

Dead men tell no trauma

**The construction of a traumatic narrative in
Audita Tremendi (1187)**

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Table of contents

Introduction.....	5
Chapter 1: Trauma theory and methodology.....	11
1.1 Four rhetorical representations	11
1.2 Potentially traumatizing change.....	12
Chapter 2: Trauma and the <i>causa scribendi</i>	15
2.1 Collective authorship.....	15
2.2 A fast and wide dissemination	16
2.3 News from the East to the West	17
2.4 The horrendous events in the East.....	19
2.5 The loss of the True Cross	21
2.6 Pope Gregory VIII and trauma.....	23
Chapter 3: Rhetoric strategies in <i>Audita Tremendi</i>	25
3.1 The nature of the pain.....	25
3.2 The nature of the victim	30
3.3 The relation of the audience to the victim.....	34
3.4 The attribution of responsibility.....	41
Conclusion	45
Bibliography.....	47

Introduction

Legend has it that when Pope Urban III (r.1185-1187) heard of the devastating loss that the forces of the Crusader states had suffered at the Battle of Hattin on 4 July 1187, he died of shock.¹ The news of this defeat seemingly carried such a punch that it apparently could kill a 67-year old pope. Urban's hastily appointed successor, Pope Gregory VIII (r. Oct. – Dec. 1187), was left with the task to compose a response to this terrible event, which resulted in the papal bull *Audita Tremendi*.² Most modern audiences would associate this episode of crusading history with the fall of Jerusalem, which has taken a prominent place in collective memory thanks to Ridley Scott's 2005 film 'Kingdom of Heaven.' Its climax is formed by the heroic defence of Jerusalem and the city's inevitable surrender to the noble warlord Saladin. The Battle of Hattin features only fleetingly in 'Kingdom of Heaven' and only to underline that this battle cause Jerusalem to be defenceless. Pope Gregory VIII only knew of the Battle of Hattin at the time when he issued *Audita Tremendi*, but this battle constituted ample reason for him to immediately call for a new crusade.³

On that fateful day in July 1187, the Christian forces of the Crusader states met Saladin's army at the Horns of Hattin, not far from the Sea of Galilee. The Christian was exhausted by a lack of sleep and water and suffered badly from the heat. Saladin's army was in much better shape and booked a resounding victory over the crusaders' army. The Christian defeat wiped out most of the crusaders' forces in the East and paved the way for Saladin's conquest of most of the Levant. Not only were the crusaders defeated, but Saladin also took the True Cross from the Christians. As many modern historians have affirmed, this was a defeat of unprecedented scale which left Christians in the Latin East and the West in despair. Sir Steven Runciman stressed the disaster of the Battle of Hattin as follows: "On the Horns of Hattin the greatest army that the kingdom had ever assembled was annihilated. The Holy Cross was lost. And the victor was lord of the whole Moslem world."⁴ Jonathan Riley-Smith spoke of a "hysteria that had swept western Europe following the loss of the relic of the True Cross at the Battle of Hattin in 1187", and Christopher Tyerman stressed that "the disaster produced profound shock."⁵

¹ Jessalynn Bird, Edward Peters, and James Powell eds., *Crusade and Christendom: Annotated documents in translation from Innocent III to the fall of Acre, 1187-1291* (Philadelphia 2013) 4; Sylvia Schein, *Gateway to the heavenly city: Crusader Jerusalem and the Catholic West (1099-1187)* (Aldershot 2005) 162.

² Thomas W. Smith, 'Audita Tremendi and the call for the Third Crusade reconsidered, 1187-1188', *Viator* 49:3 (2018) 63-101, here 1.

³ Megan Cassidy-Welch, 'Before trauma: The Crusades, medieval memory and violence', *Continuum* 31:5 (2017) 619-627, here 619-620.

⁴ Steven Runciman, *A history of the Crusades*, 3 vols. (Cambridge 1951-1954) II: 460.

⁵ Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Crusades: A History* (London 2005) 159; Christopher Tyerman, *God's war. A new history of the Crusades* (London 2006) 374.

Audita Tremendi was both intended to bring the news of the lost Battle of Hattin to a large European audience and to elicit a practical response to this news, which consisted of two parts. The bull simultaneously told all Christians to repent their sins and called them to take the cross in a new crusade.⁶ As the quotes from Runciman, Riley-Smith and Tyerman demonstrate, it is often assumed that the Battle of Hattin produced shock and strong reactions in Europe. It is also claimed that this battle created trauma in society.⁷ Insights from the field of trauma theory - an interdisciplinary research field that since its birth in the 1980s has been concerned with the workings of both modern and historical trauma - have shown that trauma is not directly transferred from the event (the Battle of Hattin) to society.⁸ What is more, trauma is no *a priori* phenomenon but is constructed by society.⁹ As previously mentioned, *Audita Tremendi* was designed to bring the news of Hattin to a broad audience and is therefore placed centrally within the construction and distribution of a narrative about the Battle of Hattin. The role of Pope Gregory VIII interpreted as that of a *carrier group*, which is understood here as one or more actors who work(s) to bridge the gap between the event and the audience, and who convey(s) the traumatic nature of an event to society.

We cannot simply suppose the existence of trauma concerning the Battle of Hattin, but the notion of cultural trauma might offer a key to better understanding the narrative of *Audita Tremendi*. This thesis will, therefore, concern itself with the question of how the notion of cultural trauma in the wake of the lost Battle of Hattin can explain the narrative strategies employed in *Audita Tremendi*. To answer this question, this thesis will look at trauma in two phases of *Audita Tremendi*. First, it will be examined how the notion of cultural trauma can be explained as part of the *causa scribendi* of *Audita Tremendi*. Secondly, the focus shifts to a discourse analysis of the text of *Audita Tremendi* which will uncover the narrative and rhetoric strategies that were employed by Pope Gregory VIII. These two phases constitute chapters two and three. Both these chapters are dependent on models of cultural trauma, which will be introduced in chapter one.

Treating questions of medieval trauma, the contemporary perception and reception of events, and the construction of narratives, means treading lightly in a minefield of tensions and uncertainties. Various frictions are at play here, such as the difference between experienced, described, ascribed or prescribed trauma; the tension between individual and cultural trauma; and questions concerning the universality of emotions. All these themes will be carefully considered in the following. Before delving into the historiography on *Audita Tremendi* and the Battle of Hattin, I

⁶ Cassidy-Welch, 'Before trauma', 620.

⁷ Penny J. Cole, 'Christian perceptions of the Battle of Hattin (583/1187)', *Al-Masāq* 6:1 (1993) 9-39, here 9-10; Cassidy-Welch, 'Before trauma', 619.

⁸ Jeffrey C. Alexander, *Trauma: a social theory* (Cambridge 2012) 18.

⁹ Alexander, *Trauma*, 14.

would like to address some terminological choices made in this thesis. The enemies of the Christians are referred to as 'pagans' and not as 'Muslims' since this is both in keeping with the text of *Audita Tremendi* and with the fact that in medieval texts, the crusaders' opponents were most often referred to as 'pagans'.¹⁰ Furthermore, various terms are used to denote the Christian settlers in the Levant, such as Franks, crusaders, Christians, etc. These are all meant as synonyms and are used solely for the sake of textual variation. Moreover, 'the Battle of Hattin' and 'Hattin' will be also used as synonyms.

A look at the recent historiography of *Audita Tremendi* and the contemporary perception of the Battle of Hattin shows that in recent years, this topic has experienced a growth in scholarly attention. 2018 saw the publication of two articles that focused on this specific bull, being Helen Birkett's 'News in the Middle Ages' and Thomas Smith's '*Audita Tremendi* reconsidered.'¹¹ Birkett uses the transmission of the news of the Battle of Hattin as a case study for how news was distributed in the Middle Ages. She identifies *Audita Tremendi* as one of many newsletters that were produced and tracks the bull's spread across Europe to learn more about communications networks in medieval times. Smith focuses solely on *Audita Tremendi* and presents what he calls a 'forensic source criticism' of this papal encyclical. He demonstrates that the papacy issued four official versions of *Audita Tremendi*, on 29 October 1187, 30 October 1187, 3 November 1187 and on 2 January 1188, the latter by Pope Clement III, the successor to Pope Gregory VIII. Smith analyses the textual differences between these four issues and argues on basis of the rapid issuing of new versions and the alterations made between these versions that *Audita Tremendi* was composed with considerable haste in a short amount of time.¹² His conclusions counter the opinions of Tyerman and Riley-Smith, who both have argued that *Audita Tremendi* was the result of a much longer period of drafting.¹³

Daniel Roach and Megan Cassidy-Welch also concerned themselves with the perception of the Battle of Hattin, but they do not primarily base their findings on *Audita Tremendi*.¹⁴ Their work is distinctly different though. Daniel Roach departs from Penny J. Cole's 1993 article 'Christian perceptions of the Battle of Hattin (583/1187)' and her call for more source-based research into the

¹⁰ Margaret Jubb, 'The crusaders' perceptions of their opponents' in: Helen J. Nicholson ed., *Palgrave Advances in the Crusades* (Hampshire 2005) 225-244, here 228. When relating to either Muslim commentators or the Muslim states, the term 'pagan' is not used in this thesis.

¹¹ Helen Birkett, 'News in the Middle Ages: News, communications and the launch of the Third Crusade in 1187-1188', *Viator* 49:3 (2018) 1-39; Smith, '*Audita Tremendi* reconsidered.'

¹² Smith, '*Audita Tremendi* reconsidered', 24.

¹³ *Ibidem*, 4.

¹⁴ This concerns Daniel Roach's undergraduate thesis, written at the university of Exeter in 2008: Daniel Roach, 'The Lord put His people to the sword': Contemporary perceptions of the Battle of Hattin (1187) (Undergraduate thesis, University of Exeter, 2008); Cassidy-Welch, 'Before trauma.'

Crusades.¹⁵ Cole argued that the main current in the historiography on the Crusades was dominated by a modern positivist vision that worked from the principle of hindsight, but that those findings did not match with what could be found in sources from the Crusades such as letters and chronicles. Cole, therefore, advocated a return to the sources, centring her research on them. Daniel Roach follows up on Cole's call and analyses both Christian and Muslim sources to better understand contemporary views on the Battle of Hattin. This led him to the conclusion that the importance of that battle lay in the loss of the True Cross and that the theological/religious interpretation of this event dominated the contemporary understanding of the battle, both in Christian and in Muslim sources.¹⁶

Cassidy-Welch also adopts the view that Hattin's importance lay in the loss of the True Cross. Additionally, she goes one step further than Roach in analysing the battle's impact on the contemporary Christian world. Cassidy-Welch argues that the loss of the True Cross was a 'moment of significant ontological rupture' for Christians in the West.¹⁷ However, it is not solely this stronger interpretation of the effects of the Battle of Hattin that sets Cassidy-Welch apart from Roach. Her attempt to integrate trauma theory in the analysis of the events adds an extra dimension to her work because it helps to delineate the way memory and violence were interpreted in the past.¹⁸

All research into *Audita Tremendi* and Christian perceptions of the Battle of Hattin is located within the wider field of crusading history. This field flourishes with new insights and approaches, including two recent monographs about the Crusades at large. The first is *The Debate on the Crusades* (2011) by Christopher Tyerman and the second is *Nebuchadnezzar's Dream: The Crusades, apocalyptic prophecy, and the end of History* (2019) by Jay Rubenstein. Tyerman takes an explicitly historiographic approach. His book does not contribute directly to the debates that revolve around the Crusades, but it merely gives an overview of 'the history of these debates, how they have been adopted, and their historical context'.¹⁹ Although Tyerman does not directly involve himself with the debates around the Crusades, his book gives valuable insight into how the debate has shifted over the centuries and how the interpretation of the Crusades has changed. Tyerman's central argument is that since the First Crusade of 1099, crusading history has been characterised by a tendency to reuse familiar tropes to serve the preoccupations of later observers. Tyerman succeeds in placing the major players in the historiography on the Crusades in their respective contexts and thereby

¹⁵ Cole, 'Christian perceptions', 9-39.

¹⁶ Roach, 'Contemporary perceptions', 24, 31.

¹⁷ Cassidy-Welch, 'Before trauma', 619.

¹⁸ *Ibidem*, 620.

¹⁹ Christopher Tyerman, *The debate on the Crusades* (Manchester 2011) 6.

demonstrates that each contribution to the field has been coloured by the circumstances of the author.

Jay Rubenstein brings a wholly new perspective into play. Through analysis of medieval sources, he observed that apocalyptic thought and the Crusades were closely connected.²⁰ He found that contemporaries tried to fit the events of the Crusades within their theological framework of the world and its history. Central in this framework stood Nebuchadnezzar's dream – described in the book of Daniel – about the decline of the various kingdoms. Events such as the Battle of Hattin forced medieval thinkers to reinterpret the history of the Crusades dramatically, which altered the (formerly positive) narrative of the Crusades considerably. Rubenstein pays some attention to the contents of *Audita Tremendi*. He tries to understand how Pope Gregory VIII tried to fit the loss of the Battle of Hattin in his understanding of crusading history and how Pope Gregory explained the defeat. In short, Pope Gregory detached the Second Crusade from the First Crusade and saw in the loss of the True Cross the fulfilling of dire prophecies. He blamed the Frankish settlers in the East for the loss of the Cross since they had forgotten to live the virtuous Christian life, and he blamed some western princes and knights who kept postponing their participation in the Crusades.²¹

A glance over the available literature concerning *Audita Tremendi* and the perception of the Battle of Hattin by contemporaries shows that current historians appreciate that to understand the reaction of historical actors, historical contemporary texts need to be analysed. In this light, *Audita Tremendi* has already received some attention in its own right, to comment on the issuing of papal encyclicals and the spread of news in the Middle Ages. I believe that our understanding of *Audita Tremendi* can be deepened by employing models of cultural trauma in the analysis of this bull. A close analysis of *Audita Tremendi* based on the notion of trauma in the wake of the Battle of Hattin can help explain the narrative strategies that Pope Gregory VIII employed in this bull. This could also translate to a better understanding of papal narratives in crusader bulls in general.²²

²⁰ Jay Rubenstein, *Nebuchadnezzar's dream: The Crusades, apocalyptic prophecy, and the end of history* (Oxford 2019) xvii-xxi.

