

THE INTERACTION BETWEEN MONASTICISM
AND THE FIRST THREE CRUSADES

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ABSTRACT

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by Carol Scott Lucas

The crusades and monasticism interacted on one another in a way that was of significant influence on the future development of each. It is the purpose of this thesis to examine the mutual influences of these two forces in the late eleventh and twelfth centuries.

In order to more fully understand the role of monasticism in relation to the crusades it is necessary to be aware of the stage to which the monastic ideal had evolved by the time of the First Crusade. From anchoretic and cenobitic origins Western monasticism evidenced a tendency to become increasingly communal and to assume a wider range of social responsibilities. The First Crusade occurred during the Cluniac phase which was significant in relation to the crusades in that the Cluniac reform of Benedictine monasticism provided a larger social context for the operation of the monastic ideal. The Second Crusade coincided with the dominance of the Cistercian phase of monasticism and evidenced significant support from that order. The culmination of the increasing worldly involvement of monasticism was the creation of the Mendicant orders in the thirteenth century. The Franciscans and Dominicans represented a negation of the original monastic ideal in their striving to serve God by serving man. Thus, the influence of

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monasticism on the crusades varied in part according to the larger dictates of the evolving monastic ideal.

The means by which the monks supported the crusades were varied. The regular clergy played a very decisive role in preaching the First and Second crusades. Abbots were particularly active preachers and the monks generally confined themselves to writing letters and propaganda. Once the crusades were set in motion the monks continued to provide assistance by supplying the crusading hosts with food and shelter. This was particularly important for the non-combatant pilgrims who went East with the armies since they were usually too poor to provide for themselves with the result that the non-combatants could become an unruly mob if not alleviated from dire straits. The crusades created a demand for ready cash which the monasteries were able to supply through mortgages and purchases of land. One of the most decisive and significant activities of the monks was in the diplomatic sphere. By minimizing friction within the crusading ranks and by negotiating with the Greeks and Moslems the monks furthered the progress of the crusades. Psychologically the regular clergy helped to maintain the religious fervor and high morale both during times of crisis and times of little pressure. They preached, prayed, lead processions, fastings, burials, and initiated reforms all for the purpose of inspiring the crusading warriors to greater belief and courage.

During the twelfth century the monastic attitude toward the crusades changed. The change was due to a variety of factors but mainly to a combination of the increasingly secular nature of the crusades, the disillusionment with the idea of the crusading policy as a result of the unsuccessful outcomes, and lastly, the changing nature of the

monastic ideal. The regular clergy reacted to the changing nature of the crusades at two different levels. Due to the practical exigencies of life in the Latin States the monks necessarily adapted themselves to the hardships by becoming more militaristic. Although there was an increasing number of militant monks the military life was incompatible with the monastic vows. A more satisfactory way for a man to combine the monastic and knightly ideals was to join one of the military-religious orders. The Templars and Hospitallers represented such a combination of twelfth century ideals and provided the only serious opposition to the Moslems. The second monastic reaction to the crusades took the form of a rejection and criticism of the crusading policy. The criticism manifested itself in several forms. The regular clergy were not so easily roused to preach the Third Crusade and the secular clergy dominated this aspect of the preparations. The criticism also appeared in more open forms such as written treatises and chansons. The monks shared in the new desire to convert pagans through missionary work rather than by the sword which paved the way for the mendicants and for men like Raymond Lull.

Thus, monasticism and the early crusades interacted upon one another decisively. The crusading movement benefited from the various forms of monastic support. Monasticism as an ideal and as an institution reacted to twelfth century crusading events both by broadening the ideal to include the military life and by rejecting militaristic conversions in favor of missionary efforts.

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By

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DEDICATION

This study of monasticism is dedicated to
Dr. Richard E. Sullivan
whose knowledge and insight have deepened the
author's comprehension of the subject and
whose instruction has shaped the
author's understanding of scholarship.

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INTRODUCTION

In the year 1096 vast crowds of men and women left Europe traveling eastward to the birthplace of their religion. Elaborately equipped nobles and knights moved forward followed by their retainers. The ardent soldiers of Christianity were accompanied by swarms of peasants who put aside plows and the tools of their trade to travel to the Holy Land. An abundance of priests, monks, abbots, chaplains, and bishops were found in every camp exhorting the people to righteousness and urging them forward in the defense of Christianity. Even women, children, and the aged rose to the occasion motivated by piety and by curiosity and followed the trail east. This heterogeneous group constituted the personnel of the First Crusade. The crowds moved forward not so much by an organized plan or under leadership as by religious enthusiasm. The vast majority of the crusaders did not even have an accurate idea of the time, expense or difficulties to be encountered on the journey to their destination. In fact, many were uncertain of the destination--except for the vague sense that Jerusalem was located somewhere in the mysterious East. But ignorance of the realities of the vast enterprise upon which they were embarking was far outweighed by the spirited enthusiasm and righteous faith of the European populace.

The religious enthusiasm was a large factor in motivating the crusades. The idea of a holy war fought on behalf of Christianity was not new in 1096. Charlemagne had conceived of his Spanish expeditions as being holy and in the following centuries those who fought in the

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reconquest of Spain gained spiritual benefits as well as martyrdom in the event of death. The concept of a holy war was bigger than just a crusade for it was a war approved of by the Church and papacy and could be used against heretics, pagans or any enemy of the Church. War had become an integral part of Christian life by the eleventh century and it had a religious sanction so long as it was directed toward holy ends. The relative importance of the religious motivation in the crusades and the concept of a holy war must be evaluated by each student of the subject. The presence of personal ambition, hope of financial gain and other more secular motivations does not mean that the majority of the early crusaders were not primarily concerned with successfully waging a holy war in defense of Christianity. Without the religious faith and fervor of the eleventh and twelfth centuries it would have been impossible to conceive of a crusade.

Religious motives alone are not enough to explain the advent of the crusades. The movement is more fully understood when it is revealed in the larger context of the interaction of Western, Byzantine and Islamic civilizations. The background of the crusades must be sought in several hundred years of interplay among the civilizations. The crusading movement was a crucial stage in the evolution of the relations between the civilizations since the crusades defined the position of each civilization in regard to the others and established the tone of future East-West intercourse on a militant level.

The origin of Byzantine, Moslem and Western civilizations is found in the disintegrating unity of antiquity. As centralized political control receded into ineffectiveness the latent forces of regionalism within the Roman Empire gained in strength and from necessity local

powers assumed the various responsibilities of government. Although the concept of "Romania" continued to exist in the Byzantine Empire, there was actually no longer any central power comparable to the Roman Empire and thus the civilizations were relatively free to develop along independent lines. As the individual and unique character of each emerged mutual hostility and rivalry became evident.

From the standpoint of Western-Islamic relations the crusades may be considered as part of a Christian counter-offensive against the Moslems after several centuries of defensive maneuvers in the West. Even during the lifetime of Mohammed Islamic expansion had begun, and although it was more directly aimed at the Byzantine Empire its repercussions were felt in the West. The Moslem expansion began in 632 and by 636 all of Syria had fallen and was followed in the next year by Jerusalem. Mesopotamia was overrun and early in the 640's Egypt fell to the Arab conquerors. The conquest of Cyprus and Armenia was a prelude to the five year siege of Constantinople from 673 to 678 which failed in its ultimate goal. Byzantine rule in North Africa was finally ended in 697-698 by the Moslem conquest of Carthage. The second siege of the capital of the Byzantine Empire in 717-718 was also a failure, but it revealed the depth of penetration by the Arabs into the Empire. The Moslems rolled into Spain in 711 and very shortly most of the peninsula had been lost to Christendom. Soon the Arabs were probing north of the Pyrenees and it seemed that Gaul would be next. But the Franks inflicted a defeat on the Moslems at the battle of Tours in 732 and this ended the threat to Gaul. The defeat of the Arabs in the West was paralleled in the East by the Byzantine victory in Anatolia in 739 and the beginning of a Greek offensive which restored Byzantine control over Asia Minor.

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The Moslem military exploits during the second half of the eighth century and the ninth century were less decisive and largely consisted of sporadic border raids. The Arab forces did take Sicily in the ninth century which was one factor in stimulating the West to an eventual reprisal. The Byzantine Empire began to recoup some of their losses, for example, Crete was captured in 961. The explanation of the decreasing success of the Moslem conquests is found in the size of their vast empire, the lack of a coherent political organization, and the internal strife. The civil wars and internal dissensions began as early as the mid-seventh century with the disputed succession of Ali, a cousin and son-in-law of the prophet of Islam. Thereafter, conflict never ceased to threaten Arab unity.

Despite the end of Arab unity a new power once again pushed forward the sword of Islam. The Seljuk Turks had become a formidable power in the East and the eleventh century witnessed a series of conquests culminating in 1071 with the battle of Manzikert which triggered an appeal of the Byzantine emperor Alexius to the pope in Rome. The eventual response was the First Crusade.

Although the brunt of the Arab and Turkish aggression was borne by the Byzantine Empire the West also suffered the effects of the assaults. The conquest of Spain and Sicily and the harassment of the southern coast of France and the west coast of Italy provided an impulse for Western retaliation. The late tenth century witnessed a change of fortunes as the Moslems were expelled from southern France. The cities of northern Italy created a fleet with which they broke the Arab monopoly of the Mediterranean. The Italian fleets began to ravage the north coast of Africa and the success of Pisa and Genoa culminated in

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the capture of Mahdiah in 1087. Mahdiah, the Moslem capital in Tunis, was strategically located and gave the Italian republics command of the western Mediterranean. The efforts of the Italians against the Moslems were supplemented by the Normans who invaded southern Italy in 1017 and who obtained a series of victories over militant Islam. Meanwhile the Christians in Spain, sometimes aided by warriors from other parts of Europe, began a long war of reconquest against the Moslems. By the eleventh century this effort had resulted in a recapture of a considerable portion of northern Spain. The recovery of Italy, Sicily, and a significant portion of Spain from Moslem rule provided the West with an impulse to further the campaigns against the infidels and paved the way for the holy enterprise of 1096.

The papacy was actively concerned in the Islamic-European struggle and put all of its power behind the Western efforts. By the second half of the eleventh century the prestige of the papacy had reached an unprecedented peak due to the Cluniac inspiration and the papal reforms. The vitality and prestige of the popes enabled them to give significant spiritual and ideological aid to the offensive against Islam. An expression of the papal attitude is found in the expedition of 1087 against Mahdiah when Pope Victor III blessed the standard of the army and promised remission of sins to all of the participants.¹

Thus, in the larger context of the Islamic-European struggle from the seventh through the eleventh centuries, the crusades can be interpreted as a Western counter-attack on the Moslems. The crusades

¹ Cambridge Medieval History, eds. J. R. Tanner, C. W. Previte-Orton, Z. N. Brooke (Cambridge, Eng., 1926), V, 268.

were one aspect of the centuries old struggle between two civilizations and the only change in 1095 was that the theater of the conflict was shifted from the fringes of Europe to the Moslem controlled Syria-Palestine area.

Since the crusades involved not only the Islamic and Western civilizations but also the Byzantine Empire, it is necessary to examine briefly Byzantine-Western relations prior to the crusades. The history of relations at the religious level is pertinent to the formation of a crusading policy. Europe had nominally remained the religious ally of the Byzantine Empire for three centuries after an open break had occurred with Islam. However, in 1054 a schism had occurred between the Greek and Roman Churches with the refusal of the Greeks to recognize the supremacy of the Western papacy. The schism and the forces behind it had the effect of undermining the religious basis of Byzantine-Western relations.

The support and leadership which the papacy gave to the crusades was grounded in a complex variety of motivations. One of the primary causes of the creation of a crusading policy by Pope Gregory VII was the schism of 1054. In 1095 the schism must have seemed a rather recent event and one which was by no means irreparable. Thus, both Gregory VII and his ideological successor Urban II may have been motivated by the hope of gaining recognition of the Roman see by the Greek Orthodox Church.² The decisive defeat of the Byzantine Emperor Michael VII at Manzikert in 1071 provided the background for the request of Alexius

²A. C. Krey, "Urban's Crusade--Success or Failure?" American Historical Review, LIII (1948), 235-250. Hereafter cited as Krey, with appropriate page numbers.

to the pope at Rome for military aid. The pope very possibly hoped that the emperor's dire straits would compel him to recognize the supremacy of Rome in return for the much needed military support. The medieval popes always nourished the enticing dream of once again unifying Christendom under the bishop of Rome.

Although the origin of the crusades can be found in the interaction between the Byzantine, Islamic and Western civilizations, that larger view should not eclipse the internal forces which existed in the West and which accounted for the popular enthusiasm with which the crusade policy was received. The appeal which the crusades found in the West can be explained by the fact that the crusades offered an outlet to an extremely wide variety of forces and ideologies. The movement was an expression of the medieval ideological belief that the Holy Land, as the birth place of Christianity, should be saved from the infidel and made the exclusive possession of Western Christianity. It provided a theater in which to expend the excessive and ill-spent military energy of the West by channeling it from feudal wars into a Holy War. The desire for expanded territorial and political power found an outlet in the crusades. People dissatisfied with society or with their role in it believed that the crusades would lead them to better opportunities in the East. Others, motivated by the spirit of adventurous travel or even by intellectual and cultural curiosity, were attracted to the crusades and thus represented one more facet of medieval Europe as it radiated Eastward. As was discussed earlier the medieval spirit manifested an intense religious nature and that also found an outlet in the crusading movement. Each of the forces expressed its energy and drive as they converged into a vast movement of eastward expansion.

The general role of religion in the crusades has received due consideration and there is little need for further elaboration. However, the regular clergy, with the exception of their more picturesque members like Peter the Hermit and Bernard of Clairvaux, have not been examined in relation to the crusades on any systematic basis. The present work is a study of the capacities through which the monks influenced the progress of the crusading movement. Since members of the regular clergy were so actively connected with the crusades monasticism could not avoid being influenced by these militant expeditions and by the evolution of the Western attitude toward the crusading policy. Therefore, in addition to examining the roles of the regular clergy during the crusades some suggestions have also been made concerning the influence that the crusades had on monasticism as an ideal and as an institution.

The sources used consist largely of crusading chronicles written by monks, abbots, chaplains, priests, and laymen.³ The references to monastic activities are few and scattered, but enough evidence can be gathered from the chronicles to formulate a thesis concerning the interaction of monasticism and the early crusades.

³For a detailed discussion of the sources see the bibliographical essay on p. 153.

CHAPTER I

THE EVOLUTION OF MEDIEVAL MONASTICISM

The influence of the monks on the crusades must be considered in the larger context of the medieval monastic ideal. The monastic ideal evolved through five stages of development during the Middle Ages beginning with anchoritism and other types of hermitical life. The Benedictine, Cluniac and Cistercian reforms all constituted definite phases of monastic growth. The cycle was brought to completion in the Middle Ages with the emergence of the mendicant monks in the thirteenth century.

Each of the five monastic stages evidenced a different relationship between monasticism and the papacy. Prior to Pope Gregory I (590-604) the papal power was ineffective as were all forms of central authority in the West due to the breakup of the Empire and the forces of chaos which predominated in the early centuries. As a result certain men desired to supplement their efforts to attain a Christian life by seeking isolation from men and from the worldly imperfections of the Church. Thus the earliest forms of ascetic life took the form of withdrawal into some type of hermitage or isolation in a small community. However, the crusades came at a time when monasticism was assuming larger social responsibilities in the world and working more directly with the Church to further Christianity in the world. At the same time monasticism recognized greater papal authority and leadership. The

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fact that the crusades occurred at that particular stage of monastic development was a determining factor in the character and extent of the monastic influence on the crusades. Therefore, it is necessary to understand the historical evolution of the monastic ideal in order to fully appreciate the relationship between the crusades and the medieval monks.

The ideal of medieval monasticism was renunciation of the 'self' and surrender to the Christian God.¹ A life lived according to that ideal was the closest human expression of perfection. The monastic ideal implied no political or religious reform although admittedly it sometimes attained that end as in the case of the Cluniac reform.² The primary concern of each monk was the fulfilment of the ideal of renunciation for the purpose of personal salvation. However, the concept of the means by which that was attained underwent a lengthy evolution during the Middle Ages.

A significant impetus was given to monasticism by the Emperor Constantine's official recognition of Christianity. In the eyes of some men the necessary result of that recognition was that the Church accepted within its own ranks the mediocre morality of the Empire and of the world.³ By their protests and their subsequent withdrawal into seclusion these perfectionists constituted the first stage of monasticism. These earliest monks, or more accurately hermits, can be understood as a protest against the worldliness of the Church. The hermits, who were

¹Herbert B. Workman, The Evolution of the Monastic Ideal (London, 1927), pp. 3-4. Hereafter cited as Workman, with appropriate page numbers.

²Workman, pp. 12-13.

³Workman, pp. 6-10.

classified as laymen by contemporary society,⁴ withdrew from active participation in the Church and in the world. Although they continued to receive the sacraments and to recognize the holy nature of the Church, they felt their ideal of renunciation was superior to a life lived in society.⁵

From the earliest manifestation of the monastic ideal in the form of anchoritism there evolved during the fourth and fifth centuries a new interpretation of the means to achieve the perfection of the Christian life and that was cenobitism. Pachomius was one of the first cenobites and as early as the first half of the fourth century he emphasized the desirability of brining souls together as a means of attaining spiritual perfection on earth.⁶ Thus, the hermitical phase passed quickly and a tendency toward communal living could be seen in the late fourth century.

Communal living as opposed to the anchoritic existence of the early fourth century produced a new need that was filled by the creation of a monastic rule. Pachomius created several rules and became the head of a community of nine monasteries in Egypt. One of his rules was translated into Latin by Saint Jerome, who thus introduced cenobitic monasticism into the West around 404. However, it was not until the formulation of the Benedictine Rule of 529 that one could say monasticism had clearly entered its second stage of development. It was under the Benedictine influence that the concept of the regular clergy

⁴Workman, p. 13.

⁵Workman, p. 11.

⁶Workman, pp. 87-88.

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developed and the basic monastic vows of poverty, chastity and obedience were defined.

The Benedictine Rule in the West had been anticipated in the East by the Rule of Saint Basil given in 358-364. Saint Basil limited the excesses of asceticism and enjoined ascetics to dwell in a community under obedience. The Rule of Saint Basil became the basis of Eastern monasticism and was paralleled in the West by the Benedictine Rule.

The essence of the Benedictine and second phase of monasticism was inherent in the Rule. The Benedictine Rule provided a means by which men could live together still, of course, for the purpose of perfection in renunciation. The success of the Rule and of this first monastic "order" was due to the relative moderation of the Rule. The Benedictines were provided with ample food and clothing. Extreme austerities were not encouraged. In other words self-surrender was substituted for the earlier goal of self-conquest⁷ and the former was a spirit more compatible with cenobitism than with anchoritism.

For a variety of reasons the Benedictine Order was not to maintain its moral fervor and discipline and by the ninth century many of the Benedictine houses were in a sad state of disrepair. The Order had at least one inherent source of decay and that was the aspect of Benedictine ideology which glorified manual labor as God's work.⁸ Since tilling the soil was pleasing to God the communal monks doubled their vigor in the work with the result that the various Benedictine houses accumulated a significant amount of wealth. It was the inevitable result

⁷Workman, p. 150.

⁸Workman, pp. 154-158.

of manual labor done with a vigorous intensity which stemmed from religious motives. The Benedictine Order declined largely as a consequence of that wealth since it was antithetical to the monastic vows and the monastic ideal. Saint Benedict had, nevertheless, accomplished the second phase of monasticism and furnished monasticism with its basic rule.

Monastic life had reached a low level during the late ninth and tenth centuries. In addition to the internal decay of the Benedictine vitality there were outside factors by which monasticism was undercut in the same way that medieval society in general was adversely affected. The Norse invasions in particular, but also the Moslem and Magyar invasions, were destructive to medieval society and left a good many monasteries in ruins. The low level of monasticism enabled secular princes to attack the monasteries in a variety of ways which were equally as destructive as the invasions as for example, in cases where feudal princes took over the control of monasteries for financial purposes and allowed the enrolment of monks to dwindle.

During this darkest of eras in medieval society and in the Church the Cluniac congregation seems to have remained one of the few institutions which was relatively free of corruption. The Cluniac Order originated in 910 as an attempt to reform Benedictine monasticism and subsequently carried monasticism through its third phase of development. Cluny attained an internal strength which enabled it to endure as a stronghold of religious piety throughout the tenth and eleventh centuries. The strength of the Cluniacs was partially due to their highly centralized organization and to the leadership of a series of exceptionally able abbots. The Cluniac phase of monasticism brought the monks into

wider worldly contacts and gave monasticism broader social implications in secular society. The merit of individual retreat was not esteemed as highly as it had been by the early Benedictines and the change was seen in the Cluniac practice of communal worship as opposed to the earlier practice of almost exclusively private prayer. In relation to the crusades the Cluniac reform had a dual significance. First, the crusades occurred at a time when monasticism had become involved in more worldly affairs than previously and had accepted increased social obligations. Second, Cluniac monasticism provided a model of spiritual life which suited the needs of the Church and which was adopted by the papacy as a basis of reform. Reform of the Church did not replace renunciation as the ultimate goal of the Cluniac monks, but it did become the ideological source of reform within the Church.

The Cluniac ideals were adapted to the needs of the Church by a series of popes in the second half of the eleventh century. The most capable and ardent supporter of the Gregorian reform was Pope Gregory VII who gave his name to the movement. Although Gregory was never a Cluniac monk he was closely associated with the Cluniac ideals of reform.⁹ Working with Pope Alexander II from 1061 to 1073 and as Pope himself from 1073 to 1085, Gregory made reform within the Church a reality. The essential tone of his reform was to apply monastic ideals, and in particular Cluniac ideals, to the whole Church. Beneath the issues of simony, celibacy, pluralism, and investiture was the basic question of the freedom of the Church which was the underlying issue of the Investiture Controversy. Cluny had demonstrated the efficacy of freedom from

⁹Workman, p. 229.

lay control in the ecclesiastical sphere and this principle was applied to the Church as a whole. There was little objection to the concept of the eigenkirche or to the proprietary church or monastery as such, but an attempt was made to define the proprietary rights and limit them to the secular sphere.¹⁰

The application of the Cluniac monastic ideals to the whole Church and the simultaneous strengthening of the papacy put the Church in a position to take the leadership of the crusades in 1095. The importance of the monastic branch of the Church in this development is evident. It was the internal energy of the Cluniac congregation which contributed the ideas and the strength necessary to accomplish the crucial eleventh century papal reform and thus to enable the Church to take the leadership of the First Crusade. By that means the monks can be said to have made their first contribution to the crusading movement.

The importance of the Cluniac monks in aiding the pope's pleas for the First Crusade can be seen in their dominance of the various roles, particularly that of preaching the crusade, which are to be discussed in the succeeding chapters. It is also significant that Cluniac contributions to the Second Crusade were noticeably less and that another monastic order, the Cistercians, dominated the contributions of the regular clergy on that crusade. Perhaps a partial explanation is found in the fact that Pope Urban II was a Cluniac monk while Pope Eugenius III of the Second Crusade was a Cistercian. Another plausible explanation, however, is found in the general monastic history between the First and Second Crusades.

¹⁰ Gerd Tellenbach, Church, State and Christian Society at the Times of the Investiture Contest (Oxford, 1948), p. 91.

After the end of the First Crusade the Cluniac Order declined and at the time of the Second Crusade the Cluniacs were busily engaged in the task of internal reform. Admittedly they were concerned with reform at the end of the eleventh century also, but by 1145 the task had become much more formidable. Thus, the monks of that order had little time to aid the Second Crusade. The decay of Cluny, as in the case of Benedictines, was the result of a complex interaction of events. The Cluniacs could not avoid the accumulation of wealth and by the early twelfth century Cluniac prosperity was beginning to have a negative effect on the monks. A second source of decay can be found in the highly centralized organization of Cluny which consequently made the strength of the congregation extremely dependent upon the quality of a single person, the abbot. The abbots were of excellent calibre, as was mentioned above, during the tenth and eleventh centuries. However, under Pontius who was abbot from 1109 to 1122, the negative effects of an evil personality were felt immediately. An estimate of his character can be gained by looking at the fact that when he was deposed by Pope Calixtus II, Pontius made war on the monastery and in order to pay his hirelings he melted down the gold and silver plate of the monks.¹¹

The degenerate rule of Pontius made reform at Cluny a necessity. The reign of Peter the Venerable, the abbot who succeeded Pontius, was almost entirely dedicated to reform and to a revival of the original fervor and discipline of Cluny. Peter the Venerable did check the decline but not on a permanent basis. Herbert Workman has pointed out that aside from the dependency on one abbot there was another flaw in

¹¹Workman, p. 237.

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the centralized nature of Cluny over which Peter the Venerable had no control. That was the financial structure under which Cluny collected a tribute from all the dependent monasteries. The rising sense of nationalism created friction when, for example, the English Cluniac dependencies were required to pay an annual tribute of £600 to Cluny.¹² The drain of gold which was irritating in times of peace, became intolerable in times of war between the two countries. Thus, due to a variety of causes the abbacy of Peter the Venerable was fully occupied with his attempted reform of the Cluniac congregation. The significance of this fact is that his reign as abbot, lasting from 1122 to 1157, encompassed the years of the Second Crusade. It is reasonable to assume that his efforts to revitalize Cluny and the fact that the congregation was in a state of disrepute contributed to their minor role in the Second Crusade.

The monks who did largely dominate the Second Crusade were the Cistercians. The reason for this can again be found in the historical evolution of monasticism which witnessed the growth of the Cistercian reform in the early twelfth century in response to the decadent state of Cluny. The reform was partially the result of the efforts of Robert of Champagne, who initiated it by founding the monastery at Citeaux in 1098 and then giving it complete independence from all other houses. However, the real inspiration at Citeaux came in 1112 when St. Bernard joined the monastery. Three years later he established his offshoot at Clairvaux, but his influence and inspiration continued to be effective throughout the entire Cistercian community. The Cistercian reform, as in the case of Cluny, was basically a revival of the ancient Benedictine

¹²Workman, pp. 237-238.

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Rule.¹³ The Cistercians put greater emphasis on austerity of dress, ritual and architecture than the Cluniacs had ever done. They lived in isolation and were alert to keep a certain required distance from any other house.

There is another point of consideration in the Cistercian reform, however, and that is the organization of the Cistercians which represents the fourth stage in the evolution of the monastic ideal.¹⁴ In contrast to Cluny each Cistercian abbey was independent of the others. They did maintain a general uniformity by means of an annual conference of all the abbots held at Citeaux each September. Discipline and unity of usage were enforced at this conference. The abbot of Citeaux also had the right to visit any of the other abbeys to further carry out the unity of practices and discipline.

There was an even more important innovation in Cistercian organization and that was its almost complete independence from episcopal authority and its close alliance with the papacy.¹⁵ The Cistercians bound themselves by an oath of obedience directly to the pope which was a significant step from several points of view. First, by their promise of direct obedience to the pope the Cistercians assumed larger responsibilities in the world. Their aim was no longer renunciation of the worldliness of the church but rather their purpose had become to submit the world to the authority of the pope. Saint Bernard of Clairvaux typified the Cistercian spirit in that he spent relatively

¹³Workman, pp. 241-242.

¹⁴Workman, p. 243.

¹⁵Workman, pp. 244-245.

little time in the monastery and a great deal of time in travel and various religious and political missions. Thus, with the Cistercian phase monasticism assumed even broader social obligations and recognized the primacy of the pope as their head and guide in affairs of both the spirit and of worldly existence. Monasticism had outlived its original ideal. The alliance between the pope and the Cistercians expressed itself in the struggle with the secular clergy who looked to the leadership and authority of the bishops. Thus, the friction between the regular and secular clergy may in part explain why Pope Eugenius III depended so heavily on the regulars to preach and recruit for the Second Crusade.

A second point of significance concerning the Cistercian-papal alliance was that "obedience" rather than "poverty" became the object of emphasis in the monastic vows.¹⁶ Over the centuries poverty as an ideal had proven impossible to attain with any hope of duration. Obedience was another matter and could be developed indefinitely. It is significant that the military orders, anticipating the Jesuits, began to develop simultaneously with the Cistercians since they also put great emphasis on obedience.

The Cistercians were not immune from the inevitable decay which set in following each monastic revival in the West. The Cistercians fell victim to greatly amassed wealth and relaxed discipline. By the time of the Third Crusade their vitality had been sapped and they were of little consequence to that crusade. In addition, the nature of the crusades had been greatly altered by 1187 and non-combatants, including

¹⁶Workman, p. 245.

monks, were of little use. The members of the regular clergy who were of significance on the Third Crusade were the Templars and Hospitallers. One of the essential elements in the military-religious orders was their emphasis on the monastic vow of obedience. Consequently it can be argued that they represent a logical development of the Cistercian of fourth period of the monastic ideal. The military orders are discussed in Chapter VII and at present it is only necessary to mention them in the context of the general evolution of monasticism.

The large role of the monks in preaching the first two crusades is generally admitted but even in that traditional task the importance of the monks had conspicuously diminished by 1187. There was no Saint Bernard or any other comparable figure willing to work on behalf of the Holy Land. Instead, laymen and the secular clergy were predominant. The archbishop of Tyre traveled to the West with the news of Saladin's victories and asked for aid. He recruited the willing King William of Sicily, who in turn began to foster the crusade by writing to the other monarchs of Europe. Once the war between Richard the Lion-heart of England and Philip Augustus of France was brought under control they took the lead in recruiting for the crusade in their respective countries. Frederick Barbarossa played a comparable role in the Holy Roman Empire.¹⁷ Admittedly, the kings were supported by the regular clergy in a variety of ways which are discussed in Chapter II. However, the creation of crusading armies in 1187 was dominated by the secular powers and they in turn were interested in recruiting military power, not monks or any

¹⁷Steven Runciman, A History of the Crusades (Cambridge, Eng., 1957), III, 4-10. Hereafter cited as Runciman, with appropriate volume and page numbers.

other non-combatants. The only significant clerical preaching was done by bishops and cardinals who worked as papal legates.

