be identified in the *De Profectione*. Much like his usage of *paronomasia*, Odo's employment of *correctio* often made use of contrasts, highlighting the differences between French expectations and

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<sup>72</sup> See above, p.96 n.61.

<sup>73</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, p.38.

<sup>74</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, p.136.

<sup>75</sup> Berry, *De Profectione*, p.xxix.

<sup>76</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, p.90.

<sup>77</sup> Arbusow, *Colores Rhetorici*, p.54; The appearance of *Correctio* in the letter of Louis VII from Hungary is perhaps suggestive of Odo's authorship – see above, p.67.



what they actually encountered. The experience of the German crusaders at the hands of their guide, said by Odo to have been treacherous, is first highlighted through the statement *accepto a Graeco imperatore duce itineris (immo potius erroris et mortis)*.<sup>78</sup> *Correctio* is also used to underline Odo's occasional view of the Greeks as being not just hostile to the crusade but as something approaching infidels. This example occurs in Odo's description of the attempts made by Bishop Godfrey of Langres at persuading the French, camped outside the walls of Constantinople in October 1147, to attack the city, with Odo stating that it was regrettable for the French, or rather (*immo*), for all of St. Peter's subjects that Godfrey's words did not prevail.<sup>79</sup> This statement reminds the reader that, unlike the French, the Greeks were not subject to the pope and creates the impression that a French capture of Constantinople would have been a victory for Western Christianity as a whole.

### *Sententia*

The term *sententia* in classical Latin can be understood in three senses – firstly that of an 'opinion', secondly that of a 'maxim' and finally that of a judgement, such as those made in courts. These three senses enjoyed continued usage in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, with Odo employing different senses in the *De Profectione*, once using it in reference to a judgement made by the French army whilst on the march and on another occasion when speaking about a general viewpoint held by the Greeks.<sup>80</sup> In terms of rhetoric *sententia* constitutes a short phrase describing what happens, or what should happen in life. In this respect it is similar to a proverb or aphorism.<sup>81</sup> Odo's use of proverbs to express a supposedly axiomatic truth can be seen in his quotation from Vergil's *Aeneid*: *Timeo Danaos et dona ferentes*.<sup>82</sup> Odo did not state that this quotation is drawn from the *Aeneid* and referred to it instead as a *proverbium*, one known even to laymen. His citation of Vergil appears to have been an attempt to link what he regarded as the distrustful behaviour of the Greeks with a general truism.

<sup>78</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, p.50.

<sup>79</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, p.58: '*Sed vae nobis, immo Petri apostolici subditis omnibus, quod non praevaluerunt voces eorum!*'

<sup>80</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, pp.56, 70; On the divergent meanings of the term *sententia* see G. R. Evans 'Sententia' in M. W. Herren, C. J. McDonough and R.G. Arthur (eds) *Latin Culture in the Eleventh Century: Proceedings of the Third International Conference on Medieval Latin Studies* (Turnhout, 2002), pp.315–23.

<sup>81</sup> Arbusow, *Colores Rhetorici*, p.60.

<sup>82</sup> Odo, *De Profectione* p.26. Vergil, *Aeneid*, ii, 49.



This approach similarly seems to have informed Odo's use of *sententia* as a rhetorical figure. A number of examples of sententious phrasing can be seen in the *De Profectione*. Following his account of the French crusade crossing the Arm of St. George from the environs of Constantinople to Anatolia in late October 1147, Odo described a brawl that broke out between the French crusaders and Greek money changers. The outbreak of this dispute was blamed on a Fleming who had attempted to steal wares being displayed by the Greeks. Odo continued to detail the aftermath of this brawl, the confusion it caused in the French ranks and the subsequent rage felt by Louis VII, who had the Fleming hanged before working to ensure that all stolen goods were returned to their owners. Writing about the events leading to the outbreak of the brawl Odo stated '*Et quoniam ubique stulti erant (in concambio enim quot otiosi tot stulti), corruunt ubique qui pecunias in promptu habebant*'.<sup>83</sup> Here Odo attempted to present the brawl as having almost inevitably occurred due to the type of people who were apparently always involved with money changing. This use of *sententia* serves to further one of the central aims of the *De Profectione*, the praise of Louis VII and the French crusaders through the presentation of the brawl as an inevitable development rather than as a result of general indiscipline and disorder.

The same approach was used by Odo in his account of the French march through Anatolia. Describing how the French were being slowed down by non-combatants, Odo stated that it would have been better if the pope had forbidden unarmed people from going on the crusade. He concluded this declaration with the sententious statement that *quia semper debiles et inermes suis sunt onus hostibus praeda*.<sup>84</sup> The idea of inevitability is again invoked here: the mere presence of non-combatants is presented as having put the entire crusade in jeopardy and the use of *semper* underlines that this will always happen. Whilst this statement may have an element of truth at its heart it again demonstrates how Odo employed the device of *sententia* to portray the misfortunes of the French army and the apparent failures of Louis's command as seemingly inevitable consequences of circumstance.

In an otherwise bizarre article, Schuster made the perceptive comment that Odo's account contains sentences in which he appears to have been 'posing as a

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<sup>83</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, p.74.

<sup>84</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, p.94.

philosopher'. She highlighted Odo's statement, 'that man who knows a case partially makes a partial judgement, but the man who does not know the entire case cannot make a just judgement', stating that this was an attempt by Odo to downplay French provocation of the Greeks.<sup>85</sup> The statement highlighted by Schuster appears to fit more in the category of eyewitness *topoi* found elsewhere in the *De Profectione*, although the sentiment of the statement could also be regarded as sententious.<sup>86</sup> Schuster's observation is, however, close to addressing the purpose of the *sententia* found in Odo's writing. The presentation of matters as being somehow axiomatic and unavoidable helped to explain the failures of the crusade and in particular the shortcomings of Louis VII.

### ***Personification, Metaphor, Simile, Articulus***

Whilst these *colores* are all distinctive devices in their own right they are grouped under one heading here both due to their relatively rare employment by Odo and also because their usage in the *De Profectione* seems to have been aimed at a common purpose. The device of metaphor, where a comparison is drawn between one thing and another, is still widely known and used today. The device of simile is related to that of metaphor but with the comparison being made more explicitly. Personification involves the attribution of human qualities to inanimate objects. *Articulus*, sometimes referred to as 'comma', refers to the use of a quick succession of words, without conjunction, giving the impression of speeding up the sentence.<sup>87</sup>

Odo only employed *articulus* once in the *De Profectione*, providing a sentence of verbs in order to describe the onset of wintery weather conditions while the French were at Adalia: *Hiems interim exercet quod distulerat; pluit, ningit, tonat et fulgurat.*<sup>88</sup> This quick succession of verbs has the effect of mirroring the quickly changing inclement weather conditions experienced by the Franks. Odo's purpose in using it appears to have been in order to make his description more vivid. This similarly seems to have been his aim in his use of metaphor, simile and personification. This is particularly true of Odo's descriptions of combat. Carpentier's study of the military

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<sup>85</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, pp.72–4; Beate Schuster, 'The Strange Pilgrimage of Odo of Deuil' in G. Althof, J. Fried and P. J. Geary (eds), *Medieval Concepts of the Past: Ritual, Memory, Historiography* (Cambridge, 2002), p.258.

<sup>86</sup> On eyewitness commonplaces see above, pp.40–5.

<sup>87</sup> Arbusow, *Colores Rhetorici*, pp.24, 59, 82–3.

<sup>88</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, p.132.



terminology employed by St. Denis historians from Suger to William the Breton reveals that in comparison to his fellow historians Odo's range of this vocabulary was narrow, relying on a few key terms.<sup>89</sup> In describing the act of combat itself Odo's language is occasionally more colourful, although it is again somewhat repetitious. In her brief overview of rhetorical uses in the *De Profectione* Berry identifies Odo's use of the metaphor of winged death (*mortem volantem*) in describing the Turkish use of arrows.<sup>90</sup> The theme of the deadly Turkish arrows is returned to on a number of occasions by Odo in his descriptions of combat, understandably given the centrality of the archer to Turkish military tactics. In returning to this subject Odo also returns to his usage of metaphor. Berry again identifies Odo's employment of the metaphor of a 'rain of iron' (*ferrea pluvia*) to describe the number of arrows being fired at the French.<sup>91</sup> This metaphor is a variation on one employed twice by Odo slightly earlier in the *De Profectione*, that of a rain of arrows (*pluvia sagittarum, sagittarum pluvia*).<sup>92</sup> Odo's use of style in his descriptions of combat was not solely limited to this metaphor. Recounting a skirmish with the Turks on the road to Laodicea Odo described how a number of French counts pursued fleeing Turks 'like a whirlwind' (*more turbinis*).<sup>93</sup> Later, describing the continual pressure exerted by them on a tiring French army, Odo compares the Turks to 'a beast which becomes more savage after tasting blood'.<sup>94</sup>

### *Number Symbolism*

Arbusow, in his *Colores Rhetorici*, includes a frustratingly oblique reference to Odo under the heading of *Zahlenmystik* ('Numerology', 'Number Symbolism'). He states that in France in the eleventh and twelfth centuries the use of number symbolism was particularly popular in relation to the manner in which written works were presented and divided. Odo is then cited as an example of this approach but with no explanation given to as why this is so.<sup>95</sup> In the absence of such an explanation it is reasonable to speculate that Arbusow was referring to the organisation of the *De*

<sup>89</sup> Elisabeth Carpentier, 'Le combattant médiéval : problèmes de vocabulaire – de Suger à Guillaume le Breton' in *Le Combattant au Moyen Age*, Histoire ancienne et médiévale, 36 (Paris, 1995), p.28.

<sup>90</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, p.94.

<sup>91</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, p.112.

<sup>92</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, pp.96, 110.

<sup>93</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, pp.110–1.

<sup>94</sup> Odo, *De Profectione* p.124–6, '*Sicut fera quae sanguine gustato fit trucior*'

<sup>95</sup> Arbusow, *Colores Rhetorici*, p.104.



*Profectio* into seven books. In the number symbolism of the Middle Ages the number seven had a special significance, derived from the important status of the number in scripture. This symbolic importance was reflected in the Christian historiographical concept of the seven ages of the world.<sup>96</sup>

Berry has described the writing style of Odo as being ‘crisp, vivid and telling in every detail’, something which she rightly identifies as being achieved through his intelligent use of a range of rhetorical colours.<sup>97</sup> Not every *color* was widely used by Odo and not every instance was designed to further the particular aims of the *De Profectio*. However, across the range of *colores* employed by Odo it is possible to discern several themes. His fondness of antithesis and contrast, a point touched upon by Berry, appears frequently, often in order to demonstrate the apparent hypocrisy of the Greeks. His usage of *paronomasia*, notably that relating to the incident of Godfrey of Rancon, also suggests an interest in given names that also appears in his treatment of Manuel Comnenus and in his text relating to the display of the tunic at Argenteuil.<sup>98</sup>

Unlike the clear influence of the Pauline epistles upon Odo’s presentation of affected modesty, it is harder to discern a source for Odo’s use of rhetorical figures. This is particularly true given that the figures he used most often are relatively common. As stated above, rhetoric, which was a key part of the *trivium*, would have been taught from handbooks and from the classics themselves. The figures employed by Odo all appear in the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*. It would be reasonable to assume that Odo had received his rhetorical education from a popular source such as this, whilst studying the *trivium* in his youth.

### ***Odo and the Latin Classics***

The question of whether Odo was familiar with the writers of classical antiquity as a result of his education is equally difficult. Besides their use of rhetoric, contemporary historians also made ample use of quotation and allusion to Roman poets

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<sup>96</sup> R.W. Southern, ‘Aspects of the European tradition of historical writing 2: Hugh of St Victor and the idea of historical development’ *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society Fifth Series* 21 (1971), pp.160–1.

<sup>97</sup> Berry, *De Profectio*, p.xxviii

<sup>98</sup> On Odo’s suppression of Manuel’s name see pp.162–70 below. A pun on Suger’s name is also evident in Odo’s Argenteuil text, p.186 below.

and historians, with Sallust and Lucan proving particularly popular.<sup>99</sup> This is certainly true in the case of Odo's immediate environment at St. Denis. Suger's *Vita* of Louis VI, which Odo claimed to have read, contains numerous quotations from and allusions to Lucan's *Pharsalia*, alongside a demonstration of knowledge of Ovid and Juvenal.<sup>100</sup> The *Dialogus Apologeticus* of William of St. Denis, addressed to Odo, is littered with *exempla* drawn from a wide range of antique writers. So too is his *Vita Sugerii*, which also contains the perhaps spurious statement that Suger, by way of entertainment for his monks, would recite verbatim passages from Horace.<sup>101</sup> Odo was certainly then educated at an abbey where the Roman classics were well known and was later surrounded by people who were familiar with such works. Considering this and that Odo clearly had a grounding in rhetoric, it appears strange that Odo's work is almost completely bare of classical quotation and allusion.

The one clear instance of quotation in the *De Profectione* can be seen in the *Timeo Danaos* line drawn from the *Aeneid*. Odo, however, gave no indication that he was aware of the origin of the quotation. As indicated above he refers to the quotation as a *proverbium*, one that was famous enough to be well known to certain laymen.<sup>102</sup> No mention is made of Vergil or of *Maro*. In addition to this quotation, two other vague references to Roman history appear in the *De Profectione*.

The first appears in Odo's description of the lands of Hungary surrounding the Danube. He stated that these fertile lands were so productive that Julius Caesar's supplies were said to have been drawn from them.<sup>103</sup> This claim appears to have no historical basis and it seems likely that Odo was reporting a local apocryphal tradition, a possibility indicated by his statement that the supplies 'were said' (*ut dicantur*) to have come from the area. Odo's second reference to the Romans is more intriguing. Describing the near annihilation of King Conrad III's crusade, Odo lamented how the once mighty Germans had been misled by Greek treachery –

*Heu quam miseranda fortuna Saxones Batavoseque  
truces et alios Alemannos quos, in antiquis historiis*

<sup>99</sup> Luscombe, 'Thought and Learning', p.471; Joan Haar Gluckauf, 'William of Malmesbury's Roman Models', *Medieval and Renaissance texts and studies* 69 (1990), p.170.

<sup>100</sup> Suger, *Vita Ludovici*, pp. 7, 61, 96, 100, 188 *et passim*. On Suger and Lucan see p.124 below.

<sup>101</sup> William, *Vita Sugerii* in Gasparri, *Oeuvres* 2, p.305.

<sup>102</sup> See above, p.101.

<sup>103</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, p.30.



*legimus, quonadam Romanam fortitudinem timuisse,  
nunc dolis Graecorum inertium tam miserabiliter  
interisse!*<sup>104</sup>

This passage is notable as Odo claims to have read *antiquis historiis* regarding the conflicts between Germanic ‘barbarians’ and the Roman Empire. His mention of the Germanic groupings of the Saxons and Batavians is also slightly incongruous given his usage of the catch all term *Alemannii* throughout the rest of the *De Profectione*. This suggests that Odo is referring to a half remembered piece of information that he encountered at St. Denis. Unfortunately the brevity of Odo’s statement makes any attempt at discerning what, if any, *antiquis historiis* he was employing extremely difficult.<sup>105</sup>

Given these oblique references to antique history, along with the fact that classical Latin literature was well known at St. Denis in the first half of the twelfth century, it is hard to imagine that Odo would have been completely ignorant of Roman literature. The absence from the *De Profectione* of the sort of classical quotation normally found in twelfth century historical works can possibly be explained as a stylistic choice on the part of Odo, although as will be demonstrated below, he was fond of lengthy paraphrase in his other writing. Another potential explanation could be the nature of the *De Profectione*. It should be remembered that this was an eyewitness account that was very possibly written at Antioch in the spring of 1148 whilst Louis VII pondered the future of the French crusade. Away from the resources of the St. Denis library Odo’s history took on the form of a polemic, employing simple but effective *colores rhetorici* in order to aid its points.

What is clear about the *colores rhetorici* in the *De Profectione* is that Odo often used them for the purpose of advancing both his narrative and the major themes that it contained. Through the usage of various rhetorical techniques Odo was able to defend the conduct of Louis VII and also to highlight what he perceived as the duplicitous attitudes of the Greeks. These themes were part of a history that stands as a self-contained work despite Odo’s falsely modest protestations to the contrary. As will be seen in the following chapter the relationship of rhetoric to Odo’s treatment of the

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<sup>104</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, p.98.

<sup>105</sup> On the oblique influence of Lucan upon Odo’s thought see pp.124–6.



Greeks helps to cast fresh light on the depiction of Manuel Comnenus in the *De Profectione*. The issue of Odo's knowledge of the classics is also elucidated further in an assessment of the sources for the depiction of the Germans in the *De Profectione*.

## ***Chapter 4: The depiction of national groupings and their leaders in the De Projectione***

This chapter will further demonstrate how the information presented by Odo in the *De Projectione* was shaped by both external influences and also contemporary modes of style and composition. This demonstration will be achieved through an examination of Odo's depiction of the three major Christian 'national groupings' involved in the Oriental leg of the Second Crusade, that is the Germans, the French and the Greeks. Given the particular focus of Odo on the person of Louis VII an examination of the depiction of the leaders of these three groups forms a significant part of the analysis. As shall be seen, one of the claims made about Odo's writing in the *De Projectione* is that it was somehow 'nationalist' in nature. The issue of national identities, groupings and 'nationalism' in the Middle Ages, and the validity of these categories for historical analysis, has been much debated.<sup>1</sup> The division of this chapter into three sections examining different 'national' groupings in turn is in order to demonstrate the various influences at work upon Odo's writing. It will be demonstrated that it was these influences, rather than any form of 'proto-nationalism' that informed his writing.

### ***Chapter 4:1 The Depiction of the Germans and King Conrad III in the De Projectione***

Attempts to write the history of the Second Crusade have been somewhat skewed by the fact Otto of Freising's failure to provide an extensive account of the expedition in his historical writing. As one of the most prominent writers of the twelfth century, it is frustrating that Otto felt it best not to dwell on the ignominious experiences of the German army.<sup>2</sup> Phillips has noted that the German contingent on the crusade probably made up the majority of the Latin fighting force that had travelled to

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<sup>1</sup> Lesley Johnson, 'Imagining Communities: Medieval and Modern' in S.Forde, L.Johnson and A.V Murray (eds), *Concepts of National Identity in the Middle Ages* (Leeds, 1995), pp.1–19; Anthony D. Smith, 'National identities: Modern and Medieval?' in Forde, Johnson and Murray (eds) *Concepts*, pp.21–46; Robert Bartlett, 'Medieval and Modern Concepts of Race and Identity' *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 31:1 (2001), pp.39–56.

<sup>2</sup> Otto of Freising, *Gesta Friderici I Imperatoris*, ed.G. Waitz and Bernhard von Simson MGH *Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum* (Hannover, 1997), pp.218–9.

the east.<sup>3</sup> Conrad was also the more senior of the western monarchs, in terms of both age and status. This information has been somewhat obscured in modern accounts of the crusade due to the available evidence. Because of Otto's reticence, the *De Profectione*, an account understandably more concerned with Louis VII and the French, stands as an important source for the German involvement in the crusade.<sup>4</sup> The importance of the *De Profectione* as a source for the German aspect of the crusade means that it is important to examine Odo's attitude towards Conrad and the Germans. The accuracy of Odo's information about why the Germans were defeated has been examined above. There it appears that his desire to attack the conduct of the Greeks resulted in a distortion his account of the Germans, with allegations made that the guide supplied by the Greeks deliberately led the westerners into an ambush.<sup>5</sup> What this section will examine is how Odo conceived of the Germans as an 'ethnic' or 'national' grouping and the extent to which he was influenced by contemporary French intellectual trends. Consideration will be given as to how these factors affected his depiction of the German contingent of the Second Crusade.

Contrary to the claim of Giles Constable that they were only 'casually mentioned' by Odo, the Germans appear frequently in the *De Profectione*.<sup>6</sup> They are generally presented as major allies of the French on the crusade and Odo referred to them as the *socii* of the French army.<sup>7</sup> Epp, discussing Odo's attitude toward the Germans, suggests that he displayed two alternative tendencies. The first is 'a sentiment of Christian-Occidental solidarity'; the second is an expression of 'French patriotism, which stands in sharp contrast to the Germans, who are considered rivals in the conduct

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<sup>3</sup>Phillips, 'De Profectione as a source', p.94; Jonathan Phillips, 'Papacy, Empire and the Second Crusade' in J. Phillips and M. Hoch (eds) *The Second Crusade: Scope and Consequences* (Manchester, 2001), p.15; Ibn-al-Qalansi, *The Damascus Chronicle of the Crusades*, trans. H.A.R. Gibb (Mineola, 2002), pp.280, 282; John Kinnamos, *The Deeds of John and Manuel Comnenus*, trans. C. M. Brand (New York, 1976), p.73.

<sup>4</sup> The possibility of social unrest amongst the German contingent causing the expedition to fail has recently been examined by Conor Kostick, 'Social unrest and the Failure of Conrad III's March through Anatolia, 1147' *German History*, 28:2 (2010), pp.125–42; Kostick's analysis rests largely on a number of contemporary German annals. The issue of the German defeat is also the subject of Jason T. Roche, *Conrad III and the Second Crusade in the Byzantine Empire and Anatolia, 1147*, (University of St. Andrews, unpublished PhD thesis, 2008); The German failure has also been assessed by G. A. Loud, 'Some reflections on the failure of the Second Crusade' *Crusades* 4 (2005), pp.3–7.

<sup>5</sup> See above, pp.48–9.

<sup>6</sup> Constable, 'Second Crusade as seen by Contemporaries,' p.218.

<sup>7</sup>Odo, *De Profectione*, p.90.



of operations during the Second Crusade'.<sup>8</sup> That Odo voiced misgivings about the German contingent of the crusade is well known. The most prominent example of his occasional dislike for the Germans is found in the account of the march towards Constantinople. Here he stated that the 'Germans were unbearable, even to us'.<sup>9</sup> This distaste for the Germans was as a result of their conduct, which Odo thought had turned the local populace against the French crusaders. Clashes erupted between the two western contingents, due on occasion to the language barrier. Odo, however, appears to have regarded King Conrad III, the leader of German contingent, more favourably.

### *The depiction of Conrad III*

It should be stated that, as is the case with Manuel I Comnenus, Odo did not refer to Conrad by his proper name at any point in the work. However there is no suggestion that Odo employed the same approach to the two sovereigns or the same reasoning for excluding Conrad's name. His excision of Manuel's name was a clearly stated, conscious, decision. In addition, unlike Manuel, Conrad is never referred to by anything other than his titles. Other prominent figures in the German contingent are referred to by their proper names. Bishop Otto of Freising, whom Odo correctly describes as Conrad's brother, is given his full title, and Frederick Barbarossa is mentioned as *Dux Fridericus*.<sup>10</sup> Frederick's relationship to Conrad and Otto is not mentioned by Odo. Conrad's status as a leader of the crusade is acknowledged by Odo. An elegant summation of Odo's view of Conrad can be found in his account of the eclipse of 26 October 1147. Odo describes how half of the sun was eclipsed, supposedly because it had witnessed 'a crime it could not endure.' Odo continues by stating that, with hindsight, this crime was interpreted as the betrayal of Conrad's Germans. The emperor's army had supposedly been led deep into labyrinthine mountains by a Greek guide, who subsequently abandoned his wards. It was upon learning of this that Odo was able to forward an interpretation of the eclipse's true meaning:

*Quod postquam didicimus quid significaret, caeleste prodigium rectius exposuimus, dicentes nostrum regem et Alemannum esse unum solem, quoniam unius fidei lumine*

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<sup>8</sup> Verena Epp, 'Importabiles Alemanni... Omnia Perturbant. The Empire and the Germans as reflected in Twelfth Century Latin Crusaders reports', *Storia della Storiografia* 23 (1993), pp.3-23.

<sup>9</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, p.44.

<sup>10</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, pp.50, 102.

*coruscabant, et hunc lucere dimidium et dimidii circuli radios abscondisse, quando, rege fervore solito tenente cursum, Alemanni retrocedebant.*<sup>11</sup>

Here the position of the two monarchs at the head of a shared enterprise is emphasised, so too is their unity as one sun, shining under the light of one faith.

### **Titles employed by Odo for Conrad**

In the course of the *De Profectione* the Conrad III's title varies. The first mention refers to him as king of the Germans, *rex Alemannorum* or *rex Alemannus*. This occurs in the context of Odo's description of promises of market secured by Louis VII prior to his departure, with the *Alemannorum et Hungarorum etiam reges* listed as having complied with the French request.<sup>12</sup> Shortly after providing this description, Odo again made reference to the German *rex* in his record of Bernard of Clairvaux's preaching in the Empire, writing *Nam de Alemannia veniebat, regemque et regni procures militia cruces Christi adiunxerat.*<sup>13</sup> One further indirect reference to Conrad as *rex* is found in Book Two of the *De Profectione*:

*Ecce enim rex et imperator occurrerunt mihi memoriae partier Ratisbonae; sed, cum rex mihi sit principali smateria, me cogunt tamen de imperatore pauca inserere facta eorum communia. Nostrum regem praecessit Alemannus loco temporeque: noster processit in Pentecosten, ille in Pascha; noster de beato Dionysio movit pedem, ille de Ratisbona... Ut autem verum fatear, valde imperialiter egressus est.*<sup>14</sup>

This passage contains the first description of Conrad as *imperator*. However, following this, Odo appears to refer to Conrad as the German king. This is the interpretation followed by Berry in her translation of the text. Conrad is then described as having set out in 'imperial' fashion. Almost every subsequent reference to Conrad refers to him as *imperator* thus making it the title employed most frequently by Odo and for the majority of the *De Profectione*.<sup>15</sup> One exception occurs immediately after the account of Conrad's departure, with a description of how Conrad entered Hungary, with Odo stating that he entered in a manner becoming a *princeps*: *Igitur imperator*

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<sup>11</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, pp.82–4.

<sup>12</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, p.10.

<sup>13</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, p.12.

<sup>14</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, p.32.

<sup>15</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, pp.34, 82, 102.



*animosus navalis et pedes, habens in navibus copiosum militem secum et iuxta se per terram equos et populum, sicut oportuit et decuit principem ingressus est Hungariam.*<sup>16</sup>

The title of *imperator Alemannorum* was not in itself unusual in contemporary writing. In the course of the eleventh and twelfth centuries *imperator Romanorum*, once the only title employed, began to have its usage replaced by a range of other titles such as *imperator Alemannorum*, *Germaniae* and *Teutonicus*.<sup>17</sup> These uses, which could change in the course of a single source, even appear to have been picked up on occasion by the emperors themselves. What is more curious about Odo's use of *imperator Alemannorum* in relation to Conrad is that he was never crowned as emperor by the pope, and as such was technically only the king of Germany. Conrad himself employed the style of king of the Romans, *rex Romanorum* in the vast majority of his diplomatic material, a use that dates from the reign of Henry III (1039–56).<sup>18</sup> He is similarly referred to as 'king' or 'king of the Romans' in the *Chronicon* of Otto of Freising.<sup>19</sup> Odo's switch from the correct form to the less correct *imperator* is therefore somewhat odd. Other contemporary or near contemporary sources contain the same inaccuracy as the *De Profectione*. Several chronicles refer to the involvement of *imperator Conradus* on the crusade along with Louis.<sup>20</sup> William of Tyre's account of the Second Crusade, written later in the twelfth century, refers to Conrad as *imperator* a number of times.<sup>21</sup> An 1147 letter of Pope Eugenius III, addressed to Conrad's son, Henry Berengar, also calls Conrad *imperator*.<sup>22</sup> Somewhat surprisingly a letter of Abbot Wibald of Corvey, who was a major influence on Conrad, uses the incorrect term. Whilst the various chroniclers and William of Tyre could perhaps have been forgiven for their error in terminology, it is curious to find such a mistake in one of Wibald's letters.<sup>23</sup> The letter, addressed to Manuel I Comnenus, is dated to the year following Conrad's death, and this could possibly provide some explanation, if it was decided posthumously to refer to Conrad by the title that he did not live to receive. This is

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<sup>16</sup>Odo, *De Profectione*, p.34.

<sup>17</sup>Karl F. Werner, 'Das Hochmittelalterliche Imperium Im Politischen Bewusstsein Frankreichs (10. – 12. Jahrhundert) in *Structures politiques du monde Franc (VI – XIIe siècles)* (London, 1979) X p.39.

<sup>18</sup>Conrad III, *Diplomata*, ed.F. Hausmann, MGH DD (Cologne, 1969) III, p.275, 277 *et passim*.

<sup>19</sup>Otto of Freising, *Chronica sive Historia de Duabus Civitatibus*, ed. A. Hoffmeister, MGH SS Rer. Germ 45 (Hannover, 1912) pp.248, 330, 355 *et passim*.

<sup>20</sup>*Annales Laubienses*, MGH SS 4, p.23 ; *Sigebert Auctarium Affligimense*, MGH SS 6, p.400 ;

<sup>21</sup>William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, p.243.

<sup>22</sup>Eugenius III, *Epistola LXIV*. MPL CLXXXIX, col. 1169c.

<sup>23</sup>Wibald of Corvey, *Epistola CCCLXXXVIII*, MPL CLXXXIX col 1426b.



similarly seen in an 1153 letter of Frederick Barbarossa, also addressed to Manuel Comnenus, in which Frederick refers to his late uncle and predecessor as *imperator*.<sup>24</sup> Given that the recipient of both Frederick and Wibald's letters was Manuel, the eastern Emperor, it is possible that Conrad was posthumously being referred to as emperor due to a political consideration. The relative status of the Eastern and Western empires was a recurring issue, and Frederick and Wibald may have been seeking to assert the primacy of the Western Empire.

This explanation obviously does not account for Odo's decision to refer to Conrad as *imperator*, since he was unconcerned about the relative standings of the two empires from his French perspective. Epp has suggested that the title *imperator Alemannorum* was an attempt by Odo to denigrate Conrad's standing. This title, borne out of Odo's conviction that Louis was 'equal, if not superior' to Conrad, supposedly degraded 'the dignity of the emperor to provinciality'.<sup>25</sup> Epp, however, appears to have completely missed the significance of Odo's usage of *imperator*, and that this was conferring upon Conrad a dignity that he had not yet received. With his references to Conrad as *imperator* Odo may actually have been showing a degree of respect toward the German king, and he was perhaps anticipating the title that Conrad was expected to eventually receive. Hiestand remarks that a series of Conrad's letters and diplomas employ a slight modification of the *rex Romanorum* formula. D197 – D200 in the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* edition of Conrad's diplomatic, dating from late summer of 1148 to 15 May 1149, employ the title *rex Romanorum augustus*. These four documents were letters rather than full diplomas but they were still a product of the German chancery. The chancery's dictator and scribe Albert of Sponheim was one of Conrad's closest advisors.<sup>26</sup> Phillips has taken this as indicating that Conrad was trying to assert his theoretical imperial dignity, something that may have had an effect on Odo.<sup>27</sup> It had previously been argued that the addition of *augustus* to Conrad's usual title had taken place due to the German monarch's visit to Constantinople in 1149, following the failure to agree to an attack on Ascalon and his subsequent departure from Syria. The addition of *augustus* was thus an attempt to bolster the theoretical German

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<sup>24</sup> Wibald of Corvey, *Epistola CCCLXXXVII* col.1426b.

<sup>25</sup> Epp, 'Importabiles Alemanni', p.3.

<sup>26</sup> Conrad III, *Diplomata*, pp.356–3; Rudolf Hiestand, 'Kaiser' Konrad III., der zweite Kreuzzug und ein verlorenes Diplom für den Berg Thabor' *Deutsches Archiv* 35:1 (1979), p.115.

<sup>27</sup> Phillips, 'De Profectione as a source', p.94.

imperial dignity vis-à-vis the Greek emperor. Hiestand, however, has demonstrated that the first instance of *augustus* being added to Conrad's title occurred prior to his departure from Syria. He has more specifically dated Conrad's adoption of the term to between his stay at Jerusalem in April 1148 and his involvement in the council of Palmarea on 25 June 1148. In this case, it is likely that Conrad's adoption of *augustus* was intended to differentiate him from the 'mere kings' Baldwin III of Jerusalem and Louis VII, who were both present at Palmarea. If this was the purpose of Conrad's adoption of the term *augustus*, then it is likely that those present at Palmarea would also have been made aware that the German monarch regarded himself as having an elevated, imperial status. This would have been unlikely to have escaped the notice of Odo, who as Louis's chaplain and secretary would have probably been present. It is therefore possible that Odo's references to Conrad as *imperator* could have been as part of a reaction to the status assumed by Conrad at Palmarea. This suggestion has obvious consequences for the dating of the *De Profectione*. Odo may have decided not to employ the term *augustus* as, given its appearance in the New Testament, it could have been considered too grand. Whilst it is impossible to prove that the references to Conrad as *imperator* found in the *De Profectione* were due to his addition of *Augustus*, it could be argued that Odo was responding to a general impression created by the German monarch, possibly before his arrival in Syria. As Phillips has stated, Greek and Arab accounts of the Second Crusade clearly regarded Conrad as the most senior leader of the crusade. William of Tyre's account of the council of Palmarea, dating from a number of decades after the Crusade, afforded Conrad a similarly prominent status.<sup>28</sup>

There is an indication in his description of Conrad's departure from Germany that Odo regarded the empire as having a unique status. He states that Conrad set out 'in most imperial fashion' (*valde imperialiter*) in regard to both the size of his fleet and his land forces.<sup>29</sup> Werner has highlighted this passage as one of a number of contemporary indications that French writers had no blind hatred of the empire, and that on the contrary they were willing on occasion to acknowledge the status of the emperor.<sup>30</sup> Epp, dealing with the same passage, again displays an obvious misunderstanding of her source. She has wrongly interpreted it as reading that it was Louis who had set out in

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<sup>28</sup> William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, p.76 ; Phillips, 'De Profectione as a source', pp.94–5.

<sup>29</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, p.32.

<sup>30</sup> Werner, 'Hochmittelalterliche Imperium', pp. 41–2.



such an imperial manner, citing it as further evidence of Odo's bias.<sup>31</sup> It should be noted that the term *imperialiter* appears on one other occasion in the *De Profectione*. This second example refers not to Conrad but rather to Manuel Comnenus, who is described as having put on an 'imperial welcome' for the arriving French.<sup>32</sup> Odo thus appears to have regarded the two emperors as having a different status from that of a king. Indeed, this impression is heightened by Odo's variation of his 'imperial' description in describing the arrival of Louis VII at Regensburg. The inhabitants of that town are described as having welcomed Louis in a kingly manner (*valde regaliter*).<sup>33</sup> In each case Odo has employed the adverb relating to the perceived status of those being described. Book Five and the beginning of Book Six of the *De Profectione* detail the meetings held between Louis and Conrad in mid November 1147, following the defeat suffered by the Germans in Anatolia. In Odo's account of Louis's meeting with Conrad at the French camp, the king is described as tearfully comforting his German counterpart. Louis is recorded as having subsequently decided that Conrad would lodge with him. The opening line of Book Six provides Odo's summation of Louis's treatment of Conrad: *Rex igitur, imperatorem diligens pro persona penes, praeferens pro aetate, venerans pro fortuna, castra movit*.<sup>34</sup> Referring to Conrad as *imperator* could thus be Odo's own show of the respect that Louis held for his German counterpart's position.

Despite this indicator of respect towards Conrad, he is depicted in a less flattering light elsewhere in the *De Profectione*. The image of Conrad is never malicious, but there are a number of instances in the text where the German king is portrayed as somewhat foolish. Amongst descriptions of Louis's kindness toward and respect for Conrad, Odo includes a speech given by the German king in which he describes the foolish pride of his people as the principal reason for the failure of their expedition. According to Odo, Conrad contrasted his own pride in the size of his army with the lack of thanks he gave to God, thus causing God to subdue his arrogance. Berry notes the 'attractive hypothesis' of Bernhardt, that Conrad's speech was genuine due to the lack of anger it displayed toward the Greeks, whom Odo blamed elsewhere

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<sup>31</sup>Epp, *Importabiles Alemanni*, p.3.

<sup>32</sup>Odo, *De Profectione*, p.58.

<sup>33</sup>Odo, *De Profectione*, p.24.

<sup>34</sup>Odo, *De Profectione*, pp.98–102.



for the German defeat.<sup>35</sup> Conrad's lack of humility before God and his blaming of his own pride also mirrors statements made by Otto of Freising regarding the failure of the crusade. However, whilst Bernhardi's hypothesis is attractive, it also appears unlikely, given contemporary conventions concerning the recording of *oratio recta*.<sup>36</sup>

It is also plausible that Odo manufactured elements of Conrad's speech, and particularly his contrite words about arrogance before God, in order to fit with the content of the opening lines of Book Six of the *De Profectione*. The opening of Book Six contains some of Odo's strongest criticism of Conrad. Here Odo stated that he went personally to Louis to remind him that Conrad had been responsible for the alienation of St. Denis's property at Esslingen and the castle of Estusin. Louis is described as having enthusiastically taken up the opportunity to serve his patron saint, confronting Conrad and his nephew Frederick over their holding of the St. Denis property.<sup>37</sup> Odo's description of these actions by Louis creates a positive image of the French monarch in contrast to his German counterpart. This could be seen as the aim of much of Odo's direct treatment of Conrad. The German king is often portrayed in a less than flattering light. Detailing a second speech, supposedly delivered by Conrad in mid-November, advising the French about what route to follow through Anatolia, Odo states that the German sovereign perhaps gave the French a drink of the cup running over. His statements are also described as being 'more plausible than true'.<sup>38</sup> In Book Seven, describing how the French had suffered on their march to Adalia, Odo stated that it was the *indoctus consilium* offered by Conrad that had contributed to their plight.<sup>39</sup> The depiction of Conrad, stating that the failure of his army was due to an excess of pride, is in marked contrast to that of Louis, whose humility is consistently emphasised by Odo.<sup>40</sup> The poor advice and supposedly inflated boasts of Conrad are also the opposite of the image constructed by Odo of the French king.

Conrad is thus portrayed in a much less flattering light than Louis. He is by no means one of the 'villains' of the *De Profectione*. Odo is willing to acknowledge Conrad's position as one of the leaders of the crusade, and also reports that Louis

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<sup>35</sup> Berry, *De Profectione*, p.101 n.25; Wilhelm Bernhardi, *Konrad III* (Leipzig, 1883), p.645 n.9.

<sup>36</sup> On *Oratio Recta* in the *De Profectione* see above, pp.55–9.

<sup>37</sup> For Louis and St. Denis see below, pp.131–38.

<sup>38</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, p.104.

<sup>39</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, p.32.

<sup>40</sup> See below, pp.138–41.

acknowledged Conrad's seniority. The consistent use of the title *imperator* also suggests a degree of respect for the German king. Despite this, Conrad is described by Odo as somewhat proud and possibly complacent. His alienation of lands belonging to St. Denis is reported, as is his apparently poor advice regarding the correct route to be followed by the French army. This portrayal of Conrad helped Odo in depicting Louis in a positive, pious light. Unlike the Greek historian Kinnamos, who was writing decades later, Odo chose not to blame Conrad explicitly for the disorderly conduct of the German contingent.<sup>41</sup> As will be demonstrated, Odo's characterisations of the Germans as a national grouping instead appear to have been directly influenced by the writing of Abbot Suger.

### *The Germans as a national grouping*

As noted above, the conduct of the German contingent on the Second Crusade drew criticism from both Western and Greek sources. Odo's major sources of information regarding the activities of the Germans appear to have been rumours circulating within the French army and testimony given by Germans with whom he conversed in Anatolia.<sup>42</sup> Epp suggests that Odo's antagonism toward the Germans was due to 'a French national consciousness' present in the circles around the French monarchy. Odo, due to his position at St. Denis, would have been a member of this circle.<sup>43</sup> Despite this assertion Epp provides no examples of this 'national consciousness' or indeed any indication of who made up the influential circles around the French monarchy.

The names most commonly employed to refer to the peoples of Germany by twelfth-century authors in Germany and elsewhere were *Alemanni* and *Teutones*. These terms were used interchangeably by contemporary writers, with neither regularly favoured over the other. The German section of the empire was itself often described as *regnum Teutonicorum*.<sup>44</sup> Florin Curta, in his examination of Suger's attitude towards the Germans, cites a passage from Otto of Freising's *Gesta Frederici* in support of this

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<sup>41</sup> Kinnamos, *Deeds of John and Manuel*, pp.61–2.

<sup>42</sup> See above, p.47.

<sup>43</sup> Epp, 'Importabiles Alemanni', p.9.

<sup>44</sup> Florin Curta, *Ethnic 'Furor Teutonicus: A note on ethnic stereotypes in Suger's deeds of Louis the Fat'*, *Haskins Society Journal*, 16 (2006), p.67.

interchangeability of the two terms. Otto's status as a kinsman of the Staufen family is cited, presumably to underline Curta's point. However, in quoting the passage from Otto, Curta cuts it short, creating the impression that Otto regarded the two terms as interchangeable, when he was in fact fulminating against that very point. The passage is cited in full by Brühl, who recognised the actual significance of Otto's argument:

*Alemannia: Quare quidam totam Teutonicam terram  
Alemanniam dictam putant omnesque Teutonicos  
Alemannos vocare solent,<sup>45</sup> cum illa tantum  
provincia, id est Suevia, a Lemanno fluvio vocetur  
Alemannia populi que eam inhabitant solummodo  
iure vocentur Alemanni.<sup>46</sup>*

Brühl does recognise that Otto's anger indicated that some degree of interchangeability had emerged in Germany at the time. He also states that, in France, by the mid-twelfth century the term *Alemannia* had widely come to be regarded as synonymous with the German sections of the empire.<sup>47</sup>

When describing the Germans as a whole, Odo entirely avoided the term *Teutones*, which does not appear once in the *De Profectione*. Odo consistently used the term *Alemmani* to refer to the Germans. Odo did not refer to the political entity of the Empire by any name. The reader is left to work out that the French and Louis travelled through these lands on the basis of the list of place names supplied by Odo, and the names of rivers such as the Rhine. The consistent use of one term to refer to the German crusading contingent could be viewed as a consciously taken decision on Odo's part, possibly intended to provide clarity for the reader. It is notable that his treatment of the Muslim opponents of the crusade is similarly consistent in its usage of the correct terminology, as they are always identified as Turks.

There is only one point in the *De Profectione* where Odo chose to refer to the Germans by any terms other than *Alemmani*. It comes in his lament for the German troops defeated by the Turks in the mountains of Anatolia in late October 1148, with the

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<sup>45</sup> Curta's citation ends here, cutting short the proper meaning of Otto's passage

<sup>46</sup> Otto of Freising, *Gesta Friderici*, p.25.

<sup>47</sup> Carlrichard Brühl, *Deutschland-Frankreich*, (Cologne, 1995), p.239.



passage of French army over the still blood-stained ground where their allies had been slaughtered:

*Heu quam miseranda fortuna Saxones Batavoseque  
truces et alios Alemannos quos, in antiquis historiis  
legimus, quonadam Romanam fortitudinem timuisse,  
nunc dolis Graecorum inertium tam miserabiliter  
interisse!*<sup>48</sup>

Here Odo referred to two subgroupings of Germans, specifically the Saxons and the Batavians. The decision to refer here to these subgroupings, but to do so at no other point, was most likely due to the stylised nature of this lament. Odo's particular choice of these groupings poses questions regarding his sources of information. The Saxons were, of course, a prominent grouping that remained well known in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Their group identity had been underlined by relatively recent events, in particular the Saxon revolt against Emperor Henry IV which had preceded and accompanied the Investiture Controversy. Suger's description of the troops gathered by Henry V for his excursion into France also includes the Saxons, amongst other groups.<sup>49</sup> In the brief description of Louis's journey through Germany in June 1147 found in William of St. Denis's *Dialogus Apologeticus*, the Saxons are again listed as one of the German subgroupings. William's account is notable for its classicising style with the *Cimbri*, found in Caesar's *Bellum Gallicum*, also listed as one of the 'German nations'. William also referred to the Danube using the rare term *Hystrum*.<sup>50</sup> While such obvious classicising is not unusual in William's writing, it is more curious to see such an approach in the *De Profectione*. Odo's reference to the Batavians is particularly curious, given that references to that German grouping are sparse and largely confined to classical sources. It should be noted that the Latin name for the German town of Passau is *Batavia* (sometimes rendered as *Patavia*). Odo himself listed *Batavia* as one of the towns passed through by the French on their journey through Europe.<sup>51</sup> However, it seems exceedingly unlikely that Odo was referring to the men of Passau alongside the Saxons in his stylised lament. This is particularly due to the context of Odo's statement.

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<sup>48</sup> Odo, *De Profectione* p.98.

<sup>49</sup> Suger, *Vita Ludovici*, p.218.

<sup>50</sup> William, *Dialogus*, pp.104–5.

<sup>51</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, p.30.

The Saxons and Batavians referred to are the men of the antique past, who fought the Roman Empire. Odo himself refers to *antiquis historiis* in which he suggests he has read of their exploits. The Batavians were a Germanic people inhabiting the low lying coastal regions of the Rhine delta, in what is now the Netherlands. This situation led to the region being referred to as *insula Batavorum* in a number of classical sources, notably Pliny's *Naturalis Historiae*, Caesar's *De Bello Gallico* and the *Histories* of Tacitus. The term appears in an even more limited number of medieval accounts – with the 'Annals of Bertin' and Einhard's *Vita Karoli Magni* providing notable examples.<sup>52</sup>

The most prominent incident from classical history involving the Batavians is undoubtedly their revolt against Roman rule. This revolt, led by a Roman auxiliary soldier, took place in 69-70 AD. The only major source for this event is the *Histories* of Tacitus.<sup>53</sup> Indeed much of what is known about the Batavians is drawn from the works of Tacitus, who also wrote about their habits in his *Germania*.<sup>54</sup> The *Germania*, in its descriptions of the Germans as a whole, describes their taste for alcohol. Tacitus states that the Germans imbibed alcohol in the form of a fermented liquid 'like wine', that is, some form of ale. He also writes how certain German groupings also drank wine.<sup>55</sup> Significantly, in the *De Profectione*, Odo wrote about how their overindulgence in wine was one reason that caused the Germans to brawl violently with the residents of Philippopolis in September 1147.<sup>56</sup>

Despite a number of Tacitian overtones to Odo's treatment of the Germans, in particular his mention of the Batavians, it is unlikely that he had read any of that historian's works. Tacitus was almost entirely unknown in the Middle Ages, certainly in France, and it was not until the Renaissance that the majority of his works were rediscovered.<sup>57</sup> One of the other classical historians to dedicate much space to the Batavians was Lucan. The Batavians are listed in Book One of Lucan's *Pharsalia*, in the

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<sup>52</sup>Pliny, *Naturalis Historiae vol I: Libri I-VI*, ed. C. Mayhoff (Stuttgart, 1906: repr, 1996), p.347; Caesar, *De Bello Gallico*, ed. and trans. L. A. Constans (Paris, 1958), pp.101–102; Tacitus, *Historiarum Libri*, ed. H. Heubener (Stuttgart, 1978), p.164; Einhard, *Vita Karoli Magni*, ed. G. Waitz, MGH SS Rer. Germ. 25 (Hannover, 1911), p.20; *Annales Bertiniani*, ed. G. Waitz, MGH SS Rer. Germ. 5 (Hannover, 1883), p.35.

<sup>53</sup>Tacitus, *Historiarum*, pp.159–210.

<sup>54</sup>Tacitus, *Germania*, ed. J. G. C. Anderson (Oxford, 1938), p.20

<sup>55</sup>*Ibid*, p.17.

<sup>56</sup>Odo, *De Profectione* p.42.

<sup>57</sup>R. H. Martin, 'From Manuscript to Print' in A. J. Woodman (ed.) *The Cambridge Companion to Tacitus* (Cambridge, 2009), pp.241–52.



course of a lengthy description of the peoples of *Germania*, where they are described as *batavi que truces, quos aere recurvo stridentes acuere tubae*.<sup>58</sup> Whilst it is almost impossible to prove where exactly Odo found his ideas regarding the Batavians, the potential influence of Lucan on his work and on his views on the Germans in general is worth further examination. Lucan's *Pharsalia* is well known for its account of the Germans and in particular its description of a *furor Teutonicus*.<sup>59</sup> Lucan's conception of a particularly German *furor*, meaning 'rage', found some currency in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Ekkehard of Aura, writing in his *Chronicon* about the Germans who participated in the First Crusade, saw *furor* as a Teutonic attribute that differentiated them from the other nations of the world.<sup>60</sup> In the 1160s both Arnulf of Lisieux and John of Salisbury used Lucan's terminology in their letters to criticise the conduct of the Germans opposing the papacy at the time.<sup>61</sup> The term also was used long after the twelfth century. In an article written in the late nineteenth century, Dümmler used the *furor Teutonicus* as the basis for an examination of a stereotype of wild, violent Germans that apparently persisted throughout the Middle Ages. Notably Dümmler cited Odo as one of the twelfth century examples for the use of this stereotype.<sup>62</sup> Odo's description of the rioting Germans is cited, as is his line *Alemanni quasi viso prodigio ilico cum furore consurgunt*.<sup>63</sup> This reference by Odo to the *furor* of the Germans is not unique. Immediately after this first usage, in reference to the Germans killing a jester in a tavern, Odo described how they began to fight the town's governor and his men. Odo states that the Germans were confused, *Turbatus autem a vino et furore*.<sup>64</sup> Recounting how linguistic differences led to brawling between the French and Germans, Odo used the adverb *furiose* to describe the actions of the Germans, whom he also blamed for starting the riot.<sup>65</sup>

Besides his references to the Germans and their conduct, Odo used *furor* or its variations on only one other occasion in the *De Profectione*. This comes in Book Four

<sup>58</sup> Lucan, *Pharsalia*, ed. and trans. A Bourguery (Paris, 1962), p.20.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid*, p.13.

<sup>60</sup> Ekkehard of Aura, *Chronicon Universale*, MGH SS 6 pp.214, 252.

<sup>61</sup> Arnulf of Lisieux, *The Letters of Arnulf of Lisieux* ed. F.Barlow (London, 1939), p.42; John of Salisbury, *The Letters of John of Salisbury*, vol.2 ed. W.J Millor and C.N.L Brooke (Oxford, 1979), p.54; Curta, 'Ethnic Stereotypes in Suger's 'Deeds of Louis the Fat'', p.70.

<sup>62</sup> E. Dümmler, 'Über den *Furor Teutonicus*,' *Sitzungsberichte der Koniglich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaft zu Berlin* 9 (1897), p.121.

<sup>63</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, p.42.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>65</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, p.44.



during a description of a fight which erupted following the theft of Greek money changers' wares by a Fleming: *Crescit clamor et furor*.<sup>66</sup> Here, however, Odo appears to have been using the word to convey the atmosphere of the situation as a whole, rather than the behaviour of a specific group. This was certainly the view taken by Berry, who chose to translate the sentence as 'the noise and confusion increased'.<sup>67</sup> Odo's usage of *furor* on more than one occasion to describe the actions of the Germans does not seem to have been a coincidence. Much of his language regarding the Germans behaviour around Philippopolis and in the later brawl appears deliberately stylised. In writing about how nightfall did nothing to soothe the anger of the Germans Odo stated: *Nocte illa ignis eorum nec extingui potuit*.<sup>68</sup> The use of *ignis* to denote passionate anger is deliberately poetical language.<sup>69</sup> Odo continued to describe how voices of reason in the German camp eventually calmed their wilder comrades: *quia mane debacchantes acrius surrexerunt; sed sapientes eorum, stultorum genibus provoluti, humilitate et ratione insaniam sedaverunt*.<sup>70</sup> Here again, with his reference to *insaniam*, Odo suggests that the Germans as a people had some form of inherent tendency towards a rage that could cause them to temporarily lose their reason.

However, despite the obvious stylisation of his accounts of the German conduct at Philippopolis, Odo does not clearly demonstrate that he was borrowing imagery from another source or even that he is directly influenced by one. As noted above, the commonplace phrase originating in Lucan's *Pharsalia* and subsequently borrowed by numerous medieval sources is *furor Teutonicus*. It seems clear enough that in the *De Profectione* Odo is presenting a particular view of the Germans as a people prone to extremely violent and irrational outbursts of rage. He did this without clearly quoting from another source. The residual influence of Lucan is evident in Odo's specific use of *furor*. It appears however, that Odo received this influence through the work of Suger, his abbot and mentor.

Suger was himself a great admirer of Lucan. Adams has characterised the use of the *Pharsalia* in Suger's *Vita Ludovici Grossi* as 'massive'. He illustrates Suger's usage by highlighting that no single book of scripture is quoted as frequently or at such length

<sup>66</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, p.74.

<sup>67</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, p.75.

<sup>68</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, p.44.

<sup>69</sup> C. T. Lewis and C. Short, *A Latin Dictionary* (Oxford, 1945), p.881.

<sup>70</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, p.44.

as the *Pharsalia*. Lucan also dwarfs the number of citations made by Suger of other classical sources: ‘Horace appears as a literary source three times, Ovid twice, Vergil once, whereas Lucan is cited eighteen times... usually at extended length’.<sup>71</sup> Suger’s favourite section of the *Pharsalia*, as measured by the number of citations, was Book One. This is the Book containing Lucan’s long list of the peoples of Germany, his reference to the Batavians and, most importantly, his mention of the *furor Teutonicus*.<sup>72</sup> The Germans play a particularly prominent role in Suger’s *Vita Ludovici Grossi*. The 1124 incursion into France by Emperor Henry V and the subsequent response of King Louis VI is one of the most dramatic moments in Suger’s work.<sup>73</sup> It is also the Germans who receive the ‘worst press’ from Suger in his criticisms of other ethnic or national groupings.<sup>74</sup> Two incidents in the *Vita* stand out as examples of Suger’s usage of negative stereotyping. The first of these is his account of April 1111 and the imperial coronation of Henry in Rome by Pope Paschal II. Here Suger wrote about the *terribilis clamor* made by the chants of the Germans.<sup>75</sup> This description of the noisy Germans is echoed by Odo in his description of the *clamosae voces* that are raised in the moments before a brawl between the French and Germans. Suger’s description of the subsequent events has the raging Germans creating a pretext for conflict before laying hands on the pope himself:

*Cum inopinata nequitia ficta litis occasione furor Theutonicus frendens debacchatur: exertis gladiis velut pleni mania discurrentes Romanos tali in loco jure inermes aggrediuntur, clamant jurejurando ut clerus Romanus, omnes tam episcopi quam cardinales capiantur aut trucidentur, et quod ultra nulla potest attingere insania, in dominum papam manus impias injicere non verentur.*<sup>76</sup>

Here Suger is clearly seen to have borrowed Lucan’s phrase. However, he also tied the Lucanian *furor* to a description of German behaviour that ‘goes beyond

<sup>71</sup> Jeremy duQuesnay Adams, ‘The Influence of Lucan on the Political Attitudes of Suger of Saint-Denis’, in J.F. Sweets (ed.) *Proceedings of the Twelfth Annual meeting of the Western Society for French History* (Albuquerque, 1985), p.1; For the general influence of Lucan in the Middle Ages see, Eva Matthews Sanford, ‘Quotations from Lucan in Mediaeval Latin Authors’ *American Journal of Philology* 55:1 (1974), pp.1–11.

<sup>72</sup> DuQuesnay Adams, ‘The influence of Lucan’, p.6.

<sup>73</sup> Suger, *Vita Ludovici*, pp.218–30; For the continuing importance in the *De Profectione* of the French royal ceremonial developed by Suger in 1124 see below pp.134–41.

<sup>74</sup> Curta, ‘Ethnic Stereotypes in Suger’s ‘Deeds of Louis the Fat’’, p.68.

<sup>75</sup> Suger, *Vita Ludovici*, pp. 62–4.

<sup>76</sup> Suger, *Vita Ludovici*, p.64.



insanity'. Suger's account of the Germans at the coronation in 1111 finds echoes in Odo's description of the German conduct on crusade. Not only is the German *furor* present, but Odo also employed the present participle of the verb *debacchor* to indicate their wild behaviour. The only other occasion on which Odo used this verb it is in a different context, to indicate the pursuit of the Germans by both hunger and the enemy.<sup>77</sup> German actions are also referred to within the context of *insania*, as they also are by Suger. There is a slight difference in that Suger wrote about the actions of the Germans actually exceeding the bounds of insanity. Odo stated that rioting Germans were eventually talked down from their insane actions by wiser heads. However the key similarity is that both Suger and Odo present the Germans as a people who are prone to violent actions which push the bounds of rational behaviour.

Curta, listing the key words used by Suger in his descriptions of German behaviour also lists *impetus*.<sup>78</sup> This word can be translated simply as an attack. It can though, also be translated to mean a violent mental urge. This is clearly the sense that Curta views Suger as having adopted, although it must be noted that Suger employed the word numerous other times in his work, and not always in relation to the Germans.<sup>79</sup> Odo used the term on four occasions, with three of these times to refer to attacks made by the French.<sup>80</sup> The other instance is in reference to the Germans, during their passage through Hungary. Here Odo wrote that the king of Hungary, fearing the Germans, decided to pay them in gold and therefore avoid *eorum impetus*.<sup>81</sup> If Odo was following Suger's approach in describing the Germans, this is another possible example, albeit it one that is far harder to prove.

That Odo was familiar with Suger's *Vita Ludovici* appears certain. He references the work himself in his prefatory letter to Suger. The intellectual atmosphere fostered at St. Denis by Suger also makes it likely that Odo was exposed to his abbot's works. This makes it reasonable to claim that the similarities between the treatment of the Germans by Odo and Suger was the result of direct influence. The one difference in usage that needs to be addressed is why Odo did not simply employ the Lucanian phrase *furor Teutonicus*, which had been used by Suger. Curta has stated that in his characterisations

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<sup>77</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, p.94.

<sup>78</sup> Curta, 'Ethnic Stereotypes in Suger's 'Deeds of Louis the Fat', ' p.73.

<sup>79</sup> Suger, *Vita Ludovici*, pp.50, 94, 144.

<sup>80</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, pp.110, 118, 126.

<sup>81</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, p.34.



of the ‘wild’ Germans Suger always employed the term *Teutonici*. He writes that *Alemanni* was not used by Suger in a similar derogatory sense, that term instead denoting a German soldier.<sup>82</sup> As discussed above, Odo’s usage of *Alemanni* as almost his only term for Germans, was not in itself unusual. Odo’s twinning of the general stereotype of German *furor* with his favoured national indicator of *Alemanni* could be viewed as a result of the writing process of the *De Profectione*. Odo indicated that he had at least a vague idea of the classical heritage of the Germans, although it is impossible to prove whether he actually had consulted classical historical accounts. It appears likely that Odo, most likely writing whilst still in the Levant, had some memory of the depiction of the Germans in Suger’s work, and the vocabulary linked with them. It is unlikely that he had access to a written copy of the *Vita Ludovici Grossi*, and could thus have misremembered the classical quotation. Indeed, it is possible that he might not have understood that Suger’s reference to *furor Teutonicus* was a classical allusion at all. That section of Suger’s text does not contain any obvious indication that he was quoting from Lucan. Odo could thus have borrowed the idea of German *furor*, much as he borrowed other sections of Suger’s vocabulary and simply married it to the term *Alemanni* which he consistently chose to use in reference to the Germans.

As stated above, Epp saw Odo’s antagonism toward the Germans as reflecting a French ‘national consciousness’ and arising from his closeness to Suger and to the Capetian intellectual elite. She does not, however, provide firm evidence for this, merely citing Odo’s descriptions of brawling Germans, detailed above.<sup>83</sup> It has also been shown above that Epp’s interpretation of sections of her evidence appears to have been poor and in one case blatantly wrong. Werner, in his study of French perceptions of the Germans and the Empire in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, cites Odo as a prominent example of the use of ‘national generalisations’.<sup>84</sup> However he does not view this as typical. In Werner’s view French perceptions of the Germans were influenced less by any ‘national consciousness’ than they were by the contemporary political situation in Europe. The periodic conflicts between empire and papacy led to flare ups of anti-German sentiment in French writing, with those emperors who opposed the papacy

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<sup>82</sup>Curta, ‘Ethnic Stereotypes in Suger’s ‘Deeds of Louis the Fat’,’ p.73 n.65.