²¹ Rubenstein, *Nebuchadnezzar's dream*, 167-181.

²² The English translation of *Audita Tremendi* that is used in this thesis is that of Bird, Peters and Powell (2013), which is a translation of the version of 29 October 1187.

Chapter 1: Trauma theory and methodology

Trauma holds various forms and is perceived in different lights. Most work in the field of trauma theory appears to have been done in either one of two main paradigms: trauma was perceived as either being medical, or it should be interpreted in psychiatric terms. Cathy Caruth, one of the earliest and most prominent researchers in the field of trauma theory, for example, used the psychiatric perspective to guide her research into trauma.²³ Nevertheless, neither the medical nor the psychiatric paradigm offers a useful means of interpretation. In trying to discover whether Pope Gregory VIII attempted to create a feeling of crisis or trauma after the Battle of Hattin, a different perspective on trauma needs to be employed. I found this different perspective in the work of Jeffrey C. Alexander, who broke with the dominant paradigms in the field and advocated for a focus on cultural trauma.

1.1 Four rhetorical representations

Alexander argues that events do not in and of themselves create trauma. Events are not inherently traumatic, cultural trauma is usually the product of a deliberate and socially mediated attribution of a traumatic status to an event.²⁴ Between the event on the one hand and the shock that resonates in society at large, the *trauma process* takes place. This is the process through which the attribution of trauma to the event is mediated and conveyed to a wider audience. Individuals or groups who partake in bridging the gap between the event and the representation of this event are the *collective agents of the trauma process*. These agents form carrier groups.²⁵

The concept of carrier groups – originally minted by Max Weber in his theory of rationalisation – offers an interesting and compelling model of looking at the process of trauma representation in the case of the Battle of Hattin. Carrier groups consist of what Alexander calls collective agents of the trauma process, which are persons or groups that have or have not been directly hit by the *horrendous event*. These actors recognize the implications of the event for society at large, and they work as carrier groups to bridge the gap between the event and its representation.²⁶ The goal of such a carrier group is to convey the traumatic nature of an event to society and to stress that the cooperation of everybody is needed to overcome the trauma.²⁷ Alexander distinguishes between two types of carrier groups: some groups directly witnessed or

²³ See: Cathy Caruth, *Unclaimed experience: Trauma, narrative and history* (Baltimore 1996); 'Unclaimed experience: Trauma and the possibility of history', *Yale French Studies* 79 (1991) 181-192.

²⁴ Alexander, *Trauma*, 18.

²⁵ *Ibidem*, 20.

²⁶ Bernt Kerremans, *Terror Germanicus. Germanendreiging en memoria in de late Romeinse Republiek en de Keizertijd* (Doctoral dissertation, Radboud University Nijmegen, 2019) 14, 358.

²⁷ Alexander, *Trauma*, 14.

experienced the event and carry the information and a narrative about the event within themselves, while other groups only know of the event indirectly. The fact that this second group had no direct experience of the event does however not undermine its potency as a carrier group.

It is important to note that in Alexander's definition of carrier groups, the collective agents of the trauma process follow a personal agenda. However, Bernt Kerremans noted in his recent PhD thesis about the impact of the Roman wars against the Germans on Roman society and Roman collective memory, that not all carrier groups carry such a personal agenda. Jeffrey Alexander states that four essential rhetorical representations need to be addressed convincingly to construct a persuasive and uniform master narrative. These are the nature of the pain, the nature of the victim, the relation of the trauma victim to the wider audience, and the attribution of responsibility. The nature of the pain addresses what supposedly happened. The nature of the victim describes which persons or groups were affected by the traumatizing pain. The relation of the trauma victim to the wider audience concerns itself with how the members of the audience identify with the immediately victimized group. This is of great importance: when the audience does not feel connected to the direct victims, the audience will participate less in the experience of trauma. Finally, the attribution of responsibility focuses on the identification of an antagonist, a perpetrator. This generally is a matter of symbolic and social construction.²⁸

1.2 Potentially traumatizing change

Another sociologist, Piotr Sztompka, has concerned himself with the workings of trauma on what he calls the *cultural tissue of society*. Social change can have a traumatizing impact on the *body social* and affect the collective agency in a lasting manner.²⁹ Sztompka defines four characteristics that all need to be present in conjunction to create a potentially traumatizing change: a temporal quality, substance and scope, external origins, and a suitable mental frame. Change must happen suddenly and rapidly, and be radical, deep, comprehensive and touching the core. Furthermore, it must be perceived as exogenous, occurring to the group from the outside, and it must be perceived as unexpected, unpredicted, surprising, shocking and/or repulsive. Sztompka's model is designed to offer guidelines for social change that might lead to cultural trauma.³⁰ In the case of the reception of the Battle of Hattin however, the trauma process does not start with social change but is more grounded in a single event. The necessary factors to denominate an event as potentially traumatising

²⁸ Alexander, *Trauma*, 21

²⁹ Piotr Sztompka, 'Cultural trauma. The other face of social change', *European Journal of Social Theory* 3:4 (2000) 449-466, here 451.

³⁰ Sztompka, 'Cultural trauma', 452.

offered by Sztompka do however offer a useful tool for looking at horrendous events that might cause trauma, and for defining trauma more strictly.

Sztompka's model goes further than just defining which factors must be present to constitute potentially traumatic social change. He conceptualises a *traumatic sequence* that dissects the process of trauma formation in six subsequent stages:

1. The structural and cultural background (environment) conducive for the emergence of trauma;
2. Traumatizing situations or events;
3. Specific ways of defining, interpreting, framing, or narrating the traumatizing events, drawing from the pool of inherited cultural resources;
4. Traumatic symptoms, i.e. specific behavioural or belief patterns;
5. Post-traumatic adaptations;
6. The overcoming of trauma.³¹

This traumatic sequence is part of a sociological model, but it can relatively easily be translated into a model to describe historical situations. The first stage of Sztompka's traumatic sequence can be interpreted as the historical context, the second stage as the historical traumatizing situation or event. The third stage constitutes the narrative and stages four to six correspond to the reception context of the narrative. For this thesis, the first three stages are of most interest since they are all of relevance to the Battle of Hattin and the construction of *Audita Tremendi*. No attention will be paid to post-traumatic adaptations and overcoming the trauma. Both stages two and three are rather self-explanatory, but the first stage needs some extra explanation.

According to Sztompka, an event needs a conducive background to potentially produce a trauma. It is no given that an event in itself could evoke a strong enough feeling of shock and rupture to ignite traumatic sentiments in society. It is only when social life loses its homogeneity and stability, when society experiences *cultural disorientation*, that the conditions for a cultural trauma are ripe. Such cultural disorientation is a necessary background for trauma but is by no means sufficient. Authors need to address these issues for the trauma to 'stick' with the audience. Generally speaking, disorientation stems from a clash between facts that oppose the core values and beliefs of a society. Events that can produce the necessary background are for example lost wars, memories of collective sins, a clash between old and new cultures or ways of life. All those events do not necessarily turn into cultural traumas. The traumatic sequence is only started when changes and clashes are

³¹ Sztompka, 'Cultural trauma', 453.

perceived and/or experienced as problematic.³² Within this thesis, the third stage of the traumatic sequence will be focused on most for that stage corresponds with the composition of *Audita Tremendi*.

It has become apparent that in both Alexander's and Sztompka's sociological models, a central role in the 'production' of trauma is reserved for a meaning-making group: agents who construct and project a narrative to the wider audience. Essential in the process of constructing a cultural trauma, is the principle that people can feel traumatized by an event they did not experience directly. When the narrative of trauma is potent enough, individuals in society can themselves feel shocked or traumatized without having had any direct connection to the horrendous event. Historian Gitte Lønstrup Dal Santo refers to *vicarious memory* in situations when people internalize memories that are not their own but are presented to them. Lønstrup Dal Santo analysed this effect in the context of the use of martyr's graves by Pope Damasus in the 4th century CE and demonstrated how visual and physical effects aided in distributing a memory and a feeling.³³ A late-12th-century papal bull cannot employ visual or physical effects, but it can aim at incorporating compelling motives and examples to move the public and create vicarious memories.

In conclusion, I will integrate a couple of notions from Jeffrey C. Alexander, Piotr Sztompka and Gitte Lønstrup Dal Santo into this thesis. First and foremost, I will project the concept of carrier groups onto Pope Gregory VIII and the group surrounding him that drew up *Audita Tremendi*. The carrier group can also be extended to the cardinals, bishops and so on to whom Pope Gregory VIII addressed *Audita Tremendi*. The carrier groups will be implemented in the third stage of Piotr Sztompka's traumatic sequence that is concerned with the cultural framing of the traumatizing occasions/horrendous events. His sequence can be used as a tool to approach the trauma process temporally. Furthermore, his delimitation of four characteristics that ought to be present in an event to be potentially traumatizing will help define whether the Battle of Hattin can be interpreted as such. Moreover, I will analyse *Audita Tremendi* based on the four essential representations that Alexander deemed critical for the creation of a convincing master narrative. Based on Gitte Lønstrup Dal Santo's theory of vicarious memories, this thesis also works from the assumption that past actors could internalize memories or feelings that were not their own but were presented to them, for example by carrier groups. These combined theories constitute the methodological frameworks of this thesis.

³² Sztompka, 'Cultural trauma', 454-456.

³³ Gitte Lønstrup Dal Santo, 'Rite of passage: On ceremonial movements and vicarious memories (fourth century CE)' in: Ida Ostenberg, Simon Malmberg, and Jonas Bjørneby eds., *The Moving City: Processions, Passages and Promenades in Ancient Rome* (London 2016) 145-154.

Chapter 2: Trauma and the *causa scribendi*

To get a complete picture of the role of trauma in *Audita Tremendi*, I will first delve into the role of trauma in its *causa scribendi*. The *causa scribendi* is understood here as the direct and underlying reasons which compelled Pope Gregory VIII to issue *Audita Tremendi*. Before delving into the *causa scribendi* of *Audita Tremendi*, it is useful to look at both the authorship of the bull and its intended audience.

2.1 Collective authorship

The word 'issued' points to the question of authorship that is related to almost every papal document. The fact that *Audita Tremendi* was issued by Pope Gregory VII does not mean that he was the sole author of this bull, on the contrary. The composition of papal letters was the business of the pope, cardinals, chancery staff and other curialists together.³⁴ The collective body of authors who composed *Audita Tremendi* constitutes the carrier group of the news of the Battle of Hattin.

This is not to say that the person of the pope had no distinct hand in the text of papal letters. Between various papal documents, the dominance or importance of new popes or influential people at court can be identified. The voice of cardinal-bishop Henry of Albano, for example, can be identified in *Audita Tremendi*. Henry had been touted as the successor to Pope Urban III based on his large experience in preaching and action against the Cathar heresy, and he had a hand in drafting the encyclical *Audita Tremendi*. Henry drafted multiple tracts that promoted the Third Crusade and there can be drawn similarities between these tracts and *Audita Tremendi*.³⁵ It is however almost impossible to distinguish the hand of the, even though he played a central part in the construction of the bull.³⁶ This is due to multiple factors, being that crusading letters were written in a formalized style that was deemed fitting to the gravity of its contents, that they often drew from a set of standard formulas and phrases, and that – as has been mentioned above - the contents of the bull were the result of the input of many persons and were the product of consensus.³⁷ It is safe to assume that the final product reflected the thinking of the pope, for he kept the last say in matters of content, and he approved it to be issued under his name³⁸ It is because of this assumption of consensus under his name that in the following, Pope Gregory VIII will be referred to as the author of

³⁴ Smith, 'Audita Tremendi reconsidered', 20. The *curia* was the central government of the Roman church.

³⁵ Penny J. Cole, *The preaching of the Crusades to the Holy Land, 1095-1270* (Toronto 1985) 65-66; Smith, *Audita Tremendi reconsidered*, 21.

³⁶ Thomas W. Smith, 'Pope Innocent III and *Quia Maior*', *Historical Research* 92:255 (2019) 1-23, here 7.

³⁷ Rebecca Rist, 'The medieval papacy and Holy War: General crusading letters and papal authority, 1145-1213' in: Gabriel R. Ricci ed., *Faith, War, and Violence* (Abingdon 2017) 105-121, here 110.

³⁸ Smith, 'Pope Innocent III', 7; Rist, 'General crusading letters', 110.

Audita Tremendi. This should be understood as a *pars pro toto* in which Pope Gregory represents the whole body that composed the bull.