Thus, by the end of the twelfth century the role of the monks, both in preaching and in participating in the crusades, had noticeably declined and this was largely due to the changing nature of the crusades which made them predominantly military-political ventures. There was another factor involved and that was the changing nature of monasticism. The fact has been previously mentioned that by the end of the twelfth century monasticism was again in a decadent state and thus not able or willing to contribute significantly to the Third Crusade. More important, however, were the new ideas of reform which began to appear at the end of the twelfth century and which culminated in the formation of the mendicant monks in the following century.

The mendicant monks of the thirteenth century represent the fifth and final phase of medieval monasticism. By the time of the Franciscans and Dominicans the monastic ideal had undergone another evolution. As originally stated the means by which to attain Christian perfection and to serve God was to renounce the world and live in isolation. These concepts of anchoritism were modified to suit communal living and a Rule was created. After providing the inspiration for papal reform in the eleventh century monasticism had in turn gradually recognized more and more papal authority. The emphasis on papal obedience during the twelfth century combined with the militant spirit in the West resulted in the formation of the militant monastic orders which made their influence so widely felt on the Third Crusade. The ideal during that century taught that the way to serve God was not to renounce the world but to fight the world for God. The last stage,

that of the mendicant monks, gave a new twist of that same ideal. No longer was it commendable to fight the world. Instead, a monk must serve the world.¹⁸ By the thirteenth century monasticism had returned not only to the Church by recognizing papal authority but had also returned to the world. The mendicant monks cared nothing for retreat or seclusion, but sought their salvation by serving mankind. Thus, the cycle of the monastic ideal had been completed.

In order to relate the last stage of monasticism to the crusades it is necessary to realize that the basic beliefs of the thirteenth century friars were alive in the late twelfth century even before the Third Crusade. A basic tenant of the friars was that life could best be dedicated to God through serving mankind. This ideal was seen in the congregation of the Cruciferi who were given a constitution by Pope Alexander III in 1169.¹⁹ During the twelfth century they established over two hundred houses in Europe and Palestine for the care of lepers. The Poor Men of Lyon, who organized themselves around Peter Waldo around 1176, provide a second example of the new spirit.²⁰ Peter Waldo and his followers distributed their property and possessions among the poor. They spent their lives on special missions of preaching the word of God in the city and countryside and thus served mankind.

The prevalence in the late twelfth century of the new spirit of service to mankind which was later to manifest itself in the Franciscan and Dominican orders may have been largely behind the unenthusiastic

¹⁸Workman, pp. 271-272.

¹⁹Workman, p. 294.

²⁰Workman, p. 293.

response of monasticism to the Third Crusade. To serve the world instead of fighting it had become an essential element in the monastic spirit even at the time of the Third Crusade. The rise of monastic criticism of the crusading policy which is discussed in the last chapter is the result of this changing ideology. Monks as well as other Europeans began to feel a more intelligent policy would be that of missionary work and conversion rather than the militant, conquering spirit of the crusaders. This idea found expression in men like Saint Francis of Assisi and Raymond Lull who traveled to the East in hope of converting the heretics and the infidels to Christianity. It is significant, however, that the initial manifestation of the more peaceful spirit had made itself felt before the Third Crusade and therefore was a contributing factor in shaping the monastic attitude toward that Crusade.

The above historical sketch of the evolution of the monastic ideal and its relation to the first three crusades should form a background of general understanding for the topic of the thesis. Against this background it is possible to view the various capacities in which monks exerted an influence on the crusades and to understand the effects which the crusades had on monasticism as an ideal and as an institution.

CHAPTER II

PREACHING THE CRUSADES

The medieval papacy never ceased striving to realize the ideal of a united Christendom under the headship of the Roman Church. The crusading movement which Urban II inaugurated in 1095 was part of his larger policy and had as one of its primary goals the reunion of the Greek Orthodox and Roman Catholic Churches. Thus, the crusades were to prevail for over two hundred years as one of the most cherished interests of the papacy and it was natural that the clergy would provide the channel through which the popes promoted the crusades.

Pope Urban II initiated the crusade in November of 1095 at the Council of Clermont which was attended almost entirely by the clergy. No great lay lords attended the council.¹ Upon a preliminary examination the absence of the great nobles from the Council of Clermont seems illogical. Since they would eventually have to be recruited as soldiers to serve in the crusading armies, one wonders why Urban did not summon them to Clermont so that they could share in the initial enthusiasm engendered at that council. The explanation must be sought in the crusading image which Urban was trying to create in 1095.

In order to understand the crusading image which was presented at Clermont it is necessary to be aware of the objectives which the popes hoped to accomplish by means of the crusades. From the papacy

¹Runciman, I, 108-109.

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of Gregory VII, who formulated the initial idea of a crusade, to the papacy of Urban II, who made the crusade a reality, the prime objective of the crusading movement was the reunion of the Greek and Latin Churches under the primacy of Rome.² The schism between the churches had occurred as recently as 1054, so in the late eleventh century the hope of reunion still appeared to be realistic. However, the crusading objective that was popularized was the recovery of the Holy Land from the infidels. In reality the recovery of the Holy Land was only a secondary motive to the papacy. Urban hoped to accomplish the reunion of the eastern and western churches by giving military aid to the Greek Empire, but in return for that he hoped to gain recognition of the supremacy of the Roman See.

Urban popularized the idea of recovering the Holy Land at Clermont largely because of the unenthusiastic response he experienced at the Council of Piacenza. The Council of Piacenza was held in March of 1094 and on that occasion Urban asked for military aid on behalf of Alexius.³ Urban did not stress the suffering of the Holy Land or the

²Krey, pp. 235-250; W. B. Stevenson, The Crusaders in the East (Cambridge, Eng., 1907), p. 8. Hereafter cited as Stevenson, with appropriate page numbers.

³Dana Carlton Munro, "Did the Emperor Alexius ask for aid at the Council of Piacenza, 1095?" American Historical Review, XVII (1922), 731-733. Munro discusses the two sources of information concerning the crusading appeal at Piacenza. The standard source is Bernold of St. Blasien in the Monumenta Germaniae Historia, Scriptores, V, 462, who says that in response to an appeal from delegates from Constantinople Urban II urged many to go forth to fight the pagans. Munro then points out a second source which supports Bernold and which is less well known. The Historia Monasterii Novi Pictaviensi written by a monk named Martin also, says Urban, guided by divine inspiration, urged the crusade on behalf of Alexius. Neither source discusses reasons for the aid or the nature of the response. Later writers begin to elaborate in more detail the dire situation of the Greek Christians, for example, Guibert of Nogent, Historia Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Historiens

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duty of the West to free it from an infidel yoke. No crusading armies left as a result of the Piacenza appeal and the appeal for military aid does not seem to have met with an enthusiastic response. However, by November of 1095 the nature of the appeal had a very specific emphasis. In his speech at Clermont Urban spoke of the horrors and injustices suffered by the Christians in the Holy Land and urged that the Latins take the cross and rescue the birthplace of Christianity. By capitalizing on the religious zeal in the West Urban was able to get the response he desired. In turning to the clergy to promote the crusade Urban was motivated by a desire to give the crusade a religious rather than a purely military character. The regular and secular clergy who thus became associated with the crusade gave it the necessary religious overtones.

There is a great deal of controversy concerning the number of the clergy who attended the Council of Clermont. Fulcher of Chartres estimates 310 bishops and abbots were present.⁴ The monk Guibert of Nogent set the number at around 400.⁵ Runciman accepts the approximate figure of 300.⁶ In any case, it is clear that the regular clergy were

Occidentaux (Paris, 1844-95), IV, 135, and Robert the Monk, *ibid.*, III, 727-728. But there is no evidence that at Piacenza the Moslem atrocities were emphasized nor was the concept of a holy war mentioned.

⁴Chronicle of the First Crusade, trans. Martha E. McGinty, in Translations and Reprints of the Original Sources of History, 3rd Ser., I (Philadelphia, 1941), 12. Hereafter cited as Fulcher, trans. McGinty, Translations and Reprints, with the appropriate page numbers.

⁵Historia Hierosolymitana, trans. M. Guizot, in Collection des Mémoires relatifs à l'histoire de France (Paris, 1823-35), IX, Bk. II, 44. Hereafter cited as Guibert of Nogent, Historia, with appropriate book and page numbers. Translations by M. Guizot in this collection will hereafter be cited as Guizat, Collection, with the appropriate volume and page numbers.

⁶Runciman, I, 107.

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well represented by monks and especially by abbots. René Crozet has supplied a partial list of the names of members of the clergy who were present.⁷

Urban's appeal at the Council of Clermont for a crusade was received with great enthusiasm by the regular clergy. Many monks immediately desired to go on the crusade. William of Tyre wrote that, "From the cloisters many monks went forth, and recluses likewise left the cells where they had voluntarily secluded themselves for the love of God."⁸ However, there were certain restrictions placed on monastic participation in the crusade since monasticism in the late eleventh century still advocated retreat from the world. Monks as well as other members of the clergy were not to go without the permission of their superiors, and if they did so, according to Urban, their voyage would be of no use spiritually.⁹ Despite restrictions of that nature monastic enthusiasm for the crusade was so intense that numerous hermits, recluses, and monks left for the Holy Land secretly and received no permission from their abbots.¹⁰

In addition to their desire to participate in the crusade, the

⁷See Appendix A of this paper, p. 143-144.

⁸A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea, trans. E. A. Babcock and A. C. Krey, Records of Civilization, Sources and Studies, ed. Austin P. Evans, XXXV (New York, 1943), I, Bk. I, 93. Hereafter cited as William of Tyre, with appropriate volume and page numbers.

⁹Robert the Monk, Historia Hierosolymitana, trans. Guizot, Collection, XXIII, Bk. I, 305-306. Hereafter cited as Robert the Monk, with appropriate book and page numbers.

¹⁰Baudri of Dol, Historia ferosolimitana, in Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Historiens Occidentaux (Paris, 1844-95), IV, Bk. I, 17. Hereafter cited as Baudri of Dol, Historia, with appropriate book and page numbers.

monastic enthusiasm for the holy war also manifested itself in the preaching efforts which monks and abbots made in order to promote the crusade. The first three crusades were all to some extent dependent on monastic preaching for the regular clergy worked effectively to popularize each of the crusades. As will be pointed out below, by the advent of the Third Crusade the policy of a holy war had become comparatively secularized and as a consequence the monastic preaching was less important in 1187. Nevertheless, the efforts of the regular clergy to promote the crusades were vital to the success of the holy war, and it would be valuable to examine the particular monks and abbots who were directly involved in promoting the crusades as well as the nature of their activities.

Itinerant preachers such as Peter the Hermit took up the popular cause of delivering the Holy Land with great success. It has been established that Peter was a monk, but it is impossible to determine of what house.¹¹ However, it seems that he was from Amiens.¹² In the case of Peter the Hermit it is difficult to separate the facts from the legend. The legend insisted that this monk was responsible for originating the First Crusade. Allegedly Peter had traveled East to worship at the Holy Sepulchre and after seeing suffering and injustice he "entered the confines of the Roman Empire and sent forth the voice of his preaching over the whole kingdom, exhorting the people to go to Jerusalem to liberate the Holy City which was held by barbarians. He

¹¹ Henri Hagenmeyer, Le Vrai et le Faux sur Pierre l'Hermite, trans. F. Raynaud (Paris, 1883), p. 63. Hereafter cited as Hagenmeyer, with appropriate page numbers.

¹² Guibert of Nogent, Historia, Bk. II, 58-59.

produced a letter which he affirmed had been brought down from heaven, wherein it was written that the times of the nations are fulfilled and that the City must be liberated which was trodden down by the heathen. Then the mighty ones of all countries--bishops, dukes, counts, knightly men as well as common men, abbots, monks--took the road to Jerusalem. . . ."¹³ Even Anna Comnena believed Peter was responsible for the crusade although she doubted the divine nature of his inspiration.¹⁴

The fact remains, however, that the crusading policy had its origin at least as early as the reign of Pope Gregory VII and that Urban II alone was responsible for the crusade of 1095. Peter the Hermit in all probability was not present at Clermont nor had he been to the East prior to the Peasants' Crusade.¹⁵ It is possible that Peter actually was commissioned by the Pope to preach the crusade,¹⁶ but his preaching reflected the general enthusiastic response to the crusading idea and he can not be credited with originating the crusade.

Peter the Hermit, however, was responsible for engendering enthusiasm for the crusade once it has been set in motion at Clermont. His dynamic and magnetic personality caused the common folk to regard him as a saint and their personal leader. Guibert of Nogent wrote in

¹³ Helmold, The Chronicle of the Slavs, trans. F. J. Tschan, Records of Civilization, Sources and Studies, ed. Austin P. Evans, XXI (New York, 1935), Ch. 31, 112-113. Hereafter cited as Helmold, with appropriate chapter and page numbers.

¹⁴ The Alexiad of the Princess Anna Comnena, trans. Elizabeth A. S. Dawes (London, 1928), Bk. X, Ch. V, 248-249. Hereafter cited as The Alexiad, with appropriate book, chapter and page numbers.

¹⁵ Hagenmeyer, p. 111.

¹⁶ Frederick Duncalf, "The Peasants' Crusade," American Historical Review, XXVI (1921), 442. Hereafter cited as Duncalf, with appropriate page numbers.

his history that the common people flocked after this monk and obeyed him as a master. Guibert saw Peter going through towns preaching.

"He was surrounded by so great throngs of people, he received such enormous gifts, his holiness was lauded so highly, that no one within my memory has been held in such honor. He was very liberal in the distribution to the poor of what he had received. He restored prostitutes to their husbands with gifts. By his wonderful authority he restored everywhere peace and concord, in place of discord. For in whatever he did or said it seemed as if there was something divine, especially when the hairs were snatched from his mule for relics."¹⁷ It is probable that Peter was the first to preach the crusade in the north of France and his travels probably took him to Germany as well.¹⁸ The success of Peter was attested by many contemporary chroniclers and the number of his followers has been estimated at 20,000.¹⁹ When ennumerating the leaders of the First Crusade such as Adhemar of Puy, Raymond of Saint Gilles, Robert of Normandy, Robert of Flanders, Godfrey and Baldwin of Bouillon, the chroniclers often included Peter the Hermit among their ranks.²⁰

In reality, Peter did not possess the qualities necessary to a

¹⁷"Guibert of Nogent's Account [of Peter the Hermit]," trans. D. C. Munro, in Translations and Reprints from the Original Sources of European History, 1st Ser., I, # 2, 20. This is an excerpt from Guibert of Nogent, Historia Hierosolymitana, Bk. II, Ch. VIII.

¹⁸Hagenmeyer, p. 142.

¹⁹Runciman, I, 169.

²⁰The Annals of Roger of Hovedon, trans. H. T. Riley (London, 1853), I, 185. Hereafter cited as Roger of Hovedon, with appropriate volume and page numbers. Hugh of Fleury, Chronique, trans. Guizot, Collection, VII, 85.

leader of an army. As a result of that Hagenmeyer feels he is primarily responsible for the subsequent loss of all of the unfortunate pilgrim-crusaders who were massacred on the Peasants' Crusade.²¹ But Hagenmeyer also admits that it was a difficult if not impossible task to impose discipline on such an emotional and motley band. In addition to the clergy and common people who followed him, Peter had to cope with adulterers, murderers, robbers, perjurers, brigands, and many other unruly elements seeking escape from the West.²² In any case the lack of discipline in his band is commented upon by most of the chroniclers and the fate of his crusade is a well known tragedy. Peter retained some influence among the populace throughout the duration of the crusade, but not as a crusader whom the leaders particularly respected. There will be occasion to refer to him later in connection with diplomacy and the work he did to care for the poor.

Once he had initiated the crusade at Clermont, Urban continued to promote it by making a personal tour through France. The tour was based on a close cooperation between the pope and the congregation of Cluny whose monks were most receptive to the idea of a crusade. In fact, the papal tour was so closely associated with Cluny that it has been called not only a monastic trip but a Cluniac trip. Urban and his large entourage stayed almost exclusively at Cluniac monasteries, and received enthusiastic support from the Cluniac monks in promoting the crusade.

²¹Hagenmeyer, p. 239.

²²Albert of Aix, Liber Christianae Expeditionis pro Ereptione, Emundatione et Restitutione Sanctae Hierosolymitanæ Ecclesiæ, trans. Guizot, Collection, XX, Bk. I, 2. Hereafter cited as Albert of Aix, with appropriate book and page numbers.

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Aside from the fact that Urban himself was a monk of Cluny he had two very excellent reasons for expecting aid from that congregation. A primary reason was the desire of the Cluniac Order to secure exemptions and freedom from lay control and the Pope was in a position to help Cluny attain those objectives. In return for the privileges and exemptions the Cluniac monks were more than willing to aid the papal cause. Crozet has discussed in detail the nature of the exemptions and the specific grants made at the major Cluniac houses during Urban's tour.²³ The pope probably asked the advice of Hugh, abbot of Cluny, in planning the tour and the abbot, who accompanied Urban on the tour, may have been responsible for arranging the itinerary to the benefit of Cluny.²⁴

A second reason why Urban logically turned to the Cluniac monks for aid in promoting the crusade was their long tradition of combating the Moslems in Spain. The Cluniacs had been active in reconquering Spain from the Moslems and had given the struggle the character of a holy war long before the crusades. The monks quickly established monasteries on the newly conquered land and by the end of the eleventh century Cluny dominated the Christian parts of Spain.²⁵ The idea of a crusade was not a new idea to the monks of Cluny in 1095 and essentially all they had to do was to shift the theater of battle from Spain to Jerusalem.²⁶

²³René Crozet, "Le Voyage d'Urbain II et ses négociations avec le clergé de France," Revue historique, CLXXIX (1937), 271-310. Hereafter cited as Crozet, with appropriate page numbers.

²⁴A History of the Crusades, ed. Kenneth M. Setton and Marshall W. Baldwin (Philadelphia, 1958), I, 236. Hereafter cited as Setton, with appropriate volume and page numbers.

²⁵Setton, I, 231-232.

²⁶Setton, I, 232; Crozet, pp. 280-281.

The aid which Urban expected from Cluny was given in a variety of ways. The monks assisted the pope with his preaching efforts and recruited soldiers for the crusading armies through their personal influence and contacts. Far more extensive aid was given by the monks, however, in the form of written crusading propaganda. Letters were sent by monks to the key nobles urging them to participate.

One of the most interesting of the monastic compositions was the encyclical attributed to Pope Sergius IV (1009-1012), which supposedly established the fact that not only Gregory VII had advocated a crusade but that the idea even dated back to Pope Sergius at the beginning of the eleventh century. The encyclical was actually a late eleventh century fabrication and there is a great deal of evidence to support the thesis that the fabrication of the encyclical was done by the Cluniac monks of Moissac when Urban visited them several months before Clermont. Urban may have felt the encyclical would strengthen his position. The encyclical was part of the whole propaganda campaign of the First Crusade and used all of the current devices. It established religious and emotional motives, legends, moralities while retaining vagueness in details concerning physical facts of the journey. It also promised divine guarantees of success and spiritual benefits to participants. In return for that fabrication Urban consecrated an altar at Moissac which bore on it a summons to the Holy Cross.²⁷

Pope Urban II commissioned members of the regular clergy to preach the crusade. Effective preaching was done in 1095-96 by

²⁷Alexander Gieysztor, "The Genesis of the Crusades: The Encyclical of Sergius IV," Medievalia et Humanistica, VI (1950), 25-27.

evangelicals such as Robert of Arbrissel. In 1095 Robert had become a hermit in a forest near Craon. While Urban was at the abbey of Saint Nicolas about thirty miles south in Angers in February of 1096, he learned of Robert's popularity and eloquence. The pope sent for him and after hearing Robert preach commissioned him to preach the crusade in the Loire valley.²⁸ In 1101 Robert of Arbrissel founded the Order of Fontevrault which spread widely through France.²⁹ Robert was also instrumental in preaching the crusade of 1101³⁰ and it is probable that he was aided by the monks of Fontevrault since the order gained a reputation as the first mendicant order. It was considered beneficial for those monks to go throughout the country preaching and since their leader promoted the crusades the monks would logically follow suit.³¹

Members of the regular clergy who were commissioned by the popes to negotiate settlements between crusaders were often given the supplementary task of preaching the crusade. Abbot Gerento, who successfully carried out the negotiations between William Rufus and Robert Curthose, was also commissioned to "promote the crusade in Normandy and England."³² Abbot Gerlach von Rein, who ended a feud between two German nobles which enabled them to crusade, was also commissioned by the abbot

²⁸Baudri of Dol, Vita Roberti de Arbrisello, in Acta Sanctorum, 23 February, III, 611; J. de Petigny, "Robert d'Arbrissel," Bibliothèque de l'École des chartres, 3rd Ser., XV (1854), 5; Setton, I, 251; Duncalf, p. 442; Crozet, p. 273.

²⁹Kenneth Scott Latourette, A History of Christianity (New York, 1953), p. 426.

³⁰Setton, I, 348.

³¹Alexander C. Flick, The Rise of the Medieval Church, (New York, 1909), p. 511.

³²Setton, I, 251.

of Ebrach to preach in various German provinces.³³

Thus, the regular clergy popularized the First Crusade by a variety of means and one of the most significant means was preaching. The papacy was particularly dominant in the early phases of the First Crusade and much of the enthusiasm engendered for the crusade was due to papal preaching and encouragement. Nevertheless, the regular clergy played a vital role in arousing the crusading enthusiasm in Europe. The fact that so many abbots were present at Clermont demonstrates that Urban II sought monastic support. The papal tour which was made in close cooperation with the Cluniac Order further evidences Urban's desire to align himself with the regular clergy. Further support is found in the great number of monks and abbots who are found actively preaching and popularizing the crusade in 1095-96. The monastic contribution to preaching the First Crusade established a precedent in Crusade Policy which was to have even more definite results at the time of the Second Crusade.

The fall of Edessa in 1144 occasioned the Second Crusade. By December of 1145 Pope Eugenius III had begun his efforts to initiate the crusade. However, Eugenius did not dominate the preaching of the Second Crusade and the whole movement was not his work in the sense that the First Crusade had been Urban's.³⁴ The preaching of the Second Crusade was almost entirely in monastic hands and was dominated by Saint Bernard, abbot of Clairvaux, rather than by the pope.

Pope Eugenius made Saint Bernard the official preacher of the

³³Eberhard P. Pfeiffer, "Die Cisterzienser und der Zweite Kreuzzüge," Cistersienser-chronik, XLVII (1935), 51-53. Hereafter cited as Pfeiffer, XLVII, with the appropriate page numbers.

³⁴Setton, I, 465.

crusade after his own failure to arouse enthusiasm for the project. In December of 1145 Eugenius had issued his first crusading bull, Quantum Praedecessores. The response was dull as was the reaction to the recruiting efforts of King Louis VII at his Christmas court at Bourges.³⁵ Eugenius was pleased with Louis' crusading desires and encouraged French participation, but neither he nor Louis could engender the enthusiasm necessary for a crusade. As a consequence the pope turned to the reluctant Saint Bernard, who possessed a great reputation, eloquence, and a dynamic personality. Bernard succeeded in making the Second Crusade a reality.

Saint Bernard began his preaching at an assembly called by Louis VII at Vezelay. The fame of the saint caused a great multitude to flock to the cathedral and Bernard moved to a field on the edge of town in order to accomodate the crowd.³⁶ The response to Bernard's crusading sermon was wildly enthusiastic and "when he had sowed, rather than distributed, the parcel of crosses which had been prepared beforehand, he was forced to tear his own garments into crosses and to sow them abroad."³⁷ The enthusiasm which Bernard engendered was expressed by Pons, abbot of Vezelay, who built a church dedicated to the Holy Cross in the field where the crowd had gathered to commemorate the advent

³⁵Setton, I, 467; Virginia Berry, "Peter the Venerable and the Crusades," in Studia Anselmiana, ed. Giles Constable and James Kritzeck (Rome, 1956), p. 143. Hereafter cited as Berry, with the appropriate page numbers.

³⁶Runciman, II, 253.

³⁷Odo of Deuil, De Profectione Ludovici VII in Orientem, trans. Virginia Berry, Records of Civilization, Sources and Studies, ed. Austin P. Evans, XLII (New York, 1948), Bk. I, 9. Hereafter cited as Odo of Deuil, with appropriate book and page numbers.

of the crusade.³⁸ The letters of Saint Bernard are filled with numerous examples of his eloquence. When the effect of his persuasive personality was combined with his verbal eloquence the depth of the response to his crusade preaching can be understood.³⁹

Popular enthusiasm attributed miracles to Saint Bernard. Helmold wrote in his chronicle that very strange events were taking place which amazed the whole world. The name of Bernard, the abbot of Clairvaux, "had been made so famous by reports of miracles that crowds of people flocked to him from everywhere out of their desire to witness the wonders that were done through him."⁴⁰ In Germany, the success of Bernard was not due so much to the translation of his exhortations as to his oratory and to the miracles by which the blind saw, the deaf heard, mutes spoke, and the crippled walked.⁴¹

Saint Bernard was very much opposed to monastic participation on the crusades or even on pilgrimages to the Holy Land. In 1124 he wrote to Arnold, abbot of Morimond, who had left his abbey with a handful of monks and proposed to go to Jerusalem. The letter expressed Bernard's firm opposition to the venture and expounded on the abbot's duty to the monks.⁴² This letter was seconded by another letter to

³⁸ Abbé E. Vacandard, "St. Bernard et la seconde croisade," Revue des questions historiques, XXXVIII (1885), 411. Hereafter cited as Vacandard, with appropriate page numbers.

³⁹ Letters [of Bernard of Clairvaux], trans. and ed. Bruno S. James (London, 1953). Letter #391 and #392 are particularly good examples of Bernard's eloquence. Hereafter cited as Letters [of Bernard of Clairvaux], with the appropriate letter number and page.

⁴⁰ Helmold, Ch. 59, 170.

⁴¹ Vacandard, p. 424; Helmold, Ch. 59, 170-171.

⁴² Letters [of Bernard of Clairvaux], #4, 19-22.

Calixtus II in which Bernard advised the pope not to condone the action of Arnold lest other abbots followed suit. Another effort was made by the abbot of Clairvaux to prohibit the monks from making their proposed journey. He wrote to Lord Bruno of Cologne asking him to intercept and dissuade the monks of Morimond whom the abbot had gathered together and had taken with him "not for Christ's sake but for his own. . . ." ⁴³

Bernard also opposed Stephen, abbot of Saint John of Chartres, who planned to make a pilgrimage to Jerusalem and argued that "I do not see how it follows that you are justified in deserting those who have been entrusted to your care." ⁴⁴ In a letter written to the other Cistercian abbots, Bernard stated his position quite succinctly.

I have learned from the report of many that certain brethren are grumbling against you, and they have scorned our holy way of life and are trying to mix themselves in the turmoil of the world. . . . Why do they seek the glory of the world, when they have chosen 'to lie forgotten in the house of God?' What have they to do with wandering about the countryside when they are professed to lead a life in solitude? Why do they sew the sign of the Cross on their clothes, when they always carry it on their hearts so long as they cherish their religious way of life? To be brief, I say to all by the authority not of myself but of the Apostolic See that if any monk or lay-brother should leave his monastery to go on the expedition, he will place himself under sentence of excommunication. ⁴⁵

If Bernard was opposed to Cistercian participation on the crusade itself, he did condone the activities of the regular clergy in promoting it. On his preaching tour the saint was accompanied by many monks some of whose names are known. The monks Geoffrey of Auxerre and Gerhard, later abbot of Eberbach, were his constant companions. ⁴⁶ As

⁴³ Letters [of Bernard of Clairvaux], #7, 25-26.

⁴⁴ Letters [of Bernard of Clairvaux], #84, 121-122.

⁴⁵ Letters [of Bernard of Clairvaux], #396, 468-469.

⁴⁶ Pfeiffer, XLVII, 46.

Bernard preached in the diocese of Constance he was supported by Baldwin, abbot of Chatillon, and Frowin of Salem. The latter, a former monk of Bellavaux and at that time superior of the convent of Engelberg at Unterwalden, knew French and German and probably served Bernard as a translator in Germany.⁴⁷ During the same visit to Constance four other men joined Bernard all of whom returned with him to Clairvaux and became monks.⁴⁸ As Bernard traveled from Spire to Lutig in January he was accompanied by Eberhardt, a monk of Clairvaux, and by two Premonstratensian abbots who have been identified as Deitrich (Theodorich) and Erwin von Steinfeld.⁴⁹ While Bernard was at Bruges he was joined by Robert, abbot of Dune, who was Bernard's successor.⁵⁰ At Saint Bertin the abbot Leonius received Bernard and his entourage and accompanied them to Ypres where they recruited the count of Flanders.⁵¹

The activities of the above monks and abbots, as well as numerous other whose names were not recorded, usually were restricted by requiring that every abbot and monk be commissioned to preach the crusade. Monks and abbots were not free to leave their monasteries at random. Because preaching was forbidden to Cistercians a special dispensation had to be granted by the bishop or pope to an abbot and by the General Council of

⁴⁷Pfeiffer, XLVII, 48; Vacandard, p. 424.

⁴⁸Pfeiffer, XLVII, 48: Otto, Franko, Philip von Luttich, Alexander von Koln.

⁴⁹Pfeiffer, XLVII, 50.

⁵⁰Vacandard, pp. 416-417.

⁵¹Vacandard, p. 416.

the Cistercian order to a monk who wished to preach.⁵² That abbots were active preachers can be seen from the number of commissions given by Bernard during his tour. Gerlach, abbot of the Cistercian monastery of Rein, received a letter from Bernard in January of 1147 asking him to preach the crusade in Corinthia and Styria.⁵³ Rainald, abbot of Morimond, convoked an assembly of the principal lords of Bassigny upon the request of Saint Bernard and preached the crusade to them.⁵⁴ Gatherings of a similar nature were doubtless held in other abbeys. Adam, abbot of Ebrach, was an almost constant companion of Saint Bernard on his preaching expedition and in February of 1147 was sent to the diet at Ratisbon in order to enlist new recruits for the crusade.⁵⁵ Several important crusaders took the cross at that diet including the chronicler, Otto, bishop of Freising.