<sup>83</sup>Epp, ‘*Importabiles Allemani*,’ pp.5–9.

<sup>84</sup>Werner, ‘Hochmittelalterliche Imperium,’ p.40.

being portrayed as bullies and enemies of the church.<sup>85</sup> The references to *furor Teutonicus* made by Arnulf of Lisieux and John of Salisbury later in the twelfth century were made in the context of German resistance to the papacy. Suger's *Deeds of Louis the Fat* contains two prominent examples of anti-German sentiment – the 1124 'invasion' of Henry V and the account of German behaviour in Rome at the imperial coronation of 1111. Elsewhere in his work Suger strongly praised Emperor Lothar III, who enjoyed good relations with the papacy.<sup>86</sup> That Odo was writing about Conrad's involvement in a papally sanctioned crusade obviously affected what he could write about the German king. It is perhaps for this reason that the depiction of Conrad is largely positive. The expressions of anti-German sentiment are less the result of 'proto-nationalist' views on Odo's part, than the expression of deep frustration at the misconduct which hampered the crusade. Criticism of the misconduct of the French crowd can also be found in the *De Profectione*. Unlike the Greek historian Kinnamos, Odo chose not to blame Conrad for failing to control the German contingent. He did however turn to a stereotypical view of German *furor* and *insania* in order to convey his frustrations, one which he had likely encountered in the writing of Abbot Suger. These stereotypes were laid out in the passage where Odo writes about the 'unbearable' Germans. Despite his use of Suger, Odo still displayed a particularism and idiosyncrasy in his use of *Allemani*. This suggests that he perhaps did not fully understand the classical allusion made by Suger. Curta is correct in stating that Odo's view of the Germans was influenced by a French intellectual context. Rather than reflecting a 'national consciousness', however, he was instead echoing the views of his mentor, Suger. It was the influence of Suger, filtered through a crusading context, that provided Odo with the framework in which he depicted the Germans.

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<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>86</sup> Suger, *Vita Ludovici*, p.68.



## Chapter 4:2 *The French and Louis VII in the De Profectione*

It has long been recognised that one of the central aims of the *De Profectione* was the praise and glorification of King Louis VII of France.<sup>1</sup> The centrality of Louis to his Odo's narrative was acknowledged in the prefatory letter to the *De Profectione* through Odo's statement that it would be a crime to deny posterity knowledge of the king's deeds. Louis's life and specifically his conduct on the crusade were described by Odo as a *forma virtutis*.<sup>2</sup> This statement is clearly linked to Odo's conception of the didactic importance of historical writing.<sup>3</sup> Elsewhere he wrote that the deeds of Louis while on crusade constituted his *principalis materia*.<sup>4</sup>

Despite the obvious importance of Louis to Odo's narrative, there has been surprisingly little examination of the manner in which the Capetian monarch was depicted and the intellectual framework that Odo employed for his portrayal. Phillips has argued that Odo's presentation of Louis is not quite as one-sided as has been previously suggested, with some criticism of Louis's actions evident.<sup>5</sup> A short examination of the depiction of Louis has also been conducted by Marcus Bull in order to provide an assessment of his behaviour in a wider Capetian crusading context. Bull's concise analysis concluded that: 'In short, the picture which Odo provided of Louis was of a crusader-king able to interpret and exploit the past in order to understand and legitimize his immediate actions. Odo's portrait is undoubtedly idealized. Yet this enhances its significance, for the twelfth-century Capetians and their propagandists were becoming expert at constructing paradigms of rulership through the selective exploitation of historical memory in combination with the judicious presentation of present policy.'<sup>6</sup> Bull's analysis disagreed with that of Aryeh Graboïs who, in seeking to reassess Louis's motivation for going on crusade, suggested that Odo's account had presented the king as a passive figure who was concerned more with his religious obligations than with the leadership of a military expedition. Graboïs writes that several times Odo 'mentioned his [Louis's] piety during the march as a particular trait of his

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<sup>1</sup> Henry Mayr Harting, 'Odo of Deuil, the Second Crusade and the Monastery of Saint-Denis', in M. C. Mayer (ed.), *The Culture of Christendom* (London, 1993), p.227; Constable, 'Second Crusade as Seen by Contemporaries', p.217.

<sup>2</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, p.2.

<sup>3</sup> See below, p.285.

<sup>4</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, p.32.

<sup>5</sup> Phillips, 'De Profectione as a source', p.92.

<sup>6</sup> Marcus Bull, 'The Capetian Monarchy and the Early Crusade Movement: Hugh of Vermandois and Louis VII' *Nottingham Medieval Studies* XL (1996), pp. 45–6.

personal conduct. His sojourn at Constantinople began with a pilgrimage, guided by the *basileus*, to the holy sites of the imperial city. The celebration of the feast of St. Denis, the patron-saint of the kingdom of France, was also represented as an expression of his faith'.<sup>7</sup> That debate on the depiction of Louis in the *De Profectione* is thus concerned with the conduct of the king himself rather than recognising that much of what we know about Louis on the crusade has been transmitted to us by Odo and his writing. As Phillips has stated, the analysis of Grabois does not stand up to scrutiny, and it is the hypothesis of Bull which appears the more accurate. This analysis will examine a number of further aspects of Odo's depiction of Louis, assessing how it was shaped both by his attachment to the abbey of St. Denis and also the disastrous circumstances of the Second Crusade. It will also briefly examine how Odo viewed the French as a people, demonstrating that, while he was willing to bend his narrative to present Louis in a more positive light, he was often unable or unwilling to disguise the full failures of the French.

The fullest expression of praise for Louis comes at the very end of the *De Profectione* in Odo's report of the arrival of Louis at Antioch. Following a description of the hardships that had been endured by Louis, Odo sought to reassure Suger of the safety of the king. This led into a description of Louis's virtues:

*In tot laboribus servatus est incolumis sine medicina proexercitio sanctitatis quia semper a divinis sacramentis obviabat viribus hostium et revertens ab hostibus requirebat vespas et completorium, Deum semper faciens alpha et omega suorum operum. Sic liberalis ut rex, animosus ut princeps, acer ut miles, ut iuvenis alacris, maturus ut senior, locis et temporibus et virtutibus singulis se aptabat; et de probitate favorem hominum, de religione divinam gratiam conquirebat.*<sup>8</sup>

The significance of this passage has previously been recognised by Bull, who stated that in this concluding passage Odo 'observed that Louis exhibited a range of

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<sup>7</sup> Aryeh Grabois, 'The Crusade of Louis VII: A reconsideration' in P. Edbury (ed.) *Crusade and Settlement* (Cardiff, 1985), p.98.

<sup>8</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, p.142.



interrelated qualities which flowed from his various attributes as *senior, iuvenis, miles, princeps* and *rex*.<sup>9</sup> Bull viewed Odo's conclusion as supporting the assertion that Louis's royal authority 'had been transplanted from its normal French milieu without diminution'.<sup>10</sup>

This passage demonstrates how, in praising Louis, Odo employed relatively commonplace descriptive *topoi*. His description did not rigidly follow the conventional pattern of panegyric established in the standard handbooks of ancient rhetoric famously followed by Einhard and subsequently imitated throughout the Middle Ages, including in the twelfth century by William of Tyre and Peter of Blois.<sup>11</sup> These characterisations followed a 'largely artificial' pattern, according to which the physical, mental and spiritual characteristics of the subject are detailed in turn. This follows a template established by Einhard and his description of Charlemagne in chapters 22–27 of his *Vita Karoli Magni*.<sup>12</sup> Following the model set out by Einhard portraits of figures in turn outlined the physical, mental and spiritual aspects of their character.<sup>13</sup> In the entirety of the *De Profectione* Odo does not provide a detailed physical description of Louis. On one occasion he does compare him to the Emperor Manuel Comnenus, remarking that the two men were alike in stature.<sup>14</sup> The model exemplified by Einhard typically allowed for much fuller descriptions of the physical features of figures.

Despite the absence of this physical description, Odo's concluding passage does adhere to the other typical traits of character description. Within this standard narrative structure Odo can also be seen to have made use of commonplace literary devices. The eulogy of Louis at the close of the *De Profectione* employs a variation of the literary commonplace of the *puer senex*, a *topos* which has a modern analogue in the idiom of 'a wise head on young shoulders'. The *puer senex topos* is largely the same, in that it is applied to a young person who is thought to have had wisdom beyond their years. The description of Louis as *ut iuvenis alacris, maturus ut senior* fits clearly with this

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<sup>9</sup> Bull, 'Capetian Monarchy', p.46.

<sup>10</sup> Bull, 'Capetian Monarchy', p.45.

<sup>11</sup> D. W. T. C. Vessey, 'William of Tyre and the Art of Historiography' *Medieval Studies* 35 (1973) pp. 433 – 55; For an examination of how the *Descriptio Personarum* was fully employed in twelfth century rhetoric see Stephen Hanaphy, *Classical Erudition in the Letters of Peter of Blois* (Trinity College Dublin, unpublished PhD thesis, 2010) pp.154–7.

<sup>12</sup> Einhard, *Vita Karoli Magni*, ed. G. Waitz MGH SS Rer. Germ (Hannover, 1911), pp.26–32.

<sup>13</sup> Vessey, 'William of Tyre', p.438.

<sup>14</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, p.58.

archetype.<sup>15</sup> Vessey has grouped the typical character descriptions found in historical writing with the similarly commonplace prefaces found in such works. In his opinion the typical nature of both types of writing hinders their usefulness as historical evidence.<sup>16</sup> It has been demonstrated in the previous chapter that although the preface to the *De Profectione* makes use of *topoi* it is still of value in demonstrating Odo's aims in writing his work and his specific usage of the letters of St. Paul. Odo's closing panegyric should not be discarded as historically worthless and it will be demonstrated that some of the vocabulary contained within it was also employed by Odo in relationship to the French. There are, however, aspects of the *De Profectione* which are more useful and original in demonstrating how Odo was seeking to depict Louis. This is most evident in Odo's depiction of the relationship between Louis VII and the abbey of St. Denis.

### ***Louis and Saint Denis***

It is well known that one of the central aims of Suger's writing was to demonstrate and underline the relationship between the French monarchy and Denis, the patron saint of France. This was a relationship that naturally extended to the links between the king and the abbey of St. Denis.<sup>17</sup> Suger's aims and methods in this regard were shared by Odo in the *De Profectione*. Odo's description of the ceremonies conducted at the abbey prior to Louis's departure had the clear rhetorical aim of demonstrating the connection between Denis and the King.<sup>18</sup> The ceremony, which involved Louis taking the *vexillum* of St. Denis and venerating the relics of the saint, is described by Odo as having always been the custom of victorious French kings. As Berry points out, this is an exaggeration of the antiquity of the ceremony, which dated only to 1124, when Louis VI repelled an incursion by the German Emperor Henry V.<sup>19</sup> With this exaggeration Odo was able not only to portray Louis as following in a long

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<sup>15</sup> Ernst Robert Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages* (London, 1979), pp.98–101.

<sup>16</sup> Vessey, 'William of Tyre', p.436.

<sup>17</sup> Gabrielle Spiegel, 'The Cult of Saint Denis and Capetian Kingship', *Journal of Medieval History* 1 (1975) pp. 43 – 69; Éléonore Andrieu, 'Entre chai et esprit: petit exercice de déconstruction de 'héroïsme royal chez Suger' in *Façonner son personnage au Moyen Age. Actes du 31<sup>e</sup> colloque du CUER MA, 9, 10 et 11 mars 2006*. ed. Chantal Connochie-Bourgne (Aix, 2007), pp.31–42; Andrew Lewis, 'Suger's Views on Kingship' in P.L Gerson (ed.) *Abbot Suger and Saint-Denis: A Symposium* (New York, 1986), pp.49–54; Françoise Gasparri, 'L'abbé Suger de Saint-Denis. Mémoire et perpetuations des oeuvres humaines' *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale* 44 (2001), pp. 247–57.

<sup>18</sup> See above, p.98.

<sup>19</sup> Berry, *De Profectione*, p.17 n.40.



established French royal tradition but also to suggest that the abbey of St. Denis had always played a critical role in the success of French kings. Odo's claim that the ceremony was a long-standing custom also acts as a demonstration of the manner in which traditions were manufactured at St. Denis. In the following decades and centuries, the reception of the *vexillum* from St. Denis by French kings did in fact become a tradition. In his *Gesta Philippi Augusti* Rigord described how Philip Augustus, prior to his departure in 1190 on the Third Crusade, travelled to St. Denis to receive the *vexillum* of the abbey. Rigord's description contains many of the details reported by Odo forty years previously, detailing how the banner was kept above the altar in the abbey and how Philip, upon receiving it, prostrated himself in prayer in front of the relics of St. Denis.<sup>20</sup> The *vexillum* subsequently gained especial prominence in narratives concerning Louis IX.<sup>21</sup>

The relationship between the *De Profectione* description of Louis taking the *vexillum* of St. Denis and Suger's account of the original 1124 event means that it is worth comparing in detail Odo's account with that of his predecessor. This is particularly true given that the ceremony was most likely an invention of Suger's. He certainly provided the first description of it, detailing the ceremony in three separate written accounts.<sup>22</sup> The most extensive of these three accounts is found in the *Vita Ludovici*, with further references to the *vexillum* ceremony appearing in Suger's *De Administratione* and in a charter of 1124 which Suger helped draft for Louis VI. The theme unifying Suger's three accounts of the ceremony is that of the relationship between the abbey of St. Denis and the French King, particularly with regard to the status of the county of the Vexin. As seen below, Suger's account of the *vexillum* ceremony in his *Vita Ludovici* presented the acceptance of the banner of the Vexin by Louis VI as a recognition by the king that he was holding the banner as a vassal of the abbey of St. Denis.<sup>23</sup> This claim was toned down somewhat by Suger in his later *De Administratione*, where he wrote that this would have been the case for Louis *si rex non*

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<sup>20</sup> Rigord, *Oeuvres de Rigord et de Guillaume le Breton: Tome 1* ed. François Delaborde (Paris, 1882), pp.99–9.

<sup>21</sup> Spiegel, 'Cult of Saint Denis', pp.58 – 9.

<sup>22</sup> Grant, *Abbot Suger*, pp. 111–21.

<sup>23</sup> Suger, *Vita Ludovici*, pp. 218–22.

esset.<sup>24</sup> However, the basic sentiment regarding the relationship between abbey and king and its link to the *vexillum* ceremony remained.

<b>Suger – <i>Vita Ludovici Grossi</i></b>	<b>Odo – <i>De Profectione</i><sup>25</sup></b>
<p><i>Et quoniam beatum Dionysium specialem patronum, et singularem post Deum regni protectorem, et multorum relatione et crebro cognoverat experimento, ad eum festinans, tam precibus quam beneficiis praecordialiter pulsat, ut regnum defendat, personam conservet, hostibus more solito resistat. Et quoniam hanc ab eo habent praerogativam, ut si regnum aliud regnum Francorum invadere audeat, ipse beatus et admirabilis defensor cum sociis suis, tanquam ad defendendum altari suo superponatur, eo praesente fit tam gloriose, quam devote. Rex autem vexillum ab altari suscipiens, quod de comitatu Vilcassini, quo ad Ecclesiam feodatus est, spectat, votive tanquam a Domino suo suscipiens, pauca manu contra hostes, ut sibi provideat, evolat, ut eum tota Francia sequatur potenter invitat. Indignata igitur hostium inusitatam audaciam usitata Franciae animositas, circumquaque movens militarem delectum, vires et viros pristinae virtutis et antiquarum memores</i></p>	<p><i>Dum igitur a beato Dionysio vexillum, et abeundi licentiam petiit (qui mos semper victoriosus regibus fuit), visus ab omnibus planctum maximum excitavit, et intimi affectus omnium benedictionem accepit. Dum vero pergeret, rem fecit laudabilem, paucis tamen imitabilem, et forsitan suae celsitudinis nulli. Nam, cum prius religiosos quosque Parisiis visitasset, tandem foras progrediens, leprosum adiit officinas. Ibi certe vidi eum cum solis duobus arbitris interesse, et per longam moram caeteram suorum multitudinem exclusisse. Interim mater ejus, et uxor, et innumeri alii ad Beatum Dionysium praecurrunt. Et ipse postmodum veniens, papam, et abbatem et Ecclesiae monachos invenit congregatos. Tunc ipse humillime humi prostratus, patronum suum adorat; Papa vero et abbas auream portulam reserant, et argenteam thecam paululum extrahunt, ut osculato rex et viso quem diligit anima sua, alacrior redderetur. Deinde sumpto vexillo desuper altari, et pera, et benedictione a summo pontifice,</i></p>

<sup>24</sup> Suger, *De Administratione* in Gasparri, *Oeuvres I*, p.66.

<sup>25</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, p.16



<i>victoriarum delegat.</i>	<i>in dormitorium monachorum multitudini se subducit.</i>
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The key detail linking the accounts of Suger and Odo is their common description of the French king receiving a *vexillum* from the abbey of St. Denis prior to his departure on a military expedition. In her translation of the *De Profectione* Berry has rendered *vexillum* as Oriflamme, thus linking it with Charlemagne's legendary war banner featured in the *Chansons de Geste*.<sup>26</sup>

Berry's choice of translation has influenced the secondary historiography. This can be seen in Bull's statement that Louis's adoption of the war standard 'evoked memories of Charlemagne'. He also describes Louis 'solemnly collecting the oriflamme.'<sup>27</sup>The taking of the banner forms part of Bull's argument that Louis was deliberately seeking to associate himself with symbols of French kingship and, by extension link the crusade with the Capetian dynasty. Whilst much of Bull's argument stands, his linking of Louis with the oriflamme and Charlemagne is troublesome. As seen above, Odo clearly stated that the French monarch removed the *vexillum* from above the altar at Saint Denis. It is also obvious that Odo was seeking to link this event in his reader's mind with the 1124 ceremony described by Suger, hence his description of the ceremony as a customary arrangement. Suger regarded the banner received by Louis VI as that of the Vexin, held by the king as a fief of St. Denis. There is no contemporary evidence to suggest that at any point Suger or Odo equated the banner with the oriflamme. The association of the Capetian royal banner with the Carolingian object of the *chansons de geste* came later. Loomis has shown that Manuscript F (Bibl. Mazarine, ms.2017) of Suger's *Vita* certainly employs the word *auriflammam* in reference to the Vexin banner, but that this manuscript dates from the fourteenth century. Four twelfth-century manuscripts of the *Vita* refer only to Louis VI receiving a *vexillum*. All Du Cagne's references to the *vexillum* as *oriflamme* are post twelfth century, although it was probably during the reign of Phillip II that the association first

<sup>26</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, pp.16–7.

<sup>27</sup> Bull, 'Capetian Monarchy' p.45.

began to take hold.<sup>28</sup> The corresponding contemporary charter concerning the act, possibly dictated by Suger, also refers only to a *vexillum*.<sup>29</sup>

It appears that it is Virginia Berry's English translation of Odo's text that has led to the false impression that the banner received by Louis VII at St. Denis was the *oriflamme*. The critical apparatus of her edition suggests that Berry chose to render the Latin *vexillum* as *Oriflamme* based on the entry '*Auriflamma*' in Du Cange's *Glossarium*.<sup>30</sup> In actual fact, Odo's account of Louis's crusade does not contain any overt associations between the Capetian monarch and Charlemagne. Odo was familiar with the legend of Charlemagne's pilgrimage to the East, incorporating it into his later account of the history and *inventio* of the tunic of Christ at Argenteuil but he chose not to employ this approach in his history of the Second Crusade.<sup>31</sup> The precise order of the *vexillum* ceremony as described by Odo is also significant. According to Odo Louis had to request the banner from St. Denis prior to receiving it (*petit*). It was following this statement about Louis's request that Odo chose to describe the ceremony as having always been the *mos* of victorious French kings. Odo's account thus gives the impression that victorious French kings not only always received a banner from the abbey of St. Denis, but that they actually had to request it from the Abbey in the first place. The Abbey was thus given a key role in Odo's narrative of the crusade, with the outset of the expedition depicted as dependent upon the ceremonial subservience of Louis while involved in its ceremonial. This account continued the pattern that had been established by Suger's descriptions of the 1124 *vexillum* ceremony. Suger's accounts, although inconsistent in a number of details, had the shared idea of some form of royal subservience to the abbey of St. Denis. In Suger's writing this was related to the Vexin and its status as a fief of the abbey. Odo's account expanded this relationship by giving the impression the Louis's departure was in some way dependent upon his request of the *vexillum* from the abbey of St. Denis. This promotion of the role of the abbey was already evident in Odo's exclusion of information regarding Louis's

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<sup>28</sup> Laura Hibbard Loomis, 'The Oriflamme of France and the War-Cry "Montjoie" in the Twelfth Century' in D. Miner (ed.) *Studies in Art and Literature for Bella da Costa Greene* (Princeton, 1954), pp. 67–82.

<sup>29</sup> Robert Barroux, 'L'Abbe Suger et la Vassalité du Vexin', *Le Moyen Age*, 13 (1958), p.10; Grant, *Abbot Suger*, pp. 115–7.

<sup>30</sup> Berry, *De Profectione*, p.16 n.40.

<sup>31</sup> See below, pp.229–40.



itinerary at the start of Book Two of the *De Profectione*.<sup>32</sup> The body of the *De Profectione* contains a number of further examples of Odo seeking to emphasise the connection between the king, the abbey and Saint Denis himself.

It is the association of Louis with Saint Denis and with the abbey of St. Denis that Odo was much keen to emphasise. As Spiegel as stated, ‘the thrust of the entire magnificent historiographical tradition of the monastery of Saint-Denis was to establish the interpenetration of the history of the monarchy and the history of the abbey, each conducted under the aegis of the blessed martyr’.<sup>33</sup> This aim is evident from the beginning of the *De Profectione*, in Odo’s letter to Suger that prefaces the body of the history. Here Odo stated that the writing of the history should be a ‘task of Saint Denis’, out of love for whom Louis had embarked on the crusade.<sup>34</sup> In the course of the crusade Odo also noted that the feast of Saint Denis was celebrated, both by the Greeks and also by Louis. The French king is described as celebrating the feast with due veneration.<sup>35</sup> The clearest example of how Odo wished to portray Louis’s relations with Saint Denis and the abbey of St. Denis is found in the opening lines of Book Six of the *De Profectione*. Here Odo stated that he reminded Louis about the alienation of St. Denis’s properties at Esslingen and Estusin by the German King Conrad III. Odo wrote that he described the situation to Louis as injurious to St. Denis. Louis is then described as having enthusiastically embraced the opportunity to serve his *patronus*, confronting Conrad regarding the alienated property, asking it as a favour for both God and Saint Denis, described here as the *gloriosus martyr*. Odo concluded his account of this incident by directly addressing Suger *tamen congruity ut sciatic quatinus pro illo qui vos praesens honrat et absens diligit devotius supplicetis*.<sup>36</sup> This sentence provides a succinct example of how Odo and Suger viewed the relationship between the French king and the abbey of St. Denis, with the monarch expected to protect the interests of the abbey as a matter of course.

The passage also demonstrates how Odo wished to portray the relationship between the king and Saint Denis. The description of Louis wishing to serve *suus patronus* is a repetition of Odo’s earlier account of the *vexillum* ceremony. That passage

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<sup>32</sup> See above, pp.53–4.

<sup>33</sup> Spiegel, ‘Cult of Saint Denis and Capetian Kingship’ p.53.

<sup>34</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, p.2.

<sup>35</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, p.68.

<sup>36</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, p.102.

contains a description of Saint Denis, whose relics were venerated by Louis, as *patronus suus*.<sup>37</sup> The identification of Saint Denis as the ‘special protector’ of the French kings had intensified in the twelfth century, largely due to the efforts of the eponymous abbey. As seen above, in his description of the 1124 visit of Louis VI to St. Denis, Suger described the French patron saint as *beatum Dionisium specialem patronum et singularem post Deum regni protectorem*. Odo is clearly following in the Dionysian and Sugerian traditions of identifying the special place of St. Denis in the affairs of the French kingdom and its monarchs. There is a slight difference, as Suger emphasised the relationship between Denis and the kingdom as a whole, whilst Odo was more specific in his account of the relationship between the person of the king and his patron saint. Yet this divergence in emphasis could be viewed as reflecting the specific circumstances of the crusade, and the fact that Odo was describing the activities of Louis while he was absented from the French *regnum*. This focus on Louis would understandably have caused Odo to emphasise the personal protection afforded the king by his patron saint. Odo’s attribution of the protection of Saint Denis to Louis but not the whole of the French crusading army could also perhaps be explained by the difficult circumstances of the Second Crusade. The basic fact that Odo had to deal with in his narrative was that, up until the point he was writing, the French expedition had been a failure. The disorganised state of the French army had led to its defeat at Mount Cadmus, with several prominent French nobles dying in combat. The subsequent march to Adalia, although punctuated with a handful of victories against the Turks, was also marked by increasing levels of starvation and exhaustion. Odo was able to look forward to the possibility of a French victory at Damascus, but he was unable to end his narrative with an account of French triumph. Indeed the major positive that Odo was able to stress at the conclusion of his narrative was that Louis was safe and unharmed. It would have appeared absurd if Odo’s narrative stressed the protection of Saint Denis over the whole French army while his narrative contained numerous examples of the same army suffering disaster. Such an approach would have obviously undermined what Odo was seeking to achieve in his narrative. The focus on Denis as the protector of Louis rather than of the French kingdom can be explained by the limited focus on the affairs of the French kingdom in Odo’s narrative. The *regnum* of France is only mentioned on seven occasions, with the references wholly concerned with the steps

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<sup>37</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, p.17.



taken by Louis to ensure order in his absence and the related issue of the appointment of regents.<sup>38</sup> There is nothing like the number of references to the French *regnum* found in the writing of Suger.<sup>39</sup>

Spiegel has demonstrated that, as the association between Saint Denis and the Capetian monarchs grew, Denis became increasingly seen as the guardian of the realm, highlighting how, when departing on his second crusade, Louis IX stated that Saint Denis would protect the kingdom in his absence.<sup>40</sup> The question of the security of the French realm in the absence of Louis VII was addressed differently by Odo. In the *De Profectione* it is Suger, as regent, who guaranteed the safety of the Capetian kingdom whilst Louis was on crusade. Odo's prefatory letter, addressed to Suger, makes this clear. Here Odo states to Suger: *Vos tamen multum pro vobis debetis, que, specialiter in regno suo dilexit et zelo ductus fidei propagandae ad tempus illud dimittens vobis commisit.*<sup>41</sup> Suger's role in administering the realm is mentioned on two further occasions, with his position following his appointment to the regency being described as *regni custodia* and *regni cura*.<sup>42</sup> Despite this slightly different emphasis it is clear that Odo was seeking to present Louis in the tradition, given prominence by Suger, that French kings acted under the protection of St. Denis.

Spiegel has demonstrated how the association between St. Denis, the monarchy and the kingdom of France reached its fullest expression from the thirteenth century. Odo's account is, however, significant in demonstrating how this idea was developing. His description of the taking of the banner as the custom of victorious French kings was also an attempt to inject a sense of tradition into his description. This style of phrasing, with its reference to habit, also occurs on a number of occasions in Odo's descriptions of Louis's actions with the decisions of the king presented as conforming to custom and based on personal standards of rule as opposed to being *ad hoc*.

### **Louis's mores**

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<sup>38</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, pp.2, 6, 12, 14, 20.

<sup>39</sup> For Suger's conception of the French regnum see Jeremy duQuesnay Adams, 'The *Regnum Francie* of Suger of Saint-Denis: an expansive Ile-de-France' *Réflexions Historiques* 19:2 (1993), pp.167–88.

<sup>40</sup> Spiegel, 'Cult of Saint Denis', p.60

<sup>41</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, p.2.

<sup>42</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, pp.14, 20.

While the two most prominent passages elucidating Odo's view of Louis come at the beginning and the end of the *De Profectione*, the text itself contains numerous instances of Odo commenting on the personality and rights of the king.

In Book One of the *De Profectione* Odo describes the appointment of regents to administer the Capetian Kingdom in Louis's absence. It is stated here that Louis wished to make the decision after receiving advice from those he trusted, *sed illi mos erat ut socii essent consilii qui forent et laboris*.<sup>43</sup>

The vocabulary employed here by Odo, representing Louis's desire to consult others as being his usual custom, subsequently occurs in a number of his other descriptions of Louis's actions and character. Odo's description of a meeting conducted between Louis and the king of Hungary, following the passage of the French king over the Danube, is introduced in a like manner: *Rex igitur, cui mos erat dilectione et humilitate facile superari*. The conduct of Louis while waiting for the German King Conrad III outside Constantinople is again outlined using similar phrasing: *Rex interim Francorum, cui semper mos fuit regiam maiestatem humilitate condire*.<sup>44</sup> Louis's habits of rulership are again mentioned in Book Six of the *De Profectione*, where his desire to consult advisors is highlighted, much as it is in Book One: *Rex autem super hoc consulit episcopos et alios optimates. Qui quamvis nemo dubitaret de illius prudentiam nisi ipse, semper tamen ordinabat multorum consilio res communes, et erat equidem prudens humilitas si se solum pluribus iuvenem senibus, aestimationem suam expertorum usibus postponebat; et quob subditis deferebat*.<sup>45</sup> This passage differs slightly in its vocabulary as it does not frame Louis's decision in the context of his accustomed *mos*. It is though, of the same character, as it presents Louis's desire to consult his advisors as something that he always did. A final example of Odo using this construction occurs in Book Seven, where he explains that the town of Adalia was not seized by the French as the idea of treachery and the danger it would cause the French was contrary to the king's *mos*.<sup>46</sup> The mode of description commonly employed by Odo

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<sup>43</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, p.12; The use of advice as a trait of kingship also appears in Suger, *Vita Ludovici*, p.28.

<sup>44</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, p.48.

<sup>45</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, p.114.

<sup>46</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, p.135.



in relation to Louis, referring to the customary nature of decisions taken by people, is also found in his *inventio* text.<sup>47</sup>

These five passages highlight a number of broader themes in Odo's presentation of Louis VII in the *De Profectione*. The recurring depiction of Louis as someone ruling according to custom appears to be an attempt lift the king out of the immediate context of the Second Crusade and into the broader context of Capetian kingship. The approach employed here by Odo would appear to support the hypothesis of Bull regarding Louis on the crusade, with his role clearly that of a king rather than merely a pilgrim.

It is, of course, possible that these descriptions of Louis's actions were simply examples of Odo seeking to make a virtue out of a necessity, a point that has previously been raised by Phillips.<sup>48</sup> This argument could be applied to many of Odo's descriptions of Louis's behaviour. The disorganised state of the French prior to their defeat at Laodicea and the subsequent march to Adalia, during which Louis ceded military command of his forces to the Templars, would likely not have reflected well on the king if reported accurately. In his *Historia Pontificalis* John of Salisbury complained that the French army 'had neither military discipline nor a strong hand to dispense justice and correct faults'.<sup>49</sup> Odo does reflect some of this complaint, stating that rules of conduct set down by Louis were ignored.<sup>50</sup> Understandably, however, he sought to protect the king from blame. This approach has been observed in Odo's account of the French defeat at Mount Cadmus, with his admission that Louis somehow left the battlefield perhaps indicating that William of Tyre's less flattering description of events, which details how the king escaped the battle by climbing a mountainside, was at least partially accurate.<sup>51</sup> By indicating that the measures to which Louis had to resort on account of the disastrous circumstances in which he found himself were his *mos*, Odo served to protect, and indeed tried to burnish, the reputation of the king. That the French chose not to seize towns such as Adalia was likely due to a combination of their disastrous circumstances and the wider political implications of such a move. It appears very unlikely that a proposal an attack would have been vetoed merely due to Louis's personal preferences, yet this is the impression given by Odo. At the conclusion of the

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<sup>47</sup> See below, pp.192–93.

<sup>48</sup> Phillips, *Second Crusade*, p.189

<sup>49</sup> John of Salisbury, *Historia Pontificalis* ed.M.Chibnall (London, 1956), p.54.

<sup>50</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, p.20.

<sup>51</sup> William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, ed. R.B.C Huygens CCCM 63 (Turnhout, 1986), p.752

*De Profectione* Odo stated that Louis, ‘in order to live up to his ideal of honour’ spent the nights enduring cold in his chainmail. This is naturally presented by Odo as an act of virtue. Yet by the time the French arrived at Adalia the condition of the entire army was disastrous due to Turkish attack and French indiscipline. It is thus not wholly surprising that Louis might have found it necessary to occasionally endure the cold, due to the lack of any viable alternative arrangement.<sup>52</sup> Odo’s depiction of Louis’s actions during the crusade were thus influenced by circumstance and necessity. The French march through Anatolia had been a disaster. In constructing a narrative demonstrating Louis’s virtue, and his relationship to the abbey of St. Denis, Odo needed to present the king in a positive light despite the inconvenient truth of the French failure.

### **Louis and Law**

In his brief overview of Odo’s presentation of Louis on crusade, Bull states that the king’s actions ‘are presented as expressions of Louis’s royal authority, which had been transplanted from its normal French milieu with diminution’.<sup>53</sup> More specifically, Odo’s history contains a number of statements which clearly underline his view of the special legal and feudal status of Louis as king.

The example specifically cited by Bull in illustration of Louis’s status is his enactment of laws ‘necessary for securing peace’, which were confirmed by the French leaders through a solemn oath. However, in an act of self-censorship somewhat reminiscent of his treatment of Emperor Manuel I Comnenus, Odo declined to preserve a record of these laws in the written record, as they were not well observed. This is the clearest example in the *De Profectione* of Louis putting his royal rights into action. The most prominent additional statement regarding this status is seen in Book Seven of the *De Profectione*, in Odo’s description of the re-organisation of the French army under the control of the Templars. Here Louis is described as the ‘lord of laws’: *Rex quoque legum dominus volebat oboedientiae legibus subiacere; sed nullus ausus est ei quicquam ex praecepto iniungere, hoc ecepto quod aciem copiosam haberet et, sicut dominus omnium et provisor, imbecilles quodque missis de illa sociis roboraret.*<sup>54</sup>

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<sup>52</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, pp.142–3.

<sup>53</sup> Bull, ‘Capetian Monarchy,’ p.45.

<sup>54</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, p.124–6.



Here Odo again described Louis's apparent humility, with his desire to be treated in the same manner as the other members of the French army. As detailed above, this is a recurring theme in Odo's depiction of Louis. Odo's description of Louis as the 'lord of laws' (*legum dominus*) appears to have been a phrase of his own invention. The *Patrologia Latina* database does highlight one other use of the phrase, in one of Ambrose of Milan's letters. In this letter Ambrose states that King David, as lord of laws, was subject only to God.<sup>55</sup> Whilst Odo may not have borrowed his phrasing from Ambrose's letter, his description of Louis embodies a similar conception of kingship, with the king inhabiting a special position above all law but that of God. Odo underlined this point by describing Louis as the 'lord and provider of all'. Odo's view of the relationship between the French king and the law also repeats sentiments found in Suger's *Vita* of Louis VI. In that work Suger described the relationship between the King and the law: *Dedecet enim regem transgredi legem, cum et rex et lex eandem excipiant majestatem*.<sup>56</sup>

### ***The French as a people***

A key feature of a number of the histories of the First Crusade was the emphasis on the 'Frankish' nature of that expedition. This focus is most simply illustrated by the titles of a selection of these works, for example, the anonymous *Gesta Francorum* and Guibert of Nogent's *Gesta Dei Per Francos*. As the *De Profectione* details the experiences of the first French monarch to have participated in a crusade, it is worth briefly examining how Odo chose to depict the French as a national grouping. The French, as a group, are mentioned throughout the work, with *Franci* and its related terms and variations appearing on nineteen occasions. Designations of the French simply as *nostri* occur more frequently and on one occasion Odo employs the term *nostri populi*.<sup>57</sup> The opening lines of the *De Profectione* refer to Louis by what was then his correct title of *rex Francorum et dux Aquitanorum*.<sup>58</sup> The terminology employed by Odo clearly links the 'Franks' led by Louis VII on the Second Crusade with their illustrious predecessors who had successfully participated in the First Crusade. In one of his brief mentions of the First Crusade Odo wrote that the Greeks had managed to

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<sup>55</sup> Ambrose, *Epistola XXXVII*, MPL XVI, col.1090c.

<sup>56</sup> Suger, *Vita Ludovici*, p.106.

<sup>57</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, p.22

<sup>58</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, p.6,

lose lands which had been conquered by those Franks (*Franci*) who had set out for Jerusalem.<sup>59</sup> Despite making this connection, there was an obvious problem for Odo in his depiction of the French because the Second Crusade was not a success. This problem likely accounted for one of the most well-known lines in the *De Profectione*, found in Odo's account of the defeat of the disorganised French forces at Mount Cadmus. Here Odo wrote: *Marcescunt flores Franciae antequam fructum faciant in Damasco*, thus suggesting that the French will achieve success despite their defeat.<sup>60</sup> The French knights who perished in battle did so courageously. Odo stated that the example of their valour will live on in the world, and that those who died fighting the Turks *martyrio meruit coronari*.<sup>61</sup> The concept of the 'crown of martyrdom' is again mentioned in Book Seven, in Odo's record of Louis addressing his knights. The king is reported to have said that those penitent and devout men who hastened forward toward their goal would be crowned as martyrs by God should they die in the undertaking.<sup>62</sup> The theme of martyrdom is a prominent in accounts of the First Crusade and indeed in the initial emergence of crusading ideology so it is not surprising that it was utilised by Odo.<sup>63</sup> It is particularly useful in the context of the failure of the French expedition as it allows for the French defeat to be portrayed in a more positive light. The incidences of French combat in the *De Profectione* are relatively few and other than the Mount Cadmus defeat only a handful of battles against the Turks are described by Odo. His descriptions of these incidents offer examples of the vocabulary applied to the French. Thus a Turkish attack on Christmas Eve 1147 is described as having been resisted by French knights 'courageously and prudently' (*animose et provide*).<sup>64</sup> Those Franks who had survived the immediate aftermath of the Mount Cadmus attack are described as having 'glowed with courage' (*ardebant animo*).<sup>65</sup> Odo was thus keen to portray the French as brave in battle, even if he cannot hide that they were highly disorganised until command of the march was given over to the Templars. The range of vocabulary

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<sup>59</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, p.88.

<sup>60</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, p.118.

<sup>61</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, p.119.

<sup>62</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, p.130.

<sup>63</sup> On martyrdom and the crusades see H.E.J Cowdrey, 'Martyrdom and the First Crusade' in P.W Edbury (ed.) *Crusade and Settlement* (Cardiff, 1985), pp.46–56.

<sup>64</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, pp.108–9.

<sup>65</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, p.122–3.



employed by Odo for this purpose is relatively narrow, although in describing specific instances of combat the use of *colores rhetorici* does help to colour the narrative.<sup>66</sup>

In his account of the French expedition prior to its entry into Anatolia and its encounters with the Turks Odo can be seen to have been more willing to criticise his compatriots, revealing that his purpose was not solely to present them in an heroic light and that he was aware of their failings. In Book Two, writing about the habit of the Greeks in employing excessive flattery during diplomatic negotiations, Odo stated that *Franci adulatores, etiam si velint, non possunt Graecos aequare*.<sup>67</sup> The idea that the French were themselves excessive in their flattery was a stereotype of the period.<sup>68</sup> Odo was apparently aware of this image, and was able to employ it in order to convey the extent to which he was amazed by the behaviour of the Greeks. Elsewhere Odo described how the outbreak of a brawl at Worms first demonstrated to him the *stulta superbia* (foolish arrogance) of the French, designated here as *nostri populi*.<sup>69</sup> The theme of French or Frankish *superbia* is again found in Odo's description of a brawl between them and the Germans on the road to Constantinople. Odo's account of this fight, notable also for its depiction of German *furor*, describes how the Germans *quia multi erant, paucorum Francorum superbiam dedignant*. The small number of French are said to have resisted spiritedly, with Odo employing his favoured adverb *animose* to convey this point.<sup>70</sup> This language of bravery, used here to describe the French, also appears in Odo's idealised description of Louis at the close of the work. Odo did not refer to *superbia* frequently in the *De Profectione*. Besides the two references noted above, there are two further examples of related terms used, both in reference to the Greeks. Odo records that they were arrogant in their use of violence to those subject to them. The term used here by Odo is *superbia/superbire*.<sup>71</sup> He also described the *superbae divitiae* of Constantinople.<sup>72</sup> Odo therefore appears to have viewed arrogance as a behavioural trait which the French were on occasion prone to display, even if it was not an exclusively French habit. This varied usage of *superbia* is reminiscent of a

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<sup>66</sup> See above, pp.103–04.

<sup>67</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, p.26.

<sup>68</sup> Ludwig Schmutge, 'Über 'nationale' Vorurteile im Mittelalter' *Deutsches Archiv* 38:2 (1982), p.447; Eugen Weber, 'Of Stereotypes and of the French' *Journal of Contemporary History* 25:2/3 (1990), p.169.

<sup>69</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, p.22.

<sup>70</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, p.44.

<sup>71</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, pp. 58–9.

<sup>72</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, p.86.

number of the histories of the First Crusade. The anonymous *Gesta Francorum* described how the Germans involved in the First Crusade split away from the Frankish contingent of the crusading army due to their intolerance of French *superbia*.<sup>73</sup> This demonstrates again how Odo was using contemporary or near contemporary stereotypes in reference to the French. Much like Odo's usage of the term in reference to the Greeks, histories of the First Crusade also saw *superbia* as a trait that was displayed on occasion by the Turks.<sup>74</sup>

It is notable that the two instances in which he attributes it to the French refer to instances where such behaviour has caused difficulty for the crusade, indeed both displays of *superbia* are said to have contributed, at least in part, to brawls erupting amongst the crusading armies. This willingness occasionally to criticise the conduct of the French was perhaps borne out of a need to insulate Louis himself from criticism for the failure of the crusade: the French *superbia* was at fault, rather than Louis himself.

Besides his presentation of the actions of the French whilst involved in the crusading expedition Odo also briefly displayed an awareness of the geographical nature of 'Frenchness'. While relating the attempts of King Roger II of Sicily to persuade Louis to travel through Italy and take the sea route to the East Odo notes the Frankish heritage of the Norman ruler. Writing that the Southern Italian Normans sought to warn the French about the treacherous nature of the Greeks, Odo stated: *Nec mirum si Rogerius, rex potens et sapiens, regem optabat, si Francos diligit nostrarum partium oriundus*.<sup>75</sup> This statement is reminiscent of the sentiment expressed by Guibert of Nogent in his *Gesta Dei*, where he underlined the French origins of Bohemond and his Norman followers, thus allowing them to be considered as 'Franks'.<sup>76</sup> This passage also highlights a notable aspect of Odo's depiction of Roger of Sicily. The description of Roger as *rex potens et sapiens* fits with the commonplace description of rulers as 'wise warriors'. Highlighted by Curtius as having its origins in Vergil, the description of a ruler as a strong example of martial and intellectual virtues subsequently became a

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<sup>73</sup> *Gesta Francorum*, ed. R. Hill (Oxford, 1962), pp. 2–3; Léan Ní Chléirigh, *The Crusaders and their Enemies: The Latin Terminology of Group Identity in Chronicles of the First Crusade*, (Trinity College Dublin, unpublished PhD thesis, 2010), p. 21.

<sup>74</sup> Ní Chléirigh, *Crusaders*, pp. 168, 238.

<sup>75</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, p. 14.

<sup>76</sup> Guibert of Nogent, *Dei Gesta per Francos et cing' autres textes*, ed. R. B. C. Huygens, CCCM 127A (Turnhout, 1996), p. 106.



common descriptive *topos*.<sup>77</sup> Given the propensity of Odo to employ such commonplaces it is unsurprising to see it appearing in the *De Profectione*. What is more unusual is that the description is applied to Roger rather than Louis. Mayer-Harting has noted that Odo is particularly strong in his praise for the Sicilian king and has used this focus to support his suggestions regarding the dating of the work.<sup>78</sup> It could also be argued that if Odo was writing his history while in the east at Antioch or Jerusalem, then this comment could be viewed as a further reflection on the disappointments and frustrations that the French encountered on their journey from the supposedly treacherous Greeks and the volatile Germans. On reflection Odo may have thought that it would have been wiser to have accepted Roger's offer of transport to the east by ship. Commenting on the Frankish origins of the Normans emphasised that in Odo's opinion they would have been more reliable, by virtue of their ancestry, than the Germans and certainly more so than the Greeks.

Claims that Odo's conception of the Germans and the French were influenced by some form of proto-nationalistic thought are hard to support. His thinking regarding both of these groups was clearly subject to the influence of Suger. Suger was not, however, a nationalist in the modern sense.<sup>79</sup> His view of the Germans was attributable to classical influence, particularly that of Lucan. His approach to the French monarchy and its relationship with St. Denis was influenced by what was best for his abbey. Both these strands of Sugerian thought found their way into the narrative of the *De Profectione*. While Odo he clearly conceived of a geographical notion of 'Frenchness' or 'Frankishness' this was not influenced by an ill-defined proto-nationalism. Odo was quite aware of the failings of the French, as attested by his usage of a number of stereotypes in reference to them. The circumstances of the Second Crusade made such an approach necessary. It was this combination of circumstances, coupled with previous exposure to stereotypes, that also influenced Odo's infamous depiction of the Greeks.

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<sup>77</sup> Curtius, *European Literature*, pp.176 – 9.

<sup>78</sup> Mayr-Harting, Henry, 'Odo of Deuil, the Second Crusade and the Monastery of Saint-Denis', in M.C Mayer (ed.), *The Culture of Christendom* (London, 1993), pp.227–8.

<sup>79</sup> Grant, *Abbot Suger*, p.13–4.

### Chapter 4:3 *The Greeks in the De Profectione*

The most notorious aspect of the *De Profectione* is almost certainly the supposedly hostile attitude of the work towards the Byzantine Empire and its Greek inhabitants. Accusations of an anti-Greek bias are a common occurrence when Odo is mentioned in secondary literature. Steven Runciman's concluded that Odo was 'hysterically anti-Greek'.<sup>1</sup> In his survey of the sources for the Second Crusade Constable cited a negative attitude towards the Byzantines as just one of a number of biases affecting the usefulness of the *De Profectione*.<sup>2</sup> Christopher Tyerman writes about the 'Hellenophobe St. Denis monk, Odo of Deuil', whose 'charges of Greek perfidy appear exaggerated and hysterical.'<sup>3</sup> R.W Southern offers an assessment of Odo in contrast to these depictions of him raving and writing blinded by hatred. Writing about the development of anti-Greek sentiment following the tenth-century writing of Liudprand of Cremona, Southern describes Odo as 'a most clear sighted historian of the Second Crusade'. Southern states that the numerous charges made by Odo of Greek perfidy and treachery 'were not words of anger inspired by personal loss, [rather] they were the mature considerations of a statesman'.<sup>4</sup> Virginia Berry while largely sympathetic towards Odo, is forced to admit that the 'didactic aim' of demonstrating how the Greeks had supposedly mistreated the crusaders 'inevitably coloured the historian's interpretation of facts'. She does, however, attempt to offset the blame from Odo by stating that on occasion he had had to make use of information derived second hand 'from prejudiced persons'.<sup>5</sup>

The broad subject of Latin-Greek relations, particularly in a crusading context, has been the object of much study.<sup>6</sup> Most recently Marc Carrier has conducted a broad

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<sup>1</sup> Steven Runciman, *A History of the Crusades. Vol. 2: The Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Cambridge, 1952; repr. 1987), p.274 n.2.

<sup>2</sup> Constable, 'Second Crusade as seen by Contemporaries', p.217.

<sup>3</sup> Christopher Tyerman, *God's War*, (London, 2006), pp.322, 325.

<sup>4</sup> R.W Southern, *The Making of the Middle Ages* (London, 1956 repr. 1993), p.35.

<sup>5</sup> Berry, *De Profectione*, p.xxi.

<sup>6</sup> Relevant studies will be cited throughout this section, but general surveys of Latin-Byzantine relations can be found in, R.J Lillie, *Byzantium and the Crusader States 1096 – 1204* (Oxford, 1993); Jonathan Harris, *Byzantium and the Crusades* (London, 2003).



analysis of the depiction of the Greeks in western sources in the period.<sup>7</sup> This subchapter, while briefly outlining the ‘anti-Greek’ context of the late eleventh and twelfth centuries, is more concerned with demonstrating what was particular about Odo’s views on the Greeks and, more specifically, the manner in which he articulated his opinions.

### **Anti-Greek sentiment prior to the Second Crusade**

Differences between the Western ‘Latin’ Christians and the Eastern ‘Greek’ Christians were obviously not a new phenomenon when Odo wrote his history. R.W. Southern chose to begin a brief sketch of the ever shifting relationships between the two traditions with reference to the famous tenth-century embassy of Liutprand of Cremona, with Odo’s account providing a corresponding twelfth-century bookend.<sup>8</sup> Although Southern’s chosen two writers both convey strong anti-Greek sentiment, the period between their two accounts witnessed numerous shifts in the Latin attitude towards their Eastern Christian counterparts. The incident of 1054, which saw the papal legate, Humbert, and patriarch Michael I of Constantinople mutually excommunicate each other, is no longer treated as the definitive starting point of schism between the two churches, but it does offer a useful overview of the religious differences that contributed to division.<sup>9</sup> Humbert’s bull of excommunication on the Byzantine Patriarch mentions numerous Greek religious ‘errors’ – notably their dispute stance on the *filioque* clause of the creed, their treatment of the Eucharist and the fact that their clergy could marry. The *filioque* clause was a subject of particular debate and it remained so in the period of nearly a century that passed between the 1054 incident and the Second Crusade. In 1061 Peter Damien wrote to the patriarch of Constantinople on the subject. Pope Urban II, pitted against the anti-Pope Clement III and seeking recognition from Constantinople, engaged with the Greeks at the council of Melfi in 1089. The 1098 synod of Bari saw Anselm of Canterbury, one of the most prominent intellectuals in western Christendom, present his arguments on the subject, summarised in his *De Processione Spiritus Sancti*. The years around the Second Crusade witnessed further western intellectual discussion

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<sup>7</sup> Marc Carrier, *L’Autre à l’époque des croisades : Les Byzantins vus par les chroniqueurs du monde Latin (1096 – 1261)*, (2012).

<sup>8</sup> Southern, *Making of the Middle Ages*, p.34.

<sup>9</sup> John France, ‘Byzantium in Western Chronicles before the First Crusade’ in Norman Housley (ed.) *Knighthoods of Christ: Essays on the History of the Crusades and the Knights Templar presented to Malcolm Barber* (Aldershot, 2007), p.15.

on the subject, with Peter Lombard's *Sentences* seeking to prove the western interpretation against Greek objections. In 1136 the German Bishop Anselm of Havelberg engaged in debate on the subject while on a diplomatic mission to Constantinople, with a written record of this produced in the 1150s.<sup>10</sup> As Phillips has noted, however, the theological differences between the Western and Eastern Christians were longstanding issues, and would certainly not have been considered as a pretext for war. Instead the atmosphere at the time of the Second Crusade positive, with Pope Eugenius III having sought reconciliation between the churches.<sup>11</sup> The confessional differences were issues that bubbled under the surface but which had the potential to come to prominence at moments of political tension between East and West.

### The First Crusade and the Greeks

The First Crusade, preached by Pope Urban II at Clermont in 1095, presented one of these potential moments of tension. Urban likely viewed the expedition as an opportunity for closer relations between the Eastern and Western churches.<sup>12</sup> However the crusade and the histories written in its aftermath saw new expression given to anti-Greek sentiment in the west, while the subsequent political situation of Antioch led to persistent tensions between the Byzantine Empire and the Latin crusader states.<sup>13</sup>

Of the histories that emerged from the First Crusade and its aftermath the *Gesta Francorum* and a number of its derivatives, notably the work of Guibert of Nogent, were particularly critical of aspects of the Byzantine Empire with the Emperor Alexius I Comnenus coming in for particular scrutiny.<sup>14</sup> Indeed rather than focussing on the traditional issues of religious difference between the two Christian churches, the *Gesta* largely indulged in personal attacks on the Emperor. Descriptions in the *Gesta* cast

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<sup>10</sup> A. Edward Sicienski, *The Filioque: History of a Doctrinal Controversy* (Oxford, 2010) pp. 113 – 25; Tia Kolbaba, 'The Virtues and Faults of the Latin Christians' in Paul Stephenson (ed.) *The Byzantine World* (Oxford, 2010), pp.114–30;

<sup>11</sup> Phillips, *Second Crusade*, p.190.

<sup>12</sup> Alfons Becker, *Papst Urban II (1088-99) Teil 2: Die Papst die Griechische Christenheit und der Kreuzzug*, MGH Schriften 19:2 (Stuttgart, 1988), pp.414–34.

<sup>13</sup> Lilie, *Byzantium and the Crusader States*, pp.96–141.

<sup>14</sup> John France, 'Byzantium in Western Chronicles before the First Crusade' in Norman Housley (ed.) *Knighthoods of Christ: Essays on the History of the Crusades and the Knights Templar, presented to Malcolm Barber* (Aldershot, 2007) pp.3–16. Léan Ni Chléirigh, 'The Impact of the First Crusade on Western Opinion towards the Byzantine Empire' in Conor Kostick (ed.) *The Crusades and the Near East: Cultural Histories* (Oxford, 2011), pp.161–88.



Alexius as *Iniquus*, *Nequissimus* and *Infelix*.<sup>15</sup> Guibert of Nogent expanded the vocabulary to describe Alexius as *tyrannus*, *perfidus* and *fraudeulentia*, amongst other terms.<sup>16</sup> Guibert also detailed the religious errors of the Eastern Christians, thus combining the older problems of division with the more personal attacks of the *Gesta*. Neocleous has tried to argue that the sentiments expressed in the *Gesta* and other histories of the First Crusade were merely anti-Alexian rather than anti-Byzantine, pointing to statements on the part of the crusaders suggesting that they were aware of some concept of Christian fraternity.<sup>17</sup> Carrier's study of Latin-Greek relations includes a more detailed examination of this issue. Carrier states that there was a shift from 'Anti-Alexian' to 'Anti-Greek' sentiment in the years following the crusade. He points out that the initial eyewitness accounts of the crusade, notably the *Gesta* contain barely any 'anti-Greek' feeling. In the *Gesta Francorum* there are actually only five mentions in the text of 'Greeks'.<sup>18</sup> The history of Fulcher of Chartres is similarly devoid of references, with only twelve mentions of the Greeks or the Greek language.<sup>19</sup> The *Historia Francorum* of Raymond of Aguilers contains only a few references to 'Greeks'.<sup>20</sup> Similarly Robert the Monk's rewriting of the *Gesta Francorum* mentions 'Greeks' only in a few instances, though as Carrier has noted, these references include a number of subtle changes to the *Gesta*, with criticism on occasion directed at 'Alexius and the Greeks' rather than simply the emperor.<sup>21</sup> Baldric of Dol's account of the First Crusade again has only nine references to 'Greeks' or the Greek language.<sup>22</sup> A greater number of references to 'Greece' or 'Greeks' are found in the *Gesta Dei Per Francos* of Guibert of Nogent, which contains thirty-one such instances.<sup>23</sup> This greater number of references is in keeping with the broader polemical approach employed by Guibert

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<sup>15</sup> *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum*, ed. R. Hill, (Oxford, 1962), pp.6, 10, 12.

<sup>16</sup> Ni Chléirigh, 'Impact of the First Crusade', p.171; Guibert of Nogent, *Dei Gesta per Francos et cing autres textes*, ed. R. B. C. Huygens (Turnholt, 1996), CCCM 127 A, pp. 93, 104, 182.

<sup>17</sup> Savvas Neocleous, 'Is the Contemporary Latin Historiography of the First Crusade and its Aftermath 'Anti-Byzantine' in S. Neocleous (ed.) *Sailing to Byzantium: Papers from the First and Second Postgraduate Forums in Byzantine Studies* (Newcastle, 2009), pp.27–52.

<sup>18</sup> *Gesta Francorum*, pp.3, 10, 21, 78, 94. The reference on p.78 is in fact made to the military device of 'Greek fire'.

<sup>19</sup> Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, ed. Heinrich Hagenmeyer (Heidelberg, 1913), pp.175, 203, 210, 221, 278, 341, 368, 610, 665, 740, 782.

<sup>20</sup> Raymond of Aguilers, *Historia Francorum qui ceperunt Iherusalem*, ed. John France, *Critical Edition of the Historia Francorum of Raymond of Aguilers* (University of Nottingham, unpublished PhD thesis, 1967), pp. 32, 74, 75, 203.

<sup>21</sup> Carrier, *Les Byzantins*, p.265.

<sup>22</sup> Baldric of Dol, *Historia Jerosolimitana*, RHC Occ 4, pp.24, 25, 44, 45, 72, 73, 85.

<sup>23</sup> Guibert of Nogent, *Dei Gesta per Francos*, pp.90, 92, 100, 128, 135 *et passim*.

against both the ‘errors’ of the Greek religion and the conduct of Alexius.<sup>24</sup> Even the significant number of references in the *Gesta Dei* are dwarfed by the *De Profectione* which contains sixty-nine instances of Odo referring to ‘Greeks.’

Not all of the accounts of the First Crusade were as vituperative in their treatment of the Alexius as the *Gesta* and its Northern French derivatives. The histories of Fulcher of Chartres and Albert of Aachen both offer a more positive viewpoint of the eastern Empire and are largely free of attacks on Alexius.<sup>25</sup> It was, though, the *Gesta* which exerted the most influence on the intellectual elite of Northern France, a point evidenced by its various re-writings. The popularity of the work was undoubtedly aided by a propaganda tour of Northern France embarked on by Bohemond of Taranto, the hero of the work. Bohemond was seeking support for a ‘crusade’ against Byzantium and the *Gesta* may have been rewritten in order to support his claims.<sup>26</sup> As demonstrated elsewhere in this thesis, it is highly likely that Odo consulted the *Gesta*, or one of its derivatives, prior to his departure on the Second Crusade. The influence of the First Crusade on collective memory of those on the Second has also been discussed.<sup>27</sup> It is thus important to bear in mind that the ‘anti-Greek’ sentiment displayed by Odo did not necessarily emerge out of a vacuum, but that the records of the First Crusade may have influenced the attitudes of the Second. This much was suggested by Odo in the first book of the *De Profectione*. There he noted that, as plans for the crusade were being discussed, several men stated that they knew the Greeks to be treacherous both through their reading and their own experiences.<sup>28</sup>

### ***Odo’s presentation of the Greeks***

Recently Jonathan Phillips has sought to paint a more nuanced picture of Odo’s opinion of the Greeks, working more in the tradition of Southern and Berry’s opinions of Odo. He states that Odo’s comments on the Byzantines were characterized by a

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<sup>24</sup> Léan Ní Chléirigh, ‘Anti-Byzantine polemic in the *Dei Gesta per Francos* of Guibert, Abbot of Nogent-sous-Coucy,’ in S. Neocleous (ed.) *Sailing to Byzantium*, pp.53-76.

<sup>25</sup> On a number of occasions Albert presented Alexius as graciously responding to requests made of him: Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana: A History of the Journey to Jerusalem*, ed. and trans. Susan B. Edgington (Oxford, 2007), pp.12, 30, 222.

<sup>26</sup> J.G Rowe, ‘Paschal II, Bohemund of Antioch and the Byzantine Empire’, *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 40 (1966), pp.165–202.

<sup>27</sup> See above, pp.68–80.