2.2 A fast and wide dissemination

Pope Gregory VIII addressed *Audita Tremendi* to “all Christ’s faithful who receive this letter”, which indicates what the intended audience of this bull was.³⁹ This address is however too vague a formulation to offer a proper understanding of who would have received the letter and who would have received the news. The message of *Audita Tremendi* was not supposed to only reach those who could read the bull, but it was intended to reach as much of Christian society as possible.⁴⁰ The scope and implications of the news of the Battle of Hattin and Pope Gregory’s response to this news in the shape of *Audita Tremendi* meant that wide and fast dissemination of this message had to be achieved. The bull would have been sent to prelates all over Europe and further spread through the extensive ecclesiastical communications network, and the prelates, in turn, trickled it down further into society.⁴¹ Copies of the bull would also have been distributed to various European courts, which would in turn further disseminate the news through their own communications networks.⁴² At courts, *Audita Tremendi* would have been read aloud to councils and larger gatherings. All in all, lay audiences would receive the news aurally, both through secular messengers and through sermons and preaching.

To demonstrate the various ways in which the news of the Battle of Hattin was disseminated, the case of the Danish King Canute offers a good example. Pope Gregory sent a separate letter, *Cum Divina Patientia*, to Canute in which he described the events in the East and asked him to participate in the crusade. This letter was first delivered to the Danish royal court, after which King Canute, in turn, summoned a council at which this letter was read aloud. This council then decided that the call for the crusade should be proclaimed in the public squares, and should be preached during mass.⁴³ This process does not directly involve *Audita Tremendi* but it gives insight into the various ways in which crusading news was transmitted in the late 12th century, and to which parts of society this news was brought.

Papal crusading bulls were usually also intended to form the basis of preaching in the localities and it is generally agreed that *Audita Tremendi* was used as such in the preaching

³⁹ Gregory VIII, *Audita Tremendi*, trans. Jessalynn Bird, Edward Peters, and James M. Powell, *Crusade and Christendom: Annotated documents in translation from Innocent III to the fall of Acre, 1187-1291* (Philadelphia 2013) 5-9, here 5. “*Unversis Christi fidelibus ad quos litterae istae pervenerint.*” The Latin is found in: Smith, ‘*Audita Tremendi* reconsidered’, 25-37.

⁴⁰ Birkett, ‘News in the Middle Ages’, 21.

⁴¹ *Ibidem*.

⁴² *Ibidem*, 5, 26.

⁴³ Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades*, 71.

campaigns for the Third Crusade.⁴⁴ To offer a narrative that was both as complete and as compelling as possible to all audiences, popes usually strove for documents that were as near to perfection as possible.⁴⁵ This entailed a long and thorough process of repeated checks and correction, during which each and every word was carefully weighed. The effort that was put into the perfection of the text was intended to offer an unambiguous narrative to those who received the bull in Latin, to whom heard its message in translation, and to those who were about to use the bull as a basis for their sermons. The formulations used in *Audita Tremendi* were not reserved for an elite audience that read Latin and received the bull personally, but it was also imagined to reach a large Christian lay-audience in a quasi-direct form. The audience of the bull was thus composed of all layers of society throughout the whole of western Europe.

2.3 News from the East to the West

The description above recounts how the news of the Battle of Hattin reached the audience that *Audita Tremendi* was intended to reach, but this news had to reach the papal court first before it could be disseminated across Europe. To understand the *causa scribendi* of *Audita Tremendi* and how trauma might have played into this, some questions need to be addressed. When and how did the news of Hattin reach the papal *curia*? What news was delivered? How much was known in the West about the situation in the Holy Land when *Audita Tremendi* was issued? Why did this news necessitate the rapid issuing of a call for a new crusade? What actually happened in the Holy Land, prior to and during the Battle of Hattin? Could the defeat at the Horns of Hattin have traumatized Pope Gregory VIII? These questions will be addressed in the following sections.

The Battle of Hattin took place on the 4th of July 1187. *Audita Tremendi* was issued on the 29th of October of that same year. This leaves a gap of three-and-a-half months between the actual event and the production of the papal response to this news. It is not known when exactly the first accounts of this battle arrived at the papal court at Ferrara, northern Italy, but mid-October is generally accepted to be a good estimation.⁴⁶ The news arrived before Pope Urban III died, which happened on the 20th of October, and Peter of Blois had time to send a letter to Henry II of England concerning the disaster in the Holy Land and the initial response to it in Italy before Urban's death.⁴⁷ It furthermore remains unclear which account reached Ferrara first, and who brought this news. Helen Birkett suggests that multiple separate accounts reached the West simultaneously, which was

⁴⁴ Smith, 'Audita Tremendi reconsidered', 6.

⁴⁵ Smith, 'Innocent III', 9.

⁴⁶ Birkett, 'News in the Middle Ages', 19.

⁴⁷ Ibidem, 19-20. Peter of Blois was the adviser and secretary of archbishop Baldwin of Canterbury. He had been at the *curia* since June, where he defended a legal case on behalf of Baldwin in a dispute between the archbishop and the Canterbury monks.

due to the seasonal variations of the Mediterranean Sea. Sea travel was dependent on favourable winds and good weather, which could result in large variations in travel time. Most journeys would, therefore, take place in short time windows and arrive in the western Mediterranean at the same time.⁴⁸ The speed at which news travelled from the East would also have been considerably hindered by the political crisis in the Holy Land, which probably severely disrupted internal communication networks.⁴⁹ The first reports of the Battle of Hattin would have been sent in July or early August and these reports would have reached Italy by late September or October. A second wave of letters, which included updated information, was sent during September and early October and reached Europe at the end of 1187 or early 1188.⁵⁰

One of two accounts is most likely to have reached Ferrara first, being either the account of archbishop Joscius of Tyre or a letter sent by the Genoese consuls to Pope Urban III in late September. Joscius left the Holy Land as an envoy around early September and he first reached Sicily, where he told king William II of Sicily about the atrocities that befell the Christians in the East. He quickly travelled to Ferrara after this stop, where he might have informed Pope Urban III of these events.⁵¹ Peter of Blois in his aforementioned letter to Henry II mentioned William II's reaction to the news of the Battle of Hattin, which suggests that the account of Joscius had reached Ferrara before the 20th of October.⁵² If this was the case, Joscius likely left the Holy Land earlier than September, otherwise, he could not have reached Ferrara by mid-October. The letter of the consuls of Genoa was sent late September from Genoa, which is geographically relatively close to Ferrara. The Genoese consuls got the news from a Genoese merchant who had been in Acre, at least that is what they say themselves: "From frequent rumour, Holy Father, and the account of a grief-stricken fellow citizen who has returned from the regions over the sea, we have learned of..."⁵³ The distance between Genoa and Ferrara could be covered in one to two weeks, depending on the haste the messenger made. No matter which account reached Ferrara first, both these cases demonstrate that the news did not only reach Ferrara but was disseminated through other hubs who themselves spread the

⁴⁸ Birkett, 'News in the Middle Ages', 14.

⁴⁹ Ibidem, 32.

⁵⁰ Ibidem. Examples of the first set of letters to be sent to Europe include the letter sent by princes and ecclesiastics of the East to Emperor Frederick Barbarossa (July 1187), the letter sent by the Grand Preceptor of the Temple Terricus to his colleagues and brother Templars (between July and August 1187), the letter from patriarch Eraclius of Jerusalem to all secular leaders of the West (September 1187), and another letter from Eraclius that was sent directly to Pope Urban III (September 1187).⁵⁰ See: Malcolm Barber and Keith Bate, *Letters from the East: Crusaders, pilgrims and settlers in the 12th-13th centuries* (Abingdon 2016) 75-83.

⁵¹ Birkett, 'News in the Middle Ages', 17.

⁵² Ibidem, 20.

⁵³ Barber e.a., *Letters from the East*, 82-83.

news further. The papal *curia* does, however, appear to have functioned as the main news-hub which served as the key to spreading the news fast across most of Europe.⁵⁴

The slow pace with which news from the Holy Land reached Europe also meant that the pope lacked up-to-date information about the advance of Saladin and the general proceedings in those regions. A good demonstration of this point is that the news of the fall of Jerusalem was not yet known in the West when *Audita Tremendi* was issued.⁵⁵ Jerusalem was surrendered to Saladin on the 2nd of October, almost a month before the encyclical first appeared, but since every message containing the news of the Battle of Hattin that reached Ferrara around October was dispatched no later than early September, the pope had no chance of knowing about Jerusalem.⁵⁶ Even the fourth version of *Audita Tremendi*, which was issued by Pope Clement III on the 2nd of January 1188, makes no mention of the fall of Jerusalem.⁵⁷ If the news had been known at the papal *curia* by then, it is highly improbable that they would not include this in a bull which called for a new Crusade. A glance over some of the letters sent from the East to the West to inform about the Battle of Hattin and the subsequent capture of many cities gives an idea of which information might have been at hand to Pope Gregory VIII during the composition of *Audita Tremendi*. All these letters describe in more or less detail the Battle of Hattin, paying extra attention to the loss of the True Cross, the capture of the king and the slaughter of the Templars and Hospitallers. Furthermore, they give an impression of which cities were already taken by Saladin and which land and cities remained in Christian hands. This ranges from mentions of only Acre and its surrounding lands being taken to exclamations of despair because only Tyre and Jerusalem were still defended.⁵⁸ Patriarch Eraclius of Jerusalem also mentions that Jerusalem is being besieged, but it is unlikely that this news reached Ferrara before the 29th of October since Saladin laid siege on Jerusalem on the 20th of September.⁵⁹

2.4 The horrendous events in the East

The news that reached the papal *curia* in October 1187 only showed a small snippet of what had happened in the Holy Land, especially when it comes to the events and factors that led up to the fatal Battle of Hattin and the further advance of Saladin, and the details of the battle itself. According to Piotr Sztompka, there need to be four characteristics present in conjunction for an event to be potentially traumatizing. As mentioned before, these characteristics are: a temporal quality,

⁵⁴ Birkett, 'News in the Middle Ages', 15.

⁵⁵ Bird e.a., *Crusade and Christendom*, 4; Smith, 'Audita Tremendi reconsidered', 24.

⁵⁶ Gregory VIII does make a reference to Jerusalem through his citation of Psalm 78:1-2. This does however not reflect upon the actual situation of the city of Jerusalem but might be intended to refer to the land of Jerusalem instead.

⁵⁷ Smith, 'Audita Tremendi reconsidered', 25-37.

⁵⁸ Barber e.a., *Letters from the East*, 75-83. See letters 41-45.

⁵⁹ Ibidem, 80-81.

substance and scope, external origins and a suitable mental frame. If and when these four factors are present in the defeat at Hattin and its perception, then the news of this defeat might have traumatized its recipients in the West and explain more of the contents of *Audita Tremendi* and its rapid issuing. In the following, it will be investigated whether the aforementioned characteristics can be identified when it comes to the Battle of Hattin and its reception.

To get to the origins, temporal quality and the substance and scope of the Battle of Hattin, and to the mental frame that surrounded the Crusades, some further explanation of its background and its proceedings is needed. The Battle of Hattin was no isolated incident but featured in a larger context of Saladin's ongoing *jihad* against the Franks and his attempts to gain control of the Holy Land.⁶⁰ Amongst historians of the Crusades, the consensus is that the First Crusade succeeded in cementing western dominance in the Holy Land because the Seljuq and Fatimid empire were weakened by both structural and environmental factors.⁶¹ At the time when Saladin increasingly succeeded in unifying the Muslim states in the Levant, however, the Kingdom of Jerusalem had to cope with continuous succession struggles that had started after the death of King Amalric in 1174.⁶² His succession was troubled, since his heir, Baldwin IV, became king as a minor and suffered from leprosy. When Baldwin IV died in 1185, he was succeeded by his nephew Baldwin V, who had been in joint-rule with him since 1183.⁶³ Baldwin V did not offer a stable rule since he was only 8 years old when he ascended the throne and he died in 1186. The male and female lineages of king Amalric contended for power and the crown, and eventually, queen Sybilla, the eldest daughter of King Amalric, came out on top together with her husband Guy de Lusignan. However, this situation resulted in a deep divide between the various factions, and a deeply unpopular king.⁶⁴ This presented a rather weak position to counter the growing threat of Saladin.

The crusaders in the Holy Land had acknowledged the difficult situation they were in several years before 1187, but their pleas to the western rulers had not resulted in an influx of manpower from the West. Probably around early 1183, Patriarch Eraclius of Jerusalem had sent a general encyclical to all western leaders, both ecclesiastical and secular, to plea for material and men to be sent to the Holy Land. In 1184, Eraclius himself set out on a high-level mission to the West, where he met with Pope Lucius III, Emperor Frederick Barbarossa, King Philip II of France and King Henry II of England. Eraclius tried to convince the kings to come to the aid of the crusaders and even offered the

⁶⁰ Barber e.a., *Letters from the East*, 291; Andrew Jotischky, 'Politics and the crown in the Kingdom of Jerusalem 1099-1187', *History Compass* 13:11 (2015) 589-598, here 594.

⁶¹ Jotischky, 'Politics and the crown', 591; Rubenstein, *Nebuchadnezzar's dream*, 167.

⁶² Bernard Hamilton, *The leper king and his heirs: Baldwin IV and the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Cambridge 2000).

⁶³ Barber e.a., *Letters from the East*, 290.

⁶⁴ Ibidem, 296; Roach, *Contemporary perceptions*, 15.

kings the keys of Jerusalem and the Holy Sepulchre.⁶⁵ Eraclius returned to Jerusalem without having found any of the kings willing to go to the Holy Land, even though he had left no doubt about the crisis that faced the Crusader states. The great leaders of Europe were thus aware of the gravity of the situation in the Holy Land well in advance of the Battle of Hattin.