While the preaching of the Second Crusade rested primarily in the hands of abbots, the monks were far from inactive. Bernard could not hope to reach all the areas personally and, consequently, the written word had to supplement the call to the crusade. The letters were dictated to Bernard's notaries who were monks. The notaries were Guillaume of Rievaulx, Geoffrey of Auxerre, Nicolas of Clairvaux,

⁵²Pfeiffer, XLVII, 9-10, cited Statuta Capitalorum Generalium Ordinis Cisterciensis, ed. Canivez (Louvain, 1933), ad a. 1191, p. 137, 20 and a. 1200, p. 251.

⁵³E. Willems, "Citeaux et la seconde croisade," Revue d'histoire ecclesiastique, XLIX (1954), part 1, 134. Hereafter cited as Willems, with appropriate page numbers. Pfeiffer, XLVII, 52.

⁵⁴Willems, p. 129; Pfeiffer, XLVII, 45.

⁵⁵Otto of Freising, The Deeds of Frederick Barbarossa, trans. Charles C. Mierow, Records of Civilization, Sources and Studies, XLIX (New York, 1953), Bk. I, 75-76. Hereafter cited as Otto of Freising, Deeds, with appropriate book and page numbers.

Gerard of Peronne, and perhaps Baldwin of Pise.⁵⁶ After the meeting at Vezelay Bernard dictated a crusading manifesto which was to serve as the basic message to recruit crusaders. The monks then wrote letters based on the manifesto to various key people in Europe.⁵⁷ The leader of the notaries was the monk Nicolas, who never seems to have followed his abbot on the preaching tours. Instead, he concentrated on composing the letters and directing the writing activities of the other monks.⁵⁸ Bernard also used the written word in the form of sermons to be read by the various abbots that he had delegated to preach in Europe. Otto of Freising noted that Abbot Adam of Ebrach read several letters at the diet of Ratisbon, one of which was from Bernard.⁵⁹ The reading was followed by Adam's exhortation of the crusade.

Although Saint Bernard was allegedly in control of the preaching activities before the Second Crusade, not all men respected his position. A Cistercian monk, Ralph (Radulf, Rodolphe), commenced an uncommissioned preaching tour "centered in those parts of Gaul which touch the Rhine and influenced many thousands of the inhabitants of Cologne, Mainz, Worms, Speyer, Strasbourg, and other neighboring cities, towns, and villages to accept the cross."⁶⁰ Ralph was accompanied by Lambert, abbot of Lobbes, who worked in the capacity of an interpreter and who

⁵⁶J. Leclercq, "S. Bernard et ses secrétaires," Revue Benedictine, LXI (1951), 211.

⁵⁷Vacandard, p. 413; Willems, p. 127.

⁵⁸Pfeiffer, XLVII, 45, who cites Statuta Capitalorum Generalium Ordinis Cisterciensis, ed. Conivez, p. 275.

⁵⁹Otto of Freising, Deeds, Bk. I, 75. Otto includes the context of a letter from Bernard to the east Franks on pp. 76-78.

⁶⁰Otto of Freising, Deeds, Bk. I, 74.

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was also unauthorized.⁶¹ Uncommissioned preaching by a monk was in itself a reprehensible act, but even more objectionable were Ralph's incitations to slaughter the Jews. "He heedlessly included in his preaching that the Jews whose homes were scattered throughout the cities and towns should be slain as foes of the Christian religion. The seed of this doctrine took such firm root and so grew in numerous cities of Gaul and Germany that a large number of Jews were killed in this stormy uprising. . . ."⁶²

Jewish persecution in connection with the crusades was not an innovation of the monk Ralph. The followers of Emicho, Folkmar and possibly Gottschalk had engaged in a massive slaughter of Jews during the Peasants' Crusade.⁶³ The Jews who were under special ecclesiastical and imperial protection had acquired great wealth which was desperately needed by the poorer elements who went on the crusades. The harassment of Jews was easily justified in the minds of the persecutors by the argument that they were fighting the enemies of the Cross which included Jews. Thus, Ralph was part of a larger anti-semitic sentiment which existed during the crusades.

The official preacher of the Second Crusade, Saint Bernard, took a very definite stand against the monk Ralph. The abbot had received numerous letters by October of 1146 which complained of Ralph's preaching.⁶⁴ In responding to a letter from the archbishop of Mainz,

⁶¹Vacandard, p. 415; Pfeiffer, XLVII, 46, who cites Gesta Abbatum Labbiensium, in Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores, XXI, 329.

⁶²Otto of Freising, Deeds, Bk. I, 74.

⁶³Setton, I, 263-264; Runciman, I, 134-141.

⁶⁴Vacandard, p. 415.

Bernard refuted all rights that the monk Ralph claimed. "The fellow you mention in your letter has received no authority from men or through men, nor has he been sent by God. If he makes himself out to be a monk or a hermit, and on that score claims liberty to preach and the duty of doing so, he can and should know that the duty of a monk is not to preach but to pray. He ought to be a man for whom towns are a prison and the wilderness a paradise, but instead of that he finds towns a paradise and the wilderness a prison. A fellow without sense and void of all modesty."⁶⁵ Bernard also argued that it was a greater triumph for the church to convince and convert the Jews than to put them to the sword.⁶⁶

The numerous letters which Bernard sent were not enough to counteract the negative influences of Ralph. Because of the relative ineffectiveness of his letters the abbot traveled to Germany in order to restrict the activities of Ralph and to personally direct the recruiting activities there which threatened to get out of hand. Bernard encountered the monk at Mainz in November of 1146, summoned him to his presence, and "warned him not to arrogate to himself on his own authority the word of preaching, roving about over the land in defiance of the rule of the monks. Finally he prevailed upon him to the point where he promised to obey and to return to his monastery. The people were very angry and even wanted to start an insurrection, but they were restrained by regard for Bernard's saintliness."⁶⁷

⁶⁵Letters [of Bernard of Clairvaux], #392, 465-466.

⁶⁶Letters [of Bernard of Clairvaux], #392, 466.

⁶⁷Otto of Freising, Deeds, Bk. I, 75.

Another prominent abbot who gave his support to the Second Crusade was Peter the Venerable, abbot of Cluny. Since he felt his monastic vows prevented a trip to the Holy Land his role was one of encouragement and advice rather than direct participation.⁶⁸ Like Bernard of Clairvaux, Peter discouraged monastic travels. Late in 1146 Peter wrote a letter to Hugh of Chalon who had expressed a desire to take the monastic vows at Cluny. The abbot successfully dissuaded Hugh from a proposed pilgrimage to Jerusalem by arguing that he would obtain greater benefits from the monastic life. "Certainly it is better to serve God forever in Humility and poverty than to accomplish the pilgrimage to Jerusalem in pride and luxury."⁶⁹ Evidence of that nature has led to the conclusion that the abbot of Cluny was opposed to the crusade.⁷⁰ However, Peter's opposition was confined only to monastic participation and he made substantial efforts to encourage lay support of the expedition.

Peter the Venerable evidenced his crusading enthusiasm in a variety of ways. He wrote to Sigurd of Norway complimenting his crusade of 1107 and wishing him well on his expedition to the Holy Land in 1130.⁷¹ His respect and admiration for the Templars were evidenced in a letter to their master.⁷² In a letter of 1146 Peter

⁶⁸Berry, p. 146.

⁶⁹Berry, p. 151, who cites Epistle XV.

⁷⁰M. l'Abbé Demimuid, Pierre-le-Vénérable (Paris, 1876), p. 213.

⁷¹Berry, p. 144, who cites Epistle VII, in Patrologia Latina, ed. J. P. Migne (Paris, 1844-55), CLXXXIX. Hereafter the Patrologia Latina will be abbreviated as P.L., with the appropriate volume and page number.

⁷²Berry, p. 144, who cites Epistle XXVI, in P.L., CLXXXIX.

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encouraged King Louis VII and comforted him with the thought that God would reward him in heaven and would direct the king in his undertaking against the infidel.⁷³ Peter the Venerable also evidenced an attitude of anti-semitism but in amilder form than that expressed by the Cistercian monk, Ralph. Peter recommended to Louis VII that a special financial levy for the crusade be made on the Jews which would raise the necessary money and lessen the burden of the Christians at the same time it punished the blasphemers.⁷⁴ Although Peter the Venerable translated the Koran and was active in writing dissertations on the Islamic faith, there is no evidence of his sympathy to non-Christians. His reasoning probably was that a well-informed Christian could better defend his faith.⁷⁵

Mention has been made of the fact that two of the most prominent advocates of the Second Crusade, the abbots of Clairvaux and of Cluny, both opposed monastic participation on pilgrimages and on the crusades. But it should be noted that while their opposition doubtless lessened the number of monks on the Second Crusade, regular clergy did leave Europe with or without permission. Their presence in the crusading camps is attested by the majority of chroniclers although names are seldom mentioned. Several monks from the Cistercian monastery of Morimond followed the knights of the Second Crusade and brought back

⁷³Berry, p. 148, who cites Epistle XXXII, in P.L., CLXXXIX.

⁷⁴Berry, pp. 149-150, who cites Epistle XXXVI, in P.L., CLXXXIX.

⁷⁵P. F. Mandonnet, "Pierre le Vénérable et son activité littéraire contre l'Islam," Revue Thomiste, I (1893), 328-342.

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some relics of Saint Gregory.⁷⁶ The Cluniac monks who were living on Mount Tabor near Jerusalem received a letter from Peter the Venerable in which he praised God for the return of the Holy Land to Christian hands. Although Peter warned the monks, "Work to be holy . . . because it is not holy places, but holy works which give salvation," he did not order their return.⁷⁷ He also wrote a letter to Theobald, abbot of Saint Columba in Sens, warning him of the spiritual dangers a monk or abbot would encounter on a crusade. However, Peter reconciled himself to the fact Theobald could not be dissuaded from his proposed journey and, therefore, Peter asked to be remembered in his prayers at the Holy Sepulchre.⁷⁸

The Third Crusade in all respects evidenced a lessening of monastic influence. Under the increasing secularization of the crusading movement a significantly large segment of the regular clergy reacted either by criticizing the crusade policy or by becoming militant. The two monastic trends are discussed in detail in Chapters VII and VIII. The preaching efforts of the Third Crusade also evidenced less monastic support. There was no figure comparable to the abbot of Cluny much less to the abbot of Clairvaux. Instead, the pope delegated cardinals and bishops to preach the crusade of 1187. Archbishop Gerhard of Ravenna was delegated to preach in Italy. Germany and France were the responsibility of Cardinal Heinrich of Albano. Baldwin, the archbishop of

⁷⁶Pfeiffer, XLVII, 9, who cites Dubois, Geschichte der Abtei Morimond (Munich, 1855), p. 93, n. 2.

⁷⁷Berry, pp. 143 and 151, who cites Epistle XLIV, in P.L., CLXXXIX.

⁷⁸Berry, p. 150, who cites Epistle VI, in P.L., CLXXXIX.

Canterbury, was to recruit in England.⁷⁹

The various cardinals and bishops who were commissioned to preach the Third Crusade were aided by members of the regular clergy. However, the regular clergy were subservient to the secular clergy in their preaching efforts. Cardinal Heinrich was aided by several Rhenish Cistercian monks on his tour of Germany and France. The cardinal could not hope to reach all the necessary towns and villages personally and he therefore commissioned monks and abbots to preach in such areas.⁸⁰ The archbishop of Canterbury was aided by many in preaching the Third Crusade to the English, but particularly by the abbots Johannes von Withland and Seisyll von Stratflur. The preaching of those abbots was apparently effective, for many people hurried to take up the cross after hearing them.⁸¹ In October of 1191 Richard the Lion-hearted wrote from the Holy Land to the abbot of Clairvaux asking him to send money and to recruit more princes and noblemen.⁸² Thus, it can not be denied that abbots did participate in the recruiting efforts for the Third Crusade, but their role was significantly less predominant than it had been during the First and Second Crusades.

The progress of the crusading movement from 1095 to 1187 and the changing nature of monasticism were responsible for the decreasing

⁷⁹Eberhard P. Pfeiffer, "Die Cistercienser und der dritte Kreuzzüge," Cistercienser-chronik, XLVIII (1936), 146. Hereafter cited as Pfeiffer, XLVIII, with appropriate page numbers.

⁸⁰Pfeiffer, XLVIII, 180.

⁸¹Pfeiffer, XLVIII, 242-243.

⁸²Roger of Hovedon, II, 224.

enthusiasm evidenced by the regular clergy.⁸³ Not only the lack of enthusiasm but even severe monastic criticism of the crusade policy became noticeable during the twelfth century. Even when examining just the preaching of the crusades the lack of a general monastic enthusiasm is evident in 1187 when compared to 1095 and 1145. Although the First Crusade was preached largely by Urban II, the enthusiastic aid he received from the Cluniac congregation was invaluable. In addition, the most picturesque preacher of that crusade had been a monk, Peter the Hermit. The Second Crusade was preached almost exclusively by members of the regular clergy who were headed by the abbot of Clairvaux. However, the monks and abbots who preached the Third Crusade were less in number and were under the supervision of the secular clergy. In 1187 no monastic figure emerged who symbolized an enthusiasm for the expedition within the ranks of the regular clergy.

⁸³See Chapter VIII of this thesis.

CHAPTER III

MONASTERIES AS SHELTERS FOR CRUSADERS AND PILGRIMS

Both the crusading knight and the masses of pilgrims who flocked to the Holy Land depended heavily upon monasteries to provide food and shelter. Most monasteries had offered their facilities as refuges from the elements long before the crusading era. However, once the crusades began that particular monastic activity acquired greater significance.

The crusades had been anticipated for centuries by frequent pilgrimages of the Latins to the Holy Land. Pilgrimages were not required by the medieval Church but they were, nevertheless, one of the most popular and widespread expressions of the religion. Pilgrimages began in the earliest years of the Church but they were by no means exclusive to Christianity. Not only the religious impulse but also the desire to travel stimulated pilgrimages, and since those motives are common to most of mankind pilgrimages were an almost universal phenomenon during the Middle Ages. For the Christian there were three cities valued above all others on their religious journeys. Rome with its memories of Peter and Paul as well as Compostella, the site of James' martyrdom, were two of the most popular goals. However, the trip to the Holy Land where the birth, life, death, and resurrection of Christ had occurred was the most desirable and beneficial medieval pilgrimage.

Not only did the regular clergy have a long tradition of

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patronizing the pilgrimages to the Holy Land but the monks and abbots were themselves active pilgrims. Ludovic Lalane has compiled a list of pilgrimages prior to the crusades which indicates that a significant number of the pilgrims to the Holy Land came from the ranks of the regular clergy.¹ Once the crusades began the pilgrimages to Jerusalem increased. Almost all of the eminent abbots of the twelfth century, as well as a crowd of monks, made the voyage to the Holy Land.²

The monastic encouragement of and participation in the pilgrimages before and during the crusades indirectly aided the crusading movement. By emphasizing the desirability of a pilgrimage to the Holy Land above all other sites, the monks and abbots helped to keep the Holy Land in a highly esteemed position. Thus, when it fell into Moslem hands during the eleventh century the Latin Christians were psychologically ready to fight for its recovery. After the crusading movement had been inaugurated the pilgrimages retained their importance to the policy because they kept alive an interest in the Holy Land between the crusades when emotional fervor languished. Although most pilgrims returned to the West some undoubtedly stayed and consequently the pilgrimages also helped to supply the crusader states with manpower.

It has been stated that the regular clergy supported the pilgrimage tradition which anticipated the crusades and provided an

¹"Chronological List of Pilgrims Anterior to the Crusades," Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes, 2nd Ser., II (Paris, 1845-46), 1-31.

²Comte de Montalembert, The Monks of the West (London, 1896), VI, 105, who cites Acta Sanctorum Ordinis Sancti Benedicti, ed. J. Mabillon and L. d'Achery (Paris, 1668-1701), VIII, 238. Montalembert will be cited hereafter as Montalembert with the appropriate volume and page numbers.

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excellent emotional and ideological background for the crusading policy. Perhaps it would be of value to briefly examine the ways in which the monks and abbots assisted the pilgrims prior to the crusades. The monastic aid basically consisted of three activities: organizing pilgrimages, providing shelter, and writing guide books.

At any point during the Middle Ages a pilgrimage to the Holy Land involved a great many risks and dangers to the participants and, therefore, pilgrims who went on journeys of that length were almost always organized into groups. The regular clergy were active both as organizers and as leaders of a good many of the pilgrim companies. Abbot Richard of Saint Vannes was the leader of seven hundred pilgrims who were gathered together by Richard, Duke of Normandy.³ Saint Simeon, a monk who died at Treves, went to Jerusalem early in his life and stayed there seven years acting as a guide for pilgrims in Syria. The monk Simeon was particularly valuable as a guide since he spoke Egyptian, Syriac, Arabic, Greek, and Latin.⁴ Similar activities continued between the crusades for in 1106 the Russian abbot, Daniel, mentioned that he had found "a very pious man of advanced age" at the monastery of Saint Sabbas who was willing to serve as his guide. They visited all the holy places within a wide range of the monastery for which Abbot Daniel paid him.⁵

³Montalembert, VI, 105. No citation given.

⁴Montalembert, VI, 105, who cites Acta Sanctorum O.B., VIII, 329-331.

⁵"Pilgrimage of the Russian Abbot Daniel to the Holy Land," trans. C. W. Wilson, in Palestine Pilgrims Text Society (London, 1896-97), IV, #3, 3. Hereafter cited as Daniel, with the appropriate page number. The Palestine Pilgrims Text Society will hereafter be abbreviated as P.P.T.S., with the appropriate volume number.

The Cluniac monks took a strong interest in pilgrimages. Very early they organized the journeys to the Spanish shrines. In Spain Cluny had come into contact with the Moslems even before the crusades and the monks had done much to give the reconquest of Spain for the Moslems the character of a holy war.⁶ The black monks established new houses in the territory recovered from the Moslems and constantly expanded their holdings in Spain. By the end of the eleventh century the Cluniacs were so well established in the Christian part of the peninsula that almost every prelate there had been taken from one of the Cluniac houses.⁷ By the end of the tenth century Cluny had begun to popularize and to organize pilgrimages to Jerusalem. It was due to the persuasive efforts of the Cluniac monks that the abbot of Stavelot visited Palestine in 990. The count of Verdun and Fulk Nerra of Anjou both were instigated by the monks of Cluny to make the trip.⁸ It was the poorer people that particularly needed Cluniac aid and the monks made it possible for them to go East in small, independent groups.

The way in which the monasteries served as hostels and offered shelter to travellers will be discussed in detail in connection with the crusades.⁹ But in regard to the monastic aid to the pilgrimages prior to the crusades some mention must be made of the shelter that was provided by monasteries which was of such great importance to pilgrims. Lalane stated that every major monastery had a hospice annexed to

⁶Setton, I, 231-232.

⁷Setton, I, 231-232.

⁸Setton, I, 74.

⁹See below, pp. 54-60.

it.¹⁰ The Cluniac congregation built a series of hostels along the route to Jerusalem which was particularly of benefit to the poorer pilgrims.¹¹ There were several Cluniac hospices in Italy at which pilgrims could stay, and a great hospice at Melk, Austria.¹² When the pilgrims reached Constantinople they could depend on the hospice of Samson to provide them with shelter and provisions. The hospice of Samson was particularly reserved for western pilgrims. Nearby at Rodosto (Tekirdagh) the Cluniacs had provided another hospice for pilgrims. When the crusaders began to move east the shelter which had been provided for pilgrims was of immense value to those knights going to the holy war.

In order to encourage potential pilgrims, monks and abbots wrote journals and guide books to the Holy Land.¹³ Often the monastic journals were simply descriptive narratives of the Palestine journey. The narrative of Saewulf, a merchant who became a monk at Malmesbury sometime after making a pilgrimage in 1102-03, is of that nature.¹⁴ Saewulf traced his journey from town to town, discussing the means of transportation and any objects of interest in the town or neighboring areas. Once he arrived in the Holy Land his narrative became solely

¹⁰Ludovic Lalane, "Chronological List of Pilgrims Anterior to the Crusades," Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes, 2nd Ser., II (Paris, 1845-46), 17.

¹¹Setton, I, 74.

¹²Setton, I, 75.

¹³Many of the journals and guide books have been published in the P.P.T.S.

¹⁴"An Account of the Pilgrimage of Saewulf to Jerusalem," trans. C. Brownlow, in P.P.T.S., IV, Introduction, p. xx.

concerned with the description of holy places. In connection with each place and object venerated by the Roman Church he traced the Biblical background showing a very excellent acquaintance with the history of his religion.¹⁵ His journal also included words of encouragement to those who might want to make the pilgrimage. The journals of the Russian Abbot Daniel,¹⁶ the monk Theodoric,¹⁷ and a series of anonymous journals¹⁸ are all the nature of Saewulf's work. More specific than these journals were the guide books written for the holy places. The whole of the work by the archdeacon Fretellus is devoted to the most explicit directions to guide a pilgrim through a maze of holy places in the Palestine area.¹⁹ John, a priest of Wurzburg, supplied another work intended exclusively to serve as a guide to potential pilgrims in Palestine.²⁰

Thus, the regular clergy had a long tradition of aiding pilgrims and with the advent of the crusades their support and sustenance to pilgrims and non-combatants became even more vital. Of particular importance to the progress of the crusades was the shelter that was provided by the monasteries. Although both crusaders and non-combatants availed themselves of monastic shelter, the shelter was of particular significance to the hundreds of pilgrims who traveled with the crusading

¹⁵Ibid., p. 15.

¹⁶Daniel, pp. 1-82.

¹⁷"Theodoric's Description of the Holy Places," trans. A. Stewart, in P.P.T.S., V, #4, 1-86. Hereafter cited as Theodoric, with appropriate page number.

¹⁸P.P.T.S., VI.

¹⁹"Fretellus," trans. J. R. MacPherson, in P.P.T.S., V, #1, 1-58.

²⁰"Description of the Holy Land," trans. A. Stewart, in P.P.T.S., V, #2.

armies as non-combatants and who journeyed to the Holy Land between the crusades. They were often poor and the crusading knights usually possessed neither the means nor the will to care for them. However, if some provision were not made for the pilgrims and non-combatants they often became unruly and ravaged the neighboring territories. The result of such outbreaks was often the alienation of a badly needed ally which thus endangered the security of the crusading army. As a consequence the refuge which monasteries provided for non-combatants during the crusades was often vital to the stability of the Latin position in the East.

Pilgrims who arrived in the Holy Land were usually extremely poor and therefore extremely dependent on monastic hospitality. According to William of Tyre "scarcely one out of a thousand pilgrims who came was able to provide for himself. Many had lost their travelling money and were so exhausted by dreadful hardships that they were barely able to reach their destiny in safety."²¹ The archdeacon Fretellus informed the readers of his guide to the Holy Land about a reception house at Jerusalem for "strangers and the poor."²² The monk Theodoric describes a "venerable hospice" at the gate of the church of Saint Stephen. The church was subject to the abbot of Saint Mary of the Latins and the monks no doubt took part in the operation of the hospice.²³ The Russian Abbot Daniel wrote that he stayed for sixteen months at the monastery (laura) of Saint Sabbas and from here visited all the holy

²¹William of Tyre, I, Bk. I, 80.

²²"Fretellus," trans. J. R. MacPherson, in P.P.T.S., V, #1, 39.

²³Theodoric, p. 43.

places.²⁴ This monastery, which was sometimes referred to as the "Pilgrim House," is now the monastery of Mar Saba located between Bethlehem and the Dead Sea.²⁵ There was an added attraction near Saint Sabbas. Joannes Phocas (1185) informed his readers that dwelling nearby there were "nearly forty inspired men, eminent beyond all others, of whom six converse directly with God, their names being Stephanus, Theodorus, Paulus; the fourth comes from Megapolis, the fifth is a Spaniard, and the sixth is Joannes Stylita, celebrated among mankind for his insight."²⁶

The monastery of the Latins at Jerusalem was one of the most famous hospices for pilgrims during the crusades. The merchants of Amalfi, a principle commercial city of the Western Mediterranean before the crusades, had innumerable commercial ties on the Levant coast. Faithful to the traditions of Christianity, merchants made numerous trips to the holy places during the eleventh century. In view of the frequency of their visits to Jerusalem they desired land in the Latin quarter of that city to build their own hospice. Upon petition the land they desired was granted and next to the church of the Resurrection of Our Lord they reconstructed an old monastery which may have dated back to the sixth or seventh century.²⁷ The monastery, quickly gaining a reputation as a hostel for Western pilgrims, became known as the Monastery of Saint Mary of the Latins. The first abbot and monks of

²⁴Daniel, p. 3.

²⁵Daniel, p. 3, n. 2.

²⁶"The Pilgrimage of Johannes Phocas in the Holy Land," trans. A. Stewart, in P.P.T.S., V, 24.

²⁷See below, pp. 116.

the monastery were brought by the merchants from Amalfi and were given a regular rule by which to live.²⁸

During the crusades the monastery grew rapidly not only because of its reputation as a Latin hospice but also because the monastery was entrusted with the care of the traditional site of the tomb in which the Virgin lay before the Assumption. The monastery enjoyed the patronage of Godfrey of Bouillon and of his successors, the Latin kings of Jerusalem. By gifts and donations it acquired property and tithes not only in Jerusalem but throughout all the crusading states. Its great wealth is indicated by the number of knights the monastery owed the king in time of emergency which was second only to the number owed by the Priory of the Holy Sepulchre, the leading monastery of the Kingdom of Jerusalem during the twelfth century.²⁹

William of Tyre described the dependency of the Western pilgrims on the monastery of the Latins immediately prior to the crusades. "Wretched and helpless, a prey to all the hardships of hunger, thirst, and nakedness, such pilgrims were forced to wait before the city gates until they had paid a gold coin, when they were permitted to enter the city. Even after they finally gained admission and had visited the holy places one after another, they had no means of resting even for a single day, except as it was offered in a fraternal spirit by the brothers of this monastery."³⁰ All during the crusades this monastery

²⁸William of Tyre, II, Bk. XVIII, 241-243.

²⁹C. N. Johns, "The Abbey of St. Mary in the Valley of Jehoshaphat, Jerusalem," Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine, VIII (1939), 117-119.

³⁰William of Tyre, II, Bk. XVIII, 244.

continued to be of great service in a variety of ways to both pilgrims and crusaders.

A great many women and even some nuns went on pilgrimages or on the early crusades. Porges reported that he could find a record of only one nun who went on the First Crusade and that she was of dubious morality,³¹ but other references seem to indicate there were more.³² William of Tyre wrote that "it often happened that chaste and holy widows came to Jerusalem to kiss the revered places. Regardless of natural timidity, they had met without fear the numberless dangers of the way." The women were in an even more difficult position when they reached Jerusalem since they could not hope to be received within the Latin monastery. However, "the same pious men [merchants of Amalfi] who had founded the monastery made a suitable provision for these people also, that when devout women came they might not lack a chapel, a house, and separate quarters of their own. A little convent was finally established there, by divine mercy, in honor of that pious sinner, Mary Magdalene, and a regular number of sisters placed there to minister to women pilgrims."³³

Pilgrims seldom stayed just in Jerusalem but traveled in a wide radius from the city visiting all the holy places. Thus, on their travels the pilgrims again had to seek out the monasteries in the neighboring areas in order to receive shelter. The authors of the journals

³¹W. Porges, "Clergy, the poor, and the non-combatants on the first crusade," Speculum, XXI (1946), 13. Hereafter cited as Porges, with the appropriate page number.

³²Albert of Aix, Bk. I, 32. He mentioned that girls and 'religieuses' were spared when the Turks killed everyone in camp during the Peasants' Crusade.

³³William of Tyre, II, Bk. XVIII, 243.

and guide books realized the Latins would need information about the location of monasteries in all the lands where a pilgrim would be expected to visit and, consequently, the texts are filled with descriptions of monasteries. If a pilgrim wished to go to the top of Mount Sion, which had once been the old Jerusalem, he could plan to stay at an abbey there.³⁴ The abbey was probably the abbey of Black Monks connected with the church of the Holy Mary of Mount Sion. On the summit of Mount Olivet there was an abbey of White Monks.³⁵ Other such examples are endless in number and there is no particular value in enumerating them. A rapid survey of any one of the late eleventh or twelfth century guide books in the Palestine Pilgrims Text Society reveals the pattern. The author usually listed the various holy places, gave the Biblical history of each location, and then mentioned the various monasteries in the area. The following excerpt from John of Wurzburg provides a typical example. In Jerusalem "there is a large church built in honor of Saint James the Great, inhabited by Armenian monks, and they have in the same place a large hospice for the reception of the poor. Therein is preserved with great veneration the head of that apostle, for he was beheaded by Herod . . . this same head is at the present day exhibited in this church to pilgrims."³⁶

It is possible that a pilgrim would go to an area where there was no monastery. Abbot Daniel wrote in 1106 that when he visited one

³⁴Accounts of anonymous pilgrims, trans. A. Stewart, in P.P.T.S., VI, 2.

³⁵Ibid., p. 27.