<sup>28</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, p.12.



mixture of 'bigotry, blame and perception'.<sup>29</sup> He has argued that Odo was not uniformly negative toward the Greeks, citing Odo's praise for singing of a Greek choir as an example.<sup>30</sup> Odo can also be seen to have dealt with the Greeks in a more positive manner in his description of the French journey through Bulgaria towards Philippopolis. Here he wrote that inhabitants of Greek towns came out to meet Louis, offering him due honour and reverence. The religious habits of the Greeks are mentioned here in a non-judgemental manner, as Odo describes local populations greeting the French '*cum iconiis suis et alio Graeco apparatu*'.<sup>31</sup> The duke of Sofia, a relation of the Emperor, is praised by Odo for having worked to establish peaceful conditions and a fair market for the travelling French army.<sup>32</sup>

Indeed it would be surprising if Odo was hostile to the Greeks as if by default. The abbey of St. Denis had a long standing interest in Greek culture. Due to a confusion of several persons into one, Saint Denis himself was regarded as Greek. Abbot Hilduin translated the writings of pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite, one of the three people who became amalgamated into Saint Denis, from Greek in the early ninth century. This tradition of Greek translation was maintained in the twelfth century. Indeed, following the Second Crusade, a new translation of pseudo-Dionysius undertaken by John Saracen was possibly dedicated to Odo in his position as abbot.<sup>33</sup> Certainly Adler's statement that the abbey of St. Denis had a 'painful feeling of indebtedness to Constantinople' does not appear to be an accurate one.<sup>34</sup> In the *De Profectione* it seems that the aspects of Greek culture most familiar to Odo are the ones that he treated most generously. The singing of the Greek choir, received favourably by Odo, would have been reasonably familiar to him as Greek chants were performed at St. Denis.<sup>35</sup> In his account of the Greek celebration of the feast of St. Denis, Odo did mention the differing words and order of service employed, but he does not appear to have viewed this negatively. Indeed Odo stated that he recorded the pleasant experiences offered by the Greeks so

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<sup>29</sup> Phillips, '*De Profectione* as a source', p.86.

<sup>30</sup> Phillips, '*De Profectione* as a source', p.87.

<sup>31</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, p.44.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.* Phillips, *Second Crusade*, p.188.

<sup>33</sup> G.Thery, 'Documents concernant Jean Sarrazin', *Archives D'Histoire Doctrinale et Litterature*, 18 (1951), pp. 45-87.

<sup>34</sup> Alfred Adler, 'The *Pélerinage de Charlemagne* in new light on Saint-Denis' *Speculum* 22:4 (1947), p.553.

<sup>35</sup> Phillips, '*De Profectione* as a source', p.87 n.38.

that their later treachery would be highlighted.<sup>36</sup> This juxtaposition of events by Odo is one example of a tendency he displays throughout the *De Profectione*. In her introduction to the work Berry comments on Odo's use of this technique, writing that his viewpoint 'is consistently that of a man who looks back over events and interprets in the light of what has happened later, while only one statement points forward'.<sup>37</sup>

### *The Greeks as a people in the De Profectione*

While there are a number of positive descriptions in the *De Profectione* of the Greek welcome for the French crusaders, it is clear the much of the work is anti-Greek in nature. It could not reasonably be posited that perhaps Odo's rhetoric, like that of the 'anti-Alexian' *Gesta*, was concerned more with the negative actions of Manuel Comnenus rather than the Greeks as a people. One of the recurring characteristics of the *De Profectione* and Odo's treatment of the Eastern Christians, is that they are unmistakably Greek. The subjects of the Byzantine Emperor, who are frequently depicted opposing the crusade, are generally referred to as *Graeci*. This may seem unremarkable, but as highlighted about it is actually in strong contrast to much of the body of historical writing that emerged from the First Crusade. In describing the Greeks Odo engaged in a number of commonplace and stereotyped descriptions. The Greeks are thus criticised for their lack of 'manly vigour', with their behaviour described as having descended to the level of women. A description of the French march through Anatolia is also punctuated with an account of the deserted lands, abandoned by supposedly lazy Greeks. Each of these charges are representative of stereotypes that were consistently applied to the Greeks, both by a number of historians of the First Crusade and also by eleventh-century Southern Italian historians who had sympathies with the Norman rivals of the Greeks.<sup>38</sup> The most common stereotyped description that Odo engaged in, detailed at length below, was of an innate Greek habit of treachery.

As demonstrated in the previous chapter, Odo employed the rhetorical colour of *paronomasia* in order to convey the contrast between the behaviour expected of the Greeks by the French and the less palatable reality of what actually came to pass.

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<sup>36</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, p.68.

<sup>37</sup> Berry, *De Profectione*, p.xxiii

<sup>38</sup> Carrier, *Les Byzantins*, p.236; Matthew Bennet, 'Virile Latins, Effeminate Greeks and Strong Women: Gender Definitions on Crusade', in Susan B. Edgington and Sarah Lambert (eds) *Gendering the Crusades* (Cardiff, 2001), pp.16–30;



Various rhetorical techniques are employed by Odo throughout the *De Profectione* in order to convey his opinion of the Byzantine empire. This approach even allows for Odo to indulge in sarcasm. This is clear in his description of how the Byzantines regarded themselves: *Generalis est eorum sententia non imputari periurium quod fit propter sacrum imperium.*<sup>39</sup> The use of the phrase ‘*sacrum imperium*’ to denote Byzantium is not novel. In his references to the Eastern Empire the eleventh-century Norman historian William of Apulia used the term *imperium sanctum*.<sup>40</sup> While William’s usage was made with positive intent, it is difficult to believe the same of Odo. It is not clear where exactly Odo came across the title. It is entirely possible that he heard the term while in the East. His usage of *sacrum imperium* appears on the same page as a list of supposed Greek religious errors and it appears that he was being heavily sarcastic in order to underline his view that the Eastern Empire was anything but Holy. This point is highlighted further by an examination of Odo’s perception of the Orthodox religion.

### *The presentation of the Greek religion in the De Profectione*

As noted above, Odo made several positive comments regarding Greek religious services. However, despite adopting this more ecumenical approach on a number of occasions, Odo did make explicit accusations of heresy against the Greeks. The clearest statement made by Odo regarding supposed Greek religious errors occurs in his account of the French journey to Constantinople. Here he stated that *blasphemia* had been added to the list of Greek offences against the French. Odo provided an example of this supposed blasphemy by describing how Greek priests purified altars which had been used for Latin ceremonies. This was followed by a list of supposed heresies:

*Audivimus scelus eorum morte luendum, quia quotienscumque nostrorum conubia contrahunt, antequam convenient eum qui Romano more baptizatus est, rebaptizant. Alia haereses eorum novimus, et de more sacrificii et de processione Spiritus sancti...His enim de causis nostrorum incurrerant odium, exierat namque inter laicos etiam error*

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<sup>39</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, p.56.

<sup>40</sup> Michael Angold, ‘Knowledge of Byzantine History in the West : The Norman Historians’, in John Gillingham (ed.) *Anglo-Norman Studies XXV* (Woodbridge, 2003), p.26.

*eorum. Ob hoc iudicabantur non esse Christiani, caedesque illorum ducebant pro nihilo et a praedis et rapinis difficiliter poterant revocari.*<sup>41</sup>

None of the accusations of blasphemy made by Odo are particularly original. His criticisms of the Greeks are found in earlier, unrelated, sources. Humbert's *Brevis et succinta commentaria*, which summarises his bull of excommunication against Patriarch Michael I Cerularius, written almost a century before the Second Crusade, contains all of the criticisms levelled by Odo.<sup>42</sup> The debate over the *filioque* clause of the creed remained well known in Latin Christian Europe, while rumours of Greek re-baptism of Latin Christians were apparently also prevalent in the west. That it was a subject of debate is mentioned in the records of Anselm of Havelberg's delegation to Constantinople in 1136.<sup>43</sup>

While Odo's list of Greek religious errors is not particularly novel, his statement that participants in the crusade did not view the Greeks as Christians is worth examining. Mentions of Christians and Christianity are relatively sparse in the *De Profectione*. The term *Christianus* appears on only fourteen occasions in Odo's history. A related term *Christianitas*, referring to Christianity, appears on one occasion.<sup>44</sup> Only two of Odo's uses of Christian terminology do not refer directly to the Greeks. These two uses occur in the opening book of the *De Profectione*, with both referring to the Christians of Edessa, whose plight led to the inception of the Second Crusade.<sup>45</sup> Every other usage by Odo of Christian terminology is in reference to the Greeks. All but one of these references is negative, with each other usage used to undermine the Christianity of the Greeks. An example of this can be seen above in Odo's statement that members of the French crusading contingent considered the Greeks 'not to be Christians'.<sup>46</sup> This statement is typical of those found throughout the *De Profectione*. The majority of Odo's references to the Greeks and Christianity are contained in Book Four of the work. A number of these are found in his account of a debate, concerning the wisdom of attacking Constantinople, between Bishop Godfrey of Langres and a group of unnamed

<sup>41</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, p.56.

<sup>42</sup> Humbert, *Brevis et succinta commentaria*, MPL CXLIII, col. 1001 – 1004.

<sup>43</sup> Jay T. Lees, 'Confronting the Otherness of the Greeks: Anselm of Havelberg and the Division between Greeks and Latins', *Analecta Praemonstratensia* 68:3-4 (1992), pp.237–40.

<sup>44</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, p.68. Robert Bartlett, *The Making of Europe* (London, 1994), pp.250–55.

<sup>45</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, p.6.

<sup>46</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, p.56.



crusaders. Here Godfrey is recorded as having stated that Constantinople was a Christian city 'only in name', that previously, rather than aiding the Christians of the east, it had actually attacked Antioch. It has long been accepted that Odo identified with Godfrey's arguments, as he himself made clear in his writing.<sup>47</sup> At the conclusion of Book Four Odo stated that Manuel would have dealt fairly with the French '*Si Christianus esset*'.<sup>48</sup>

The particular attitude of Odo towards Eastern Christianity can be illustrated with an examination of his depiction of the city of Constantinople. A number of the re-writings of the *Gesta Francorum*, despite strenuously criticising the Emperor Alexius, retained a significant amount of respect for Constantinople as both a royal and apostolic city.<sup>49</sup> Thus Robert the Monk praised the collection of relics housed at Constantinople, stating that the city is equal in dignity to Rome, although the Pope's presence at Rome made that city the capital of Christendom. Guibert of Nogent similarly praised the city's status as an apostolic seat.<sup>50</sup>

In his own descriptions of Constantinople, Odo acknowledged the significant collection of relics held at the city. He also described the beauty of the Hagia Sophia and the numerous smaller churches that held these relics.<sup>51</sup> But to Odo this beauty was superficial. He wrote that Constantinople exceeded other cities in wealth but also in vice, and described how much of the city was permanently cast in darkness, allowing criminals to thrive.<sup>52</sup> This description appears in Book Four of the *De Profectione*. In Book Five Odo provided a further description of the city, where it appears to be acting as a metaphor for the Greeks as a whole:

*Constantinopolis superba divitiis, moribus subdola, fide corrupta; sicut propter suas divitias omnes timet, sic est dolis et infidelitate omnibus metuenda. Si autem careret his vitiis, aere temperato et salubri fertilitate soli et*

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<sup>47</sup> See above, pp.56–60.

<sup>48</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, p.80.

<sup>49</sup> Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading*, (London, 2009), p.145.

<sup>50</sup> Robert the Monk, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, p.750; Guibert, *Gesta Dei*, p.111.

<sup>51</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, pp.62–6.

<sup>52</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, p.64.

*transitu facili ad fidem propagandam posset locis omnibus  
anteferri.*<sup>53</sup>

Constantinople is thus presented as having a tainted or corrupt faith. This point is underlined by Odo's statement that if this vice, amongst others, was eliminated then Constantinople would be ideal for the propagation of the faith. Odo's two descriptions of Constantinople also highlight themes which are prevalent in his broader treatment of the Greeks. The difference between the superficial appearance of Constantinople and its dark and dangerous underworld mirrors Odo's rhetorical treatment of the difference between French expectations of Greek favours and the reality that they encountered. The superficiality of Greek hospitality is also central to Odo's depiction of Manuel Comnenus. Odo's description of Constantinople also presents the Greeks as engaging in treacherous practices. This theme is again one of the key ideas in Odo's approach to the Greeks and one that underlines much of his treatment of both them and Manuel.

### *The Greeks and the vocabulary of trickery*

One of the key characteristics of the Greeks as presented by Odo is that they were a treacherous people, frequently prepared to use trickery in order to achieve their aims. This theme is established in the opening pages of the history, where Odo reported that men in attendance at the assembly at Paris had described the Greeks as *fraudentus*.<sup>54</sup> Book Three, which deals with the entry of the French into Greek land, opens with the statement that until this point the French had not feared danger arising from *astutia subdolorum*.<sup>55</sup> Elsewhere Greek *versutia* was bemoaned by Odo.<sup>56</sup> On four occasions Odo referred to a Greek traitor through the use of the word *proditor*, generally in reference to apparently deceitful local guides.<sup>57</sup> Odo specifically compared the *proditio* apparently encountered by the Germans in dealing with their guide with the *proditio* that had led to the crucifixion of Christ. Luke's Gospel describes Judas Iscariot as a *proditior* (Luke 6:16). As shall be seen, this association of scriptural language and the vocabulary of Greek trickery was one of the key aspects of Odo's treatment of Manuel Comnenus.

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<sup>53</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, p.86; Carrier also cites this description of Constantinople as being used to attack the faith of the Greek people as a whole, *Les Byzantins*, p.301.

<sup>54</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, p.12.

<sup>55</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, p.40.

<sup>56</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, p.72.

<sup>57</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, pp.82, 90, 112.



The word most commonly employed by Odo to refer to the cunning or trickery of the Greeks is *dolus*. The association between this word and the Greeks is established in Book One, with the warning by emissaries of King Roger II of Sicily about the *doli Grecorum* that the French would later experience.<sup>58</sup> *Dolus*, or the related adjective *dolosus*, is employed fourteen times in the *De Profectione*, more often than Odo directly quotes from scripture. On each occasion the word refers to the conduct of the Greeks or Manuel.<sup>59</sup> Undoubtedly these accusations of treachery were at least partly the result of the Greek treatment of the crusade, and its failure to match up to French expectations. A number of the charges were most likely fanciful.<sup>60</sup> Odo's accusations of Greek treachery are made much more persistently than those found in the histories of the First Crusade. Neocleous has stated that the only account of the First Crusade which describes the Greeks as engaging in trickery is the *Gesta Tancredi* of Ralph of Caen, a source which strongly develops the idea.<sup>61</sup> Neocleous states that the idea of the Greeks as an untrustworthy, treacherous, people was a *topos* with its origins in Classical writing. One of the two sources cited by Neocleous is Vergil's *Aeneid*. Describing the arrival amongst the French of Greek messengers and their use of excessive flattery, Odo states that even amongst certain laymen the proverb '*Timeo Danaos et dona ferentes*' was known.<sup>62</sup> As examined elsewhere, Odo does not demonstrate that he had derived his knowledge of Vergil through a reading of the source, referring to the quotation as a 'proverb'.<sup>63</sup> By contrast William of Tyre, who employed the famous quotation twice, clearly attributes it to Vergil, using his cognomen *Maro*.<sup>64</sup> This quotation from Vergil, well known today through its rough translation of 'Beware Greeks bearing gifts', appears to have enjoyed a spate of popularity from the second half of the eleventh century, through the twelfth century. Odo's own statement regarding the popularity of the proverb among layman is rough testimony to this fact. The number of Vergil manuscripts surviving from the twelfth century is testament to the popularity of his

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<sup>58</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, p.14.

<sup>59</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, pp.14, 52, 68, 72, 76, 86, 98, 112, 128, 134, 136, 140.

<sup>60</sup> For example Odo's accusation that the guide appointed to the Germans was treacherous and that French crusaders were treated better by the Turks than by the Greeks – p.50.

<sup>61</sup> Neocleous, 'Contemporary Latin Historiography of the First Crusade', pp.42–3.

<sup>62</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, p.26.

<sup>63</sup> See above, p.101.

<sup>64</sup> William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, ed. R.B.C Huygens *CCCM* 63 (Turnhout, 1986), p.914.

works.<sup>65</sup> Direct evidence of the contemporary popularity of the quotation comes from the *Patrologia Latina* database. This database returns nine uses of the quotation in the *Patrologia*. Eight of these usages are from a roughly defined period of 1080–1200. These instances include the two quotations by William of Tyre and Odo's own usage. The other five were made by Ivo of Chartres, Hildebert of Le Mans, Bernard of Clairvaux, Thomas Becket and the relatively unknown Thomas of Perseigne.<sup>66</sup> The quotation can also be seen to have been used by Bishop Otto of Fresing.<sup>67</sup> However, of all these prominent figures, other than Odo, the only other writer to employ the quotation in negative argument against the Greeks was William of Tyre. Otto's usage is in relation to alleged Greek perfidy, but comes in the context of the early stages of his universal history. However, the widespread nature of the quotation does give credence to the suggestion that the contemporary view of Greeks as naturally cunning and treacherous had at least some classical basis. Certainly the well-known 'proverb' was available as a rhetorical tool for anyone wishing to criticize the Greeks.

The depiction of Greeks as naturally cunning also appears, free of obvious classical influence, outside of crusading texts. A St. Denis example of the stereotype can be observed in Abbot Suger's *Liber de Rebus in Administratione sua Gestis*. Suger wrote that pilgrims to Jerusalem who had travelled through Constantinople thought the treasures stored at St. Denis were greater than those in the Greek city. He speculated that this may have been the case if the Greeks had deliberately hidden away a number of the treasures of the Hagia Sophia out of fear of the Franks and the possibility that fighting might break out between the Latins and Greeks. Suger concluded this description with the statement that '*Astutia enim praecipue Graecorum est.*'<sup>68</sup> Panofsky chooses to translate Suger's phrase as 'wariness is pre-eminently characteristic of the Greeks'. This translation does not appear to be entirely correct. Lewis and Short's Latin Dictionary does not offer 'wariness' as a valid translation of *Astutia*, instead stating that

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<sup>65</sup> Birger Munk-Olsen, 'Virgile et la renaissance du XIIIe siècle' in *Lectures médiévales de Virgile. Actes du colloque de Rome (25-28 octobre 1982): Publications de l'École française de Rome*, 80 (Rome, 1985), pp.31–48.

<sup>66</sup> Ivo of Chartres, *Epistola CXXVIII*, MPL CLXII col.0139a; Hildebert of Le Mans, *Epistola III*, MPL CLXXI col.0210a; Bernard of Clairvaux, *Epistola CXXIX*, MPL CLXXXII. col.0284b; Thomas of Perseigne, *Cantica Canticorum* commentary, MPL CCVI col.0576b; Thomas Becket, *Letter 277* in Ann Duggan (ed.) *The Correspondence of Thomas Becket Vol. II* (Oxford, 2000), p.1183.

<sup>67</sup> Otto of Freising, *Chronica sive Historia de Duabus Civitatibus* ed. A Hoffmeister, MGH *Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum* 45 (Hannover, 1912), p53.

<sup>68</sup> Suger, *Abbot Suger on the Abbey Church of St-Denis and its Art Treasures*, ed. G. Panofsky-Soergel (Princeton, 1976), pp.64–5.



it can be rendered as cunning, cleverness or astuteness amongst several other synonyms.<sup>69</sup> Panofsky seems to have chosen this rendering to fit with the interpretation that the Greeks would be wary of their churches' treasures being destroyed. Gasparri's French rendering of *malice*, which can be translated into English as roguishness or a trick, appears to be closer to the original sense of the word.<sup>70</sup> However what Suger actually appears to be stating is that the Greeks were cunning in their decision to hide their treasures. As noted above, *astutia* is employed once in the *De Profectione* in reference to Greek cunning. Suger does not state that he views the actions of the Greeks in a negative light, but he does state that such action is typically Greek. His usage of *astutia* is also not a throwaway statement, as in his entire body of writing he only used the noun on one other occasion, when referring to *diabolica astutia* in a letter addressed to Bishop Henry of Beauvais.<sup>71</sup> Anna Komnena's *Alexiad* also suggests that accusations of Greek treachery and use of ruses were not entirely unfounded. In her work Anna expressed admiration for both the Southern Italian Normans and her father, Alexius, for their usage of various cunning stratagems.<sup>72</sup>

Odo was likely exposed to the notion that Greeks were naturally treacherous prior to his departure on crusade. His own testimony suggests this, and the histories of the First Crusade and possibly Suger would have been likely to have had an influence. These ideas would have come to the fore again as Odo reflected on perceived Greek underhandedness following the failure of the crusade. The approach to Odo of judging an event in the light of later developments, identified by Berry, certainly appears to support this view. What has not been identified before is Odo's sheer consistency, not only in his charges of treachery, but also in the vocabulary employed in making such accusations. This vocabulary was directly related to the language he used to refer to Manuel, the Byzantine Emperor, who is subtly presented in the *De Profectione*, through the use of rhetorical techniques, as representative of the Greeks as whole.

### ***Odo and Manuel***

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<sup>69</sup> C.T Lewis and C.Short, *A Latin Dictionary* (Oxford, 1945), p.185.

<sup>70</sup> Suger, *De Administratione* in Gasparri, *Oeuvres 1*, pp.136–7.

<sup>71</sup> Suger, *Lettres* in Gasparri, *Oeuvres 2* p.87

<sup>72</sup> Anna Komnena, *Alexiad*, trans. E.R.A Sewter (London, 1969: repr 2003), pp.366–8; Emily Albu, 'Bohemond and the Rooster: Byzantines Normans and the Artful Ruse' in T.Gouma-Peterson (ed.), *Anna Komnene and Her Times* (London, 2000), pp.157–68.

Odo's suggestion that Manuel I Comnenus was somehow not Christian is typical of the attitude adopted throughout the *De Profectione*. Manuel consistently comes in for the harshest criticism from Odo, with the Greek Emperor appearing as the villain of the piece. Neocleous has stated that 'no Latin author', including Odo, directly accused Manuel of conspiring with the Turks of Asia Minor to destroy the Second Crusade.<sup>73</sup> While this point may seem true in the most literal sense, with Odo never bluntly stating that Manuel was conspiring, it does not stand up to scrutiny when considering the uniformly negative depiction of the Emperor in the *De Profectione*.

Manuel is mentioned throughout the *De Profectione*, acting almost as a personification of the Greeks. Berry states that the Emperor is the 'archvillain' of the story, with Odo employing adverse interpretation to build a negative portrait.<sup>74</sup> It is possible that Odo, as an eyewitness to negotiations between Louis and Manuel, would have been able to form personal impressions of the Greek Emperor. In detailing these negotiations Odo declined to offer any detailed description of Manuel's appearance, stating merely that he was similar in age and stature to Louis, but differing in dress and manner. The account of these negotiations is concluded with Odo stating

*Si gestus corporis, si alacritas faciei, si verba cordis intima demonstrarent, circumstantes illum nimio affect regem diligere comprobarent; sed tale argumentum probabile est, non necessarium.*<sup>75</sup>

The idea that Manuel was somehow innately treacherous is developed from the very beginning of the *De Profectione*. It first appears in Book One of the work, introducing a theme that is incorporated and developed throughout Odo's account. Here Odo described how Manuel sent messengers to Louis ahead of the French departure. Manuel is referred to here as the *imperator Constantinopolis*. Odo declined to provide his name, stating '*nomen ignoro quia non est scriptum in Libro Vitae.*'<sup>76</sup>

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<sup>73</sup> Savvas Neocleous, 'Byzantine-Muslim conspiracies against the crusades: history and myth' *Journal of Medieval History* 36:3 (2010), p.261.

<sup>74</sup> Berry, *De Profectione*, p.xxii.

<sup>75</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, p.58.

<sup>76</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, p.10 ; The significance of this passage was first noted in Conor Kostick, 'Social unrest and the Failure of Conrad III's March through Anatolia, 1147' *German History*, 28:2 (2010), p.131; A discussion of the concept of memorialisation and rhetoric is found in Matthew Kempshall, *Rhetoric and the Writing of History, 400–1500* (Manchester, 2011), pp.148–9.



In a footnote Berry briefly identifies the scriptural basis for the *Liber Vitae* and its status as a 'register of the elect' in the Book of Revelation. The concept of the Book of Life is also found in the Old Testament, particularly in the psalms. Psalm 68 refers to a 'book of the living' (*Liber Viventium*) from which the names of the unrighteous should be blotted out never to be written alongside the names of the just.<sup>77</sup> The concept re-emerges in the New Testament, specifically in the Book of Revelation. Here John of Patmos describes his vision of a white throne before which books were opened, one of them being the book of life.<sup>78</sup> He states that the dead were judged according to their works before detailing the fate of hell and death:

*et infernus et mors missi sunt in stagnum ignis haec mors secunda est stagnum ignis et qui non est inventus in libro vitae scriptus missus est in stagnum ignis.*<sup>79</sup>

Odo's reference to the Book of Life is clearly a paraphrase of this section of Revelation. His statement that Manuel's name is not found in the Book of Life has the implication that, in Odo's view, the Greek Emperor was destined for the '*stagnum ignis*', or lake of fire.

This use of the Book of Life and its negative implications regarding Manuel's status appears to be quite novel. In the early Middle Ages the concept was used more often in a positive sense, frequently in reference to unnamed Christian martyrs. Gregory of Tours, describing the persecution of Christians, stated *quorum nec numerum nec nomina collegere potuimus, Dominus enim eos in libro vitae conscripsit.*<sup>80</sup> The life of Saint Boniface similarly states that the names of unknown martyrs *in libro vitae procul dubio sunt scripta.*<sup>81</sup>

Something similar to Odo's conception of the Book of Life can be seen in the Carolingian 'Vision of the Poor Woman of Laon'. In this account an anonymous woman receives a vision of a series of golden tablets, on which were inscribed the names of the saved. The account of the vision notes that the name of Louis the Pious had almost been erased from the list, due to his involvement in the death of King

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<sup>77</sup> Psalm 68:29

<sup>78</sup> Revelation 20:12

<sup>79</sup> Revelation 20:14 - 15

<sup>80</sup> Gregory of Tours, *Historia Francorum*, ed. B. Krusch and W. Levison MGH SS Rerum Merovingicarum 1,1 (Hannover, 1951), p.22.

<sup>81</sup> *Vitae Sancti Bonifatii*, ed. W. Levison MGH SS Rerum Germanicarum 57 (Hannover, 1905), p.88.

Bernard of Italy.<sup>82</sup> However, this vision, despite dealing with the concept of a ‘list of the saved’ does not specifically mention a ‘Book of Life’. A crusading use of the concept of the Book of Life can be seen in Raymond of Aguilers *Historia Francorum qui ceperunt Iherusalem*. In his work, Raymond stated that if he did not correctly preserve the name of his co-author, Pons de Balazuc, then his own name should be deleted from the Book of Life. Raymond clearly links his mention of the Book with its context in Revelation by also stating that God could also place him in the *inferni plagae*.<sup>83</sup> A monastic analogue to the Biblical understanding of the Book of Life is found in the *Libri Memoriales* kept at monasteries to record the names of dead monks. Le Goff has written that those subsequently considered unworthy could be struck from the record. He comments that this was akin to a Christian version of the classical Roman *damnatio memoriae*.<sup>84</sup>

The concept of the Book of Life or a register of the elect thus appears to have been at its core shorthand for damnation. Those that do not appear in the Book are condemned to hell. As noted above, this was the point of Odo ignoring Manuel’s name. Further examination reveals that Odo excised the emperor’s name not only from the passage concerning the Book of Life, but from the *De Profectione* as a whole. Not once does Odo note Manuel’s proper name. Manuel is not the only person whose name is missing from Odo’s account. Eleanor of Aquitaine, who appears only twice in the narrative, is the *uxor* of Louis on the first occasion and *regina* on the second.<sup>85</sup> Similarly the German king Conrad III is referred to only by his titles. The absence of Conrad’s name from the *De Profectione* does not appear to have been the result of a consciously taken negative decision by Odo. It has been suggested that references to Eleanor may have been excised following the rumours regarding her conduct at Antioch and subsequent split from Louis.<sup>86</sup> In neither case did Odo explicitly state that he was deliberately refusing to record their names, as he did with Manuel. The example of Manuel thus appears unique in the *De Profectione* as an example of self-imposed censorship by Odo during the writing process. By making such a decision Odo was not

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<sup>82</sup> ‘Vision of the Poor Woman of Laon’ in P.E Dutton (ed.), *Carolingian Civilization: A Reader* (Toronto, 2004), pp.41 – 42; Matthew Gabriele, *An Empire of Memory: The Legend of Charlemagne, the Franks and Jerusalem before the First Crusade* (Oxford, 2011), p.16.

<sup>83</sup> Raymond, *Historia Francorum*, p.202.

<sup>84</sup> Jacques Le Goff, *History and Memory*, trans. S.Rendall and E.Claman (New York, 1992), p.73.

<sup>85</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, pp.16, 57.

<sup>86</sup> Berry, *De Profectione*, p.xxiii n.67.



only commenting on what he regarded as Manuel's damned status in the afterlife, but also excising him from the *memoria* of the historical record whilst on Earth.<sup>87</sup>

The study of proper names in classical literature constitutes a 'fast-growing' area of study which has produced some examinations of the suppression or alteration of names in classical Latin.<sup>88</sup> These studies have largely been concerned with poetical usages in classical Latin, but they do highlight how the devices of *metonymy* and *antonomasia* were employed for rhetorical effect.<sup>89</sup> These two figures are closely related. The figure of *metonymy* involves the representation of an idea through the naming of something associated with it or one of its attributes. Odo's usage of Constantinople as representative of Byzantium as a whole could be seen as a form of *metonymy* or the related figure of *synecdoche*. So too could his depiction, discussed below, of Manuel as being representative of the Greek people. The closely related rhetorical figure of *autonomasia* involves the substitution of a descriptive phrase for a proper name, or the substitution of a proper name for a quality associated with it.<sup>90</sup>

As has been demonstrated Odo employed various *colores rhetorici* in order to achieve his polemical aims. In both the *De Profectione* and his later Argenteuil *inventio* account he also demonstrated a degree of taste for basic wordplay with a number of puns on proper names. It is therefore possible that in his suppression of Manuel's name, justified in a novel use of Biblical context, Odo sought to attack the Greek emperor through the usage of other terms of reference. It is thus necessary to examine the terms used to refer to the Greek Emperor in the *De Profectione*. A large number of the references to Manuel simply refer to him in terms of his title. The account of Louis sending messengers to the Greeks prior to his departure from France states that the French king sent them to the *Constantinopolitalus Imperator*.<sup>91</sup> In Book Two Greek messengers arriving at the French camp are simply said to have come from the

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<sup>87</sup> On Odo and *memoria* see pp.269–74.

<sup>88</sup> Robert Maltby, 'Introduction' in J.Booth and R.Maltby (eds) *What's in a name? The significance of Proper Names in Classical Latin Literature* (Swansea, 2006), p.vii.

<sup>89</sup> See for example, Joan Booth, 'Naming names – or not: some significant choices and suppressions in Latin poetry' in Booth, Maltby (eds) *What's in a name?* pp.49–64; Helen Peraki-Kyriakidou, 'Antonomasia and metonymy in the proem to Virgil's *Georgics*' in Booth, Maltby (eds) *What's in a name?* pp. 83–100.

<sup>90</sup> Leonid Arbusow, *Colores Rhetorici: Ein Auswahl rhetorischer Figuren und Gemeinplätze als Hilfe für Übungen an mittelalterlichen Texten* 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Göttingen, 1963), p.82.

<sup>91</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, p.10.

*Imperator*.<sup>92</sup> Twice in Book Three Manuel is the *Graecus Imperator*.<sup>93</sup> These titles are those that might be expected in a crusading account.

Notably however, the terms ‘Emperor of the Greeks’ or ‘Greek Emperor’ are less common in accounts of the First Crusade. This is in keeping with the emphasis in the *De Profectione* on the ‘Greekness’ of the Byzantine Empire, which was much greater than among historians of the First Crusade. Thus the *Gesta Francorum* does not contain references to the ‘Greek Emperor.’ Similarly in the *Historia Hierosolymitana* of Fulcher of Chartres there is no usage of *Imperator Graecorum*. Robert the Monk’s does not use the term *Imperator Graecorum*, with *Imperator Constantinopolitalus* the preferred form of designation.<sup>94</sup> In Baldric of Dol’s account of the First Crusade *Imperator Graecorum* is not used, with Alexius generally referred to simply as *Imperator* or *Alexis Imperator*.<sup>95</sup> The *Historia Francorum* of Raymond of Aguilers generally only referred to the Emperor as *Imperator* or by his proper name.<sup>96</sup> Guibert of Nogent’s *Gesta Dei Per Francos* includes two instances of Alexius being referred to as *Graecorum Princeps*.<sup>97</sup> The *Gesta Dei* also has a number of examples of both *Imperator Constantinopolitalus* and *Imperator Graecorum*.<sup>98</sup> This is perhaps unsurprising given the relatively large number of references to ‘Greeks’ in the *Gesta Dei* compared to other histories of the First Crusade.

In the *De Profectione* then, Odo not only emphasised the ‘Greekness’ of the Byzantine Empire, but he also sought to associate the person of the Emperor with the ‘national’ character of his people. Particularly in the later sections of his account, Odo referred to the Emperor in more bitter terms, on occasion even omitting any reference to his title. On two occasions Manuel is simply called the *idolum*, an idol.<sup>99</sup> Berry has noted these two instances, and suggested that Odo may have employed this term as a reference to the ornate ceremonial clothing worn by Manuel, possibly when he greeted the crusaders. She notes that this dress, coupled with the extreme adulation showed to the Emperor by his subjects ‘may have reminded Odo of an idol worshiped by the

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<sup>92</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, p.24.

<sup>93</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, pp.48, 50.

<sup>94</sup> Robert the Monk, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, pp. 808, 836, 837, 847.

<sup>95</sup> Baldric, *Historia Jerosolimitana*, pp.21, 23, 24 *et passim*.

<sup>96</sup> Raymond, *Historia Francorum*, pp.13, 16, 22 *et passim*.

<sup>97</sup> Guibert, *Gesta Dei*, pp.107, 138.

<sup>98</sup> Guibert, *Gesta Dei*, pp.100, 167.

<sup>99</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, pp.76, 90.



Greeks'.<sup>100</sup> This explanation is plausible. Commenting on the meeting between Louis and Manuel to which he may have been an eyewitness, Odo noted that the two sovereigns were unlike in 'manners and dress'. Yet Odo did not pass any further comment on Manuel's clothing. He did not describe it as overly ornate or ceremonial. Elsewhere in the *De Profectione*, Odo did provide details on what he regarded as the curious clothing and ceremony of Greek messengers.<sup>101</sup> That it was merely Manuel's clothing that inspired Odo's reference to Manuel as an idol thus remains speculation. Ducellier has posited that Odo's usage of the term 'idol' is an attempt to make the reader think that Constantinople is fundamentally a pagan city, with the Christianity of its inhabitants also called into question. As shall be demonstrated Ducellier's claim, which he does not fully elucidate, appears to be a truer reflection of Odo's intentions.<sup>102</sup>

Berry's interpretation appears particularly weak when the full contexts of the two occasions on which Manuel is referred to as 'idol' are considered. The first instance occurs in Book Four, during Odo's description of the journey made by Bishop Arnulf of Lisieux and Bartholomew the Chancellor to Constantinople in order to speak with Manuel. The two messengers were admitted to the palace '*sed loqui cum idolo nequiverunt*'.<sup>103</sup> When Manuel eventually speaks with the messengers he is described as *profanus*. Odo then refers to the emperor as a 'serpent', and compares him to an adder 'swollen with poison'. Berry correctly views this as a paraphrased reference to Psalm 57:5 (although her footnote erroneously cites 58:4) : *similitudinem serpentis sicut aspidis surdae et obturantis aures suas*.

The second reference to Manuel as an 'idol' is found in Book Five of the *De Profectione*. Here Odo purported to have recorded German complaints regarding the guide provided by Manuel:

*Deinde Constantinopolitanum idolum execrabantur, qui  
cum dedisset eis viae conductorem et traditorem, quantum  
in ipso fuit Christianorum fidem stravit, paganismum*

<sup>100</sup> Berry, *De Profectione*, p.76 n.34.

<sup>101</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, p.26.

<sup>102</sup> Alain Ducellier, 'Une mythologie urbaine: Constantinople vue de l'Occident au Moyen Âge', *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome*, 96 :1(1984), p.420.

<sup>103</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, p.76.

*stabilivit, animos illorum timidos animavit, fervorem nostrorum stabilivit.*<sup>104</sup>

This reference to Manuel as an idol comes with a strong context. The juxtaposition of Manuel, ‘the idol of Constantinople’, alongside Odo’s complaints about how damaging his actions have been to the Christian cause, seems deliberate.

While Berry’s claim that the references to Manuel as an ‘idol’ relate to his clothing might have some literal truth, there is also the possibility that Odo had deliberately chosen the term as a subtle reflection on the conduct of the emperor and his subjects. As noted above, the most common term employed by Odo to refer to Greek treachery was *dolus* or the related term *dolosus*. These terms are employed fourteen times by Odo, with five usages specifically accusing Manuel of treachery.<sup>105</sup> The references made to Manuel as ‘*idolum*’ could be a deliberate play on *dolus*. Indeed some Latin speakers seem to have thought that a relationship existed between these two words. In his *Etymologies*, Isidore of Seville defined an idol: *Idolum autem est simulacrum quod humana effigie factum et consecratum est*. He then provides the Greek origin of the word, but states *Quidam vero Latini ignorant Graece imperite dicunt idolum ex dolo sumpsisse nomen, quod diabolus creaturae cultum divini nominis invexit.*<sup>106</sup>

It is not clear whether Odo was directly aware of Isidore’s writing on the subject of idols. It is equally unclear whether a full copy of the *Etymologies* was even present at St. Denis at the time. Whether Odo regarded *idolum* and *dolus* as etymologically related is also impossible to prove. It is, however, perfectly reasonable to suggest that Odo’s two references to Manuel as *idolum* was in some way inspired by his view of the treachery of Manuel and also of the Greeks more generally. The first instance of Manuel called ‘idol’ appears on the same page as one of Odo’s usages of *dolus*, with the Emperor being described as hiding ‘*sub doli tegmine*’. This statement is another instance of Odo’s common description of the superficial appearance of the Greeks masking their true intentions.<sup>107</sup>

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<sup>104</sup> Odo, *De Professione*, p.90.

<sup>105</sup> Odo, *De Professione*, pp.52, 68, 76, 112, 136.

<sup>106</sup> Isidore, *Etymologiae*, ed. W.M Lindsay (Oxford, 1911, repr. 1985), Lib. VIII xi. c.13–5.

<sup>107</sup> Odo, *De Professione*, p.76.



The linking of Greek treachery with Manuel ‘the idol’ is thus probably a deliberate rhetorical ploy by Odo. It also highlights how the techniques used by Odo to attach the Greeks and their Emperor were much more subtle, and thought through, than he has previously been given credit for. If Odo intended *idolum* as a pun on *dolus*, then it indicates that he had carefully thought out his rhetorical approach, given how often he employed *dolus* in his vocabulary. That the relationship between Odo’s choice of word and the concept of treachery is not immediately clear also allows for more literal interpretations, such as Berry’s, to be made. These are not entirely invalid, and Odo may well have also hoped to make a comment on the seemingly bizarre garb of the Emperor. Manuel, as ‘the idol’, thus becomes a physical manifestation of Greek dishonesty and trickery and of their failings in general. He is the subject of Greek idolatry, who treacherously seeks to subvert the Christian faith.

These references to the Greek emperor as impious, an idol, a serpent and an adder, can additionally be viewed in the context of Odo’s decision not to include any reference to Manuel’s proper name in his history. His choice of other, negative, terms of reference for the Emperor could be viewed as a form of *autonomasia* wherein a person is not referred to by name but rather by an attribute. The choice of *idolum* in particular fits this *color*, with its implication that Manuel was the chief deceiver in a nation of traitors. This demonstrates another layer of detail and subtlety in Odo’s excoriation of the Emperor. As noted above the removal of Manuel’s name was a conscious decision on the part of Odo, linking him with those condemned to throw into the lake of fire. The term idol comes with clear Biblical overtones and associations. The depiction of Manuel as an ‘idol’ implicitly casts the Greek people as idolaters. Revelation 21:8, which continues to deal with the ‘Book of Life’ detailed in Chapter 20 and adopted by Odo, makes clear that idolaters will be cast into pools of burning sulphur. Odo directly quoted Revelation 21:6 in a later appraisal of Louis, demonstrating again his familiarity with the text.<sup>108</sup> In his brief mention of Manuel’s father, John Comnenus, Odo also made an apparent allusion to Revelation, unnoticed by previous editors of the *De Profectione*. John’s unfortunate death is described as having been brought about by God, *iudex and vindex*.<sup>109</sup> This appears to be a reference to Revelation 6:10, where the crowds cry out for God to judge (*judicare*) and avenge

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<sup>108</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, p.142.

<sup>109</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, p.70.

(*vindicare*) their blood. These references to the Greeks in the context of the Book of Revelation are not eschatological in nature. Rather they are an indication of Odo's disillusionment with the Byzantine Empire and what he perceived as its treacherous nature.

Odo had certainly been exposed to information on the Greeks prior to the crusade, as his list of religious errors and his initial belief in their treachery indicates. The writing of Suger and the theological debates of the first half of the twelfth century are indicative of the wider context of Greek-Latin relations that, although not always hostile, still served as potential flashpoints. The influence of Odo's reading on the First Crusade also cannot be completely discounted. Recent disillusionment, however, was at the core of Odo's treatment of the Greeks. It has been recognised before that many of the judgements made in the *De Profectione* appeared to have been made in hindsight immediately following the events of the crusade. That Manuel was the 'villain' of Odo's piece has also been noted. What has not been previously recognised are the rhetorical techniques used by Odo to attack Manuel, linking him to Greek treachery as whole. Odo's invective is also clearly anti-Greek, a point that has been somewhat disputed. Odo may only mention specific grievances with the Greeks on one occasion, but throughout the text he seeks to undermine their Christianity. That he treated the Turks in a more sympathetic manner than the Greeks is indicative of this.<sup>110</sup> His persistent references to 'Greeks' are also indicative of a broadly anti-Greek rather than simply anti-Manuel approach. These two approaches, cannot however be entirely separated. The rhetorical approach used by Odo in attacking Manuel served to present the emperor as the personification of Greek misdeeds. Whilst it was only Manuel whose name Odo attempted to excise from *memoria*, his vocabulary and rhetorical approach in attacking the Emperor was brought to bear on the Greeks as a whole.

The examination of the *De Profectione*'s treatment of the three major Christian groupings involved in the Second Crusade and their respective leaders thus serves to demonstrate the variety of influences that Odo was subject to and the range of approaches that he was able to employ in presenting his information. Rather than falling into a simple categorisation of 'proto-nationalist' or a visceral Hellenophobe it is now evident that Odo put a certain amount of thought into his approach, even if his

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<sup>110</sup> See above, pp.49–50.



conclusions can still appear unpalatable to modern readers. This evidence of Odo's carefulness has also been made clear in the previous two chapters, with the different layers of information in the *De Profectione* examined along with the manner in which Odo made use of *colores rhetorici* to present his information. The following section will expand this examination of Odo's approach along with his influences and sources through the first detailed study of his other, little known, written work concerning the 1156 discovery of Christ's tunic at Argenteuil.

### *Section III – Odo’s Queen’s College MS. 348 text*

Academic discourse on Odo of Deuil has almost entirely focussed on the *De Profectione*. This has largely been a product of circumstance as it was widely regarded as his only surviving work. As previously stated, the effect of this has been that Odo has largely been examined only from the perspective of the Second Crusade and that his writing has occasionally been used as little more than a mine of information for that expedition. Whilst this approach is valid and important, it neglects the wider perspective that should also be employed: an examination of Odo as a writer in his own right, working at the abbey of St. Denis in the mid-twelfth century.

This section of the thesis will expand the examination of Odo to encompass a previously little known and under examined text. Written by Odo, this text deals with the uncovering of a relic, purportedly that of Christ’s tunic, at the priory of Argenteuil in 1156. An examination of this account serves to complement the *De Profectione* whilst also, as a text concerned primarily with France, offering a new perspective on Odo’s writing and methods.

## **Chapter 5**

### ***Odo of Deuil and Queen’s College MS. 348***

Odo’s little known account is found in MS. 348 of the Queen’s College Oxford. The text, which is incomplete, covers folios 48<sup>v</sup> to 65<sup>v</sup>. This chapter will outline Odo’s text in the context of MS. 348. The limited historiography concerning the narrative will also be assessed. The history of the physical relic of the tunic will be briefly described. Finally the attribution of the text’s authorship to Odo of Deuil will be fully demonstrated and Odo’s potential reasons for having composed the text will be assessed.

### ***Queen’s College MS. 348.***

Queen’s College MS. 348, which contains the neglected account of the tunic, is of late twelfth century origin and consists of 65 folios, divided into four sections.<sup>1</sup> These sections are further subdivided into eight quires, with section I comprising quire

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<sup>1</sup> Peter Kidd’s modern manuscript description for Queen’s MS. 348 is unpublished but is available at <http://www.queens.ox.ac.uk/library/medieval-manuscripts/descriptions/348.pdf>



1, section II quire 2, section III quires 3-6 and section IV quires 7-8. The parchment used is not of high quality but almost all of the text, written in a proto-gothic hand, remains legible. The existing content of the manuscript appears to have been drawn together in the thirteenth century from two earlier sources, with the first two sections having originally been separate from the latter two. In addition these latter two sections, totalling four quires, appear originally to have been preceded by at least four additional quires. Due to the differing origins of the first and second halves of the manuscript there superficially appears to be no overriding theme to the texts contained within it, with the manuscript description labelling it a miscellany.

The content of the manuscript is as follows:

### Section I

- fols. 1<sup>r</sup>-4<sup>r</sup>: Alcuin: *Quaestiones in Genesim* (Incomplete)
- fols. 4<sup>v</sup>-6<sup>r</sup>: Eusebius 'Gallicanus', two Easter sermons
- fols. 6<sup>r</sup>-7<sup>r</sup>: Robert Pullen, sermon '*Exortacio De egressionem huius seculi*'
- fols. 7<sup>r</sup>-8<sup>r</sup>: Hugh of St. Victor, Sermon, '*In die pentecosten de Sancto spiritu*'
- fol. 8<sup>r</sup>: Anonymous sermon on Pentecost, attributed by Migne to Hildebert of Le Mans
- fol. 8<sup>r</sup>: Bernard of Clairvaux: *De Sancto Clemente & Ceteris martirum*
- fol. 8<sup>v</sup>: Honorius of Autun: *Elucidarium*

### Section II

- fols. 9<sup>r</sup>- 9<sup>v</sup>: Assorted verses
- fol.10<sup>r</sup>: Extracts from Hugh of St. Victor: *De Archa Noe*
- fols.10<sup>v</sup>-11<sup>r</sup>: Extracts from Peter Lombard: *Sentences*
- fols. 11<sup>r</sup>- 11<sup>v</sup>: Collection of extracts: Bede, Jerome, Augustine. Further extracts from *Sentences* of Peter Lombard.
- fol. 12<sup>r</sup>: Extracts attributed to John Chrysostom
- fol. 12<sup>r</sup>: Extracts from Ambrose, commentary on Luke.
- fols. 12<sup>r</sup> – 15<sup>r</sup>: Extracts, mainly from Bede and Hugh of St. Victor, excluding fol.14<sup>v</sup>, which is blank
- fols. 15<sup>r</sup>-15<sup>v</sup>: Extracts from Peter Lombard, *Sentences* Book 4.

- fol.15<sup>v</sup>: Further extracts from Hugh of St. Victor: *De Archa Noe*

### Section III

- fols.16<sup>r</sup> – 47<sup>r</sup>: Apologetic Dialogue of William of St. Denis
- fol.46<sup>v</sup>: Marginalia: List of Kings of Israel. Corresponding list of Kings of Judea on
- fol.47<sup>v</sup>: Preface to Prosper of Aquitaine's *Epigrams*, added to blank folio

### Section IV

- fol.48<sup>r</sup>: Short prayer and genealogy of a certain Hugh, son of Gervase, added to outer fact of booklet
- fols. 48<sup>v</sup>-65<sup>v</sup>: Odo of Deuil's *Inventio* and history of the Holy Tunic of Argenteuil (incomplete)

The first two sections appear roughly to fit the manuscript description's title of 'miscellany'. Their contents are drawn from a wide selection of texts and were possibly intended for educational purposes. Of the twenty-one items contained in these first two sections, the majority are either sermons or extracts from theological texts attributed to prominent figures in the history of the Church. These figures range from patristic authorities such as Ambrose, John Chrysostom and Bede to near contemporary ones, in particular Hugh of St. Victor. The contents of the manuscript notably alters at the beginning of the third section, with the last five quires containing only five items. It is notable that of these five, three were added to the manuscript after its initial composition, the first being the preface to the *Epigrams* of Prosper of Aquitaine which was added to the blank last page of Section III, the second being lists of the kings of Israel and Judea added to the margins of the otherwise blank folios 46<sup>v</sup> and 47<sup>r</sup> and the final being a short prayer and a genealogy added to the blank first page of Section IV. Disregarding these later additions to the folios, sections III and IV of the manuscript can be seen to have originally comprised only two items. The first of these, encompassing folios 16<sup>r</sup> - 47<sup>r</sup>, is the only surviving manuscript copy of the *Dialogus Apologeticus* of William, monk of St. Denis. This document deals with the tumult at St Denis following the death of Suger in 1151 and the controversy surrounding the



election of Odo of Deuil as his successor.<sup>2</sup> The other item originally in the second, originally separate, half of MS. 348 is the incomplete account of the discovery of the tunic of Christ at Argenteuil, which comprises folios 48<sup>v</sup> - 65<sup>v</sup>.

That the second half of Queens College MS. 348 contained material associated with the royal French abbey of St. Denis was first established by Dom A. Wilmart with his publication in 1942 of the *Dialogus Apologeticus* of William of St. Denis, the biographer of the famous Abbot Suger. His death whilst working on his edition of the *Dialogus* prevented Wilmart from publishing a full commentary examining its context within the manuscript. Thus the existence of further St. Denis texts within the manuscript remained unnoticed. More recent examinations of the manuscript have briefly mentioned the existence of the Argenteuil text.<sup>3</sup> The latter two sections of the manuscript, which were initially preceded, and given the incomplete nature of the Argenteuil text possibly followed, by a number of additional quires, were thus originally devoted solely to St. Denis related subjects, in particular contemporary events affecting the abbey and its priories. The shared subject area suggests that sections III and IV may have been the products of the St. Denis scriptorium itself. Due, however, to the increasing uniformity of style employed across northern France in the twelfth century and the fact scant survival of the names of copyists from the scriptorium, firm attribution of the manuscript to the St. Denis scriptorium is difficult. Queen's College MS. 348 does not appear in Nebbiai-Dalla Guarda's attempt to reconstruct the contents of the abbey library.<sup>4</sup> Despite this, it seems entirely reasonable to suggest that MS. 348 either had a Dionysian origin of its own, or that it was at least copied from a manuscript that did. Further evidence from the manuscript supports the idea that it was of Dionysian origin and that it was possibly held there for a period. Throughout the text the scribe has noted the names of Suger and Odo in uppercase letters whenever they appear, differentiating those two abbots of St. Denis from other ecclesiastical figures whose names were recorded in association with the tunic. The name of the abbey of St.

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<sup>2</sup> William, *Dialogus*, pp. 80–118; The only lengthy study of William is H. Glaser, 'Wilhelm von Saint-Denis', *Historisches Jahrbuch* 85 (1965) pp.257–322.

<sup>3</sup> Elizabeth Brown in her 1986 article on the crusading windows at St. Denis states that she and Thomas Waldman were to publish an edition of Odo's text from Queen's MS. 348. The text is, however, still unpublished.

<sup>4</sup> Donatella Nebbiai-Dalla Guarda, *La Bibliothèque de l'abbaye de Saint-Denis en France* (Paris, 1985), pp. 65–71; H. Stahl, 'The Problem of Manuscript Painting at Saint-Denis during the Abbacy of Suger' in P.L. Gerson (ed.) *Abbot Suger and Saint-Denis: A Symposium*, (New York, 1986), pp.163–81.

Denis is also written in uppercase in once instance.<sup>5</sup> The name of Manasses, bishop of Meaux, is also written in this upper case on one occasion, but this is the only instance in which a non-Dionysian subject was differentiated in this manner.<sup>6</sup> This uppercase approach to the proper names of St. Denis figures is also evident in the opening folio of William's *Dialogus Aplogeticus*, found earlier in MS. 348 and written in the same hand. It should also be noted that a later reader of Odo's text in MS. 348 underlined a number of passages in the text. It is, of course, impossible to prove when this underlining took place, but it does not appear to have been in a modern hand. The majority of the selections made by this later reader for underlining appear to have been concerned with the nature of the Argentueil tunic and the spiritual rewards associated with viewing the relic. One piece of underlining, however, occurs in the section of the text where a charter of Archbishop Hugh of Rouen describing the display of the tunic is reproduced. Here the reader has underlined Odo's name, and his position as abbot of St. Denis.<sup>7</sup> None of the other ecclesiastical figures who were present had their names underlined. It is thus reasonable to suggest that the reader who underlined passages in the manuscript was based at St. Denis, as is reflected in his decision to draw attention to Odo's name. That the latter two sections of the manuscript were originally produced at St. Denis appears to be the most plausible explanation regarding their origin.

### **The text**

Odo's text deals with the supposed discovery, in 1156, of the relic of Christ's tunic at the priory of Argenteuil, near Paris. His account, which covers folios 48<sup>v</sup> to 65<sup>v</sup> of MS. 348, is incomplete. It terminates mid-sentence at the bottom of folio 65<sup>v</sup> with several blank folios following. This mid-sentence ending suggests that for some reason the manuscript's scribe decided to stop working on MS. 348.

The manuscript description provides the text with the English title 'Legend of the finding of the cope and tunic of the Lord in 1156 at the monastery of Argenteuil'.<sup>8</sup> This title is somewhat misleading as it gives the impression that the text recounts the discovery of two relics of Christ's clothing. The content of the text makes clear that it was only Christ's tunic which was believed to have been discovered. It is possible that

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<sup>5</sup> Queen's MS. 348 fol.52<sup>v</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Queen's MS. 348 fol.62<sup>r</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Queen's MS. 348 fol. 59<sup>r</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Kidd, *Queen's MS. 348 Description*, p.7.



this confusion was caused by the differing terminology employed by Odo, who writes about a *tunicam* and Hugh of Rouen, who describes a *cappam* in his inserted charter. The description of the text as constituting a ‘legend’, whilst generally accurate in relation to some aspects of its content, is not technically correct. A better English description of the text would be ‘The Discovery, Display and History of the tunic of Argenteuil’. This description better sums up a highly varied text that could be roughly divided into three or four sections.

The first section deals with the events surrounding the discovery of the tunic. This section belongs to the sub-category of hagiography known as *inventiones*.<sup>9</sup> The second section of the text is concerned with the display or *ostensio* of the tunic at Argenteuil, an event attended by numerous prominent Northern French ecclesiastical figures and by King Louis VII. This is followed by a third section comprising a defence of the relic’s authenticity against unnamed, and probably rhetorical, doubters.<sup>10</sup> The concluding section of the text deals with the history or more accurately the ‘pseudo-history’ of the tunic, detailing how it was possible that an item of Christ’s clothing had arrived in Argenteuil from the Holy Land. Each of these sections brings a particular type of authority to bear in discussing the tunic. The first section provides the legitimacy of the *inventio* tradition, the second the implicit blessing of the church; the third section provides biblical proofs whilst the fourth places the tunic in an historical context. This sectioning is rough and as will be demonstrated there is a large degree of overlap between these divisions. However, it does provide a brief overview of the content of the document, demonstrating as well that its content is varied enough to move it beyond the appellation of ‘legend’.

### **The Argenteuil tunic**

Whilst this thesis is concerned with Odo and his writing rather than the tunic itself it is still necessary to outline the historical context of the relic, given its centrality to Odo’s narrative.

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<sup>9</sup> On *inventiones* see pp.213–17 below.

<sup>10</sup> On the status of these doubters see pp.223–24 below.

The tunic survives to this day at Argenteuil, a suburb of Paris, and is held at the Basilique St. Denys d'Argenteuil. Tunics and wrappings associated with Jesus proved amongst the most popular Christological relics during the Middle Ages. Churches that claimed to hold this variety of relics were initially confined to Asia Minor and the Holy Land. Gregory of Tours, in his *Liber De Gloria Martyrum*, stated that the tunic of the *Immaculatus Agnus* was preserved in Galatia, 150 miles from Constantinople.<sup>11</sup> By the twelfth century a plethora of churches, spanning Christendom from Constantinople to Oviedo, claimed to hold relics of Christ's clothing.<sup>12</sup>

The documented history of the Argenteuil tunic begins with the ostension in 1156, one of the subjects of Odo's narrative. Prior to the discovery of Odo's account only two sources were available to historians concerned with the tunic. The first of these can be found in the continuation of the chronicle of Sigebert of Gembloux by Robert of Torigny (sometimes referred to as Robert de Mont given his presence at Mont St Michel at the time). Robert's chronicle entry for 1156 reads:

*In pago Parisiacensi, cappa Salvatoris nostri monasterio Argentoilo revelatione divina reperta est, inconsutilis et subrufi coloris; quam, sicut litterae cum ea reperte indicabant, gloriosa mater illius fecit ei cum adhuc esset puer.*<sup>13</sup>

Robert's report of this discovery, which was reproduced verbatim by several other chroniclers, is corroborated by an extant charter of Hugh, archbishop of Rouen.<sup>14</sup> Hugh's charter reveals that the tunic had been displayed at the abbey of Argenteuil, and gives a brief description of its display there. He named the numerous prominent northern French ecclesiastical figures that were present and also noted that the ostension of the tunic was attended by the Louis VII, the king of France. The authenticity of Hugh's charter, which is reproduced by Odo in his text, has been a subject of debate.

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<sup>11</sup> Gregory of Tours, *Liber in Gloria Martyrum*, ed. B. Krusch, MGH SS Rerum Merovingicarum 1:2 (Hannover, 1885), pp.42–3.

<sup>12</sup> H. Leclercq, 'Tunique Sans Coutures' in *Dictionnaire D'Archéologie Chrétienne et de liturgie: Smyrne – Zraïa* (Paris, 1953), pp.2820–4. Pierre Dor, *La Tunique d'Argenteuil et ses Prétendues 'Rivales'*: *Étude Historique* (Maulévrier, 2002), pp.182–223.

<sup>13</sup> Robert of Torigny, *Chronica*, vol.1. ed. A. Delise (Rouen, 1879), p.299.

<sup>14</sup> See for example Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora Vol.2*, ed. H.R Luard (London, 1874), p.212.; Hugh d'Amiens Archbishop of Rouen, *Ad universos fideles - De Cappa inconsutili*, MPL CXCII, cols.1136 - 1138



Questions regarding the authenticity of Hugh's charter often appear to have been motivated by a desire to discredit the relic itself. The complaint put forward by both Monch and J.B. Thiers, that the lack of corroborating sources called Hugh's account into question has been firmly rebuffed by the emergence of Odo's account and its reproduction of the charter. Attention has also focussed on the final words of the text which state *Actum est anno Verbi incarnati MCLVI, felicis memorie Adriano papa IIII feliciter*. This ending, with its reference to the *felicis memorie* of Adrian IV, has been interpreted as an anachronism and an indication that the document was a poor forgery, composed following the death of Pope Adrian IV in 1159.<sup>15</sup> Dor has, however, stated that this phrasing does not necessarily mean that the charter was composed following the death of the Pope.