Even though the rulers in both the East and the West were aware of the dire situation in the Crusader states, the Battle of Hattin at the 4th of July 1187 was a much greater defeat than most would have anticipated. Both Benjamin Kedar and Malcolm Barber have offered meticulously detailed and accurate accounts of the proceedings of the Battle of Hattin, which will therefore not need to be repeated here.⁶⁶ A summary is in place though. Saladin had gathered an army of over 30.000 men and led them into Galilee, where he laid siege to the city of Tiberias with a portion of that army. By doing so, he tried to lure out Guy de Lusignan and his armies that were camped at the Springs of Saforie, some thirty kilometres to the west from Tiberias.⁶⁷ King Guy eventually decided to march towards Tiberias and the two armies met at the Horns of Hattin, which Saladin had allegedly singled out as the best battlefield to fight the Franks. At Hattin, the Christian armies – who were already exhausted due to a lack of water and the terrible heat – tried to fight of Saladin’s army but eventually failed, after a standoff of some six hours.⁶⁸ Their morale had been broken when the True Cross itself was lost to the enemy.⁶⁹ Saladin was victorious and very few Franks left the battlefield alive.

2.5 The loss of the True Cross

More than any other lost battle during the time of the Crusades, the Battle of Hattin would have immediately been recognised by Christians in the East and the West for its substance and scope. Daniel Roach has argued that part of the recognition of the importance of the Battle of Hattin lay in the fact that it was a pitched battle, a type of battle that rarely took place and was only engaged when great issues were at stake.⁷⁰ According to Roach, both Guy de Lusignan and Saladin were in dire need of a decisive victory: Guy was deeply unpopular with parts of his nobility and needed a victory to silence his critics. Saladin could not afford an inconclusive campaign since his credibility as a leader of the *jihad* depended on it, and he recognised the need for a direct showdown to defeat the

⁶⁵ Barber e.a., *Letters from the East*, 286-288.

⁶⁶ Benjamin Z. Kedar, ‘The Battle of Hattin revisited’ in: Benjamin Z. Kedar ed., *The Horns of Hattin* (Jerusalem 1992) 190-207; Malcolm Barber, *The Crusader states* (New Haven 2012) 289-323.

⁶⁷ Kedar, ‘The Battle of Hattin’, 194.

⁶⁸ Barber, *The Crusader states*, 306.

⁶⁹ *Ibidem*, 303.

⁷⁰ Roach, ‘Contemporary perceptions’, 15.

Franks.⁷¹ This led both leaders to risk to face each other's armies at full strength in a pitched battle, with the complete defeat of the Christian armies as a result.

While people in the West might have recognised the fact that the Battle of Hattin was a pitched battle and therefore held great importance, this was not the main element that came as a shock to the Christian world.⁷² Rather, that was the theft of the relic of the True Cross. The Cross that is referred to here is a supposed remnant of the True Cross that, according to the popular legend, was found by Helena, the mother of Constantine the Great.⁷³ In the early 11th century, the relic was hidden from the Fatimids and only resurfaced after the crusaders of the First Crusade successfully conquered Jerusalem.⁷⁴ The relic was installed in a reliquary and was carried into numerous battles as a symbol and weapon for the Christian armies.⁷⁵ In the preparations for the Battle of Hattin, patriarch Eraclius gave the True Cross to the prior of the Holy Sepulchre, and the Cross formed an important rallying point during the battle at the Horns of Hattin.

Many authors have argued that the Cross was – after Jerusalem itself - the most sacred and holy relic in the whole of Christianity, which meant that the loss of the Cross was the single worst thing that happened during the Battle of Hattin. Not only did the theft of the Cross constitute a major shock, but it also caused an immediate ontological crisis for Christianity.⁷⁶ The relic of the Cross was considered to be a direct link between the earthly and the divine, in medieval thought it was an embodiment of Christ.⁷⁷ Proximity to this embodiment of Christ's body was believed to offer redemption, and it was believed to be a safeguard that would guarantee victory to the Christian armies whenever it was carried into battle.⁷⁸ When the Cross was lost to the pagans during the Battle of Hattin, this was not only seen as a violation of the sacred body of Christ but also meant the defeat of Christendom and the loss of the sacred associations that went with it. Moreover, it raised the question of why the Cross had failed in this situation, a question that was carefully addressed in *Audita Tremendi* and will be expanded upon later.⁷⁹

More than the military defeat at Hattin, the loss of the True Cross hurt Christianity at its core and shook its foundations. This is not just a modern interpretation based on the blessing of hindsight:

⁷¹ Ibidem; Kedar, 'The Battle of Hattin', 192; Barber, *The Crusader states*, 301.

⁷² Cassidy-Welch, 'Before trauma', 620.

⁷³ Barbara Baert, *A heritage of Holy Wood: The legend of the True Cross in text and image* (Leiden 2004) 23-41.

⁷⁴ Alan V. Murray, 'Mighty against the enemies of Christ': The relic of the True Cross in the armies of the Kingdom of Jerusalem' in: John France and William G. Zajac eds., *The Crusades and their sources: Essays presented to Bernard Hamilton* (Aldershot 1998) 217-238.

⁷⁵ Roach, 'Contemporary perceptions', 21; Murray, 'The relic of the True Cross', 217.

⁷⁶ Cassidy-Welch, 'Before trauma', 621; Murray, 'The relic of the True Cross', 217-238.

⁷⁷ Cassidy-Welch, 'Before trauma', 622.

⁷⁸ Ibidem; Roach, 'Contemporary perceptions', 21.

⁷⁹ Roach, 'Contemporary perceptions', 26; Cole, 'Christian perceptions', 11-12.

the wider ontological implications of the loss of the Cross were immediately recognised by both contemporary Muslim and Christian commentators.⁸⁰ When this news reached Europe, it also provoked strong and emotional responses, such as that of the aforementioned William II of Sicily. Peter of Blois recounted how the king reacted when he heard the news, stating that William put on a cilice and cried in reclusion for four days.⁸¹ Furthermore, the cardinals abandoned their luxuries and committed themselves to both preaching and joining the Crusade.⁸² It is thus fair to say that the news of the Battle of Hattin made quite an impression on those who first heard of it.

2.6 Pope Gregory VIII and trauma

To turn back to Sztompka's prerequisites for an event to be potentially traumatizing, it can now be assumed that after the Battle of Hattin all four characteristics could be present in the perception of contemporaries in the West, and certainly in the perception of the pope and his *curia*. The Battle of Hattin had a temporal quality, substance and scope, external origins and landed in a suitable mental frame, which will be demonstrated in the following. The Battle of Hattin had a temporal quality since the battle in this form was not foreseen and all events developed within a matter of days.

Furthermore, the battle itself only lasted a couple of hours, so it would have been perceived as sudden and rapid. This sense would also have been conveyed to the rulers in the West. The elaboration on the scale and implications of the Battle of Hattin also leaves little doubt that there were a real substance and scope to this battle. One of the largest crusader-armies to date was completely wiped-out, which had left most of the Holy Land undefendable and had already resulted in the loss of many important cities.

More touching the core, however, was the loss of the True Cross, something that deeply affected Christianity ontologically. It could be argued that this especially shocked the papacy for that sat at the centre of Christendom in the West and formed the heart of Christian society, which had now been severely damaged by the loss of the True Cross. This links to the fourth characteristic: a suitable mental frame. As has been mentioned above, there was an extensive and complicated theology connected to the Lord's Cross, which did not accommodate its potential failure or its loss. Within this mental framework, the theft of the Cross would thus have been extremely shocking and must have come as a complete and utter surprise which rocked the Christian worldview. The fact

⁸⁰ Cassidy-Welch, 'Before trauma', 619-623; Roach, 'Contemporary perceptions', 21-29. Megan Cassidy-Welch gives examples of both Saladin and Ibn al-Athir – possibly the most prominent 12th-century Arab commentator on the Crusades – recognizing the importance of the Cross for the Christians.

⁸¹ Birkett, 'News in the Middle Ages', 20. A cilice is an undergarment that is made of coarse animal hair and is worn as a means of penitence and mortification of the flesh, since the crude material irritates the flesh.

⁸² Ibidem.

that the Cross had been stolen by the pagans relates to the characteristic of external origins, which dictates that the crisis was perceived as being the result of exogenous factors.

Later on in this thesis, it will be shown that the characteristics of the external origins and the mental frame go further than what has now been suggested and are much more complicated, but that relates more to the explanation of the events in *Audita Tremendi* and will, therefore, be tackled in the next chapter. Regardless of these additional aspects, it can at this point be argued that the news of the Battle of Hattin, according to the model proposed by Piotr Sztompka, could have traumatized the pope and his *curia*. It is not unthinkable that the shock of the news, and the profound crisis that it presented the Christian world with, were strong enough stimuli to move the pope to strive for the fast issuing of *Audita Tremendi*. To what extent the authors of the bull were truly traumatized will forever remain guesswork, but the substance and scope of the Battle of Hattin and how the outcome has been perceived by contemporaries suggests that a sense of trauma might have formed at least part of the *causa scribendi* of *Audita Tremendi*.

Chapter 3: Rhetoric strategies in *Audita Tremendi*

It can now be assumed that a sense of trauma influenced Pope Gregory VIII when he composed *Audita Tremendi*. The following chapter will investigate which narrative and rhetoric strategies Pope Gregory employed to communicate and transfer this sense of trauma to his audience. This will be done based on Alexander's model of four critical representations, being the nature of the pain, the nature of the victim, the relation of the trauma victim to the wider audience, and the attribution of responsibility.

3.1 The nature of the pain

The first aspect that Jeffrey C. Alexander deems critical to the construction of a collective representation of the horrendous event is the nature of the pain.⁸³ The nature of the pain describes what allegedly happened, to both the particular group and to the wider collectivity to which this particular group belongs. When applying this concept of the nature of the pain to *Audita Tremendi*, there appears to be a specific part of the text that deals with the representation of the more or less objective course of events. It is, of course, impossible to speak of a completely objective summary of the battle in *Audita Tremendi*, since the papal bull presents a Christian perspective on a disastrous episode in the history of the Crusades. The passage thus offers a selective view on the proceedings of the battle, with a complete focus on the harm that befell the Christian armies. Compared to the majority of the narrative of *Audita Tremendi*, however, the passage that deals with the Battle of Hattin itself shows a less interpretative stance.

The passage that offers the description of the battle is cleverly preceded by a biblical reference that immediately presents a biblical parallel to the event. Pope Gregory VIII introduced Psalm 78:1-2, in which the Psalmist Asaph laments:

“God, the gentiles have invaded Your inheritance, they have sullied Your holy temple, they have laid waste Jerusalem; they have left the dead bodies of Your saints as meat for the beasts of the earth and food for the birds of the air.”⁸⁴

This psalm does not offer a direct link to the events that Pope Gregory is about to describe since the fact that Jerusalem had fallen into pagan hands was not known in the West at the time of the issuing of *Audita Tremendi*. However, these words might have been intended to relate to the land of

⁸³ Alexander, *Trauma*, 21.

⁸⁴ *Audita Tremendi*, 5. “*Deus, venerunt gentes in haerediateram tuam, coinquinaverunt, templum sanctum tuum, posuerunt Jerusalem in pomorum custodiam, carnes sanctorum tuorum bestiis terrae, et escas volatilibus coeli, etc.*”

Jerusalem, of which some parts had already fallen into Saladin's power. The reference to Psalm 78:1-2 may have sparked an immediate reaction and creates a framework in which the more factual description that followed after the biblical quote can and perhaps ought to be interpreted.

Augustine's interpretation of the first two verses of Psalm 78 was that the unburied bodies of Christians attested mainly to the cruelty of the perpetrator and not so much to the misfortune of the dead. Once dead, the body did not suffer anymore, while the soul was not hindered in going into future life.⁸⁵ Given Augustine's prominence in theology, his interpretation could certainly have been on Pope Gregory's mind when he chose to introduce this Psalm at the start of his bull.

Pope Gregory continued his narrative after the lament of the Psalmist with a more objective description of what happened at the Battle of Hattin, but he apparently did not deem it necessary to share the location of the battle with his reader-audience. The narrative of the events that follows gives a chronological account of what happened:

"Saladin approached those parts with a host of armed troops. They were confronted by the king and the bishops, the Templars and the Hospitallers, the barons and the knights, with the people of the land, and with the Lord's Cross ... and after the battle was joined, our side was defeated and the Lord's Cross was captured."⁸⁶

At its core, this constitutes the narrative of the Battle of Hattin. The scene that is sketched here shows a clash between Saladin and his troops and the amassed Christian forces of the Franks in the Holy Land. One feature that is highlighted in this passage, is the image that the pagans came to those parts, while the Christians were already there. Saladin and his troops are thus portrayed as an invading opponent that came to the lands of the Franks. It is also of no small importance that Saladin (*Saladinus*) is mentioned by name, while all Christian leaders remain anonymous. Even Guy de Lusignan, the king of Jerusalem, is referred to just as 'the king' (*rege*). Both these features – i.e. the pagans as an external force and the naming of Saladin – relate to what Alexander refers to as the attribution of responsibility. This aspect will be expanded on later in this chapter.

This stripped-down description of the battle is followed by more a more detailed account that recounts the atrocities that the pagans afflicted on the Franks after they had won the battle. Everything in *Audita Tremendi* was part of a well-considered discourse, so the further attention to the violence of the pagans may have been intended to shock the audience. This would have both

⁸⁵ Quentin F. Wesselschmidt, *Psalms 51-150*, Ancient Christian commentary on scripture. Old Testament 8 (Westmont 2007) 135-136.