³⁶John of Wurzburg, "Description of the Holy Land," trans. A. Stewart, in P.P.T.S., V, #2, 45.

village which was the birthplace of several prophets and spent the night there he was well received and sheltered by the Christians who dwelled in the village.³⁷ However, the more usual practice was to seek out one of the numerous monasteries in the Holy Land. The valley of Jehosaphat was filled with them as far as the eye could see and Antioch had no less than 260 monasteries.³⁸

Some monasteries not only provided shelter for pilgrims and crusaders, but also operated a hospital. The most famous hospital was that at Jerusalem which was under the authority of the monastery of the Latins. The hospital was later to disengage itself from the monastery and to be transformed into the military-religious order of the Hospitaller, but according to William of Tyre the hospital had a very simple monastic origin. Confronted with the wretched state of the pilgrims who arrived in Jerusalem the brothers of the monastery established the hospital perhaps as early as the seventh century.³⁹ By the era of the crusades the hospital functioned as a hospice in the larger sense and received all crusaders and pilgrims whether sick or well.⁴⁰ It greatly increased in size and importance during the crusades and by 1171 it was estimated that the hospital contained 1000 beds.⁴¹

³⁷Daniel, pp. 49-50.

³⁸Anonyme Gesta Francorum et Aliorum Hierosolimitanorum, trans. Somerset de Chair (The First Crusade, The Deeds of the Franks and Other Jerusalemities), (London, 1945), pp. 74-75. Hereafter cited as Gesta Francorum, with the appropriate page numbers.

³⁹E. J. King, The Knights Hospitallus in the Holy Land (London, 1931), p. 5. Hereafter cited as King, with appropriate page number.

⁴⁰William of Tyre, II, Bk. XVIII, 244.

⁴¹Theodoric, p. 22.

Originally the costs of operating the hospital were defrayed by the monastery and its associated convent. The monks were also aided in their charitable efforts by donations of the faithful both in Jerusalem and in the West. The financial resources of the monastery and its hospital grew to be more than adequate during the twelfth century.⁴² Aside from the numerous donations that were received by the monastery, the brothers also engaged in commercial activities. For example, the hospital controlled two of the bakeries in Jerusalem; another belonged to the monastery of Saint Mary.⁴³ According to William of Tyre, the great wealth of the hospital was responsible for the fact that it eventually withdrew from the jurisdiction of the abbot. Later the Roman church made the mistake of granting the brothers of the hospital independence even from the patriarch of Jerusalem. "After this dangerous liberty was obtained, they never again showed any reverence to the prelates of the church and absolutely refused to give tithes from any of their estates regardless of conditions under which these had come into their possession."⁴⁴ That aspect of the hospital and the Hospitallers will be discussed in more detail in Chapter VII.

The crusading knights were more self-sufficient economically and militarily than pilgrims and thus not so dependent on the monasteries. However, the armies used the same basic routes from the West to the Holy Land and it is reasonable to assume that the knights availed themselves

⁴²C. N. Johns, "The Abbey of St. Mary in the Valley of Jehosphaphat, Jerusalem," Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine, VIII (1939), 117-119.

⁴³J. Prawer, "The Settlement of the Latins in Jerusalem," Speculum, XXVII (1952), 497, 500.

⁴⁴William of Tyre, II, Bk. XVIII, 246.

of the hospitality of a monastery whenever possible. Wigo de Marra, a crusader from the county of Perche in Normandy, passed through Tours on his way to join the crusaders. The records of the monastery of Saint Julien of Tours show that the crusader rested there on his way to the East, and in return for their hospitality the monks received from Wigo his church at Bellou-sur-Hume.⁴⁵ An excerpt from the itinerary of Richard the Lion-hearted on his way to the Holy Land evidences his frequent use of monasteries along the route. On September 18, 1190, "the King slept in a village, the name of which is Lacerart, in the priorate of Monte Cassio. On the nineteenth day of September the King passed through the priorate which is called Saint Michael de Josaphat, to another priory of the same order, which is called Santa Maria de Fosses On the twenty-first day of September the King came to Melida, and was there honorably received and entertained at the abbey of the Holy Trinity."⁴⁶

No doubt a great many monasteries were anxious to entertain visitors as distinguished as kings and popes for as a result the monks often became the recipients of privileges and property donations. No matter what their motive the monasteries did perform an important function in support of the crusades by their hospitality.

In spite of the monastic reputation for sanctity and pacifism the monastery was not always a safe place to dwell for either monks, crusaders or pilgrims. An attack on a monastery could come from almost

⁴⁵C. W. David, Robert Curthose (Cambridge, Mass., 1920), Appendix D, cites Chartes de S-Julien de Tours, #51, dated 1099. Hereafter this work will be cited as David, with the appropriate page numbers.

⁴⁶Roger of Hovedon, II, 157.

any quarter depending on the political and military circumstances of a particular year. The monastery on Mount Tabor was laid in ruins by the Turks in 1114. They massacred the monks and pillaged the entire area looting everything of value.⁴⁷ The monastery on Mount Tabor must have been rebuilt because later in the twelfth century it was again attacked, this time by Saladin. Saladin's soldiers roamed and devastated the area and even tried to break into the greater cloister. However, Saladin's attack was less successful than the first had been because the monks, with the aid of the villagers who had fled to the monastery for protection, made a valiant and apparently effective defense.⁴⁸ In 1102 the monastery of Saint George near Ramla was attacked by Saracens who planned to kidnap a wealthy bishop living there. The attackers, after surrounding the monastery, were discouraged by its strong fortifications and therefore left it unmolested.⁴⁹

The Latins were not any more above attacking and plundering monasteries than were the Greeks or Moslems. Around 1155 Renaud of Chatillon, prince of Antioch, attacked Cyprus. He overran the entire island and "broke into monasteries of men and women alike. . . . the precious vestments and the amount of gold and silver which he carried off were great," yet the loss of those things was regarded as nothing in comparison with the general violence done to the monasteries.⁵⁰

⁴⁷William of Nangis, Chronique, trans. Guizot, Collection, XIII, 2. Hereafter cited as William of Nangis, with the appropriate page numbers.

⁴⁸William of Tyre, II, Bk. XXII, 495.

⁴⁹Fulcher of Chartres, Gesta Francorum Jerusalem expugnantium, trans. Guizot, Collections, XXIV, 130-131.

⁵⁰William of Tyre, II, Bk. XVIII, 254.

The count of Tripoli, because of his irritation with Manuel, the Byzantine emperor, for his refusal to marry his sister, began an expedition to devastate the lands of the emperor. "Neither age, sex, nor condition was to be spared; everything was to be given to the flames without distinction. . . . They violated churches and broke into monasteries without respect for the venerable places. They laid hands on the traveling money of pilgrims as they journeyed to and from the holy places and thus forced them to die, or, needy and naked, to prolong their lives by begging."⁵¹

In 1182 the Latins pillaged several Greek monasteries in retaliation for the massacres perpetrated by the Greek leader, Andronicus. The crusaders took all the monasteries along the shores of the Sea of Marmara and on nearby islands. They slew "all those pseudo-monks and sacrilegious priests and burned the monasteries together with the refugees who had fled thither. From these places they are said to have carried off an immense amount of gold, and silver, and jewels. . . ."⁵² There was another such incident during the Second Crusade. A German noble who had been injured in battle retired to a monastery in Adrianople after the departure of the Emperor Conrad. Some Greek guerrillas who desired his money burned him to death in his monastic lodging. When Frederick of Swabia learned of this deed he returned to Adrianople and avenged the noble by burning the entire monastery to the ground.⁵³

Thus, it can be established that no monastery, regardless of its

⁵¹William of Tyre, II, Bk. XVIII, 292.

⁵²William of Tyre, II, Bk. XXII, 466.

⁵³Odo of Deuil, Bk. III, 47; Setton, I, 485.

affiliations, was necessarily immune from attack or a safe place for a pilgrim or crusader to dwell.

However, despite these negative facts the monasteries remained the logical place to seek sanctuary. Without the shelter and sustenance which the regular clergy provided both to pilgrims and crusaders the position of the Latins in the Holy Land would have been unendurable. The pilgrims and non-combatants who flocked to the Holy Land usually had no concept of the physical realities of the journey and after the hardships of travel had exhausted and impoverished them they were almost entirely dependent on the monasteries. The crusading knights were often less dependent on charity than the non-combatants but they too took advantage of monastic hospitality. Thus, by providing shelter and performing related charitable works the regular clergy reinforced the crusading movement.

CHAPTER IV

MONASTERIES AND FINANCIAL AID TO THE CRUSADES

The crusades created an unprecedented demand for ready money. Crusaders could not hope to carry enough material resources with them for the trip, and they, therefore, turned everything possible into coin. As a consequence, the value of money and moveable property which would be of use on the crusade was high and the value of unportable property, particularly land, was low.¹ In places where the crusading fervor reached its greatest height houses and farms were unsalable. Under such circumstances those with ready cash, like the monasteries, purchased great tracts of land for a fraction of their original value. The monasteries operated both from the basis of mortgage loan and from outright purchase of a potential crusader's property. By either method the monks were the only ones aside from the Jewish merchants who were in a position to provide the ready cash necessary for the crusades.

The role of money-lending posed several problems for the monasteries. Canonical prohibitions against usury were quite explicit, and had to be reconciled with the monastic business practices. A common argument was that since a monastery was a corporation there was no sin attached to taking usury as there would be in the case of an

¹James Westfall Thompson, Economic and Social History of the Middle Ages, 300-1300 (New York, 1959), I, 393. Hereafter cited as Thompson, with the appropriate volume and page numbers.

individual monk.² Regardless of the prohibitions against money-lending and against the accumulation of wealth the monasteries became famous for just those things. The lending operations of the monasteries eventually became so extensive that Jews and Lombards were hired as trained officials to handle the transactions. "The extent of this monastic loan business, and the importance it assumed in facilitating the conduct of business, fully justifies one in calling the monasteries the first bankers of the Middle Ages."³

Despite the fact that one monastic virtue was poverty the medieval monasteries became extremely wealthy institutions. They were the object of numerous pious donations, and they also were free from many economic restraints which gave the monasteries virtual monopolies of various agricultural and industrial opportunities. The wealth of medieval monasteries can be quickly realized by looking at the extent of their landed possessions. The nunnery at Gandersheim was started in 956 with an endowment of 11,000 manors; Hersfeld in thirty years accumulated 2000 manors; Tegernesee in Bavaria, before Duke Arnulf despoiled it early in the tenth century, owned 11,866 manors; Benedictbeuren, which suffered the same fate, owned 6700 manors; Fulda possessed 15,000 manors; Lorsch, 2000; Saint Gall, 4000. As early as 787 Saint Wandrille possessed 4264 manors; Saint Bertin owned more than 100 villages in the ninth century; Saint Riquier, 2500 manors; Charles the Bald endowed Avancey with 1150 manors for the support of 40 nuns and 20 clerks. In 1023 Henry II deprived Saint Maximin of Treves of 6656 manors and still

²Thompson, II, 638.

³Thompson, II, 639.

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left it rich. By 1030 it possessed over 1000 manors scattered in 140 localities. By the twelfth century Fulda had so far picked up again after deprivation that it had 3000 manors in Saxony, 3000 in Thuringia, 3000 in the Rhinelands around Worms, and 3000 in Bavaria and Swabia.⁴

Monastic wealth also accumulated in a mobile form. Land could earn money if used for agricultural purposes and the monks farmed their vast possessions extensively. Monastic land was farmed by a variety of methods depending on the Order involved. The Benedictine and Cistercian monks farmed the land themselves, but the Cluniac monks either relied on the lay brothers or rented the land to others. They established mills, wine presses, granaries, and very often had a monopoly of these services in their locality. The monks supplemented their land revenues with small crafts and industries run within the monasteries. Since monasteries were very often exempted from taxation and their overhead costs were minimal, the profit was great. The town merchants resented what they felt was unfair monastic competition and, consequently, the anti-clerical sentiment of the towns was more economic in origin than religious.⁵

Because the monasteries had riches in gold, silver and coin as well as in land they were in an excellent position to give crusaders loans in return for pledging real estate.⁶ A monastic loan for which a

⁴Thompson, II, 604.

⁵Thompson, II, 637.

⁶Robert Schwarz, "Property Transfers of German Noble Crusaders in the Twelfth Century," Duquesne Review, II (1957), 63, who cites Karl Snamas-Sterneg, Deutsche Wirtschaftsgeschichte in den letzten Jahren des Mittelalters (Leipzig, 1891-93), II, 138, ff. Hereafter this work is cited as Schwarz, with the appropriate page numbers.

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crusader mortgaged all or part of his land was one of the most common methods by which to obtain money. A mortgage was perhaps the most satisfactory way to obtain a crusading loan for the crusader, who of course, had the opportunity to redeem the land upon his return from the holy war.

Although the monastic annals have by no means been examined exhaustively by any historian in regard to the subject of mortgages, there still is enough evidence to indicate monastic mortgages were a common practice in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. In 1096 Thurstein, son of Turgis, prévôt of Luc-sur-Mer, pledged his allod of 40 acres at Luc to the abbey of St. Etienne at Caen for four marks and a mount.⁷ William du Vast on September 9, 1096, pledged his land to the abbey of Fecamp for a loan of three marks until his return.⁸ Frumold, who had been tentatively identified as a canon of Cologne, on December 31, 1095, transferred his property to the abbey of Brauweiler in return for a loan, although he did not necessarily go on the crusade.⁹ Both Godfrey and Baldwin of Bouillon mortgaged property for crusading money as well as making pious donations.¹⁰ The ransom for King Richard the Lion-hearted in 1192 was apparently obtained by monastic mortgages on nobles' land.¹¹

The popes did everything possible to encourage the economic

⁷R. Genestal, Rôle des monastères comme établissements de crédit (Paris, 1901), p. 215.

⁸David, Appendix D, p. 229.

⁹Porges, p. 22.

¹⁰William of Tyre, I, 391-2, n. 23. The editor cites R. Rohricht, Geschichte des ersten Kreuzzuges, p. 60, n. 4.

¹¹Thompson, II, 639.

exchange between the regular clergy and the crusaders. Crusading property was placed under the protection of the apostolic see, and was subject to no lawsuits. At the time of the Second Crusade Pope Eugenius III wrote to Louis VII that if the relatives or lords of would-be crusaders could not or would not lend the crusaders money, then they could "pawn their lands and other possessions to the churches, to clergymen, or to others, without the consent of the lords of their fiefs."¹² In 1181 Pope Alexander III still advised crusaders and pilgrims to mortgage their property with no regard for previous obligations.¹³

Some crusaders chose to make an outright sale of their property rather than to mortgage it. The regular clergy were willing to make such exchanges, and once again monasteries became a major source from which to obtain the cash necessary for a crusade. In order to expedite the sale of property the popes took measures to loosen the land laws. For example, a German land law stipulated that mobile goods could be sold by anyone, but landed property could not be sold without the consent of the immediate heirs. The popes lifted this feudal land principle with a stroke of a pen.¹⁴ Crusaders in need of money found another loophole within the law in some areas. Laws of Hamburg, Worms and Luebeck stipulated that although the consent of immediate heirs was necessary there was one exception. If the sale of the property was necessitated by poverty, the owner was expected to offer his property for sale to the heirs. If they declined the owner was free to sell to anyone, including

¹²Oliver J. Thatcher and Edgar H. McNeal, A Source Book for Mediaeval History (New York, 1905), Ch. IX, #284, #528.

¹³Pfeiffer, XLVIII, 271.

¹⁴Schwarz, p. 63.

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monasteries.¹⁵

Until the monastic records of financial transactions are examined more exhaustively it is impossible to tell whether outright purchase of the crusaders' land by monasteries was more or less common than loans. At present it is only possible to cite evidence which indicates monasteries did purchase landed property and thus enabled crusaders to leave for the Holy Land. Hamo de Huna made an exchange with the monastery of Saint Vincent of Le Mons on 29 July 1096 for which he received twenty shillings.¹⁶ The same monastery gave Frobert the Vicar four livres manceaux in return for some "donations".¹⁷ Guy, eldest son of Gerard le Duc, received five shillings from the above monastery as part of an exchange.¹⁸ Guy de Sarce, a knight of the monastery, surrendered his fief to the abbot and received in turn 20 livres manceaux and 300 shillings in June of 1096.¹⁹ Frederick of Zimmern sold his chateau of Harkansen with a village and all its dependencies to the monks at Oberndorf on the Neckar.²⁰ Simon, Count of Teckensburg in Westphalia, in 1187 sold property to the monastery of Osede for 104 marks. Shortly thereafter Simon wished to make another sale to the monastery to raise money for his intended trip to Jerusalem, although no mention is made of the amount of the sale.²¹ Abbot Goswin and the

¹⁵Schwarz, p. 65.

¹⁶David, Appendix D, p. 224.

¹⁷David, Appendix D, p. 227.

¹⁸David, Appendix D, p. 223.

¹⁹David, Appendix D, p. 224.

²⁰Chronique de Zimmern, trans. M. F. Raynaud, in Archives de l'Orient Latin (Paris, 1881-84), Ch. XVI, 33.

²¹Schwarz, p. 70, who cites Regesta Historiae Westphaliae, ed. Erhard (Munich, 1854), II, 191.

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Cistercians of Bonnevaux bought some land from Rollanus for 350 shillings which enabled Rollanus to go on the crusade.²² However, it does appear that the Cistercians were not as great a source of financial aid as the older or richer monastic establishments, but even during the Second Crusade the Cistercians indicated their attitude by whatever financial support they could afford.

In addition to mortgages and sales the monasteries profited from the crusading fervor by becoming the object of donations of pious crusaders who asked for no material reward. Many knights who went to fight the holy war felt they must prepare to die. Some freed their serfs before leaving. The monastery of Mourimond had for some time received the victims of the nobles' injustice in that area, and in preparation for the Second Crusade many nobles made donations to that monastery to expiate their past sins and to help the monks care for the poor.²³

Very often sales assumed the guise of pious donations as in the case of Roger of Saint Germain.²⁴ Roger, who was probably a vassal of Stephen, bishop of Clermont from 1053 to 1073,²⁵ desired to go on the crusade in 1096. Consequently, he gave to the monastery of Sauxillanges two small farms (mansus), thirteen dependencies (appendaria) and half of a church. In return, Roger received a mule worth 200

²² Pfeiffer, XLVII, 79, who cites Cartulaire de l'abbaye Notre Dame de Bonnevaux (Grenoble, 1889), #244.

²³ Pfeiffer, XLVII, 80.

²⁴ Cartulaire de Sauxillanges, pub. by l'Academie der sciences, belles-lettres et artes de Clermont-Ferrand, ed. M. H. Doniol (Clermont-Ferrand, 1864), Charter #697.

²⁵ Pius Boniface Gams, Series episcoporum Ecclesiae Catholicae (Ratisbon, 1873-86), p. 538.

shillings for the crusade and remission of his sins and a promise from the monks that they would bury him with prayers of intercession. The donor and the monks phrased the transaction in such a way that Roger appeared to be making a donation for the good of his soul which is partially true, but it is also clear that the donor received ample remuneration from the monks.

Crusaders' donations to monasteries were often made by men so wealthy that they could afford to dispose of their land without recompense or by men who were so deeply religious that material compensation was not a concern. The monastery might receive the donation as an outright gift, but more often the monastery was designated as the heir of the crusader and received the property upon the death of the crusader.²⁶ An example of the latter case occurred in 1189 when Alberro von Sigenheim willed his land to the abbey of Himmerode.²⁷

Numerous donations were made prior to a crusader's departure instead of or in addition to whatever land was bequeathed to monasteries in wills. Wigo de Marra from Perche received hospitality from the monks of Saint Julien at Tours, and in return he gave them his church at Bellou-sur-Huine, a gift which he confirmed upon returning from the First Crusade.²⁸ Henry de Colombieres in June of 1103 granted to Saint Martin of Troarn "all that his father William had given and granted before he went on crusade".²⁹ In 1185 Count Poppo at Henneberg, in

²⁶Schwarz, pp. 66-67.

²⁷Schwarz, pp. 66-67, who cites Urkundenbuch der familie von Krosigk, publication date unknown, p. 33.

²⁸David, Appendix D, p. 228, who cites Chartes de S-Julien de Tours, #51.

²⁹David, Appendix D, p. 229.

preparation for his journey to Jerusalem, gave the monastery at Vessra one-half the feudal income derived from his estate of Ottelmannshausen and Westenfeld. Either Count Poppo did not actually go or he returned quickly because in 1189 he is again found giving various allodial properties to the above cloister as fiefs. In that year he went to the East with Frederick Barbarossa and died before returning.³⁰

The regular clergy also profited from the frequent endowments for new monasteries. Endowments were another form of the crusaders' donations. In 1182 the above mentioned Count Poppo desired to make a pilgrimage to the Holy Land and, consequently, wished to put his house in order. His wife, a very pious woman, desired that he found a nunnery at Trostadt, and to do this he gave his seignorial privileges over the villages of Trostadt and Siegritz to Abbot Rueger.³¹ Melisend, wife of Fulk of Cenjon, who was king of Jerusalem from 1131-43, founded a nunnery at Bethany beyond the Mount of Olives in the Holy Land. For its defense she had erected a great tower of hewn and polished stone. She endowed the convent with rich estates including the city of Jericho. The convent became known as Saint Lazuras.³² Before leaving Godfrey of Bouillon went to the abbey of Affighen to visit a knight named Godfrey the Black, who had been his friend in the world and who was fighting the devil under a Benedictine cowl. Godfrey of Bouillon gave five estates to the abbey, and took with him on the crusade certain of the

³⁰Schwarz, pp. 66-67, who cites Diplomatische Geschichte des Graeflichen Hauses Henneberg, ed. Schultes (Hanish, 1788-91), I, 48.

³¹Schwarz, p. 69, who cites Diplomatische Geschichte des Graeflichen Hauses Henneberg, I, 49.

³²William of Tyre, II, Bk. XV, 132-134.

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pious monks.³³ During the crusade these monks celebrated the divine services day and night and offered prayers for the crusaders. Once the object of the First Crusade had been attained Godfrey built an abbey in the valley of Jehosaphat for the monks.³⁴ Godfrey also made other pious foundations in the Holy Land: an abbey at Bethany, one in honor of Saint Mary at Jerusalem, and a convent under Saint Anne located near the site which was purportedly the birthplace of the Virgin.³⁵ All of Godfrey's pious foundations were placed under the Benedictine rule.

The donations to monasteries were by no means an innovation of the crusading era. That form of piety had been popular through out the Middle Ages. Nevertheless, the crusading annals are full of examples of such gifts made for the express purpose of preparing for a crusade. In turn the monks offered their prayers and moral support of the knights who crusaded in the Holy War.

There was one last means by which the regular clergy could contribute financially to the crusades and that was by submitting to taxation. However, taxation of the monasteries often caused intense monastic resentment. Perhaps the monks resented the compulsory nature of a tax in contrast to the voluntary nature of their aid when given by means of a loan or a sale. Taxation may also have been regarded as a dangerous tie with the state which the monks wished to avoid. Another factor behind the monastic resentment to taxation was that the monasteries were in a position to make money by loans and sales, but not by being taxed.

³³Montalembert, VI, 113, who cites "Hist. Affighen", c. 17, in Spicileg., II.

³⁴William of Tyre, I, Bk. IX, 392.

³⁵Montalembert, VI, 113.

The predominance of the monasteries as financial institutions must not be underestimated.

There was no general crusading tax levied by the popes in the twelfth century,³⁶ and it was not until the Fourth Crusade that Pope Innocent III levied such a tax. Until that time the tax was required by the king if it was required at all. Before a tax became necessary the monasteries, which had often been endowed by feudal nobles, owed some sort of payment to the lay lord in lieu of military service. Baldwin boasted that he owned ten castles in the Holy Land and had an abbey which payed him 1500 marks every year.³⁷ The monastery of Saint Mary of the Latins and the priory of the Holy Sepulchre owed the greatest number of knights to the king of Jerusalem in the twelfth century.³⁸

The king was the individual who levied the crusading tax before the Fourth Crusade. He was aided in the collection largely by court officials and the clergy had little to do with the taxation except to pay the sum that was required.³⁹ In 1188 Richard the Lion-hearted was able to levy one palfrey and one sumpter horse on each abbey and the same on each of the king's manors.⁴⁰ The resentment aroused by the Saladin tithe was wide-spread in England and when Philip Augustus made a comparable levy in France, he incurred resentment which forced him to abandon

³⁶ Pfeiffer, XLVII, 78.

³⁷ Guibert of Nogent, Historia, Bk. VII, 332.

³⁸ C. N. Johns, "The Abbey of St. Mary in the Valley of Jehosaphat, Jerusalem," Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine, VIII (1939), 118.

³⁹ Beatrice Siedschlag, English Participation in the Crusades, 1150-1220 (Randolph, Wis., 1939), p. 35. Hereafter cited as Siedschlag, with the appropriate page number.

⁴⁰ Roger of Hovedon, II, 137.

its renewal in 1189.⁴¹

Since the clergy were not burdened with the collection of crusading taxes in the twelfth century it was left to them only to contribute their share. However, that was a matter to which they greatly objected. Monasteries sought tax exemptions and many managed to free themselves from all outside financial obligations. Monastic houses were often deservedly exempted when they were new and adhered to the vow of poverty. In such instances financial contribution would have been impossible. However, as each house grew in years it also grew in wealth and could no longer claim poverty as a just reason for an exemption from taxation. At the time of the Third Crusade the Cistercians were exempted both in England and France and yet it cannot be argued that the Cistercian monasteries were poor in the 1180's. Philip Augustus expressly exempted the Cistercians, Carthusians, the order of Fontevrault, and those affected by leprosy. No official English ordinance exists, but exemption of the Cistercians can be assumed from a statement in the annals of Waverly which says, "the Cistercians order was exempt from the tenth payment."⁴²

The exemption of the regular clergy from crusading taxes was based on their long tradition of privileges from the pope. As the monastic cycle progressed through the Middle Ages the monks had gradually become the allies of the papacy in return for which the monastic clergy received certain privileges. For example, in 1132 Pope Innocent II granted the Cistercians an exemption from taxation on their work, on their cattle, and on their land. The Cistercians had upheld

⁴¹Pfeiffer, XLVIII, 271.

⁴²Pfeiffer, XLVIII, 271, who cites Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores, XXVII, 458 ff.

that privilege against all attackers, and Pope Alexander III had confirmed it anew at the Lateran Synod in 1179.⁴³ When the question of the tax for the Third Crusade arose it was only a matter of reasserting their older privileges.

Once the Latin states had been established in the Holy Land the ecclesiastical bodies there quickly became wealthy landholders. For example, the abbey of Mount Sion had possessions not only in the Holy Land at Ascalon, Jaffa, Acre, Tyre, Caesarea, Tarsus, but also in Sicily, Calabria, Lombardy, Spain and France.⁴⁴ In spite of its wealth the Church, including the monasteries, refused to contribute monetarily to the defense of the Holy Land. Loans and mortgages could always be obtained from the monks, but not taxes. Throughout the eleventh and twelfth centuries the monasteries continued to acquire fresh land and tapped every possible source of revenue including booty. The Church was the wealthiest institution in the Holy Land, but since it was "practically immune from any charges on its property, the church helped, unconsciously, to ruin the kingdom which it should have supported above all others".⁴⁵ Those who tried to take away property from the church found that such means as the threat of excommunication were effective enough to allow the church to go undisturbed.⁴⁶

The financial aid of the regular clergy brings to light the paradoxical nature of medieval monasticism. The monks generally supported

⁴³Pfeiffer, XLVIII, 272.

⁴⁴Ernest Barker, The Crusades (London, 1925), 46, n. 1.

⁴⁵Ibid., p. 46.

⁴⁶Schwarz, p. 68.

the crusades throughout the eleventh and twelfth centuries. One of the ways in which the monasteries manifested their support was by making ready cash available to crusaders by means of loans and purchase of property. However, those very acts evidence the financial interests and skills of the regular clergy who could not help making great profits from such transactions. The motives of the monks in their financial support are made even more questionable by their unwillingness to donate financially to the support of the Holy Land in the form of taxation. However, the resistance to taxation may not be indicative of disinterest in the crusades for taxation by the state in the twelfth century would establish a practice which would be very disadvantageous to monasticism in the succeeding centuries. At present no exhaustive study of the financial aspects of monasticism exists, and judgment on that subject must be withheld until such a study has been accomplished. It is evident, however, that regardless of their motives the regular clergy provided an indispensable service to the crusades by supplying ready cash.

CHAPTER V

THE DIPLOMATIC ACTIVITIES OF THE REGULAR CLERGY

The monks and abbots provided an invaluable service to the progress of the crusades through their diplomatic efforts. It can be considered one of their most vital roles. Members of the regular clergy were particularly well suited for tasks of negotiation since monks were considered the most holy of men and monasticism as the highest expression of Christianity. The monks were also aided by their reputation for pacifism which can be seen in instances like the one reported by William of Tyre where fifty well-armed Armenians gained entrance to a palace in 1122 to free a Latin crusader by posing as monks.¹ The diplomatic activities entailed minimizing friction within the crusading ranks as well as the delicate task of negotiation with the Greeks and Moslems. Aside from the element of danger involved, the welfare of the entire crusading army often rested upon the regular clergy in such negotiations.

The great dependency of the crusading movement on the monastic preaching has been noted in Chapter II, but the preparation for the crusades also necessitated that antagonism be removed from the ranks of the crusaders before the crusade could get underway. The monks and abbots were of significant value in negotiating between warring nobles and kings. Abbot Gerlach von Rein, a Cistercian, received a letter

¹William of Tyre, I, Bk. XII, 541-542; Matthew of Edessa gave the number fifteen rather than fifty.

from St. Bernard asking him to preach the Second Crusade.² In addition to his preaching activities, Abbot Gerlach also negotiated a peace between two feuding nobles, Ottocar von Steiermark and Heinrich Jasomirgott, which enabled them to leave on the crusade.³

Another example which has received ample attention but which still deserves note here, is the negotiation of Gerento, abbot of Saint Benigne of Dijon, between Robert Curthose and William Rufus. Robert Curthose, duke of Normandy, was the eldest son of William the Conqueror but had inherited the duchy of Normandy when his brother, William Rufus, inherited England. Robert's control in the duchy was rapidly being undermined by his own impotent rule and by the king of England's attempt to take the duchy from him. Therefore, under the existing unpleasant circumstances Robert Curthose was quite amenable to the idea of a crusade to the Holy Land. However, the two brothers seemed unable to reach a suitable agreement and the Pope, who feared the aggressions of William Rufus would prevent Norman participation on the crusade, sent Abbot Gerento as his special agent to negotiate a peace.