The precise relic that Odo claimed to have encountered is a matter of some confusion. This arises due to semantic differences between his text and the other contemporary accounts. As noted above, Robert of Torigny referred to the discovery of the *cappa* of Jesus Christ. *Cappa* can be variously translated as cloak, cape or cope. In establishing what garment Robert was referring to, his statement that it was *inconsutilis*, more typically rendered as *inconsutilis*, provides a clue. It suggests that Robert had in mind the supposedly 'seamless' *tunica* of Christ which is described as *inconsutilis* in John's Gospel's account of the crucifixion (John 19 :23). However, in Hugh of Rouen's charter, the text of which is reproduced in Odo's account, the garment that was uncovered is described as *Cappam pueri Domini Jhesu*, the cloak of the young Jesus. The text of Odo's account does little to clarify the issue. The first reference to the uncovered garment comes immediately following the text's *incipit*. Here Odo stated that the *vestis Domini sacratissima* was discovered at Argenteuil.<sup>16</sup> *Vestis* is the term employed most often by Odo in relation to the relic. In the latter stages of the text the term *tunica* is employed reasonably frequently. Whilst *Indumentum* is used twice, nowhere in Odo's own writing is the term *cappa* employed. Odo did not state with any clarity precisely which tunic he thought had been uncovered. He cited numerous Biblical quotations in an attempt to demonstrate the reasonable point that Christ most likely had more than one item of clothing throughout his life. Outside of sources that he

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<sup>15</sup> For an overview of the debate over the charter's authenticity see Dor, *La Tunique d'Argenteuil*, pp. 43–44.

<sup>16</sup> Queen's MS. 348, fol.49<sup>r</sup>

quoted, Odo did not state that the tunic is 'seamless'. However, it does seem that he associated the tunic more closely with the events of Christ's later life, as evidenced by his choice of Biblical quotations. Therefore, that Hugh of Rouen took the garment to be associated with the childhood of Jesus remains confusing. It is possible that the issue was never clarified, with attendees at the *ostensio* merely given the impression that the tunic had belonged to Christ at some point in his life. Odo's transcription of Hugh's charter, complete with its claim regarding the origin of the relic, is confusing given that it seemingly contradicts his own claims. However, as will be demonstrated, the internal logic of Odo's text is frequently inconsistent. Whilst the modern tradition at Argenteuil venerates the tunic held there as that of the adult Jesus, all that can be safely said about the 1156 discovery accounts is that they suggest that a garment, subsequently associated with Jesus, was discovered there.

Following the handful of 1156 reports of its discovery and display, evidence regarding the tunic and any attendant cult appears only intermittently throughout the remainder of the Middle Ages. Pilgrimages to Argenteuil, presumably in order to venerate the tunic, are in evidence from the end of the twelfth century. Dom. Gabriel Gerberon (1686), employing a manuscript dating to either the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century, has demonstrated that six different archbishops of Sens visited Argenteuil within in the period 1199-1268. Two bishops of Paris visited in the same period, as did King Louis IX, who made the journey on two occasions, in Lent 1255 and January 1260.<sup>17</sup> Given the prominent role played by the archbishop of Sens and Louis VII in the initial display of the tunic, the repeated visits of their successors could be viewed as evidence of a continuous tradition of veneration stretching back to 1156. Evidence relating to popular pilgrimage to Argenteuil appears in the later Middle Ages, with pilgrimage badges depicting the tunic and dating to the end of the fifteenth century having been found in the river Seine.<sup>18</sup>

The modern tradition relating to the tunic holds that it arrived at Argenteuil as a gift from Charlemagne, who had in turn received it from the Byzantine Empress Irene.<sup>19</sup> Exactly when this particular belief emerged is unclear. It is notable that Odo's account

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<sup>17</sup> Dor, *La Tunique d'Argenteuil*, pp.58–9; Gerberon, p.80; J.Lebeuf, *Histoire de la ville et de tout le diocèse de Paris*, t.II (Paris, 1883), p.7.

<sup>18</sup> Dor, *La Tunique d'Argenteuil*, p.73; Arthur Forgeais, *Collection de plombs histories trouvés dans la Seine*, t.IV, (Paris, 1865), pp.99–104.

<sup>19</sup> Hugues de Nanteuil, *La Sainte Tunique d'Argenteuil* (Paris, 2000), p.27.



is the only medieval source which links the tunic with Charlemagne and the Byzantine Empire. However Odo's account, based clearly on a range of textual sources, has no obvious link with this later tradition.

### *The Queen's College Text in Historiography*

Unlike the well-known *De Profectione*, Odo's other work has not left a notable impression on historiography. This is largely a result of the very limited number of references to the text that exist in scholarly literature.

The first mention of the Queen's college text occurs in Brown and Cothren's 1986 article concerning the twelfth-century crusading windows at St. Denis. It is argued in this article that, as abbot of St. Denis, Odo was responsible for the installation of a now lost cycle of stained glass windows at St. Denis depicting events from both the First Crusade and from the legendary pilgrimage of Charlemagne to Jerusalem.<sup>20</sup> In attempting to prove this claim Brown and Cothren cite Odo's account of the display of the tunic in 1156.<sup>21</sup> The edition and commentary of the text promised by Brown and Cothren in the footnotes of this article remains unpublished over twenty-five years later.

Brown and Cothren's article constitutes one of the lengthiest mentions of Odo's text. However, although this article is frequently cited in studies of the Second Crusade, the brief but reasonably clear mention of Odo's other text seems to have gone largely ignored. Indeed, none of the handful of scholarly articles which deal specifically with Odo and the *De Profectione* make any mention of the Queen's college text. This clearly skews the position of Odo in historiography and the picture that can be built of him as an historian. Odo and the *De Profectione* have effectively been treated as the same

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<sup>20</sup> See above, pp.29–31.

<sup>21</sup> Brown and Cothren, 'Crusading Windows', p.32: 'Odo of Deuil on 10 October 1156 presided over the exhibition of the Holy Tunic at the abbey's nearby priory of Argenteuil, the house which Suger had so diligently laboured to bring under the control of Saint-Denis. A significant portion of Odo's own account of the display is dedicated to the history of the relic, including its arrival at Argenteuil.' This is footnoted with the statement that 'Thomas Waldman discovered this text; it follows the apologetic dialogue of Guillaume of Saint-Denis published by Dom Wilmart. He and Elizabeth Brown are preparing an edition and commentary'. Elizabeth Brown and Thomas Waldman delivered a brief paper on the subject of Odo's account in 2005 to a society of friends of the tunic, but only allowed a brief summary of their paper to appear in the proceedings: Brown, E.A.R and Waldman, T, 'Eudes de Deuil et la Première Ostension de la Sainte Tunique d'Argenteuil' in D.Huguet, W.Wuermeling (eds) *La Sainte Tunique d'Argenteuil face à la science: Actes du Colloque du 12 Novembre 2005 à Argenteuil organisé par COSTA (UNEC)*, (Paris, 2005) pp. 67–9.

entity – both have certainly only been properly examined in the context of the Second Crusade.

The impact of Odo's text has been only slightly more pronounced in other fields of historiography. The tunic of Argenteuil has itself generated a large amount of interest, both scholarly and pious, over a number of centuries. The foundational work in this area is the seventeenth-century study by Dom. Gabriel Gerberon.<sup>22</sup> Gerberon showed no awareness of Odo's account. He believed that the tunic was found in 1156 but his evidence was Robert of Torigny's chronicle entry for that year and the charter of Hugh of Rouen.<sup>23</sup> Subsequent histories of the tunic proved similarly ignorant of Odo's text.<sup>24</sup>

The first appearance of Odo's account in the historiography of the tunic occurs in Pierre Dor's monograph on the subject.<sup>25</sup> Dor appears to have consulted a copy of the text provided to him by E.A.R Brown and Thomas Waldman. He states that Brown and Waldman's edition of the text is forthcoming. Dor does not subject Odo's text to any detailed analysis, rather examining it for evidence regarding the authenticity of the tunic and summarising some of its content in a paragraph.<sup>26</sup> Whilst Dor's work is an admirable synthesis of all previous studies of the Argenteuil tunic, its treatment of Odo's text remains cursory. The focus of attention is on a number of events reported in the text. Here Dor is hampered by his belief that the tunic is an authentic Christological relic – this leads him to believe various seemingly contradictory statements put forward by Odo.

Elsewhere references to the text have appeared in Matthew Gabriele's work dealing with the mythical Charlemagne text, *Descriptio Qualiter*.<sup>27</sup> Gabriele does not appear to have personally consulted MS. 348 and simply restates information that can be found in Brown and Cothren's article. Lindy Grant, in her study of Abbot Suger, provides a brief hint that she has consulted the Queen's manuscript herself, providing a footnote recounting an anecdote from the text concerning Suger.<sup>28</sup> However, there is no

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<sup>22</sup> Dom. Gabriel Gerberon, *L'histoire de la robe sans couture* (Paris, 1686)

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.* p. 15; p.39.

<sup>24</sup> See, for example, Louis François Guerin, *La Sainte Robe de Notre Seigneur Jésus Christ révéree a Argenteuil* (Paris, 1844).

<sup>25</sup> Pierre Dor, *La Tunique d'Argenteuil*, pp.40–53.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.* p.44.

<sup>27</sup> The full title is *Descriptio Qualiter Karolus Magnus clavum et coronam Domini a Constantinopoli Aquisgrani detulerit qualiterque Karolus Calvus hec ad sanctum Dionysium retulerit*. The use of the *Descriptio* in Odo's text is discussed at length below.

<sup>28</sup> Grant, *Abbot Suger*, p.160, n.125.



further reference to the text in Grant's work, which is somewhat surprising considering that she does provide a brief examination of the troubled beginnings to Odo's abbacy.

Other than these fleeting mentions and notes, there has been no scholarly examination of Odo's text. Given the brevity of the treatments outlined above, it is fair to say that section III of this thesis constitutes the first proper lengthy analysis of the little known second text of Odo of Deuil.

### *Attribution of authorship to Odo of Deuil*

Any conclusions that may be drawn from the content of the Queen's MS. 348 text are obviously reliant on a strong attribution of its authorship to Odo of Deuil. The scant mentions of MS. 348 text in modern historiography, most of which are limited to footnotes, all identify Odo as its author. This attribution can be traced back to Brown and Cothren's article concerning the twelfth-century crusading windows at St. Denis. Here E.A.R Brown mentions the work that she and Thomas Waldman had done on the text, attributing its authorship to Odo.<sup>29</sup> Given the brevity of Brown and Cothren's discussion it is perhaps understandable that no fuller explanation is given for this attribution. The subsequent references to the account have all freely accepted this attribution. Indeed some of the references made to the text appear to have been done so without actual consultation of the manuscript.<sup>30</sup> A notable exception to this pattern occurs in Peter Kidd's extremely thorough manuscript description, which makes no attribution of authorship despite providing references to the relevant sections of Brown and Cothren's article.<sup>31</sup>

That Odo would have been in a position to compose such an account is without doubt. Following the discovery of a relic at an institution such as an abbey or other church it was not uncommon for the abbot who had overseen the discovery to compose the *inventio*, often prefacing his description of the discovery with a brief letter, this would generally be addressed to the archbishop of the province.<sup>32</sup> Given the position of

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<sup>29</sup> Brown and Cothren, 'Crusading Windows', p.32.

<sup>30</sup> Matthew Gabriele in particular appears to have done this – see below p.234 n.78.

<sup>31</sup> Kidd, *Queen's MS. 348 Description*, p.7.

<sup>32</sup> Helvétius, Anne-Marie, 'Les Inventions de Reliques en Gaule du Nord (IXe - XIIIe siècle) in E. Bozóky and A.M Helvétius (eds), *Les Reliques: Objets, Cultes, Symboles* (Turnhout, 1999), p.298.

authority held by Odo over Argenteuil and the supposedly key role he played in the discovery of the relic, it is reasonable to suggest that he may have taken the responsibility of composing the *inventio* himself. Evidence for Odo's presence at the ostension of the tunic, described at length in the text as if by an eyewitness, is provided by the charter of Archbishop Hugh of Rouen, which lists *Odone abbate Beati Dyonisii* as one of the abbots in attendance. Even allowing for the doubts which some hold regarding the authenticity of Hugh's charter, Odo's position as abbot of St. Denis and thus the superior of Ansoldus, prior of Argenteuil, would almost certainly have assured his presence at the ostension of the tunic.<sup>33</sup>

The clearest indication that Odo followed his presence at the ceremony with the composition of the cloak's *inventio* comes from the *incipit* of the text. This *incipit*, appearing to take the form of a letter, also firmly establishes the Dionysian roots of the text with its reference to St. Denis himself and his two co-martyrs, Rusticius and Elevation:

*Odo Dei famulus et sanctorum martyrum Dyonisii  
Rustici et Elevationii humilis minister. Universis  
sanctae ecclesie filiis et fidelibus salutem in  
Christo.*<sup>34</sup>

The use of a prefatory letter is also similar to the style of the *De Profectione*, which begins with a dedicatory letter to Abbot Suger. The author of the letter at the beginning of the *De Profectione* identifies himself as *Odo de Deogilo*.<sup>35</sup> This geographic identification was also employed by Odo in a charter issued in his brief period as prior of Chapelle-Aude. Here Odo, granting a mill-house, referred to himself as *Odo de Diogilo*.<sup>36</sup> These are the only two surviving instances of Odo identifying himself through reference to Deuil. In addition no instance survives of Odo being referred to in this manner by anyone else. He is referred to simply by his name and his position. This can be seen in the prefatory chapter of the monk William's *Dialogus*

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<sup>33</sup> Hugh d'Amiens Archbishop of Rouen, *Ad universos fideles - De Cappa inconsutili*, MPL CXCII, col.1136 – 1138.

<sup>34</sup> Oxford Queens MS.348 Fol. 48<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>35</sup> Berry p.2; Waquet p.19.

<sup>36</sup> M.Chazaud, *Fragments du Cartulaire de la Chapelle Aude* (Moulins, 1860), p.91.



*Apologeticus* where the work is dedicated to *Odoni Abbati*.<sup>37</sup> He is similarly described in the terms of his position in St. Bernard's first letter to Pope Eugenius III in defence of the embattled abbot, in a letter of Eugenius to Archbishop Peter of Bourges (1152) and in a letter of Pope Adrian IV to Odo himself (1155).<sup>38</sup>

That Odo did not refer to himself as *Odo abbas* at the start of the Queen's College document but rather as *Dei famulus* should not be considered unusual. Suger, in his numerous surviving letters, did not always style himself *abbas* in his salutations. As Gasparri has demonstrated in her excellent study of charters issued by Abbot Suger, there was no set formula to be followed in subscriptions.<sup>39</sup> This flexibility in the representation of the abbot is evident in the various ordinances enacted by Suger. The term *humilis minister* appears in this context.<sup>40</sup> Suger's 1130 ordinance concerning the establishment of a weekly commemoration of the Virgin Mary is particularly notable in the context of the Argenteuil text, with the abbot referring to himself: '*ego Sugerius Dei gratia ecclesiae beatorum martyrum Dionysii, Rustici et Eleutherii, humilis minister*.'<sup>41</sup> The *ego* employed by Suger in referring to himself is indicative of the flexibility employed by the abbots of St. Denis. It is a Sugerian flourish, not found in the headings of charters issued by other abbots. This extended opening, with its reference to Denis and his co-martyrs is found in one further surviving charter issued by Suger.

Odo's salutation establishes a Dionysian connection for the text which can be strengthened by examination of its internal evidence. The author of the text, although writing about Argenteuil, is not a monk there. It is stated at the outset that Odo was at Argenteuil having travelled there, along with other monks, to celebrate the feast of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary. This dates the 'discovery' of the tunic by Odo to the period around 15 August. Given that the ostension of the tunic took place in mid-October 1156, it is reasonable to conclude that Odo's visions are supposed to have taken place two months prior. That the author was from St. Denis rather than Argenteuil is also suggested later in the text, when, referring to relics held at the famous abbey, he

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<sup>37</sup> William, *Dialogus* p.82.

<sup>38</sup> Eugenius III, *Ad Petrum Bituricensium archiepiscopum* (M.P.L. clxxx, 1571-1572) Adrian IV, *Ad Odonem abbatem S.Dionysii* MPL.CLXXXVIII, col.1407)

<sup>39</sup> Françoise Gasparri, 'Suger de Saint-Denis. Pratiques, Formes, Langages d'une Culture Écrite au XII<sup>e</sup> Siècle' *Scrittura e civiltà* 20 (1996), p.120.

<sup>40</sup> Suger, *Chartes*, in Gasparri *Oeuvres* 2, pp. 319, 332.

<sup>41</sup> Suger, *Chartes*, in Gasparri *Oeuvres* 2, p. 326.

asks *Quis apud nos deposuerit?*<sup>42</sup> The manuscript evidence is also strongly suggestive of a St. Denis origin for the text. As noted above, the second half of the Queen's College manuscript appears to have its origin at St. Denis or one of its dependent monasteries. The two major works in this St. Denis section are the *Dialgous Apologeticus* of William of St. Denis and the account relating to the tunic. The *Dialogus* is largely concerned with Odo: indeed William dedicated the work to his abbot and one time adversary. This suggests that the Odo of the Argenteuil text is indeed Odo of Deuil. It would also appear reasonable to suggest that the second half of MS. 348 had its origins at St. Denis either during or soon after Odo's abbacy.

In addition to the evidence presented by the *incipit* and the manuscript, the case for Odo of Deuil's authorship can also be strengthened by a comparison between the language of the Argenteuil account and the *De Profectione*, the work for which Odo's authorship is assured. In drawing this comparison it should be recognised that the *De Profectione* and the Argenteuil *inventio* are two distinct and different types of text.

The *De Profectione* is an eyewitness account of the progress of Louis VII and his crusading army through Europe and Anatolia. There is a strong likelihood that it was composed during the crusade, possibly whilst the French army was based at Antioch. In comparison to some of the contemporary accounts relating the history of the First Crusade the *De Profectione* describes a relatively small number of miraculous appearances and occurrences. Whilst the Argenteuil *inventio* does share notable similarities with the *De Profectione*, most notably in that Odo presents both works as historical narratives, the subject matter is somewhat different. The *De Profectione* deals with the *gesta* of Louis VII, the *inventio* with what is supposedly the relic of Christ's tunic. The issue of whether rhetoric, which had its roots in classical paganism, was appropriate in writing concerned with sacred Christian subjects had been a matter of concern for the early Church. This conflict was reflected in the writing of Jerome, who detailed a vision in which the categories of 'Ciceronian' and 'Christian' were clearly set apart.<sup>43</sup> This use of rhetoric in Christian writing was, however, confirmed by Augustine's *De Doctrina Christiana*, which demonstrated the rhetorical basis of the

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<sup>42</sup> Queen's MS.348. fol 57.<sup>r</sup>

<sup>43</sup> Jerome, *Epistola XXII Ad Eustochium*, MPL XXII col.0416; Catherine Hill McKinley, *Ciceronian Rhetoric and the Art of Medieval French Hagiography* (University of Maryland, unpublished PhD thesis, 2007), p.1.



Gospels and remained a significant influence in the twelfth century. As has been demonstrated in this thesis, Odo himself drew on the Pauline epistles for examples of affected modesty, a *topos* that would normally be considered to have classical roots.<sup>44</sup>

Despite this, whilst the *De Profectione* contains numerous instances of rhetorical language, often to further the particular aims of Odo's text, the Argenteuil account contains fewer examples. They are not, however, absent altogether. The fondness displayed by Odo in the *De Profectione* for the *color* of paronomasia can be observed at a number of points in the text. Describing a miraculous journey undertaken by a certain Hubert whilst guided by an angel Odo employed *traductio*, a variant of paronomasia, writing *Recto igitur itinere utpote angelo ducente et docente ad castrum sancti Dyonisii perveniens*.<sup>45</sup> Wordplay in this manner is, of course, common in twelfth-century writing. But one of Odo's more distinctive and favoured forms of wordplay is also in evidence. Writing about how Bishop Manasses of Meaux supposedly had a miraculous cure bestowed on him the tunic, Odo stated that it was Abbot Suger who had apparently initially advised the bishop where to find a cure. His brief description appears to incorporate a pun on Suger's name: *Cum ergo post diutinas orationes et longam sanitatis expectationem venerando eiusdem ecclesiae abbati Suggestio de sua forte egritudine mestus cepisset conqueri, idem illi abbas Suggestus suggestit quatinus Argentoilum confidenter peteret*.<sup>46</sup>

The juxtaposition of Suger's name with *suggestere* appears to have been deliberate. Suger's name and position is already established earlier in the sentence, so there is no obvious need for the repetition, while *idem illis abbas suggestit* would have served as an adequate sentence. This deliberate construction of a pun on a person's name is also found in the *De Profectione*. In his description of the disastrous defeat inflicted upon the French as they marched over Mount Cadmus, Odo juxtaposed the name of Geoffrey of Rancon, with *rancorem*, to create the pun *rancone rancorem*.<sup>47</sup> Odo's interest in names also extended to his censorship of the name of Manuel Comnenus and its replacement with a variety of other biblical terms.

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<sup>44</sup> See above, p.84.

<sup>45</sup> Queen's MS. 348 fol.52<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>46</sup> Queen's MS. 348 fol.55<sup>f</sup>.

<sup>47</sup> See above, p.99.

Berry, in her brief overview of Odo's rhetorical usages, commented that he was particularly fond of the use of contrasts.<sup>48</sup> This observation has been further borne out by my own examination of Odo's use of *colores*. This enjoyment of contrasts is evident in the Queen's College text, particularly in Odo's notable description of different social strata. His description of the varied layers of society begins with the contrasts *Servus scilicet et liber, dives et pauper*, before proceeding through a detailed list of social groupings, each contrasted with another.<sup>49</sup> In the *De Profectione* Odo used paronomasia for ornamentation of his sentences and also in order to underline the points he was making. His usage of the same *color* in the Argenteuil text appears much more to have been for the ornamentation of sentences. However the newer text also provides examples of Odo employing rhetorical techniques to advance his argument that are not in wide evidence in the *De Profectione*. In particular the polemical nature of the Argenteuil text allows Odo to engage in the use of rhetorical questions. On more than one occasion these are written one after the other, creating the effect of repetition, a *color* that is in evidence in Odo's crusading history. An example of Odo's use of rhetorical questions is seen in his account of the *ostensio* of the tunic in the presence of Louis VII and numerous French bishops. Here, in long sentences, Odo attempts to convey the emotional power of the occasion by asking who would have been able to refrain from tears whilst watching Louis venerate the tunic, and who similarly would have been able to prevent themselves from trembling whilst listening to the bishops of Orleans and Paris conduct the service.<sup>50</sup> This use of the rhetorical question can also be seen to have been combined with the usage of repetition. Confronting those who doubted the authenticity of the tunic with a range of questions regarding other relics held in France, Odo began three consecutive sentences with the verb *quaerere*, each time in the third person subjunctive singular. The effect of this repetition is simple, as it reiterates in the mind of the reader the fact that Odo was seeking to constantly question and confront those who doubted the tunic. Despite the appearance of this and other *colores* they do not appear to have been as central to Odo's writing in this text as they were in *De Profectione*. As will be demonstrated, in the Queen's College text Odo was able to make use of a range of written sources, changing their content to suit his

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<sup>48</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, p.37.

<sup>49</sup> Queen's MS. 348 fol. 50.<sup>v</sup>

<sup>50</sup> Queen's MS. 348 fol 54.<sup>r</sup>



argument. It is this form of narrative that provides much of the thrust which *colores* provided for the *De Profectione*.

The Argenteuil text also contains examples of turns of phrase being employed by Odo that are also found in the *De Profectione*. The first passages of Odo's Argenteuil text relate his own personal encounters with the tunic and include descriptions of his two visits to the hidden *thesaurus* at Argenteuil, the first of which took place in the context of a miraculous vision. On the second occasion of Odo's visit to the *thesaurus* his account describes how certain details returned to his memory, *memorie occurrerunt*.<sup>51</sup> In the *De Profectione* Odo outlined aspects of his writing technique. He described how it was sometimes hard to maintain a linear narrative and provided the example of how Louis VII and Conrad III had *occurrerunt mihi memoriae* whilst writing about Regensburg.<sup>52</sup>

Odo described how the Le Mans layman Hubert supposedly convinced the monks of Argenteuil to show him the tunic by recounting how he had seen the relic in a dream. Odo stated that Hubert's description could only have been as accurate as it was if he had seen the relic or if he had been blessed with the spirit of prophecy: *non aliter quam si prophetico spiritu loqueretur*.<sup>53</sup> In the *De Profectione*, describing his experiences with the Greeks, Odo wrote that no one could understand them *nisi experimento vel spiritu prophetiae*!<sup>54</sup> The idea of the 'prophetic spirit' is admittedly a common one in medieval writing, particularly in theological writing. However, Odo's two usages of it are in a highly similar context, with the insight of prophecy being described as the only possible way in which a stranger could have comprehension of an idea. He is by no means the only writer to employ it in this sense, but in seeking to confirm his authorship of the Queen's college text it is significant to point out what it shares with the *De Profectione*.

Similarly the usage of the term *corona* as a reference to a circle of people rather than to a crown is found in both the *De Profectione* and the MS. 328. In his account of Louis VII's veneration of the tunic at Argenteuil Odo described how the king was

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<sup>51</sup> Queen's MS. 348, fol 50<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>52</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, p.32.

<sup>53</sup> Queen's MS. 348 fol 53<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>54</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, p.68.

*circumallente illum obtimatum corona et caterua procerum.*<sup>55</sup> In the *De Profectione* similar phrasing is found in Odo's description of negotiations between Louis and Emperor Manuel Comnenus, which took place whilst *Circumstante autem corona suorum.*<sup>56</sup>

These phrases are reasonably common in medieval Latin writing. However that all three occur in both of the works attributed to Odo of Deuil constitutes a significant piece of evidence for the firm attribution of his authorship of the MS. 328 text. It should also be noted here that both texts share a common attitude to the historical past and particularly the idea of constructing a narrative suitable for transmission to the *memoria* of future generations. These ideas, and what they demonstrate about Odo as an historian, are examined in Chapter Eight of this thesis. Given that the *incipit* alone, when coupled with the dating of the text, is strongly suggestive that Odo of Deuil was the author, it is reasonable to state that the above analysis of the manuscript and textual evidence is sufficient to strongly support the original attribution of authorship.

### ***Odo's reasons for writing***

Why Odo might have chosen to write an account of the discovery of the holy tunic at Argenteuil along with its attendant history is almost entirely a matter of speculation. It is clear that Odo felt moved to defend the status of the tunic, given that he dedicates much of his text to a polemical defence of its authenticity. These clearer statements and their relation to Odo's views on the importance of history, are examined elsewhere in this thesis in the context of his writing in the *De Profectione*. Here other potential unstated reasons for Odo's writing will be briefly assessed.

The most obvious benefit provided by the discovery of a new relic, particularly one with Christological connections, was the potential for the development of a local cult and the wider and more lucrative possibility of the relic becoming an object of pilgrimage.<sup>57</sup> The account's internal evidence provides some hint that Odo had pilgrimage in mind whilst he was writing. After having viewed the tunic himself, a

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<sup>55</sup> Queen's MS. 348 fol.54<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>56</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, p.58.

<sup>57</sup> Pierre André Sigal 'Le Travail des Hagiographes aux XI<sup>e</sup> et XII<sup>e</sup> Siècles : Sources d'Information et Méthodes de Rédaction' *Francia* 15 1987 (1988), p.150 ; Baudouin de Gaiffier, 'Les revendications de biens dans quelques documents hagiographiques du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle' *Annalecta Bollandia*, 50 (1932), pp.123–38.



layman, Hubert, is described as having gone far and wide telling people about the miraculous nature of the relic. Odo also states that prior to his encounter with the tunic Hubert had spent considerable time visiting shrines dedicated to the shrines of saints in order to pray for their protection.<sup>58</sup> An additional detail is provided with the statement that, just prior to his viewing of the tunic, Hubert had embarked on a pilgrimage to the famous shrine of St. James at Santiago de Compostela. Odo writes that it was while resting one night on the route to Compostela that Hubert was first visited by a divine messenger, who informed him about the tunic. According to Odo's account this messenger instead prompted Hubert to visit Argenteuil and the tunic. This claim by Odo is an example of a common *topos* of relic *inventio* accounts, with the site of a newly discovered relic being favourably compared with a better known pilgrimage destination.<sup>59</sup> This process of 'piggybacking' on the prestige of a more famous site was intended to improve the profile of the location where a new relic was located. Thus, as he write that a certain Hubert was advised to view the tunic of Christ rather than completing a pilgrimage to Spain, Odo was making an obvious attempt to establish Argenteuil as a centre of pilgrimage, with the tunic as the object of devotion. That this was one of Odo's motives is also indicated by his decision to list the tunic alongside the numerous other Christological relics found in contemporary northern France and also further afield in Germany.<sup>60</sup> A number of these relics were popular objects of pilgrimage themselves, and it is fair to suggest that Odo was deliberately trying to place the Argenteuil relic in an illustrious context. In addition to this contextualisation of Argenteuil and its relic amongst a number of the most famous centres of pilgrimage in contemporary Western Europe Odo's account also reiterates the spiritual rewards that were available to those who travelled to venerate the tunic. This is achieved through the full reproduction of Archbishop Hugh of Rouen's charter which offered a remission of sins for pilgrims. In introducing his reproduction of Hugh's charter Odo places particular stress on this indulgence and its relationship to Argenteuil, stating that the *largissima peccatorum venia* was issued in order to preserve the memory of the *locum* where the tunic was preserved.<sup>61</sup> Given that the audience for Odo's text would

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<sup>58</sup> Queens MS. 348 fol.51.<sup>r</sup>

<sup>59</sup> Marcus Bull, 'Views of Muslims and of Jerusalem in Miracle Stories, c.1000–1200: reflections on the study of the first crusaders' motivations' in M.Bull and Norman Housley (ed). *The Experience of Crusading 1: Western Approaches* (Cambridge, 2003), pp.32–3.

<sup>60</sup> Queen's MS. 348 fol. 64<sup>v</sup>

<sup>61</sup> Queen's MS.348 fol.58<sup>r</sup>.

necessarily have been literate, it would not be reasonable to suggest that he was solely relying on his writing to establish Argenteuil as a pilgrimage destination. Despite this, it appears clear that aspects of Odo's text demonstrated a concern with the idea of pilgrimage and particularly with the idea that Argenteuil would itself become a centre of pilgrimage. That Argenteuil did eventually become a reasonably successful pilgrimage destination appears to be indicated by the records, noted above, of visits by Louis IX as well as numerous bishops and archbishops.

It is also important to consider the possibility that Odo felt moved to write an account of the discovery of tunic due in part to the complicated relationship between the abbey of St. Denis and its dependant priory at Argenteuil. It should be remembered that this dependence was a still a relatively recent development when Odo wrote his text in the 1150s, with Argenteuil passing back under the control of St. Denis and its abbot in 1129, following the synod of St-Germain-des-Prés. The acquisition of Argenteuil, and the accompanying expulsion of its previous community of nuns, was regarded by Suger as one of his proudest achievements.<sup>62</sup> The passage of the Argenteuil priory into the control of St. Denis was sanctioned by the papal legate Matthew of Albano, with the relevant documentation surviving today. Despite this the basis for the St. Denis claim and Suger's actions remain a subject of some scholarly debate, in particular the possibility that the abbot used forged charters to back his claim.<sup>63</sup> It seems fair to suggest that Odo's account, which is largely focussed on the priory at Argenteuil, would contain some reflection of the complicated history between St. Denis and the priory at Argenteuil and that perhaps this history could have played some role, however minor, in motivating Odo to write in the first place.<sup>64</sup> It has been noted by Brown and Waldman that Odo makes no mention of the 1129 passage of Argenteuil into the control of St. Denis. They have stated that this apparent omission is surprising.<sup>65</sup> It could, however, be argued that such an omission merely served to underline the impression that St. Denis had the right to control over Argenteuil. It is unsurprising that Odo's text

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<sup>62</sup> Suger, *De Administratione*, in Gasparri *Oeuvres I*, pp.65–7.

<sup>63</sup> The theory that Suger forged charters of Louis the Pious and Lothar is put forward in T.Waldman, 'Abbot Suger and the nuns of Argenteuil', *Traditio*, 41 (1985), p.239–72 it has since been contested by various historians: see the summary given by J.P Clausen, 'Suger, faussaire de chartes' in *Suger en question: Regards croisés sur Saint-Denis*, ed. R. Grosse (Paris, 2004), p.114.

<sup>64</sup> Baudouin de Gaiffier, 'Les revendications de biens dans quelques documents hagiographiques du XIe siècle' *Annalecta Bollandia*, 50 (1932), pp.123–38.

<sup>65</sup> Waldman and Brown, 'Eudes de Deuil', p.68.



contains numerous references to the abbey of St. Denis, given that he was its abbot. An examination of these references, however, suggests that they were not merely inserted by Odo out of familiarity but that they were instead intended to demonstrate the relationship between St. Denis and Argenteuil.

According to Odo's narration of events, the majority of those people who arrived at Argenteuil to view the tunic did so having first travelled to St. Denis or receiving advice from a monk at the abbey. Thus the layman Hubert is described as having travelled through the *castrum* of St. Denis immediately before his arrival at Argenteuil. The close proximity of St. Denis to Argenteuil is recorded by Odo, who states that there was a distance of about four miles between the sites.<sup>66</sup> Similarly the text states that an ill Bishop Joscelyn of Soissons consulted with Abbot Suger of St. Denis about where he might be able to be cured. It was then supposedly on Suger's advice that Joscelyn travelled to Argenteuil to venerate the tunic. One of the reasons recorded for the monks having shown Joscelyn the relic is that he had been sent by Suger the *pater monasterii*.<sup>67</sup> Odo also stated that Archbishop Hugh of Rouen viewed the tunic three years prior to its 1156 ostension. Much like the story of Joscelyn's miraculous healing, this claim appears to be an inaccurate one, being contradicted by Hugh's own testimony regarding the tunic.<sup>68</sup> A further similarity exists between Odo's accounts of the two incidents, as he states that Hugh had visited the abbey of St. Denis prior to stopping at Argenteuil. Hugh's visit to St. Denis is described by Odo as being a regular occurrence, *mos suus*.<sup>69</sup> This language echoes Odo's own description of why he had initially travelled from St. Denis to Argenteuil, where he then discovered the tunic. At the outset of the text Odo states that he had travelled to Argenteuil, along with a number of other monks from St. Denis, in order to celebrate the feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin. He states that this visit to Argenteuil was a *mos consuetus*.<sup>70</sup> The visit of Louis VII to venerate the tunic is also described as having taken place 'around the feast of St. Denis'.<sup>71</sup>

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<sup>66</sup> Queen's MS. 348, fol.52<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>67</sup> Queen's MS. 348, fol.55<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>68</sup> See above, pp.210–12.

<sup>69</sup> Queen's MS. 348, fol.58<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>70</sup> Queen's MS. 348, fol.49<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>71</sup> Queen's MS. 348, fol.53<sup>v</sup>.

Odo's descriptions of how people came to view the tunic thus follow a consistent pattern, with a visit to St. Denis preceding a further trip to Argenteuil and a viewing of the tunic. Two of these visits are also described as having had a habitual aspect, with the visit of Hugh to St. Denis and that of Odo to Argenteuil described as regular happenings. The language used by Odo in these two descriptions is similar to his writing in the *De Profectione* regarding the decisions of Louis VII. In that work Louis is regularly presented by Odo as having taken certain decisions because they were his *mos*. In the Argenteuil *inventio* Odo presented that initial discovery of the tunic as having grown out of the St. Denis *mos* of a journey to Argenteuil. This mode of description serves to reinforce the impression of Argenteuil's dependence on St. Denis, with the journey of the abbot of St. Denis simply treated as a regular occurrence. In the *De Profectione* decisions that Louis might otherwise have been criticised for were presented in the same manner, thus making them appear as more acceptable. In addition to this particular mode of description, the wider pattern of description used by Odo, with a St. Denis visit preceding each journey to Argenteuil in his account serves to remind the reader of the control exerted by the abbey of its dependency. As is the case with the *De Profectione* the promotion of the interests of St. Denis is central to the *inventio* text. Whilst Odo did not explicitly mention the relatively recent passage of Argenteuil into the control of St. Denis the circumstantial content of his text strongly suggests that he had this relationship in mind whilst writing. Whilst underling the dependency of Argenteuil to St. Denis was not Odo's primary reason for writing, completely avoiding the subject would have been nearly impossible given his position and given the fact that the promotion of the interests of St. Denis was one of the key aims of the abbey's writers from Suger onwards.

It is also possible that Odo felt motivated to provide a written record of the discovery of the tunic in order to improve his personal reputation. The early years of Odo's abbacy at St. Denis had been marked by bitter divisions. A faction within the abbey, including Suger's biographer William of St. Denis, opposed Odo's election as abbot, accusing him of a number of charges including financial mismanagement and nepotism. Despite Odo's attempts to deal with this crisis, including sending William into temporary exile, accusations of wrong doing also appeared in sources not directly associated with St. Denis. John of Salisbury, in his *Historia Pontificalis*, states that Odo had damaged the reputation of the abbey, and alienated members of Suger's family. A



number of letters sent by Bernard of Clairvaux also indicate that Odo faced accusations of murder, a charge that Bernard was defending him against.<sup>72</sup> Whilst these charges were dismissed after Odo travelled to Rome for an audience with the pope and a reconciled William returned to St. Denis, it is still reasonable to assume that Odo's reputation would have suffered harm due to the extended period of strife at his abbey. The writing of an extended account of his personal involvement in the discovery of a relic, particularly one as prestigious as that of Christ's tunic, would have been suitable way for Odo to help the rehabilitation of his reputation. Whilst this is obviously not explicitly stated, that Odo was presenting a record of himself attending the ostension of the tunic, alongside the king of France and an assortment of prominent northern French ecclesiastical figures, is circumstantial evidence for this wish. Such a record presented Odo in the same manner as Suger had recorded his own presence at the discovery of relics and the opening of altars at St. Denis.<sup>73</sup>

The manner of the composition of Odo's text also suggests that he may have been concerned with using the text to improve his personal standing. It is of particular note that Odo includes himself as one of the first people to encounter the tunic, even providing an account of an apparently supernatural visitation which initially led him to the relic. This is unusual as it was not typical for the author of an *inventio* account to appear in the narrative in such a manner, with the miracle accounts usually included in such a text instead being reported second hand.<sup>74</sup> In the case of the Argenteuil *inventio* the account proper immediately starts with a description by Odo of his encounter with the tunic.<sup>75</sup> The language used by Odo to describe this experience makes clear his personal involvement in the events being described. This is evidenced by the repeated usage by Odo of the reflexive pronouns used to refer to the self, *ego* and *me*, in the space of only couple of paragraphs. *Ego* appears once, with Odo describing how he personally dipped his hand in a font filled with balsam.<sup>76</sup> *Me* is used five times in quick succession. The pronoun indicates clearly that it was Odo who was initially woken in the night by a vision an elderly man. It is also used to indicate that Odo was personally told by this visitant that he would be taken to view the tunic. The same

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<sup>72</sup> For the controversy of Odo's early abbacy see pp.18–23 above.

<sup>73</sup> See below, pp.260–1.

<sup>74</sup> Monika Otter, *Inventiones: Fiction and Referentiality in Twelfth Century Historical Writing* (Chapel Hill, 1996), p.44.

<sup>75</sup> For a full account of Odo's viewing of the tunic see the commentary in Chapter six below.

<sup>76</sup> Queen's MS.348 fol.49<sup>v</sup>.

pronoun is subsequently used to describe Odo's being led to the tunic and his actions upon seeing the relic.

The internal evidence of the text thus suggests that there a number of additional reasons as to why Odo would have chosen to write an account of the rediscovery and display of the tunic. However, the primary stated reason remained the creation of a written record for the *memoria* of future generations. The following chapter will provide a full commentary on the content of Odo's text, establishing the basis for an analysis of the text and a demonstration of how Odo sought to shape this *memoria*.



## Chapter 6 – A Commentary on Odo’s text in Queen’s College MS. 348

The previous chapter has noted that the amount of scholarly literature on Odo’s Argenteuil account is so small as to be almost non-existent, with references in footnotes constituting the majority of the mentions of the text. This paucity of literature unsurprisingly means that there is no commentary on the text in existence, nor has there been any sustained analysis of its content. Furthermore, no critical edition of the text has been published. An analysis of the text and particularly its sources and influences will be provided in chapter seven. This commentary will be followed by an examination of the internal logic of Odo’s text and the extent to which it could be considered accurate.

Odo’s text begins at the head of folio 48<sup>v</sup> of MS. 328 with an *incipit*. Here Odo identified himself and outlined his reasons for writing. The *incipit* appears to be epistolary in style but it should be noted that it is not addressed to anyone in particular but is rather directed at the ‘sons and faithful’ of the Holy Church. Following his salutation the epistolary character of Odo’s *incipit* continues. There is a general description by Odo of how, in ‘our time’ people had sensed the closeness of divine mercy and how garments had been displayed for their devotion:

*Sepissime Salvatoris sensimus affuisse clementiam,  
at nunc multo evidentior nobis et iustior gratulandi  
refulsit occasio, penes quos novissimis his nostrisque  
temporibus verbi incarnati indumenta devotioni  
fidelium celebriter sunt ostensa.*

The account states that these occurrences were common at the time, with frequent demonstrations of miracles and divine works having compelled even non-believers to faith (fol.48<sup>v</sup>).

Odo continued by stating his reasons for having written his account. Whilst acknowledging his *parvitas* for the task, an example of the affected modesty common in contemporary writing, Odo stated that had written his account in order that a narrative would be passed down for the *memoria* of the future faithful.

Following this statement the epistolary *incipit* ends. The account switches to a narrative of the events that immediately preceded the discovery of the tunic. The narrative begins with both a dating of events to 1156 and a direct reference to the newly discovered *vestis Domini sacratissima*. The account explains that Odo was present at Argenteuil to celebrate the feast of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary (15 August). This arrangement, with monks from St. Denis travelling to Argenteuil, is described as customary. The narrative then details the events that led to Odo's 'discovery' of the tunic. While Odo stayed at Argenteuil, he is described as having been privy to a series of mysterious visitations which led to his eventual encounter with and viewing of the tunic. The first of these visitations is described by Odo as having been a vision that he encountered during the early hours of the morning, with an old man appearing before him in his sleep (fol.49<sup>f</sup>). The account details how Odo was led by his visitor to a *locus secretus* of the abbey where he was shown a font filled with balsam, hidden behind two large moving stones. Odo wrote how he dipped his fingers in this balsam before lifting them to his nose. The smell of the liquid was described by Odo as extremely agreeable, and having the quality of thoroughly restoring him. At this point Odo's vision ends.

He then wrote how he was subsequently woken by one of the other monks, who asked him if he wanted to view the tunic. Notably Odo states that he had previously heard that the tunic was housed at Argenteuil. Odo told the brother who had woken him about his vision. This led the brother again to urge Odo to rise and go to view the tunic. The time was supposed to be opportune, as it was still night. The other monks were asleep, as were those people who had gathered for the vigil (fol.49<sup>v</sup>). The account details how Odo was eventually able to view the tunic after descending to the *locum sanctuarii*. He wrote how he was glad at the offer to see and the tunic and rose from his bed quickly and energetically. He washed his hands and prayed before proceeding to the *santuarium*. Here he was shown the tunic by the brother who had woken him. The account states that the tunic was contained in one of two ivory boxes, the other of which contained the comb of the Virgin Mary alongside various other relics. Odo describes how, as he kissed the tunic, he was reminded of his previous vision and the smell he had encountered at the font of balsam. He wrote that the tunic itself gave off the smell of the balsam from his vision. This sudden realisation and understanding convinced him of the authenticity of the tunic.



Odo's account then moves on to detailing the virtues of the relic. This section of the narrative sees the beginning of an invective by Odo against unidentified 'doubters' of the tunic. Here Odo posed a rhetorical question, asking who would doubt the tunic considering that it had supposedly brought sight to the eyes of the blind, hearing to the ears of the deaf and feeling to paralysed limbs (fol.50<sup>r</sup>). The questioning is then continued, with Odo asking who, faced with such miraculous evidence, would not break out in praise of the lord. The account details the devotion of those who had viewed the tunic, describing the tears and sighs that had been provoked in those who had kissed the relic and how they had only been able to move away from it with difficulty.

The account then relates the diverse cross-section of people who had been healed and had their flagging faith revived by the tunic. This passage is notable for the eclectic range of people included in Odo's conception of society and is worth reproducing in full:

*Omnis itaque sexus et etas omnisque conditio ad vota solvenda concurrat. Servus scilicet et liber, dives et pauper, tam literati quam laici, pueri imbeciliores robustique iuvenes, etate etiam proveciores et senes decrepiti, devotę praeterea mulieres, tam nuptę quam virgines, Deo sacratę simul ac vidue, civis denique et peregrinus, affinis et remotus singulique eorum lucri aliquid aliquem fructum consecuntur et referunt, quidam fidei languentis corroboracionem, quidam membrorum debilium redintegrationem, alii remedia egritudinum, omnes vero pariter veniam peccatorum.*

This wide ranging description of society was probably influenced by the rhetorical necessity of making the tunic appear popular. The overview is still notable for its breadth. It certainly demonstrates that Odo was capable of taking a view of social

distinctions that was far more broad ranging than the more basic contemporary models, which conceived of two or three distinct social groups (fol.50<sup>v</sup>).<sup>1</sup>

As if to illustrate the accuracy of his description of the differing social categories that were visiting the tunic, Odo then introduced to his account a *simplex et illiteratus* man from Le Mans, named Hubert. The social status which Hubert held is described at some length, with his social standing ‘between rich and poor’ echoing the previous description of the range of society which had visited the tunic. According to Odo, Hubert frequently visited various saints’ shrines where he would pray for their protection. It was in this context that Hubert is described as having received a series of visions compelling him to visit the tunic at Argenteuil. These visions came to him whilst he was undertaking a pilgrimage to the shrine of St. James at Compostela. Whilst resting on his journey Hubert is described as having felt the presence of *divina claritas* just as he was falling asleep (fol.51<sup>r</sup>). This divine presence was initially only made known to Hubert in the form of a bright light which filled the place he was staying with an unusual splendour, before it was eventually manifested in a voice which said it was sent from the Lord. The account describes how this voice confronted Hubert with a series of questions. It asked the layman why he had stopped and why he was idle. It then continued to ask Hubert why he was not seeking out the *vestis* of the Saviour, which was at a place called Argenteuil, waiting to be found and viewed by him.

The account states that Hubert was only persuaded to seek the tunic after receiving a divine visitation for the third time. He is described as having initially being too unsure about embarking on a journey to Argenteuil, as he did not know the name of the place nor had he heard of its reputation (fol.51<sup>v</sup>). After he received the decisive third visitation, Hubert is described as having visited a priest, from whom he received a blessing, before saying goodbye to his wife and family and departing for his journey. Odo described how Hubert initially travelled in the wrong direction, moving into Normandy where he arrived at the town of Argentan, *Argentomum* in Latin. The account states that this mistake was due to the similarity of the town’s name to that of

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<sup>1</sup> For an overview of the differing conceptions of society and social orders in this period see Constable’s chapter ‘The orders of Society in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries’ in Giles Constable, *Medieval Religion: New Approaches* (London, 2005), pp. 68–94.



Argenteuil. Hubert, having unsuccessfully inquired about the thing he desired whilst at Argentan, eventually returned home frustrated in his quest. This confusion led to Hubert's believing that he had been deceived by his earlier visions. However, the narrative describes how this belief was dispelled when Hubert received a further visit from the heavenly messenger, specifically described at this point as having been an angel. In this fourth vision the angel is described as initially having chided Hubert for his lack of faith before carrying him to Argenteuil *in spiritu*. There the angel showed Hubert the *vestis Domini*, along with the box in which it was contained. This vision is described as having made a clear impression on Hubert, with the name of his destination now imprinted on his mind and his eyes having been opened. Fortified with the knowledge imparted by his most recent vision, Hubert set out again. The priest was consulted again, with the text describing how on this occasion he thought Hubert to be mad (fol.52<sup>r</sup>). Having also sought permission from his wife, Hubert began his journey. Odo wrote here that his subject's spirit was stronger than his body and his faith richer than material wealth. Having followed the directions given to him by the angel, Hubert first arrived at the *castrum* of St. Denis. Odo wrote here that Hubert prayed to the martyrs while at St. Denis. They are unnamed at this point in the narrative, but the reference is obviously to the three martyrs Denis, Rusticius and Eleutherius. Having then discovered that Argenteuil was only four miles distant, Hubert rapidly made his way there.

Arriving at Argenteuil, Hubert immediately recognised the church from his visions. He then made his way into the building. Odo described how Hubert found his own way to the treasury, having been made familiar with the layout of the church in his visions. Having entered the treasury, Hubert is recorded as having immediately burst into tears of joy. He was seen here by the monks of Argenteuil, who wondered at his behaviour and particularly his steadfastness in refusing to leave when they asked him to. The account describes how, having eventually been persuaded to speak to the monks, Hubert rudely asked them, between sobs and tears, where the *vestis* of the Saviour was kept. The monks were initially unwilling to answer Hubert both on account of his *persona despicabilis* and also because the garment was only rarely displayed (fol.52<sup>v</sup>) Upon hearing this, Hubert again began to weep before telling those nearby that he had been sent to Argenteuil and recounting his final vision. Odo wrote that the accuracy of Hubert's account, which described the colour of the tunic and the form of the vessel

which held it, was such that he would only have been able to achieve it if he had been gifted with the spirit of prophecy. This description of his vision persuaded the monks to fetch the tunic for Hubert. When the tunic was brought before Hubert, so he could now view in fact what he had previously seen through his spiritual eyes, he venerated it, kissing and clasping the relic for a lengthy period of time. Following its account of his encounter with the tunic the narrative briefly concludes its treatment of Hubert. It details how, once he had returned home from Argenteuil, Hubert did not hide the 'pearl' that the Lord had shown him (Matthew 13: 45), and that he instead chose to share his *talentum* (Matthew 25: 24 - 25) with both people near and wide and coming to hear his story (fol.53<sup>r</sup>).

The narrative then switches from recounting Hubert's experience to detailing how the rediscovered tunic was displayed at Argenteuil in 1156. Odo described how the *illustrissimus princeps regni*, evidently King Louis VII, was consulted regarding the display. Following the acquisition of his assent, preparations for the display were begun. In detailing these preparations the account again displays Odo's concern with preserving information for posterity, stating how the authority of those who attended the display of the relic will help strengthen the memory of the event: *Et eorum dem auctoritate fides tante rei apud posteros robur consequeretur et sumeret firmitatem*. A date around the feast of St. Denis (9 October) was chosen as suitable for the display. The narrative describes how on that date bishops gathered for the celebration of the martyr and how the following day, with the assembled luminaries in agreement, the cloak was prepared for its *detectio*. It is also recorded at this point that King Louis VII was present in person for the celebration, with Odo this time styling the monarch as *christianissimus Francorum rex* (fol.53<sup>v</sup>). This usage of *christianissimus rex* by Odo is significant as it is possibly the first usage of the term in reference to Louis VII. Since Odo's account was composed in 1162 at the latest, and with a composition date of closer to 1156 likely, his usage probably predated that of John of Salisbury, whose *Historia Pontificalis*, previously thought to have the earliest use of the term, was probably largely composed



around 1164.<sup>2</sup> The apparently vast number of people who arrived on that day in order to venerate the tunic was conveyed by Odo in hyperbolic language typical of contemporary accounts of large crowds:

*Constat ea die tantam utriusque sexus, cuiuslibet etatis vel ordinis affuisse multitudinem, ut ad inspiciendum propter quod venerant Christi corporis indumentum, nedum ad tagendum, vix populi pars dimidia ipsa die potuerit admitti.*<sup>3</sup>

The ceremony of the veneration of the tunic which then took place is itself described in terms of the emotion it apparently generated. The narrative states that it would be necessary to have had a heart of stone or iron not to have been moved to tears by the scenes of veneration. Odo's method of description again made use of rhetorical questions at this point, much like his earlier attack against those who might have doubted the tunic. He asked who would not have trembled, seeing Theobald, bishop of Paris, and Manasses, bishop of Orléans, as they led the recitation of the litany and the invocation of the *nomina sanctorum*. This rhetorical approach was retained in his description of Louis's own veneration of the tunic, which was also described as having been a powerful event:

*Quis temperaret a lacrimis cum serenissimum principem Ludovicum videret posita veste regia, cum tremore et reverentia ante sui et omnium Conditoris ac Domini vestem venerandam accumbere provolutum, eamque ore lacrimis madente deosculantem, et vix ausum attingere?*

Following the completion of his personal veneration of the tunic, Louis himself took the relic, which had been put in a golden dish which was then set upon his shoulders. He then carried it to a *locum excelsiorem et celebrem* where it was received by Hugh, archbishop of Rouen, and Hugh de Toucy, archbishop of Sens, (fol.54<sup>r</sup>). The

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<sup>2</sup>John of Salisbury, *Historia Pontificalis*, ed. M.Chibnall (London, 1956) p. xxx, p. 54; A.Grabois, 'Louis VII Pelerin', *Revue d'histoire de l'église de France* 74, 192 (1988) p.6 n.7 ; For an examination of the history of this term at St. Denis see pp.252–7 below.

<sup>3</sup>See also Odo's account of large crowds gathering at St. Denis in his *De Profectione*, pp.14–7.

vast crowds that had assembled are then described again before the account turns to detail a specific miracle that was apparently performed through the power of the tunic. The narrative describes how, at the display of the tunic, Bishop Manasses of Meaux was seen in tears since he remembered how the power of the tunic had helped heal his friend Joscelin, the former bishop of Soissons, when he had been suffering with a fever. The narrative now turns to Manasses's testimony regarding the healing of his friend. At this part of his account Odo avoided describing the reputation of the bishop in detail, stating that he thought it unnecessary due to Joscelin's wide learning and attendant fame as a scholar (fol.54<sup>v</sup>). At the time of his healing Joscelin had supposedly been troubled with a fever for some time and had turned to the aid of the saints in search of a cure. The narrative specifically mentions that Joscelin had travelled to the abbey of St. Denis to pray to the martyrs whose relics were housed there. Despite Joscelin's many prayers, no miracle was forthcoming. Odo wrote that this lack of a cure was apparently because Jesus wished to reserve the healing of the bishop for the relic of his tunic. The bishop, saddened that his condition had not improved despite his prayers, asked for the advice of Suger, who was the abbot of St. Denis at that time. Suger advised that at that very moment the *indumentum* of the Saviour was preserved in the treasury of the church at Argenteuil and that a cure could possibly be found there. At this point Odo acknowledged the prominent role that had been played by his predecessor in contemporary Capetian France, stating that the bishop of Soissons trusted Suger's advice as *in publicis vel regni vel ecclesie negotiis sanum frequenter expertus fuisset consilium*. Odo also stated that Joscelin took Suger's advice as he was a friend of the abbot. This statement is accurate insofar as the friendships of the twelfth century can be reconstructed (fol.55<sup>f</sup>). Following a lengthy journey by horse and boat, Joscelin arrived at Argenteuil. There the monks were persuaded to bring out the rarely displayed relic of the tunic both because their guest was a bishop and also as he had been sent by Suger, the *pater monasterii*. Following the production of the relic, Joscelin proceeded to venerate it, eventually falling asleep before it. This sleep apparently led to Joscelin's miraculous healing, as when he awoke, his fever had passed. Following his receipt of this miracle and his subsequent departure from Argenteuil, the bishop is said to have sought to promote the relic and proclaimed its power whenever possible (fol.55<sup>v</sup>). The narrative states that as long as he was involved with human affairs, Joscelin frequented Argenteuil in order to venerate the *vestis*. The account of this miracle concludes with a



reminder of the good faith and reputation of Manasses of Meaux, which helped to authenticate the power of the tunic. At this point in the manuscript there appears to be a lacuna. Following the conclusion of Joscelin's healing, the narrative is interrupted with the words *O Ve!*, as if the copyist were registering his disappointment at the gap in his material.<sup>4</sup> Following this interjection the narrative resumes mid-sentence, again strongly suggesting a lacuna. Despite this, however, the gap in the narrative does not appear to be large or significant. The resumption of the text sees Odo again taking issue with those who may have doubted the authenticity of the tunic. This thread of the narrative has a direct link with the earlier passages highlighting the reputation of Manasses of Meaux. This appeal to authority was particularly important in seeking to dispel the doubts of those who did not believe in the authenticity of the power of the relic and who also queried how it had come to arrive in France.

The incomplete sentence following the apparent lacuna contains an argument from Odo against these doubters. Here Odo has written that those who doubted the authenticity of the tunic did so as they were ignorant of annals and *res gestae*. These doubters questioned how the tunic had to arrive in France in the first place and why it was in their time that it had again been uncovered. Odo initially disparaged these doubters, whether real or imagined, and stated that arguing with them would be futile (fol.56<sup>r</sup>). However his account then begins to attack those who doubted the authenticity of the tunic. They are compared to the biblical Scribes and Pharisees, who were themselves like the blind leading the blind (Matthew 23:13- 16, 23 – 29). The narrative is also more direct in characterising them as having had hard necks, immodest foreheads, blind eyes, blocked senses, hearts of stone, fat bodies, sluggish natures and, as the culmination of these defects, weak faith. The narrative again returns to the importance of a knowledge of the past for enlightenment, stating that if these doubters had read of the deeds of the Franks or were familiar with the authentic precepts of kings and emperors, then they would have had a finger put up to their mouths. As it was the narrative bemoans the inflated mouths who sought to dispute with heaven and who presumed they could investigate the intelligence of the creator (fol.56<sup>v</sup>). A number of other christological relics which were found in France at the time, and whose status was not questioned are listed. The relics chosen by Odo at this point are a reflection of his

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<sup>4</sup> See the appendix to this thesis which contains an edition of the text for full context.

own career. Attention is drawn to the *stigmata* of Christ's crucifixion held at St. Denis, that is nails and wood from the True Cross. The burial shroud of Jesus, which was preserved at Compiègne, is also mentioned along with other unnamed relics which had arrived in France from across the sea. Odo would obviously have been familiar with the relics housed at St. Denis, while he would also have known about the relic held at Compiègne, given that he had helped reform the monastery of St. Corneille there in 1150 (fol.57<sup>r</sup>).<sup>5</sup>

The account then begins to focus its argument against the doubters through the use of biblical authority. The doubters are again compared with the Jewish establishment of the New Testament. A comparison is drawn between them and the biblical Scribes and doctors of the law, who are said to have tried to occupy the seat of Moses and who denied the truth (Matthew 23:2). Odo wrote that these doubters knew nothing of *litteratura* and that they were also ignorant of law and of scriptures (Luke 5:17 or 1Timothy 1:7). The account states that those who had spoken against the tunic did so forgetting that its authenticity had the support of the *venerabiles viri* who had been in attendance at the display of the relic (fol.57<sup>v</sup>). It describes the public manner in which the display of the tunic had been conducted. Here a number of rhetorical questions are again posed, with Odo having asked who would not have believed in the tunic had they been in attendance. The narrative describes how at the display nothing was done in secret and that nothing was furtive nor was anything achieved through trickery or theft. Instead everything was conducted in *clara lux*, publically, solemnly and conspicuously. This purpose of this range of oblique references to the display of the tunic becomes clear as the narrative moves forward to again describing the *ostension*, which had already been detailed in folios 53<sup>v</sup>- 54<sup>r</sup>. Odo's reiteration of this series of events appears to have been done in order to support his argument that there was nothing underhand about the display of the tunic. The account again attests to the attendance of King Louis, who is again styled *Christianissimus*, although on this occasion as *princeps*. A list of the various French bishops who were in attendance is also provided, although they are identified only by the name of their episcopal seat. This list testifies to the presence of Archbishop Hugh d'Amiens of Rouen, Archbishop Hugh de Toucy of Sens, Bishop Theobald of Paris, Bishop Robert of Chartres, Bishop Manasses de Garlande of Orléans,

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<sup>5</sup> Brown, Cothren, 'Crusading Windows', p.33 n.133.