⁸⁶ *Audita Tremendi*, 6. "Accessit Saladinus cum multitudine armatorum ad partes illas, et occurentibus eis rege, et episcopis, et Templariis, et Hospitalariis, baronibus ac militibus cum populo terrae, et cruce Dominica ... facta congressione inter eos, et superata parte nostrorum, capta est crux Dominica."

strengthened their reaction and also would have enhanced their remembrances of the event.⁸⁷ After all, bloody and juice details generally stick well with the audience. Pope Gregory wrote:

“The bishops were slaughtered, the king captured, and almost all our men were either put to the sword or taken prisoner. Very few are believed to have escaped. Also, the Templars and Hospitallers were beheaded in his [Saladin’s] presence.”⁸⁸

Other sources confirm these lines in *Audita Tremendi*.⁸⁹ It was common practice to take high nobles – and all who might deliver some ransom – as prisoners, so it was no anomaly that King Guy de Lusignan was taken captive. What probably was more shocking for the pope and his *curia* than the king’s imprisonment – or what at least was presented as such to the audience – was the fact that the bishops were slaughtered.⁹⁰ It can be argued that in *Audita Tremendi*, the various incidents are prioritized by level of shock and threat. The slaughter of the bishops is mentioned before the capture of the king, which would indicate that that was experienced as a more shocking and threatening incident than the capture of the king. This argument is strengthened by Thomas Smith’s comparison of the four official versions that exist of *Audita Tremendi*. In all three versions that were issued under Pope Gregory VIII – Dated 29 October, 30 October, 3 November 1187 – the slaughter of the bishops is mentioned before the capture of the king. In the only version that Clement III issued – Dated 2 January 1188 –, the pope chose to alter the order. Smith argues that after some time had passed, the problem was assessed more rationally, and the capture of a king was considered posing a greater threat to the Latin Kingdom than the death of some bishops. After all, bishops could be easily replaced, while an anointed king could not.⁹¹ Clement’s assessment of this situation might have been influenced by the knowledge of the succession struggles that had defined the politics of the Holy Land from the 1170s on.

One further aspect to the nature of the pain is the fact that, after the Christian army was defeated, Saladin was able to conquer large parts of the Holy Land within a short period. Pope Gregory wrote:

⁸⁷ Lønstrup dal Santo, ‘Rite of passage’, 145-154.

⁸⁸ *Audita Tremendi*, 6. “*Trucidati episcopi, captus est rex, et universi fere aut occisi gladio, aut hostibilis manibus deprehensi, ita ut paucissimi per fugam dicantur elapsi.*”

⁸⁹ See: Barber, *The Crusader states*, 289-323.

⁹⁰ Smith, ‘*Audita Tremendi* reconsidered’, 10.

⁹¹ *Ibidem*.

“With the army defeated, we do not think our letter can explain how they [Saladin and his troops] next invaded and seized every place so that only a few remained outside their power.”⁹²

Much land and many cities had already fallen in the hands of Saladin. Historians agree that, because Guy de Lusignan had rallied practically every able-bodied man in the Holy Land to face Saladin’s army, Saladin had relative ease in conquering the various Crusader states and cities.⁹³ As Pope Gregory stressed in *Audita Tremendi*, very few men managed to escape the battlefield, which left most cities deprived of a standing garrison. The loss of so much ground in the Holy Land made the defeat at Hattin even more distressing since it was not a single lost battle but the start of a trajectory of many losses towards a glooming defeat for Christianity in the Holy Land at large.⁹⁴

Despite all the misery of bloodshed, the slaughter of the bishops, the capture of the king, the beheading of the Templars and Hospitallers, and the ground loss in the Holy Land that resulted from the Battle of Hattin, there was one aspect that formed the biggest shock to Christianity. This was the theft of the True Cross.⁹⁵ Pope Gregory did not hesitate to use strong and emotional words to describe the atrocities of the Battle of Hattin, nor did he omit bloody details, such as “the bishops were slaughtered” and “the Templars and Hospitallers were beheaded.”⁹⁶ To a modern reader, however, the Cross appears to receive little attention and little emotion seems to be attributed to it. The True Cross itself is mentioned only twice within *Audita Tremendi*, first Pope Gregory wrote that Saladin and his troops were confronted by the army and “with the Lord’s Cross” and later he stated that “The Lord’s Cross was captured.”⁹⁷ The importance of the Cross is however subtly but unmistakably stressed. As demonstrated by the fact that Guy de Lusignan is not mentioned by name, *Audita Tremendi* contains little elaboration on the description of the Battle of Hattin. The Lord’s Cross, on the other hand, receives a relatively extensive elaboration when it is first mentioned. Pope Gregory wrote:

⁹² *Audita Tremendi*, 6. “*Superato autem exercitu, qualiter subsequenter invaserint et rapuerint universa, ita ut non nisi pauca loca remansisse dicantur, quae in eorum non devenerint potestatem, non credimus nostris litteris explicandum.*”

⁹³ Barber, *The Crusader states*, 307.

⁹⁴ *Ibidem*, 307 – 313.

⁹⁵ Cassidy-Welch, ‘Before trauma’, 620-623.

⁹⁶ *Audita Tremendi*, 6. “*Trucidati episcopi*” and “*Ipsi quaque Templarii et Hospitalarii in ejus oculis decollate.*”

⁹⁷ *Ibidem*. “*Et cruce Dominica*” and “*Capta est crux Dominica.*”

“... and with the Lord’s Cross, through which from memory and faith of the suffering of Christ, who hung there and redeemed the human race, was believed to be a sure safeguard and a desired defence against the attack of the pagans.”⁹⁸

This passage might have a twofold purpose. On the one hand, the passage explains why the Cross was present at the battle in the first place. The True Cross was seen as a defensive weapon against the enemies, who are in this case referred to as ‘the pagans’, and as a sign of divine favour. It was thought to guarantee victory in the battle and was for this purpose frequently carried into combat.⁹⁹ On the other hand, the pope emphasized the central role of the True Cross to Christianity. Pope Gregory stressed that Christ hung on this very Cross and redeemed the human race from it. Thomas Smith has demonstrated that in a later issue of *Audita Tremendi* this link between the Cross and human redemption was strengthened even further by stressing that Christ had “redeemed the human race on it.”¹⁰⁰ The redemption of all Christians was thus physically linked to the True Cross.

The second time the True Cross is mentioned, it is captured. No textual elaboration is made about this statement, but its position within the narrative gives away its importance.¹⁰¹ When considering the internal hierarchy that Smith identified, it becomes apparent that the capture of the Cross is mentioned before the slaughter of the bishops or the captivity of the king. What is more, the first thing that is mentioned after the fact that “our side was defeated” is that the Lord’s Cross was captured. This suggests that the loss of the Cross was perceived as more shocking and threatening to Christianity than any other aspect of the outcome of the Battle of Hattin. Combined with the explicit elaboration on the Cross, the text of *Audita Tremendi* supports the idea that for Christianity, the loss of the True Cross was the most traumatizing aspect of Hattin. The loss of manpower in the East could be seen as an unfortunate situation, but this had no direct implications for Christians in the East. However, the loss of the True Cross did concern all of Christianity and was, therefore, the nature of pain to all of the audience.

To sum up the factor of the nature of the pain, it has become clear that Pope Gregory VIII involved himself with constructing a uniform and cohesive narrative that described the horrendous event. The account of the Battle of Hattin that is found in *Audita Tremendi* focuses on the loss of the True Cross, the slaughter of the bishops and the capture of the king, and on the fact that the

⁹⁸ *Audita Tremendi*, 6. “...et cruce Dominica, per quam ex memoria et fide passionis Christi, qui pependit, et genus humanum redemit, certum solebat esse tutamen, et contra paganorum incursus desiderata defensio.”

⁹⁹ Alan Murray has shown that the Cross was taken into battle at least 31 times between 1099 and 1187. He has also demonstrated that the Cross was used more in the 2nd half of the 12th century, since that was a time of greater tumult and danger than the decennia prior to that period. See: Daniel Roach, ‘Contemporary perceptions’, 21.

¹⁰⁰ Smith, ‘*Audita Tremendi* reconsidered’, 12.

¹⁰¹ *Ibidem*, 6.

Christians were attacked by an exogenous force. The result is a comprehensible account that captures the essence of the events, while also stressing the horrendous nature of the outcome.

3.2 The nature of the victim

The second aspect that Jeffrey C. Alexander considers to be of critical importance to the construction of a collective representation of trauma is the nature of the victim. This representation is concerned with which groups and persons were affected by the traumatizing pain. Questions that relate to this aspect are whether the people that were directly victimized were particular individuals, specific groups, or 'the people' in general. It is important to note that within his model, Alexander makes a clear distinction between the victimized group on the one hand and the audience on the other. The victim-group is the group that is portrayed as being immediately victimized by a perpetrator, while the audience is not. The audience is the target of the trauma representations that are constructed by the carrier groups.¹⁰²

In the case of *Audita Tremendi*, the pope and co-editors of the bull – they constitute the carrier group – also belong to the audience according to Alexander's model, since they have not been immediately victimized by the Battle of Hattin. The victim-group in this sense is thus limited to the actors who were present at the battle on 4 July 1187. *Audita Tremendi* lists most of them in the passage that has previously been interpreted as a fragment that represents the nature of the pain. It involves:

“... the king and the bishops, the Templars and the Hospitallers, the barons and the knights, ... the people of the land ...”¹⁰³

The fashion in which the pope lists these various groups suggests that the Christian troops which fought at Hattin were not perceived as a homogenous unity, but rather as separate smaller groups. Judging by the words of Pope Gregory VIII, the Christian forces were considered to consist of five loosely defined groups. First comes the king, who of course had no peers in the Holy Land and thus constituted a one-man group. Next are the bishops, who represent the ecclesiastical group. Then follow the Templars and the Hospitallers, both military orders. The barons and knights constitute a group of nobility and elite, and last but not least the 'people of the land' form the fifth group of the common soldiers and infantrymen. While these groups can be conceived as independent agents, they do also all belong to the same larger collective Christianity, and in this particular case the

¹⁰² Alexander, *Trauma*, 20-22.

¹⁰³ *Audita Tremendi*, 6. “Rege, et episcopis, et Templariis, et Hospitalariis, baronibus ac militibus cum populo terrae.”

Christian army that was assembled to fight Saladin. The individual and the collective are thus both presented here.

Broadly speaking, all these groups were victims in the first place because they were defeated at Hattin. However, as Pope Gregory's reference to Psalm 78:1-2 has already shown, the atrocities that are described do not necessarily point to the terrible fate of the victims, but rather to the cruelty of the perpetrator.¹⁰⁴ The act of dying in defence of the Christian faith can even be construed as being a good thing for this could offer salvation. This is not to say that all Christians who died at Hattin were not victims, but their fate might have been less lamentable than appears at first glance.

The defeated Christians constitute a victimized group but there is repeated attention within the bull for another entity that falls within the victim-realm and not within the audience-realm. Pope Gregory addressed the suffering of 'that land' regularly, which suggest that from his perspective – and for his purposes – it is as much part of the victim-group as the bishops and barons. He wrote:

“Neither can tongue speak nor the senses understand what that land has now suffered, how much it has suffered for us and for all Christians...”¹⁰⁵

This passage appears to give the land itself human characteristics which results in the ability of this very land to suffer.¹⁰⁶ The land itself is seen as an actor that has experienced pain through the Battle of Hattin and the deeds of the pagans. To modern readers, it is a somewhat strange idea to consider a territory as a victim group. There are however multiple biblical passages in which Jerusalem is personified, as a female to be precise. Such personifications are most profound in the book of Lamentations, but can also be found in the book of Jeremiah, which Pope Gregory cited in *Audita Tremendi*.¹⁰⁷ The personification of Jerusalem as female is used in Jeremiah to powerfully express the impact of imminent judgement, which generally occurs in the form of military attacks against the city.¹⁰⁸ Moreover, this personification was used to draw empathy from the audience and allow them to attribute personal experience to, and express communal suffering for the sufferings of the personified city.¹⁰⁹ This same discursive effect might have been what Pope Gregory envisioned when he personified the Promised Land.

¹⁰⁴ Wesselschmidt, *Psalms 51-150*, 135-136.

¹⁰⁵ *Audita Tremendi*, 6-7. “*Nec lingua dicere, nec sensus cogitare potest, quantum nobis et universo dolendum sit populo Christiano, quod id nunc perpessa est terra illa*”

¹⁰⁶ Cassidy-Welch, ‘Before trauma’, 622. Cassidy-Welch describes how the Holy Land was seen as part of Christ's body, a territorial relic that belongs to Christians alone.

¹⁰⁷ Elizabeth Boase, *The fulfilment of doom? The dialogic interaction between the book of Lamentations and the pre-exilic/early-exilic prophetic literature* (London 2006) 51-54, 62-77.

¹⁰⁸ Boarse, *The fulfilment of doom?*, 76-77.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibidem*, 52-53; David Bosworth, ‘Daughter Zion and weeping in Lamentations 1-2’, *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament* 38:2 (2013) 217-237, here 236-237.