Abbot Gerento was in England with William Rufus at Easter of 1096 and had crossed to Normandy by the end of May. Remaining in Normandy throughout the summer the abbot brought the negotiation to a successful conclusion. In September William Rufus crossed the channel to Normandy bringing with him 10,000 silver marks for which Robert Curthose had mortgaged his duchy to the king.⁴ The treaty was drawn

²Willems, p. 134.

³Pfeiffer, XLVII, 51; Willems, p. 136; Otto of Freising mentioned the fact that the two nobles joined the crusade late, Deeds, Bk. I, 76.

⁴Orderic Vitalis, Historia Ecclesiastica, trans. Guizot, in Collection, III, Bk. IX, 420, and IV, Bk. X, 12.

up by Hugh of Flavigny who became abbot of Flavigny in 1096 and at that time was the secretary of Abbot Gerento.⁵ Once the treaty had been signed Robert Curthose joined his troops and departed for Jerusalem. Abbot Gerento and Hugh accompanied the crusaders to Pontarlier on the upper waters of the Danube and then left them with their blessings.⁶

During the absence of King Louis VII on the Second Crusade Suger, abbot of Saint Denis, took upon himself the task of ruling France which necessarily entailed great tact and diplomacy. After the king's decision was made to involve himself in the crusade, an assembly was held in February of 1147. One of the issues to be settled by the assembly was custody of the realm. The ecclesiastical prelates and nobles led by St. Bernard took counsel and chose Abbot Suger and the Count of Nevers. The latter had vowed to become a monk at Chartreuse and could not be persuaded to do otherwise which left the entire burden of administration to Suger.⁷ Suger did not approve of Louis' participation in the crusade and considered his task in the king's absence a burden rather than an honor. While Louis VII was in the Holy Land Suger wrote to the king again and again begging him to return to France.⁸ Suger accepted the regency with great reluctance and only in obedience to the pope.⁹

⁵Charles Homer Haskins, Norman Institutions (Cambridge, Mass., 1925), p. 64, #4.

⁶Hugh of Flavigny, Chronicon, in Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores, VIII, 475. Hugh is the best source for the whole negotiation since he was the abbot's secretary.

⁷Odo of Deuil, Bk. I, 15; Otto of Freising, Deeds, Bk. I, 95; William of Nangis, p. 29.

⁸Runciman, II, 285.

⁹Vita Sugerii, ed. Lecoy de la Marche, in Suger, Oeuvres Completes (Paris, 1867), pp. 393-394.

The choice of Suger would certainly have been agreeable to Louis VII for it was consistent with his policy of replacing noble court officials with ones of lowly birth and even the citizens of towns. Suger was the son of a serf,¹⁰ and like others of his status was dependent on the king for much of his success and therefore made a more loyal servant than did the typical noble. Odo of Deuil, a monk of Saint Denis and successor of Suger, seems to have been referring to that situation when he wrote the following to the abbot: "You, moreover, owe him much on your own behalf, for he has particularly favored you in his realm and on leaving it for a time, influenced by zeal for extending the faith, he has entrusted that very realm to you. Nonetheless, he was thereby protecting his own interests by confiding them to a man of proven loyalty and unique wisdom."¹¹

Despite the count of Nevers' determination to enter the monastic life Suger was not left entirely alone with the burden of ruling France. Louis VII appointed Samson, archbishop of Rheims, to be his associate. That appointment doubtless warded off possible resistance from the secular clergy to the rule of an abbot. The appointment of Raoul I, count of Nevers, placated another source of resistance from the temporal powers, but his contribution seems to have amounted to very little.¹²

Once Suger reconciled himself to the task of administering France he brought all his energy and wisdom to bear on the matter. It was

¹⁰Henri Daniel-Rops, Cathedral and Crusade, trans. J. Warrington (New York, 1957), p. 222.

¹¹Odo of Deuil, Bk. I, 3.

¹²Odo of Deuil, Bk. II, 21; Setton, I, 478; A. Luchaire, Études sur les actes de Louis VII (Paris, 1885), pp. 170-176.

perhaps inevitable that Suger's predominant position and his great ability would arouse jealousy. In spite of the abbot's tact Suger was made suspect in the eyes of Louis VII by jealous courtiers and a breach resulted between the king and his regent. Reconciliation was extremely important and was accomplished by another monastic diplomat, Peter the Venerable, abbot of Cluny.¹³ The reconciliation was effected in 1149 and Suger remained devoted to the royalty until his death in 1152.

The diplomatic contributions of the monastic clergy were not terminated by the departure of the crusading armies from Europe. Monks and abbots accompanied the crusaders to the Holy Land and continued to exercise their peace-making abilities. There is not a great deal of emphasis put on this particular monastic activity by the chroniclers with the exception of the Cluniac monk, Odo of Deuil. However, the lack of much mention of the diplomatic activities of the regular clergy does not mean that this aspect of their role on the crusades was negligible. Since diplomatic missions usually required secrecy it is quite possible that the chroniclers were unaware of the various missions. The reason Odo of Deuil was so well informed on the subject was that he himself was not only the chaplain, but also the "royal messenger" of Louis VII.¹⁴ Despite what on the surface appears to be a lack of evidence, there are enough references to monastic diplomatic missions to indicate the significance of that factor in retaining harmony among the crusaders.

It is generally recognized that many crusaders lacked any sincere

¹³B. Duparry, Pierre-le-Venerable (Chalon-sur-Saon, 1862), pp. 100-101.

¹⁴Odo of Deuil, Introduction, p. xv.

piety toward the goal of the crusade and many went to the East for political and economic reasons. In such circumstances feuds between competing nobles were inevitable and it required the utmost ingenuity to keep these feuds from bringing the crusades to a disastrous end. Such a feud occurred between Bohemond and Raymond of Saint Gilles over the capture of Antioch during the First Crusade. Bohemond had largely been responsible for its capture and had been the first to enter Antioch since he was able to arrange for a secret entrance with a traitor within the walls. Prior to the capture and after making the necessary arrangements for his entry, Bohemond received a promise from the crusading leaders to give him the city in the event it was captured. When the city was successfully taken Raymond quickly reminded the crusaders of their oath to Alexius which caused a violent feud between the two leaders.¹⁵ The anxiety of the masses and the knights to push on toward their goal after the defense of the city and the defeat of Kerbogha was thwarted by the feud. The reconciliation of the feud was finally brought about by the intervention of bishops, abbots, and the chief princes.¹⁶ The agreement reached was that Raymond would agree to a council's decision concerning Antioch to be made in the future if Bohemond would accompany the crusade to Jerusalem. The factor which in reality had forced Bohemond and Raymond to come to an agreement had been the threat of the rank and file to burn Antioch and then leave for Jerusalem. But once that threat set the stage for negotiation the ecclesiastical prelates, including abbots, were depended upon to carry

¹⁵Runciman, I, 231-235.

¹⁶Robert the Monk, Bk. VIII, 423-433.

the peace making efforts to a successful conclusion.

Late in 1129 the safety of Antioch was again jeopardized, this time by the attempts of the widow Alice to take the city for herself after the death of its ruler and her husband, Bohemond II. Recent military developments had been favorable to the Moslems and the citizens of Antioch asked Baldwin of Jerusalem for aid which the king was willing to give. Upon his arrival at Antioch, Baldwin found that Alice had closed the gates of the city against him while she continued her schemes to solidify her control. The majority of the population opposed Alice and some of the leaders took it upon themselves to negotiate with Baldwin and arrange for his entrance. Peter Latinator, a monk of Saint Paul, was one of the pro-Baldwin faction and was instrumental in arranging the transfer of the city to the king of Jerusalem who in turn promised that when the daughter of the deceased Bohemond married, her husband would become lord of Antioch.¹⁷

Two members of the regular clergy were included in a mission led by the patriarch of Jerusalem to Bohemond of Antioch in 1180. The mission was necessitated by Bohemond's behavior. He had left his legitimate wife and married his mistress. That act alone was enough to arouse the animosity of the people, but after receiving a ban of excommunication he turned on his nobles and on the clergy. "He violated the precincts of sacred places, both churches and monasteries, carried off their sacred objects, and, in a wicked spirit of presumptuous daring, disturbed their possessions."¹⁸ As a consequence, the entire principality

¹⁷William of Tyre, II, Bk. XIII, 45.

¹⁸William of Tyre, II, Bk. XXII, 454.

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of Antioch had been placed under an interdict which forbade all the sacraments except baptism.

The party which went to Antioch to try to find a workable solution was under the leadership of the patriarch but included two representatives of the regular clergy, Raynold, abbot of Mount Sion, and Peter, prior of the Holy Sepulchre.¹⁹ An agreement was reached which stipulated that the interdict would be removed if the prince returned all possessions to the people and the clergy. The excommunication on the prince, however, would be removed only when he returned to his legitimate wife. Ultimately, the mission was not successful for Bohemond shortly resumed his destructive activities. William of Tyre quite accurately estimated that Bohemond's actions endangered the entire realm since he drove out of Antioch his best defense, the nobles.²⁰ Regardless of the negative consequences of the mission, it is significant that members of the regular clergy were present on that important mission which was vital to the safety of the Latin states. In the opinion of William of Tyre, Raynold and Peter were among the "wise and discreet" men of the kingdom.²¹

The progress of the crusades depended not only on the existence of harmony within the crusading armies but also on the relationship between the Latins and the Greeks. Monks and abbots were active in a variety of ways trying to assuage the Byzantine populace and the Greek Emperor. The correspondence between Emperor Alexius and Orderisio I

¹⁹William of Tyre, II, Bk. XXII, 456.

²⁰William of Tyre, II, Bk. XXII, 457.

²¹William of Tyre, II, Bk. XXII, 456.

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de' Marsi, a cardinal-deacon and abbot of Monte Cassino, provides an example.

In October of 1096 Orderisio wrote to the Emperor Alexius and announced to him the passage of several princes, probably crusaders, in the near future.²² Orderisio received a reply from Alexius in August of 1097 which affirmed that the affairs of the crusaders were prospering.²³ Another reply was received by the abbot in early June of 1098 in response to his letter of November, 1097, in which Alexius said he had received some more crusaders and described what he had done for the Latin knights. Apparently Abbot Orderisio had expressed concern that the provisions of the crusaders were not adequate and Alexius related what he had done to relieve the situation.²⁴ The correspondence continued in the same vein²⁵ and thus the abbot was instrumental in removing possible hindrances from the path of the crusaders.

Despite the rather strong friendship between the emperor and abbot of Monte Cassino,²⁶ the efforts of Orderisio were not enough to prevent friction from arising between the Latins and the Byzantines during the early years of the crusades. The changing nature of the crusades had become evident in a letter of August, 1098, which the abbot wrote to Godfrey of Bouillon. Orderisio begged Godfrey not to make war

²²P. Riant, Inventaire critique des Lettres historiques des Croisades, in Archives de l'Orient Latin, I (Paris, 1881), LX, p. 123. Hereafter cited as Riant, Inventaire, with appropriate letter and page numbers.

²³Riant, Inventaire, #LXXXIX, pp. 151-152.

²⁴Riant, Inventaire, #XCIV, pp. 160-161; #CI, pp. 169-170.

²⁵Riant, Inventaire, #CXI, p. 180.

²⁶Riant, Inventaire, editor's note, pp. 169-170.

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against the emperor.²⁷ The friction which arose was a matter that very few could have anticipated, let alone have avoided on any permanent basis. Nevertheless, the tone of the correspondence symbolized the attitude of the regular clergy and their efforts to promote the movement by retaining internal harmony among the crusaders and their allies.

The problem of antagonism between the Byzantines and the Latins which became evident on the First Crusade was a factor of considerable importance in the failure of the Second and Third Crusades. The depth of the Greek-Latin antagonism during the Second Crusade can be seen in the incident where Godfrey, a Cistercian abbot and bishop of Langres, preached a crusade against Constantinople. The bishop insisted the Greeks were not really Christians and that they were a hindrance to the progress of the crusades.²⁸ The crusaders were not yet ready to respond to such enticements, but the incident exemplified the growing friction.

The general antagonism of the Latins towards the Greeks was a situation which was eventually recognized by some crusading leaders and those who realized the importance of good relations with the Greeks tried to avoid friction by diplomatic means. Monks and abbots were prominent in the delicate task of negotiating with the Byzantine emperor and his representatives. When Louis VII broke camp at Worms and prepared to pass on to Ratisbon, he sent two messengers ahead to meet the representatives of the emperor who had been waiting at Ratisbon for several days. The messengers were Alvisus, bishop of Arras, who was a former

²⁷Riant, Inventaire, #CXII, pp. 180-181.

²⁸Pfeiffer, XLVII, 109, cited Statua Capitalorum Generalium Ordinis Cisterciensis, ed. Canivez, IV, 1223 B and III, 1221 A.

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monk of Saint Bertin and abbot of Anchin, and Leo, abbot of Saint Bertin.²⁹ During the Third Crusade Frederick Barbarossa also turned to an abbot to conduct negotiations with Constantinople. After the capture of Spoleto messengers of the Greek emperor were sent to persuade Frederick to invade Apulia and fight the Normans which he refused to do. However, his refusal had to be stated in inoffensive terms and he therefore sent Wilbald, abbot of Corvey and Stablo, "a man of prudence and eminent at court," to convey the message to Constantinople.³⁰

As part of the attempt to maintain the harmony among the crusaders and also with their theoretical allies, the Greeks, members of the regular clergy were relied upon to run messages. The task of a messenger was perhaps less glamorous than that of a negotiator, but since it was important to the progress of the crusades the monks and abbots served willingly in that capacity. When Baldwin was besieged by Egyptians at Jaffa in 1102 he needed to get a message to Jerusalem and to Hebron to ask for extra men. "A local monk was found who was ready to take the message through the enemy lines."³¹ Around 1133 the king of Jerusalem selected Gerald, a brother of the Hospital, to travel to the West and inform Raymond, son of William IX, duke of Aquitaine, that he had been selected as the husband of Constance of Antioch and would therefore become the lord of Antioch.³² Just before the Third Crusade the countess of Jaffa sent messages to various

²⁹ Odo of Deuil, Bk. II, p. 22, n. 5 and 6, p. 25.

³⁰ Otto of Freising, Deeds, Bk. II, 154.

³¹ Runciman, II, 79, no citation.

³² William of Tyre, II, Bk. XIV, 59.

personages demanding that they attend her coronation. Upon receiving this demand the barons of Tripoli refused to attend and they sent two abbots from Citeaux with the message not to go ahead until the barons had conferred and made a decision.³³ The message was disregarded but the instance again illustrates the dependency on the regular clergy as messengers.

One of the most famous errands occurred during the defense of Antioch against Kerbogha when Peter the Hermit, the monk of fame on the Peasants' Crusade, took a message to Kerbogha's camp.³⁴ Runciman argues that the danger of the mission is indicated by the fact that the party included no crusading leaders. The Latins needed every leader and could not afford to risk any on a mission where diplomatic immunity might not be respected.³⁵ Peter the Hermit headed the mission and the only other man mentioned by name was Herluin who was valued for his knowledge of Arabic, Latin, Provencal and Persian.³⁶ The reason Peter was willing to undertake such a dangerous mission to the enemy camp may stem in part from his attempt to restore his damaged prestige. His reputation had been impaired to a degree when the peasants had been massacred after

³³ Bernard the Treasurer and Ernoul, Chronique, trans. Guizot, in Collection, XIX, 37.

³⁴ Baudri of Dol, Historia, Bk. III, 74; Fulcher of Chartres, trans. McGinty, in Translations and Reprints, p. 51; Gesta Francorum, pp. 66-67; Raoul de Caen, Gesta Tancredi, trans. Guizot, in Collections, XXIII, Bk. LXXXI, 161; hereafter cited as Gesta Tancredi with appropriate book and page numbers; Richard le Pelerin, Chanson d'Antioche, ed. P. Paris (Paris, 1848), I, Ch. 7, 170; William of Tyre, I, Bk. VI, 282-284.

³⁵ Runciman, I, 247.

³⁶ Gesta Francorum, pp. 66-67; Hagenmeyer, pp. 57-58; Runciman, I, 246; Setton, I, 322; William of Tyre, I, Bk. VI, 282-284.

crossing the Bosphorus during the Peasants' Crusade, and it had been utterly ruined when he deserted the crusade with William the Carpenter during the siege of Antioch.³⁷

The content of the message which was taken by Peter to Kerbogha is not known. Some chroniclers indicate the crusaders demanded the withdrawal or surrender of Kerbogha,³⁸ while the Gesta Tancredi says Peter offered to solve the stalemate by a series of individual combats.³⁹ Whatever the offer was, it was rejected by Kerbogha, whereupon the Latins took the offensive and gained a substantial victory over the enemy.

Diplomatic missions to the infidel as well as taking messages to the enemy entailed a very great personal risk. Despite that fact, the monks and abbots made their services available to the crusaders when the leaders wished to deal with the infidels. Albert of Aix mentioned that during the siege of Antioch the Latins sent an abbot to the emir of Babylon with a proposal for alliance to which the emir agreed since he had had a recent break with the Turks.⁴⁰ Another instance occurred when priests and monks intervened in the squabbles and raids between Roger of Antioch and the emir Theodore, who had succeeded Kok-Basil, and restored a semblance of order between the Turks and the Latins around 1113.⁴¹ Although no names were given, monks were also

³⁷Baudri of Dol, Historia, Bk. II, 43; Runciman, I, 223.

³⁸Gesta Francorum, pp. 66-67; Fulcher of Chartres, trans. McGinty, in Translations and Reprints, p. 51.

³⁹Gesta Tancredi, Bk. LXXXI, 161.

⁴⁰Albert of Aix, Bk. III, 177-178.

⁴¹Ibn-el-Athir, Kamel-Altevarykh, in Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Orientaux, I, 287-288.

included in a delegation sent by the Franks to Saladin who had established himself at a camp near Okhouanah in 1187.⁴² This may have been part of a delegation sent after Saladin's victory in the battle of Hattin.⁴³

One of the most difficult aspects of crusading travel, along with providing provisions, was finding means to navigate rivers and seas. Leo, abbot of Saint Bertin, was sent by King Louis VII from Metz to Worms to arrange for passage of the Rhine. Leo was accompanied by Alvisus, a former monk of Saint Bertin and abbot of the Benedictine monastery of Anchin who was bishop of Arras at the time of the mission. "They performed their task excellently, assembling from all sides a fleet so great that the army had no need for a bridge."⁴⁴ After the crossing a quarrel broke out between the crusaders and the citizens of Worms which resulted in a pitched battle. Alvisus finally procured a boat and crossed the river where he was able to calm the citizens of Worms by promising them safety.⁴⁵ Abbot Leo and Alvisus were then sent ahead to Ratisbon to meet the representatives of the Greek Emperor and to prepare for the reception of Louis VII.⁴⁶

The communication between Europe and the crusaders in the Holy Land depended to a very great extent on the cooperation of the monks and abbots. Several letters which exemplify this have already been

⁴²Ibid., 680.

⁴³Runciman, II, 458-459.

⁴⁴Odo of Deuil, Bk. II, 23.

⁴⁵Odo of Deuil, Bk. III, 53.

⁴⁶Odo of Deuil, Bk. III, 53, n. 40.

mentioned.⁴⁷ In addition, the regular clergy were sent on errands and missions themselves. Robert, prior of Hereford, arrived from England some time shortly after Easter of 1191 with a message for Richard the Lion-hearted.⁴⁸ The prior brought a letter from the bishop of Ely, the king's chancellor, in which the bishop complained of his suffering at the hands of John, the king's brother. The prior of Hereford has been identified by Stubbs as Robert, who later became abbot of Munchelae.⁴⁹ After King Richard had been captured in 1192 on his return to Europe, two abbots were commissioned to locate his whereabouts. The abbot of Boxley and Robert, the abbot of Pont, agreed to the mission and were apparently successful.⁵⁰

It was not until the Sixth Crusade in 1228 that there appeared a master of diplomacy in the person of Frederick II. Nevertheless, the early crusades evidenced the importance of negotiating differences both

⁴⁷ See above, pp. 87-88.

⁴⁸ Ambroise, The Crusade of Richard Lion-heart, trans. M. J. Hubert, Records of Civilization, Sources and Studies, ed. Austin P. Evans, XXXIV (New York, 1941), Ch. VIII, 326. Hereafter cited as Ambroise, with appropriate chapter and page numbers. Geoffrey de Vinsauf, Itinerary of Richard I, in Chronicles of the Crusades, Bohn's Antiquarian Library (London, 1900), Ch. XXII, 272-273. Hereafter cited as Geoffrey de Vinsauf, with appropriate chapter and page numbers. Richard of Devizes, Chronicle, trans. J. Stevenson, in Church Historians of England (London, 1858), V, part 1, 264. Hereafter cited as Richard of Devizes, with appropriate page number.

⁴⁹ Ambroise, Ch. VIII, 326; Itinerarium peregrinorum et gesta regis Ricardi, ed. W. Stubbs, in Chronicles and Memorials of the Reign of Richard I, Rolls Series, #38, I (London, 1864), 333-334. Hereafter cited as Itinerarium, with appropriate page numbers. Siedschlag, p. 123, #121.

⁵⁰ Roger of Hovedon, II, 281.

within the ranks of the crusading host and with the Moslems. The success and very often the existence of the crusaders depended on their ability to negotiate rather than fight. Yet, diplomacy was a difficult task for the early crusaders who were filled with self-assurance and religious zeal. It therefore fell to the leaders to insist on negotiation when the occasion arose. The leaders were willingly seconded in their diplomatic efforts by the regular clergy. It is evident that both the secular and the regular clergy shared the diplomatic load, but a monk or abbot did have an advantage. The secular clergy were often seen in battle, or as in the case of Otto, bishop of Freising and Godfrey, bishop at Langres, who led a large section of the crusading army in a military capacity. The monastic clergy restricted the activities of their members largely to conciliatory roles. The reputation of the regular clergy for pacifism made them ideally suited for the tasks of diplomacy and errands. Although the chroniclers, largely from lack of information, are relatively silent on this subject, it appears it was a major contribution of the regular clergy to the crusades.

CHAPTER VI

MONASTIC AID TO THE MILITARY PROGRESS OF THE CRUSADES

The maintenance of morale among the crusaders was vital to the military progress of the Holy War. Since the crusades were theoretically pious expeditions for the liberation of the Holy Land it was important that the religious fervor be retained both in the face of defeat and in time of relative ease and prosperity. The religious morale was a major concern to the regular clergy. The monks and abbots preached, prayed, prophesied, conducted processions and burials, prescribed fasting and reform, all of which helped to maintain the moral fiber of the Latin armies. Both the nobility and the poor masses looked to the abbots, monks and canons as well as to the secular clergy for "discipline and to give them courage."¹

Despite its inconsistency with monastic ideal of retreat from the world, the presence of monks both in crusading camps and in the fray of battles is attested to by most of the chroniclers. They were not always held in special esteem by the Turks and risked death along with the rest of the pilgrims and crusaders. Albert of Aix mentions that monks were killed in the camp by the Turks along with the weak, the sick, the aged, the women and children.² The names of the dead in the siege of Acre in 1190 included several members of the regular clergy:

¹ Albert of Aix, Bk. II, 74.

² Albert of Aix, Bk. I, 32.

the abbot of the Temple of Our Lord, the abbot of Mount Sion, the abbot of Mount Oliver, the abbot of Forde, the prior of Saint Sepulchre.³ Regardless of the danger involved the regular clergy actively participated in the crusading armies. The monks and abbots usually did not take up the sword themselves, but they did aid the military progress of the crusades in a variety of ways.

Before a siege the monks along with the other clergy often led the crusaders in processions and prayers which engendered in the knights a pious spirit. Before the crusaders went out from Antioch to besiege Kerbogha, they were ordered to offer prayers and make confession.⁴ In the morning the bishops, monks and clerics marched at the head of a procession carrying a cross and encouraged the crusaders with prayers and with the hope of martyrdom if death came. After giving the army their blessing the clergy then mounted the walls carrying their crosses as the army went forth to meet the enemy.⁵ Prior to the siege of Jerusalem the clergy, including Peter the Hermit and undoubtedly other monks, led the crusaders in a procession to the Mount of Olives. There Peter and several others preached sermons with so much fervor that the host longed to besiege the Holy City and even Raymond and Tancred forgot their quarrels and vowed to fight together against the enemies of the cross.⁶

³Roger of Hovedon, II, 187-188. The abbot of Forde was Robert and was the only English abbot present on the crusade. Siedschlag, p. 23, who cites Monasticon Anglicanum, ed. Dugdale, V, 376.

⁴Albert of Aix, Bk. IV, 252.

⁵Guibert of Nogent, Historica, Bk. VI, 201.

⁶Albert of Aix, Bk. VI, 326; Runciman, I, 284; William of Tyre, I, Bk. VIII, 359.

In a similar instance Raymond of Agiles referred to the clerical "custom" of leading processions before battles and also noted the priests and the "many monks" who led a procession carrying crosses and by chants invoked the aid of God and the saints.⁷ The anonymous author of the Gesta Francorum, who was a knight, seems to have been consoled by the thought that "behind the fortress were the priests and monks clad in their sacred vestments, praying and adjuring God to defend His people, to exalt Christianity and beat down paganism."⁸ As the same knight went out to meet Kerbogha at Antioch he noted that the bishops, priests and monks were "standing aloft above the gate with the Holy Crosses in their hands, made the sign of the cross over us and blessed us. Thus deployed and protected with the sign of the cross, we sallied forth. . . ."⁹

While the crusaders were absent from a city or camp to fight the infidels, members of the clergy, including monks, were expected to offer daily services and prayers for their success. After the capture of Jerusalem the knights had to leave the city and meet the Egyptians. Peter the Hermit was instructed to hold daily services of intercession during their absence.¹⁰ Godfrey of Bouillon, in fact, brought along his own group of monks who were expected to pray for his success and celebrate mass day and night.¹¹ Raymond of Toulouse took with him a

⁷ Raymond of Aguilers, Historia Francorum qui ceperunt Jerusalem, trans. Guizot, in Collection, XXI, 285.

⁸ Gesta Francorum, p. 76.

⁹ Gesta Francorum, p. 68.

¹⁰ Setton, I, 340.

¹¹ William of Tyre, I, Bk. IX, 392.

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monk from Choise-Dieu as well as relics from the monastery.¹² It seems likely that other nobles also took monks with them to provide moral support. If that could not be arranged, it was possible to provide for such prayers from monks in the West by means of a gift or suitable donation. Philip Augustus encountered a storm at sea when returning from the Holy Land and at midnight he assured his companions that "we need have no care, for my friends of the Order of Citeaux have now risen to sing matins and to pray for us."¹³

When the crusaders returned from battle they were received by the clergy. Robert the Monk stated that after a battle the knights returned to the village where they were welcomed by the priests and monks who led them in a solemn procession.¹⁴ Once Jerusalem had been captured the clergy, including monks, led the laity in a procession "singing a new song unto the Lord in a high-sounding voice of exultation, and making offerings and most humble supplications. . . ."¹⁵

The monks and abbots helped allay the fear of death by reminding the crusaders of the glory of martyrdom which all believed was obtained by death in the Holy War. The abbot Guibert insisted that not only the clergy but also the knights and the common people obtained the martyr's halo.¹⁶ Abbot John of Casamari wrote to Bernard of Claireaux that the

¹²Montalembert, VI, 113, who cites Marbod. Vita S. Robert., II, c. 10.

¹³Chronicle of Reims, trans. E. N. Stone, in Three Old French Chronicles of the Crusades, University of Washington Publications in the Social Sciences, X (Seattle, Wash., 1939), 273.

¹⁴Robert the Monk, Bk. VII, 424.

¹⁵Fulcher of Chartres, trans. McGinty, in Translations and Reprints, p. 70.

¹⁶Guibert of Nogent, Historia, Bk. IV, 151.

saints John and Paul had appeared to him and said that all the places in heaven left vacant by fallen angels were filled by the souls of those who died on the crusades.¹⁷ The religious appeal of martyrdom and the efforts of the regular clergy to make the war a battle of the pious was a factor which strengthened the courage and zeal of the crusaders.

It was a matter of vital importance to a crusader that he receive a Christian burial if he died in the Holy War, and the regular clergy made great efforts to provide proper burials for all who died.¹⁸ Lesser men were consoled by the assurance from the abbots that they would receive the proper ceremonies regardless of the place.¹⁹ The importance of a Christian burial can be estimated by the fact that in 1191 a religious community was formed which had as its objective to ensure a Christian burial to dead crusaders. The brothers of the community adopted the Augustinian Rule and became known as the Order of Saint Thomas of Acre.²⁰

Not all the monks were satisfied to let the crusaders march out to meet the enemy alone. Some monks are found actively participating in the battle. The author of the Gesta Francorum mentioned that when he rode out to meet Kerbogha at Antioch that some bishops, priests and monks "clad with holy ornaments, came out with us, bearing crosses, praying and supplicating the Lord to save us and protect us from all

¹⁷Willems, 147, who cites Epistle CCCLXXXVI, in P.L. CLXXXII, 3, col. 590-591.

¹⁸Bernard the Treasurer and Ernoul, Chronicle, trans. Guizot, Collection, XIX, 223-225.

¹⁹Albert of Aix, Bk. II, 82 and 102.

²⁰King, Appendix A, p. 306.

evil."²¹ The Franks who defended Harem in 1163-64 from Nur-Eddin assembled themselves and collected their forces which included princes, knights, bishops and monks.²² During the First Crusade an outward display of bravery on either side often caused the other to flee. Therefore, the regular clergy who encouraged the knights to show bravery in the early encounters was often a decisive factor in accomplishing a Latin victory.