Bishop Godefred of Auxerre, Bishop Manasses of Meaux, Bishop Amauricus of Senlis, Bishop Henry of Troyes, Bishop Rotrodus of Evreux and Bishop Boso of Chalons sur Marne. The account states that these events occurred on the sixth ides of October 1156, that is Wednesday 10 October.

Having listed the prominent figures who attended the display of the tunic Odo again posed a series of rhetorical questions, asking who would argue with the authority of the assembled ecclesiastics (fol.58<sup>r</sup>). The account then begins to focus in more detail on the person of Hugh d'Amiens, archbishop of Rouen at the time. Challenging those who had doubted the tunic the account asks what person would want to be seen as an infidel – unfaithful and unfortunate to the extent that they would feel the need to challenge what Hugh had approved and corroborated regarding the relic. The impeccable character and morals of Hugh are briefly described before an account is provided, describing how Hugh had apparently viewed the tunic three years prior to the public display of 1156. In 1153 Hugh had supposedly been at the abbey of St. Denis to celebrate the feast of its patron, as was apparently his habit. Following this celebration at St. Denis and his departure from the abbey Hugh was diverted and found himself at Argenteuil, where he was allowed to stay as a guest. The account states that after praying and celebrating mass, Hugh was granted permission to view the tunic by the monks of Argenteuil.

Hugh was apparently touched by the Holy Spirit when he viewed the tunic and as a result he asked if he could take a *portiuncula* of the relic away with him, a request which the monks were willing to grant. Hugh's affection for this gift is recorded as having been such that he held it in higher affection than any other relic of the saints (fol.58<sup>v</sup>). At this point in the narrative the entirety of Hugh's own charter describing the display of the tunic was reproduced by Odo. Hugh's presence at the display of the tunic is described, as is his grant to everyone present of a *largissima peccatorum venia*. Odo added that the means of indulgence was committed to writing to be signed by the other bishops present. Odo wrote that Hugh wished to commit a record of the tunic's display to writing so that the location of the relic would be remembered and also so that a memory of the events of the display would survive. The whole text of this indulgence is then included in Odo's account covering fols. 59<sup>r</sup>–60<sup>v</sup>. Hugh's charter records that the *cappa pueri Jhesu* had been stored in the treasury of the church of Argenteuil since

ancient times, but that in 1156 it had been displayed for the veneration of the faithful. Hugh recorded that Louis VII was present for the display of the tunic, along with the numerous bishops already listed by Odo. Odo's reproduction of Hugh's charter largely matches the text of the original as recorded in the *editio princeps* of Gerberon, with a number of minor differences in word order evident. The only other notable difference is that Odo's reproduction does not record the presence of a number of abbots at the viewing of the tunic who were noted in Hugh's original.

Following the reproduction of Hugh's charter, the narrative turns to the biblical evidence for the existence of Christ's tunic and the authenticity of the Argenteuil relic. Several biblical references to Christ's clothing are reproduced. The first of these is Luke's reference to Mary having wrapped the infant Jesus in swaddling clothes (Luke 2:7). The apparent healing properties attributed to Christ's clothing in Scripture are then highlighted through the example of Matthew's Gospel and the story of the woman who touched Christ's tunic as he went to heal the daughter of Jairus (Matthew 9:21). This biblical precedent was used to explain how the Argenteuil relic itself had healed anyone who had touched it. The Gospel accounts of the Last Supper and Christ's crucifixion are included in order to demonstrate that it was possible for more than one relic of Christ's clothing to have survived, with the quotations being employed to show that Christ had more than one item of clothing. That Odo believed the Argenteuil relic to have been the seamless tunic of Christ is made clear, with the section of John's Gospel detailing how soldiers cast lots for Christ's tunic reproduced in full (John 19: 23–4). The belief that the Argenteuil relic was the seamless tunic of Christ is in contradiction to Odo's earlier reliance on Archbishop Hugh, who believed the relic to be the garment of the infant Jesus (fol.60<sup>v</sup>). The biblical section of the narrative is concluded with the statement, *Hec denique vestis vel alia Dominice humanitatis vestigia, que diversis nunc in locis devotione fidelium celebriter revisuntur*. This statement deals with the issue of rival relics not by challenging their authenticity but by instead viewing them as distinct but valid vestiges of Christ's life.

The narrative then moves directly from examining the tunic's biblical past to detailing its historical past, a section which is largely concerned with the issue of how the tunic had initially come to arrive in France from the East. This marks the beginning of what could be described as the 'pseudo-historical' section of Odo's text. The account



describes how many relics relating to Christ had been hidden from sight for a long period of time until the reign of the Emperor Constantine I. An account of Constantine's conversion, obviously based on legend, is provided. The emperor is described as having been baptised by Pope Sylvester I, to whom he subsequently granted substantial powers, before founding the city of Constantinople. Following this it is recounted how Constantine's mother, Empress Helena, sought out the *vestigia* of Christ's life (fol.61<sup>v</sup>). The relics uncovered and returned to Constantinople by Helena are then said to have included the true Cross, the nails from the Cross, the crown of thorns and the Holy Lance. The narrative credits the presence of these relics in Constantinople with the protection of the city for a long period of time. Odo also stated at this point that Helena recovered a range of the clothes which were worn by Christ during his lifetime. The shroud in which he was buried is mentioned again, along with the fact that it was now preserved at Compiègne. Besides this garment, Helena is also credited with the discovery of the tunic which eventually appeared at Argenteuil. Following its brief treatment of Constantine, the narrative then moves forward several centuries in time to the Carolingian period. It describes how the Greek emperor of the Eastern Roman empire at the time of Charlemagne had sought aid from the west in order to deal with incursions of Saracens on his borders. These attacks are recorded as having happened with the permission of God (fol.62<sup>r</sup>). After briefly describing the strenuous manner in which Charlemagne had administered his empire, the account concerns itself with how he travelled to the East. This journey was undertaken following the visit of two messengers of the Eastern Emperor (who is not identified by name). The fame of Charlemagne is described as having spread to the East, with the messengers mentioning his success against the Muslims in Spain (fol.62<sup>v</sup>). Charles responded positively to their message, gathering an army from across his kingdom before travelling east where the Saracens were quickly despatched. The narrative describes how, upon returning to Constantinople with his men, Charles was offered great riches by the Greek emperor by way of a reward, gold, silver and lavishly decorated vessels. This offer was refused by Charles who also forbade his men to accept the gifts, which were then offered again by the Greek *princeps* (fol.63<sup>r</sup>). It is then described how Charles explained to the Eastern emperor that he did not want to be paid like a mercenary and that he desired *preciosa humanitatis Christi supellectilis et passionis eius instrumenta* instead, as these were gifts that would benefit his whole kingdom. Charles had heard about how the Greeks

had searched Jerusalem and the other holy places of the East bringing relics of Christ to Constantinople, along with the bones of the apostles and martyrs (fol.63<sup>v</sup>). This request was granted by the *imperator Constantinopolitanus* and Charlemagne returned to the west after Latin and Greek priests had been summoned in order to bless the relics. Odo records that the authenticity of these relics, much like that of the Argenteuil tunic, was called into doubt by some. However all doubt and ambiguity was removed as, touching the relics one by one, a large number of sick people were cured of their infirmities (fol.64<sup>r</sup>). The narrative then relates how after Charlemagne had died, the relics he had gathered were transported to diverse parts of the kingdom by his successors. A portion the cross was taken to Cologne, one of the nails from the cross arrived at Trier whilst another was sent to St. Denis along with the crown of thorns, the arm of St. Simeon and the arm of the prophetess Anne. A garment was sent to Compiègne and an undergarment of the Virgin Mary to Chartres. The tunic of Christ eventually arrived at Argenteuil. The remainder of the narrative is concerned with demonstrating precisely how the tunic came to Argenteuil. Its arrival there is attributed to one of Charles's daughters, Theodrada.

Charles is described as having loved his daughters greatly and having encouraged them in a zeal for Christ. His daughters had grown attached to the relic of the tunic as a result of his encouragement that they work with their hands in spinning and weaving, as the Virgin Mary had done. Charles also encouraged this work as he thought it would prevent his daughters from becoming lazy and indolent (fol.64<sup>v</sup>). Theodrada is described as having been particularly devoted to the relic. The narrative states that as Charles lay dying in his chamber on his final day, Theodrada had entered and, in tears, asked her father for the tunic. She explained that it would be more precious to her than the whole patrimony or than the entire world. After then being consoled by her father about his impending death, Theodrada was granted the relic. Odo then began to describe how Theodrada had searched for a place suitable for the display of the tunic, where she could found an abbey with other virgins. Her search appears to have been reaching its conclusion when the text is cut short, with the last line reading: *Inter omnia igitur que oculis perlustrasset regni loca visus est*. It is reasonable to suppose that the place Theodrada had set eyes upon was Argenteuil. She was regarded as the founder of the abbey and it would seem logical that Odo's focus on Theodrada intended to use this fact in order to employ legends relating to Charlemagne in order to



explain how the tunic of Christ came to arrive at Argenteuil before its eventual re-emergence and display in 1156 (fol.65<sup>r</sup>).

### **The accuracy and internal consistency of Odo's account**

While it is obvious that the miraculous and pseudo-historical natures of Odo's account preclude it from being treated as a 'true' history, in the sense that it is not a source of accurate information, it is still useful to examine the general accuracy of a number of his statements and also to test the internal logic of aspects of his account. It has already been noted that the text is inconsistent in describing the exact nature of the tunic. Odo appears to have regarded it as being the 'seamless' tunic of Christ which he wore at his crucifixion, whilst the account of Hugh of Rouen clearly states that the garment was one worn by Jesus during his childhood. As seen above, Odo included Hugh's account in his own text despite this obvious contradiction.

This contradiction at least offers a range of options: the relic was believed to be either that of the young Christ or that of the adult Christ at the end of his earthly life. What Odo's account makes much less clear is who exactly 'discovered' the tunic in 1156 or indeed if the events described even qualified as a discovery as opposed to a re-discovery. Prior to 1156 there are no known references in the historical literature to the existence of a relic, purportedly that of Christ's tunic, at Argenteuil. This absence of sources was reflected in the two brief accounts of 1156 by Hugh d'Amiens and Robert of Torigny which were essentially the foundational texts of the tunic's history. These two texts along with Odo's, appear to have come *ex nihilo* and much the same has been assumed of the tunic.<sup>6</sup> This impression is reinforced by Robert of Torigny's brief chronicle entry on the tunic, which states that the relic was discovered by divine revelation in 1156. The same impression, that the tunic was only discovered in 1156, is also given by the opening passages of Odo's text. In his *incipit* Odo wrote that in his time certain of Jesus's garments had been solemnly displayed. However, when introducing the Argenteuil tunic, he stated that the relic had been hidden there (*celare*) like a light under a bushel (Matthew 5:15), until that time when it was suddenly revealed. Odo's initial vision also bears the hallmarks of a typical relic *inventio*

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<sup>6</sup> See above, pp.180–83.

account.<sup>7</sup> However, as can be seen above, when Odo described how he was woken from his vision by one of the monks and asked if he wanted to view the tunic, he wrote that he had previously heard about how the relic was housed at Argenteuil. Despite this apparent knowledge of the tunic, Odo's viewing of the relic is again described in the manner of an *inventio* account. The action takes place during the night and is anchored in time by the vigil. The 'odour of sanctity' also appears.

The contradiction inherent in Odo's opening paragraphs between the apparent novelty of the appearance of the tunic on one hand, and people having prior knowledge of it on the other, runs through his text. Various other prominent French ecclesiastical figures are recorded by Odo as having had knowledge of the relic, namely Bishop Joscelin of Soissons, Archbishop Hugh d'Amiens of Rouen and also Suger, Odo's predecessor as abbot of St. Denis. Suger and Joscelin's knowledge of the relic is interrelated in Odo's narrative, as it was supposedly the abbot who told his ailing friend about the tunic and its healing properties. As Suger died in January 1151, this would date his apparent knowledge of the tunic at least five or six years prior to its display. However, Suger, who was very proud of having reclaimed Argenteuil to the control of the abbey of St. Denis, made no mention of the relic in his writing.<sup>8</sup> The abbot and Joscelin were also reasonably frequent correspondents, with the latter writing letters of comfort to Suger as he approached death, but these letters contain no hints about the tunic.

Odo's tale about the visit of Hugh d'Amiens to Argenteuil in 1153 again appears spurious. Odo's claim that Hugh was in the habit of coming to St. Denis on the feast of Saint Denis is reasonable, particularly given the friendly diplomatic ties that had existed between Hugh and Suger.<sup>9</sup> Despite this, the evidence of Hugh's own charter appears to argue against his having had any experience of the tunic prior to 1156. The most obvious indicator of this is, as highlighted above, that Hugh and Odo's conceptions of the precise nature of the tunic differed. If Hugh had actually privately venerated the tunic in 1153 it would appear reasonable to suggest that he would have regarded it as a relic of Christ's adult clothing rather than of his infancy. Hugh's charter

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<sup>7</sup> See below, p.213.

<sup>8</sup> Suger, *De Administratione* in Gasparri, *Oeuvres I* pp. 64–6.

<sup>9</sup> Grant, *Abbot Suger*, p.138;



does not, however, state that 1156 marked the discovery of the tunic. It instead states that the tunic had been stored at Argenteuil, with due honour, since ancient times.

The overall picture presented by Odo's text is thus somewhat confusing. It appears that Odo's attempts to link the tunic with a range of prominent contemporary ecclesiastical figures could well have been fictions. The purpose of this would likely have been to lend his account some of the authority associated with the famous figures mentioned. The one miracle story that can be said with near certainty to have been invented by Odo is that of the layman Hubert. Hubert's story, though, may actually provide some insight into the nature of the Argenteuil relic prior to 1156 and its 'discovery' or otherwise. Odo wrote that when Hubert arrived at Argenteuil and asked to see the tunic one of the reasons he was initially refused access was due to the fact that the monks only very rarely brought the relic out. This may actually have been the case with the tunic in the period prior to 1156. It appears to have been the case that any reputation enjoyed by the tunic prior to that year was obscure. Odo may have been aware of the relic, but that is not clear. The year 1156 marked a reinvention of the tunic in both the sense that it was 'rediscovered' by Odo but also because, through its public display and the attendance of Louis VII the relic was able to become an object of pilgrimage. It was in seeking to establish this purpose for the relic, whilst also lending it the support of contemporary authorities and historical writing that led Odo to insert some of the seemingly contradictory statements into his text. The importance of form, the usage of sources and the grounding of his narrative in contemporary *topoi* were important aspects of the construction of Odo's narrative. They will be examined in the next chapter.

## Chapter 7: Queen's College MS. 348 Textual Analysis

The previous two chapters have established Odo's authorship of the text, found in Queen's College MS. 348, concerning the discovery of a relic at Argenteuil reputed to be the tunic of Christ. The first commentary on the content of Odo's little known text has also been provided. This chapter will provide further analysis of the content of Odo's text, placing it in its correct context of hagiographical and historical writing. The sources that were employed by Odo in constructing his narrative will also be identified. The paucity of secondary literature concerning Odo's text has already been commented on in Chapter Five of this thesis.<sup>1</sup> The amount of serious analysis of the content of the text is smaller again, to the point of being almost non-existent. Where a previous analysis of points in Odo's account does exist, it will be referred to in the text.

### Odo's text as an *inventio*

The central subject matter of Odo's account in Queen's MS. 348, the tunic of Christ, identifies his text as hagiographical. The subgenre of hagiography dealing with relics can itself be subdivided into different types of account. Thus the broad area concerning relics consists of more specific categories dealing with subjects such as the transfer of relics (*translatio*), their discovery (*inventio*) and their display (*elevatio*).<sup>2</sup> The specific group to which an account belongs can often be deduced by the title or lemma of the text, an approach employed by Heinzelmann in his analysis of texts contained in Paris and Brussels.<sup>3</sup> Odo's account is incomplete and untitled. It also does not contain either the term *inventio* or *translatio*. Its subject matter, however, the discovery, or rediscovery, of Christ's tunic, would seem to bring it into the area of an *inventio*.<sup>4</sup> This description certainly applies to the opening sections of the text, with the

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<sup>1</sup> See above, pp.180–82.

<sup>2</sup> M. Heinzelmann, *Translationsberichte und andere Quellen des Reliquienkultes* (Turnhout, 1979), pp.43–6.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p.45–6.

<sup>4</sup> On *inventiones* see M.Heinzelmann and also AM.Helvétius, 'Les Inventiones de reliques en Gaule du Nord (IXe - XIIIe siècle)' in E.Bozóky and AM Helvetius (eds) *Les reliques: Objets, cultes, symboles: Actes du colloque international de l'Université du Littoral-Côte d'Opale (Boulogne-sur-Mer) 4-6 septembre 1997*, (Turnhout, 1999), pp.293–311; M.Otter, *Inventiones: Fiction and Referentiality in Twelfth Century English Historical Writing* (Chapel Hill, 1996); E.M.C Van Houts, 'Historiography and Hagiography at Saint-Wandrille: the *Inventio et Miracula sancti Vulfranni*' in *Anglo-Norman Studies: Proceedings of the Battle Conference*, 12 (1989), pp. 233–250; K.Ugé, 'Relics as Tools of Power: The



various descriptions of miraculous visions leading people to the tunic. The later sections of the text concerning the display of the tunic could reasonably be described as an *elevatio* or *ostensio*. The general style of Odo's account is in keeping with contemporary *inventiones*. Longer discovery accounts of the period, especially those presented in the style of a *Historia bipartia* or *tripartia*, were often preceded with a prefatory letter by the author, who was also the bishop of the diocese or abbot of the abbey where the relic had been discovered.<sup>5</sup> An *inventio* account would also commonly accompany the foundation or refoundation of a monastic community. The Argenteuil *inventio* could thus have been related to the recent change in status of the abbey.<sup>6</sup> Similarly *inventiones* could also contain long historical accounts designed to prove the authenticity of recently discovered relics.<sup>7</sup> This is evident in Queen's MS. 348, where Odo's employment of myths surrounding Charlemagne, which could be viewed as translation accounts in their own right, was designed to demonstrate how Christ's tunic came to rest in France.

Hagiographical texts often draw on earlier examples of the genre to provide *topoi* and even basic narrative structure. As discussed above, this was also frequently the case for more conventional historical texts.<sup>8</sup> This, however, did not prevent accounts appearing which displayed individualism even with their use of *topoi*.<sup>9</sup> In the specific case of *inventiones*, no one account serves as a framework for later texts. However, Heinzelmann has identified a number of *inventiones* which appear to exert a general stylistic influence over later accounts, in particular the account of the Empress Helena's discovery of the True Cross in the *Inventio Crucis* and the discovery of the remains of Stephen the proto-martyr in the *Inventio seu revelatio corporis sancti Stephani*

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Eleventh-Century *Inventio* of St Bertin's Relics and the Assertion of Abbot Bovo's Authority' in AJA. Bijsterveld, H. Teunis and A. Wareham (eds) *Negotiating Secular and Ecclesiastical Power: Western Europe in the Central Middle Ages*, (Turnhout, 1999), pp. 51–72; For an example of an *inventio* text with certain circumstantial similarities to Odo's account see 'L'invention de Saints Innocents à l'abbaye de Brogne en 1116' ed. D. Missone *Revue Benedictine*, 111:1 (2001), pp.74–83.

<sup>5</sup> Helvétius, 'Inventions de reliques', p.298.

<sup>6</sup> For an examination of how Odo might have been inspired by the recent return of Argenteuil to the control of St. Denis see pp.191–93 above.

<sup>7</sup> Helvétius, 'Inventions de reliques', p.306.

<sup>8</sup> See for example the *topoi* of eyewitness narratives – p.40 above.

<sup>9</sup> Geary, Patrick J., *Furta Sacra: Thefts of Relics in the Central Middle Ages* (Princeton, 1978), p.14.

*protomartyris*.<sup>10</sup> That the *Inventio* of Stephen continued to play a significant role in the twelfth century is demonstrated in Suger's *Vita* of Louis VI. Suger noted in his work that the coronation of Louis took place *in die inventionis sancti prothomartyris Stephani*.<sup>11</sup> Odo's account does not appear to borrow directly from either of the texts identified by Heinzelmann, at least in the section directly relating to the tunic *inventio*. The general influence of the *inventio* of Stephen is perhaps evident however, demonstrating that, although Odo's discovery account may not be based directly on a model, it is at least rooted in hagiographical tradition. Several examples of this are evident in his accounts of his initial discovery of the tunic, the visions experienced by the layman Hubert and finally the public display of the relic.

Odo has recorded in his account that he experienced two events leading to the discovery of the tunic. The first was a vision of a mysterious personage which came to him in his sleep and the second a conversation regarding the tunic with one of the monks of Argenteuil. This second event also occurs during the night, with Odo being woken from his sleep by the brother soon after his initial vision.

#### Odo's first vision

*Ipsa itaque nocte qua sollempnes agebantur  
vigilie, cum post expletum matutinarum  
officium propinqua iam luce cubitum issem,  
visum michi est per quietem, gravem  
quandam maturamque astare personam  
meque blande satis et familiariter alloqui.*<sup>12</sup>

#### Odo and the brother

*Denique cum hac visione tam grata  
admodum delectarer, unus affuit e fratribus,*

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<sup>10</sup> Heinzelmann, *Translationsberichte*, pp.77–80.

<sup>11</sup> Suger, *Vita Ludovici*, p.86.

<sup>12</sup> Queen's MS. 348. fol.49<sup>r</sup>.



*qui me cum leniter pulsasset a somno excitavit... eo quod fratres omnes instratis quiescerent, et populis qui confluxerat vigiliis fatigatus passim obdormisset, hac igitur invitatione gavisus, impiger ac festinus surrexi.*<sup>13</sup>

The account of Odo's vision echoes the beginning of the St. Stephen *inventio*. In that text a priest, Lucian, is described as having experienced a visitation while he lay in bed:

*Adveniente nocte dormiens in cubili meo, in loco sancto baptisterii, in quo consuetudo erat mihi dormire, et custodire ecclesiastica quae erant in ministerio, hora tertia noctis quae est prima custodia vigiliarum, quasi in ecstasi effectus semivigilans, vidi virum senem.*<sup>14</sup>

In both Odo's account and the *Inventio Stephani* the vigil is used to anchor the events in the middle of the night, at which point both Odo and Lucian experienced a visitation from an apparently supernatural being as they lay in bed. However, the similarities between Odo's account and the *Inventio Stephani* are only general, with no textual borrowing in evidence. There are also obvious divergences in detail between the text, such as the precise nature of the divine visitor. Odo's use of general hagiographical *topoi* rather than specific sources is suggested again in his description of the smell he encountered while viewing the tunic in its hidden location at Argenteuil: *Odore sauvissimo sensi perfusum.*<sup>15</sup> This 'odour of sanctity' forms a classic *topos* of relic accounts. Its presence, along with the pristine condition of a saint's body, acted as a key indicator of the sanctity of a relic.<sup>16</sup> The scent is evident in the earliest examples of *inventio*, with the *Inventio Stephani* describing how *tanta suavitas et fragrantia odoris*

<sup>13</sup> Queen's MS. 348 Fols. 49<sup>v</sup> – 50<sup>f</sup>.

<sup>14</sup> *Revelatio Sancti Stephani*, ed. S. Vanderlinden *Revue des Etudes Byzantines* 6 (1946), p.192;

<sup>15</sup> Queen's MS. 348 fol.50.<sup>f</sup>

<sup>16</sup> Heinzelmänn, *Translationsberichte* p.79. n.147.

emanated from the uncovered remains of the protomartyr.<sup>17</sup> It seems that this smell was perhaps related to the idea of a buried body, with the sweet scent supposedly coming forth from embalming oil such as balsam.<sup>18</sup> Although Odo was dealing with a non-corporeal relic he was obviously still keen to include the presence of the holy scent. He achieved this by describing the presence of a font filled with *balsamum* in the room where he encountered the tunic. During his initial vision Odo smelled the balsam after having dipped his finger in the font, with the scent he encountered at this point reappearing following his actual encounter with the tunic.<sup>19</sup> Odo thus managed to include the classic *topos* of the odour of sanctity despite the nature of his relic. The nature of *inventiones* and their reliance on a selection of *topoi* in constructing narratives can be further demonstrated by an overview of a number of other *inventio* accounts that originated at St. Denis in the centuries prior to Odo's text.

### ***Inventiones* and relics at the Abbey of St. Denis prior to 1156**

As *inventiones* were a common sub-type of the numerous texts relating to relics it is unsurprising that the abbey of St. Denis produced a number of these accounts prior to Odo's 1156 Argenteuil narrative. A brief examination of the most prominent examples of St. Denis *inventiones* will help to provide a broader context for Odo's own account and will also further demonstrate how *inventiones* often follow specific formulas and *topoi* in their narratives. Two of these accounts deal with the discovery, or rediscovery, of the relics of Saint Denis, an unsurprising fact given the concerns of the abbey.<sup>20</sup> The third account is closer to Odo's both temporally and in its subject matter, as it deals with the discovery of non-corporeal Christological relics at St. Denis.

### **The *inventio* of St. Denis found in the *Gesta Dagoberti***

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<sup>17</sup> *Revelatio Sancti Stephani*, p.215;

<sup>18</sup> Ronald Finucane, *Miracles and Pilgrims: Popular Beliefs in Medieval England* (London, 1977), pp. 22–3.

<sup>19</sup> Queen's MS. 348 fol.49.<sup>v</sup> – 50.<sup>f</sup>

<sup>20</sup> Gabrielle M. Spiegel, 'The Cult of Saint Denis and Capetian Kingship' *Journal of Medieval History* 1 (1975) p.43–69.



The *Gesta Dagoberti I regis Francorum* is a ninth-century work composed by Hincmar, later archbishop of Rheims.<sup>21</sup> The *Gesta* is primarily concerned with recording the favours granted to St. Denis by the Merovingian king Dagobert I (629–34), who is also supposed to have founded the abbey. Yet in doing so it necessarily includes content relating the miracles of Saint Denis. This miraculous content contains a number of passages that relate the discovery, or *inventio*, of the saint's relics. Levillain has highlighted the sections of the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* edition of the *Gesta Dagoberti* that correspond to the *inventio* format, with chapters 1–4, 6–11, part of chapter 17, the last section of chapter 20 and chapters 42 and 44 making up an *inventio* account.<sup>22</sup> The *inventio* relates how a serf was miraculously protected from dogs that were pursuing him by taking refuge in a house that contained the relics of Saint Denis along with his two co-martyrs, Rusticius and Eleutherius.<sup>23</sup> This description of miraculous protection, whereby pursuants find themselves unable to enter the house containing the saints' relics, is then repeated when Dagobert himself is forced to take refuge from his father King Clothar. This section of the text contains one of the commonplace *topoi* of *inventiones*. Dagobert is said to have fallen asleep in the house and had a dream in which he met Denis, Rusticius and Eleutherius, who promised him their protection if he built a new church in which to house their relics. As discussed above, the nocturnal vision is a commonplace in *inventio* accounts, originating in the *inventio Stephani* and subsequently being used by Odo. Hincmar's text describes the clothing of the three martyrs as shining brightly (*nitor*), thus employing another common *topos*. The remaining chapters of the *inventio* relate how Dagobert obeyed the wishes of the martyrs, founding a lavishly decorated church near to the house which had contained their remains before translating their relics to it.

### Relics in the *De Administratione* and *De Consecratione* of Abbot Suger

Suger's two works relating to the administration and renovation of the abbey of St. Denis contain a number of mentions of the relics held there. His writing also

<sup>21</sup> G..Spiegel, 'The Cult of Saint Denis' p.51; for the attribution of authorship to Hincmar see Léon Levillain, 'Études sur l'abbaye de Saint-Denis à l'époque mérovingienne' *Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes* 82 (1921), pp. 88–114.

<sup>22</sup> Levillain, 'Études' (1921), p.72 n.1; Hincmar of Rheims, *Gesta Dagoberti* ed.B.Krusch MGH SS *Rerum Merovingicarum* 2 (Hannover, 1888), pp. 401 –2, 402–4, 406, 407, 419–21, 421–2.

<sup>23</sup> Hincmar, *Gesta Dagoberti*, pp.401–2.

confirms the continuing attention paid to the *Gesta Dagoberti* at St. Denis. Given the tradition of devotion to the founder of the abbey, which was reinvigorated by Abbot Adam, this is perhaps unsurprising.<sup>24</sup> Suger's writing, however, contain direct textual borrowings from the *Gesta*, indicating that the abbot had personally consulted a written copy of the work. Suger recounted a section of the *inventio* contained in the *Gesta*, closely following its text in a description of how Dagobert was confronted with an apparition of *pulcherrimos viros niveis vestibus comptos*.<sup>25</sup> The traditions surrounding the *inventio* of Saint Denis and his companions were thus still active in the decades when Odo was associated with the abbey.

Suger also provided accounts of a number of relic translations, including that of Denis and his co-martyrs, into a newly consecrated altar. The *De Administratione* also provides a description of an *inventio*, or more correctly the rediscovery, or re-identification of a number of relics housed in the so called 'Holy Altar' of the abbey. Suger stated that the monks of St. Denis had long believed that in the front part of this altar was placed 'an arm of the Apostle St. James, a document inside attesting this through clear disclosure by a most limpid crystal. In the right part, too, there was hidden, as an inside inscription proclaimed through the appearance of a document in the same form, an arm of the Proto-Martyr Stephen; and, likewise, in the left part an arm of St. Vincent, Levite and Martyr'.<sup>26</sup> Suger went on to describe how numerous French bishops and archbishops were in attendance for the opening of the altar, also describing how '*populi promiscui sexus turba innumerabilis*' had convened. This description of the convened crowd is again a commonplace. Odo's *inventio* reports that *sexus promiscui* were present at the ostension of the Holy Tunic.<sup>27</sup> Suger wrote that the relics were discovered, as it was thought they would be, in the altar. He also stated that an inscription revealed that Emperor Charles the Bald, who was buried in front of the altar, had deposited the relics there. This appears to be an echo of the *Descriptio* tradition

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<sup>24</sup> On Abbot Adam's introduction of the celebration of the anniversary of the death of Dagobert I see, Robert Barroux, 'L'anniversaire de la mort de Dagobert à Saint-Denis au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle: Charte inédite d'abbé Adam' *Bulletin philologique et historique du Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques* (1942 – 3), pp.131–51.

<sup>25</sup> Suger, *De Consecratione* in Gasparri, *Oeuvres* 1, pp.6–8.

<sup>26</sup> Suger, *De Administratione* in Gasparri, *Oeuvres* 1, pp.138–40.

<sup>27</sup> Queen's College MS.348 fol.54<sup>v</sup>.



employed by Odo, which is discussed below. Suger's mention of evidence confirming the identity of the relics is again a *topos* that appears in a number of *inventiones*.<sup>28</sup>

The two St. Denis *inventiones* or relic accounts dealt with here demonstrate that the issue of relics and their discovery was inextricably connected to the history and prestige of the abbey. Hincmar's *inventio* of Saint Denis served to strengthen the association with Dagobert. Over three centuries later Suger still thought highly of the Dagobert association, reflecting as much in his writing, yet he also sought to highlight the connection of his abbey with Hincmar's time, and with the Carolingian dynasty in particular. While the two accounts briefly outlined above contain elements that are highly commonplace to any *inventio*, what makes them relevant to this thesis is the context of St. Denis, and the constant preoccupation of that institution with its history. This is the context in which Odo's *inventio* and his attendant history of the holy tunic must be considered.

Odo's description of the visions which were apparently experienced by Hubert, a layman from Le Mans, also display a usage of common hagiographical traits. In Odo's account Hubert is described as having been led to Argenteuil to view the tunic following a series of visitations which urged him to journey there rather than to the shrine of St. James at Compostela. This type of 'piggybacking' on the reputation of a more famous pilgrimage destination is another common occurrence in hagiographical texts.<sup>29</sup> Odo's choice of Compostela as the destination which Argenteuil would compete with in his text, was perhaps influenced by his own dealings with Spain, where he had possibly travelled earlier in 1156.<sup>30</sup> That one of the major pilgrimage routes to Compostela departed from near Paris would also have likely had an effect on Odo's choice. Hubert was apparently only persuaded to set out on his journey after being privy to three visions.<sup>31</sup> This tripartite sequence of visions, in which doubts held by the

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<sup>28</sup> Otter, *Inventiones*, p.29.

<sup>29</sup> Marcus Bull, 'Views of Muslims and of Jerusalem in Miracle Stories, c.1000–1200: reflections on the study of the first crusaders' motivations' in M.Bull and Norman Housley (ed). *The Experience of Crusading 1: Western Approaches* (Cambridge, 2003), pp.32–3.

<sup>30</sup> On Odo's possible Spanish journey see above, pp.25–26.

<sup>31</sup> Queen's MS.348 fols.51.<sup>r</sup> – 52.<sup>r</sup>

visionary are gradually dispelled, is a common trait of *inventiones*.<sup>32</sup> The *Inventio Stephani* again serves as a potential archetype for later texts, with the visionary Lucian reluctant to believe the figures who visit him until they have appeared three times.<sup>33</sup> It is notable that in his own account Odo did not present himself as suffering from these doubts, instead passing the responsibility to a layman. The common hagiographical concept of the 'gift of tears' is also evident following Hubert's eventual arrival at Argenteuil, where he responds to finally being able to see the tunic with *lacrimae profusae*.<sup>34</sup>

The other miraculous event described in Odo's account is the healing of Bishop Joscelin of Soissons. To illustrate the power of the tunic the account details how Joscelin, who was suffering from a *quartanus typus*, sought out the tunic in the hope of a cure. In describing Joscelin's eventual healing in front of the relic, Odo's account resembles a description in his *De Profectione* of miraculous occurrences around the tomb of Bishop Alvisus of Arras. Alvisus died outside Constantinople on 6 September 1147 while participating in the Second Crusade. Odo, who may have visited the tomb with Louis VII, described the nature of the miracles:

*Sciendum est quod nos pro certo vidimus febricitantes prius  
subtus feretrum, deinde supra tumulum, obdormire,  
postmodum de sua sanitate Deo et defuncto episcopo gratias  
agere.*<sup>35</sup>

The basic structure of the two miracles described is the same, with those suffering from sickness falling asleep at a 'holy' site, before the tunic in the case of the Argenteuil text and at the tomb of Alvisus in the *De Profectione*. This variety of miracle again appears to have commonly appeared in hagiographical texts from the early Middle Ages onwards. Much like Odo's account, Gregory of Tours *Liber in Gloria confessorum* contains an account of a miraculous healing of a *Quartanus Typus* being healed following sleep by a tomb:

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<sup>32</sup> Helvetius, 'Inventiones de Reliques', p.296.

<sup>33</sup> *Revelatio Sancti Stephani*, p.200.

<sup>34</sup> Queen's MS. 348 fols 52<sup>v</sup> – 53.<sup>r</sup>

<sup>35</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, p.46.



Gregory

*Ad cuius tumulum cum Ragnimodus presbyter, qui nunc ejus municipii habetur sacerdos, quartano typo veniens decubasset, totaque die jejunio et orationi vacasset, facto jam vespere obdormivit. Expergefactus vero post paululum a somno, incolumis surrexit a tumulo.*<sup>36</sup>

Odo was thus basing his *inventio* on several well-known conventions and *topoi*. This is not surprising given the nature of the genre and of medieval writing as a whole. The manner in which he chose to use these narrative commonplaces is slightly more revealing about Odo and his association with the Abbey of St. Denis. That Odo made himself the recipient of the narrative's initial vision is not typical of the genre. The events described in *inventiones* had often been relayed at second hand to the writer. That Odo may have been seeking to burnish his own reputation by placing himself at the centre of a miraculous narrative has been discussed above. Similarly the choice of Joscelyn of Soissons as the recipient of a miraculous healing on the advice of his friend, Suger, helped Odo to associate himself with the memory of his illustrious predecessor. As stated above, the contradictory evidence of Odo's narrative, coupled with the silence of Joscelyn about Argenteuil in his own writings, suggests that it is unlikely Joscelyn actually was the recipient of healing from the Argenteuil tunic or that he was even aware of its existence. Odo thus needed to make use of *topoi* to make his narrative fit with the conventions of *inventiones* and by extension make a valid account to be transmitted for the *memoria* of the future faithful. This concern with an adherence to traditional modes of composition for the purposes of posterity is mirrored in the manner that Odo sought to mould several historical and pseudo-historical documents into a suitable version of the history of the tunic.

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<sup>36</sup>Gregory of Tours, *Liber in Gloria Confessorum*, ed. B.Krusch, MGH SS Rerum Merovingicarum 1,2 (Hannover, 1885), p.354.

## Odo's text as history

The final section of Odo's account could be described as historical, or more accurately pseudo-historical, in nature. It is in this section where his utilisation of other sources is at its most evident. Odo's knowledge of historical sources is suggested by his criticisms of those who doubt the authenticity of the Argenteuil tunic. Here he bemoans that those who did not believe the tunic to be genuine did so as they were not sufficiently knowledgeable about history.<sup>37</sup>

It is not entirely clear whether the 'doubters' referred to by Odo's text had any basis in reality, or whether they were a rhetorical creation. Sigal has stated that the prologues to hagiographical works, in seeking to underline the accuracy and importance of their narratives, insisted on their accuracy. Sigal has described these claims as partially being motivated by potential future claims of falsification or lying: '*face suis incrédules et aux détracteurs des miracles des saints, les hagiographes doivent se justifier et ils s'y emploient en citant leurs sources.*'<sup>38</sup> It should also be noted that Odo's polemical defence of the authenticity of the tunic is a theme runs throughout his narrative, rather than just appearing briefly in his preface. From the onset of the high Middle Ages there is increasing evidence that the claims of relics which were regarded as spurious were being scrutinised more closely. Writing in the eleventh century, Ralph Glaber described the large number of relics that had been discovered in Europe around the year 1000. He stated his belief that the claims of these relics to authenticity had to be supported by *diversorum argumenta indicia*.<sup>39</sup> A further example of the desire for greater accuracy in hagiographical texts can be seen in the early eleventh-century *Liber Miraculorum Sancte Fidis* (Saint Foy). The first two books of this work were written by one Bernard of Angers. As Brian Stock has argued, Bernard's compilation was unusual in that he personally gathered accounts of the miracles of St. Foy and also sought to authenticate them. Bernard also organised his compilation according to the nature of the miracle rather than in chronological order. Both aspects of this method were outlined in the prefatory letter to his work, addressed to Bishop Fulbert of Chartres, in whose

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<sup>37</sup> Queen's MS.348 fol.56.<sup>v</sup> For the relationship of this statement to Odo's conception of history as a mode of edification see p.277 below.

<sup>38</sup> Pierre André Sigal, 'Les travail des hagiographes aux XI<sup>e</sup> et XII<sup>e</sup> siècles' *Francia* 15 (1988), p.151.

<sup>39</sup> Ralph Glaber, *Historiarum Libri Quinque*, ed. and trans. John France (Oxford, 1984), pp.126, 180–84. . Brian Stock, *The Implications of Literacy* (Princeton, 1983), p. 64.



school Bernard had been on occasional student.<sup>40</sup> There is further evidence in the twelfth century regarding relics having their authenticity called into question. Guibert of Nogent's *De Pignoribus Sanctorum*, completed in 1125, dealt with the issue of inauthentic relics. Guibert's text was not sceptical about the authenticity of relics in general, but rather with the possibility that false relics did not have their claims to authenticity properly examined. He was particularly concerned with the claim made by the monks of St. Médard, near Soissons, that they possessed a tooth of the infant Christ. Guibert regarded it as important to examine the authenticity of certain relics in writing, though warned that not all writings were suitable as evidence, given the obvious falsehoods put forth in some. Thus the claims made to holiness by certain saints also needed to be properly examined.<sup>41</sup>

The seemingly increasing concern regarding the authenticity of relics reflected a growing awareness of the importance of the written word. While it is unclear if Odo had any knowledge of Guibert's text, or if his 'doubters' did in fact exist, his use of history does reflect a contemporary concern with the written word and its usage as evidence. This interest was reflected in Odo's conception of history and the importance of preserving *memoria* for future generations.<sup>42</sup>

### *The pseudo-history of Constantine and Helena*

Evidently Odo believed that knowledge of history would dispel or at least disprove the doubts held regarding the tunic. His utilisation of historical and pseudo-historical sources thus formed a crucial part of his wider aim of defending the relic. Odo's historical approach commences immediately following a lengthy quotation from St. John's Gospel (John 19:23–24) relating to the crucifixion of Christ, with a description of how Emperor Constantine I gathered relics in Constantinople. Odo began his treatment of Constantine with a brief summary of his conversion and baptism by Pope Sylvester I, describing how after becoming a Christian the Emperor granted

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<sup>40</sup> *Liber Miraculorum Sancte Fidis* ed. Luca Robertini (Spoleto, 1994), pp.73–6; Stock, *Implications*, pp.64–71.

<sup>41</sup> Stock, *Implications*, pp.244–6; Guibert of Nogent, *De Pignoribus Sanctorum* ed. R.B.C Huygens, CCCM 127 (Turnhout, 1993), pp.102–3, 138–57; Morris, Colin, 'A Critique of Popular Religion: Guibert de Nogent on The Relics of the Saints,' in G. J. Cuming and D. Baker (eds), *Popular Belief and Practice*, Studies in Church History no. 8, (Cambridge, 1972) pp.55–60.

<sup>42</sup> See Chapter 8 below.

Sylvester and his successors the freedom of Rome and ‘every kind’ of power. Constantine then moved the capital of his empire to Constantinople. Odo stated that the emperor had named it after himself, the city having previously been called Byzantium. This account clearly draws on various apocryphal traditions, the most obvious that famous forgery, the Donation of Constantine or *Constitutum Constantini*.<sup>43</sup> Odo’s description of the emperor receiving the rite of baptism from Pope Sylvester I, before granting the pontiff the freedom of Rome, along with *omnimoda potestas*, echoes the grant made by Constantine in the Donation. The Donation itself probably drew on ideas first recorded in the hagiographical *Actus Sylvestri*.<sup>44</sup> The Donation would have been well known at St. Denis, with the earliest surviving manuscript of the text having originated at the abbey.<sup>45</sup> While Odo’s account is certainly based on the ideas of these texts, the closest linguistic match offered by the *Patrologia Latina* database is found in a ninth-century source which itself made use of the body of legend surrounding the *Donation*. The *De ordine palatii* of Archbishop Hincmar of Rheims (845–882) contains a summary of the legendary events of the Donation which bears a strong resemblance to Odo’s own version.

Odo	Hincmar of Rheims: <i>De Ordine Palatii</i>
<i>At postquam Constantinus a ritu et errore gentilium ad fidem Christianam conversus, per beatum Silvestrum regenerationis lavacrum percepit, concessa eidem beato</i>	<i>Quando Constantinus magnus imperator Christianus effectus, propter amorem et honorem sanctorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli, quorum</i>

<sup>43</sup>The definitive modern edition of the Donation is that of Horst Fuhrmann, *Das ‘Constitutum Constantini’*, MGH Fontes Iuris Germani Antiq. (Hannover, 1968); For a good summary of the medieval legends surrounding the figure of Constantine see: Samuel N.C Lieu, ‘Constantine in Legendary Literature’ in Noel Lenski (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to the age of Constantine* (Cambridge, 2006) pp.298–321.

<sup>44</sup> The *Actus Sylvestri* has not been the subject of a critical edition, the text has most recently been published in P.De Leo, *Il Constitutum Constantini: Comilazione agiografica del sec. VIII* (Reggio Calabria, 1974), pp. 153 – 221; The textual history of the *Actus* has been examined in Wilhelm Pohlkamp, ‘Textfassungen, Literarische formen und Geschichtliche Funktionen der Römischen Silvester-Akten’ *Francia* 19 (1991), pp.115–96.

<sup>45</sup> Fuhrmann, *Constitutum Constantini*, p.20–1; Thomas Waldman, ‘Saint-Denis et les premiers Capétiens’ in D.I Prat and J.C Picard (eds) *Religion et Culture autour de l’an Mil* (Paris, 1990), p.196.



<p><i>pontifici atque eius successoribus Romanae urbis immunitate et omnimodea potestate, sedem regiam et imperii caput Constantinopoli statuit, nomen urbi ex nomine suo imponens, cum antea Byzantium vocaretur.</i><sup>46</sup></p>	<p><i>doctrina ac ministerio ad Christi gratiam baptismatis sacramenti pervenit, locum et sedem suam, urbem scilicet Romanam, papae Silvestro edicto privilegii tradidit, et sedem suam in civitate sua, quae antea Byzantium vocabatur, nominis sui civitatem ampliando aedificavit.</i><sup>47</sup></p>
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Odo's summary of Constantine's legendary conversion is similar to that of Hincmar in both the detail of his account and also certain linguistic similarities. Both Odo and Hincmar refer to the *sedes* of Constantine re-established at Constantinople. The similarity between Hincmar and Odo's statements regarding the previous name of that city is notable, with Odo's *cum antea Byzantium vocaretur* bearing a strong similarity to Hincmar's *quae antea Byzantium vocabatur*. It is worth noting that nowhere in Odo's history of the Second Crusade, the *De Profectione*, which contains two lengthy descriptions of Constantinople, does he make reference to the previous name of the city.<sup>48</sup> This suggests that Odo could have obtained his knowledge of the changed name of the city following his return from the Second Crusade, with the similarity of his phrasing to that of Hincmar suggesting that the *De ordine palatii* could have been his source. However, despite the similarities between Hincmar and Odo's texts, the content of Odo's account following the description of Constantine's conversion suggests that his source may have been the *Acta Sylvestri* after all. Following his account of Constantine's conversion Odo furnished an explanation for Constantinople's collection of relics which appears to draw on the tradition of the *Inventio Crucis*. The account describes how Constantine began to seek out various relics related to the life of Jesus following the insistence of his mother, the Empress Helena. These were eventually uncovered by Helena herself, with a list of the discovered relics provided by Odo:

<sup>46</sup> Queen's MS.348 fol. 61.<sup>v</sup>

<sup>47</sup> Hincmar of Rheims, *De Ordine Palatii*, ed. Thomas Gross and Rudolf Scheiffer, MGH Fontes Iuris Germanici Antiqui 3 (Hannover, 1980), p.239.

<sup>48</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, pp. 62–77, 86–9;

*Ipsius deinde instantia et religiosae matris eius Helene diligenti investigationae sunt singula requisita et de rudibus elevata. crux videlicet redemptoris sacratissima, clavique preciosi quibus cruci affixus est et corona spinea, lancea quoque per quam ex salvatoris latere perforato, salutis humane fluxerunt sacramenta.*<sup>49</sup>

The myth of Helena's discovery of the True Cross in Jerusalem has a history almost as ancient as Helena herself. She was first linked with the discovery of the relic by Ambrose at the end of the fourth century and soon a tale of a miraculous *inventio* had begun to develop in the accounts of historians such as Rufinus.<sup>50</sup> The popularity of this belief is such that a version of the story of Helen discovering the Cross came to be included in the famous thirteenth century hagiography collection, the Golden Legend.<sup>51</sup> Odo's mention of Helena is fleeting, making it hard to ascertain what text he employed as his source, if indeed he was using a source rather than merely drawing on his own general awareness of the legend. In the context of Odo's mention of Helena it is also worth reiterating that Odo's own *inventio* of the tunic does not bear a close resemblance to the discovery of the Cross, despite the apparent popularity of that myth as a model. The most compelling evidence available as to what source or sources Odo was employing is contextual. In an appendix to his study of the *Inventio Crucis* Borgehammar states that 'many manuscripts of the *Vita Sylvestri* have two brief accounts appended, of the founding of Constantinople and of the finding of the Cross.'<sup>52</sup> Polkamm, in his study of the *Acta Sylvestri*, devotes some attention to these appendices, while Borgehammar includes the text of the frequently appended version of the *inventio crucis*.<sup>53</sup> The text relating to the foundation of Constantinople can be found edited in the Bollandists' catalogue of Brussels manuscripts. That brief narrative recounts how Constantine was in Thrace, having fought against the Scythians. He was specifically

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<sup>49</sup> Queen's MS.348 fols.61.<sup>v</sup> – 62.<sup>r</sup>

<sup>50</sup> Borgehammar, Stephan, *How the Holy Cross was found: From Event to Medieval Legend* (Stockholm, 1991) pp.7–9.

<sup>51</sup> Lieu, 'Constantine in legendary literature' p. 305; Stephan Borgehammar's *How the Holy Cross was found* offers a detailed textual analysis of various forms of the early Helena legend and also includes in its appendices edited Latin texts of the *inventio*; See also A.Harbus, *Helena of Britain in Medieval legend* (Cambridge, 2002).

<sup>52</sup> Borgehammar, *Holy Cross*, p.301.

<sup>53</sup> Polkamm, *Textfassungen*, pp.184–5; Borgehammar, *Holy Cross*, p.301–2.



staying in the old city of Byzantium. While staying there, he received a vision of the deceased Pope Sylvester, who implored him build a new city and decorate it with his name. The account concludes with the foundation of Constantinople and a description of the city's name: *quae graeco sermone dicitur Constantinopolis usque in hodiernum diem*.<sup>54</sup>

It is reasonable to suggest that Odo employed a version of the *Acta Sylvestri* which contained these two common appendices. While his account does have a textual resemblance to Hincmar of Rheims's own summary of the Constantine legend, found in his *De Ordine Palatii*, the coincidence of the legend of Constantine's conversion alongside a description of the foundation of Constantinople and the *inventio* of the cross suggests the usage of the *Acta Sylvestri*. It should also be noted that a very slight, but possibly coincidental, linguistic parallel does also exist between all versions of the *Inventio Crucis* occasionally attached to the *Acta* and Odo's text. The summarised *Inventio Crucis* describes how Helena, overturning pagan idols at a temple built to Venus at the site of the crucifixion, found the traces of an older Christian site *subter ruderum moles*.<sup>55</sup> Odo stated in his account that Helena recovered the relics of the passion *de ruderibus*.<sup>56</sup>

It is notable that Odo attributed to the Empress an involvement in the recovery of relics far beyond that of the Cross. It is possible that Odo thought this association with a wide range of relic recoveries appropriate, knowing of Helena's existing close association with the Cross. This association also served to extend the historical background of a number of relics housed at St. Denis. The relics of the crown of thorns and a nail from the cross were held at St. Denis, with Suger having expressed the belief that they were brought there by Charles the Bald. Odo repeated this assertion in his own narrative but also extended the pseudo-historical background of the relics. This was possibly due to the influence of the *Descriptio*, which acted as one of Odo's major sources and which also implied that Helena has uncovered a range of relics.<sup>57</sup> Odo was thus clearly willing to adapt his source material for his own ends, attributing the discovery of the tunic, along with a series of other relics, to the Empress Helena. Odo's

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<sup>54</sup> *Catalogus Codicum Hagiographicum Bibliothecae Regiae Bruxelensis* I, ed. Hagiographi Bollandi (Brussels, 1886), pp. 119–20.

<sup>55</sup> Borgehammer, *Holy Cross*, p.301.

<sup>56</sup> Borgehammer, *Holy Cross*, p.302.

<sup>57</sup> Rauschen, *Descriptio*, p.112.

modification of pseudo-historical and historical material is most evident in his discussion of how Charlemagne came to transmit the relics discovered by Helena to the west.

### *Charlemagne's legendary journey to the East*

Odo's utilisation of historical or legendary sources in the construction of his account is most evident in the pseudo-historical passages of his text, which describe how Christ's tunic came to arrive at Argenteuil from the East.<sup>58</sup> The account employs the figure of Charlemagne as the agent of the relics' *translatio*. It describes how Charles responded to a request from the eastern Roman emperor for aid against Saracen incursions, relating how in response he travelled to the East and routed the enemies of Christendom before returning to Constantinople. The account then describes how at Constantinople Charles eventually persuaded the Byzantine emperor that his service should be rewarded, not with gold or silver, but with some of the relics which were abundant in the East.

At two points Odo revealed that his account of Charlemagne's journey was a summary of what he had found regarding the Emperor in longer sources. On the first occasion he stated that such summation was necessary in order to draw up the thread of his narrative succinctly, but that any curious person could view the story more fully as it is written down: *Verum ut succincte breviter que perstringam, quod plenius penes nos exaratum curioso cuique licebit inspicere.*<sup>59</sup> Odo again stressed the need for his account to be concluded with *brevitas* on the second occasion where he reveals his usage of other sources: *Hec prolixius enarrari rei postulabat dignitas sed ideo brevitati operam dedimus. Seu quia alias inveniri poterunt descripta pleni universa.*<sup>60</sup>

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<sup>58</sup> Queen's College MS.348 fol 62.<sup>r</sup> - fol 65.<sup>v</sup>

<sup>59</sup> Queen's MS.348 fol 63.<sup>r</sup>

<sup>60</sup> Queen's MS.348 fol 64.<sup>r</sup>



The false idea that Charlemagne had travelled to the east had its roots in the tenth century.<sup>61</sup> The tradition became increasingly popular during the course of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The anonymous author of the *Gesta Francorum* evidently subscribed to the idea and recorded that a third of the armies of the First Crusade had used a road to Constantinople that had been built by Charles.<sup>62</sup> Two lengthy accounts emerged in this period providing narratives of how the emperor travelled to Constantinople and Jerusalem. The Latin *Descriptio qualiter Karolus Magnus clavum et coronam Domini a Constantinopoli Aquisgrani detulerit qualiterque Karolus Calvus hec ad Sanctum Dionysium retulerit* was written at some point in the eleventh or possibly the early twelfth century.<sup>63</sup> A St. Denis origin for the text has largely been accepted by scholars.<sup>64</sup> The reasoning behind such an assertion has been straight forward and based on the premise of *cui bono*. Much of the *Descriptio* is devoted to explaining how a range of Christological relics came to be housed at St. Denis. Léveillain and Grosse have also argued that the composition of the text was related to the establishment of the Abbey's famous Lendit fair.<sup>65</sup> The acceptance of a St. Denis origin by prominent authorities such as Folz and Bédier has subsequently been adopted by many modern scholars.<sup>66</sup> Gabrielle Spiegel has stated that the *Descriptio*, which was subsequently used in the third volume of the *Grandes Chroniques de France*, was a 'creation of the monks of St. Denis'. She related the *Descriptio* to a series of

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<sup>61</sup> Matthew Gabriele, 'The provenance of the *Descriptio qualiter Karolus Magnus*: Remembering the Carolingians in the entourage of King Philip I (1060–1108) before the First Crusade', *Viator* 39:2 (2008), p.93.

<sup>62</sup> *Gesta Francorum*, ed. Rosalind Hill (Oxford, 1962) p.2.

<sup>63</sup> Two editions, based on different manuscripts, have been published; G..Rauschen, *Die Legende Karls des Grossen im. 11 und. 12 Jahrhundert* (Leipzig, 1890) pp.103–25; Ferdinand Castets, 'Iter Hierosolymitanum ou Voyage de Charlemagne Jerusalem et à Constantinople' *Revue des Langues Romanes* 36 (1892), pp. 439–74. Henceforth all quotations from the *Descriptio* are taken from Rauschen unless otherwise stated.

<sup>64</sup> J. Bedier, *Les Légendes Épiques*, vol.3 (Paris, 1929) pp.122–27. R. Folz, *Le Souvenir et la Légende de Charlemagne* (Geneva, 1973) pp. 179 – 181; A.Latowsky, 'Charlemagne as Pilgrim? Requests for relics in the *Descriptio Qualiter* and the *Voyage of Charlemagne*' in *The Legend of Charlemagne in the Middle Ages: Power, Faith and Crusade*, ed. M.Gabriele and J.Stuckey (London, 2008) p.153; Matthew Gabriele in, 'The Provenance of the *Descriptio Qualiter Karolus Magnus*: Remembering the Carolingians in the Entourage of King Philip I (1060 – 1108) before the First Crusade' *Viator* 39, 2 (2008), pp.93–118, argues for an origin at the court of Philip I. For a recent survey of the Charlemagne mythology in the eleventh and twelfth centuries see Matthew Gabriele, *An Empire of Memory: The Legend of Charlemagne, the Franks and Jerusalem before the First Crusade* (Oxford, 2011).

<sup>65</sup> Léon Levillain, 'Essai sur les origines du Lendit' *Revue Historique* 155 (1925), pp.241–76 ;R.Grosse, 'Reliques du Christ et foires de Saint-Denis au XIe siècle' *Revue d'histoire de l'Eglise de France* 87, (2001), 357-75.

<sup>66</sup> Judith Everard and Elizabeth Hallam, *Capetian France 987–1328*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition (Harlow, 2001), pp.241–2.

forged Carolingian charters that emanated from the abbey in the twelfth century. According to Spiegel this was all part of a process of ‘attaching the memory of Charlemagne to Saint-Denis, and through Saint-Denis to France’.<sup>67</sup> A number of scholars have argued against the consensus view. Matthew Gabrielle has attempted to place the composition of the text at the court of Phillip I. Brown and Cothren have also argued that, since Odo’s Argenteuil account was the first St. Denis text to actually incorporate large sections of the *Descriptio*, that the text itself was unknown at the abbey prior to his abbacy. This argument, as will be demonstrated below, appears to be a weak one. That the text was composed at St. Denis appears extremely likely.

The dating of the *Descriptio* has proved slightly more controversial, although it is generally agreed that it was in existence by beginning of the twelfth century. The debate has largely concerned whether the text was composed in the mid-eleventh century, or at the beginning of the twelfth century. For the purposes of this thesis it is sufficient to note that it is probable that the *Descriptio* was at least a number of decades old by the time Odo was writing in 1156. An English translation of the Latin title of the *Descriptio* serves to summarise its basic plot: ‘the description of how Charles the Great brought the nail and crown of the lord from Constantinople to Aachen and how Charles the Bald brought these to Saint Denis.’ The second lengthy account dealing with Charlemagne’s supposed pilgrimage is the vernacular poem *Voyage de Charlemagne à Jerusalem et à Constantinople*. It provides a superficially similar narrative to the *Descriptio*’s tale of Charlemagne journeying to the east, but differs greatly in tone, offering a more light hearted narrative than the sombre *Descriptio*.<sup>68</sup> The *Voyage* dates from later than the *Descriptio*, with a late twelfth century origin being favoured.<sup>69</sup> This thus rules out the *Voyage* as Odo’s source.

The similarity between Odo’s account and that of the *Descriptio* has previously been noted by Brown and Cothren in their brief reference to the Queen’s MS. 348 account.<sup>70</sup> Similarities between Odo’s account of Charlemagne obtaining relics in the

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<sup>67</sup> Gabrielle Spiegel, ‘The Reditus Regni ad Stirpem Karoli Magni: A New Look’ *French Historical Studies* 7:2 (1971), pp.160–161.

<sup>68</sup> Latowsky, ‘Charlemagne as pilgrim?’, p. 164

<sup>69</sup> Latowsky, ‘Charlemagne as pilgrim?’, p. 153.