When considering *Audita Tremendi* as a whole, more attention is given to the land than to its inhabitants and more emotion is shown concerning the state of the land than to the loss of life in those regions. A first and telling example is formed by the very words the bull opens with:

“When we heard of the severity of the awesome judgement that the hand of God visited on the land of Jerusalem, we and our brothers were disturbed by such a great horror, afflicted by such sorrows, that we scarcely knew what to do or what we should do ...”¹¹⁰

The strongest cause of sorrows that is presented here is what happened to the land of Jerusalem. Of course, this formulation leaves room for the interpretation that the people of Jerusalem, the crusaders, etc. are all part of the land of Jerusalem and are thus also referred to, but it remains striking that Pope Gregory did not open his bull with a reflection on human pain and human aspects of the terror, but on what happened to the land. After this lamentation, the rhetoric is strengthened by the citation of Psalm 78:1-2, which reads “the gentiles have invaded your inheritance ... they have laid waste Jerusalem.”¹¹¹ The land of Israel is the inheritance that is meant here, which is the promised land given by God to the Israelites as can be read in the book of Numbers 34. The intrusion of pagans into this inheritance constituted a major crisis in and of itself.

According to Jay Rubenstein, the conquest of the Holy Land by the pagans was extra shocking to the pope and Christianity for it shattered historical and prophetic expectation.¹¹² When the Christian armies retook Jerusalem and large parts of its geographic ‘inheritance’ this was seen as the perfect fulfilment of Judaism and a brilliant demonstration of superiority. Not only was this the completion of the prophecy of Judaism, but it was also seen and portrayed as the culmination of world history. The retaking of Jerusalem marked the climax of Christian history. As soon as the Franks began losing ground in the East however, this reading of history became undone and Christianity lost its superiority.¹¹³ To put it more dramatically: the loss of the Battle of Hattin and the subsequent conquest of most of the Holy Land by the pagans posed a worldview-shattering threat to the pope and Christianity at large. Note that this crisis was posed by the loss of the land itself, for it carried so much biblical and prophetic meaning. It is within this light that Pope Gregory’s concern about the suffering of the land can be better understood.

¹¹⁰ *Audita Tremendi*, 5. “*Audita Tremendi severitate iudicii, quod super terram Jerusalem divina manus exercuit, tanto sumus nos et fratres nostril horrore confuse, tantisque afflicti doloribus, ut non facile nobis occuret, quid agere aut quid facere deberemus.*”

¹¹¹ *Ibidem*. “*Deus, venerunt gentes in haerediatem tuam ... posuerunt Jerusalem pomorum custodiam*”

¹¹² Rubenstein, *Nebuchadnezzar’s dream*, 169.

¹¹³ *Ibidem*.

What makes the crisis for ‘the land of Jerusalem’ even greater, is that the pagans appear to try to “erase the name of God from that land.”¹¹⁴ The gravity of this threat is underlined in the next few sentences, in which Pope Gregory illustrated which value the Holy Land holds for Christianity. He brings up the examples of the apostles and the prophets, and of how God and Christ have worked and suffered for this land:

“Of course, when the prophets worked previously with total desire, later the apostles and their followers worked so that divine worship should be in that land ... God, through whom all things were made, who wished to take on flesh through his divine wisdom and his incomprehensible mercy and desired to achieve our salvation through the weakness of our flesh, hunger, thirst, the Cross, death and resurrection, according to the words ‘And he has worked salvation in the midst of the land’” [Ps 73:12]¹¹⁵

These passages stress not only that the Holy Land has been central to Christianity in as far as that the apostles, the prophets, God and Christ all have worked to spread the faith across these regions, but also that it is historical ground. An Augustinian interpretation lies close to how Pope Gregory used the image of the land of Jerusalem. In *De Civitate Dei* Augustine envisioned a distinction between the earthly and the heavenly city of Jerusalem. The earthly city was the place where important episodes from both the Old and the New Testament took place, which gave the earthly city a sacramental status. Jerusalem as a sacrament also possessed a spiritual meaning, which referred to the heavenly Jerusalem. The heavenly Jerusalem consists of all who love God, and to reach it, one must renounce the earthly world. The earthly city of Jerusalem is thus a sacrament – the body of Christ – and is connected to the heavenly Jerusalem.¹¹⁶ The attack on the land of Jerusalem threatened the sacramental and spiritual meaning of the earthly city of Jerusalem, which was the symbol of the City of God and the Christian fatherland.

The repeated and continuous focus on the suffering of the land relates directly to the purpose of *Audita Tremendi*. Pope Gregory VIII intended the bull as a call for a new crusade and wanted this letter to motivate people to go to the Holy Land “so that what is left of that land may not be lost.”¹¹⁷

¹¹⁴ *Audita Tremendi*, 6. “*Titulum Dei valeant auferre de terra.*” Thomas Smith demonstrates that from the second issue on, the ‘name of God’ is replaced by ‘the worship of God’ (cultum dei). See: Smith, ‘*Audita Tremendi* reconsidered’, 12-13.

¹¹⁵ *Ibidem*. “*Sane cum prophetae toto prius studio laboraverunt, postmodum apostolic, et sequaces eorum, ut divinus cultus esset in terra illa Deus, qui voluit incarnari, per quem facta sunt universa, per ineffabilem sapientiam et incomprehensibilem misericordiam suam, per infirmitatem carnis esuriem, sitim, crucem, et mortem et resurrectionem, salutem nostram ibi voluit operati, juxta quod dicitur: “Qui operates est salute in media terrae.”*”

¹¹⁶ Allan Fitzgerald, John Cavadini, Marianne Djuth, e.a., *Augustine through the ages: An encyclopedia* (Grand Rapids 1999) 462-463.

¹¹⁷ *Audita Tremendi*, 7. “*Ne quod reliquum est illius terrae depereat.*”

The main motivation to start a new crusade is the harm that is being done to the land, which has to be stopped to save these lands from pagan domination and to save the existence of Christianity in those regions. The portrayal of the land as one of the main victims of the events does, therefore, make sense within the narrative of this source.

This interpretation should be taken one step further though. Pope Gregory not only identified the land and the defeated as the victims but implicitly conveyed the notion that all Christians were victims of the Battle of Hattin as well. Pope Gregory VIII continuously focused on the aspect that hurt Christianity as a whole, such as the loss of the True Cross and the suffering of the Holy Land. Not just any piece of land was being sullied by the pagans, but it was the inheritance of all Christians that was under attack.¹¹⁸ The True Cross did not belong just to the crusaders in the East, but was one of the holiest relics in the entirety of Christianity. This link to the universality of the Cross is made explicit when Pope Gregory reminded his audience that from that Cross, Christ “redeemed the human race.”¹¹⁹ The theft of the True Cross should hurt all Christians deeply, as should the loss of Land since these factors went to the core of the Christian world. Although it is not explicitly stated in *Audita Tremendi*, its discourse suggests that Pope Gregory viewed all Christians as the victims of the Battle of Hattin.

3.3 The relation of the audience to the victim

While Alexander does not prioritize his four critical aspects for the successful construction of a collective representation, the third aspect – the relation of the audience to the victim – definitively is of most significance for *Audita Tremendi*.¹²⁰ As has been noted above, the audience was perceived as victim of the Battle of Hattin as well. This makes for easy identification: the relationship between the audience and the victim is clear when they constitute the same group. Because the purposes of the bull were to instigate a new crusade and to call all Christians to do penance and atone for their sins, Pope Gregory paid even more attention to the connection between the audience and victim. This is mediated by the creation of a sense of collectivity and a link between the East and West.¹²¹ For this text to move Christian society into following up these calls to action, the audience needed to be able to identify with the victims in the East and fully understand the gravity of the situation which *Audita Tremendi* described.

¹¹⁸ This is stressed in the lamentation of Psalm 78:1-2: “O God, the gentiles have invaded your inheritance” and in Gregory’s elaboration on how the prophets, the apostles and their followers, and God himself worked for that land.

¹¹⁹ *Audita Tremendi*, 6. “*Genus humanum redemit.*”

¹²⁰ Alexander, *Trauma*, 21.

¹²¹ Cassidy-Welch, ‘Before trauma’, 620.

Historians do not agree about how connected people in the West felt to the Franks in the East. Penny J. Cole, for example, speaks of a Western-European “apathy towards events in the East”, while Helen Birkett argues that the audience in the West had a “sense of collective investments in the Holy Land and for that reason wanted to be informed about events in those regions.”¹²² It is no given that the people in the West felt connected to the Franks in the East in the period before the spread of information about the Battle of Hattin. It could be argued that many families had relatives that had gone to the East and, therefore, had an investment in the Crusades and felt more connected to the crusaders. However, this does not imply that society at large was personally invested in what happened in the East. When it comes to the identification with the direct victims of the Battle of Hattin however, the audience had to connect with a group that – on a meta-level – belonged to the same larger group, being Christianity. While this does not automatically mean that identification is a given when people belong to a global community, it does offer a broad and firm basis of common values and beliefs that were shared between the victim-group and the audience. This would have made identification easier.

It would be impossible to lay bare how Pope Gregory VIII tried to establish this identification of his audience with the directly victimized group without a connection to the representation of responsibility which Alexander introduces as the fourth critical aspect of his model of successful collective representation. These two themes are intimately connected in *Audita Tremendi* and will, therefore, be treated together when necessary.

The use of personal pronouns within *Audita Tremendi* constitutes one part of how Pope Gregory VIII addressed and constructed the collective audience. In most of the letter, the dominant personal pronoun is the first-person ‘we’ which is followed, although mainly in the last part of the letter, by the third person ‘they.’ The dominance of ‘we’ does not just stem from the repeated use of the first person plural; the word ‘nos’ or ‘nobis’ is used repeatedly, constituting a direct and explicit reference to an inclusive collective. Of course, ‘we’ sometimes relates to the authors of *Audita Tremendi*, for example in “When we heard of the severity of the awesome judgement...”, but it is often used in a more inclusive manner, which embraces the audience into a collective and shapes the idea of a group.¹²³ This use of ‘we’ is apparent in sentences such as “we ought not despair now” and “we ought not believe”, but also in “We, therefore, should heed and be concerned about ...”¹²⁴

The choice to consistently use the first-person form instead of the more direct second-person form created a narrative in which the responsibility for the events was shared between the papacy

¹²² Cole, *The preaching of the Crusades*, 63; Birkett, ‘News in the Middle Ages’, 5.

¹²³ *Audita Tremendi*, 6. “*Audita Tremendi severitate iudicii.*”

¹²⁴ *Ibidem*, 6-7. “*Non tanem adeo dejicere nos debemus*”; “*nos autem credere non debemus*” and “*Porro nos ... attendre ac vereri.*”

and the audience, all of Christianity was thus collectively responsible for what had happened. The use of 'we' tied the audience together with the papacy and stimulated a sense of collectivity. A second-person pronoun only appears twice, both in the same sentence:

“You by the incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ have been led to the light of truth and instructed by the many examples of the saints. You should act without trepidation and do not fear to give away earthly possessions ...”¹²⁵

This second-person form is a more direct means of addressing and it distances the papacy from the audience. Its use in this sentence forms a distinct breach in style from the rest of *Audita Tremendi*. This might have woken up the recipients of the news, who would suddenly have felt that they were addressed directly.¹²⁶

Relatively early on in the bull, the pope ensured that his audience understands how they should react to the news that he brings in *Audita Tremendi*. Following the passage that has earlier been characterised as the more 'factual' portrayal of events, Pope Gregory referred to the words of the prophet Jeremiah: “Who will give me water for my head and a font of tears for my eyes, and I will weep night and day for the death of my people” (Jer 9:1).¹²⁷ Most of the book of Jeremiah is concerned with the sinfulness of the people and their punishment for their unrepentance, which resulted in the miseries that Jeremiah laments in chapter 9 verse 1.¹²⁸ This verse does thus form a direct parallel with the situation of 1187. Pope Gregory used it to emphasize that the expression of grief is a demonstration of regret and repentance that is desirable in this situation, for it could appease God. He followed up on the words of the prophet by stating that 'we' need not despair because God is not so angry with his people that He will not pardon when penance is done. Of special interest in this passage is that Pope Gregory referred to 'His people' (His relating to God), which includes all Christians and not only those in the Holy Land.

The words of the prophet offer the audience a potent biblical parallel and example on how to interpret and react to the news they receive. Pope Gregory did, however, appear to want to make it completely clear what should be done, not leaving Jeremiah up to interpretation by his audience. Pope Gregory stated the following in rather strong wording:

¹²⁵ Ibidem, 8. “*Vos per incarnationem Domini nostri Jeuus Chrisi ad lucem veritatis adducti, et multis exemplis instructi sanctorum, sine trepidatione aliqua factatis, et non timeatis dare terrena et pauca.*”

¹²⁶ Smith, 'Audita Tremendi reconsidered', 13.

¹²⁷ *Audita Tremendi*, 6. “*Quis det capiti meo aquam, et oculis meis fontem lacrymarum, et plorabo nocte ac die interfectos populi mei?*”

¹²⁸ Douay-Rheims Bible, Prophecy of Jeremias (Jeremiah): chapter 9, <http://www.drbo.org/chapter/28009.htm> [accesses at 12/1/2020].

“Indeed, whoever does not mourn at least in his heart in so great a cause for sorrow not only is ignorant of the Christian faith, which teaches us to join in all suffering, but of our very humanity.”¹²⁹

First and foremost, the audience should mourn for what happened. This mourning did not necessarily have to be expressed outwardly but individual mourning was required of everybody who received this news. All of Christianity should join in the suffering and grieve as a collective as well, not only because this was what the Christian faith prescribed, but it was also an act of humanity. By conveying a strong sense of sorrow, Gregory spoke to the emotions of his audience and encouraged them to feel hurt by the Battle of Hattin. This ties in with Gregory’s belief that all Christians were victims of the battle and can be interpreted as a means of transmitting a feeling of trauma through *Audita Tremendi*.