Porges found that in addition to masses and processions the clergy, including the regulars, often stood right behind the knights in battle, praying and exhorting. "Clad in white garments, holding their cruxifixes in their hands, they were a powerful deterrent to panic at Dorylaeum, Antioch, Marra and Jerusalem."²³ Count Raymond arrived at Constantinople in April of 1096. Probably due to his refusal to take the oath of loyalty to Alexius, his army was attacked by the Greeks. They had already suffered an exceedingly arduous journey and "not only many of the people but even some of the more important men now began to regret the enterprise. They doubted, indeed, whether it could be accomplished and, forgetting their vows, were disposed to return [to the West]. Had they not been restrained by the warnings and exhortations of bishops and clergy and inspired anew to accomplish their vows, they would have deserted. . . ."²⁴ During the siege of Acre on the Third Crusade the abbot of Scalons and the abbot of Esterp arrived with

²¹Gesta Francorum, p. 68.

²²Ibn-el-Athir, Kamel-Altevarykl, in Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Orientaux, I, 538.

²³Porges, p. 15.

²⁴William of Tyre, I, Bk. II, 144-145.

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members of the secular clergy and about two dozen laymen to aid the Latins.²⁵ No mention is made of the precise activity of these abbots, only that they arrived at the siege to aid the crusaders.

During the siege of Antioch Adhemar, the bishop at Puy, went from crusader to crusader exhorting them to bravery. He did not let one day go by without preaching the word of God in every quarter of the camp. Not only was the bishop active, but he also "imposed the same obligations on the other bishops and abbots and other members of the clergy."²⁶ The siege of Joppa was aided by an abbot who walked through the ranks of the crusaders carrying some wood from the Holy Cross. The abbot was not identified but only described as a venerable man.²⁷ In the middle of a grueling battle before Edessa in the interim between the First and Second Crusades three monks advanced into the ranks of the knights armed with spiritual insignia. They went to "fortify the soldiers of Christ," and were killed by the Turks.²⁸ The abbot Milo of Le Pin who travelled in the army of Richard the Lion-hearted fired the crusaders with enthusiasm again and again and did not fear death in the battle against the foes of the Lord.²⁹ Baldwin, a canon of the Sepulchre of the Lord, died from exposure to the heat in a battle where he carried the cross to encourage the crusaders.³⁰

²⁵ Geoffrey de Vinsauf, p. 123; Ambroise, Ch. IV, 159, n. 6.

²⁶ Guibert of Nogent, Historia, Bk. IV, 149.

²⁷ Foucher of Chartres, trans. Guizot, Collection, XXIV, 123.

²⁸ Albert of Aix, Bk. IX, 81.

²⁹ Pfeiffer, XLVIII, 339, who cites Ampl. Coll., ed. Martene, col. 5, 858.

³⁰ William of Tyre, II, Bk. XXII, 475.

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The willingness of the regular clergy to run errands during a battle was of importance from the military standpoint since knights could not be spared for such errands. Monks were very active running errands and messages both within the crusading armies and through enemy lines. The attitude of the regular clergy toward the circumstances of such missions was stated quite succinctly by Odo of Deuil during an attack on the crusade of Louis VII in the mountains outside Laodicea. "I, who as a monk could only call upon the Lord and summon others to battle, was sent to the camp. I reported the situation."³¹ Examples were cited in the preceding chapter on monastic diplomatic activities which are also applicable here.³² The willingness of the monks to run errands was vital to the military progress of the crusades.

In times of military crisis the problem of morals became identified with the problem of morality. The crusades were theoretically religious expeditions undertaken for the salvation of souls and for the liberation of the Holy Land. Since the crusaders battled in a war for the Lord the logical explanation of defeat was that the sins of the crusaders had merited God's wrath. Thus, military crises often called for a thorough reform within the ranks of the crusaders. The reforms, penance and fasts which were prescribed by all members of the clergy had a practical military value since a knight filled with righteousness was bound to be braver than one in fear of death.

There are numerous examples of reforms and fasts being prescribed in times of crisis. When the crusaders experienced difficulty in their

³¹Odo of Deuil, Bk. VI, 117.

³²See Chapter V, pp. 90-93.

first siege of Antioch they were told that "not only dissipation, but also avarice or pride or rapaciousness had corrupted them." Consequently, all the women were ordered to leave camp and a fast of three days was begun.³³ Antioch was taken not because the crusaders had reformed but because a traitorous Armenian agreed to let Bohemond into the city at night.³⁴ However, the fast and reform may have helped to lessen the number of desertions by instilling piety and righteousness in the crusaders. Although monks were not specifically mentioned as the instigators of the above reform, it may be deduced as consistent with the monastic point of view.

After the establishment of the crusading states reforms continued to be important since the defense of the states was always a matter of pressing concern. Because of the sins of the Latins had aroused God's wrath Jerusalem was afflicted with many troubles. "Swarms of locusts fell upon the land, and a scourge of devouring mice, for four successive years, so completely destroyed the crops that it seemed as if the whole world would lack bread."³⁵ As a result a reform was initiated and twenty-five articles drawn up with the force of law which were designed to raise morale and maintain discipline. In this case the support of the regular clergy is evidenced by their signatures on the articles.³⁶

³³Fulcher of Chartres, trans. McGinty, in Translations and Reprints, pp. 43-44; William of Tyre, I, Bk. IV, 220.

³⁴Runciman, I, 231.

³⁵William of Tyre, I, Bk. XII, 535.

³⁶William of Tyre, I, Bk. XII, 536: Achard, prior of the Temple; Arnold, prior of Mount Sion; Gerard, prior of the Sepulchre of the Lord; Gilduin, abbot-elect of Saint Mary Jehosaphat; Peter, abbot of Mount Tabor.

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The crusaders also felt justified in seeking military advice from monks since these men of God would possibly have greater insight on the strategy of a holy war. The monks depended on visions and divine inspiration to guide their advice to the crusaders. The result was sometimes helpful or at least harmless, but at times the consequences were disastrous. Visions were generally regarded as significant by laymen and by Moslems and Greeks, as well as by Latins. While the Moslems were besieging the Christians in Antioch a ball of fire fell into the Moslem camp. This extraordinary apparition was seen by all and augured evil. Therefore, the Moslems moved their entire camp and attacked from another angle.³⁷ The vision of Peter Bartholomew and the subsequent finding of the Holy Lance is another example of the strong faith in the power of visions. While many members of the clergy doubted the veracity of the event, they were quick to take advantage of the popular enthusiasm that the recovery of the Holy Lance raised. "All the Christians experienced a great joy, and were filled with a new courage against their enemy. . . . They were filled with confidence to commence the war."³⁸

The siege of Jerusalem was closely associated with visions and military advice from a monk who was living a hermitical existence on the Mount of Olives. After climbing the Mount of Olives the princes came upon a hermit (also referred to as a man of God and a monk) who told the crusaders how to win Jerusalem. If they besieged the city until the ninth hour the Lord would deliver it to them. When the

³⁷Guibert, Historia, Bk. V, 185-186; Robert the Monk, Bk. VII, 409-410.

³⁸Guibert, Historia, Bk. VI, 196; William of Tyre, I, Bk. VI, 280-281.

crusaders complained that they had not yet had time to build siege machines the hermit assured them that, "God is all-powerful. If He wills, He will scale the walls with ladders made of rushes. The Lord aids those who labor for the Truth."³⁹ The next morning, on the advice of the hermit, the crusaders attacked, but without the proper machinery they made no progress and soon quit the siege. Becoming discouraged with the unsuccessful attempts to take Jerusalem some of the crusaders rode off on an expedition to Joppa. Those that remained did little to prepare for battle. At that point Peter Desiderius received a vision in which the late bishop of Puy advised prayer, fasting and a procession around the Holy City. When this had been done they were to attack. Peter reported the vision to the clergy and they assembled the people and instructed them to repent and to start building machines. The monks were doubtless also urging that such reforms and construction be started. Once things were in order the clergy, which again included the monks, led the procession around Jerusalem and then spurred the crusaders on to an attack which this time was successful.⁴⁰

The crusaders often refused to advance due either to caution or to petty squabbles and in such cases the regular clergy usually sided with the popular demand for advance. Such an example occurred when Richard the Lion-hearted, "before St. John's inactive lay." The holy

³⁹ Albert of Aix, Bk. VI, 325-326; Gesta Tancredi, Ch. CXVIII, 219; Raymond of Agiles, Historia Francorum qui ceperunt Jerusalem, trans. Guizot, Collection, XXI, 362; Runciman, I, 281.

⁴⁰ Raymond of Agiles, Historia Francorum qui ceperunt Jerusalem, trans. F. Duncalf and A. C. Krey, in Parallel Source Problems in Medieval History (New York, 1912), p. 123 ff.

abbot of Saint Elias,⁴¹ who fed on nothing more than bread and roots, came to Richard and said he guarded a piece of the Holy Cross. The crusaders mounted and followed the abbot to the place where it lay hidden. "That day 'twas raised for worship and display. Men rushed to kiss it without cease, so that one scarcely could appease them. To the host straightway 'twas brought who therefrom much of comfort got. Abundantly their tears outpoured, and greatly was the Rood adored."⁴² By means of that revelation the abbot succeeded in raising the popular fervor which urged Richard to move on. "When that this cross was raised on high and much the army cheered thereby, some little time it stood, and then the host's most poor and humble men lifted their voices to inquire, 'In God's name, fair, sweet sire, why stay we here? What now doth stem us? Go we to Jerusalem.'"⁴³ However, the fact that it was the Third Crusade and not the First was evidenced by Richard's refusal to move until he had obtained military advice from those equipped with the most accurate knowledge, the Templars and Hospitallers.⁴⁴

On another occasion Richard sent for an abbot who was said to have the ability to prophesy. The man was Joachim, abbot of Curazzo, a Cistercian house in Calabria.⁴⁵ The abbot explained to Richard that

⁴¹ Ambroise, Ch. IX, 376, and n. 21. The editor identified Saint Elias as Cistercian abbey near Mount Carmel. The abbot referred to may have been a Syrian of another house. The editor cites E. G. Rey, Les Colonies Franques de Syrie (Paris, 1883), p. 382.

⁴² Ambroise, Ch. IX, 376-378.

⁴³ Ambroise, Ch. IX, 377-378.

⁴⁴ Ambroise, Ch. IX, 379.

⁴⁵ Paul Fournier, "Joachim of Flore, ses doctrines et son influence," Revue des Questions historiques, LXVII (1900), 457-505.

there had been five ages from Adam to Christ and that they were living in the sixth age which was described in the Apocalypse. The sixth age was divided into smaller ages and in one of these the fall of Saladin was to occur. Richard was afraid he had come too soon to fit into the period of the fall of that anti-Christ. However, the abbot encouraged the Lion-hearted to wage a hearty war against the infidel. "Your arrival is very necessary, inasmuch as the Lord will give you the victory over His enemies, and will exalt your name beyond all the princes of the earth."⁴⁶ Thus, the abbot Joachim gave Richard the sense that he was fulfilling destiny by going on the crusade which must have strengthened his other motives.

The pious spirit of the First Crusade and, in a decreasing degree, of the Second and Third Crusades provided fertile ground in which the regular clergy could make their influence felt on the military progress of the crusades. Their influence was not entirely positive for military advice usually profits if it is founded in secular knowledge of such affairs. However, the crusades were also an expression of piety, not just military expeditions, and therefore it was essential that the religious fervor be sustained. No group was better suited to do this than the monks, for they of all men in the Middle Ages were regarded as the embodiment of the highest Christian ideal. So long as the crusades retained a significant element of religious sincerity the monks retained their influence on the military progress and decisions made in the Holy Land.

⁴⁶ Benedict of Petersborough, Gesta Regis Henrici II, ed. W. Stubbs, Roll Series (London, 1867), II, 151-152.

CHAPTER VII

RISE OF THE MILITARY-RELIGIOUS ORDERS

To a considerable extent the influence of the regular clergy depended on the sincerity and depth of piety among the crusaders. The trend during the twelfth century wars against the infidel was one of increasing secularization. As a consequence, the monks began to lose some of their previous influence in military affairs and became increasingly confined to strictly religious matters. When that happened monasticism reacted by adapting itself to the existing circumstances. Monasticism found a new expression in the formation of the military orders which combined the monastic ideal with the practicality of knighthood. After establishing the fact that non-combatants, including monks, were increasingly regarded as hindrances during the Second and Third Crusades, the present chapter will briefly examine the monastic origins of the military orders and their activities in the Holy Land during the twelfth century.

There is little criticism of the presence of monks on the First Crusade in the chronicles of men who wrote at the time of the crusade. Monks were considered valuable to the success of the venture and their presence was in harmony with the original spirit of piety in the First Crusade. During the twelfth century the criticism became more frequent and more piercing. Albert of Aix, who wrote of the First Crusade sometime

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after 1121,¹ said there gathered "women, clerics, monks, and a great crowd which was entirely useless. . . ."² The presence of monks and other non-combatants was bewailed by Odo of Deuil on the Second Crusade. Odo wishes that the pope had kept the weak at home and "had equipped all the strong with the sword instead of the wallet and the bow instead of the staff; for the weak and helpless are always a burden to their comrades and a source of prey to their enemies."³ Saint Bernard was opposed to monastic participation on the Second Crusade. When he wrote to Pope Calixtus II Bernard argued "who would not be able to see that what is wanted there is soldiers to fight, not monks to fight and pray."⁴ An archbishop who traveled with Richard the Lion-hearted advocated preaching instead of fighting as suitable for the clergy and consequently became an object of bitter scorn. He was regarded as typical of "the character of the clergy, pusillanimous and timorous."⁵ Peire Cardenal, a troubadour, made it clear that the timidity of monks made them valueless as crusaders. "Turks and Saracens have nothing to fear from [monks'] sermons; for monks are too afraid of the sea and death."⁶

Measures were taken in the West in the twelfth century to lessen

¹Heinrich von Sybel, The History and Literature of the Crusades, ed. Lady Duff Gordon (London, 1861), p. 207.

²Albert of Aix, Bk. VIII, 7.

³Albert of Aix, Bk. V, 95.

⁴Letters of Bernard of Clairvaux, #5, 23.

⁵Richard of Devizes, pp. 259-260.

⁶Palmer A. Throop, Criticism of the Crusade: a Study of Public Opinion and Crusade Propaganda (Amsterdam, 1940), 152, who cites Peire Cardenal, "Tan vei lo segle cobeitos," in Choix des poésies des troubadours, ed. Raynouard, V, 308.

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the number of non-combatants and monks participating in crusading ventures. When Eugenius III made his appeal he urged that a crusade be undertaken by "all of you, and especially the nobles and the more powerful. . . ." ⁷ Peter the Venerable, abbot of Cluny, was certainly in favor of a crusade but he saw no reason for monks to participate. He considered the crusades valuable to the layman as a means of salvation, but the monk already had a means and that was a holy life in the cloister. ⁸ Peter enumerated his fears for crusading monks to Theobald, abbot of Saint Columba. A monk must "beware in connection with spoils taken perhaps from conquered enemies, lest hope of profit creep in and lest avarice, and no longer devotion any more, compel the servant to God to wander here and there, after putting aside his care for the souls committed to him. One must see that love of vain praise should not touch the inmost parts of the heart, so that a monk or abbot appear as a knight or a warrior, contrary to his plan or the order to which he belongs." ⁹ The Cistercian general council also discouraged the participation of the monks of that order. The abbots had more freedom, but needed permission to leave. ¹⁰ In 1195 Hubert Walter, the archbishop of Canterbury, held a council and ruled among other things that monks, canons regular and nuns could not leave their monasteries or go on a crusade without just reason. ¹¹ Samson, the abbot of Bury Saint Edmunds, was refused

⁷Thatcher and McNeal, #284, 527.

⁸Berry, p. 145.

⁹Berry, p. 150, cited Epistle VI.

¹⁰Pfeiffer, XLVII, 8.

¹¹Siedschlag, p. 41.

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permission to go on the Third Crusade by King Henry II in 1188.¹²

These expressions and prohibitions are by no means representative of all the Latins. There were many who felt that a holy war needed the presence of those most holy men. Others no doubt valued the monks for the wide variety of services they provided. But that such expressions were made at all during the twelfth century is significant. It was indicative of the increasing secularization of the crusading movement. As the crusading movement became more militaristic and secular in nature the spirit of the movement became more compatible to the knight than to the monk. Under the pressure of the practical exigencies of warfare the ideal of knighthood was gradually esteemed more highly than that of the cowl.

At the same time that the crusaders were learning to value the ideal of knighthood above the monastic ideal, the monks themselves began to acquire a more militaristic spirit. The secular clergy had never had any qualms about fighting and their bellicose spirit horrified the Greeks who witnessed only pacifism among their clergy.¹³ However, in contrast to the seculars the regular clergy of the West were noted for their non-violence and it was significant when they began to take up arms. That act was largely necessitated by the practical demands of life in the Holy Land, especially by the shortage of manpower. The knights who left the West under the immediate fervor of the crusade preaching, returned as soon as the goal was won. The failure of the

¹²Siedschlag, p. 38, who cites Jocelin of Brakeland, Chronica de Rebus Gestis Samsonis Abbatis Monasterii Sancti Edmundi, ed. Rokewode, p. 37.

¹³The Alexiad, Bk. X, Ch. VIII, 256-257.

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Second and Third Crusades also was responsible for sending many back to the West. In any case, the defense of the Latin states was left to whoever was present and that often meant the monks.

In 1164 the patriarch of Antioch wrote to Louis VII, "God is a witness that the remnant which is left of us is in no way sufficient to guard the walls night and day, and owing to the scarcity of men, we are obliged to entrust their safety and defense to some whom we suspect. Neglecting the church services, the clergy and presbyters guard the gates."¹⁴ When the monks of Mount Tabor were attacked by Saladin, "they made a valiant defense and routed from all parts of the encircling ramparts the foe who had scaled the mountains."¹⁵ Geoffrey de Vinsauf commented that the clergy on the Third Crusade, "although it was contrary to their profession, discharged the duties of soldiers, according to the emergency. . . ."¹⁶ In 1192 the abbot Jacques d'Avene died defending himself as fiercely as a good knight."¹⁷

There are other examples which indicate the regular clergy fought at times not entirely in self-defense, but simply from a love of bearing arms. In 1182 Godfrey of Villeneuve, a canon of the Sepulchre of the Lord, was "carried away by his zeal for secular interests" and after taking up the sword in battle was fatally wounded by an arrow.¹⁸

¹⁴"Aymeric, Patriarch of Antioch, to Louis VII of France, 1164," in Translations and Reprints from the Original Sources of History, I, #4, 17.

¹⁵William of Tyre, II, Bk. XXII, 495.

¹⁶Geoffrey de Vinsauf, p. 79.

¹⁷L'Estoire de Eracles, in Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Occidentaux, II, 185.

¹⁸William of Tyre, II, Bk. XXII, 475.

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There are isolated cases of militant monks before the crusades but the number of bellicose monks increased as the crusades progressed. Referring to the Third Crusade one chronicler said the renown of the expedition was so great that "many migrated from the cloister to the camp, and exchanging the cowl for the cuirass, shewd themselves truly Christ's soldiers, and quit their libraries for the study of arms."¹⁹ When the time came for battle, "the clergy claimed no small share of military glory; for abbots and prelates led their own troops, and fought manfully for the faith, joyfully contending for the law of God."²⁰

Despite the bellicose expressions by some members of the regular clergy, the majority of monks retained their pacifistic character. In fact, William of Tyre was quite pointed in his criticism of the canon, Godfrey of Villeneuve, who had gone into battle and died as he fought. "It is indeed just . . . that they that take the sword shall perish with the sword."²¹

A more satisfactory way for a man to live according to the monastic ideal at the same time he fought the holy war as a crusader was in the ranks of the military-religious orders. It is significant that almost all of the military-religious orders were founded in areas like Syria, Spain and the Baltic coast in which the battle raged against various infidels. It was in those pressure zones that the knightly and monastic ideals fused to produce the military orders. Those orders represented a combination of two of the most potent forces which

¹⁹Geoffrey de Vinsauf, p. 86.

²⁰Geoffrey de Vinsauf, p. 137.

²¹William of Tyre, II, Bk. XXII, 475.

combatted the enemies of Christianity. The knight represented the sheer force which was necessary to the early policy of coercion in dealing with non-Christians. The monk, as the highest embodiment of the Christian life, represented the ideological strength in the fight for Christianity. Thus, according to Saint Bernard, "kighthood would find its most perfect expression in a body of men who represented both the loftiest temporal ideal of the age (that of the fearless soldier ever ready to die for his cause) and the noblest conception of a Christian soul."²² The fusion of knighthood and monasticism produced the most effective military deterrent to the enemies of Christianity in the entire crusading movement.

The military aspect of the various orders has so impressed both contemporary and medieval historians that the monastic nature of the orders is often not given due consideration. The vast majority of the military orders were under a monastic rule. The Benedictine Rule was quite common, but often was replaced by the Augustinian Rule as each order began to emphasize the military aspect of its organization. The Augustinian Rule was for regular canons but it still demanded the vows of poverty, chastity and obedience. It differed largely from the Benedictine Rule in that it permitted more communication with the world. Thus, the Augustinian Rule allowed the knightly monks more freedom than the Benedictine Rule which technically required retreat from all worldly contacts. A second choice was for the military orders to draw up their own rule which was specifically suited to their needs. However, the individual rules were based closely on the basic monastic rule and

²²Daniel-Rops, p. 111.

continued to require poverty, chastity and obedience.

The history of the Order of the Hospital of Saint John of Jerusalem can be traced back to the hospice which was so well known for its aid to Latin pilgrims. As was mentioned previously, the hospital was associated with and run by the monks of the ancient abbey of Saint Mary of the Latins. "Since there was no one to offer shelter to the wretched pilgrims of our faith, thus afflicted and needy to the last degree, the holy men who dwelt in the monastery of the Latins in pity took from their own means and, within the space allotted to them, built a hospital for the relief of such pilgrims."²³ The above passage is not specific in date but probably refers to events in the seventh century. Around the year 600 Pope Gregory I sent Abbot Probus to the Holy Land with large sums of money to found a hospice in Jerusalem.²⁴ Jerusalem was subject to one conquest after another and the monastery was in a sad state of disrepair by the eleventh century. The reconstruction of the abbey and the hospital was accomplished by the merchants of Amalfi between 1061 and 1071.²⁵ The hospital was served by Benedictines until the capture of Jerusalem in 1099 by the crusaders. At that time the head of the order, Gerard, was able to establish independence from the abbey and form the Order of the Hospital.²⁶ Instead of the Benedictine Rule the Hospitallers adopted the Augustinian Rule and took the regular monastic vows of poverty, chastity and obedience.

²³William of Tyre, II, Bk. XVIII, 244.

²⁴King, p. 5.

²⁵William of Tyre, II, 243, n. 17; the editor cites Heyd, Histoire du commerce du Levant au moyen age, I, 404-406; Setton, I, 75.

²⁶William of Tyre, II, Bk. XVIII, 245-246.

Once Jerusalem was in Christian control and the Hospitallers had established their independence under the Augustinian Rule, they expanded rapidly. Pilgrims and crusaders who returned to the West felt greatly indebted to them and spread tales of the generosity and the good deeds of the Hospitallers. As a consequence, donations flowed in from all quarters. By the time the first master, Gerard, died in 1120 the brothers of the Hospital had become firmly established not only in the Holy Land but also in Spain, Portugal, Italy, and southern France.²⁷

In addition to the support received from the laity, they were granted numerous privileges by ecclesiastical authorities. In 1112 the patriarch of Jerusalem and the archbishop of Caesaria exempted the Hospitallers from the payment of tithes.²⁸ Pope Pascal II formally constituted the order in 1113. He decreed that the brothers could keep all tithes levied in their domains and were themselves exempt from payment of tithes to the church.²⁹ Successive popes confirmed those privileges and granted new ones. In 1135 and 1137 Innocent II decreed that bishops were forbidden to place the churches of the Hospitallers under interdict; in case of a general interdict members of the Order were allowed to celebrate the Divine Office for themselves.³⁰ They were also permitted to open churches which had been placed under an

²⁷King, p. 23.

²⁸King, p. 23.

²⁹Marshall W. Baldwin, "Ecclesiastical developments in the twelfth century Crusaders' state of Tripolis," Catholic Historical Review, XXII (July, 1936), 161, who cites Rohricht, Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani (Innsbruck, 1893-1904), doc. 71.

³⁰Baldwin, p. 161.

interdict once a year and to perform the offices.³¹ Pope Anastasius IV in 1154 granted the brothers the privilege to receive into their order all clergy who desired to join regardless of opposition from the bishops. The Hospitallers were "not to be subject to anyone outside of [their] order except the bishop of Rome."³²

At the same time the Hospitallers were acquiring landed wealth and ecclesiastical privileges the order was also becoming militarized. As originally constituted in 1112-1113 the brothers of the Hospital were monks in the strict sense of the word even though many of their members had previously been knights. The first military efforts were defensive. The Hospitallers took it upon themselves to guard the pilgrim routes and the roads linking the scattered Latin cities. The transition from a purely monastic order engaged in charitable works to a military order was gradual and no one date can be given although the change did occur under Raymond du Puy, the second master of the Hospital. The first definite indication that the nature of the Hospitallers had become militant was in 1126. In that year the Cartulaire Generale of the Hospital showed the order had a constable, a high military official, which indicates they already supported a force.³³ The brothers of the Hospital agreed that while they must not relinquish their original vows or charitable works, there should be a group of the monks always ready to take up arms against the infidels.³⁴

³¹Siedschlag, p. 46, who cites Cartulaire Generale de l'Ordre des Hospitallers, I, #130, #161.

³²Thatcher and McNeal, #266, pp. 494-496.

³³King, p. 32.

³⁴King, p. 33.

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Thus, the development of the Hospitallers illustrates the response of monasticism to the exigencies of life in the Holy Land. Their original existence was monastic in character but very early the brothers of the abbey of Saint Mary of the Latins had been forced to care for pilgrims. After establishing independence from the abbot the monks of the Hospital shortly took up arms in defense of the pilgrims. The remainder of the history of the Hospitallers in the twelfth century is a history of their increasing importance militarily. For example, during the Second Crusade a meeting of crusading leaders was held at Acre in 1148 and the master of the Hospitallers was asked to be present. During the twelfth century the Hospitallers gradually shifted their military efforts from defense of pilgrims to offense against the infidels. By the Third Crusade they, along with the Templars, offered the only significant opposition to Saladin.

The development of the Templars differed from that of the Hospitallers in that the Templars were military rather than charitable in origin. However, the Templars took monastic vows and therefore also represent a fusion of the ideals of monasticism and knighthood. The founders of the Templars were Hughes of Payns, a Burgundian knight, and Godfrey of Saint Omer, a knight from Flanders.³⁵ They were joined by six other knights who "professed the wish to live perpetually in poverty, chastity and obedience."³⁶ The main duty of the order as constituted in 1118 by the patriarch of Jerusalem was to "keep the roads and highways safe from the menace of robbers and highwaymen, with

³⁵King, p. 31.

³⁶William of Tyre, I, Bk, XII, 524.

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especial regard for the protection of pilgrims."³⁷ The small group of knights formed themselves into a religious community under the Benedictine Rule.³⁸ The king of Jerusalem, Baldwin II, gave these knightly monks quarters in part of the royal palace which was known as the Temple of the Lord or the Temple of Solomon.³⁹

The first nine years of the history of the order saw the Templars increase by the addition of only seven recruits.⁴⁰ The soldier monks had also continued in relative poverty and still wore secular garb and "such garments as the people for the salvation of their souls, bestowed upon them."⁴¹ Perhaps the poverty and lack of recruits motivated the trip of Hughes of Payns, who had been elected master of the order, to the West in 1127 where he enlisted the support of Bernard of Clairvaux. An official rule was drawn up for the Templars under the direction of Bernard which was approved at the Council of Troyes in 1128. At that time the Templars were formally taken under the protection of the pope.⁴²

The great increase in wealth and numbers is explained partially by the important persons in the West who worked on behalf of the Templars. Bernard is the outstanding example. His praise of the soldier-monks never ceased. He wrote numerous letters on their behalf

³⁷William of Tyre, I, Bk. XII, 524-525.

³⁸King, p. 31.

³⁹William of Tyre, I, Bk. XII, 525; King, 31.

⁴⁰J. Bruce Williamson, The History of the Temple (London, 1925), p. 5.

⁴¹William of Tyre, I, Bk. XII, 525.

⁴²King, p. 31.

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to key figures in the Holy Land asking that they "care for these men who are ready to lay down their lives for their brethern."⁴³ King Louis VII wrote to Suger that the Templars had rendered extensive services to him in the East and enjoined Suger to punish anyone who dared to harm a cleric who wished to become a Templar.⁴⁴

In addition to the support of important figures the Templars, like the Hospitallers, were the object of numerous grants of land and ecclesiastical privileges. The Hospitallers and the Templars together became the largest land holders in the crusading states.⁴⁵ The nature of the ecclesiastical privileges did not differ from what the Hospitallers received and the essence of the privileges was that the Templars also became independent of ecclesiastical and secular controls excepting the papacy.

The independence of the military orders from outside controls had some rather negative results. Referring to the Templars, William of Tyre stated that, "For a long time they kept intact their noble purpose and carried out their profession wisely enough. At length, however, they began to neglect humility. . . . They withdrew from the patriarch of Jerusalem, from whom they had received the establishment of their order and their first privileges, and refused him the obedience which their predecessors had shown him. To the churches of God also they became very troublesome, for they drew away from them their tithes and

⁴³ Letters of Bernard of Clairvaux, #216, p. 294 and #426, pp. 495-496; Willems, p. 121.

⁴⁴ Luchaire, p. 175, #239.

⁴⁵ J. L. LaMonte, Feudal Monarchy in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem (Cambridge, Mass., 1932), p. 222.