<sup>70</sup> Brown and Cothren, ‘Crusading windows’, p.32 nn.132–3.



east and that found in the *Descriptio* certainly exist. The clearest linguistic evidence that Odo was making use of the *Descriptio* appears at the end of his description of Charlemagne's journey, where the various relics gathered by the Emperor in the East are listed along with the places to which they were distributed:

*E quibus ut aliqua nominatim exprimamus, portio sanctae crucis Colonie colitur, et duobus vero Dominice confixionis clavis alter in urbe Treverensi haberi creditur, alter in ecclesia beatissimi Dyonisii cum corona Domini spinea et brachio senis Symeonis itemque Anne prophisse evangelice brachio, honore debito conservatur, Christi praeter hoc sudarium Compendii, tunicam vero eius Argentoili, atque genitricis eiusdem salvatoris interulam Carnoti celeberrime cernimus honorari.*<sup>71</sup>

This list of relics closely resembles one found in the *Descriptio*, which describes how Charles returned to the west with various relics, replicating the names of many of the relics found in Odo's account:

*His vero sacris multisque aliis in saccis singulatim repositis cum psalmis et ymnis et canticis spiritualibus cum suo exercitu feliciter repatrians et saccum de bubalino tergore factum, in quo spineam coronam et clavum fustrumque crucis et sudarium Domini cum aliis sanctissimis reliquiis - nam sanctissime matris Domini semper virginis Marie camisia inerat et cinctorium, unde puerum Iesum in*

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<sup>71</sup> Queen's MS. 348. fol.64.<sup>v</sup>

*cunabulis cinxerat, et brachium sancti senis*  
Symonis.<sup>72</sup>

The list is not identical, however, with neither the Tunic nor the arm of St. Anne appearing in the *Descriptio*. Odo has also employed a different word to refer to the undergarment of the Virgin Mary which he has described as the *interula* as opposed to the *camisia* of the *Descriptio*. Odo's description of the relics' distribution also clearly states that the arm of St. Simeon was preserved at St. Denis. This claim echoes those made in Suger's *De Consecratione*, where the *brachium sancti senis Simeonis* is mentioned on two occasions, once alongside the nail and the crown of the Lord. The relic is also mentioned in Suger's 1140 ordinance.<sup>73</sup> Brown and Cothren have argued that Suger's apparent devotion to this relic, along with the arms of Saints Vincent, James and Stephen, is evidence that the abbot was not aware of the *Descriptio*. Although Suger claimed these relics were gifts from Charles the Bald, Brown and Cothren state that as the arm of Simeon is never said to have left Aachen in the *Descriptio* and the other arms are not mentioned in it at all, that Suger had derived his belief from another source.<sup>74</sup> That Odo, apparently having employed a version of the *Descriptio*, also believed the arm of St. Simeon to rest at his abbey, suggests the existence of a continuous tradition at St. Denis and potentially the existence of another, unknown, version of the *Descriptio*. It seems to be a stretch to suggest that Suger believed Charles the Bald had brought a range of relics to St. Denis but was himself ignorant of a written text describing how this had supposedly happened. That Odo shared the same belief, whilst also demonstrating a clear knowledge of the *Descriptio*, suggests that Brown and Cothren's assertion is ill founded. It should also be noted that Brown and Cothren state that Odo did not mention the role of the Charles the Bald in transmitting the relics which had been gathered by Charlemagne from Aachen, an account which forms the latter sections of the *Descriptio*.<sup>75</sup> Although Odo did not refer to Charles the Bald by name, he did clearly and concisely describe how the Eastern

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<sup>72</sup> Rauschen, *Descriptio*, p.117

<sup>73</sup> Suger, *De Consecratione* in Gasparri *Oeuvres I*, pp. 28, 36; Suger, *Chartes* in Gasparri *Oeuvres 2*, p.247.

<sup>74</sup> Brown, Cothren, 'Crusading Windows', p.26; Gabriele repeats this argument and refers on a number of occasions to the Queen's manuscript but he does not appear to have consulted it: Gabriele, 'The provenance of the *Descriptio Qualiter*', p.104.

<sup>75</sup> Brown, Cothren, 'Crusading Windows', p.32.



relics were distributed from Aachen by Charlemagne's successors following the death of the emperor: *Vel reliqua per regni successores ad varia loca fuerint transportata et varie per ecclesias distrubata.*<sup>76</sup>

Beyond the textual similarity of Odo's list of relics and that found in the *Descriptio* the main evidence that Odo was employing the legendary account is the similarity of the two stories. However despite these similarities, significant differences of story and of language exist between Odo's account and the *Descriptio*. Odo's account dealing with Charlemagne begins with a brief description of the trouble faced by the *finēs Grecorum* against repeated incursions of Saracens. Odo stated that all this occurred with the permission of God, *permittente Deo*. This is in contrast to the *Descriptio* which placed the trouble as occurring near Jerusalem, forcing the patriarch of the city to flee to the eastern Roman emperor, named in the *Descriptio* as 'Constantine'. Odo omitted any mention of Jerusalem or the patriarch in his account and the Eastern emperor is never referred to by name. The *Descriptio* also describes damage done by the pagans to the Holy Sepulchre, something not mentioned by Odo.<sup>77</sup> Odo's account is also different in its description of the Emperor's enemies as 'Saracens'. The *Descriptio* always refers to them as *pagani*, a trait which is consistent in all versions of the text.<sup>78</sup> Indeed the reference to the Muslims as Saracens is also unusual in the context of Odo's own *De Profectione*, where the enemies of the Crusaders are always described as 'Turks'.<sup>79</sup>

The rough narrative similarity but linguistic discontinuity continues with the description of the Eastern emperor dispatching messengers with letters to Charlemagne. Odo had described the same method of communication as the *Descriptio*, with letters being used. He did not replicate the detail of the *Descriptio*, however, which describes two Christian and two Jewish messengers. The language employed also differs, with Odo referring to *nuntios cum epistolis* as opposed to *legati cum litteris*. Odo also

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<sup>76</sup> Queen's MS. 348 fol. 64.<sup>v</sup>

<sup>77</sup> Rauschen, *Descriptio* pp.103–4.

<sup>78</sup> Gabriele, 'The provenance of the *Descriptio Qualiter*', p.95.

<sup>79</sup> Odo, *De Profectione* pp. 28, 54, 88 *et passim*

inserted a reference to the Spanish campaigns of Charlemagne, describing how the messengers knew that the Franks had recently triumphed against the Muslims of that land. This is again in contrast to the *Descriptio* which contains no references to Charlemagne's Iberian involvement. It is a further demonstration of how Odo was willing to combine various historical and pseudo-historical sources to suit his narrative.

Queen's MS.348.	Descriptio
<p><i>Huius itaque fama comperta vel gloria orientalium imperator, ab urbe constantinopoli nuntios cum epistolis ad ipsum curavit transmittere, obnixè deprecans et obtestans, ut pro communi fide contra hostes crucis Christi Saracenos auxilium sibi ferre festinaret. de quibus hunc in finibus Hyspanie feliciter constaret triumphasse.</i><sup>80</sup></p>	<p><i>Ad nostratem imperatorem Karolum Magnum, cuius fama orientalium aures iam dudum diverberaverat, legati cum litteris missi sunt, qui hec que diximus edoceant, quorum nomina subnotantur in ordine. Namque hac in legatione quattuor dinoscuntur fuisse, duo christiani duoque hebrehi. Qui utrique in sua lingua attulerunt sacras litteras.</i><sup>81</sup></p>

Much of Odo's account is similar in nature, with the basic story of the *Descriptio* appearing, but in a dramatically shortened form and with largely different vocabulary. His account of Charlemagne rallying troops to fight in the East describes the muster coming from *totum regni* as opposed to the *totam Francorum regionem* of the *Descriptio*. Detail present in the *Descriptio* has also been spared.

Queen's MS. 348.	Descriptio
<p><i>Unde collecta ex toto regno copiosa et forti</i></p>	<p><i>Imperator illico per totam Francorum regionem edici citissime</i></p>

<sup>80</sup> Queens MS.348. fol.62.<sup>v</sup>

<sup>81</sup> Rauschen, *Descriptio*, p.104.



<i>manu pugnatorum, quo invitabatur ire non distulit.</i> <sup>82</sup>	<i>imperat, quo omnes, qui ad sese defendendum arma possent ferre tam senes quam invenes, pariter secum pugnaturi in paganos versus orientales plagas inevitabiliter ire satagant</i> <sup>83</sup>
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In describing the defeat of the pagans, although Odo used the noun *fuga* in an echo of the *Descriptio's fugatis paganis*, he has again omitted key details. The description of the banner of Christ's crucifixion and passion, prominent in the *Descriptio*, is absent from Odo's account, as is the person of the patriarch.

Queen's MS. 348.	Descriptio
<i>Postquam hostibus vel peremptis vel in fugam versis non solum pacem verum etiam pauloante desperatis securitatem restituit, in urbem regiam Constantinopolim feliciter reversus, cum gloria et ingenti omnium tripudio more triumphantis ut dignum erat susceptus est.</i> <sup>84</sup>	<i>Tandem rex cum exercitu suo Constantinopolim pervenit. Postea vero fugatis paganis ad urbem, que vexilla vivifice crucis Christique passionis, mortis ac resurrectionis, retinet monimenta, letus et supplex advenit ac patriarche totique christicole plebi cuncta prospera deo opitulante solidavit.</i> <sup>85</sup>

The divergence between Odo's account and the text of the *Descriptio* is again evident in his account of the rewards offered to Charlemagne by the Emperor of Constantinople, with Odo having simplified the long list of exotic treasures found in the *Descriptio* into a brief list of silver, gold and decorated vessels:

<sup>82</sup> Queens MS.348. fols 62.<sup>v</sup> – 63.<sup>r</sup>

<sup>83</sup> Rauschen, *Descriptio* p.108.

<sup>84</sup> Queens MS.348. fol. 63.<sup>r</sup>

<sup>85</sup> Rauschen, *Descriptio* p.109.

Queen's MS. 348.	Descriptio
<p><i>Interim Constantinopolitanus prolatum de thesauro argentum aurumque. et vasa desiderabilia cum omnis generis ornatu. per plateas urbis qua francorum exercitus victor erat transiturus, ex industria exposuerat, speras fore ut victor miles ad opes ultro oblatas velut pro compensatione laboris procurreret.</i><sup>86</sup></p>	<p><i>Ille Constantinopolitanus imperator pre porta civitatis in aperto campo inque oculorum redeuntis regis intuit animalia multi generis tam bestiarum quam volucrum cariora variique coloris pallia et meliora gemmarum et preciosissimorum lapidum quoque insignia, hec omnia quasi tanti laboris periculive et longi itineris esse mercedem computans preparari fecit.</i><sup>87</sup></p>

### *The tradition of the Charlemagne legend at St. Denis*

The issue of Odo's usage of the *Descriptio*, and in particular whether he was the first person at St. Denis to employ that particular legendary account, is closely related to a wider scholarly debate about the provenance of two forged charters supposedly granted by Charlemagne to the abbey. The debate over who was responsible for these forgeries is germane to the examination of when the *Descriptio* first appeared at St. Denis. The discussion is also particularly relevant to this thesis, as it has been suggested that it may have been Odo who was responsible for the forgeries.<sup>88</sup>

The two charters in question are *D.Kar.* 282 and *D.Kar.* 286 in the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*.<sup>89</sup> In *D.* 282, which is dated to Soissons 28 August 812, Charlemagne is supposed to have restored to St. Denis various rights and possessions. These were namely a cell at St. Denis en Vaux, churches and *villae* in the *pagus* of

<sup>86</sup> Queens MS.348. fol. 63.<sup>r</sup>

<sup>87</sup> Rauschen, *Descriptio*, p.110.

<sup>88</sup> Brown, Cothren, 'Crusading Windows', pp.28–9; C. Van de Kieft, 'Deux diplomes faux de Charlemagne pour Saint Denis au XIIe siecle', *Le Moyen Age*, 13 (1958), pp. 401 – 436.

<sup>89</sup> *Diplomata Karolinorum*, n.282, 286, ed. Engelbert Mühlbacher, MGH DD Kar.1. (Hannover, 1906), pp.420-422, 428 – 430.



Berry and Limousin and rights originally granted by Dagobert I in Limousin and Poitou. D. 286. put forward significant claims regarding the status of St. Denis amongst the churches of France. According to this charter St. Denis was not only the foremost church in France, but it held the kingdom of France as a fief. This exalted status allowed the charter to grant the abbey a series of concessions that have correctly been described by Barroux as 'exorbitantes' and might also be reasonably described as having been extremely fanciful.<sup>90</sup> The charter claimed that the kings of France could only be crowned at St. Denis. The abbot of St. Denis was to have primacy over all the other prelates of the kingdom, whilst bishops were only to be ordained following his consent. These arrangements were to be confirmed by a yearly token donation to the abbey of four gold pennies.

There has been difficulty accurately dating these two charters, given that they have not survived in manuscript form. They have only been preserved in Doublet's seventeenth-century history of the abbey.<sup>91</sup> This has led Brown to suggest that they could perhaps be regarded as 'red herrings' that may even have been texts of Doublet's own creation.<sup>92</sup> Doublet himself gave no indication that he regarded the two charters as forgeries and included them in his history seemingly under the impression that they were genuine Carolingian charters. In the absence of any manuscript evidence, and slim textual evidence, many of the attempts made to date the two charters have rested on speculation. Mühlbacher, in his *MGH* editions of the texts, stated his belief that the likely date of composition was at some point after 1165. More recently scholars have sought to advance plausible theories suggesting that the charters were forged at an earlier point in the twelfth century, with the famous abbacy of Suger proving an attractive point of origin. There has also been recognition amongst scholars, from Mühlbacher onwards, that the two charters bore some relation to each other.

The probability that the charters were forged in the central middle ages is made more likely by their obvious relationship to the *Descriptio*, which emerged in the same period. It has been comprehensively demonstrated that the witness lists in D. 282 was derived from a list of fictional churchmen found in the *Descriptio*, with many of the

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<sup>90</sup> Robert Barroux, 'L'Abbé Suger et la vassalité du Vexin en 1124' *Le Moyen Age* 64 (1958) p.16.

<sup>91</sup> Doublet, Jacques, *Histoire de l'abbaye de St Denis en France* (Paris, 1625), pp.725, 727.

<sup>92</sup> E.A.R Brown, 'St-Denis and the Turpin Legend' in J.Williams (ed.) *The Codex Calixtinus and the Shrine of St. James* (Tübingen, 1992), p.54.

names subsequently appearing again in D.286.<sup>93</sup> The similarity between the *Descriptio* and D. 282 is particularly striking.

Without manuscript evidence it is almost impossible to date definitively the two forged charters. Several scholars have claimed that Odo was responsible for the forgery of D.282 although these claims rely in part on circumstantial reconstructions of the content of Odo's character. The text in Queen's MS. 348 does, however, add a number of points to the debate. It is abundantly clear that Odo was familiar with the text of the *Descriptio* with which D.282 is related. Brown and Cothren have used this familiarity to forward the claim that Odo was responsible for forging D.282, with Brown seemingly ignoring her reservations about the 'red herring' status of the forgery. Brown, however, also appears to believe that the *Descriptio* was not of St. Denis origin and that the text only arrived at St. Denis during Odo's abbacy. This in itself would preclude any conclusion regarding Suger's responsibility for the forgery, as it would require Suger to have had knowledge of the *Descriptio*, or for the *Descriptio* to have been composed at St. Denis using D.282 as a source. As discussed above the argument that the *Descriptio* was unknown at St. Denis prior to Odo's abbacy appears to be hard to maintain. This would not, however, preclude Odo from having used a source he was clearly familiar with to forge D.282. A number of other points of interest in the Queen's College text, which have gone unnoticed by Brown and Cothren, could also contribute to the discussion regarding Odo's potential responsibility for D. 282. The first of these points is merely circumstantial, with Odo having stated in his text that 'authentic precepts' of kings and emperors should be consulted by those who had doubts about the authenticity of the tunic.<sup>94</sup> The importance of this statement in reconstructing Odo's conception of history is examined below, but it is sufficient here to state that Odo had an obvious view of the importance of the charter in conveying a version of the past.<sup>95</sup> That Odo might have been familiar with charters of Charlemagne is strongly suggested later in the text. Discussing the history of the tunic following its arrival in France Odo styled Charlemagne *serenissimus Augustus*.<sup>96</sup> This title appears nowhere in either the *Vita Karoli* of Einhard or the *Descriptio*, the two sources which were clearly used by Odo.

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<sup>93</sup> Mannfred Groten, Die Urkunde Karls Des Grossen für St.-Denis von 813 (D286), Eine Fälschung Abt Sugers?' *Historisches Jahrbuch* 108 (1988), p.12.

<sup>94</sup> Queen's MS. 348, fol.56<sup>v</sup>

<sup>95</sup> See below, p.277.

<sup>96</sup> Queens MS. 348, fol. 65<sup>f</sup>



The *Descriptio* did describe Charlemagne as *Augustus*, but never as *serenissimus*.<sup>97</sup> This title does, however, appear in both D. 282 and D. 286. These two charters were obviously not the only instances of the style *serenissimus augustus* having been used, but the number of authentic charters which did use it is relatively small, with the style only appearing in authentic charters following Charlemagne's Imperial coronation in 800. This is strong evidence that Odo was familiar with Carolingian charters, particularly those issued by Charlemagne in which he styled himself *serenissimus augustus*. This could be used as an argument in support of the theory that Odo was involved with the forgery of D. 282 and D. 286, but it ultimately only proves that Odo was familiar with the style. It could just as easily be argued that he encountered the title in the two forged charters. The range of theories put forward regarding the potential dates of origin for the charters is indicative of the difficulty in agreeing upon a date, or even a century, for their forgery. The argument of Barroux for Suger's involvement in the forgery is perhaps the most convincing, and certainly an earlier date for the forgery of D. 282, in line with a late eleventh or early twelfth century origin for the *Descriptio* seems persuasive. What can be clearly stated about Odo and his usage of the *Descriptio* in the context of St. Denis and the Charlemagne legend is that it is an obvious demonstration of his involvement and engagement with the body of legend being created by his abbey. Odo's utilisation and modification of the *Descriptio* demonstrates that he was continuing Suger's concern with the Carolingians and seeking to demonstrate their continuing relevance to events taking place in twelfth century France. This tradition, given impetus by Suger and clearly maintained by Odo, went on to gain further prominence in the thirteenth century with the emergence of the *Grandes Chroniques* and the increasing propaganda work done by the abbey of St. Denis for the Capetian dynasty.

### ***The Greeks in MS. 348.***

According to the précis of their paper delivered in Paris on Odo's text, Waldman and Brown described it as odd that the account made no mention of either the reinstatement of Argenteuil to the control of St. Denis, or Odo's personal involvement

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<sup>97</sup>Rauschen, *Descriptio*, p.105.

in the Second Crusade.<sup>98</sup> The possible impact of the passage of Argenteuil into the control of St. Denis has been discussed above. Given that Odo had been involved in the Second Crusade and had recorded his experiences, it might seem odd that he made no clear mention of it in MS. 348. It should be remembered, however, that the rules of composition which also limited his usage of *colores rhetorici* would have stressed that Odo's text remained on subject. His own statements regarding the need for brevity, although stylised, also reflect this concern. It is possible, though, to detect something of the influence of Odo's experience on the Second Crusade in the manner in which he adapted the *Descriptio*, specifically in his depiction of the Greeks. Odo's strained relationship with the Greeks is one of the key points of interest in the *De Profectione* and it is useful here to examine how Odo's truncated version of the Charlemagne legend differed from its source material in its depiction of the Greeks.

Aspects of Odo's treatment of the Greeks in his telling of the myth stick closely to the source material of the *Descriptio*. The term *orientalium imperator* appears once in Odo's telling of the myth, as do a number of additional references to the 'East'.<sup>99</sup> This view of the 'East' does not appear once in Odo's *De Profectione*. These terms appear to be the result of the direct influence of the *Descriptio*, an account that employs the term *orientalium imperator*, along with numerous general references to the 'East' as representing Byzantium.<sup>100</sup>

The most notable difference is that the Eastern Empire aided by Charlemagne in Odo's account is more clearly designated as 'Greek'. In Rauschen's edition of the *Descriptio*, whilst it is obviously the Byzantine Empire that is subject to help, with Constantinople frequently mentioned, its 'Greekness' is infrequently mentioned. Rauschen's edition of the *Descriptio* covers twenty-two printed pages, in which the term *Grecus* is mentioned only three times. The first example is a reference to the use of the Greek language for a greeting, with the *Descriptio* continuing to translate, *Chere basileu amachos, quod sic latine exponitur: Salve cesar invictissime*.<sup>101</sup> The other two instances are almost identical, with *Grecus* being used on each occasion to describe the

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<sup>98</sup> Brown, E.A.R and Waldman, T, 'Eudes de Deuil et la Première Ostension de la Sainte Tunique d'Argenteuil' in D.Huguet, W.Wuermeling (eds) *La Sainte Tunique d'Argenteuil face à la science: Actes du Colloque du 12 Novembre 2005 à Argenteuil organisé par COSTA (UNEC)*, ed. (Paris, 2005) pp. 67–9.

<sup>99</sup> Queen's College MS. 348 fols.62<sup>r</sup>, 62<sup>v</sup>, 63<sup>v</sup>, 65<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>100</sup> Rauschen, *Descriptio*, p.104.

<sup>101</sup> Rauschen, *Descriptio*, p.109.



nationality of a churchman, firstly a bishop and the second time a subdeacon.<sup>102</sup> In contrast, Odo's abbreviated version of the *Descriptio* covers a little over two printed pages of the wider *Inventio* account. In these two pages Odo managed to convey the Greek nature of the Eastern Empire by employing the term *Grecus* four times. In one of these instances Odo's use is similar to that of his sources material, with the diversity of a gathering of bishops expressed through the description *tam Latinis quam Grecis*.<sup>103</sup> On the three other occasions Odo's usages are much more wide ranging than those found in the *Descriptio*. On two occasions the Eastern Emperor is described as the leader of the Greeks, *Grecorum*. In the first example Odo describes the Emperor as *Grecorum Princeps*. The second occurrence follows soon after, in Odo's description of discussions between Charlemagne and his Eastern counterpart. Here the positional identity of the Eastern ruler as Emperor is clearly superseded in Odo's eyes by his national identity as he is referred to simply as *Grecus*, that is, 'the Greek.'<sup>104</sup> The other example of Odo employing a wide ranging description of the Eastern Empire as 'Greek' arises at the beginning of his use of the *Descriptio*. Writing about the misfortunes befalling the Eastern Empire which led to Charlemagne's intervention, Odo stated:

*Cum autem benignitas Salvatoris disposuisset orientalibus gazis ditare partes occiduas, accidit permittente Deo Grecorum fines gravibus crebrisque Saracenorum incursionibus adeo infestari ut ad repellendos eorum impetus per se sibi nullatenus sufficerent.*<sup>105</sup>

Here it is the Greek borders that are being assailed by Muslim forces. This is a significant difference from the *Descriptio*. Odo's source material relates that the original reason for Eastern Christians requesting the aid of Charlemagne was a result of the expulsion of Patriarch of Jerusalem from that city, and his subsequent flight to Constantinople. The *Descriptio* records how letters were subsequently sent to

<sup>102</sup> Rauschen, *Descriptio*, pp.113, 119.

<sup>103</sup> MS. 348, fol.64.<sup>r</sup>

<sup>104</sup> Queen's College MS. 348 fol.63<sup>v</sup>

<sup>105</sup> Queen's College MS. 348 fol.62.<sup>r</sup>

Charlemagne from the Emperor of Constantinople but also from the Patriarch. The issue at hand in these letters was the liberation of Jerusalem and its environs.<sup>106</sup> In Odo's account there is no mention of Jerusalem being attacked at all, and certainly no clear statement that Charlemagne journeyed there. The letters sent from the Patriarch of Jerusalem are also omitted from Odo's version. The request for help is thus made entirely by the Greeks. Following a brief description of the Greek appeal for aid, Odo described how Charlemagne gathered forces from across his kingdom. He then seeks to quickly summarise events in the East, writing that a fuller version of events can be read by those who wish to do so. Odo's account of Charlemagne's defeat of the Muslims reads:

*Postquam imperator Karolus cum hoste congressus, victoriam tam facile quam festinanter obtinuit, postquam hostibus vel peremptis vel in fugam versis non solum pacem verum etiam paulo ante desperatis securitatem restituit. In urbem regiam Constantinopolim feliciter reversus*<sup>107</sup>

Brown and Cothren, who briefly mention the Queen's manuscript in their article on the St. Denis crusading windows, state that Odo's version of the legend, and in particular the passage cited above, 'shows that he interpreted a particularly confused passage of the *Descriptio* to mean that, after conquering the pagans, Charlemagne journeyed from Jerusalem to Constantinople to receive the relics which he gained as his reward, rather than being given them at Jerusalem'.<sup>108</sup> This seems to be an over-interpretation of the available evidence. While the *Descriptio* consistently mentions Jerusalem and its patriarch, Odo does not. The one mention of Jerusalem in his account is found following Charlemagne's defeat of the Muslims, when Odo has the Western Emperor state that Constantine the Great and his successors had gathered relics from both Jerusalem and all the holy places on the East, bringing them to Constantinople.<sup>109</sup> Odo's account thus left it open to the reader to assume that Charlemagne was protecting the lands of the Greeks from being assailed. The reasoning provided by Odo for the Muslim attacks on Greek lands also differs from that in the *Descriptio*. The *Descriptio*

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<sup>106</sup> Rauschen, *Descriptio*, pp.103–5.

<sup>107</sup> Queen's College MS. 348 fol.63<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>108</sup> Brown, Cothren, 'Crusading Windows', p.32.

<sup>109</sup> Queen's College MS. 348., fol. 63<sup>v</sup>.



provides no real reason why the Eastern Christians were attacked, simply citing increasing discord between Christians and the 'most wicked' pagans. Damage to the Holy Sepulchre is also reported.<sup>110</sup> This is in contrast to the background provided by Odo, who states that Saracen attacks on the Greek borders occurred only as God had allowed them to: this was to fulfil the Saviour's wish that the west would be enriched with the treasures of the east.

Odo did not explicitly mention his crusading experiences in his later *inventio* account. Despite this, the modifications he made to his source, the *Descriptio*, on the subject of the Greeks appear to have been under the influence of his time on crusade. The retelling of Charlemagne's mythical pilgrimage to the east did not allow Odo to employ the broadly anti-Greek approach of the *De Profectione*. Charlemagne was, after all, presented as having been successful in his endeavour. Odo's retelling of the story, however, moves the Greek Eastern Empire to a position of central importance. Odo's excision of the Jerusalem aspects of the story appears much too complete for it to have been accidental. It should be noted here that other contemporary, and later, summaries of the *Descriptio* acknowledge the importance of Jerusalem to the tale.<sup>111</sup> Odo's version of the story is one of western superiority to the Greek Empire of the East. While this was an existing theme of the *Descriptio* and derivative vernacular texts,<sup>112</sup> Odo makes it a central issue, particularly through his statement that implies that God was willing to subject the Christians of the East to attack in order to supply relics to the West. Odo's telling of the story can also be interpreted as having Charlemagne come to the aid of the Greeks rather than Jerusalem. This slight change in focus in his interpretation of source material is obviously not on the scale of the anti-Greek methods employed by Odo in the *De Profectione*. It does, however, demonstrate how the memory of the crusade affected Odo and how that experience was a prism through which he viewed his source materials.

### ***Einhard***

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<sup>110</sup> Rauschen, *Descriptio*, pp.103–4.

<sup>111</sup> *Gesta episcoporum Mettensium*, MGH SS 10, p.538; Martin of Troppau, *Chronicon pontificum et imperatorum*, MGH SS 22, pp.461–2.

<sup>112</sup> Michael Angold, *The Fourth Crusade: Event and Context* (Harlow, 2003), pp.59–60, 67.

That Odo apparently desired largely to transform the *Descriptio* for his account, with the vocabulary altered and neither Jerusalem nor its patriarch being mentioned, while the basic story was retained, could be regarded as a result of the desire to be brief, to which the account attests. Later in the account's treatment of Charles, however, when the *Descriptio* is no longer the obvious source, Odo demonstrated a greater desire to reproduce the work of other historians almost verbatim. Again revealing Odo's usage of source materials, the account states that all historians writing about Charles agree that he had daughters: *Carolus itaque hunc magnum sicut asserunt hii qui gesta eius conscripserat constat aliquot habuisse filias, e quibus ne unam quidem nuptiis tradidisse scribitur*. The account then describes how Charles, fearing that his daughters may grow idle, sought to keep them occupied through weaving as well as the use of the distaff and spindle. Odo's source for this description is clearly the *Vita Karoli Magni* of Einhard, chapter 19 of which is dedicated to describing the relationship between Charles and his children.

<b>Odo</b>	<b>Einhard: <i>Vita Karoli Magni</i></b>
<p><i>Verumtamen sub disciplina et diligenti custodia constitutas, colum atque fusa ceteraque lanificii tractare opera adsuescerent, ne videlicet regia progenies inertia torperet et otio, neque illas deliciae molles in turpitudine inermem solverent.</i><sup>113</sup></p>	<p><i>Tum filios, cum primum aetas patiebatur, more Francorum equitare, armis ac venatibus exerceri fecit, filias vero lanificio adsuescere colloque ac fuso, ne per otium torperent, operam impendere atque ad omnem honestatem erudiri iussit.</i><sup>114</sup></p>

It should be noted that the earliest surviving St. Denis manuscript containing the *Descriptio*, Bibliothèque nationale ms. 12710, also contains Einhard's *Vita* among

<sup>113</sup> Queen's MS.348 fol. 65.<sup>r</sup>

<sup>114</sup> Einhard, *Vita Karoli Magni*, ed. G.. Waitz, MGH, SS Rerum Germanicarum 25 (Hannover, 1911), p.23.



numerous other historical works.<sup>115</sup> This historical compilation dates to the period just following Odo's abbacy. It demonstrates, however, that in St. Denis in that period certain historical works were regarded as complementing each other. Spiegel has demonstrated how this early compilation was not merely a random selection. Odo's earlier juxtaposition of Einhard and the *Descriptio* provides an early example of this form of composition.

The juxtaposition of Einhard, who naturally made no mention of Charlemagne's non-existent Eastern pilgrimage, and the *Descriptio* does not appear to have given Odo pause for thought. This is unsurprising, given that Odo was not attempting to compose an historical account using the critical approach familiar to modern historians, but rather he was carefully selecting what he regarded as the most important pieces of information to be preserved for the *memoria* of future generations. His skilful handling and modification of a range of historical and pseudo-historical sources demonstrates how Odo was able to mould accounts of the past to fit with his preferred version of the present. The same approach is also evident in the *De Profectione*. While it is clearly a different manner of source, being based on Odo's own eyewitness experiences, Odo's approach was the careful selection of facts and events, and the omission of others, to further the ultimate aims of his text.

### *Scripture and the Church fathers*

While obviously having used various historical and pseudo historical sources Odo also unsurprisingly drew heavily on the Bible. In the *De Profectione Ludovici VII* Odo employed biblical quotation on a number of occasions, with V.G. Berry identifying sixteen instances of quotation in her edition alongside at least two additional reminiscences.<sup>116</sup> The use of the Bible by Odo in Queen's MS. 348 displays a similar mixture of quotation and reminiscence. The opening of the text, with its account of Odo's own visions, demonstrates this. The *duo lapides* which Odo perceived in his vision echo the two onyx stones of Exodus, on to which the Israelites carved the names

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<sup>115</sup> Jules Lair, 'Mémoire sur deux chroniques latines composées au XIIe siècle à l'abbaye de Saint-Denis' *Bibliothèque de l'école des Chartes* 35 (1874), pp. 544–50.

<sup>116</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, p.xxvii, 6, 8, 14 et passim.

of the Children of Israel. (Exod. 39:6).<sup>117</sup> A full quotation from the Song of Songs, *Oleum effusum nomen tuum* (Sg. 1:2), is also employed at the conclusion of the description of Odo's encounter with the tunic.<sup>118</sup> This combination of biblical quotation and allusion is most evident in two particular sections of Odo's text. The first is the miracle-filled account of Hubert's journey in search of the tunic and the second is Odo's defence of the authenticity of the relic against unnamed doubters.

In the account of Hubert and his search for the cloak Odo has utilised the Bible primarily as a source of imagery, with scriptural allusions studding descriptions of Hubert's quest. An example of this can be seen in the description of Hubert following his viewing of the tunic and subsequent return home, with imagery from Matthew's Gospel being employed to describe the 'gift' that he had received:

*Deinde cum gaudio reversus ad propria, ut servus Domini fidelissimus talentum (Matthew 25:24-25) sibi creditum non adiudicavit abscondere, nec aliis inventam invidit margaritam (Matthew. 13:45-46), quin potius revelatum sibi thesaurum cepit tam remotis publicare quam proximis. atque ad eius visitationem fideles quosque instanter invitare.*<sup>119</sup>

As well as serving as a source of imagery these specific Biblical quotations also served an allegorical and tropological purpose. Hubert, who did not hide his knowledge of the tunic, is made an allegory for the biblical figure who did not hide the *talentum* given to him by his master. He is also compared to the man in the parable, who sold everything to buy a fine pearl. The pearl in this case served as an analogy for the Kingdom of Heaven. In their original Biblical context these parables served a tropological purpose, with the intention being that the reader assessed his own behaviour against those of the characters in the parables.<sup>120</sup> This sense would also have applied to Odo's allegorical use of scripture in relation to Hubert. The reader would have been

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<sup>117</sup> Queen's MS. 348 fols. 49.<sup>v</sup>, 50.<sup>r</sup>

<sup>118</sup> Queen's MS. 348 fol. 50.<sup>r</sup>

<sup>119</sup> Queen's MS. 348 fol. 53.<sup>r</sup>

<sup>120</sup> Henri de Lubac, *Medieval Exegesis Vol. 1: The Four Senses of Scripture*, trans. Mark Sebanc (Edinburgh, 1998), pp.15–6.



reminded of the biblical context for Hubert's action and also made aware of the fact that he had a duty to spread news of the Argenteuil tunic. The theme of the importance of the propagation of knowledge regarding the tunic and its power also appears in the section of the narrative concerning the healing of Bishop Joscelin of Soissons. Odo wrote that after Joscelin's fever was cured by the power of the tunic that he subsequently preached about the power of the relic whenever possible. The use of scripture as a source of imagery is equally evident in earlier passages concerning Hubert, with apparent allusions appearing in sentences such as *pro modulo suo sanctos dei amicos ex labore manuum* (Tobias 2:19) *et fructu operum* (Psalms 103:13) *suorum honorare*.<sup>121</sup>

The other section of the text where frequent scriptural quotation or allusion is evident comes with Odo's defence of the authenticity of the tunic against those who doubt it. These figures remain anonymous and it is thus unclear whether they actually existed or if they have been inserted by Odo as a literary device. In this section the usage of Scripture appears to undergo a change, with numerous references appearing in quick succession with the apparent purpose of advancing an argument rather than provision of additional detail. This approach is evident in the parallel drawn by Odo between those who doubt the tunic and the Pharisees:

*Quibus ita Salvator exprobrat dicens. Veh vobis scribe et pharisei* (Matthew 23:13–16, 23–29) *ceci duces cecorum* (Matthew 15:14), *qui cum habeatis clavem scientie* (Luke 11:52) *nec ipsi introistis. nec alios introire permittitis*.<sup>122</sup>

A similar use of quotations appears later in the text where Odo again sought to challenge those who doubted the tunic by comparing them to the Pharisees. In support of this view the text echoes Matthew in stating, *Scribe scilicet et legis doctores, Moysi cathedram*

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<sup>121</sup> Queen's MS. 348 fol. 51<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>122</sup> Queen's MS. 348 fol. 56<sup>v</sup>.

*occupantes*. (Matt 23:2).<sup>123</sup> Odo's comparison is carried further when, citing the support of bishops for the tunic, the account states:

*Numquid ex principibus aut phariseis aliquis in illum credidit? Sed turba ista que ignorant legem, que non novit scripturas, hec vadit post illum (John 7:49)*<sup>124</sup>

The scriptural quotations chosen by Odo continue to appear selective and geared toward a specific argument later in the text. There is, however, a slight change of emphasis as the account begins to attempt to establish the scriptural basis for the tunic rather than simply attacking its doubters. This necessarily means that the quotations are drawn entirely from the Gospels, with Odo having cited every Gospel reference to the clothing of Jesus. The text makes clear that it is based on the authority of the Gospels, with the references to Christ's swaddling clothes and to the healing of a woman who had touched Christ's tunic being presented as the words of the Evangelists. The instance of the woman being healed by the mere touch of Christ's tunic is also held up as biblical support for the apparent healing properties of the Argenteuil tunic:

*Dei filium et deum talibus non eguisse cum dicat evangelista, quia natum statim pannis mater involuit, (Luke 2:7) et alio evangelii loco, quedam mulier dicebat inter se. 'Si tetigero vestimenta eius tantum, salva ero.'* (Matthew. 9:21) *Hodieque qui vestimentum hoc salvatoris fide non ficta tangunt, ex quibus cumque egritudinibus convalescunt.*<sup>125</sup>

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<sup>123</sup> Queen's MS. 348 fol. 57<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>124</sup> Queen's MS. 348 fol. 57<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>125</sup> Queen's MS. 348 fol. 60<sup>v</sup>–61<sup>r</sup>.



These two brief references, with a direct quotation from Matthew, are followed by a summary of John 13:1–15, concerning the washing of the feet at the Last Supper. Odo's focus is on the reference of verse four to Jesus removing his *vestimenta* and on the subsequent reference of verse 12 to the clothing being put on again. The succession of Biblical references to Christ's clothing is concluded with the longest and most precise quotation in Queen's MS. 348, a long reference to the division of Christ's clothing following his crucifixion which reproduces word for word the account of John:

*Milites cum crucifixissent eum. acceperunt vestimenta eius, et fecerunt quatuor partes, unicuique militi partem et tunicam. Erat autem tunica inconsutilis. Desuper contexta per totum. Dixerunt ergo ad invicem. Non scindamus eam, sed sortiamur de illa cuius sit, ut scriptura impleretur dicens, 'Partiti sunt vestimenta mea et super vestem meam miserunt sortem.'*<sup>126</sup>(John 19:23–24)

The exact nature of this quotation underlines its importance to the entire text of Queen's MS. 348, providing as it does the key scriptural reference to Christ's clothing and in particular the tunic which Odo has claimed for Argenteuil. Odo's selection of Gospel quotations regarding Christ's clothing serves as the historical basis for the factuality of the tunic that he was subsequently able to build upon through his selection of 'truer' works of history. The quotations were thus intended to be understood by the reader in the literal, 'historical' exegetical sense as the prelude to Odo's selection of information regarding Constantine and Charlemagne. This close relationship between scripture and history is also evident in Odo's conception of the importance of historical writing.<sup>127</sup>

Beyond his utilisation of the Bible it is also notable that Odo demonstrates some knowledge of patristic authority. His description of Hubert's means of acquiring

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<sup>126</sup> Queen's MS. 348 fol. 61<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>127</sup> See below pp.283–87.

food, *manu et arte victum querens*<sup>128</sup>, is a clear allusion to Jerome's description of St. Peter in his commentary on St. Matthew's Gospel: *Petrus piscator erat, diues non fuerat, cibos manu et arte quaerebat*.<sup>129</sup> Similarly the description of the sacrament of human salvation flowing from Christ's wounded side during his crucifixion, *lancea quoque per quam ex salvatoris latere perforato, salutis humane fluxerunt sacramenta*,<sup>130</sup> echoes Augustine's statement in his *Enarrationes in Psalmos: quando de latere Christi sacramenta ecclesiae profluxerunt?*<sup>131</sup> A further example of Odo borrowing descriptive vocabulary from another source is evident in his account of the disciplinary methods that were employed by Bishop Hugh of Rouen when teaching pupils. According to Odo, Hugh would hit the hands of his pupils with a rod: *Puto quia et hic literas didicit et manum ferule aliquando subduxit*.<sup>132</sup> This nondescript looking phrase appears to have clear origins in Book One of Juvenal's *Satires*. The *Satires* begin with a description by Juvenal of the reasons for which he had found it necessary to write satire. The fifteenth line of the book reads *nos ergo manum ferulae subduximus*.<sup>133</sup> Odo then appears to have borrowed directly from Juvenal. If this were the case, it would be the only example of Odo quoting directly from a classical source other than his usage of Vergil's *Aeneid* in the *De Profectione*, a quotation which in any case, he may have encountered at second hand. A direct borrowing from Juvenal would indeed be so out of character for Odo, given that his other allusions to classical history are so oblique, that it must be considered whether he has accessed the quotation from the *Satires* at second hand.

This particular quotation only appears a handful of times in the *Patrologia Latina*, with the searchable database of every volume returning eight results, from seven different writers. The only writer in the *Patrologia* to have used this section of the *Satires* on more than one occasion was Jerome, who employed the term in two of his letters. Jerome's letter 50, addressed to Domnionem, contains numerous classical quotations, including the passage from the *Satires*. Jerome incorporates it into the letter

<sup>128</sup> Queen's MS.348 fol. 51.<sup>f</sup>

<sup>129</sup> Jerome, *commentariorum in evangelium matthaei ad eusebium*, ed.D.Hurst CCSL vol.77 (Turnhout, 1969), p.172.

<sup>130</sup> Queen's MS.348 fol. 62.<sup>f</sup>

<sup>131</sup> Augustine, *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, MPL XXXVI, col.0461

<sup>132</sup> Queen's College MS.348<sup>v</sup>

<sup>133</sup> Juvenal, *Satires*, 1:15.



in a line reading '*Et nos didicimus litteras; Et nos saepe manum ferulae subtraximus*'.<sup>134</sup> It appears highly likely that Odo encountered the line from the *Satires* through this letter of Jerome's. As is the case with the *inventio* account, Jerome's letter combines a reference to learning with the borrowing from Juvenal. The vocabulary is also extremely similar, with Odo's '*litteras didicit*' closely mirroring Jerome's '*didicimus litteras*'. There is a difference between Jerome and Odo's versions of the Juvenal quotation. Whilst Odo retains Juvenal's original verb choice of *subducere*, Jerome has modified it to *subtrahere*. Despite this difference the available evidence suggests that it is more likely Odo encountered the Juvenal quotation through Jerome's letter. It is plausible that Odo modified Jerome's choice of verb back to Juvenal's original usage, even if entirely by coincidence rather than out of any direct knowledge of the original source material. It is also possible that the manuscript consulted by Odo had already made the change in vocabulary. These options certainly appear to be more plausible than the possibility that Odo had directly incorporated Juvenal's words directly from the *Satires* and that it is a coincidence that he coupled it with a reference to learning, using almost the same vocabulary as Jerome had in his own usage of the quotation. It has been demonstrated that Odo was familiar with Jerome's commentary on the psalms, so it is not unreasonable to suggest that he would have been familiar with other of his works. That Odo accessed the quotation at second hand is also more in keeping with what has been demonstrated elsewhere about his usage of the classics. This is not to say that Odo was entirely unfamiliar with classical literature, merely that in his writing he appears to have preferred not to quote directly from them, a pattern that is seemingly kept up despite the appearance of this Juvenal quotation.

### **Louis VII, the *Christianissimus Princeps* and the *Vita Sugerii* in MS.348**

A significant portion of Odo's Argenteuil account is concerned with the description of the public display or *ostensio* of the tunic of Christ. This section of Odo's text details the visit of King Louis VII to Argenteuil and his public veneration of the tunic. Aspects of Odo's depiction of Louis are worthy of examination as they reveal further information regarding the sources consulted by Odo whilst he was writing. The

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<sup>134</sup> Jerome, *Epistola ad Domnionem*, MPL XXII, col.0516.

depiction also provides an insight into Odo's reasoning for writing his text, and the relationship between the historians of St. Denis and the French monarchy.

The titles used by Odo in reference to Louis are of particular interest. On Louis's first appearance in the text he is simply referred to as *illustrissimus regni princeps*, with no name provided.<sup>135</sup> On his second appearance he is styled as *Christianissimus Francorum Rex Ludovicus*.<sup>136</sup> The description of Louis as being 'most Christian' is repeated later in the text, when he is described as *Ludovicus Christianissimus Princeps*.<sup>137</sup> The text also contains two examples of Louis being called the *serenissimum princeps*.<sup>138</sup> None of this selection of superlative titles appear in the *De Profectione*, with Louis instead being described as *gloriosus* in the opening lines of that work.<sup>139</sup>

It is well known that the description of the king of France as the *Rex Christianissimus* became a feature of Capetian propaganda in the thirteenth century, with kings such as Louis IX incorporating it into an increasingly complex body of ritual.<sup>140</sup> The title was also associated with Louis VII, particularly in the writing of John of Salisbury. There are seven instances in John's *Historia Pontificalis* of Louis being described as 'most Christian'.<sup>141</sup> Chibnall has speculated, seemingly without foundation, that Odo might have met John at some point. John was certainly aware of Odo and his activities, writing briefly on his abbacy at the end of the *Historia*.<sup>142</sup> However, it is, almost certainly not the case that Odo had derived his description of Louis from John, or even that he had the same motives for his use of *Christianissimus*. The *Historia Pontificalis* was probably written a number of years after Odo's account, and possibly even after his death. Chibnall states that it was most likely composed in 1164.<sup>143</sup> This assertion regarding the date of composition can be supported by a brief analysis of John's letters. The first letter in which he refers to Louis as 'the most Christian king'

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<sup>135</sup> Queen's MS.348 fol.53<sup>v</sup>

<sup>136</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>137</sup> Queen's MS.348 fol.58<sup>r</sup>

<sup>138</sup> Queen's MS.348 fol.51<sup>r</sup>;54<sup>r</sup>

<sup>139</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, p.2.

<sup>140</sup> Joseph R. Strayer, 'France, the Holy Land and the most Christian King' in *Medieval Statecraft and the Perspectives of History* (Princeton, 1971) pp. 300 – 14.

<sup>141</sup> John of Salisbury, *Historia Pontificalis* ed. M.Chibnall (Oxford, 1986), pp.2, 11, 52, 54, 64, 87.

<sup>142</sup> On John's harsh judgement of Odo's abbacy see above, p.23.

<sup>143</sup> Chibnall, *Historia Pontificalis*, p.xxviii.



can be dated to July 1166.<sup>144</sup> Following the date of this letter, which was addressed to Archbishop Thomas Becket of Canterbury, there are numerous examples of John's letters styling the king of France *Christianissimus Rex*.<sup>145</sup> It was Louis's fostering of Becket during the archbishop's dispute with Henry II that had led to John's use of *Christianissimus*. Becket himself refers to Louis by this title in a letter to Pope Alexander III, dated 28 December 1168.<sup>146</sup> The usage relating to the Becket dispute may actually have had its origins in the correspondence of Alexander, with usages of the title in reference to Louis appearing in a number of his letters from 1162 onwards, including in letters addressed to the king.<sup>147</sup> This sudden proliferation of the usage of the title was the beginning of the move toward the later, more widespread, Capetian use of the term. It is also notable that historians detailing the history of the term, and in particular its application to the Capetian monarchs appear to believe that it first appeared as a title for Louis VII in relation to the Becket dispute.<sup>148</sup> It was not, however, the inspiration for Odo's usage.

The title of *Rex Christianissimus* had also been employed earlier in the Middle Ages. The term appears on occasion in Bede and it can also be seen in a number of papal documents.<sup>149</sup> Significantly for this discussion it also appears in relation to the Merovingian king Dagobert I, though in a text dating from the Carolingian period. The *Gesta Dagoberti*, a significant document in the history of the abbey of St. Denis, refers to Dagobert as *Christianissimus*.<sup>150</sup> Prior to its association with the Becket dispute the title *Christianissimus* was used infrequently in twelfth century France. Hugh of Fleury's *Historia Regum Francorum Monasterii Sancti Dionysii*, which provides a concise chronology of French royal history up to the reign of Louis VI, describes King Robert II as *Christianissimus* whilst recording his death in 1031.<sup>151</sup>

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<sup>144</sup> John of Salisbury, *The Letters of John of Salisbury vol.2* ed. W.J.Millor and C.N.L Brooke (Oxford, 1979), p.136.

<sup>145</sup> *Ibid*, pp.356–9, 374, 384 *et passim*.

<sup>146</sup> Thomas Becket, *The Correspondence of Thomas Becket vol.2*, ed.A.Duggan (Oxford, 2000), pp.812–3.

<sup>147</sup> Alexander III, *Epistolae et Privilegia*, MPL CC, cols.0165a, 0396a, 0467d.

<sup>148</sup> Aryeh Grabois, 'Louis VII Pèlerin', *Revue d'Histoire de l'église de France* 74 (1988), p.6 n.7.

<sup>149</sup> Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, ed. Bertram Colgrave and R.A.B Mynors (Oxford, 1969), p.150; John VII, *Epistolae et Decreta*, MPL CXXVI, col.0726d.

<sup>150</sup> Hincmar, *Gesta Dagoberti*, p.421.

<sup>151</sup> Hugh of Fleury, *Historia Regum Francorum Monasterii Sancti Dionysii*, MGH SS 9, pp.395–406.

The *Patrologia Latina* edition of Suger's *De Consecratione* suggests that he used it in his writing on one occasion. Describing the visit of Louis VII to St. Denis for the consecration of the new church in 1141 the king is referred to in the *Patrologia* edition as *rex christiannissime*.<sup>152</sup> However, this appears to have been an error on the part of the *Patrologia*. Panofsky's edition of the same text has changed it to *rex Christiane*, although it does appear that in his initial edition of the text Panofsky had retained the *Patrologia*'s interpretation, correcting it in a note soon after publication.<sup>153</sup> The most recent edition of the *De Consecratione* retains Panofsky's amended choice of *Christiane*.<sup>154</sup>

One certain instance of St. Denis use of *Christianissimus* in relation to Louis that predates Odo's *inventio* account by only a number of years can be seen in the *Vita Sugerii* of William of St. Denis. William's *Vita* of Suger, written in the period following the Abbot's death, also provides brief sketches of a number of prominent events that occurred during his abbacy, including the Second Crusade. In detailing Louis decision to take up the cross William wrote '*Eo igitur tempore quo christianissimus Francorum rex Ludovicus crucem post Dominum bajulans Iherosolimam profectus est*'.<sup>155</sup> This passage demonstrates the title of *Christianissimus* was finding usage in relation to Louis VII in the years immediately prior to Odo writing, and entirely independently of the later, better known, passages found in the *Historia Pontificalis*. It is unclear whether Odo borrowed the idea of Louis as *Christianissimus* from William or whether he arrived at it independently, in one of the other St. Denis texts which employed the term. The other evidence which is available in Odo's writing suggests that he may well have consulted the *Vita Sugerii* whilst composing his *inventio*. In that text Odo describes how Suger had advised Bishop Joscelin of Soissons to travel to Argenteuil in order to venerate the tunic and hopefully be cured of a fever he was suffering with. In this passage Odo also provides a description of the status enjoyed by Suger in France on account of his sound advice. The vocabulary used by Odo to express

<sup>152</sup> Suger, *De Consecratione*, MPL, vol.186 col.1252a

<sup>153</sup> Suger, *On the Abbey Church of St. Denis and its art treasures* 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, ed. and trans. E. Panofsky (Princeton, 1979) p.116; E. Panofsky, 'Postlogium Sugerianum' *The Art Bulletin*, 29:2 (June, 1947) p.119.

<sup>154</sup> Suger, *De Consecratione* in Gasparri *Oevures 1*, p.46.

<sup>155</sup> William of St. Denis, *Vita Sugerii* in Gasparri *Oevures 2*, p.333.



this point appears to be remarkably close to that employed by William in his *Vita Sugerii* when he was seeking to illustrate Suger's influence

<i>Odo on Suger: MS. 348</i>	William on Suger: <i>Vita Sugerii</i> <sup>156</sup>
Porro vir prudens viro nichilominus sapienti et amico adquiescendum iudicavit, presertim cuius in <i>publicis vel regni vel ecclesie</i> negotiis sanum <i>frequenter</i> expertus fuisset consilium	Qui vir gloriosus, quoniam pro <i>publicis vel regni vel Ecclesiae</i> utilitatibus monasterio <i>frequentius</i> cogebatur abesse

The table above highlights the area of similarity between the two accounts, with Odo having employed identical phrasing to that of William for part of his description. It could be argued that William and Odo arrived at the same phrasing to describe Suger through a mixture of coincidence and the rules governing the Latin language. Odo's use of the adjective *publicus*, however, suggests that this was not the case. His description of Suger is the only occasion in any of Odo's writing where that term is to denote 'public affairs', with the other occasions of its use simply meaning 'publicly' or 'in public'. The idea of *publicus* as referring to the affairs of the state is one with strong classical associations, as seen in the concept of the *res publica*. William himself refers to the *res publica* at two points in Book Three of the *Vita Sugerii*.<sup>157</sup> William's usage of the term is unsurprising given his frequent demonstrations of classical learning and his usage of classical *exemplae*. Displays of classicism in Odo's writing are much less frequent and much less obvious than in William's writing. It is thus reasonable to argue that in writing about Suger, Odo borrowed aspects of the phrasing found in William's recently completed *Vita*, a work that would surely have been well known to the monks

<sup>156</sup> William, *Vita Sugerii* in Gasparri *Oeuvres* 2, p.317.

<sup>157</sup> William, *Vita Sugerii* in Gasparri, *Oeuvres* 2, pp.332, 337.

of St. Denis. In addition it should be noted that Odo's description of Suger as a *vir prudens* is also found in the *Vita Sugerii*.<sup>158</sup>

Whether Odo drew his description of Louis as the *Rex Christianissimus* from William's use of the term in the *Vita Sugerii* is impossible to prove. That a relatively rare term appears in two works that were composed in the same environment within a period of a number of years of each other, coupled with the additional evidence for Odo having consulted the *Vita Sugerii*, certainly suggests that he may have borrowed the term from that source.

The other superlative adjective title used by Odo in reference to Louis is *princeps serenissimus*.<sup>159</sup> This term is not found in William's *Vita Sugerii* or Odo's *De Profectione*. *Serenissimus* appears on ten occasions in the writing of Suger, largely in reference to Louis VI and Louis VII. This indicates that the term was relatively commonplace compared to the rarer title of *Rex Christianissimus*. The title appears only twice in Suger's *Vita Ludovici*.<sup>160</sup> It appears on three occasions in the much shorter *De Consecratione*.<sup>161</sup> This work, composed at some point after the consecration of the new choir at St. Denis on 11 June 1144, is concerned with the reconstruction of the abbey and Suger's personal involvement in this process.<sup>162</sup>

The presentation of Louis VII in the Argenteuil *inventio* is thus quite different from that which is seen in the *De Profectione*. This is due to the radically different contexts of both accounts. In the *De Profectione* Louis is presented as a humble, pious ruler, readily mixing with the impoverished members of the crusading party. This was due to the context in which Odo had to construct his history. With the failure of the Second Crusade and in particular the disastrous defeat at Mount Cadmus Odo could do little but attempt to depict the king as a compassionate ruler, willing to accept the worst consequences of defeat but still retaining his dignity. The Argenteuil account is quite different, as here Odo was describing the splendid occasion of Louis's veneration of the tunic. He is still seeking to underline the piety of the king but the descriptive context

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<sup>158</sup> William, *Vita Sugerii* in Gasparri, *Oeuvres* 2, p.309.

<sup>159</sup> Queen's MS. 348, fols.51<sup>r</sup>, 54<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>160</sup> Suger, *Vita Ludovici*, pp.2, .200.

<sup>161</sup> Suger, *De Consecratione* in Gasparri, *Oeuvres* 1, pp.26, 28, 40.

<sup>162</sup> Gasparri, *Oeuvres* 1, p.LV;



was in this case is ceremonial. While the *De Profectione* does contain ceremonial aspects that are similar to Suger's life of Louis VI, a closer analogue to Odo's account of the Argenteuil *ostenstio* can be observed in the *De Consecratione*. The similarity between the *ostenstio* section of Odo's text and Suger's *De Consecratione* is also evident in Odo's description of those who attended the display of the tunic.

Beyond revealing the historical and ecclesiastical sources that Odo employed in constructing his narrative, analysis of the text also highlights his relations with other northern French ecclesiastical figures in the period following Suger's death. Odo's account of the display of the tunic at Argenteuil contains a list of the Bishops and Archbishops who were in attendance:

*Rothomagensis*<sup>163</sup> *et Senonensis*<sup>164</sup> *metropolitani,*  
*atque cum illis Parisiensis*<sup>165</sup>, *Carnotensis*<sup>166</sup>,  
*Aurelianensis*<sup>167</sup>, *Autissiodorensis*<sup>168</sup>, *Meldensis*<sup>169</sup>,  
*Silvanectensis*<sup>170</sup>, *Trecensis*<sup>171</sup>, *Ebroicensis*<sup>172</sup>, *et*  
*Cathalaunensis*<sup>173</sup> *venerabiles Episcopi*

This group consisted of most of the major northern French churchmen of the period, including those from the Anglo-Norman world, notably Hugh d'Amiens, the archbishop of Rouen. The involvement of a wide range of prominent bishops in an *inventio* was not uncommon, with the *Inventio Stephani* again acting as the archetype for later *inventiones*. However, Odo may have been more immediately influenced by the example of his famous predecessor Suger. On numerous occasions Suger gathered bishops from across the Capetian and Anglo-Norman territories in northern France to

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<sup>163</sup> Hugh, archbishop of Rouen (1130–1164)

<sup>164</sup> Hugh de Toucy, archbishop of Sens (1142–1168)

<sup>165</sup> Theobald, bishop of Paris (1144–1158)

<sup>166</sup> Robert, bishop of Chartres (1156–1164)

<sup>167</sup> Manasses de Garlande, bishop of Orleans (1146–1185)

<sup>168</sup> Godefred, bishop of Auxerre (1143–1157)

<sup>169</sup> Manasses, bishop of Meaux (1134–1158)

<sup>170</sup> Amauricus, bishop of Senlis (1156–1167)

<sup>171</sup> Henricius de Carinthia, bishop of Troyes (1145–1169)

<sup>172</sup> Rotrodus de Warwick, bishop of Evreux (1139–1165)

<sup>173</sup> Boso, bishop of Chalons (Sur-Marne) (1153–1162)

assemble at St. Denis for both the consecration of new altars and the display of relics. The episcopal groups gathered by Suger were often larger than that assembled at Argenteuil in 1156, but many of the same sees were represented, with some figures, such as Hugh, archbishop of Rouen, attending both events. Suger's account of the consecration of new altars at St. Denis in his *De consecratione* demonstrates the range of episcopal figures that he was able to attract:

*Revertentes igitur ad ecclesiam, et per gradus ad altare superius quieti sanctorum destinatum ascendentes, super antiquum altare pignoribus Sanctorum repositis, de nova ante novam eorum sepulturam consecranda agebatur principali ara quam domino Remensi archiepiscopo Samsoni imposuimus consecrandam. Agebatur etiam de aliis tam gloriose quam solemniter aris viginti consecrandis: quarum illam quae in medio, Salvatori nostro, et sanctorum choro angelorum et sanctae cruci assignatur, domino Cantuariensi archiepiscopo Theobaldo: beatae semperque virginis Dei Genitricis Mariae domino Hugoni Rothomagensi archiepiscopo; S. Peregrini domino Hugoni Autissiodorensi episcopo; S. Eustachii domino Werdoni Catalaunensi episcopo; sanctae Osmannae domino Petro Silvanectensi episcopo; Sancti Innocentii domino Simoni Noviomensi episcopo; Sancti Cucuphatis domino Alviso Atrebatensi episcopo; S. Eugenii domino Algaro Constantiarum episcopo; S. Hilari domino Rotroco Ebroicensi episcopo; S. Joannis Baptistae et S. Joannis evangelistae domino Nicolao Cameracensi episcopo sacrandam imposuimus. In crypta vero inferius majus altare in honore sanctae Dei*



*Genetricis Mariae virginis domino Gaufredo Burdegalensi archiepiscopo; in dextra parte altare S. Christophori martyris domino Heliae Aurelianensi episcopo; S. Stephani protomartyris domino Gaufredo Carnotensi episcopo; S. Eadmundi regis Domino Werdoni Senonensi archiepiscopo; sancti Benedicti domino Josleno Suessionensi episcopo.*<sup>174</sup>

Odo's account also demonstrates his awareness of the friendships of Suger as well as the prominent role he had played in the administration of the Capetian kingdom under both Louis VI and Louis VII. This knowledge is illustrated in Odo's account of the miraculous healing of Joscelin, bishop of Soissons from 1125 - 1151.<sup>175</sup> Odo relates how, suffering from illness, Joscelin followed Suger's advice to travel to Argenteuil in search of a cure. The veracity of this tale is doubtful, given that it would suggest Suger, who died in 1151, was aware of the existence of the tunic some years prior to 1156. The suggested friendship between Suger and Joscelin is, however, based on solid evidence. Suger corresponded with Joscelin on numerous occasions, dedicating his biography of King Louis VI to the bishop, described in that work as *dominus et digne reverendus Suessionensis Episcopus Goslenus*.<sup>176</sup> Beyond showing knowledge of Joscelin's friendship with Suger, Odo's account also highlighted his awareness of the significant role played by his predecessor in the affairs of Capetian France. Joscelin is described as accepting Suger's advice because of the Abbot's reputation as royal adviser. As detailed above, Odo appears to have borrowed his descriptive vocabulary for this section from the *Vita Sugerii* of William of St. Denis.