The great sorrow that is referred to consisted of the acts of the pagans, who, with “barbarous ferocity”, thirsted for the blood of Christians, and their attempts to “profane the Holy” and “erase the name of God from that land.”¹³⁰ By portraying these elements as the greatest cause for sorrow, Pope Gregory did not focus on the events that happened at Hattin, but the disasters that have befallen Christianity, such as the loss of the True Cross and the possible future demise of Christianity in the Holy land. The audience was instructed to mourn for and identify with the land and the people, which both were still under attack, instead of the dead. This directly links to Pope Gregory’s attempts to portray the Holy Land itself as a victim to the attacks by Saladin and his troops, as explained previously. Furthermore, this also is in line with Augustine’s idea that the dead did not suffer anymore but were free to go to the future life. The focus on the Promised Land here once more ties in with Pope Gregory’s purposes, for mourning for the land and repentance might still save what remains in Christian hands.

This motive is repeated later in the text where Pope Gregory explicitly stated that a collective effort of all Christians might save what remains of the Holy land:

¹²⁹ *Audita Tremendi*, 6. “*Quisquis sane in tante lugendi materia, si non corpore, saltem corde non luget, not tantum fidei Christianae, quae cum omnibus dolentibus docet esse dolendum, sed ipsius est humanitatis nostrae oblitus.*”

¹³⁰ *Ibidem*. “*Ac feritate barbarica*”; “*ut profanare sancta*”; “*titulum Dei valeant auferre de terra.*” Smith has shown that from the second version of *Audita Tremendi* on, Gregory changed his formulation from “erase the name of God from that land” to “erase the worship of God from that Land.” In Latin, this is the difference between ‘*titulum Dei*’ and ‘*cultum Dei*.’ According to Smith, the removal of the ‘*cultum Dei*’ was, in the eyes of the Pope and the curialists, an even greater threat than the removal of the ‘*titulum Dei*’. What is more, the ‘worship of God’ would have been a less ambiguous term for the audience, which strengthened the message. See: Smith, ‘*Audita Tremendi* reconsidered’, 12-13.

“We, therefore, should heed and be concerned about the sins not only of the inhabitants of that land but also of our own and those of the whole Christian people so that what is left of that land may not be lost and their power rage in other regions.”¹³¹

Compared to the passage about mourning, Pope Gregory VIII went one step further in this passage. Here, the pope urged the audience not only to mourn but also to be concerned about their own sins. Pope Gregory was convinced that the defeat at Hattin was the result of the sins of Christianity at large, not just of the sins of the Franks in the East.¹³² This might have resulted from the immense scale of the disaster that had struck Christianity. In the case of smaller military defeats in the East, the responsibility could easily be laid on the Christians in the East alone. In contrast, the Battle of Hattin not only was a military defeat, but a strike to the heart of Christianity. By losing both the Cross and significant parts of the Holy Land, Christ’s body was violated.¹³³ This could not be explained only by the sins of the inhabitants of the Holy Land but had to be caused by the sins of all Christians. In this respect, the whole of Christianity was not only united in victimhood and grief, but also in responsibility for the horrendous events. For Christianity to turn around their losses in the Holy Land, all should embark on a trajectory of “penance and works of piety.”¹³⁴

As mentioned before, the main purpose of *Audita Tremendi* was twofold. The previous analysis focused on the call for penance and repentance from all Christians, but Pope Gregory also wanted to instigate the Third Crusade. A certain logical succession of stages can be found in the text. When people have repented for their sins and have turned their lives to God again, then there is a sound basis for a new crusade. This change in stages is indicated by the following sentences: “...and we may first alter in our lives the evil that we do. Then we can deal with the savagery and malice of our enemies.”¹³⁵ Individual conversion to God is necessary before the fight can be brought to the enemy of flesh and blood.¹³⁶

The rhetoric of the passages that are concerned with the personal spiritual conversion of all Christians revolves around ‘his people’ and ‘us.’ When the narrative turned to a call for participation in the Crusade, however, Pope Gregory started referring to ‘our brothers.’ Only once before did he

¹³¹ *Audita Tremendi*, 7. “Porro nos, qui in tanta terrae illius contritione non solum peccatum habitatorum illius, sed et nostrum et totus populi Christiani debemus attendere ac vereri, ne quod reliquum est illius terrae depereat, et in alias etiam potest eorum desaeuiat regions.”

¹³² Christoph T. Maier, ‘Crisis, liturgy and the Crusade in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries’, *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 48:4 (1997) 628-657, here 633; Cassidy-Welch, ‘Before trauma’, 623; Roach, ‘Contemporary perceptions’, 32; Bird e.a., *Crusade and Christendom*, 3-5.

¹³³ Cassidy-Welch, ‘Before trauma’, 622.

¹³⁴ Cole, ‘Christian perceptions’, 20; *Audita Tremendi*, 7. “Poenitentiam et opera pietatis.”

¹³⁵ *Audita Tremendi*, 7. “Et in nobis primo quod male gessimus emendemus; deinde feritatem et malitiam hostium attendamus.”

¹³⁶ Cole, ‘Christian perceptions’, 30.

use this term, namely in the opening sentence: "...we and our brothers were disturbed by such a great horror..."¹³⁷ It is however highly unlikely that in that phrase, 'brothers' (*fratres nostri*) is used to refer to the Christians in the East, for it is preceded by the words "When we heard of the severity of the awesome judgement that the hand of God visited on the land of Jerusalem" which indicates that this is a reaction to the news received at Ferrara and not a reaction in the Holy Land.¹³⁸ The first new mention of 'our brothers' follows after a call to work for the recovery of the Holy Land:

"Pay attention not to earthly profit and glory, but to the will of God who himself taught us to lay down our souls for our brothers."¹³⁹

To lay down our souls for our brothers is derived from 1 John 3:16: "In this we have known the charity of God, because he hath laid down his life for us: and we ought to lay down our lives for the brethren."¹⁴⁰ In the Vulgate, this passage reads "*quoniam ille pro nobis animam suam posuit et nos debemus pro fratribus animas ponere.*"¹⁴¹ In the Douay-Rheims Bible and multiple other Bible translations, '*animam*' is translated as 'life.'¹⁴² In *Audita Tremendi*, the Latin wording resembles the passage from 1 John: "*qui pro fratribus animas in seipso docuit esse ponendas.*" Bird, Peters and Powell chose to translate '*animas*' with 'souls', but 'lives' would have been a better translation. Not only does Niermeyer's authoritative *Media Latinitatis Lexicon Minus* translate *anima* with either persons or people, but this is also more in line with the standard translation of the passage of the epistle of John and it also presents a less ambiguous idea to the audience that was supposed to take the cross and go on a crusade.¹⁴³ After all, how does one lay down a soul for a brother?

In a sense, Christ is the ultimate example of what Pope Gregory tried to motivate his audience to do: giving your own life for the good of others. This aspect was central to the message of *Audita Tremendi* since Pope Gregory presented an extra illustration to convince the audience to not only do penance but to also embark on a crusade and risks their lives for that cause and their brothers in the East, by introducing the Maccabees:

¹³⁷ *Audita Tremendi*, 5. "*Tanto sumus nos et fratres nostril horror confuse.*"

¹³⁸ Ibidem. "*Audita Tremendi severitate iudicii, quod super terram Jerusalem divina manus exercuit.*"

¹³⁹ Ibidem, 8. "*Et nolite ad lucrum vel gloriam temporalem attendre, sed voluntatem Dei, qui pro fratribus animas in seipso docuit esse ponendas.*"

¹⁴⁰ Douay-Rheims Bible, The first epistle of John: chapter 3, <http://www.drbo.org/chapter/69003.htm> [accessed 12-1-2020].

¹⁴¹ Latin Vulgate.com, The first epistle of St. John the Apostle: chapter 3, <http://www.latinvulgate.com/lv/verse.aspx?t=1&b=23&c=3> [accessed 4-1-2020].

¹⁴² Douay-Rheims Bible, The first epistle of John: chapter 3, <http://www.drbo.org/chapter/69003.htm> [accessed 12-1-2020]; Bible Hub, 1 John 3:16, https://biblehub.com/1_john/3-16.htm [accessed 12-1-2020].

¹⁴³ Jan Frederik Niermeyer, Co van der Kieft, and G.S.M.M. Lake-Schoonebeek eds., *Mediae Latinitatis lexicon minus: Ab – Zucarum* (Leiden 1954) 44-45. Smith argued that the Pope and *curia* took care to transmit a clear message to the audience. See: Smith, '*Audita Tremendi reconsidered*', 13.

“Heed how the Maccabees, afire with the divine zeal of the law experienced extreme dangers for the freedom of their brothers. They taught that not only riches but their persons should be sacrificed for their brothers, exhorting and saying to each other: ‘Gird yourselves and be powerful sons because it is better for us to die in battle than to witness the desecration of our nation and our saints.’”[1 Mc 3:58-59]¹⁴⁴

Pope Gregory’s use of the Maccabees as an example for his audience was far from revolutionary or new.¹⁴⁵ Judas Maccabeus and his family led a successful revolt of the Jews of Judea against the Seleucids under Antiochus IV, all of which is described in the Books of the Maccabees.¹⁴⁶ Judas Maccabeus succeeded in retaking Jerusalem from the Seleucids and rededicated the Second Temple to Judaism after it had been ‘defiled’ by king Antiochus, who wanted to install Greek polytheism throughout his empire.¹⁴⁷ These achievements of the Maccabees were later repeatedly employed as parallels to the success of the crusaders and as exempla to persuade others to go on a crusade.

During the First Crusade, the Maccabees were mainly used to underline the military successes the crusaders had in the East, as the story of the Jewish Revolt would have been widely known to the Christian audience. The Crusades were placed in the same narrative of the defeat of the many by the few, an idea that was also expanded on by Bernard of Clairvaux in his *De Laude Novae Militae*.¹⁴⁸ Further allusions were made to the Maccabean martyrs, another precedent to the medieval crusading-ideal, placing the Crusades strongly within a tradition of military martyrdom.¹⁴⁹ Pope Eugene III also used the imagery of the Maccabees in *Quantum Praedecessors* (1145), his call for the Second Crusade. He referred to Mattathias, the father of Judas Maccabaeus, who, in Pope Eugene’s words, “to preserve the laws of his fathers, did not in the least doubt to expose himself with his sons and relations to death, and to leave whatever he possessed in the world.”¹⁵⁰ It is

¹⁴⁴ *Audita Tremendi*, 8. “Attendite qualiter Machabaei zelo divinae legis accensi, pro fratribus liberandis extrema quaque pericula sunt experti, et non solum substantias, sed et personas pro fratrum docuerint salute ponendas, exhortantes sepius atque dicentes: “Accigimini, et estote filii potentes, quoniam melius est nobis mori in bello quam videre mala gentis nostrae et sanctorum.””

¹⁴⁵ Nicholas Morton, ‘The defence of the Holy land and the memory of the Maccabees’, *Journal of Medieval History* 36 (2010) 275-293, here 293.

¹⁴⁶ For a thorough evaluation of this revolt under Judas Maccabaeus, see: Bezalel Bar-Kochva, *Judas Maccabaeus. The Jewish struggle against the Seleucids* (Cambridge 1989). Nowadays, the Books of the Maccabees constitute two deuterocanonical books, but they were included in the Bible in the medieval period.

¹⁴⁷ Bar-Kochva, *Judas Maccabaeus*, 403-404.

¹⁴⁸ Morton, ‘The defence of the Holy Land’, 283.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibidem*, 277-278.

¹⁵⁰ Internet Medieval Sourcebook, Eugene III: Summons to a crusade, Dec 1, 1145, <https://sourcebooks.fordham.edu/source/eugene3-2cde.asp> [accessed 5-1-2019]; Cole, *The preaching of the Crusades*, 42.

interesting to note that Eugene also mentions brothers in his encyclical, encouraging all to “snatch many thousands of your captive brothers from their hands.”¹⁵¹

Pope Gregory’s use of the Maccabees as an example in *Audita Tremendi* is thus the result of a long tradition.¹⁵² More than authors before him, however, Pope Gregory used the Maccabean exemplar not only to underline that it was a noble thing to die for the good cause and that the battle of few against the many was not a lost cause, but also to underline that one should come to the aid of their brothers in distress.¹⁵³

The use of ‘brothers’ connects the audience in the West to the Christians in the East who are under threat from the pagans and Saladin and reminds the audience that they personally should fight for their brothers in Christ, as is further expressed by reference to the Maccabees. This same Christian collective is called upon when Pope Gregory used ‘his people’ and ‘we.’ In short, by stressing the connectedness between all Christians, Pope Gregory both attributed responsibility for the horrendous event to the audience and told them they were victims as well. This identification of the audience, mediated by various rhetorical techniques, may have aided in the transfer of trauma onto the audience by Pope Gregory.

3.4 The attribution of responsibility

It is not straightforward who is attributed responsibility to in *Audita Tremendi*. A strict interpretation of the ‘factual’ description that Pope Gregory offered of the Battle of Hattin early on in *Audita Tremendi* gives a somewhat unilateral narrative in which Saladin fights the Christian armies and is victorious. This would suggest that Saladin carries the responsibility for the defeat and the subsequent sorrows expressed by Pope Gregory. However, as the analysis of the identification of the audience with the victims has demonstrated, Pope Gregory also placed responsibility with the whole of Christian society. On top of that, *Audita Tremendi* opens with “... the severity of the awesome judgment that the hand of God visited on the land of Jerusalem”, which points to God as the source of the misery.¹⁵⁴ Jeffrey Alexander recognises that the attribution of responsibility is generally a matter of symbolic and social construction.¹⁵⁵ This certainly holds true for *Audita Tremendi*. The matter of responsibility forms multiple layers within this bull.