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first fruits and unjustly disturbed their provisions."⁴⁶ The military orders fought largely for their own land since they were the largest landholders in the Holy Land. They were responsible only to the papacy and fought not as crusaders but as the allies of the crusaders.⁴⁷ A reaction to the independent status occurred in the Third Lateran Council in 1179 which sanctioned a canon directed against misuse of the special privileges by the Templars and Hospitallers.⁴⁸ The council generally attempted to reassert the strength of the bishops and enacted other legislation to confine the activities of monks to monasteries.⁴⁹

The positive influence of the military monks was perhaps more significant in the twelfth century than the negative aspect of their wealth and independence. According to Geoffrey de Vinsauf the Templars were present in every important battle of the Third Crusade.⁵⁰ Although urged by great pressure from the enthusiastic populace, Richard the Lion-hearted refused to attack Jerusalem and insisted, "Their counsel we must entertain and seek advice essential from Temple and from Hospital."⁵¹ They alone had experience with the ways of the infidel and could give the necessary military advice.

King Louis VII was also impressed with the military abilities

⁴⁶William of Tyre, I, Bk. XII, 527.

⁴⁷La Monte, pp. 222-223.

⁴⁸William of Newburgh, Historia Rerum Anglicarum, ed. Howlett, in Chronicles of Stephen, Henry II, Richard I, Rolls Series #82 (London, 1885-90), I, Bk. III, 221.

⁴⁹Philip Hughes, A History of the Church (New York, 1949), II, 310-313.

⁵⁰See his Chronicle in general.

⁵¹Ambroise, Ch. IX, 379.

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of the Templars, "and therefore, it was decided that during this dangerous period all should establish fraternity with the Templars, rich and poor taking an oath that they would not flee the field and that they would obey in every respect the officers assigned them by the Templars."⁵² Crusaders from the West desperately needed guidance when they arrived in Palestine since then were unfamiliar with the land and with the strange techniques of war. The Templars and Hospitallers provided training by allowing crusaders to join their orders for the period of their service in the East.⁵³ The military contributions of the Templars and Hospitallers are well known and in the capacity of knights they made a substantial contribution to the defense of the Holy Land.

The activities of the knightly monks were not confined to military matters alone. Along with the other monks they engaged in most of the monastic efforts to strengthen the position of the Latins in Syria-Palestine. The military orders acted as guides and many companies of crusaders and pilgrims traveled to the Holy Land under the conduct of knights.⁵⁴ The knights also supplied men for errands and missions. The master of the Hospital accompanied the patriarch of Jerusalem on a very important mission to France to enlist the aid of King Philip in 1184.⁵⁵ The Hospitallers and Templars were ever active in arousing enthusiasm in the West for the crusades. Letters from the knights to various people in the West served that end. The letters

⁵²Odo of Deuil, Bk. VII, 125.

⁵³Siedschlag, pp. 47-48, who cites La Regle du Temple, ed. Henri de Curzon, pp. 64-66.

⁵⁴Siedschlag, pp. 47-48.

⁵⁵William of Nangis, p. 56.

usually contained news of events plus exhortations to join or promote the crusades.⁵⁶ In England "the military orders did more than any other group of clergy to further the cause of the Holy Land."⁵⁷ Since they were one of the wealthiest elements in the Holy Land, the military orders also acted as loan agencies to crusaders. Louis VII declared to Suger that he could not have remained in the Holy Land without the financial aid he had received from the Templars.⁵⁸ There are also records of transactions of a financial nature with the Hospitallers.⁵⁹ Thus, not only militarily but in a variety of ways, the military orders supported the crusades.

The Templars and Hospitallers were not alone in representing the fusion of the military and monastic ideals. The Order of Saint Lazarus grew out of an ancient hospital for lepers in Jerusalem. After the crusades began the men of the hospital formed themselves into a regular religious order. The brothers remained under the Rule of Saint Basil until they adopted the Augustinian Rule when the headquarters of the order were transferred to France in the late thirteenth century.⁶⁰ The orders in the Holy Land were paralleled by several groups of militant monks on the Iberian peninsula. The Knights of Aviz and the Knights of Calatrava both lived according to the Benedictine Rule.⁶¹

⁵⁶Siedschlag, p. 47.

⁵⁷Siedschlag, p. 49.

⁵⁸Luchaire, #236, p. 174.

⁵⁹Luchaire, #240, pp. 175-176.

⁶⁰King, Appendix A, 303-304.

⁶¹King, Appendix A, 308-310.

The twelfth century saw only the beginning of the military orders and many more were to emerge in the thirteenth century but that goes beyond the scope of the present study.

The military orders were representative of a reaction among the regular clergy to the changing nature of the crusades. Many monks continued their more traditional activities during the Second and Third Crusades such as diplomacy, financial aid, preaching, and providing hospitality. However, practical exigencies of life in the Latin states encouraged the militarization of the clergy. The military orders emerged almost overnight and offered a most appealing combination of twelfth century ideals. The knights lived according to a monastic rule and yet received the opportunity to fight, not just to pray, for the success of the Christian crusades. The combination of the monastic and knightly ideals represented a fusion of two of the most vital forces in the twelfth century and resulted in the only serious opposition to the Moslems.

CHAPTER VIII

MODIFICATIONS OF THE MONASTIC ATTITUDE TOWARD THE CRUSADES

The attitude of the regular clergy toward the crusade policy shifted during the course of the first three crusades. The initial response of the monks was a positive one and there are only a few instances of criticism prior to the twelfth century. However, once the Second Crusade, which had been preached by a highly respected and saintly monk, turned into a fiasco the literature evidenced a rise of criticism including a significant amount from the regular clergy. By the end of the twelfth century the monks registered a lack of enthusiasm in all crusading efforts as was evidenced by their decreasing participation in preaching or in participating in the crusade itself.

The causes of the increasing lack of crusading fervor were many. The twelfth century exhibited a greatly increased knowledge and understanding of the crusading antagonists. As a partial consequence of that a sense of peaceful conversion and a missionary spirit were awakened in the West which were antithetical to the crusading effort. The increasing financial demands on the monasteries during the twelfth century may have discouraged some monastic support. And finally, the disastrous results of the Second and Third Crusades caused discouragement and disillusionment with the belief that the crusade policy had divine support. The monastic criticism became more frequent and more piercing as the crusades progressed and culminated in the thirteenth century.

The regular clergy along with the rest of the European populace was extremely ignorant of their Moslem adversary at the beginning of the crusades. With the establishment of the crusading states Western knowledge of the Moslems increased and a better understanding between the two peoples became evident during the twelfth century. The result was a desire on the part of some to relinquish the crusading idea of wiping the enemies of the Cross from the face of the earth. Instead, peaceful conversion was held up as an ideal. Since peaceful conversion was antithetical to the crusades its emergence inevitably gave rise to criticism of the crusading policy. Among those who adhered to the new ideas of peaceful conversion and who made some of the most vehement criticisms of the crusades were members of the regular clergy. The rise of criticism in the twelfth century laid the foundation for the great missionary-preaching movements of the thirteenth century. The regular clergy were a vital part of the movement from its beginning in the twelfth century to its culmination in the formation of the mendicant orders.

It is perhaps important to become familiar with the extent of the misconceptions which were held by the regular clergy in 1095 as well as by the general populace of Europe.¹ One of the most revealing ways to get at the problem is to examine what chroniclers felt was necessary to explain about the Islamic faith to their readers. Guibert, abbot of Nogent, explained the place where Moslems worshipped was called a mosque not a church.² Burchard, whose chronicle was incorporated in that of

¹Dana Carlton Munro, "Western Attitude toward Islam during the Period of the Crusades," Speculum, VI (1931), 329-343. This is one of the best short discussions of the subject.

²Historia, Bk. I, 33.

Arnold of Lubeck, testified that most Moslems had only one wife and that they were tolerant of other religions. He spoke of their constancy in prayer and that they also believed God to be the creator of all things. He told of the Islamic belief that both Jesus and Mohammed were prophets, but only the latter was the most holy prophet who was the author of their law.³ Before Peter the Venerable's translation of the Koran which was completed in 1143 the Western clergy had no accurate idea of the contents of the book. The ignorance which existed in the West during the early part of the crusading era provided a fertile ground for exaggerated propaganda against the infidels. The propaganda was exploited in the monastic chronicles and in their recruiting sermons. However, the propaganda became less highly colored as the years passed and as more accurate knowledge became available about the Moslems.⁴

The establishment of Latin states in the Holy Land may not have led to an assimilation of Latin culture by the Eastern cultures,⁵ but it did foster greater understanding and toleration between Moslem and Latin. It has been argued that increased tolerance in the attitude of the Latin crusaders was responsible for the fact that by the second decade of the twelfth century the Christians usually spared the native population of captured cities.⁶ Fulcher of Chartres made a very penetrating analysis of the influence of life in the Holy Land on the crusaders.

³Munro, "Western Attitude," p. 338.

⁴Throop, p. 6.

⁵Runciman, III, Appendix II, 490.

⁶Prawer, p. 490.

Consider, I pray, and reflect how in our time God has transferred the West into the East. For we who were Occidentals now have been made Orientals. He who was a Roman or a Frank is now a Galilaean, or an inhabitant of Palestine. One who was a citizen of Rheims or of Chartres now has become a Tyrian or an Antiochian. We have already forgotten the places of our birth; already they have become unknown to many of us, or, at least, are unmentioned. Some already possess here homes and servants which they have received through inheritance. Some have taken wives not merely of their own people, but Syrians, or Armenians, or even Saracens who have received the grace of baptism. Some have with them father-in-law, or daughter-in-law, or son-in-law, or step-son, or step-father. There are here, too, grandchildren and great-grandchildren. One cultivates vines, another the fields. The one and the other use mutually the speech and the idioms of the different languages. Different languages, now made common, become known to both races, and faith unites those whose forefathers were strangers. As it is written, 'The lion and the ox shall eat straw together.' Those who were strangers now are natives; and he who was a sojourner now has become a resident.⁷

Living in the crusading states inevitably contributed to greater Latin knowledge of the Moslems. By the advent of the Second Crusade Otto of Freising indicated that the common misconception of Mohammedan idolatry was no longer held. Otto denied a report that a Christian captive destroyed idols in a mosque because, "as is well known, the Saracens universally are worshippers of one God; they accept the Book of the Law and also the custom of circumcision and do not even reject Christ and the Apostles and the apostolic men; they are cut off from salvation by one thing alone, the fact that they deny Jesus Christ. . . ."⁸ By 1184 Christians not only tolerated the Moslem hermits and men of God, but also engaged in works of charity for their benefit. "It is strange how the Christians around Mount Lebanon, when they see any Muslim hermits, bring them food and treat them kindly, saying that these

⁷Quoted from Dana Carlton Munro, "A Crusader", *Speculum*, VII (1932), 334-335.

⁸Otto of Freising, *The Two Cities*, trans. C. C. Mierow (New York, 1928), Bk. VII, 411-412.

men are dedicated to Great and Glorious God and that they should therefore share with them."⁹

The rise of a spirit of peaceful conversion and the resulting criticism of the crusading policy are only partially explained by the increased knowledge of the Moslem faith. Equally as important in contributing to the new notions was the internal evolution of the monastic ideal. There was emerging in the twelfth century a school of thought within monasticism which advocated a life of service to the world rather than the attempts to subdue it by force in the name of the Christian God. The Cruciferi with over two hundred houses in Europe and in Palestine and the Waldensians were representative of the more peaceful point of view.¹⁰ Included within the concept of serving mankind was the idea of conversion. During the thirteenth century conversion through peaceful missionary work experienced wide popularity through the efforts of the Franciscans and Dominicans. The famous visit of Saint Francis to the sultan of Egypt during the Fifth Crusade may not have been responsible for the peace, but it was symbolic of a current monastic attitude.¹¹

Sentiments of conversion antedated the formation of the mendicant orders by many years and can be traced to the era of the first three crusades. An inhabitant of Wurzburg who was either a cleric or a monk

⁹The Travels of Ibn Jubayr, trans. R. J. C. Broadhurst (London, 1952), p. 300.

¹⁰Workman, p. 19-20.

¹¹Runciman, III, 159-160; William of Tripoli, a Dominican, expressed the same attitude when he made a plea to Pope Gregory X to send missionaries to convert the Saracens rather than soldiers; cf. Throop, p. 120.

criticized the forced baptism of Jews.¹² Bernard of Clairvaux advocated conversion also. When writing to the archbishop of Mainz, Bernard supplied him with an argument which he felt would be an effective deterrent against further violence toward the Jews. "Is it not a far better triumph for the Church to convince and convert the Jews than to put them all to the sword? Has that prayer which the Church offers for the Jews, from the rising up of the sun to the going down thereof, that the veil may be taken from their hearts so that they may be led from the darkness of error into the light of truth, been instituted in vain? If she did not hope that they would believe and be converted, it would seem useless and vain for her to pray for them."¹³ The monk Odo of Deuil also reflected a more peaceful point of view when he cited the papal instructions to the crusaders: . . . "to visit the Holy Sepulchre and, . . . to wipe out our sins with the blood or the conversion of the infidels."¹⁴

Putting aside ideological considerations regarding the holy nature of the crusades the regular clergy offered determined resistance to the crusading policy at the financial level. When forced to make a financial contribution or pay a crusading tax the monasteries became seats of resentment and criticism. Admittedly, the monasteries were willing money-lenders to potential crusaders, but their cooperation in that capacity must be at least partially attributed to desires for

¹²Annales Herbipolenses, in Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores, XVI, 3. The editor is uncertain of the man's profession, Preface, i.

¹³Letters of Bernard of Clairvaux, #393, 466 and #391, 462; Otto of Freising, Deeds, Bk. I, 74.

¹⁴Odo of Deuil, Bk. IV, 71.

financial gain.¹⁵ A very different spirit was evidenced by the monasteries when they were called upon to support the crusades financially through taxes.

The regular clergy had a long history of seeking financial exemptions and privileges for their monasteries and consequently, the levying of tithes for the crusade caused the deep-seated antipathy to taxation to come to the fore. Robert Curthose disregarded the traditional clerical exemptions in his heavy taxation prior to the First Crusade. As a consequence he incurred the wrath of all the clergy when churches and monasteries were stripped to meet the ducal exactions. William, a monk of Malmesbury, was greatly incensed against his abbot for paying the required tithe.¹⁶ The Second Crusade was headed by kings who also found taxation a necessity. Louis VII levied a general crusading tithe in 1147 which caused resentment from all involved, including the monasteries.¹⁷ Peter the Venerable has been noted as a supporter of Louis' crusade, but even that abbot refused to help Louis by submitting to taxation.¹⁸ Instead, Peter suggested that the king levy a tax on Jews which would lighten the burden of the Christians while punishing the wicked.¹⁹ The Saladin tithe and that levied by Philip Augustus both aroused antagonism.²⁰

¹⁵ See above, Chapter IV, pp. 75-79.

¹⁶ David, p. 92, n. 19.

¹⁷ "De Tributs Floriacensibus Imposito," Recueil des Historiens des Gaul et de France, XII, 94-95.

¹⁸ Duparry, p. 99.

¹⁹ Berry, pp. 149-150, cited Epistle XXXVI.

²⁰ Throop, p. 72.

In view of such evidence it is easy to judge the monastic clergy harshly. The actions of the monks in seeking exemptions often are ascribed solely to a motive of financial gain. "The clergy were never so deeply touched by the suffering of the Holy Land as they were by the suffering of their money-bags. . . . The regular clergy were especially stubborn in their struggle for exemptions."²¹ However, there was a more pressing reason for their resistance to taxation during the first three crusades. There was no general papal taxation for any crusade until the Fourth Crusade and thus the crusading tithes of the twelfth century were levied by kings or local nobles.²² Aside from their financial interests, the monks were opposed to such taxation on principle. A basic premise of monasticism after the Cluniac reform was to retain as much independence from outside authority as possible. That principle would be endangered if the monks allowed the collectors of the various crusading tithes to disregard their privileged and exempted status. In addition to the principle of monastic independence the regular clergy were also concerned with more mundane financial considerations. Nobles were anxious to gain precedents for clerical taxation. The chanson of Conon de Bethune accused nobles of becoming crusaders in order to tax the clergy and the bourgeois. Avarice, he insisted, rather than piety caused the nobility to take the cross.²³ The regular clergy were well aware of the aspirations of laymen to tap the wealth of the monasteries and objected to taxation for the crusades by laymen largely on that basis.

²¹Throop, pp. 72-73.

²²Pfeiffer, XLVII, 78.

²³Throop, p. 72, cited Conon de Bethune, "Bien me deusse targier," ed. J. Brehier, Les chansons de croisade, pp. 45-46.

Aside from the reasons discussed thus far the growing monastic aversion to crusades in the twelfth century is also explained by the disastrous conclusion of the Second and Third Crusades. The failures of the twelfth century inevitably led to disillusionment and the monks also shared the sentiments of the populace. The depth of the secular resentment can be estimated by various contemporary statements. For example, Pope Eugenius III who was traveling in France and Germany, quickly returned to Italy "because news of the total destruction of the Christian armies in the East had already reached him. He was unwilling, at a time of such disaster to the French and Germans, to remain in their midst, although he would have been perfectly safe in France."²⁴ An anti-crusading movement was formed in the West due to the disaster of the Peasants' Crusade and throughout the First Crusade the monk Ekkehard had to refute German criticism of the crusade.²⁵ An inhabitant of Wurzburg who may have been either a monk or a cleric²⁶ was decidedly against the Second Crusade. He argued that few of the crusaders took the cross from piety; they went rather out of curiosity, to find new land, or to escape debts or punishment for crimes.²⁷

As a consequence of the failure of the Second Crusade the holy Saint Bernard also became the object of abusive attacks.²⁸ Even that

²⁴ John of Salisbury, Historia Pontificalis, trans. M. Chibnall (New York, 1956), Ch. XVIII, 45.

²⁵ Ekkehardus, Chronicon Universale, in Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores, VI, 212, 214.

²⁶ Annales Herbipolenses, Preface, i.

²⁷ Annales Herbipolenses, p. 3.

²⁸ Throop, p. 99, pp. 172-173; Vacandard, pp. 442-443.

humble monk was not immune. He and the other monastic preachers were not only attacked by laymen and by troubadours but sometimes by the regular clergy. For example, the monk or cleric of Wurzburg accused the monastic preachers of being "false prophets, witnesses of anti-Christ, sons of Belial, who led Christians astray with empty words and drew them toward Jerusalem with lying sermons."²⁹ Another contemporary chronicler expressed doubt concerning the divine source of Saint Bernard's inspiration.³⁰ Nivard of Ghent declared in his poem, Ysengrimus, which was written at the time of the Second Crusade, that the preaching of Saint Bernard had caused mostly sinners to take the cross.³¹ The monastic annals of the monastery of S. Jacobi also found Bernard at fault. The annals accused him and the other preachers of deceiving Louis VII with "false prophecies" as to the successful outcome of the crusade.³²

Perhaps the wealth of criticism aroused by the adverse issue of the Second Crusade motivated Eugenius' opposition to its revival. Two weeks prior to the Council at Chartres, which had been summoned for the purpose of revitalizing the crusade, Eugenius wrote to Abbot Suger and expressed his misapprehensions concerning the venture. "The immense work of piety which divine mercy has inspired in our very dear son Louis, illustrious King of the Franks, makes us very anxious.

²⁹ Annales Herbipolenses, p. 3.

³⁰ Throop, pp. 172-173, cited Annales Brunwilarensis, in Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores, XVI, 727.

³¹ Throop, p. 99, cited Nivard of Ghent, Ysengrimus, ed. E. Voigt (Halle, 1884), p. cxii.

³² Annales S. Jacobi Leodenses, in Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores, XVI, 641.

For, recalling both the serious diminution of the Christian name which the Church of God has sustained in our times and the recent outpouring of the blood of so many men, we are smitten with great fear, and an inconsolable grief is renewed."³³ The pope was intimidated enough by the criticism to discourage a revival of the crusade although he did not explicitly forbid it. The attempt to revive the crusade met with almost negligible enthusiasm. Even the monks of Citeaux registered their apathy,³⁴ and the movement disintegrated of its own accord.³⁵

The antagonists of the Third Crusade found no single instigator to blame for the failure of that crusade and under those circumstances God received the blame for the debacle. Between 1192 and 1194 the Monk of Montaudon recorded a conversation which he purportedly held with God in which the monk was reproached for not having attended Richard the Lion-hearted. The monk's reply manifested considerable disillusionment. "Lord, certainly I would have seen him [Richard] if you had not permitted his capture. Nor do you care what course the ship of the Saracens takes! If it lands at Acre, the Turkish villains are strong enough there. He is a fool who follows You into battle."³⁶

In the late twelfth century, after the disaster of the Third Crusade, Joachim of Flore expressed his discouragement over the results

³³Berry, 161, cited Epistle LXV, in Recueil des Historians des Gaul et de France, XV, 457.

³⁴William of Nangis, p. 35.

³⁵Berry, p. 161.

³⁶Throop, p. 173, who cites Monk of Montaudon, "L'autrier fui en paradis," ed. Klein, Die Dichtungen des Monchs von Montaudon, Ausgaben und Abhandlungen aus dem gebiete der romanische Philologie, VII (Marburg, 1885), 34.

of the Holy War.³⁷ Joachim (1135-1202) was a Cistercian monk who, desiring a stricter discipline, retreated with his disciples and founded a new monastery, Saint John of Flore. He was released from his obedience to the Cistercian order and in 1196 the new order obtained papal sanction.³⁸ Joachim's message was one of reform and return to poverty. He insisted that wealth was responsible for the corruption and low moral state of the church.³⁹ Joachim's following, although never large, constituted a group within the church which was opposed to the crusading policy. Their influence was not felt until the early thirteenth century but at that time the effects of their doctrines which included opposition to the crusades were most profound. The disciples of Joachim mistakenly attributed to him a work called the Commentary on Jeremiah which declared the crusades were against the will of God. The work further suggested that the popes mourn the state of their own Jerusalem, i.e., the Church Universal, instead of dissipating the strength of Christendom with useless wars against the Saracens.⁴⁰

The lessening of enthusiasm for the crusades occurred at all levels of society and the regular clergy shared in that trend. By the end of the twelfth century the monks were not even enthusiastic about preaching a crusade. When Fulk of Neuilly traveled to the general chapter meeting of the Cistercian abbeys at Citeaux in 1198 to ask for

³⁷Fournier, pp. 469-470.

³⁸Latourette, p. 435.

³⁹Fournier, p. 505.

⁴⁰Throop, p. 174, who cites Commentary on Jeremiah, in Salimbene, "Chronica", Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores, XXXII, 494-495.

several monks to help him preach a crusade his request was refused. The Cistercians felt it was unreasonable to leave their monastic responsibilities and to concern themselves with events in a foreign land.⁴¹

The declining monastic support for the crusades was a complex development and the result of several different causes of which the primary ones have been enumerated in the present chapter. The criticism which arose in the twelfth century of papal policies in general and of the crusading policy in particular was the beginning of a trend which was to expand in the thirteenth century and culminate in the 1270's. The hostility which Pope Gregory X experienced in that decade in mustering his crusade was not entirely the result of immediate causes but basically had its origin in the formation of the crusading policy.

⁴¹Milton R. Gutsch, "A Twelfth Century Preacher--Fulk of Neuilly," in The Crusades and Other Historical Essays, ed. L. J. Paetow (New York, 1928), p. 202.



CONCLUSION

The interaction between the crusades and monasticism was of such a nature that each exercised a decisive influence on the other. The early crusades occurred during the Cluniac-Cistercian phase of monasticism and thus coincided with an age when the regular clergy had accepted a broader view of their role in society. The monks increasingly felt that God could best be served not in isolation but by serving mankind. The Cluniacs and to an even greater degree the Cistercians lost their enthusiasm for isolation and marked a significant stage in a trend which was to culminate in the wandering mendicants of the thirteenth century.

When the pope initiated the crusade in 1095 the regular clergy were in a position to support the movement and they registered their enthusiasm in a variety of ways. By recruiting support for the expedition these holy men helped to establish the initial spirit of the crusades as being one of religious piety. The crusades were promoted as righteous and holy wars against infidel atrocities. The regular clergy supplemented their preaching efforts by providing crusaders with the necessary cash and shelter. The nature of monastic support during the crusades was generally of a pacifistic nature in that the monks rarely took up the sword, but the regular clergy certainly gave their whole-hearted support to the progress and success of the Western crusaders. The monasteries continued to shelter crusaders once they reached the Holy Land and to provide for their well-being. Perhaps

more significant to the progress of the crusades were the monastic contributions to diplomacy. The success and even the continued existence of the crusaders depended on their internal harmony and unity and also on their ability to ward off unnecessary military contests by means of negotiation. The crusading leaders depended heavily on the monks to smooth out friction within the crusading armies and also with the allies. The pacifistic and very holy image of the regular clergy in the eleventh and twelfth centuries enabled them to fulfill the diplomatic role with notable success. Unity among the crusaders was further encouraged by the constant exhortations of the monks in every camp. The crusaders were constantly reminded that they were soldiers of Christ fighting a holy war and were encouraged to bravery and piety. Thus, the monks supported the crusades in their formative stage and furthered the progress of these religious expeditions once they had been set in motion.

However, despite valiant and exemplary efforts on the part of the regular clergy, internal strife and personal ambition emerged almost immediately among the crusaders. The lack of a coherent organization and leadership became obvious even before the armies reached the Holy Land. There was neither unity of spirit nor purpose within the crusading ranks let alone with their Greek allies. Thus, despite monastic efforts the situation was such that the disastrous outcome of the crusades of the twelfth century seem almost inevitable to modern historians. The regular clergy by no means had a more complete grasp of the larger situation than any of the participants. However, the monks to a very large extent did retain a high level of religious integrity and piety and on this basis did represent a unity of spirit and purpose lacking in the vast majority of crusaders.

From another point of view the ardent religious spirit of the monks did not make them amenable to the possibility of using the disunity of the Moslems to the advantage of the crusaders by aligning with one or another of the Moslem factions. The efficacy of this realistic approach was demonstrated at various times, notably in the period between the first and second crusades and later by the Holy Roman Emperor Frederick II, a master of diplomacy. The ardent religious nature of the regular clergy which prohibited them from including the possibility of pagan alliances within the sphere of the diplomatic efforts was unfortunate but also completely understandable. To have aligned with men who denied the essence of Christianity and who were of the same religion as the men who desecrated the Holy Land would have been to deny the original basis of the monastic support of the crusades. While the monks did not comprehend the possibilities of alliances with Moslems they, nevertheless, did make numerous positive contributions to the progress of the crusades.

When an institution becomes as actively involved in a movement as monasticism did in the crusades it cannot avoid being influenced by the movement. Monasticism reflected a dual reaction to the twelfth century crusades. The disastrous results of the Second and Third crusades caused general disillusionment and the defeats were generally attributed to the sins of the Christians. However, there seemed to be two interpretations of the nature of these sins and of the steps that ought to be taken to reverse the situation. On the one hand there was the solution of becoming more militant in defense of Christianity. That reaction paved the way for the rise of the military orders which combined the monastic ideal of renunciation implied in the vows of poverty,

chastity and obedience taken by the Templars and Hospitallers. It was an attempt to defend Christianity by military efficiency combined with the monastic ideal and attained notable success in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, but the success was not of permanent duration.

The second reaction to the twelfth century crusading catastrophies was to reconsider the basic premise of the crusading policy. In the twelfth century a revision of the militant crusading attitudes was begun and a trend toward peaceful conversion and missionary work was set in motion. In the twelfth century the reconsideration of the crusading policy did not go much beyond the criticism which arose from the frustrated crusading efforts. Even though positive suggestions concerning alternate approaches were very rarely expressed, the critics did anticipate the missionary efforts of future centuries. Thus, while depending on the regular clergy in their progress, the crusades exercised a significant influence on monasticism as an institution and as an ideal.

APPENDIX A

A LIST OF REGULAR CLERGY PRESENT AT THE COUNCIL OF CLERMONT

The list was supplied by René Crozet, "Le Voyage d'Urbain II et ses negociations avec le clerge de France," Revue historique, CLXXIX (1937), 271-310. Crozet included the secular clergy as well as the regular clergy. The list is not exhaustive. The available references to the sources have been cited.

Adhemar, Cluniac abbot of S. Martial
Aimery, abbot of Anchin (Arras diocese): Gallia Christiana, III, 381, 409; IX, 714; X, 1542, 1167.
Alard, abbot of St. Ghislain-en-Celle: Ibid., III, 106, 93.
Alode, abbot of St.-Waast d'Arras: Ibid., III, 381, 409; X, 1542, 1167; IX, 714.
Ansculfe, abbot of S. Jean d'Angely.
Baudry, abbot of Bourgueil.
Benoit, abbot of Sainte-Croix of Quimperle.
Bernard, abbot of Marmoutier: Ibid., XIV, 73, 290.
Bernard of Chanac, abbot of the Augustines of S.-Amable of Riom and prevot of Pebrac.
Bertrand, abbot of Mas-Garnier.
Ermengarde, abbot of La Cluse. (cf. Crozet, "Le Voyage," 282.)
Etienne, abbot of Noyers: Gallia Christiana, XIV, 73, 290.
Gauzmar, abbot of Montier-la-Celle: Ibid., XII, 543; IX, 230.
Geoffrey, abbot of Vendome: Ibid., XIV, 73, 290.
Geraud, abbot of Uzerche
Gontard, abbot of Jumieges: He died during the course of the Council. Ibid., XI, 353, 527, 195, 960, 683; Orderic Vitalis, IV, Bk. X, 15.
Hughes, abbot of Cluny: Gallia Christiana, XII, 288, 350.
Jarenton, abbot of St. Benigne of Dijon: Ibid.
Lambert, abbot of St. Bertin: Ibid., III, 381, 409; X, 1542, 1167; IX, 714.
Lanzon, abbot of St.-Vincent of Metz: Ibid., XIII, 919.
Martin, abbot of St. Denis of Mons: Ibid., III, 106, 93.
Natalis, abbot of St. Nicolas d'Angers.
Pierre, abbot of Charroux.