Odo's account also ascribes an enhanced role to another of Suger's frequent correspondents, Hugh d'Amiens, archbishop of Rouen. Hugh's charter describing the discovery of the tunic is reproduced in full by Odo in support of the authenticity of the relic. Odo's version of the charter is almost identical to the Hugh's more widely known

<sup>174</sup> Suger, *De Consecratione* in Gasparri *Oeuvres I*, pp.48 – 50.

<sup>175</sup> On Joscelin as Bishop of Soissons, including information on his earlier association with relics, see J.S Ott, 'Educating the Bishop: Models of Episcopal Authority and Conduct in the Hagiography of Early Twelfth-Century Soissons' in S.N Vaughan and J. Rubenstein (ed.) *Teaching and Learning in Northern Europe 1000 - 1200* (Turnhout, 2006) pp. 217 - 254.

<sup>176</sup> Suger, *Vita Ludovici*, p.2.

text. Minor differences in word order do occur and Odo's text also excludes the names of a number of abbots who are listed in Hugh's account as having been present at the display of the tunic. In addition to the reproduction of Hugh's charter in support of the authenticity of the tunic, the archbishop is made the subject of a short anecdote, describing how while returning from St. Denis in 1153 Hugh encountered the tunic at Argenteuil and became so devoted to it that he asked to take a small piece of the relic for himself. Much like the account of Joscelin's healing, the anecdote concerning Hugh is of questionable veracity, given that it credits him with knowledge of the tunic three years before he produced the charter commemorating its display in 1156 following its discovery. However the general tone of the tale does again ring true, particularly the detail concerning Hugh's presence at St. Denis celebrating the feast of that saint. The account states that Hugh had been invited to celebrate the feast as it was *mos suus*. Although the veracity of Odo's anecdotes concerning Joscelin and Hugh is doubtful it is significant that he chooses two figures closely associated with Suger in order to illustrate the authenticity of the tunic. The entire event and guest list surrounding the display of the tunic resembled one of the altar consecrations organised by Suger. It is possible that in constructing anecdotes concerning figures closely associated with his predecessor, Odo was seeking to underline his connection with Suger and his legacy, seeking to undo the damage of the troubled early years of his abbacy.

The Argenteuil *inventio* text and the attached history of the Holy Tunic thus provide a clear demonstration of Odo's historical learning and his awareness of contemporary conventions of hagiographical writing. These are points that could only be speculated on whilst the *De Profectione* was widely regarded as Odo's only written work. Odo's choice of sources also demonstrates how he was working in an established St. Denis context. The usage of the *Descriptio* in particular shows a concern for the Carolingian past that was shared by Suger. Odo's apparent usage of William of St. Denis *Vita Sugerii* also indicates that he maintained an interest in written works produced at St. Denis during his abbacy. It also firmly places Odo in the tradition of the modification and fabrication of historical accounts that had long been active at St. Denis at that reached its full fruition in the following centuries in the *Grandes Chroniques*. The account, through its treatment of the Greeks, also subtly demonstrates how Odo's



experiences as a participant in the Second Crusade perhaps continued to influence his thinking and his writing. The actual event of the tunic's *ostensio* is also evidence for the manner in which Odo tried to maintain Suger's habit of gathering numerous French ecclesiastical figures at St. Denis or its associated priories. That Louis VII attended the *ostensio* is testament to the fact that Odo suffered no long term damage to his reputation following the crisis of the early years of his abbacy.

## Chapter 8

### Odo and the concept of history

In assessing Odo of Deuil as a writer working in a specific context it is important to examine in detail both his historical vocabulary and his statements on the importance of history. Such an investigation is especially important given that Odo was writing in the mid-twelfth century. A significant aspect of the so called ‘Twelfth-Century Renaissance’ was an apparent refinement in the writing of history and an increasing awareness of the history as a subject of study in its own right.<sup>1</sup> It is important to determine exactly what Odo thought ‘history’ was and, furthermore, to examine what awareness he displayed of the various divisions that constituted the broader subject. This approach necessarily involves an assessment of the opinion that Odo had of his own works, particularly in relation to the genre he saw them as belonging to.

No real attempt has been made to examine where Odo stood in relation to the historical thinking of the twelfth century, or even how he understood and made use of more general historical ideas. One minor exception occurs in Brown and Cothren’s 1985 study of the crusading windows at St. Denis. As noted above, this article is one of the few that devotes any space to Odo’s account of the discovery of the Holy Tunic at

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<sup>1</sup> The major examinations of the developments in historical writing in the twelfth century and the wider Middle Ages remain those of R.W. Southern and Bernard Guenée: R.W Southern, ‘Aspects of the European tradition of historical writing 1: The Classical tradition from Einhard to Geoffrey of Monmouth’ *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society Fifth Series* 20 (1970), pp.173–96; R.W Southern, ‘Aspects of the European tradition of historical writing 2: Hugh of St Victor and the idea of historical development’ *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society Fifth Series* 21 (1971), pp.159–79; R.W Southern, ‘Aspects of the European tradition of historical writing 3: History as Prophecy’ *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society Fifth Series* 22 (1972), pp.159–80; R.W Southern, ‘Aspects of the European tradition of historical writing 4: The Sense of the Past’, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society Fifth Series* 23 (1973), pp. 243 – 63; Bernard Guenée, *Histoire et culture historique dans l’occident Médiéval* (Paris, 1990); Guenée has also written a number of important articles dealing with aspects of medieval historical writing which are cited at relevant points below. Guenée and Southern both posit that traditional monastic historical writing underwent a decline in the twelfth century, to be replaced by a newer historiography in line with the intellectual culture of the cathedral schools and universities. This viewpoint has been assessed by John Ward: J.O Ward, ‘Decline’ and ‘New Managment’ in *Medieval Historiography during the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries (And Beyond)* *Parergon* 19:1 (2002), pp.19–75, – see in particular pp. 19–27; Whilst Southern’s influential articles are now forty years old, with some of Guenée’s work also being of a similar vintage, they still exert an important influence. This is outlined by Sønnesyn in his brief survey of research into medieval historiography, which also highlights the lack of major Anglophone examinations of the subject in the intervening period: Sigbjørn Olsen Sønnesyn, *William of Malmesbury and the Ethics of History* (Woodbridge, 2012), pp.8 – 13.



Argenteuil. In arguing that Odo was responsible for commissioning a number of near contemporary monuments at St. Denis Brown and Cothren provide a brief overview of his historical viewpoint that is worth reproducing in full here:

‘Whether or not these monuments were directly commissioned by Odo, they reveal the same attitude to the historical past, the same concern for events and individuals divorced or divorceable from Biblical contexts and untransformed by metaphysical manipulation, that can be seen in Odo's history of Louis VII's journey to the East and his account of the exhibition of the Holy Tunic of Argenteuil. Extraordinary at Saint-Denis and elsewhere in the twelfth century, such interests would become more common in later years, although they would always remain unusual.’<sup>2</sup>

There are several methodological problems with this analysis. The primary problem is the interdisciplinary nature of the comparison being made. Brown and Cothren do not provide any lengthy discussion of the nature of the monuments in St. Denis. Nor is the ‘attitude to the historical past’ supposedly embodied in the works presented at any length. There is also the methodological difficulty inherent in any comparison between the attitude found in texts and the attitude that is apparently found in inert objects. Similar attempts at a unified approach to the textual and architectural legacy of Suger have proved unsatisfying.<sup>3</sup> Brown and Cothren also admit that the monuments under question, a statue of the Merovingian King Dagobert I, an arch dedicated to the Capetian kings of France and a series of stained glass windows depicting the events of the First Crusade, cannot be dated to Odo's abbacy with any real certainty. Indeed, it has been argued that the cycle of crusade windows would more reasonably be dated to the abbacy of Suger.<sup>4</sup> The remainder of the paragraph also contains what might be described as a somewhat woolly analysis. Phrases such as ‘metaphysical manipulation’ actually do little to assess Odo's perspective on history

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<sup>2</sup> Brown, Cothren, ‘Windows’, p.33.

<sup>3</sup> See for example, Gabrielle Spiegel's unconvincing attempt to match an interpretation of Suger's architectural choices to both the structure of his historical writings and Dionysian theology: Gabrielle Spiegel, ‘History as enlightenment: *Suger and the Mos anagogicus*.’ in P.L Gerson (ed.) *Abbot Suger and Saint-Denis: A Symposium* (New York, 1986), pp.151–8.

<sup>4</sup> See above, pp.29–31.

and how it was placed in contemporary thinking. The most reliable way to approach such an analysis remains the purely textual approach, with an examination of the vocabulary and attitudes exhibited in Odo's two written works providing the best basis for any conclusion about how he thought about history.

### *History and Hagiography*

This chapter will undertake that assessment, basing its examination on both of Odo's works. Whilst substantial differences in form and style certainly exist between the *De Profectione* and the *Argenteuil Inventio* such an examination is still possible. This examination begins with the view that both Odo's works are fundamentally 'historical' accounts. The historical nature of the *De Profectione*, with its conventional narrative structure, is clear and obvious. The text relating to the discovery of the 'holy tunic' at Argenteuil employs a different structure, yet much of it is still essentially historical, or more correctly pseudo-historical, in nature. Haskins, in describing the development of historical writing during the 'twelfth-century renaissance', included a broad category of 'lives of saints' as a variety of contemporary historical writing. Expanding this definition, he wrote that accounts of acquisitions of relics were, in his view, historical accounts.<sup>5</sup> This perspective fits with the nature of the Argenteuil text which could, as a whole, be given the title 'the discovery and history of the Holy Tunic of Argenteuil'. Coleman has more recently demurred slightly with the viewpoint put forward by Haskins. Whilst acknowledging that 'hagiography has much in common with history writing of the interpretive variety' she states that 'At the level of collecting facts alone, the two genres may be distinguished...Whereas the historian increasingly saw his mission as providing in as complete a manner as possible a narrative of all the discrete events which he considered worthy of being remembered, in order to pass those on to posterity, the author of *miracula* permitted himself a wider choice among events because he was primarily concerned to edify through a specific interpretation of those events'.<sup>6</sup> The closeness in form between hagiographical and historical writing, particularly the prologues of texts from each genre, has also been commented on by Sigal. In his view the major difference between an eleventh or twelfth century historian and a hagiographer lay in the events related in a work of hagiography which were

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<sup>5</sup> Charles Haskins, *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge Mass., 1927 repr.1971), p.232.

<sup>6</sup> Janet Coleman, *Ancient and Medieval Memories: Studies in the Reconstruction of the Past* (Cambridge, 1992), pp.302-3.



generally contemporary eyewitness accounts. Written evidence and its usage was a rarity in the genre, as was any sense of the past. Sigal contrasts this with historical works, taking the *Historia Ecclesiastica* of Orderic Vitalis as an example, in which traditions are laid out having been passed down from generation to generation through writing.<sup>7</sup> Whilst the interpretations of Coleman and Sigal regarding the differences between history and hagiography might be true in regard to simple miracle collections, *vitae* of saints and *inventiones*, Odo's Argenteuil *inventio* account appears much closer to an 'historical' work of edification. This is particularly true of the latter half of Odo's text. Whilst aspects of the first half of the work are perhaps closer in form to a conventional miracle collection, the second half of the text is essentially historical. The most notable manifestation of this is seen Odo's organisation of historical material concerning the past whereabouts of the tunic. Patrick Geary, writing on the subject of *memoria* in the eleventh century, has argued against the arbitrary modern division of historical and hagiographical sources: 'Reliance on archival evidence is seen as proof of the author's critical sense, while reliance on visions, dreams and dragons shows evidence of credulity. What one sometimes forgets is that visionaries were often also people of great practical ability and interest and that in their construction of reality dragons and charters formed part of a whole. The difference between hagiography and archival evidence is a modern, not a medieval, one.'<sup>8</sup> It has recently been suggested that the problems inherent in attempting to demarcate 'history' and 'hagiography' as broad genres mean that questions of categorisation should be approached on a text by text basis.<sup>9</sup> That the same concerns governed Odo in his composition of both the Argenteuil *inventio* and the *De Profectione* will be thoroughly demonstrated in this chapter. Indeed it will be shown that it is the 'hagiographical' *inventio* account that offers some of the clearest of Odo's statements regarding the importance of history.

That Odo was governed by the same concerns while writing his two accounts can be easily demonstrated by a comparison of the letters that preface both the *De Profectione* and the Argenteuil *inventio*. Odo's *inventio* text and the *De Profectione*

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<sup>7</sup> Pierre André Sigal 'La travail des hagiographes aux XIe et XIIe siècles : Sources d'information et méthodes de rédaction' *Francia* 15 (1987), p.154 ; See also, Pierre André Sigal, 'Histoire et Hagiographie : Les Miracula aux XIe et XIIe siècles' in *Actes des congrès de la Société des historiens médiévistes de l'enseignement supérieur public : 8<sup>e</sup> congrès* (Tours, 1977), pp.237–57.

<sup>8</sup> Patrick Geary, *Phantoms of Remembrance* (Princeton, 1994), p.159.

<sup>9</sup> Leah Shopkow, *History and Community: Norman Historical Writing in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Washington DC, 1997), pp.277–80.

both share a concern for posterity, and the importance of the written word for the preservation of knowledge. The prefatory letter to the *De Profectione*, addressed to Abbot Suger, contains a number of statements regarding the importance of preserving a record of Louis VII's crusade, including a statement that it would be a crime if posterity (*posteritas*) were to be deprived of it. Odo also stated that he wished for Suger to 'perpetuate in writing' some facts about the expedition: '*quae mandetis stylo vestro memoriae sempiternae*'. A more literal translation than Berry's 'perpetuate in writing' would render *memoria sempiternus* as 'everlasting memory'. The didactic aspect of the *De Profectione* was also emphasised by Odo in the preface through his stated desire that the actions of Louis on crusade would be recorded as an example to *futuri reges*.<sup>10</sup> Indeed, the presentation of Louis in the *De Profectione* has been described as having a 'hagiographical streak' to it.<sup>11</sup> Odo's appeal that Suger should use his information as the basis for a history of Louis VII is likely to have been a form of affected modesty, but this does not mean that he did not actually hold these concerns.<sup>12</sup>

That Odo's stated concern for the preservation of *memoria* for posterity was more than a simple observation of *topoi* is indicated by the concepts observed in the preface to the *De Profectione* which are also evident in the *incipit* of Odo's Argenteuil text. In the preface to this account Odo stated that he was writing his account so that knowledge of the tunic, and the miracles that had occurred as a result of its discovery, would be transmitted for the memory of the future faithful: *Futurorum memoriae fideli narratione curabo transmittere*.<sup>13</sup> Sigal states that this sort of sentiment, just as it was often expressed in the prefaces to 'true' historical works, occasionally also appeared in the prefaces to hagiographical works.<sup>14</sup>

In both of his written accounts, therefore, Odo's stated desire was that the information he had recorded should survive as a record for future generations. The vocabulary in the two prefaces is similar, with the importance of *memoria* stressed by

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<sup>10</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, pp.2–4.

<sup>11</sup> Henry Mayr Harting, 'Odo of Deuil, the Second Crusade and the Monastery of Saint-Denis', in M.C Mayer (ed.), *The Culture of Christendom* (London, 1993), p.227.

<sup>12</sup> On the issue of the historical utility of *topoi* that frequently appear in prefaces see especially D.W.T.C Vessey 'William of Tyre and the Art of Historiography' *Medieval Studies* 35 (1973), pp.435–6; Bernard Guenée, 'Histoire, mémoire, écriture: Contribution à une étude des lieux communs' *Comptes-rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 127 :3 (1983), pp. 441–56 and Antonia Gransden, *Legends, Traditions and History in Medieval England* (London, 1992), pp. 125–9.

<sup>13</sup> Queen's MS.348. 48.<sup>v</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Sigal, 'Travail des hagiographes' p.152.



Odo in both works, along with a concern for the future. Both prefaces also share a concern for the concept of truth (*veritas*). In the *De Profectione* Odo stated to Suger that, although his report of the events of the crusade might be lacking in eloquence, the facts that he transmitted were grounded in *veritas*.<sup>15</sup> In the preface to the *inventio* account Odo states that certain signs had indicated the *veritas* of the relic of the tunic: *Praesertim cum tam certa extent veritatis indicia*.<sup>16</sup> There is admittedly a slight difference in emphasis between the two prefaces. In the *De Profectione* Odo was personally presenting the ‘true’ record of what he saw while on crusade. In the *inventio* account he was seeking to defend the ‘true’ nature of the relic found at Argenteuil. This difference in emphasis is reflected in the approach employed by Odo in the two sources. Whilst the *De Profectione* is essentially an eyewitness account of contemporary events, the *inventio* account is a patchwork of both eyewitness reports and older narrative sources that were used by Odo as he sought to prove the *veritas* of the tunic. So while a difference in emphasis does exist between the two texts as a result of their slightly diverse natures, the same basic concepts concerned Odo as he wrote them. While the style of his two texts differed their fundamental purpose, as historical accounts, did not.

### *Memoria*

As demonstrated above, Odo stated the importance of preserving an historical record for the *memoria* of future generations in the prefaces to both of his works. It was a commonplace of contemporary historical works that the preface would contain a statement expressing the need that a record of the deeds recorded there would not be lost. Indeed the concept of *memoria* appears with such frequency in historical prefaces that such statements could themselves be regarded as insignificant banalities.<sup>17</sup> That Odo, like most medieval writers, made frequent usage of commonplace descriptions and writing methods has been well established in this thesis. In the case of his stated desire for the preservation of knowledge for future generations, however, the evidence suggests that Odo’s concern went beyond a basic willingness to adhere to writing conventions. This is because not only do these ideas appear in both of Odo’s prefaces

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<sup>15</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, p.2.

<sup>16</sup> Queen’s MS.348 fol.48<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>17</sup> Bernard Guenée, ‘Histoire, mémoire, écriture: Contribution à une étude des lieux communs’ *Comptes-rendus des séances de l’Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 127 :3 (1983), p. 450.

but they are also found in the bodies of the text. In the preface to the *De Profectione* Odo stressed the need that a record of Louis VII's expedition to the east would be left for posterity, with the Latin term *posteritas* being used. This concern for posterity subsequently appears on a number of occasions throughout the *De Profectione*. The vocabulary used by Odo in the preface is also replicated in the body of his work. In Book Two of the *De Profectione*, Odo described the conditions faced by the crusaders as they travelled through Hungary. He stated that this information was being provided as a warning to future travellers: *Ad cautelam haec omnia dicimus posterorum*.<sup>18</sup> A similar theme is evident in the closing passages of Book Five, where Odo noted that the treachery of the Greeks had been recorded for the benefit of posterity: *ut sciant posteri Gracorum dolosa facinora, nostra infortunia prosequemur*.<sup>19</sup>

In a manner similar to the appearance of a concern for posterity in the body of Odo's writing, the regard for *memoria* observed in his two prefaces also reappears in both of the works proper. In the Argenteuil *inventio* text Odo fully reproduced the charter of Archbishop Hugh of Rouen which offered a spiritual indulgence for those who came to view the recently discovered tunic of Christ. In the text Odo explained the reasoning behind Hugh's decision to issue his charter. The remission of sins offered for viewing the tunic is briefly mentioned, before the account continues to describe why Hugh felt it was necessary that the offer would be preserved in writing: *Atque ut rei geste memoria extaret, modum indulgentie scripto tradidit*.<sup>20</sup> Notably the idea of *memoria* is mentioned here. Here Odo also linked the preservation of the memory of events to the written word, in much the same manner as is seen in the prefaces to his two works. In accounting for Hugh's actions, Odo reflected his own justifications for the importance of history and the preservation of *memoria*. His statement also revealed a certain subtlety in Odo's understanding of the manner in which knowledge was to be transmitted. It is not surprising that the written word was viewed as crucial for this purpose. The subtlety comes in the fact that Odo appears to have viewed Hugh's choice of a charter of indulgence as being not only a valid means of transmission for the conditions of the indulgence, but also as a vehicle for the memory of 'things done' (*res gestae*).

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<sup>18</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, p.24.

<sup>19</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, p.98.

<sup>20</sup> Queen's College MS.348 fol.59r.



The term ‘memory’ obviously denotes a broad and abstract concept that can be understood differently depending on its context. There are a number of instances in Odo’s writing when he referred to having recalled facts and places from his own personal memories.<sup>21</sup> William of St. Denis described Suger’s supposedly prodigious memory and stated that the Abbot was fond of reciting verses of Horace. He was also supposedly able to recite the historical deeds of the Franks from memory upon being given the name of a king.<sup>22</sup> *Memoria* could also be understood in a liturgical sense, referring to the remembrance of the dead.<sup>23</sup> *Memoria* as referred to by Odo in the prefaces to both of his works and also in the passage prior to his reproduction of Hugh’s charter appears to have been intended to be understood in the sense of a group memory that was to be preserved through writing. This sense of the term is the one that appears most often in twelfth-century historical prefaces. It can also be seen, for example, in the preface to Suger’s *Life of Louis VI*, where the Abbot stated the importance that the deeds of the king would not be erased from the *memoria* of men.<sup>24</sup> It needs to be recognised, however, that attempts to create a written record for the *memoria* of future generations were in themselves conscious acts of selection. Discussing the occasional banality of the statements in prefaces regarding *memoria*, Bernard Guenée has stated that it was in the thirteenth century that a distinction began increasingly to be made between the broad desire to commit everything to memory and the recognition that only certain facts were worthy of note.<sup>25</sup> In the late twelfth century, however, Gervase of Canterbury drew a distinction between events that were memorable (*memorabilia*) and those that were worth remembering (*memoranda*).<sup>26</sup> Odo predated Gervase by a number of decades but his writing indicates that he was adhering to similar principles of composition. In the opening passage of Book Two of the *De Profectione* Odo directly addressed Suger, and stated that following the departure of Louis VII from St. Denis in

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<sup>21</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, p.32; Queen’s MS.348 Fol 53<sup>r</sup>; On the broad concept of Memory and memorisation in the Middle Ages see Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*, (Cambridge, 2008).

<sup>22</sup> William of St. Denis, *Vita Sugerii* in Gasparri, *Oeuvres* 2, p.305.

<sup>23</sup> James Fentress and Chris Wickham, *Social Memory*, (Oxford, 1992), p.18.

<sup>24</sup> Suger, *Vita Ludovici*, p.6.

<sup>25</sup> Bernard Guenée, ‘Histoire, mémoire, écriture’, p.454.

<sup>26</sup> Gervase of Canterbury, *The Historical Works of Gervase of Canterbury* vol.1 ed. W. Stubbs (London, 1879), p.89 This passage appears in a number of discussions of medieval *memoria* – M. T. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record England 1066 – 1307* 2<sup>nd</sup> edn. (Oxford, 1993) p.147; Coleman, *Ancient and Medieval Memories*, p.303; Geary, *Phantoms of Remembrance*, p.9; Patrick Geary ‘The Historical Material of Memory’ in Giovanni Ciappelli and Patricia Lee Rubin (eds) *Art, Memory and Family in Renaissance Florence* (Cambridge, 2000), p.17. Confusingly in both of his references to Gervase Geary has erroneously dated him to the eleventh century.

June 1147, nothing *memorandum* occurred in the French kingdom until the arrival of the king at Metz later in the month. Odo's account then backtracks slightly as, addressing Suger again, he wrote that perhaps the abbot wanted to have it written that Samson, archbishop of Rheims had been made his co-regent.<sup>27</sup> It could be argued that Odo was simply truthful in stating that nothing of note happened in what was a short period of time. It is, however, the principle elucidated here that is more significant. Odo clearly indicated at this point that there was a hierarchy of things that were worth being remembered. This principle appears to have been in operation in the passages immediately following Odo's address to Suger. Odo wrote that having arrived at Metz, Louis attempted to enact a number of laws to aid peace while the crusading army was on the march. Modern scholars are unaware of exactly what these laws constituted, because, as Odo stated, he decided not to record them since they were not well obeyed.<sup>28</sup> In her introduction to the *De Profectione* Berry treats Odo's stated decision not to record these laws as in the same vein as the desire for brevity displayed at other points in the narrative.<sup>29</sup> Berry does not display any awareness that a stated desire for brevity was a rhetorical commonplace in twelfth-century written works, viewing Odo's statements on the matter as being his confiding 'to the reader his technique of writing'.<sup>30</sup> It also appears to be incorrect to group Odo's decision not to list Louis's laws with his other statements regarding brevity, given the stylistic difference between that statement and those occasions when he did stress that he was trying to be brief. The same principle of deliberate omission of facts has also been demonstrated to have taken place in Odo's treatment of the Byzantine Emperor Manuel Comnenus. The refusal by Odo to record Manuel's name can also be linked to the broader idea of the memorialisation of the dead, and the occasional deletion of names from monastic records.<sup>31</sup> The passage in which Odo stated his reasons for ignoring Manuel's name also emphasises the importance of the written word. Manuel's name, according to Odo, was not written (*non est scriptum*) in the Book of Life. This selection of what to record and the positive presentation of Louis VII were all part of the process of edification through historical writing. The same level of censoriousness is not obviously stated in Odo's account of the discovery of the tunic at Argenteuil. This could be taken as an indication

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<sup>27</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, p.20.

<sup>28</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, p.20;

<sup>29</sup> Berry, *De Profectione*, p.xxiv n.68.

<sup>30</sup> Berry, *De Profectione*, p.xxiv

<sup>31</sup> See above, p.163.



that the distinction drawn by Coleman between history and hagiography has some truth and that in the *De Profectione*, as a true ‘history’, Odo was free to select what he felt was worth committing to memory through writing, whilst in the *inventio* account he was able to draw on a wider range of information and select what was important for edification. These differences, however, also arise from the fact that the *De Profectione* is an eyewitness historical account, so its range of information was limited. In the case of the Argenteuil text, it has been highlighted elsewhere in this thesis that Odo made changes to his pseudo-historical source materials in order to suit his narrative. His approach to moulding what would constitute *memoria* was thus a consistent one. The example intended to have been set for future kings in the *De Profectione* could have benefitted from Odo’s suppression of certain details.<sup>32</sup> In addition, the notion of edification for posterity is also clearly present in Odo’s preface to the *De Profectione*. Narratives intended for spiritual edification were not all hagiographies, as Coleman appears to suggest. Historical works were widely regarded as having a didactic purpose in the twelfth century.<sup>33</sup> That historical works could serve to edify posterity is an idea also expressed in contemporary St. Denis works. The appeal to *memoria* in the preface of Suger’s life of Louis VI has already been noted. A number of additional examples will serve to further illustrate the point.

The emphasis on posterity seen in the preface to the *De Profectione* can also be observed in the opening lines of the *Vita Sugerii*, written by William of St. Denis. In his prefatory passages William stated that he had chosen to write about Suger so that his example would be available to posterity: *Quotiens enim viri illius venerandi mecum virtutes intueor, quotiens verborum recordor et operum, in exemplar certe michi videtur editus ut, tam ex verbis eius quam operibus, vivendi formam successura trahat posteritas.*<sup>34</sup> In her edition and parallel French translation of William’s work, Gasparri highlights this passage as mirroring ideas expressed in Suger’s own writing, citing Suger’s words *Preteritorum recordatio est futurorum exhibitio.*<sup>35</sup> This phrase is found in the *De Administratione*, a text in which Suger outlined his administration of St. Denis and also the manner in which he decorated the abbey. It amounts to a statement by

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<sup>32</sup> Gransden, *Legends*, p.129.

<sup>33</sup> Benoit Lacroix, *L’Historien au Moyen Age*, (Paris, 1971) pp.147 – 55 ; Guenée, ‘Histoire, mémoire, écriture’, p.448.

<sup>34</sup> William, *Vita Sugerii* in Gasparri, *Oeuvres 2*, pp.292–3.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*n.2

Suger on his view of the importance of historical works as a lesson to future generations.<sup>36</sup> Similar sentiments can be seen to have been expressed by Suger at the outset of the work. At the close of the opening, introductory, chapter of the *De Administratione* Suger wrote: *de reddituum augmentatione tam praesentium quam futurorum notitiae significare honestum et utile proposuimus.*<sup>37</sup>

### ***Odo as 'historian'***

The emphasis of Odo on *memoria*, posterity and the future in both the prefaces and bodies of his two works acts as a demonstration that he was well aware of the importance of preserving a written record of events. His concept of *memoria* was, however, also influenced by a criterion of what was worthy of being committed to it. It is not possible to state what Odo's rule was, but it seems clear from the preface of the *De Profectione* that he thought it important that historical works would act as a future source of edification. The full awareness that Odo had of this potential will be demonstrated below. Firstly, given the significance that Odo placed on what we would now refer to as history, it is important to examine precisely how he viewed the subject. This examination faces an initial difficulty because Odo only directly referred to *historia* on one occasion in his writing. When describing the defeat of a section of the army of Conrad III in Anatolia, Odo engaged in a stylised lament, describing how in the past the Germans had been powerful enough to have struck fear into the Romans. He stated that people were aware of this fact as they had been able to read about the Germans in *antiquae historiae*.<sup>38</sup> The traditional view of history, as laid out by Bede and Isidore, was that an *historia* was an eyewitness record of events. As demonstrated in chapter two of this thesis, the *De Profectione* adhered to many of the contemporary *topoi* of 'true' eyewitness writing.<sup>39</sup> The good faith and standing of the eyewitness authorities of the *inventio* account are also reiterated.<sup>40</sup> Despite this Odo made no reference, either in the prefaces or bodies of his texts, to his work as being a *historia*. Indeed Odo's one clear reference to *historia* appears to differ from the traditional understanding of what constituted the genre. *Historia*, due to its roots as an eyewitness genre, was often considered to relate to contemporary events. This consideration led the

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<sup>36</sup> Suger, *De Administratione* in Gasparri, *Oeuvres I*, p.122.

<sup>37</sup> Suger, *De Administratione* in Gasparri, *Oeuvres I*, p.56.

<sup>38</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, p.98.

<sup>39</sup> See above, pp.40–6.

<sup>40</sup> Queen's MS. 348 fol.56<sup>r</sup>, 58<sup>v</sup>



twelfth-century English writer William of Malmesbury to entitle his three books of 'history' dealing with the past 'chronicles', with the title of 'history' reserved for his own contemporary observations.<sup>41</sup> Conversely Odo's reference was to ancient histories, that had been accessed through the written word.

It appears odd to the modern reader that Odo did not refer to either of his own works as being an *historia*. This would seem particularly true of the *De Profectione* which, due to its eyewitness content, closely fits the Isidorian understanding of a *historia*. It needs to be asked precisely how Odo identified his works, and to what extent he viewed himself as being an 'historian.' Bernard Guenée has written that from the twelfth century onwards writers of history became increasingly aware of the autonomous nature of their subject. Guenée regards the first thirty years of the twelfth century as having been decisive for western historiography. In this period historical writers began to cite their predecessors in the prefaces to their works. Particularly important to his argument is Hugh of St. Victor's work of 1130, *De Tribus Maximis circumstanciis gestorum*. This short world chronicle contains a list of the names of historians under the heading *De nominibus hystoriographorum*. The list is comprised of thirty-two names, largely drawn from classical antiquity.<sup>42</sup> Guenée has observed that the list does not appear to have any chronological or thematic order to it and that Hugh himself does not appear to have been familiar with the works of a number of those historians that he listed.<sup>43</sup> The significance of this list as viewed by Guenée, however, is that it indicates an awareness of the autonomy of both history as a subject and the historian as a distinct role. Guenée also makes the related assertion that from 1100 onwards it is increasingly hard to find a prologue to an historical work that does not refer to historians or *historici*, *historiographi*, *historiologi*.<sup>44</sup> This is presented as a result of the increasing awareness of the autonomy of history as a subject. Ward, on the other hand, has warned against 'too ready an assumption of equivalence between the modern genre "history" and what we take to be its medieval forebear.' Examining the

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<sup>41</sup> Coleman, *Ancient and Medieval Memories* p.283–4.

<sup>42</sup> Hugh of St. Victor, *De Tribus Maximis circumstanciis gestorum*, ed. G. Waitz *Archiv der Gesellschaft für Ältere Deutsche Geschichtskunde* 11 (1858), pp.307 – 8; William M.Green, 'Hugo of St. Victor: De Tribus Maximis circumstanciis gestorum' *Speculum*, 18:4 (1943), pp.484 – 93; R.W Southern, 'Hugh of St Victor and the idea of historical development', p.173.

<sup>43</sup> Bernard Guenée, 'Les Premiers pas de l'histoire de l'historiographie en Occident au XIIe siècle' *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 127:1 (1983), p.138.

<sup>44</sup> Guenée, 'Les Premiers pas de l'histoire de l'historiographie', p.147.

preface to the *Historia Pontificalis* of John of Salisbury Ward comments on the notable point of 'John's failure to describe his own work as history, himself as a historian, anyone else as a historian, or the activity as history'. He also states that John's terminology consistently stresses that the writer is a conscious 'creator' of his narrative.<sup>45</sup> This observation is made by Ward in the context of a demonstration of the continuing importance of rhetoric and rhetorical embellishment to twelfth-century writers, an aspect of writing that Guenée has asserted as having declined in step with the increasing awareness of history as an autonomous subject.

These are then two strongly contrasting viewpoints. An examination of Odo and the *De Professione* in particular, appears to place him much closer to Ward's understanding of twelfth-century writing. Odo could be said to have used the preface of the *De Professione* to place himself in a tradition of historical writing. It was not, however, a long tradition stretching back centuries, as Guenée saw exemplified by Hugh of St. Victor. Instead Odo looked to the model of his immediate predecessor Suger, and his *Life of Louis VI*. Indeed, Odo himself claimed to have merely been collecting notes which were to be used by Suger to compose a sequel in the form of a life of Louis VII. This claim has been demonstrated above to have been a self-conscious artifice, and one which was clearly rhetorical in nature, although it still indicates that Odo was placing himself in the emergent tradition of historical writing at St. Denis. It should be noted that the prologue to Suger's *Gesta* of Louis VI contains none of the references to the autonomous subject of history that Guenée saw as becoming increasingly typical during the twelfth century. Writing late in the twelfth century the St. Denis writer Rigord described himself as a 'royal historian' (*regis Francorum chronographus*) in the preface to his *Gesta Phillipi Augusti*.<sup>46</sup> This title was not present in the writing of either Suger or Odo, nor was any indication that either specifically regarded themselves as being an 'historian'. As Odo did not refer explicitly to his historical writings as 'history' it is necessary to examine what he did regard his work as being.

### ***Odo's awareness of the different 'genres' of historical writing***

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<sup>45</sup> John O. Ward, 'Some Principles of Rhetorical Historiography in the Twelfth Century' in Ernst Breisach (ed.) *Classical Rhetoric and Medieval Historiography* (Kalamazoo, 1985), p.107.

<sup>46</sup> Gabrielle Spiegel, *The Chronicle Tradition of Saint-Denis* (Brookline, 1978), p.56.



In addition to his work arguing that, in the course of the twelfth century, the writing of history gained increasing autonomy and 'self-awareness', Guenée has also analysed the diverse forms taken by historical writing in the Middle Ages. He identifies three fundamental 'genres' of medieval historical writing: 'histories', annals and chronicles.<sup>47</sup> This tripartite division again had its roots in Isidore's *Etymologies*.<sup>48</sup>

As has been demonstrated above, the narrative of the *De Profectione* contains most of the typical hallmarks of contemporary eyewitness histories.<sup>49</sup> Of the three broad categories indicated by Guenée, the *De Profectione* and the Argenteuil text would both be regarded as histories. However, as Roger Ray has stated, the broad category of *historia* was 'indiscriminately applied to saints' lives, parts of the Bible, sometimes all of it, the literal sense of scriptural texts, a section of Divine Office, versified offices, epic poems, even schoolbooks like Peter Comestor's *Historia Scolastica*, in addition to biographies, one epistolary autobiography, as well as to other narratives that we today would designate as history'.<sup>50</sup>

In the case of the *De Profectione* the prefatory letter again provides the strongest indication of the genre to which Odo regarded his work as adhering. The preface, addressing Suger, reminded the abbot that he had written the *Gesta* of Louis VI. Odo continued his preface by stating that a record of Louis VII's journey to Jerusalem would necessarily have to form part of any description of *gesta eius*.<sup>51</sup> Berry chooses to translate the second *gesta* as 'life' despite having rendered the first usage as 'deeds'. Her first, more literal, translation appears to be correct given the context of Odo's statement. From the sense of Odo's usage of *gesta* in the preface to the *De Profectione*, he clearly appears to have regarded it as referring to a distinctive genre of historical writing of which his *De Profectione* constituted part. Elsewhere in the *De Profectione*, Odo can be seen to have employed the term *gesta* in a similar sense. This can be seen in a statement regarding the fate of the Germans. Describing the journey of the German crusading contingent to Constantinople, Odo wrote that it is correct that a story is told in

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<sup>47</sup> Bernard Guenée, 'Histoires, annales, chroniques: Essai sur les genres historiques au Moyen Âge' *Annales, Économies, Société, Civilisations* 28:4 (1973), p.998. Lacroix, *L'Historien*, pp.34 – 45.

<sup>48</sup> Isidore, *Etymologiae*, ed. W.M Lindsay (Oxford, 1911 repr 1985), I.44.

<sup>49</sup> See above, pp.40–46.

<sup>50</sup> Roger D. Ray, 'Medieval Historiography through the Twelfth Century: Problems and Progress of Research' *Viator* 5 (1975), pp.35–6.

<sup>51</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, p.2.

the order that events happened: *Debet enim res ordine quo gesta est recitari*.<sup>52</sup> This also provides an indication of what Odo regarded as the correct form of a *gesta*, with a chronological approach being preferable. Further evidence that Odo had a clear view of the *gesta* as a distinctive genre of history occurs in his *inventio* account. The brief section in that text relating to Charlemagne describes how the emperor had a number of daughters. In support of this statement Odo wrote, *sicut asserunt hii qui gesta eius conscripserat constat aliquot habuisse filias*.<sup>53</sup> Here Odo's Latin is extremely close to that found in the *De Profectione* preface, with the statement *gesta eius conscripserat* closely mirroring Odo's remark to Suger: *Vos patris eius gesta scripsistis*. In both of these statements Odo has expressed the same idea. The two related verbs, *conscribere* and *scribere*, indicate Odo's belief that *gesta* were something that could be recorded through writing.

It is highlighted above that Odo viewed a charter as a suitable medium for the transmission of *memoria* of *res gestae*. Despite the particular vocabulary of this phrase, and the fact that *Res Gestae* is often used as a synonym for a narrative account, it can be demonstrated that Odo still saw the *gesta* as a distinct genre of its own, even if it did share a common historical purpose with the charter.<sup>54</sup> Elsewhere in his Argenteuil *inventio* account Odo expresses his views on modes of historical transmission on a number of occasions. These statements largely had a polemical undertone, with Odo stating that those who doubted the authenticity of the tunic would not do so if only they had read any of a range of historical works. The primary example can be seen in the midst of a particularly long attack on these doubters:

*Item si Francorum gesta legissent aliquando, si ea, quae penes non habent, consignata regum et imperatorum precepta legissent auctentica, quiesceret eorum forsitan indignatio et digitum, ut reor, superponerent ori suo*.<sup>55</sup>

References to two distinct textual genres are evident in this statement. It seems unlikely that in referring to *Francorum gesta* Odo had a specific work in mind. It is true that a number of famous narrative works either bore the name *Francorum Gesta* or a

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<sup>52</sup> Odo, *De Profectione*, p.46.

<sup>53</sup> Queens MS. 348 fol.64.<sup>v</sup>

<sup>54</sup> Peter Classen, 'Res Gestae, Universal History, Apocalypse' in R.L Benson and Giles Constable (eds) *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century* (Princeton, 1982), pp. 387–417.

<sup>55</sup> Queens MS. 348, fol.56.<sup>v</sup>



closely related title. The obvious example is the anonymous *Gesta Francorum*, which provided an eyewitness account of the First Crusade. Gregory of Tours's *History of the Franks* was also frequently referred to as *Gesta Francorum*. While it is possible - though impossible to prove - that Odo was referring to Gregory's work, it seems more likely that he was referring to the *gesta* as a genre in its own right. In the *Vita Sugerii* William of St. Denis made a link between the verbal recollection of deeds and their subsequent evolution into written *gesta*. Describing Suger's capacity for remembering the history of any Frankish king or prince, he stated: *Francorum regem, vel principem, statim ejus gesta inoffensa velocitate percurreret. Ipse etiam regis Ludovici splendido sermone gesta descripsit, ejusque filii itidem Ludovici scribere quidem coepit; sed morte praeventus, ad finem opus non perduxit.*<sup>56</sup>

This description of a subgenre of historical writing as *gesta* is in fitting with a definition of *historia* given by Hugh of St. Victor that differs from the earlier Isidorian view. Hugh wrote that *Historia est rerum gestarum narratio.*<sup>57</sup> The matter is confused somewhat, as Ray indicated, by the fact that the *historia* referred to here by Hugh was the scriptural, literal, sense, with *Historia* being the term used for that sense of biblical exegesis since patristic times.<sup>58</sup> It is reasonable to state that Odo regarded the *gesta* as a discrete form of historical writing. His *De Profectione* fitted into this genre. While his Argenteuil text could not wholly be described as *gesta*, parts of it certainly fit that description. Odo himself gave this indication through a handful of mentions of *gesta* immediately prior to the 'historical' section of his account. Those passages where Odo made reference to *gesta* also provide a useful indication of the range of texts that he viewed useful for historical enquiry. They also demonstrate fully the view that Odo had of the importance of history, or historical knowledge.

Alongside the *Gesta* of the Franks Odo also cited *precepta auctentica* of Kings or Emperors as another suitable historical source. It is notable that he also stated that they should be *consignata*. This word is the perfect passive participle of the verb *consignare*, which can be translated simply as 'to sign' but it can also be rendered as 'to have attached a seal'. The *precepta* (precepts or laws) that Odo is therefore referring to, appear to be those of Frankish Emperors and their successors the Capetian Kings, that

<sup>56</sup> William of Saint Denis, *Vita Sugerii* in Gasparri, *Oeuvres* 2, p.305-7.

<sup>57</sup> Hugh of St. Victor, *De Sacramentis Christiani Fidei*, MPL CLXXVI, col.0185a.

<sup>58</sup> Beryl Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages* (Notre Dame, 1964), pp.1-36.

have been authenticated by their seal. Odo's view here is that royal precepts were documents that should be read in order to further an understanding of history. This is a re-expression of the sentiment outlined above about Archbishop Hugh of Rouen's charter. Odo clearly viewed charters and *gesta* as two separate but related forms of text that could be used for the common aim of furthering historical understanding and thus insight into contemporary events. This suggests that Odo's understanding of history was not confined to a view that a record of events should be passed down in narrative accounts, like his own *De Profectione* and the works of Suger, but that other shorter written sources, such as charters, were equally important in preserving *memoria*. That Odo held this view is also supported by the contextual evidence. In the case of Hugh's charter, immediately after describing how Hugh had chosen that form for the preservation of memory, Odo himself reproduced the charter in full in the body of his text. This usage of charters for historical purposes was by no means unique. Guenée has described how, in the twelfth century, historians frequently made usage of charters, although largely the ones found in the archive of their own abbey. Guenée even highlights the late twelfth century St. Denis historian Rigord as an example of a writer who was confined to the archival resources of his own house. That Odo was able to access a copy of Hugh's charter, which presumably originated at Rouen is thus a demonstration of the extent he was willing to go to in order to write his account, although the complicated history of the document itself precludes too strong a conclusion from being reached.

The viewpoint expressed here by Odo, that charters were in themselves adequate for the transmission of historical knowledge, was again not novel. Beginning in the eleventh century the famous Italian abbey of Monte Cassino was narrowing the distinction between pure cartularies and narrative chronicles. The same was true at Saint-Bertin.<sup>59</sup> Odo's statement remains important, however, as it demonstrates his personal view of historical knowledge and the modes of its transmission.

This view of the importance of legal tracts as historical documents clearly echoes the opinions of Odo's predecessor and mentor, Suger. In his *Life of Louis VI* Suger demonstrated the legitimacy of the St. Denis claim over Argenteuil, stating that

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<sup>59</sup> Bernard Guenée, *Histoire et culture historique*, pp.92–5; The usage made of charters by William of Malmesbury has also been commented on by Southern: Southern, 'The Sense of the Past', p.254.



in defence of his claim he presented the pope and other assembled ecclesiastical figures with evidence from *praecepta regum antiquorum, Pipini, Caroli Magni, Ludovici Pii et aliorum*.<sup>60</sup> Suger's perception of laws and charters thus appears to have been slightly more typical than that of Odo. He was happy to present them as evidence for rights and for claims made on property by his abbey, an occurrence that was commonplace in the twelfth century. Odo no doubt shared this view of the usefulness of charters to pursue alienated rights and properties. The evidence of his *inventio* account, however, suggests that he went further in his thinking and that royal charters and laws were equally useful in proving the authenticity of relics and for transmitting historical accounts. Odo's statement that the royal documents should be authentic (*auctentica*) should be treated with a degree of caution. This does not necessarily indicate that Odo was possessed with any great critical spirit. Rather the language of authenticity was a commonplace occurrence in contemporary historical documents along with the language of authority. By stressing the authenticity of sources an historian was naturally stressing the authenticity of his own narrative. In the case of texts such as the Argenteuil *inventio*, such an approach was obviously of high importance.

It is also notable that Odo twice states that the doubters should have read (*legere*) these historical accounts. This again underlines his view that history was recorded in a strictly textual medium. Odo's debate is with a learned audience, albeit one that he views as being ignorant of history. The reading of history, in Odo's opinion, was a way in which the truth could be accessed. That he stated this view in conjunction with a stress on the importance of reading is perhaps unsurprising in the context of the twelfth century during which a growing expertise in diplomatic went hand in hand with increased literacy.<sup>61</sup> It is further demonstration that Odo afforded the written word an importance that went beyond the commonplace assertions of historical prefaces.

There is one further piece of evidence in the Argenteuil *inventio* for Odo's view on historical genres. It also provides further important evidence for Odo's view of history as a whole. Again defending the authenticity of the tunic against unnamed 'doubters', Odo denounced his opponents as *plerosque vel emulos scilicet vel*

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<sup>60</sup> Suger, *Vita Ludovici*, p.216.

<sup>61</sup> Brian Stock, *The Implications of Literacy*, (Princeton, 1983), p.62.

*incredulos vel annalium et rerum gestarum ignaros*.<sup>62</sup> The sentence is incomplete, with only the latter half surviving following an apparent lacuna in the manuscript.<sup>63</sup> However it again demonstrates Odo's view on the different genres of history. Annals, referred to here by Odo as *annales*, were one of the three generally recognised subdivisions of historical writing. Odo again also made reference to *res gestae*, which are similarly referenced in his treatment of Hugh's charter. He unsurprisingly appears to have viewed the annalistic form of history, with its annual recording of events, as differing from more traditional narrative accounts. What is most significant about this passage however, is not what it reveals about Odo's view of historical genres – it is already clear that he was well aware of the plethora of forms written histories could take, and appreciated the merits of each one – but rather it is what the passage demonstrates about Odo's view of historical knowledge that is important.

The passages selected from the *inventio* account and those highlighted from the preface to the *De Profectione* clearly demonstrate that Odo saw history as a form of self-edification. History had an important didactic purpose for future rulers in the case of the *De Profectione* and for those who doubted the authenticity of relics in the case of the Argenteuil *inventio*. This perspective on history was not unique in itself. The sentiment expressed in the preface to the *De Profectione* can be observed in numerous contemporary and near contemporary *Speculum principum*.

What is notable about Odo's views on the benefits of historical knowledge, is the fact that he draws a rhetorical parallel between those who were ignorant of history (*ignarus*) and a broader category of religious doubters (*incredulus*). The approach used by Odo was obviously influenced to some extent by his need to defend the authenticity of the tunic polemically. The term used by Odo to indicate the religious doubters, *incredulus*, is the same as that used by the author of John's Gospel to indicate the 'doubting' apostle Thomas.<sup>64</sup> Odo, however, drew clearer parallels between biblical figures and the 'doubters' in the passages found between his two prominent statements on the importance of history. In these passages Odo made direct comparisons between those who doubted the authenticity of the tunic and the biblical Scribes and Pharisees through the usage of a number of biblical quotations. Thus Odo stated that the doubters

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<sup>62</sup> Queen's MS. 348, fol.56<sup>r</sup>

<sup>63</sup> See above, p.204.

<sup>64</sup> John 17:27



are usurping the seats and names of the *doctores*. The comparison with the Jewish religious hierarchy of the New Testament is subsequently made clear through the usage of a number of biblical quotations: *Quibus ita Salvator exprobrat, dicens : 'Veh vobis, scribe et pharisei, ceci duces cecorum,'<sup>65</sup> qui, cum habeatis clavem scientie, nec ipsi introistis nec alios introire permittitis'.<sup>66</sup> A rhetorical description of the physical attributes of the 'doubters', such as blind eyes and stony hearts, then follows. This description is immediately followed by Odo's statement, examined above, citing the precepts of kings and the *Francorum gesta* as texts which would have silenced the doubters. The polemic then returns to its scriptural basis. Odo attacked the doubters on a number of occasions for having the temerity to doubt the authenticity of the tunic, as in doing so they were actually questioning the work of God. The scribes and the Pharisees are again cited as biblical precedents to those who were sceptical about the tunic as Odo's argument concludes with further quotation from the Bible: *Numquid ex principibus aut phariseis aliquis in illum credidit? Sed turba ista que ignorat legem, que non novit<sup>67</sup> scripturas, hec vadit post illum. Obliti sunt, ut arbitror, qui fuerunt venerabiles viri quorum officio et testificatione huius thesauri celebrata est revelatio. An et hii literas et legem noverunt et scripturas scrutati sunt?**

The selection of passages in which Odo outlines the importance of history and details the various historical genres appears to have a clear stylistic and thematic continuity with the surrounding passages comparing those who doubted the tunic to the persecutors of Christ. Odo's biblical polemic was primarily concerned with defending the authenticity of the tunic. But for this purpose a mere comparison of those who doubted the tunic to the biblical Jewish authorities would have been sufficient to illustrate Odo's point. However Odo's argument also contains a number of broader statements about the learning of his opponents, or rather their lack of learning. His choice of biblical quotations in particular and his subsequent modification of them appear to draw parallels between the learning of the biblical opponents of Jesus and that of the opponents of the tunic. This approach is demonstrated in Odo's quotation of John 7:49. In its original Biblical context the quotation is: *sed turba haec quae non novit legem*. Odo has modified the original so that his opponents are ignorant of the law. In

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<sup>65</sup> A paraphrase of Matthew 23:13–16, 23–29.

<sup>66</sup> A paraphrase of Luke 11:52

<sup>67</sup> John 7:49

addition he states that they are not familiar with 'scriptures' (*scripturae*). At another point in Odo's polemic he has combined two biblical quotations again to compare those who doubted the tunic to the scribes and Pharisees: *Scribe scilicet et legis doctores Moysi cathedram occupantes factis autem veritatem abnegantes*.<sup>68</sup> This quotation combines a paraphrase of Matthew 23:2, *super cathedram Mosi sederunt scribae et Pharisei*, with the phrase *legis doctores*. This phrase has likely been borrowed by Odo from either Luke 5:17 or 1 Timothy 1:17. It seems more likely that Odo was thinking of the Pauline epistle when writing his own text. This is due to Odo's own fondness for the letters of Paul, which was particularly evidenced in the *De Profectione*, but also due to the broader context of 1 Timothy 1:17, which states that the doctors of the law did not in fact understand what they were saying. The passage from Luke, however, also contains a reference to the Pharisees.

In either case, through his choice and manipulation of biblical quotation Odo appears to have desired to emphasise that one of the reasons that Jesus suffered opposition was due to the ignorance of the Scribes, Pharisees and others of the law and of scripture. It has already been detailed above how Odo argued that those doubting the authenticity of the tunic did so due in part to an ignorance of history. Odo thus appears to have been drawing a rhetorical parallel between the perceived lack of knowledge of history amongst some of his contemporaries and the lack of scriptural and legal knowledge amongst the biblical Jewish hierarchy. It should be stated that Odo also perceived religious failings amongst his contemporaries and his paralleling of them with the Scribes and Pharisees was also due to their temerity in questioning the work of the Saviour. It is clear, however, that Odo was also mirroring the lack of knowledge of written sources amongst his contemporaries with a similar lack of knowledge amongst biblical figures. Those who doubted the tunic were the spiritual successors to the Scribes and Pharisees and a lack of knowledge of history was the contemporary equivalent of the biblical figures' religious failings.

Odo thus appears to be drawing a parallel between the necessity of scriptural knowledge and the need for historical knowledge. The biblical quotations selected by Odo and his subsequent alterations to them appear to directly mirror his statements on historical knowledge. An example of this can be seen in the repeated insertion of

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<sup>68</sup>Queen's MS. 348 fol.57<sup>v</sup>.



references to the law and *legis doctores* alongside biblical quotations concerning the Pharisees. This mirrors Odo's statement that a familiarity with the authenticated precepts of Kings and Emperors was a suitable form of historical knowledge. Odo's approach of comparing those without historical knowledge to various biblical figures is very much in the historical form of biblical exegesis, with his choice of biblical quotations clearly intended as *exemplae*.<sup>69</sup> This approach is used elsewhere in Odo's account of the discovery of the tunic, particularly in his efforts to explain why there was more than one 'tunic of Christ' in existence in twelfth century Europe. These quotations have been examined earlier in the thesis but it is worth briefly considering them again as they provide a useful demonstration of Odo's historical approach to aspects of Scripture. It is important to note that Odo prefaced his selection of Gospel references to Christ's clothing with another assertion of the historical basis of the tunic, writing that its authenticity was supported by *Regum gestae* and *scripta vera*.<sup>70</sup> Following this statement, Odo's list of passages from the Gospel's mentioning Christ's clothing begins immediately. Four passages from the Gospels are cited, beginning with Luke's reference to the swaddling clothes of the infant Jesus, progressing through Matthew's account of the sick woman touching Christ's cloak and ending with two selections from John, the first describing how Christ removed some of his vestments whilst washing the feet of the disciples following the Last Supper and the second being the famous account of the Roman soldiers casting lots for Christ's 'seamless robe' following his Crucifixion. These passages are presented by Odo purely in their literal sense. There is no attempt made at allegorical or spiritual analysis, but rather Odo was citing the historical basis for assertion that Christ had more than one item of clothing. He also used the authority of the Matthew passage concerning the sick woman to demonstrate that the contemporary miraculous healing of people after they touched the Argenteuil tunic had an historical and scriptural basis. This is not to say that Odo did not possess a more profound theological understanding of those assorted Gospel passages, and indeed he referred to Christ as the *secundum hominum* and to the assorted relics as vestiges of Christ's *humanitas*. These perspectives, however, are secondary to the historical approach that Odo felt obliged to adapt at the time. That the Gospel passages were primarily being used by Odo for their historical content is reinforced by the transition

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<sup>69</sup> Beryl Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages*, p.42.

<sup>70</sup> Queen's MS. 348, fol.60<sup>v</sup>.

that his account makes from the Biblical history of the tunic to its history over the following centuries.

Odo thus continually emphasised the importance of historical knowledge as a form of spiritual edification. This knowledge could be accessed through a variety of written sources. Odo's understanding of history fits with his concept of *memoria* and what was in fact memorable. In the *De Professione* those things which Odo admitted to having excluded from his account were poor sources of edification. The most obvious example of this is the censorship of the name of Manuel Comnenus. Odo's reason for this exclusion was clearly influenced by his understanding of scripture and in particular the concept of the 'Book of Life'.<sup>71</sup> This biblical, spiritual, understanding of the importance of historical writing appears to have been a product of the type of monastic historical writing that Guenée and Southern viewed as gradually fading away in the course of the twelfth century. As Jean Leclercq states in his study of monastic culture, 'This [monastic] historiography is edifying in intention, in method and in subject matter. Its purpose is not purely scientific nor intellectual, as if knowledge of the past were an end in itself. Its purpose is a practical one: to instruct, in order to do good and to do this in two ways. The first is by praising God; one writes for the glory of God and in order to stimulate the reader to praise the Lord... Moreover they wanted to propose examples to be imitated if good, to be avoided if bad'.<sup>72</sup> Leclercq's conclusions on the monastic conception of history have recently been echoed by Sønnesyn in his study of William of Malmesbury.<sup>73</sup> It is this view of history that Odo appears to have elucidated in his Argenteuil text and to have practiced in both of his written works. To this basic framework was added the layers of meaning and the usage of sources that were typical of a developing St. Denis historiography. But it was a biblically and scripturally informed sense of the importance of historical writing and of historical knowledge that formed the basic framework for these later additions.

It has been demonstrated throughout this thesis that Odo of Deuil's two written works display influences and layers of meaning that had not previously been properly recognised. Whilst the differing nature of Odo's two written works naturally led to differences in their form and structure, both were underpinned by a sense of the

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<sup>71</sup> See above, p.162.

<sup>72</sup> Jean Leclercq, *The Love of Learning and the Desire for God* (Fordham, 1974), p.194.

<sup>73</sup> Sønnesyn, *William of Malmesbury and the Ethics of History*, pp.88 – 9.



importance of history as a form of edification. It is made explicitly clear in Odo's Argenteuil text that this edification was a spiritual one, based on scriptural understanding. To return then, to the assessment made by Brown and Cothren of Odo as an 'historian'. This brief, unclear, statement describes Odo as someone who presented '*events and individuals divorced or divorceable from Biblical contexts and untransformed by metaphysical manipulation*'. Given the clear evidence presented by Odo himself, this statement appears to be inaccurate. The Biblical context was one of the key aspects of Odo's writing. In making their assessment, Brown and Cothren seem to have been transplanting modern notions of the duty of an historian on to the work of a twelfth century writer of historical accounts. This erroneous approach has informed much of the writing about medieval historiography. As outlined above, in the twelfth century there was not even a standard, specific, definition of what constituted *historia*. Odo only used the term once himself. To argue against Brown and Cothren's assessment is not to state that Odo is unimportant. Rather it is important to view him in his correct context, as a writer of historical accounts at St. Denis in the mid twelfth century, who worked in many of the traditions established by Suger, and whose writings display themes and sources that would recur in the later historical works produced at his Abbey, when the idea of autonomous 'historians' was gradually becoming more clear.

## Conclusion

This thesis constitutes the first full examination of Odo of Deuil as a writer and historical personage considered in his contemporary context. In making this examination, it was obviously impossible to divorce Odo completely from the texts he produced. Such an approach, indeed, would have been undesirable. The most obvious claim for the importance and originality of this thesis is that it is the attempt to consider at length both of Odo's surviving written works. In particular it contains the first edition and analysis of Odo's text describing the 1156 rediscovery and display of the Tunic of Christ at the priory of Argenteuil, without which there can be no full examination of Odo as an historical writer.

