

– in an explanatory theological framework²⁶. But while the arengae of most quotidian papal letters contained purely theological content, that of *Iustus Dominus*, like other crusade appeals, mixes in narrative information about contemporary events which strictly should first appear in the following section of the letter, the *narratio*²⁷. The arenga of our document begins that the Lord is just in all His ways (Ps. 144.17) and that He renders worthy recompense to His people according to their merits²⁸. He keeps hope of the recovery of the Holy Land alive with good fortune at some times as a reward, and cripples it with misfortune at others as a punishment. Good fortune smiled on the Fifth Crusaders after their miraculous success in capturing Damietta, which God granted to the weak in order to bewilder the strong (1. Cor. 1.27). All of Christendom had reason to hope that this would lead to further successes on the crusade, but, after their triumph, the crusaders forgot the name of the Lord (Gen. 40.23) and committed sins where their great remission had been hoped for. Thus provoked, the Lord changed grace into anger, and joy into sorrow, and the Christians lost Damietta, their long labours reduced to nothing in a few short days because they showed contempt for Christ. Here Honorius tied the success of the crusade directly to the moral state of Christendom, a basic theological idea – that God would justly punish the sins of crusaders and Christians on the home front with defeat in their military endeavours in the East – that had been present in ecclesiastical thought about the crusading movement since the very beginning, but which the papacy expressed even more forcefully after the loss of Jerusalem in 1187²⁹. But the situation was not irreversible: Honorius used theological argu-

26) On arengae, see SMITH, *Curia and Crusade* (see n. 2) pp. 213–260; Thomas W. SMITH, *The Use of the Bible in the Arengae of Pope Gregory IX's Crusade Calls*, in: *The Uses of the Bible in Crusader Sources*, ed. Elizabeth LAPINA and Nicholas MORTON (2017) pp. 206–235; SMITH, *Preambles to Crusading* (see n. 25).

27) SMITH, *Curia and Crusade* (see n. 2) p. 242.

28) Most of the arenga is translated in SMITH, *Curia and Crusade* (see n. 2) p. 241. This translation, which I draw on here, was made with the invaluable assistance of Susan Edgington, Martin Hall, Simon Parsons, and the other members of Dr Edgington's famous „Latin Therapy“ sessions in London. The fluid approach to the rules of papal diplomatic and the mixing of theological and narrative in crusade encyclicals make it more difficult to separate the clauses, and, following further research, I now demarcate the end of the arenga of *Iustus Dominus* with the word *elatos*, not with *sperabatur* – see Appendix.

29) Christoph T. MAIER, *Crisis, Liturgy and the Crusade in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries*, in: *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 48 (1997) pp. 628–657, here pp. 630–632; Brenda BOLTON, *Serpent in the Dust, Sparrow on the Housetop*.