While God is recognized as the ultimate judge who executed the disaster that befell the Holy Land and Christianity at large, He is not blamed for His deeds because “we ought not believe that

¹⁵¹ Medieval Sourcebook, Eugene III, <https://sourcebooks.fordham.edu/source/eugene3-2cde.asp> [accessed 5-1-2019].

¹⁵² Morton, ‘The defence of the Holy Land’, 283.

¹⁵³ *Audita Tremendi*, 7.

¹⁵⁴ *Audita Tremendi*, 5. “Severitate iudicii, quod super terram Jerusalem divina manus exercuit.”

¹⁵⁵ Alexander, *Trauma*, 22.

these things happened because of the unjust act of the judge but rather by the iniquity of an unworthy people".¹⁵⁶ This line of thought originates from the idea that God decides the outcome of military engagements.¹⁵⁷ Those who had the favour of God would be almost certain of military victory, which was embodied by the relic of the True Cross that was carried into battle.¹⁵⁸ The fact that the Christians not only lost the Battle of Hattin, but also the True Cross that God was very much displeased with the Christians. From a medieval Christian's perspective, God had actively chosen to let their army lose and He had offered success to the pagans. As Pope Gregory – and many other authors – described, God's displeasure could only have been the result of the sinfulness of His people, which placed responsibility firmly upon Christian society.¹⁵⁹ This idea was captured in the concept of the *peccatis exigentibus*, which explained misfortunes that befell Christians by blaming everybody's sins. This concept was increasingly employed during the Crusades to explain why God had allowed horrendous events to happen.¹⁶⁰

Like more aspects of *Audita Tremendi* the trope of the *peccatis exigentibus* was not new for this letter. Multiple earlier encyclicals and papal letters had employed this idea to explain setbacks and losses in the Holy Land, mainly from the Second Crusade onwards. These texts had to tackle the theological difficulty that crusaders were suffering lasting defeats in the Holy Land while God was theoretically supporting this undertaking.¹⁶¹ The answer to this paradox was found in the *peccatis exigentibus*. Examples of the use of the *peccatis exigentibus* can be found in Pope Eugene III's *Quantum Praedecessores* (1145), which was a response to the fall of Edessa in 1144, in one of the letters of St. Bernard of Clairvaux in which he promotes the Second Crusade, in the bull *Cor Nostrum* (1181) issued by Pope Alexander III, et cetera.¹⁶² Pope Gregory was more explicit than other authors in stating whose sins exactly led to God's displeasure and the disasters that followed, stating that all should be concerned about "the sins not only of the inhabitants of that land but also of our own and those of the whole Christian people."¹⁶³ All are thus to blame for the crisis of the Holy Land. It is also suggested that the situation is a test from God, who "could preserve it by his will alone", but chooses not to do so to see whether anyone is spurred into action by the taking of the Cross and the defiling

¹⁵⁶ *Audita Tremendi*, 7. "Nos autem credere non debemus quod ex injustitia Judicis ferientis, sed ex iniquitate potius populi delinquentis."

¹⁵⁷ Brian C. David, *Inventing Saladin: the role of the Saladin legend in European culture and identity* (Master thesis, James Madison University, 2017) 3.

¹⁵⁸ Roach, *Contemporary perceptions*, 21.

¹⁵⁹ Cassidy-Welch, 'Before trauma', 623.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibidem*.

¹⁶¹ Valentin Portnykh, 'God wills it! Supplementary divine purposes for the Crusades according to crusade propaganda', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 70:3 (2019) 472-486, here 474-75; Cassidy-Welch, 'Before trauma', 623.

¹⁶² Portnykh, 'God wills it!', 474-75.

¹⁶³ *Audita Tremendi*, 7. "Non solum peccatum habitatorum illius, sed et nostrum et totus populi Christiani."

of the Holy Land.¹⁶⁴ This does not mean that the principal responsibility lies with God, for He was first angered by the sins of the Christians before he allowed the pagans to win at Hattin.

Still, the focus upon the collective responsibility of Christianity does not absolve Saladin and his armies of their role as aggressors. As previously mentioned, considerable attention is paid to shaping an image of the pagans as an external force which came into the Holy Land, and Saladin is given an identity by referring to him by name. This might relate to the twofold purpose of *Audita Tremendi*. On the one hand, by referring to the responsibility and sins of all Christians – the *peccatis exigentibus* – the bull called upon all to do penance to regain God’s favour. On the other hand, the pope also tried to instigate a new crusade and a crusade needed a concrete opponent. The *angstgegner* in the land of Jerusalem was Saladin and his armies, which also meant that after the loss at Hattin, all efforts to regain the land were directed at him. It does thus make sense that Pope Gregory put some effort into shaping an image of the enemy in *Audita Tremendi*.

Next to the aforementioned aspects of Saladin invading the land, and the fact that he is mentioned by name, a picture is presented of an opponent who strives to “profane the holy and erase the name of God from that land.”¹⁶⁵ What is more, Saladin was not presented as a chivalric and noble warlord – an image that has become dominant since the 13th-century – but as one who was directly responsible for the slaughter of bishops and the beheading of the Templars and Hospitallers, which explicitly happened in his presence.¹⁶⁶ This execution of the military orders was a symbolic act, which, according to a Muslim eyewitness, was intended to cleanse the land of these men. The beheading itself was executed by scholars, Sufis, devout men and ascetics, not by warriors.¹⁶⁷ Those specifics might not have been known to Pope Gregory, but the attention to the large-scale beheading suggests he attached significance to it.

The interpretation of Saladin in this context can be taken one step further. In multiple late-12th and early 13th-century documents, Saladin was presented as a punishment from or the scourge of God.¹⁶⁸ This stance is mostly found in Western-European clerical documents that contain

¹⁶⁴ Portnykh, ‘God wills it!’, 478; “Of course, the Lord could preserve it by his will alone, but it is not for us to know why he would do this. Perhaps he wished to experience and bring to the notice of others if someone is understanding and seeking God, who having offered himself embraces the time of penance joyfully.” See: *Audita Tremendi*, 8.

¹⁶⁵ *Audita Tremendi*, 6. “*Ut profanara sancata, et titulum Dei valeant auferre de terra.*”

¹⁶⁶ For the evolution of the image of Saladin, see: John V. Tolan, *Sons of Ishmael: Muslims through European Eyes in the Middle Ages* (Florida 2008); Carole Hillebrand, ‘The evolution of the Saladin Legend in the West’, *Mélanges de l’Université Saint Joseph* 58 (2005) 1-13; Jubb, ‘The crusaders’ perceptions’, 225-244; David, *Inventing Saladin*.

¹⁶⁷ Francesco Gabrieli, *Arab historians of the Crusades*, trans. E.J. Costello (Abingdon 2010) 82-83.

¹⁶⁸ Tolan, *Sons of Ishmael*, 3.

commentaries on Saladin's successes against the Franks. Some authors even went as far as suggesting that he was the Antichrist, which moved beyond penitential terms and into the realms of eschatology.¹⁶⁹ No reference to this idea is represented in *Audita Tremendi*. Two different takes on the role of Saladin in the defeat of the Christians in the East can be identified. On the one hand, the sultan is declared to be a scourge that is let loose upon the inhabitants of the Holy land by an angry God.¹⁷⁰ The other interpretation rests on the idea that God did not send Saladin but allowed him to defeat the sinful Christians as a punishment.¹⁷¹ In both instances is Saladin seen as a punishment from God, but the agency of the sultan differs between the two interpretations.

Audita Tremendi gives no explicit reference to either the idea of Saladin as the scourge of the Lord or to God allowing Saladin the victory over the Christians. The encyclical is however rather resolute in asserting the audience that the events were the result of God's anger and that with His hand, He decided on the outcome of Hattin. This gives way to an implicit understanding that God granted Saladin the victory at Hattin, as a punishment for 'Christian sin.' The Russian historian Valentin Portnykh suggests that God might have preferred non-Christians over sinful Christians to inhabit his inheritance since the sins of non-Christians weighed less heavy than those of Christians.¹⁷² *Audita Tremendi* does certainly not support this view since the overall aim of the pagans was said to be to erase the name of God from the Holy Land. In the eyes of any medieval Christian, this could hardly have been God's preferred situation. If and when the pagans inhabited the Holy Land and drove out all Christians, this would have been seen as the result of the sins of all Christians, but not as the primary intention of the Lord.

To recapitulate the attribution of responsibility, Pope Gregory constructed a narrative in which the prime responsibility for the defeat at Hattin was placed with the sins of all of Christianity. This was not an original strand of thought since the *peccatis exigentibus* was a common trope in papal documents concerning the Crusades. However, Pope Gregory was more articulate than his predecessors in defining that the sins of all of Christianity had led to the horrendous events. Those sins had angered God, who, as a punishment, allowed Saladin and his troops to become victorious at the Battle of Hattin. The pagans were portrayed as the enemy that had to be fought in the East, but the responsibility of all Christians should mainly be tackled by individual internal repentance.

¹⁶⁹ Jubb, 'The crusaders' perceptions', 229, 235-236.

¹⁷⁰ David, 'Inventing Saladin', 37.

¹⁷¹ Tolan, *Sons of Ishmael*, 3.

¹⁷² Portnykh, 'God wills it!', 478.

Conclusion

This thesis has attempted to understand *Audita Tremendi* in relation to cultural trauma by employing a framework of sociological models of cultural trauma. The point of departure was the question of how the notion of cultural trauma in the wake of the lost Battle of Hattin can explain the narrative strategies employed in *Audita Tremendi*. Based on the models of cultural trauma of Sztompka and Alexander, both the *causa scribendi* of and the narrative and rhetoric strategies in this bull have been examined. This analysis has demonstrated that all four of Sztompka's characteristics for a potentially traumatizing event can be identified in the Battle of Hattin and that *Audita Tremendi* convincingly addressed Alexander's four critical representations. As is oftentimes the case when testing a single case against a wider theory, however, Alexander's model is no perfect fit for *Audita Tremendi*. This mostly has to do with the position of the audience in his model, where the audience only stands at the receiving end. However, in *Audita Tremendi* the audience is conceived as part of the victim group and also carries responsibility for the horrendous event.

All things considered, it could be argued that, based on the descriptions of the Battle of Hattin that reached the papal court mid-October 1187, Pope Gregory VIII might indeed have been traumatized by what he heard. Due to the loss of the True Cross and the ontological implications that the defeat at Hattin carried with it, this event should be considered of sufficient substance and scope to shock or traumatize the pope and the papal *curia*. In conjunction with the presence of the other three characteristics of Sztompka's model, the Battle of Hattin can be qualified as presenting what is needed to be potentially traumatizing. It is most likely that the pope's sense of shock or trauma was part of his *causa scribendi* and also would have influenced the contents of *Audita Tremendi*.

Throughout the bull, Pope Gregory displayed great care for constructing a narrative that not only intended to inform his audience of the Battle of Hattin but also to elicit emotions and prompt a specific response of the audience. As said, Alexander's four representations (the nature of the pain, the nature of the victim, the attribution of the responsibility, the relation of the trauma victim to the wider audience) are all addressed in *Audita Tremendi*. Concerning the nature of the pain, Pope Gregory crafted a uniform and cohesive account of the Battle of Hattin which presented the various elements of the battle and also stressed the terrible nature of its outcome. This rhetoric was centred on the loss of the True Cross and the further loss of land in the East. In relation to the nature of the victim, Pope Gregory paid more attention to the suffering of the personified Promised Land than to the fate of the people that were killed at Hattin. This personification is a rhetorical tool that is used to draw empathy from the audience and allows them to attribute personal experience to that land. Additionally, the whole of Christianity is included in the victimized group. When it comes to the

attribution of responsibility, Pope Gregory employed the concept of *peccatis exigentibus* to convey the message that God's judgement at the Battle of Hattin was the result of the collective sin of all Christians, both those in the East and the West. This leaves *Audita Tremendi* with a unique narrative in which the victim, the responsible party and the audience are one. The only way forward was the process of internal repentance. Through the consistent use of the personal pronoun 'we', Pope Gregory conveyed the sense that this was a communal effort, which included all Christians. The identification of the audience with the crusaders created in *Audita Tremendi* could motivate them to take up the cross in the Third Crusade. The bull outlines more incentives for joining the next crusade, which would be valuable to explore further, but they have not been explored in this thesis because of my focus on the rhetoric of trauma.

For the audience to fully appreciate the message in *Audita Tremendi*, Pope Gregory VIII employed many biblical references and familiar exegetical and penitential themes to craft his message. Next to these traditional aspects, *Audita Tremendi* also contained various graphic examples of the fate that befell on the direct victims of the Battle, which might have been intended to make the image of this battle stick with the audience. Based on the model of Alexander, I would argue that Pope Gregory as a carrier group succeeded in crafting a narrative that could convey the traumatic nature of the Battle of Hattin to his audience and convince them that everybody's cooperation was necessary to change the tide. Not much can be said about the reactions of individual audience members when they were confronted with the contents of *Audita Tremendi*, but the fact that the emperor of the Holy Roman Empire and the kings of France and England all partook in the Third Crusade would indicate that the implications of the Battle of Hattin were understood by many more than just the pope.

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