Assessing Odo's written works not as mere sources of information, but rather as works whose content was inevitably affected by both the choices and intellectual context of their author, actually serves to bring that content into better focus. Highlighting how Odo's writing made use of literary conventions and was subject to the influence of a St. Denis context allows for a better understanding of the information that he presented. While the conventions adhered to by Odo were often commonplace *topoi*, it is still important to recognise their usage. A failure to properly appreciate the literary conventions of the twelfth century has previously led to confused interpretations of Odo's writing.<sup>1</sup>

In the case of the *De Profectione* it has been demonstrated in this thesis how the information presented by Odo was inevitably affected by his proximity to events. An analysis of Odo's vocabulary has shown how much of his work adhered to twelfth-century conventions of eye-witness reportage. When Odo was not an eye witness to events, his vocabulary changed, as did the veracity of some of his information. While it could be said that the eyewitness conventions adhered to by Odo were commonplace and thus banal or clichéd, this would be to miss the point. The recognition of how Odo

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<sup>1</sup> The most prominent example of this tendency is Beate Schuster, 'The Strange Pilgrimage of Odo of Deuil' in G.Althof, J. Fried and P.J.Geary (eds), *Medieval Concepts of the Past: Ritual, Memory, Historiography* (Cambridge, 2002), pp.253–78.



employed conventions has allowed for a more subtle understanding of the *De Profectione* as a text. The close analysis of his vocabulary in the *De Profectione* has also allowed it to be plausibly argued that Odo was responsible for the composition of Louis's crusading letters. The same use of linguistic analysis has also provided strong evidence that the history of the First Crusade consulted by Odo prior to his departure for the East was the anonymous *Gesta Francorum* or one of its derivatives. These claims regarding the letters and the possible usage of the *Gesta* have been advanced before, but never with any degree of supporting evidence. The analysis conducted in this thesis thus adds considerable evidential weight to these previous arguments.

The manner in which Odo presented his information also extended to an assessment of his usage of *colores rhetorici* and the conventions of 'affected modesty'. Whilst it would be untrue to argue that Odo was a great rhetorician, the evidence put forward does demonstrate how he was able to make use of simple rhetorical devices in order to enliven his narrative. The investigation is also significant as it shows how an understanding of Odo's adherence to the contemporary usage of *captatio benevolentiae* in turn leads to a proper awareness of the purpose of the *De Profectione*. It has been shown that Odo had an understanding of the *captatio* that extended beyond a mere adherence to convention. It has also been demonstrated how Odo, contrary to the conclusions of Curtius regarding the sources of affected modesty, made use of scripture as a source for his prefatory letter – specifically the Pauline epistles. Perhaps most significantly, the demonstration of Odo's rhetorical techniques has also strongly suggested that the *De Profectione* was always intended as a stand-alone work of history, rather than a mere set of notes to be elaborated by Suger. This understanding is again only truly possible with a proper awareness of the literary conventions of the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

Odo's depiction of the three major Christian groupings involved in the Second Crusade, along with their respective leaders, acts as a demonstration of how his writing in the *De Profectione* was shaped by both his intellectual context and also his awareness and usage of *colores rhetorici*. In the case of the Germans and the French it has been highlighted how Odo's depictions were clearly influenced by a St. Denis and more specifically a Sugerian context. The reports in the *De Profectione* of the riotous behaviour of the Germans were almost certainly accurate. It has been demonstrated,

however, that the language used by Odo was shaped by Suger's own treatment of the Germans in his *Vita Ludovici VI*. Suger's choice of language in turn owed a debt to the Roman historian Lucan. The long intellectual heritage of Odo's depiction of the Germans acts as another demonstration of how the language and concepts produced in twelfth century writing very rarely emerged *ex nihilo*. The same could be said of Odo's treatment of the Greeks, which clearly owed something to the history of tension between the Eastern and Western Christian churches. Odo's approach, though, was also informed by his own thoughts on the importance of memorialisation and his knowledge of *colores rhetorici* and scripture. Odo's complete suppression of the proper name of Emperor Manuel I Comnenus, which was influenced by his understanding of the biblical 'Book of Life', demonstrates how his treatment of the Greeks was hostile, but certainly more subtle than the visceral 'hellenophobia' of which he has previously been accused. His characterisation of Manuel as an 'idol' also appears to have been an example of the rhetorical *color* of *paronomasia* which ran throughout the narrative of the *De Profectione*.

In addition to this reassessment of significant aspects of the *De Profectione* this thesis has also undertaken the first extensive analysis of Odo's little known second text, which concerns the discovery of Christ's tunic at Argenteuil in 1156. The miniscule amount of examination that this text has previously received has been greatly expanded upon. Odo of Deuil's authorship has been extensively demonstrated and an English language commentary on the text has been provided. The examination of the Argenteuil text has also enabled definite conclusions to be drawn regarding Odo's sources and learning that would have been impossible using only the *De Profectione*. It has been definitively demonstrated that Odo was familiar with the *Vita Karoli Magni* of Einhard and that he appears to have made use of the *Vita Sugerii* of his contemporary William. It has also been shown that he was familiar with a range of what would now be considered pseudo-historical writing. Odo appears to have made use of the *Descriptio Qualiter* for his account of Charlemagne's legendary journey to the east and also to have had knowledge of the legendary literature surrounding the conversion of Emperor Constantine I and the discovery of the True Cross by Empress Helena. Odo's awareness of the conventions of twelfth-century hagiographical writing has also been demonstrated.



These findings are the most obvious example of the usefulness of examining the Argenteuil text. The study of Odo's account also provides evidence, in addition to that found in the *De Profectione*, for the position of Odo in a particular St. Denis context. The investigation of Odo's usage of the *Descriptio* is important not only for its empirical value in demonstrating that he used the source, but also in showing how Odo was likely again following in traditions established at St. Denis by his predecessors, most notably Suger. His usage of the *Vita Sugerii* demonstrates how Odo engaged with historical writing produced at St. Denis during his time as abbot. The place of Odo in less prominent St. Denis traditions has also been highlighted, notably the apparent usage of the term *Rex Christianissimus* in relation to the King of France years before that term entered widespread usage.

The Argenteuil text also serves to complement the *De Profectione* by showing how Odo's experience of the Greeks during the Second Crusade continued to influence him. The examination of that text alongside the *De Profectione* is also vital for the reconstruction of Odo's conception of the importance of history and historical writing. It has been demonstrated in the final chapter of this thesis that Odo viewed history as an important form of spiritual edification. This view was related to Odo's understanding of the significance of memorialisation.

To return, finally, to Constable's assessment of Odo in his influential article on the Second Crusade. While many of the conclusions of that piece have subsequently been superseded in historiography, it remains true that there has been no real challenge to Constable's dismissal of Odo as an historical figure and writer in his own right. This thesis has addressed this shortcoming. The view that Odo was simply an historian of the Second Crusade, whose writing was largely given over to thoughtless invective, has been challenged. The examination of his Argenteuil text has overturned the solely crusade-oriented perspective. While it may be open for debate whether Odo was, in fact, an 'ecclesiastic of real stature' it can certainly be concluded that he was an intellectual of some importance, whose writing contains subtleties that had not previously been properly appreciated, and who stands as an important example not only of the influence of Suger but also of how historical writing was developing at St. Denis and beyond in the mid-twelfth century.

**Appendix I: An edition of Odo of Deuil's previously unedited text from Queen's College MS. 348**

[48<sup>v</sup>]

Odo<sup>1</sup> Dei famulus et sanctorum martyrum Dyonisii, Rustici et Eleutherii humilis minister universis sanctę ecclesie filiis et fidelibus salutem in Christo.

Sicut fieri solet ut in gratiarum actione cęlestem nobis conciliemus largitatem. Sic divinis nimirum beneficiis per ingratitude nos indignos reddimus, nisi ea nobis videlicet exhibita carius amplectamur et quidem frequentius divinitatem experti sumus propitiam. Sepissime Salvatoris sensimus affuisse clementiam at nunc multo evidentior nobis et iustior gratulandi refulsit occasio, penes quos novissimis his nostrisque temporibus verbi incarnati indumenta<sup>i</sup> devotioni fidelium celebriter sunt ostensa. Praesertim cum tam certa extent veritatis indicia, divinique argumenta muneris, ut crebris miraculorum virtutumque exhibitionibus non modo credula simplicium, verum etiam<sup>ii</sup> incredulorum, licet ferrea, ad fidem compellantur pectora. Qua de re quid parvitati [49<sup>r</sup>] mee ante hos dies Dominus ostendere sit dignatus, presentium notitie pandere et futurorum memorie fideli narratione curabo transmittere.

Anno siquidem dominice incarnationis millesimo centesimi quinquagesimo sexto, eodem videlicet quo vestis Domini<sup>iii</sup> sacratissima que in monasterio Argenteoili<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Odo of Deuil, Abbot of St. Denis (1151 – 62)

<sup>2</sup> Argenteuil, Ile-De France. The feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin is celebrated on August 15.



Deo annuente nostro velut *lucerna sub modio*<sup>3</sup> celabatur, candelabro emicuit supposita et cunctorum confluentium obtutibus palam est oblata, accidit ut more consueto cum aliquantis fratribus nostris locum ipsum expeterem, ad Dei videlicet genitricis assumptionem celebrandam,<sup>iv</sup> eo quod ibidem monasterium matris Domini nomine specialiter extet insigne. Ipsa itaque nocte qua sollempnes agebantur vigilie, cum post expletum matutinarum officium propinqua iam luce cubitum issem, visum michi est per quietem, gravem quandam maturamque astare personam meque blande satis et familiariter alloqui. Cumque me percunctaretur utrum aliquando beatę Marie [49<sup>v</sup>] vidissem balsamum quod in eodem monasterio olim ipsa Dei genitrix et virgo reposuisset et ego prorsus abnegarem, monuit ut surgerem, tantę michi rei visionem promittens. Surgensque, ut michi videbatur, et praecedentis vestigia cum alacritate subsequens, ductus sum in locum ecclesie secretiorem, ubi duos forte lapides grandiusclos sibi invicem offendimus superpositos. Primitusque uno ac deinde altero revoluto atque amoto, fontem balsami largissime et quodam quasi impetu ebullientem videbar conspicerere. Quo non sine gaudio vel ammiratione conspecto, reverenter accedens, summos utriusque manus digitos liquore leviter intinctos ori et naribus admovebam atque eadem<sup>v</sup> facie perfricata tam odoris suave spiramine quam unctionis lenitate totum me delibutum. Recreari penitus imaginabar.

Denique cum hac visione tam grata admodum delectarer, unus affuit e fratribus, qui me cum leniter pulsasset, a somno excitavit petitaque<sup>vi</sup> benedictione sciscitatus est modeste an aliquando vestem Salvatoris cuius famam in eodem loco frequenter audieram, oculis conspexissem. Cui cum iuxta ordinem recentis visionis respondi, ille invitans ad videndum utpote sacratissimi thesauri custos hortatus est ut surgerem,

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<sup>3</sup> Matthew 5:15; Mark 4:21; Luke 11:33.

tempus asserens oportunum, propter solitudinem scilicet et silentium, eo quod fratres omnes [50<sup>r</sup>] in stratis quiescerent et populus qui confluxerat vigiliis fatigatus passim obdormisset. Hac igitur invitatione gavisus, impiger ac festinus surrexi, lotisque manibus et oratione premissa, ad sanctuarii locum accessi. Ubi memoratus michi frater duo scrinia protraxit eburnea, e quibus alterum quod grandius cernitur. Desideratum thesaurum occultabat inclusum. In altero sacrum Dei genetricis pecten<sup>vii</sup> cum variis sanctorum servabatur reliquiis. Quibus desideranter inspectis et debita veneratione deosculatis, duo michi lapides, quos paulo ante<sup>viii</sup> per visum aspexeram, memorie occurrerunt, cepique mecum et balsami exuberantis copiam et omnem seriatim retexere visionem, sicque eius ilico adverti interpretationem et veritatem intellexi. Hoc nempe est illud balsamum cuius me per visum et unctione et odore suavissimo sensi perfusum, hec illa unctionis copia, cuius mira fragrantia per orbem longe iam late que emanavit effusa, iuxta illud, '*Oleum effusum nomen tuum.*'<sup>4</sup>

Quis iam de sacratissima Domini veste ambigere debeat, quis audeat dubitare, cuius virtute cecis oculis lumen redditur exoptatum, qua opitulante obturatis auribus pristinus reparatur auditur, cuius etiam tactu membra paralisi dissoluta consolidari [50<sup>v</sup>] probantur? Quis preterea in laudes Salvatoris non erumpat? Cui metum simul et admirationem non incutiat, dum eorum qui ad celestem thesaurum irreverenter accedunt et indigne se ingerunt ob cecantur<sup>ix</sup> lumina, ut confundatur conscientia? Que suis in locis omnia plenius, ut condecet, et prolixius referentur. Libet interim diligenter attendere quo studio, qua frequentia, quanto desiderio, qua alacritate, quave<sup>x</sup> festinantia populus fidelis accurrat, qua devotione, quave<sup>xi</sup> reverentia panno preciosissimo singuli provolvuntur, quantis perfusi lacrimis inter singultus crebros et gemitus sacras

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<sup>4</sup> Song of Solomon 1:2



Salvatoris deosculantur exuvias, ut plerumque velut exanimati et immobiles incumbant et hereant vixque post longioris intervalli moras possint avelli. Omnis itaque sexus et etas omnisque conditio ad vota solvenda concurrunt. Servus scilicet et liber, dives et pauper, tam literati quam laici, pueri imbeciliores robustique<sup>xiii</sup> iuvenes, etate etiam provectiores et senes decrepiti, devotę praeterea mulieres, tam nuptę quam virgines, Deo sacratę simul ac vidue, civis denique et peregrinus, affinis et remotus singulique eorum lucri aliquid aliquem fructum consecuntur et referunt, quidam fidei languentis corroborationem, quidam membrorum debilium redintegrationem, alii remedia egritudinum, [51<sup>r</sup>] omnes vero pariter veniam peccatorum.<sup>xiii</sup>

Alia nichilominus quedam memoratu digna visio in urbe Cenomannica<sup>5</sup> viro cuidam simplici et illiterato celitus est ostensa, anno videlicet verbi incarnati superius designato, quę tam nos quam serenissimum principem Ludovicum<sup>1</sup> seu ceteros dominici thesauri detectores episcopos non mediocriter animavit, ut quod oportunitatis operiendę gratiae dilatatum diu fuerat, ultra non differetur. Erat idem quantum seculari licet homini<sup>xiv</sup> *iustus et innocens*,<sup>6</sup> fide plenus ac Deum metuens, inter divitem et pauperem medius, etate iam in senium vergens, uxorem habens et liberos, *manu et arte victum querens*<sup>7</sup> et bonum inter suos testimonium obtinens. Eratque illi consuetudo solempnis per annos singulos diversa sanctorum visitare loca et implorare patrocina atque pro modulo suo sanctos Dei amicos ex labore manuum et fructu operum suorum honorare. His igitur rebus intentus atque huiusmodi studiis occupatus, dum quadam

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<sup>5</sup> Le Mans

<sup>1</sup> Louis VII, King of France (1137 – 80)

<sup>6</sup> A possible rendering of Job 17:8

<sup>7</sup> Jerome, *Commentariorum in Evangelium Matthaei ad Eusebium*, ed.D.Hurst CCSL vol.77 (Turnhout, 1969).

forte hora ex longa peregrinatione qua Sanctum Iacobum<sup>8xv</sup> adierat adhuc fatigatus, domi loco secretiori resideret, affuit illi divina quedam claritas, que et locum inusitato splendore totum perlustrare et animum nichilominus intuentis suaviter demulceret. Sedebat autem, ut sibi videbatur<sup>xvi</sup>, immo [51<sup>v</sup>] ut constantissime asseverabat vigilans et apertos habens oculos. Vocem deinde secum loquentis, licet neminem prorsus videt, audivit, que illum velut notum et familiarem suo nomine compellaret, dicens, ‘Huberte’ - hoc enim illi nomen erat – ‘Quid cessas? Quid resides? Quando quidem tanta tibi sollicitudo et studium tam grande est erga sanctorum expetenda suffragia, cur non potius vestem Salvatoris ipse requiris, que tibi in loco quem Argentoilum nuncupant restat invenienda et oculis intuenda?’ Dehinc percunctato eo qui loquebatur, quis ille vel a quo destinatus esset, cum se a Domino missum assereret, securus redditus est et letior atque ad credendum promptior. Sicque claritas que apparuerat cum voce loquentis disparuit. Porro feria quarta erat, quando hunc a domino meruit accipere nuntium. Verum cum ex recenti ut dictum est itinere fatigatus adhuc secum reputaret quia nec locum nominatum sciret, nec famam huiusmodi aliquatenus accepisset, ideoque paululum hesitans incertam investigandi viam metueret aggredi. Sequentibus iterato diebus, feria videlicet quinta itemque sexta, similis illi claritas et non dissimilis apparuit amonitio. Tertio tandem repetita visione exhilaratus presbiterum adiit, visaque illi per ordinem retulit [52<sup>r</sup>] et accepta ab eo benedictione sollempni.

Uxori et familie valedicens, iter in Normanniam in Domino confisus arripuit cumque post dies aliquot castrum fortem quod Argentomum<sup>2</sup> dicitur attigisset, nominis quasi quadam equivocatione seu potius affinitate deceptus paululum hesit cepitque sollicitus investigare et querere, si forte in loco ipso desideratę rei certitudinem aliquam

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<sup>8</sup> Santiago de Compostela

<sup>2</sup> Argentan, Basse-Normandy



audiret aut famam. At postquam ab indigenis nichil tale potuit discere, profectus inde totaque circumiacenti peragrata regione, voto frustrato, casso labore, domum hac vice statuit remeare. Nec mora longiori interposita, cum se homo dolens existumaret superiori visione delusum et iam ab inquirendo penitus destitisset<sup>xvii</sup>, affuit quarta nichilominus feria memoratus Domini nuntius et increpata fidei eius pusillitate et defectu nec sermonibus iam contentus, raptum illum in spiritu Argentolium usque devexit, vestemque Domini diu multumque desideratam cum scrinio in quo continebatur inspiciendam et contrectandam exhibuit. Qui tandem sibi redditus et ductu angelico de re plenius instructus, cum et loci nomen et speciem formamque rerum singularum mente certius universa impressa ac velut oculis subiecta retineret, denuo ad sacerdotem accessit, eique vix credenti et delirum hominem estimanti, [52<sup>v</sup>] illacrimatus cuncta narravit, seque<sup>xviii</sup> illius orationibus commendans. et coniugis petita licentia, affirmabat se non nisi completo desiderio rediturum ulterius. Sicque animo fortior quam corpore, fide ditior quam censu, viam iam certiolem aggressus est. Recto igitur itinere utpote angelo ducente et docente ad castrum sancti Dyonisii<sup>3</sup> perveniens, exoratisque devote martyribus, statim a quampluribus de vicinitate loci quo tendebat quattuor scilicet milibus ab inde distantis eductus<sup>xix</sup> est.

Unde gavisus nichilque cunctatus locum petit. Ubi iam oculis exterioribus intuetur et notat singula, non aliter quam nuper illi in spiritu sunt ostensa. Qui postquam ecclesie limen ingressus est, penetratis cursim ostiis omnibus sine duce, absque indice ad intimum sacri thesauri reconditorium quasi notissimus irrupit. Ibi que lacrimis ubertim profusis pavimento velut exanimis advoluitur atque orationi tamdiu incubuit, donec a fratribus diutinam illius immobilitatem ammirantibus egredi iussus est. At ille

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<sup>3</sup> The Abbey of St. Denis, Ile-de-France.

spiritu vix resumpto, verbisque inter singultus et lacrimas deficientibus, cepit monachis importune instare quatinus vestem ei Salvatoris ostenderent, quam ibidem proculdubio constaret servari. Cuius precibus cum monachi minus aurem accommodarent, tum propter hominis<sup>xx</sup> personam despicabilem, [53<sup>r</sup>] tum etiam quod eadem vestis dominica rarissime vixque alicui solita fuisset ostendi, item homo lacrimis perfusus uberrimis in auribus assistentium unde vel a quo missus fuisset, omnemque superius enarratam recensuit visionem. Et ne cui tam admiranda relatio venire posset in dubium, cepit illis certissime tam vestis colorem quam vasis in quo clausa tenebatur qualitatem describere, non aliter quam si prophetico spiritu loqueretur, aut olim ad hanc spectandam frequenter fuisset admissus. Hac demum tam fideli instantia seu potius relatione tam stupenda fratribus superatis, quod petebat obtinuit. Productamque debita cum veneratione vestem celitus sibi promissam, quam oculis iam viderat spiritalibus, corporalibus inspicere meruit. Sicque desiderio potitus, eandem quoad illi<sup>xxi</sup> licuit non cessavit gratulabundus amplecti et pertinaciter osculari, adeo ut amoveri vix posset et retrahi. Deinde cum gaudio reversus ad propria, ut servus Domini fidelissimus *talentum* sibi creditum non adiudicavit *abscondere*<sup>4</sup> nec aliis *inventam* invidit *margaritam*<sup>5</sup>, quin potius revelatum sibi thesaurum cepit tam remotis publicare quam proximis atque ad eius visitationem fideles quosque instanter invitare.

Propter hanc igitur viri tam fidelis quam simplicis fide dignam visionem vel ostensam a Domino nostre parvitati [53<sup>v</sup>] revelationem, propter frequentem etiam populi concursum divino, ut credi decet, instinctu excitatum, dignum nobis visum est manum porrigenti Salvatori gratanter occurrere, ne operi universo orbi profuturo videremur, quantum ad nos spectat, defuisse et pessimum ingratitude erga Deum

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<sup>4</sup> Matthew 25:25

<sup>5</sup> Matthew 13:46



incurrisse vitium. Ceterum ad declinandam vel presumptionis notam vel invidiam, consulto super hac, re<sup>xxii</sup> illustrissimo regni principe, eius favore et nutu quamplures ex regno decrevimus multando convocare pontifices et cum abbatibus varii generis et diversi ordinis religiosos nonnullos,<sup>xxiii</sup> ut per eorum manus tanti thesauri publice celebraretur ostensio et eorundem auctoritate fides tantę rei apud posteros robur consequeretur et sumeret firmitatem. Quod cum rati essemus circa festum beatissimi Dyonisii<sup>6</sup> oportunius posse fieri, accidit procurante Deo quosdam episcopos adesse qui vocati non fuerant. Ad eorum vicem supplendam qui vocati non venerant. Actumque est ut omnes pariter et sacrę martyrum sollempnitati solito celebrius interessent et die sequenti habito concordi consilio et unanimi deliberatione Dominice vestis detectionem presente Christianissimo Francorum [54<sup>r</sup>] rege Ludovico celebrarent.<sup>xxiv</sup>

Constat ea die tantam utriusque sexus, cuiuslibet etatis vel ordinis affuisse multitudinem, ut ad inspiciendum propter quod venerant Christi corporis indumentum, nedum ad tangendum, vix populi pars dimidia ipsa die potuerit admitti. Nec cuiusquam tam saxeum cor vel pectus estimo fuisse tam ferreum, quod non ex tanto spectaculo in lacrimas fuerit compunctum et ad penitentiam emollitum. Quis enim non contremisceret, cum ex episcopis undecim qui aderant, duo, Parisiensis<sup>7</sup> videlicet et Aurelianensis<sup>8</sup> celsa voce letaniam et nomina sanctorum per ordinem intonarent, ceterique tam devote quam alacriter replicarent? Quis temperaret a lacrimis, cum serenissimum principem Ludovicum videret, posita veste regia, cum tremore et reverentia ante sui et omnium Conditoris ac Domini vestem venerandam accumbere provolutum, eamque ore lacrimis madente deosculantem et vix ausum attingere? Deinde cum episcopis adhorantibus,

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<sup>6</sup> 9 October

<sup>7</sup> Theobald, Bishop of Paris (1144 – 58)

<sup>8</sup> Manasses de Garlande, Bishop of Orleans (1146 – 85)

eandem in vase aureo reverenter collocatam ac cervici sue impositam, circumuallante illum obtinatum corona et caterua procerum, in locum excelsiorem et celebrem deportasset. Hinc per manus reverentissimorum archpresulum Rothomagensis<sup>9</sup> videlicet et Senonensis<sup>10</sup> [54<sup>v</sup>] aliorumque pontificum reverenter suscepta et eorum qui convenerant oculis sollempniter est oblata. Denique referre quis valeat, quantus fuerit eadem hora populi clamor et strepitus sexus promiscui, quis plausus, quanta ve exultatio? Aliis se palam inspexisse cum gaudio protestantibus, aliis eminus sibi videndam exhiberi postulantis, omnibus vero sese pre desiderio invicem comprimentibus, adeo ut plerique testati sint, extremum fere ea die se exalasse spiritum.<sup>xxv</sup>

Illud certe tacendum non arbitror quod ibidem ipsa die vir venerandus Manasses Meldensium<sup>11</sup> episcopus quamplurimis audientibus non sine lacrimis commemorasse noscitur, qualiter scilicet Suessionensis episcopus Gaullenus<sup>12</sup> per hanc ipsam Domini vestem venerabilem ex ea qua graviter aliquando laborabat febre convaluerit. Fidelis insuper assertionem contestans se propter viri familiarem amicitiam divino interfuisse operi et presentialiter celeberrimum agnovisse miraculum. De quo videlicet venerando Suessorum antistite vel superfluum reor vel minus necessarium referre quis fuerit, eo quod excellens illius tam in ecclesiasticis quam scholaribus negotiis prudentia longe lateque claruerit et singularis eius in litteris eruditio fere omnibus innotuerit. Hic igitur cum quartano typo [55<sup>r</sup>] cepisset aliquando gravissime vexari, iniit salubre satis consilium divinum magis quam humanum et sanctorum potius quam medicorum implorare suffragium. Assumptoque secum prefato Meldensi episcopo, ut idem

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<sup>9</sup> Hugh d'Amiens, Archbishop of Rouen (1130 – 64)

<sup>10</sup> Hugh de Toucy, Archbishop of Sens (1142 – 68)

<sup>11</sup> Manasses, Bishop of Meaux (1134 – 58)

<sup>12</sup> Gaullenus or Joscelin, Bishop of Soissons (1125 – 51)



referebat, primum se ad beatissimi Dyonisii monasterium orandi gratia contulit atque pro optata salute opem expetiit sanctorum, quorum ibidem sacra continentur pignora.

Sed benignus Iesus qui et tempora prout vult disponit et opera, quique per suos cotidie famulos mirabilia operatur, hoc sibi specialiter opus reservavit et ut vestis suę quanta esset virtus innotesceret, nulli sanctorum huius miraculi gloriam dignatus est impertiri. Cum ergo post diutinas orationes et longam sanitatis expectationem venerando eiusdem ecclesie abbati Suggestio<sup>13</sup> de sua forte egritudine mestus cepisset conqueri, idem illi abbas Suggestus suggestit quatinus Argentoilum confidenter peteret, asserens ibidem Salvatoris incarnati indumentum in ecclesie thesauro conservari atque per illud salutis sibi remedium presumeret posse conferri. Porro vir prudens viro nichilominus sapienti et amico adquiescendum iudicavit, presertim cuius in *publicis vel regni vel ecclesie* negotiis sanum *frequenter* expertus fuisset consilium.<sup>14</sup> Qui quoniam morbo prevalente equum iam tolerare non [55<sup>v</sup>] poterat, navicule se rogavit imponi, sicque per alveum Sequane<sup>15</sup> proximum usque ad prefatum Argentoili locum navigio devectus est. Ubi cum pro sui reverentia, tum etiam pro venerandi patris mandato, honorifice susceptus a fratribus atque ante sacrum Dei genitricis altare ipso rogante collocatus, orat supplex et fideliter Salvatoris sibi vestem monstrari, utpote ad quam visendam a patre monasterii fuisset destinatus. Monachi vero cum id raro nec sine certa dispensatione facerent, tam patris iussione quam pontificis auctoritate compulsi, debita reverentia thesaurus optatum de conditorio producunt, eique contemplandum et deosculandum offerunt.

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<sup>13</sup> Suger, Abbot of St. Denis (1122 – 51)

<sup>14</sup> William of St. Denis, *Vita Sugerii*, in Gasparri ed. *Oeuvres II*, p.317.

<sup>15</sup> The Seine

Qui ut desiderio meruit perfrui, priusquam a loco orationis surgeret, somno corripitur, expergefactusque post paululum divinam sensit affuisse virtutem, seque cunctis qui aderant audientibus, et precipue episcopo cuius hec fuit narratio, salutem recepisse fatebatur integram. Quod certis experimentis ilico declarari contigit. Nam qui aliorum manibus advectus egre fuerat, receptis viribus propriis, discessit incolumis et ne ingratus auctori vel immemor beneficii appareret, cepit exinde in locis celebribus et contionibus publicis expertam [56<sup>r</sup>] predicare virtutem et collatam sibi celitus sanitatem condignis efferre preconiiis. Sed et quamdiu rebus humanis interfuit, locum ipsum Argentoili quotiens, oportunitas se optulisset, devotius frequentabat vestemque Salvatoris salutiferam meritis venerabatur obsequiis. Hec vir venerabilis, ut superius dictum est, Manasses Meldensis episcopus in maxima plebis et cleri frequentia retulisse cognoscitur. Cuius testimonio cum pro sacerdotii dignitate tum etiam pro vite merito et animo simplici credere dignum est, presertim cum sit *angelus Domini exercituum*<sup>16</sup> et legem de ore eius requirendam noverimus.<sup>xxvi</sup> [O ve!]<sup>17</sup> ...plerosque vel emulos scilicet vel incredulos vel annalium et rerum gestarum ignaros. Unde, quando, quis vestem hanc Domini Salvatoris in Gallias advexerit, quomodo locus iste tanto potissimum thesauro ditatus fuerit, quave<sup>xxvii</sup> ratione per tot annorum curricula latuerit, que Dei nutu fidelium devotioni nostris innotuit temporibus? Quibus licet non respondere velut stultis vire possemus, ne eis similes efficeremus. Tamen priusquam ad propositum accedamus, breviter illis eiusdem sapientis auctoritate respondebimus, ne sibi sapientes videant. Nam illud quam indigne ferendum est, quod hinc maxime moventur [56<sup>v</sup>] et hesitant, qui doctorum sibi cathedras et nomen usurpant, illi amplius subsannant et garrunt, quorum exemplo vel doctrina ad fidem simpliciores instrui debuerant. Quibus ita

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<sup>16</sup> Malachi 2:7

<sup>17</sup> There is a lacuna in the manuscript here, clearly indicated by the exclamation on the part of the scribe, who upon realising the gap in his source has inserted the interjection O Ve!



Salvator exprobrat, dicens : ‘*Veh vobis, scribe et pharisei, ceci duces cecorum,*<sup>18</sup> qui, cum habeatis *clavem scientie, nec ipsi introistis nec alios introire permittitis*’<sup>19</sup> Isti sunt qui assidue coniecturis vacant, qui os in cælum aperire non dubitant, quorum cervix dura, frons inverecunda, oculi ceci, sensus obturati, corda lapidea, corpora pingua, ingenium hebes et ad cumulum malorum infirma est fides. In quibus illud videtur compleri : ‘*Si autem sal evanuerit, ad nichilum valet nisi ut proiciatur.*’<sup>20</sup>

Qui si occulta Conditoris venerarentur iudicia eique deferre didicissent, cuius natura bonitas, opus misericordia, cessarent utique obloqui, desinerent stomachari. Item si Francorum gesta legissent aliquando, si ea, quæ penes non habent, consignata regum et imperatorum precepta legissent auctentica, quiesceret eorum forsitan indignatio et digitum, ut reor, superponerent ori suo. At nunc inflatis buccis de celestibus disputant, nescientes que locuntur neque de quibus affirmant. De temporibus temere iudicant, de occultis certam ferunt sententiam, divine potentie terminos statuunt et Conditoris consilium investigare [57<sup>r</sup>] se posse illicite presumunt. Nec recogitant illam sapientis sententiam quam *qui scrutator est maiestatis*,<sup>21</sup> non erit innoxius. Si ex Deo, inquirunt, est opus illud atque consilium, quare tamdiu mansit reconditum cur hoc potissimum tempore manifestatum est? Quibus econtra ego respondeo, quia innumera sunt ab initio divinitatis opera per intervalla temporum hominibus instruendis exhibita, quorum cause si humana temeritate ceperint discuti et hac facilitate temporum varietatem licuerit argui, in infinitum protendetur questio. Immo grandis ex eo et gravis error sequetur et infinita contentio et quidem exempla horum que plurima mihi suppetunt sigillatim percurrerem, nisi scirem me in re non dubia multitudine testium non indigere. Quod si pertinaciter

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<sup>18</sup> A paraphrase of Matthew 23:13- 16, 23 – 29.

<sup>19</sup> A paraphrase of Luke 11:52

<sup>20</sup> Luke 14:34; Matthew 5:13

<sup>21</sup> Proverbs 25:27

querit aliquis, hoc indumentum carnis Christi unde, quis attulerit, querat et de reliquis Salvatoris insignibus, que in Gallicanis ecclesiis conservari. Nullus in regno fidelis iam ambigit. Querat, si ita placet, quis passionis Christi stigmata que in ecclesia beatissimi<sup>xxviii</sup> Dyonisii devotione Christiana fideliter honorantur in Gallias aduxerit, quis apud nos desposuerit. Querat et de sacra syndone<sup>xxix</sup> que in sepultura Christi recolitur et nunc Compendii<sup>22</sup> conservatur. Querat, inquam, quis hac vel [57<sup>v</sup>] aliis nostre redemptionis sacrosanctis vestigiis partes spoliaverit transmarinas, ditaverit Gallias.

An Dominus omnipotens res quidem frequentius mutat, quamvis non mutet consilium? Cuncta quippe a principio previdit, que cotidie quasi nova nobis videnda proponit. Sed nimirum illi nunc et non alii Domini tunicam scindunt et quantum in ipsis est, conculcant et conterunt, qui carne presentem ipsum persecuti sunt dominum. *Scribe* scilicet et *legis doctores Moysi cathedram* occupantes<sup>23</sup> factis autem veritatem abnegantes. Et quomodo tunc non alii Iesum sequebantur nisi spiritu pauperes, et mites, penitentes et lugentes, ita nunc humanitatis illius insignia, scribis calumpniantibus, hii specialius requirunt, qui humilitatis sue sibi conscii neque de meritis, neque de literatura, seu prerogativa aliqua gloriantur vel presumunt. Quid isti pene aliud garrientes dicunt quam pharisei adversus Salvatorem latrantes locuti sunt. Numquid ex principibus aut phariseis aliquis in illum credidit? *Sed turba* ista que ignorat *legem, que non novit*<sup>24</sup> scripturas, hec vadit post illum. Obliti sunt, ut arbitror, qui fuerunt venerabiles viri quorum officio et testificatione huius thesauri celebrata est revelatio. An et hii literas et legem noverunt et scripturas scrutati sunt? Non utique vestis hec Domini apud nos [58<sup>r</sup>]

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<sup>22</sup> Compiègne

<sup>23</sup> Rendering of Matthew 23:2. The phrase *Legis Doctores* is borrowed from Luke 5:17 or 1 Timothy 1:7

<sup>24</sup> John 7:49



nuper aut subito est inventa sed virorum sapientum consilio fidelibus nuper est ostensa. Quis enim vicinia loca incolentium non hic eam haberi firmiter credebat? Quis illorum non hanc detegi et palam omnibus demonstrari votis optabat assiduis?

Et nunc nichil horum in occulto gestum est, nichil furtive, non per fraudem neque per surreptionem sed clara luce, sed publice, celebriter et manifeste. Ludovicus siquidem Christianissimus princeps cum suis obtimatibus cooperatores affuit. Episcopi sunt ex diversis regni partibus ad hoc ipsum convocati, summi videlicet viri, Rothomagensis et Senonensis metropolitani atque cum illis Parisiensis, Carnotensis<sup>25</sup>, Aurelianensis, Autissiodorensis,<sup>26</sup> Meldensis, Silvanectensis,<sup>27</sup> Trecencis,<sup>28</sup> Ebroicensis<sup>29</sup> et Cathalaunensis<sup>30</sup> venerabiles episcopi. Qui omnes unanimiter rem tractaverunt, pariter approbaverunt, die feria tertia. <sup>xxx</sup> VI Idus Octobris anno incarnationis dominice millesimo centesimo quinquagesimo sexto publice celebrarunt.<sup>31</sup> Ei quibus singuli aliqua vel eruditionis vel morum vel meritorum variarumque virtutum prerogativa inter ceteros perfulgebant et quæ est infelix illa et merito imputanda lingua, que huic operi oblatrere audeat [58<sup>v</sup>] quod tot tantorumque presulum sanxit auctoritas? Quis denique tam infidelis erit et infelix qui presumat arguere quod Rothomagensis antistes approbare ausus sit et corroborare? Puto quia et hic literas didicit et manum ferule aliquando subduxit.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> Robert, Bishop of Chartres (1156–64)

<sup>26</sup> Godefred, Bishop of Auxerre (1143–57)

<sup>27</sup> Amauricus, Bishop of Senlis (1156–67)

<sup>28</sup> Henricus de Carinthia, Bishop of Troyes (1145–69)

<sup>29</sup> Rotrodus de Warwick, Bishop of Evreux (1139–65)

<sup>30</sup> Boso, Bishop of Chalons (Sur-Marne) (1153–62)

<sup>31</sup> 10 October, 1156

<sup>32</sup> Juvenal Satires 1—Probably accessed by Odo through Jerome, *Epistola ad Domnionem*, MPL, xxii, col.0516.

Idque ex scriptis eius auctenticis licet perpendi, quibus Christi ecclesia velut radiis splendidissimis cognoscitur illustrari. Quod autem spiritum Dei idem habeat, certissimis vitae et morum colligitur argumentis, quippe cuius doctrina salubriter instruimur, exemplis cotidie ad meliora provocamur. Hic ipse dominus venerandus antistes ante tres ferme annos quam revelationis huius mentio publice fieret, cum a festivitate beati Dyonisii ad quam more suo invitatis venerat, forte reverteretur, accidit ut ad monasterium Argentoili tam orandi quam hospitandi gratia cum suis diverteret. Ubi cum post orationis et missarum celebrationem a fratribus impetrasset tunicam sibi demonstrari dominicam, divino tactus spiritu, ut ex ea sibi portiunculam<sup>xxx1</sup> aliquam liceret tollere humiliter postulavit. Quod vix multis precibus tandem obtinere meruit. Tanta vero exultatione concessum sibi munus amplexus est, ut se inter sanctorum pignora nichileo carius habere testaretur. [59<sup>r</sup>] Quod manifestis indiciis postea claruit, quando idem vir Domini in illo detectionis conventu celeberrimo, de copiosa Salvatoris misericordia confisus, cunctis qui ab illa die in posterum ob vestis dominice venerationem locum memoratu adirent, largissimam peccatorum veniam ceteris qui aderant annuentibus episcopis, indulisit.<sup>xxxii</sup> Atque ut rei geste memoria extaret, modum indulgentie scripto tradidit, remque ratam haberi cupiens, ad sue devotionis indicium, tam suo quam coepiscoporum presentium testimonio signari fecit. Cuius scripture forma in hunc modum se habet.

*Universis catholicę ecclesie prioribus reverendis. Hugo Rothomagensis ecclesie humilis sacerdos, salutem et gratiam divine propitiationis. Ad omnium volumus notitiam pervenire quod nos superne pietatis instinctu apud Argentoilum convenientes, adiunctis humilitati nostrę multis autenticis et reverendis personis archiepiscopo Senonensi, Theobaldo Parisiensi, Aurelianensi, Trecensi, Autissiodorensi,*



Catalaunensi, Carnotensi, Ebroicensi, Meldensi et Silvanectensi episcopis, sanctis abbatibus quoque venerabili Odone abbate Sancti Dyonisii,<sup>xxxiii</sup> Theobaldo sancti Germani, Fossatensi, Pontisarensi, Latiniacensi, aliisque quampluribus. Cappam pueri Domini Jhesu, quae in eiusdem ecclesiae[59<sup>v</sup>] thesauris a temporibus antiquis honore condigno reposita erat, ad fidelium salutem humiliter inspeximus et palam eduximus, ac sollempni veneratione debitam ei reverentiae magnificentiam exhibentes, illam desiderio et devotioni populorum studio pietatis obtulimus. Aderat ibidem supereminens et sublimis praesentia illustris Francorum regis Ludovici cum proceribus et optimatibus palatinae dignitatis, maxima consistente frequentia vulgi. Ob insigne igitur gratiae caelestis, illud videlicet indumentum quo sese humanata induere sapientia dignata fuit, et ob sanctissimam prescriptorum patrum praesentiam, salubri Deo propitio dispositione decretum est, ut omnibus ibidem venientibus, supernae miserationis gratiam poscentibus, merces et fructus suae devotionis in indulgentia veniae compensentur. Quicumque igitur hoc presenti anno in loco prenominate in honorem dominicae vestis propriam servitutem et devotionem obtulerint, nos omnibus illis de clementiae caelestis plenitudine confisi, si peccatis gravibus et maximis implicati fuerint, unius anni illis [60<sup>r</sup>] penitentiam relaxamus. Qui vero levibus, id est<sup>xxxiv</sup> venialibus detinentur, medietatem penitentiae<sup>xxxv</sup> remittimus. Oblita peccata simili modo condonamus.<sup>xxxvi</sup> Annis vero singulis a festivitate sanctissimi Dyonisii usque ad octavas eiusdem loci ipsius et sacratissime vestis venerationem pie invisentibus XL dies suae penitentiae remittimus et indulgemus. De parvulis qui baptizati vel sine baptismi remedio infra septem annos per negligentiam parentum mortui sunt, totam penitentiam parentibus eorum remittimus, excepta feria sexta in ebdomada, in qua etiam die, si ad ecclesiam penitens perrexerit, qualem ei caritatem presbiter dederit, talem habeat. Si vero infirmus fuerit, aut mulier pregnans vel debilis, quae ieiunare non possit, dicat septies Pater noster et opere pio

*bonum exercent[60<sup>v</sup>] quod potuerit. Omnibus autem hec et que iusta sunt conservantibus, sit pax et salus Domini nostri Ihesu Christi. Amen. Actum est anno verbi incarnati millesimo centesimo quinquagesimo sexto, felicis memorie Adriani<sup>xxvii</sup> pape IIII feliciter*

Videat tandem diligens inquisitor quomodo, quando vel a quo thesaurus hic, de quo nobis sermo est, advectus sit, ut noverint quilibet nos ambiguitatibus non involvi, sed regum gestis potius et scriptis inniti veracibus. Ac primo quidem loco supervacuum videri debuit ammonere Christum pro parte carnis assumpte pannis usum fuisse, nisi scirem quosdam dixisse imperitos Dei filium et Deum talibus non eguisse, cum dicat evangelista quia natum statim *pannis mater involuit*<sup>33</sup> et alio evangelii loco quedam mulier dicebat inter se, *‘Si tetigero vestimenta eius tantum, salva ero’*<sup>34</sup> Hodieque qui vestimentum hoc Salvatoris fide non ficta tangunt, ex quibuscumque [61<sup>r</sup>] egritudinibus convalescunt. Sed et circa passionem et cenam sacratissimam cum discipulorum pedes lavare disponeret, posuit vestimenta sua et post ablutionem mysticam iterum sumpsit ea.<sup>35</sup> Haud dubium quin secundum hominem ea portaret et aliquotiens ne humanitatis officium impedirent, eadem deponebat et ne quis illum una semper estimet veste fuisse contentum, absit a fidelibus ut cum dicitur vestimenta posuisse, officium ablutionis nudus creditur implisse. Itaque licet ponat vestimenta, vestibus tamen discipulis ministrat, ponens videlicet alia, alia retinebat, ponens ministraturo superflua, retinens ad usum necessaria et *milites cum crucifixissent eum, acceperunt vestimenta eius et fecerunt quatuor partes, unicuique militi partem et tunicam. Erat autem tunica inconsutilis, desuper contexta per totum. Dixerunt ergo ad invicem, ‘Non scindamus*

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<sup>33</sup> Luke 2:7

<sup>34</sup> Matt 9:21

<sup>35</sup> John 13:1 – 15.



*eam sed sortiamur de illa cuius sit, ut scriptura [61<sup>v</sup>] impleretur dicens, 'Partiti sunt vestimenta mea et super vestem meam miserunt sortem.'*<sup>36</sup>

Hec denique vestis vel alia dominice humanitatis vestigia, quę diversis nunc in locis devotione fidelium celebriter revisuntur, fere omnia ante piissimi imperatoris Constantini<sup>37</sup> tempora vel fidelium metu vel ethnicorum incuria longa oblivione et situ iacuerunt incognita. At postquam Constantinus a ritu et errore gentilium ad fidem Christianam conversus per beatum Silvestrum<sup>38</sup> regenerationis lavacrum percepit, concessa eidem beato pontifici atque eius successoribus Romanę urbis immunitate et omnimodea potestate, sedem regiam et imperii caput Constantinopoli statuit, nomen urbi ex nomine suo imponens, cum antea Byzantium vocaretur. Ipsius deinde instantia et religiosę matris eius Helene<sup>39</sup> diligenti investigatione sunt singula requista et de ruderibus[62<sup>r</sup>] elevata crux videlicet Redemptoris sacratissima, clavique preciosi quibus cruci affixus est et corona spinea, lancea quoque per quam ex Salvatoris latere perforato salutis humane fluxerunt sacramenta. Indumenta preterea quibus vel vivus usus est vel mortuus involutus, ut est vestis hec felicissima, de qua modo merito gloriamur, itemque illa que in ecclesia Compendii conservari creditur, aliaque sancta quamplurima<sup>xxxviii</sup> in urbem regiam Constantinopolim sunt translata, quibus velut magnis presidiis eiusdem urbis populus per multa annorum curricula munitus est et gavisus. Cum autem benignitas Salvatoris disposuisset orientalibus gaxis ditare partes occiduas, accidit permittente Deo Grecorum fines gravibus crebrisque Saracenorum incursionibus adeo infestari ut ad repellendos eorum impetus per se sibi nullatenus sufficerent. Quapropter

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<sup>36</sup> John 19:23 - 24

<sup>37</sup> Emperor Constantine I (306-37)

<sup>38</sup> Pope Sylvester I (314-35)

<sup>39</sup> Empress Helena (325 - 30)

propriis diffisi viribus salubri tandem consilio elegerunt aliena sibi potius auxilia comparare.[62<sup>v</sup>] quam ex suo defectu hostium immanitati succumbere.

Quo in tempore Karolus<sup>40</sup> qui ob eximiam animi virtutem et industriam vel res e...m<sup>xxxix</sup> egregie ab eo gestas magnus cognominatus<sup>xi</sup> est, Francorum imperium strenuissime administrans incredulis gentibus terrorem sui nominis non minus incusserat quam amorem fidelibus. Huius itaque fama comperta vel gloria orientalium imperator<sup>xli</sup> ab urbe Constantinopoli nuntios cum epistolis ad ipsum curavit transmittere, obnixè deprecans et obtestans ut pro communi fide contra hostes crucis Christi Saracenos auxilium sibi ferre festinaret, de quibus hunc in finibus Hispanie feliciter constaret triumphasse. Igitur Karolus his susceptis precibus, hac audita vocatione et necessitate comperta, animadvertit vir magnificus et prudens ex hoc sibi opere tam apud Deum quam apud homines glorie exhiberi materiam et Francis vel honoris sui dilatandi vel illustrandi nominis occasionem offerri congruam. Unde collecta ex toto regno [63<sup>r</sup>] copiosa et forti manu pugnatorum, quo invitabatur ire non distulit. Verum ut succincte breviterque perstringam quod plenius penes nos exaratum curioso cuique licebit inspicere, postquam imperator Karolus cum hoste congressus, victoriam tam facile quam festinanter obtinuit, postquam hostibus vel peremptis vel in fugam versis non solum pacem verum etiam paulo ante<sup>xlii</sup> desperatis securitatem restituit.

In urbem regiam Constantinopolim feliciter reversus, cum gloria et ingenti omnium tripudio more triumphantis, ut dignum erat, susceptus est. Interim Constantinopolitanus prolatum de thesauro argentum aurumque et vasa desiderabilia cum omnis generis ornatu per plateas urbis, qua Francorum exercitus victor erat

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<sup>40</sup> Charles I King of the Franks 768- Emperor of the Romans (800 – 14)



transiturus, ex industria exposuerat, sperans fore ut victor miles ad opes ultro oblatas velut pro compensatione laboris procurreret. Sed Karolus et agnomine magnus et re, cum hanc propria prudentia largitionem deprehendisset, ne fieret districtius prohibuit, adeo ut non equites modo eorum que obiecta oculis cernebantur nichil tollerent, sed ne extremi quidem pedites quicquam respicerent. Unde Grecorum princeps, veritus ne quasi vilia et minora meritis aspernarentur, non cessabat meliora proponere et plurima polliceri[63<sup>v</sup>] Interea rex Francorum aliis flagrabat praemiis et melioribus stipendiis inhiabat, nec solum propria sed totius regni sui commoda tacitus disponebat. Cumque Grecus obnixie Francis insisteret, ut in remunerationem laboris premiumque tanti operis de thesauro et opibus suis quantum sibi videretur acciperent, exorsus est illi Karolus itineris sui causas et laboris exponere, non se videlicet more mercennariorum militasse nec velut stipendiarios spe precii temporalis aut pecuniae causa arma hostibus intulisse sed ob gloriam potius et defensionem nominis Christiani seu spem praecipue praemii sempiterni; argento se auroque abundanter affluere nec tale quicquam querere; videri sibi grati et ad conciliando illi Francorum animos efficaciter, si resecato sanctiori thesauro, de preciosa humanitatis Christi suppellectili et passionis eius instrumentis aliqua sibi pignori pro stipendiis in Gallias deferenda tribueret; his enim Gallos solis indigere, rebus ceteris abundare; scire quidem se qualiter non modo Constantinus verum et posterius eius imperatores, perscrutatis Iherosolinorum vel totius orientis sacris locis, quoque Christi insignia in urbem Constantinopolim cum ossibus apostolorum vel martyrum certatim convexissent; non oportere utique famulum<sup>xliiii</sup> indispensandis sibi commilitis avarum esse vel invidum ubi in largiendo quam in occultando amplior[64<sup>r</sup>] praeter similia honor accrescit; indignum praeterea fore sub unius civitatis modio tot tantaque bona abscondita detineri, cum his urbes plurimae et regna beari possent latissima.

His igitur quam rationibus tam devote quam prudenter allegatis, imperator Constantinopolitanus gratanter annuit et, considerata regis devotione ac meritis, quod iuste petebatur implere constituit. Vocatisque pontificibus qui aderant tam Latinis quam Grecis, quidam enim ex Galliis comitati fuerant expeditionem regiam, iussit ut sacratis manibus sacra desiderata producerent. Quibus expositis et publice ostensis, Karolus Magnus plurima ex omnibus que elegit queque placuerunt animo illius, imperatoria largitione percepit. Ad amputandam vero omnem ambiguitatem et eximendum incredulis scrupulum languenter non pauci, admotis sigillatim reliquiis, a variis infirmitatibus eadem die in oculis omnium sunt curati. Hec deinde Karolus cum sacris scriniis reverenter condidisset, absque ulla procrastinatione ad propria reditum cum ingenti suorum gratulatione longius deducente illum imperatore, aggressus est.

Haec prolixius enarrari rei postulabat dignitas sed ideo brevitati operam dedimus, seu quia alias inveniri poterunt descripta pleni universa sive quod ad Domini tunicam quomodo videlicet ad nos pervenerit[64<sup>v</sup>] velut ad finem destinatum quodammodo festinamus. Breviter autem hec praelibasse ad rerum seriem cognoscendam necessarium existimavimus. Denique postquam Karolus Aquisgrani iter illius Domino prosperante pervenit, ubi postea sepulturam elegisse sibi noscitur in ecclesia quam in honorem Dei genitricis miro opere et magno sumptu construxit, ibidem sacrum quem attulerat thesaurum reposuit atque illic simul omnia aliquot annis honorifice constat mansisse recondita. E quibus hodie<sup>xliv</sup> ut aliqua nominatim exprimamus, portio sanctae crucis Coloniae<sup>41</sup> colitur et duobus vero dominice confixionis clavis alter in urbe Treverensi<sup>42</sup> haberi creditur, alter in ecclesia beatissimi Dyonisii cum corona Domini spinea et

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<sup>41</sup> Cologne

<sup>42</sup> Trier

brachio senis Symeonis<sup>43</sup> itemque Anne prophetisse<sup>44</sup> evangelice brachio honore debito conservatur. Christi praeter hoc sudarium Compendii, tunicam vero eius Argentoili atque genitricis eiusdem Salvatoris interulam Carnoti<sup>45</sup> celeberrime cernimus honorari. Porro ferre cupientes qualiter post Karolimagni decessum vel hec quae diximus vel reliqua per regni successores ad varia loca fuerint transportata et varie per ecclesias distributa, ad scripta transmittimus fidelissima, quae apud nos exinde plenius et prolixius exarata inveniuntur.

De dominica veste, quod promissum a nobis et iam nunc breviter exequemur, presertim propter emulorum instantiam, a quibus nulle nobis indicere nullum dilationis tempus tribuitur<sup>xlv</sup> Carolum itaque hunc magnum sicut asserunt hii qui gesta eius conscripserat constat aliquot habuisse *filiis*, e quibus ne unam quidem nuptiis tradidisse scribitur. Omnes siquidem tenerrime et pie dilexit, adeo ut non domi non foris. neque pacis tempore<sup>xlvi</sup> neque belli earum solatio carere sustinuerit. Verumtamen sub disciplina et diligenti custodia constitutas, *colum* atque *fusa* ceteraque *lanificii* tractare opera *assuescerent*, ne videlicet regia progenies inertia torperet et *otio*, neve illas deliciae molles in [65<sup>r</sup>] turpitudinem solverent otiumque atque quies mentes earum enervarent, non ignorans quam pronus sit semper fere sexus fragilior ad deteriora et iuventus ad vitia. <sup>46</sup> Itaque frequentius illis proponebat sectandam continentiam, suadens sanctimoniam, atque, ut vir litteris apprime eruditus, ex scripturis producebat sanctas mulieres, quorum exemplis ad omnimodam honestatem informarentur. De hac regis circa filias diligentia et instructione ita scribit quidam. Pre omnibus vero Christi matrem

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<sup>43</sup> Simeon, Luke 2:25 – 35.

<sup>44</sup> The Prophetess Anna, Luke 2:36 – 38.

<sup>45</sup> Chartres

<sup>46</sup> A summary of Chapter 19 of Einhard's *Vita Karoli Magni*, ed. G.. Waitz, MGH, SS Rerum Germanicarum 25 (Hannover, 1911), p.23.



beatissimam docebat, in quantum possibile erat, eis imitandam, morum illius reminiscens et operum et asserens se a Grecorum sapientissimis didicisse non aliis Dei filium Ihesum vestibus in carne usum quam que virgo mater illius nere consuevisset et texere. Quapropter non oportere eas, licet regis filias, erubescere quod manibus operarentur, dum constaret Dei matrem et filiam eandemque regis matrem et reginam beatissimis manibus operari non dedignatam, magis autem de sua humilitate quam singulari celsitudine glorari solitam. De cuius videlicet laboribus manuum idem serenissimus augustus gloriabatur se inter cetera sacra, que de oriente attulisset, Salvatoris tunicam possidere, dupplici predicans virtute sanctificatam, sive quod Deus homo tectus ea fuisset, vel quod virgo mater suis hanc manibus texuisset. His atque huiusmodi exemplis edocte, regis filie, talibus instructe monitis, circa Dei cultum proficiebant cotidie seque tali progenitore exhibebant dignissimas.

Precipue que inter eas Theodrada,<sup>47</sup> sic enim maior natu dicebatur, vestis huius zelo ducta et desiderio, votis omnibus. Domino per dies singulos supplicabat ut quinque si fieri posset, ex patris opibus et tam spatiosa hereditate hec vel sola sibi contingeret. Que quem in petendo fideliter perstitit, a benigno Jhesu tandem meruit exaudiri, verum quoad pater superfuit incolumis, numquam talem illi petitionem intimare presumpsit.<sup>xlvii</sup> Circa diem vero prius ultimum, cum de illo medici desperassent, ingressa est gemebunda cubiculum et insinuata prius cum lacrimis desolationem suam deinde dominice vestis mentionem intulit, petiitque supplicans[65<sup>v</sup>] ut huius se heredem testamento relinqueret neque faciem petentis filie pius pater confundet: istam sibi futuram omni patrimonio preciosiorem, istam quibuslibet cariorem opibus, istam sibi ob honorem Salvatoris et matris opificis amorem omni studio percolendam. In hac ipsum

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<sup>47</sup> Theodrada, Daughter of Charlemagne, Abess of Argenteuil

qui daret genitorem apud se semper victurum. Se enim ex multo iam tempore mente renuntiasset mundo nec sponso ulterius nupturam nisi Christo, cuius arram desponsionis amplecteretur in eius vestimenta. Nichil sibi felicius nil iocundius posse contingere, quam si regi Christo summi regis filio nuberet que regem in seculo potentissimum patrem habuisset. Ad hec motus pietate pater inprimis blande consolatus est filiam, morte patris post modicum desolandam, deinde cum a lacrimis vix temperaret, quod devote postulaverat, donari mandavit. Illa postquam diu satisque desiderato potita est dono, cepit illico agere et sollicita esse de loco devotioni sue congruo, ubi scilicet tanti muneris munita solatio, cum sociis virginibus virginum sponso famularetur liberius. Necdum quippe apud Christum, qui spontaneum acceperat sacrificium, quicquam igitur meritu collocasse reputabat, que in eam adhuc diem sub pedagogis semper et tutoribus vitam egerat. Inter omnia igitur que oculis perlustrasset regni loca visus est...

### Variant readings

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- <sup>i</sup> Verbi > indumenta underlined in ms.
  - <sup>ii</sup> Verumetiam
  - <sup>iii</sup> Vestis Domini underlined in ms.
  - <sup>iv</sup> Ad > Celebrandam underlined in ms.
  - <sup>v</sup> eodem
  - <sup>vi</sup> Petita que
  - <sup>vii</sup> Sacrum > pectin underlined in ms.
  - <sup>viii</sup> Pauloante
  - <sup>ix</sup> Obcecantur
  - <sup>x</sup> Qua ve
  - <sup>xi</sup> Qua ve
  - <sup>xii</sup> rubustique
  - <sup>xiii</sup> Paragraph break at this point in the ms.
  - <sup>xiv</sup> Quantum > Homini underlined in ms.
  - <sup>xv</sup> Sanctum Iacobum underlined in ms
  - <sup>xvi</sup> One word gap between Sibi and videbatur
  - <sup>xvii</sup> desticisset
  - <sup>xviii</sup> se que
  - <sup>xix</sup> Edoctus est
  - <sup>xx</sup> homini
  - <sup>xxi</sup> Quoadilli
  - <sup>xxii</sup> Re Suprascript ms.

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- xxiii Non nullos  
xxiv Presente > celebrarent underlined in ms.  
xxv Paragraph break here in ms  
xxvi Angelus > Noverimus underlined in ms; A gap of one line also appears here in MS.  
xxvii Qua Ve  
xxviii Quis > beatissimi underlined in ms  
xxix Sacra Syndone underlined in ms  
xxx MS unclear due to damage – feria iii<sup>a</sup>  
xxxi portiuclam  
xxxii Adirent > indulisit underlined in ms.  
xxxiii Odone Abbate Sancti Dyonisii is underlined  
xxxiv Idest.  
xxxv penitentie  
xxxvi Oblita > condonamus underlined in ms  
xxxvii Adriani underlined  
xxxviii Quam plurima  
xxxix MS. Damage makes middle letters unreadable  
xl First n unclear  
xli Word followed by blank gap of about a word in size  
xlii pauloante  
xliii Famulum superscript  
xliv Hodie superscript  
xlv Linebrak here  
xlvi tempere  
xlvii<sup>c</sup> numquam talem illi petitionem intimare presumpsit' inserted from last line of folio





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