Pierre de Cizieres, abbot of Aurillac.

Pierre de Sauve, abbot of Aniane.

Ponce, abbot of la Chaise-Dieu.

Richard, cardinal legate, abbot of St.-Victor of Marseilles.

Robert, abbot of St. Remi of Reims.

Seguin, Cluniac abbot of Lezot.

APPENDIX B

A LIST OF REGULAR CLERGY RELATED TO THE FIRST THREE CRUSADES

The following compilation of monks and abbots has been drawn from all of the primary and secondary material examined for the present study. The list includes all members of the regular clergy who had any relationship to the first three crusades. However, the inventory of monks does not include mention of the various abbots and monks who had established permanent residence at monasteries in the Holy Land unless the reference is pertinent to the crusades. References are given both to primary and secondary sources. The list is not exhaustive and the numerous monastic annals will undoubtedly yield more names when they are examined.

Abbot of Esterp (Esterpen): This unidentified abbot arrived with laymen and clergy to aid in siege of Acre during Third Crusade. Itinerarium, pp. 92-93.

Abbot of St. Elias: He revealed to Richard the Lion-hearted a piece of the True Cross which had been hidden from Saladin. People rejoiced and urged the leaders to push on to Jerusalem. Ambroise, pp. 376-378; Runciman, III, 68.

Abbot of Scalons: He arrived in the company of the abbot of Esterp with other laymen and clergy to aid siege of Acre during Third Crusade. Itinerarium, pp. 92-93.

Achard, prior of the Temple: He is found as a signer of laws in 1120 to reform immorality in Jerusalem which was felt to be the cause of a plague of mice. William of Tyre, Bk. XII, I, 536.

Adam: A monk of Morimond who followed Abbot Arnold on his unsuccessful pilgrimage to the Holy Land. See Arnold, abbot of Morimund, below.

Adam, abbot of Ebrach: Saint Bernard commissioned him to preach the crusade in Bavaria and at the general assembly held by Conrad at Regensburg. Otto of Freising, Deeds, p. 75; Pfeiffer, XLVII, 48-49; Setton, I, 478; Vacandard, p. 431.

Alexander von Koln (Cologne): A canon who joined Saint Bernard in Germany and returned with him to France where he became a Cistercian. Pfeiffer, XLVII, 48; Vacandard, p. 424, refers to him as an "eminent Cistercian."

Arnold, abbot of Morimund: He was the first abbot of Morimond which was a branch of Cîteaux founded in 1115. Around 1124 Arnold tired of his duties and the disobedient monks and left on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land without permission although he died before accomplishing his mission. He took with him several monks including Everard, Adam, and Conrad. St. Bernard. Letters. #4, pp. 19-22.

Arnold, prior of Mount Sion: He was among those who signed the laws in 1120 to reform immorality in Jerusalem which was felt to be the cause of a plague of mice in that city. William of Tyre, Bk. XII, I, 536.

Baldwin: An abbot who burned a cross on his forehead in order to coax money from the superstitious to pay for his expenses on the First Crusade. He later confessed his sin and led an exemplary life. He was elected abbot of St. Marys in Jehosaphat and in 1101 archbishop of Caesarea. Guibert of Nogent, Historia, Bk. IV, 149-150. William of Tyre, I, Bk. X, 438; Porges, p. 6.

Baldwin of Chatillon: An abbot of the Premonstratensian order who aided Saint Bernard in preaching the crusade in Germany. Pfeiffer, XLVII, 50; Vacandard, p. 416, p. 424.

Baldwin: A canon of the Sepulchre of the Lord who died while he was carrying a cross in the midst of battle in July of 1182. William of Tyre, Bk. XXII, 475.

Conrad: A monk of Morimond who followed Abbot Arnold on his unsuccessful pilgrimage to the Holy Land. See Arnold, abbot of Morimund, above.

Dietrich (Theodoric) von Kamp: He was a Premonstratensian and abbot of monastery of Kamp (von Altenkamp) who accompanied Saint Bernard from Spires to Lutig. Pfeiffer, XLVII, 50, who cites Vita Prima S. Bern.

Eberhardt: A monk of Clairvaux who accompanied Saint Bernard from Spires to Lutig and was a new member to Bernard's troupe of helpers. Pfeiffer, XLVII, 50.

Erwin von Steinfeld: A Premonstratensian who accompanied Saint Bernard from Spires to Lutig. Pfeiffer, XLVII, 50, who cites Vita Prima S. Bern.

Evard of Barres: This noble was a royal messenger of Louis VII who was also helpful to the king in matters of discipline and finance. Preceptor of the Temple, 1143-47, and Master of the order, 1147-49. When he returned to France he became a monk at Clairvaux and died in 1174. Odo of Deuil, Bk. III, 54 and n. 40.

Everard: He was monk of Morimund who followed abbot Arnold on his unsuccessful pilgrimage to the Holy Land. See Arnold, abbot of Morimund, above.

Franko: He was a cleric who accompanied Saint Bernard in Germany and who followed Bernard back to Clairvaux where he became a monk. Pfeiffer, XLVII, 48, who cites Vita prima S. Bern, P.L., CLXXXV.

Frowin von Salem: Frowin was a former monk of Bellavaux who aided Bernard in Germany. He knew both French and German and therefore worked as a translator for Bernard. Vacandard, p. 424; Pfeiffer, XLVII, 48.

Geoffrey, abbot of the Temple of the Lord: He was especially noted for his expert knowledge of Greek and represented the excellent scholars who gathered at Jerusalem. William of Tyre, Introduction, p. 9 and n. 12.

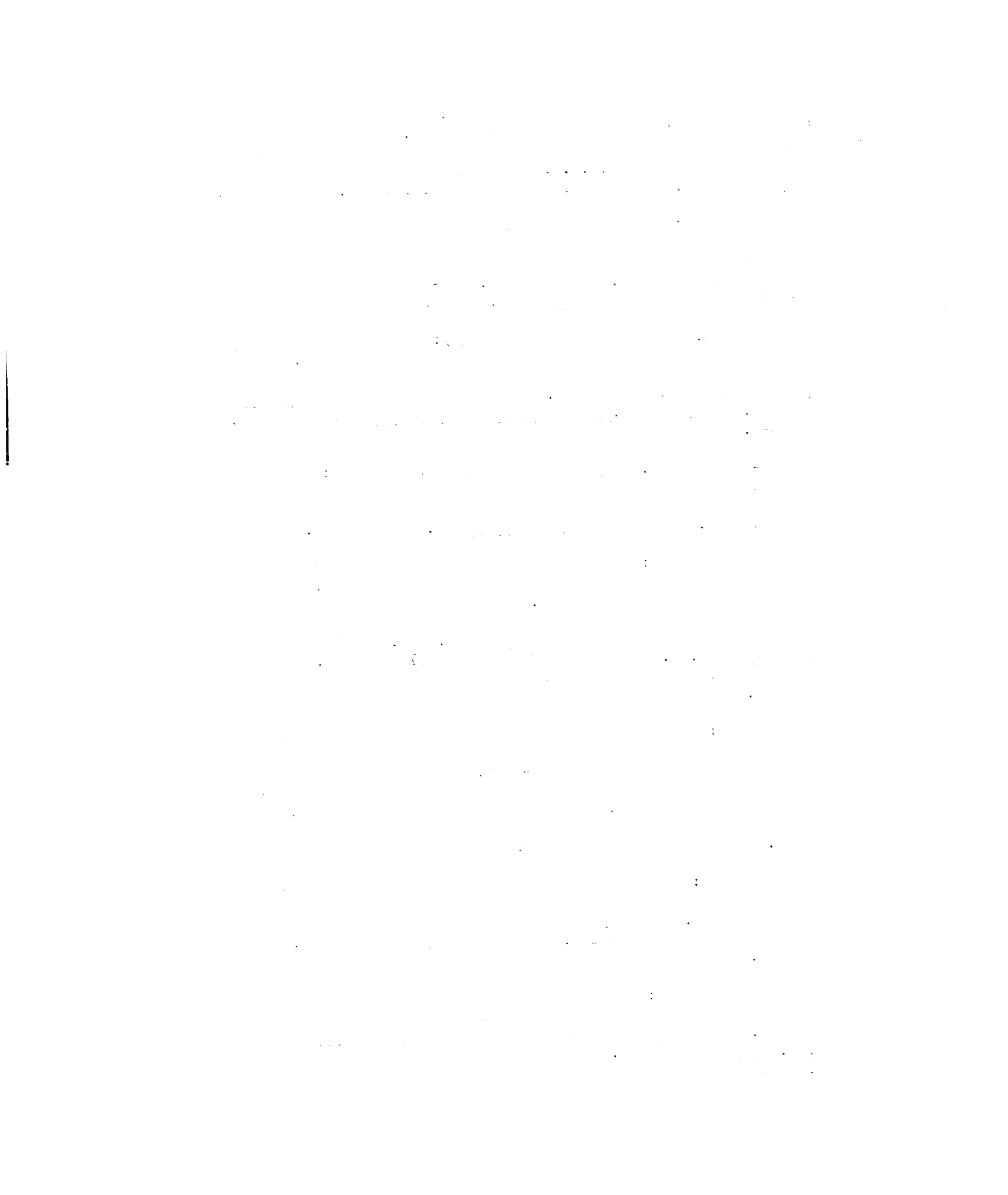
Geoffrey d'Auxerre: He was a monk who was the constant companion of Saint Bernard throughout his entire journey. He was an ancient disciple of Abelard and was the author of the third, fourth, fifth, and the second part of the sixth book of the "Vita prima Sancti Bernardi." Pfeiffer, XLVII, 46, who cites P.L., CLXXXV, col. 1812, and ibid., IVa, col. 301 ff.; Vacandard, p. 416; J. Leclercq, "Les écrits de Geoffroy d'Auxetre," Revue Benedictine, LXII (1952), 274-291.

Gerard, prior of the Sepulchre of the Lord: He was among those who signed the laws in 1120 to reform immorality in Jerusalem which was felt to be the cause of a plague of mice in that city. William of Tyre, Bk. XII, I, 536.

Gerard: This monk also accompanied Saint Bernard and was a constant companion. His identification is uncertain. Willems says that possibly he was the future abbot of Eberbach who was prior at Clairvaux under the abbacy of Bernard. Willems, p. 131; Vacandard, p. 416; Pfeiffer, XLVII, 46, who cites P.L., CLXXXV, col. 1812.

Gerento, abbot of Saint Benigne of Dijon: He was sent by the pope to negotiate a peace between William Rufus and Robert Curthose which enabled the latter to go on the First Crusade. David, Robert Curthose, pp. 91-92, p. 96; Robert of Flavigny, Chronicon, pp. 474-475.

- Gerhard, abbot of Allerheiligen in Schaffhausen: He gave up his post 'pro humilitate' to go on the First Crusade. According to Porges he was motivated by "piety and an earnest desire for the success of the crusade. . . ." He later became prior of the Holy Sepulchre. Porges, p. 6; Bernold, M.G.H., SS., V, 465-467.
- Gerlach, abbot of Rein: He was another Cistercian who received a letter from Saint Bernard in which he was asked to preach the crusade. He also negotiated a peace between Ottocar of Styria and Henri Jasomirgott. Willems, pp. 134-136; Pfeiffer, XLVII, 49-52; Otto of Freising, Deeds, Bk. I, 76.
- Gervais, abbot of St. Savin sur la Gartempe (?): According to the Vita he went on the First Crusade and was devoured by a lion. There was another tradition which said he died several years earlier (1079) in Judaea. Porges, p. 22, who cites Gallia Christiana, II, col. 1287; Vita B. Bernardi Tironiensis, AASS, II (April 14), 226 C-D.
- Gilduin, abbot-elect of St. Mary in the Valley of Jehosaphat: He was among those who signed the laws in 1120 to reform immorality in Jerusalem which was felt to be the cause of a plague of mice in that city. William of Tyre, Deeds, Bk. XII, I, 536.
- Giselbert, abbot of Admont: He accompanied a large group of Germans on a crusade in 1101 which was led by Welf IV of Bavaria. Ekkehard of Aura was also in that group. Albert of Aix, "Liber Christianae expeditionis pro ereptione, emundatione, restitutione sanctae Hierosolymitanae ecclesiae," in RHC, Occ., Bk. VI, 36; Ekkehard, Chronicle, ed. H. Hagenmeyer (Tübingen, 1877), ix, pp. 109-113, and xxii, p. 227; Setton, I, 350 who also cites the above two sources.
- Godfrey de la Roche: Godfrey was the Cistercian abbot of Fontenay, from 1119 to 1127 and prior of Clairvaux from 1127 to 1139, and bishop of Langres from 1139-1161. He was extremely active in promoting the Second Crusade and also led a military contingent in the crusade. In 1161 he retired to Clairvaux. His crusading activities are traced in great detail by Pfeiffer, XLVII.
- Godfrey of Villeneuve: A canon of the Sepulchre of the Lord who was sent on an expedition as an aide to Baldwin, another canon of the same order. Godfrey was killed in July of 1182 when he became involved in a battle. William of Tyre, Deeds, Bk. XXII, II, 475.
- Goswin, abbot of Bonnevaux: He bought land from a certain Rollanus for 350 solidi which enabled the latter to go on the Second Crusade. Pfeiffer, XLVII, 79, who cites Cartulaire de l'abbaye N. D. de Bonnevaux, ed. Chevalier, (Grenoble, 1889), #244, p. 102.



Guido, abbot of Vaux de Cernay: A Cistercian who traveled to the Holy Land in the army of Philip Augustus. He returned to the West before the completion of the crusade upon the request of abbot Guido of Citeaux. Pfeiffer, XLVIII, 148, who cites Gallia Christiana, IV, 989.

Harpin de Bourges: A crusading knight who was taken prisoner. After his escape and after returning to France he became a monk at Cluny. Orderic Vitalis, Bk. X, 116-119.

Jacques d'Avene: He was an abbot who went on the crusade and died in 1192 defending himself as fiercely as a knight. L'Estoire de Eracles, p. 185.

Joachim of Flore: After making a trip to Constantinople and the neighboring area in 1158 this noble put aside his rich possessions and became a pilgrim. Upon returning to Europe he became a Cistercian and later the first abbot of Curazzo. Desiring more seclusion he retired from Curazzo and founded the congregation at Flore of which he also became abbot. In 1186 he met King Richard I in Sicily and interpreted the scriptures concerning the fall of Babylon and spoke of Richards destined role as a liberator. Later, perhaps due to the failure of the Third Crusade, he became opposed to the crusade policy. William of Nangis, 58-59; Roger of Hovedon, II, 177; Fournier, "Joachim of Flore, ses doctrines et son influence."; Revue des Questions historiques, LXVII, 457-505; Pfeiffer, XLVIII, 310.

Johanas von Casamari: He was abbot of the Benedictine abbey of Casamari which was incorporated into Citeaux in 1140. After the failure of the Second Crusade John defended Saint Bernard against attack by arguing that the sins of the crusaders were the real cause of the disaster. Willems, "Citeaux et Croisade," p. 147, who cites Ep. CCCLXXXVI, 3, P.L., CLXXXII, col 590-591; Pfeiffer, XLVII, 145-146.

Johannes von Withland: He was identified by Pfeiffer as a Cistercian abbot who preached the Third Crusade with another abbot, Seisyll von Stratflur, in the province of Kardigan (Wales). Pfeiffer, XLVIII, 242-243.

Lambert, abbot of Lobbes: Without any authority he aided the monk Ralph in preaching a crusade against the Jews. Apparently Ralph knew no German and Lambert therefore translated for the monk. Vacandard, p. 145; Pfeiffer, XLVII, 46, cited Gesta Abbatum Lobbiensium, M.G.H., SS., XXI, 329.

Leo, abbot of St. Bertin (1138-63): He was a friend of Alvisus, bishop of Arras, and was very active in a diplomatic capacity for King Louis VII. Odo of Deuil, Bk. III, 22 and n. 6, 52; Gallia Christiana, III, 498.

Leonius: Saint Bernard met abbot Leonius at St. Bertin and was accompanied by him to Ypres where they recruited the Count of Flanders for the Second Crusade. Vacandard, p. 416.

Manegold of Lutenbach: In 1089 or 1090 he founded the abbey of the canons regular of St. Augustine of Marbach and became its prevot. Manegold was zealous for the First Crusade and succeeded in recruiting Otto of Hohenstaufen, bishop of Strasbourg, in return for which Pope Urban II promised papal protection to the abbey. Crozet, "Le Voyage de Urban," pp. 299-300.

Milo, abbot of Le Pin: With permission from the Cistercian general council Milo joined Richard the Lion-heart at Marsailles and journeyed with him to the Holy Land. Pfeiffer, XLVIII, 307-308, who cites Rad. Coggesh., Chron. Angl. p. 858.

Nicolas: He was a Cistercian monk and was also in charge of the secretaries of Saint Bernard. He never accompanied Bernard on his preaching tour but directed the written propaganda from Clairvaux. He gained the confidence of Bernard and then later fled from Clairvaux "after grave misconduct," taking with him Bernard's personal seal. Vacandard, p. 413; Pfeiffer, XLVII, 45; Saint Bernard, Letters, p. 377.

Otto: He was a cleric who accompanied Saint Bernard in Germany and who followed Bernard back to Clairvaux where he became a monk. Pfeiffer, XLVII, p. 48, Vita prima S. Bern. in P.L., CLXXXV.

Peter, abbot of Mount Tabor: A plague of mice was felt to be due to the immorality in Jerusalem and as a consequence laws were proposed in 1120 to reform the city. Peter was among the regular clergy who signed the laws. William of Tyre, Bk. XII, I, 536.

Peter Latinator: He was a monk of St. Paul. Along with William Aversa he assumed the responsibility for Antioch when circumstances demanded and arranged a secret entrance for Baldwin II in the late summer of 1130. William of Tyre, II, Bk. XIII, 45.

Peter of Barcelona; prior of the canons of the Holy Sepulchre, (1130-58): Peter was an able scholar and an intimate friend of William of Tyre and he was largely responsible for the education of William. Peter became archbishop of Tyre in 1148. William of Tyre, Introduction, p. 9.

Philipp von Luttich: He was an archdeacon who came into contact with Saint Bernard in Germany and who then desired to become a monk. After aiding Bernard's recruiting efforts he followed him back to Clairvaux where he took the monastic vows. Pfeiffer, XLVII, 48, cited Vita prima S. Bern. P.L., CLXXXV.

Pons, abbot of Vezelay: His enthusiasm for the Second Crusade was so great that he built a church on the hill outside Vezelay where the knights and pilgrims had taken the cross under the inspiration of Saint Bernard's preaching. The church was dedicated to the Holy Cross. Vacandard, p. 411.

Rainald, abbot of Morimond: Rainald was an active preacher of the Second Crusade. Bernard often commissioned him to recruit in areas where he did not have time to go. Rainald was particularly successful with his recruiting efforts in Bassigny. Pfeiffer, XLVII, 45.

Ralph (Rudolf): A Cistercian monk who preached the Second Crusade without permission and advocated the slaughter of Jews. He was active in Cologne, Mainz, Worms, Spier, and Strassburg. Since he knew no German and Lambert, abbot of von Lobbes, acted as his translator. Saint Bernard persuaded him to return to his cloister. Otto of Freising, Deeds, p. 74; Runciman, II, 254; Bernard of Clairvaux, Letters, #392, 465-466; Setton, I, 472-473; Vacandard, pp. 416-418.

Raynald, abbot of Mount Sion: He was sent on a diplomatic mission in 1180 to deal with Bohemond of Antioch whose immoral behavior and violence had become intolerable. Peter, prior of the Holy Sepulchre, also accompanied the mission. William of Tyre, II, Bk. XXII, 456.

Richard, son of Fulk of Aunou-le-Faucon: Richard was a knight in the First Crusade. After the capture of Jerusalem he was saved from a shipwreck off the Syrian coast through the miraculous interposition of Saint Nicolas of Bari whom he saw walking on the water. Richard returned safely to Normandy and became a monk of Bec. "Miracula S. Nicolai conscripta a Monacho Beccensi," Catalogus Codicum, II, 429; David, Robert Curthose, Appendix D., p. 226.

Robert, abbot of Ford (Dorset): He was listed among the dead at Acre on the Third Crusade. Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi, II, 147; Siedschlag, p. 123, who cites Monasticon Angilicanum, ed. Dugdale, 6 vols., (London, 1817-30), V, 376.

Robert of Arbrissel: He founded the order of Fontevrault in 1101 and was an active preacher of the First Crusade. In 1096 the pope commissioned him to preach the crusade in the Loire valley. Baudri of Dol, "Vita Roberti"; Crozet, 273; Duncalf, "Peasants' Crusade," 442; Petigny, "Robert of Arbrissel," 5; Runciman, I, 113; Setton I, 251.

Robert, prior of Hereford: He was a prior and a monk who was sent by the bishop of Ely to the Holy Land during the Third Crusade to inform King Richard about the chaos in England. Itinerarium, I, 333; Richard of Devizes, p. 264; Ambroise, p. 326.

Roger: He was an abbot and the chaplain of Anselm. He died from sickness at Nicaea in the fortress of Sparnum on the First Crusade. Letter of Anselm of Ribemont to Manasses II, archbishop of Reims, Translations and Reprints, I, #4, 5.

Rotholph: His identify is not entirely certain. Helmold referred to a man who was both a priest and a monk who was killed by the infidels as he tried to flee to safety during a battle in June of 1147. He may have been the Rotholph, a canon of Hildesheim, who Helmold referred to in chapters 43 and 46. Helmold, Chronicle, chapter 63, 177.

Seisyll, abbot of Stratflur: Abbot Johannes von Withland and Seisyll preached the Third Crusade in the province of Kardigan (Wales). Pfeiffer, XLVIII, 242-243.

Simon, abbot of Loos: He went to the Holy Land with the Third Crusade, however, he did not have permission from the Cistercian general council. Consequently, when he returned to the West he was assigned three days of fasting. Pfeiffer, XLVIII, 339.

Stephen, abbot of Saint John of Chartres: Stephen went on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem in opposition to the wishes of Saint Bernard and became patriarch in 1128. He was well educated and had been viscount of Chartres before his conversion to the Augustinian life. He died in 1130. Bernard of Clairvaux, Letters, #84, 121-122; William of Tyre, II, Bk. XIII, 39; Willems, p. 119.

Stephen, bishop of Metz: He went on the Second Crusade and when he returned he became a Cistercian monk at Morimond. Pfeiffer, XLVII, 108, who cites Gallia Christiana, XIII, 744.

Theobald, abbot of Saint Columba (Sens): He took the cross at Vezelay and then he received a letter from Peter the Venerable which warned him to beware of various temptations that he would find on the crusade. Berry, p. 150; Gesta Ludovici, RHGF, XII, 200.

Walter: He was a monk and prior of Saint Swithin at Winchester and had then become abbot. The chronicler mentions his death on September 27, 1190. This monk was not necessarily on the crusade, but he is mentioned in the middle of a lengthy narration dealing with the progress of Richard's crusade. Richard of Devizes, p. 258.

Wilbald, abbot of Corvey and Stavelot: Conrad III wrote several letters to the abbot while he was in the East asking him to pray for the success of the crusade and to encourage others to participate. The abbot participated on the Wend Crusade apparently as a punishment ordered by Pope Eugenius for pluralism. Letter of Conrad, Translations and Reprints, I, #4, 12-14; Cinnamus, RHC Grecs, I, 266; Setton, I, 494; Willems, "Citeaux et Croisade," p. 136; Pfeiffer, XLVII, 149.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ESSAY

There is no contemporary or medieval study of the relationship between monasticism and the crusades. In almost all of the crusading chronicles there are scattered references to monks and abbots but the names are seldom mentioned. The modern studies are of value in illuminating particular areas and specific people, but as is the case of medieval histories none emphasizes the regular clergy in particular.

The Latin sources for the First Crusade are numerous. Raymond of Aguilers, Historia Francorum qui ceperunt Jerusalem, is one of the basic sources for that crusade since Raymond was an eyewitness. He began his chronicle during the siege of Antioch and completed it in 1099. The chronicle emphasizes the role of Count Raymond of Toulouse since the chronicler was his chaplain. Fulcher of Chartres, Gesta Francorum Jerusalem Expugnantium, covers the years 1095 to 1127. There are three parts in Fulcher's chronicle of which the first has been translated in Translations and Reprints. Fulcher did not intend to write a history but rather a diary of his life. Nevertheless, he was extremely well educated and his relative objectivity makes his chronicle one of prime value. The third basic eyewitness account of the crusade is Gesta Francorum et Aliorum Hierosolimitanorum. The author was a knight who traveled in the Norman army. The chronicle covers crusading events from December of 1095 to August of 1099, and is highly favorable to Bohemond. Although the anonymous author mentions no monks by name, he

does illustrate the moral strength which was derived from their encouragement in various battles.

The anonymous Gesta Francorum was one of the most popular crusade chronicles and served as the basis for several others. Peter Tudebode, a priest of Sivray, based his De Hierosolymitano Itinere on that chronicle. Peter was present on the crusade, possibly in army of Hugo of Lusignan, but his chronicle is of little value since it differs only slightly from its source. Baudri of Dol, a monk and abbot of Bourqueil and archbishop of Dol in 1107, used the same source for his Historia Jerosolimitana. Baudri inserted opinions, but was not an eyewitness except where he mentions effects of the crusade in France. Baudri's more valuable work is his Vita di Roberti de Arbrisello, which gives pertinent information on Robert's preaching during the crusade. Guibert, abbot of Nogent, also used the Gesta Francorum for his Historia Hierosolymitana, but he sought to improve the style. Guibert knew Peter the Hermit personally which makes his chronicle of particular value on that subject. Guibert also wrote an Autobiography which is of no value to the crusades but does provide excellent background information on one of the major chroniclers. Robert of Reims or as he is more commonly known, Robbert the Monk, wrote a more romantic version of the Gesta entitled Historia Hierosolymitana. Robert was probably never in the Holy Land, but his chronicle is valuable since he was a contemporary of the events he describes.

The most extensive account of the First Crusade is by Albert of Aix in his Liber Christianae. Although Albert was never in the Holy Land he based his chronicle on reports of eyewitness. However, he also inserted many legends and as a consequence the chronicle must be used

with caution. The Gesta Tancredi Siciliae Regis in Expeditione Hierosolymitana was written by Raoul of Caen and covers the events of 1099 to 1108, but is not of any particular value except as a source of information on Tancred. Ekkehard, a monk of Corvey, went to the Holy Land in 1101 and upon his return he composed his Hierosolymita. Ekkehard made many explanations and defenses of the crusade largely because of the anti-crusading movement which formed in Germany as a result of the Peasant's Crusade. William of Tyre is one of the greatest historians of the crusade. His narration of the First Crusade is based almost completely on Albert of Aix, but William was an eyewitness of the twelfth century crusades and will be discussed more fully in relation to them.

Further information concerning the First Crusade can be obtained from a whole series of minor chronicles which deal with various aspects of the crusade. Caffaro de Caschifellone, DeLiberatione Civitatum Orientis Liber, wrote a brief history of the role of the Genoese fleet in the First Crusade, but no mention is made of the regular clergy. The Historia Gestorum viae nostri Temporis Hierosolymitanae, by Gilo and Fulco, is a poem which is little value historically and of no value concerning monasticism and the crusades. Richard the Pilgrim has provided another source for the First Crusade entitled the Chanson d'Antioche, which emphasizes the role of the lesser people.

The Latin sources of the First Crusade are supplemented by Greek, Arabic, Armenian, and Syriac chronicles which are fewer in number, but equally as valuable. The major Greek source is Anna Comnena, The Alexiad, which is interesting because it illuminates the Byzantine aversion to the bellicose nature of the Latin secular clergy.

Matthew of Edessa, Chronicle, 952-1136, supplies a good general source and is of particular value for the history of the crusading states between 1099 and 1118. Michael the Syrian, Chronique, is the standard Syriac source for the crusade and is based on manuscript now extant. He makes no mention of monks or abbots. "The First and Second Crusades from an Anonymous Syriac Chronicle," gives further information of a general nature but is not helpful in regard to the regular clergy.

The Second Crusade evidences fewer sources; however, the sources which do exist are of an excellent caliber and most helpful in studying the regular clergy. The Latin sources center around two very outstanding works by William of Tyre and Odo of Deuil. A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea, by William of Tyre covers the crusades from 1095 to 1184. William was born in the East in 1130 and therefore is of particular value for the Second Crusade. He was well educated and knew both Greek and Arabic. In addition his life was spent in the service of the church which made him extremely well informed on ecclesiastical matters. He is an excellent source of information about monks and abbots. Odo of Deuil, De Profectione Ludovici VII in Orientem, is the best single source of the Second Crusade itself, although it concentrates on Louis VII. Odo was a monk of Saint Devis and chaplain of King Louis. He was also a "royal messenger" which accounts for his great knowledge of royal affairs. Odo is of particular value to the diplomatic efforts of the regular clergy. The role of Conrad and the German point of view in the Second Crusade are illuminated by Otto of Freising, The Deeds of Frederick Barbarossa, which ends in the year 1160.

The remainder of the Latin sources are of lesser value. Walter the Chancellor, Antiochena Bella, in Recueil des Historiens des Croisades,

is an excellent history of Antioch from 1115 to 1122, but is of no value regarding the monks. The Chronicle of William of Nangis, relates events from 1113 to 1301 but provides no information about monks in the Holy Land during the twelfth century. John of Salisbury, Historia Pontificalis, is a history of the papal court during and after the Second Crusade. He mentions the animosity against the crusade policy and against the pope due to the failure of the crusade.

Information on Saint Bernard of Clairvaux can be obtained in his Letters, which illuminate his attitude toward monastic participation, and also the names of several monks who did go on the crusade. The letters are also a good source for the delinquent monk, Ralph. Further information about Saint Bernard is contained in Vie de Saint-Bernard, which was written by various abbots.

There are also Greek, Armenian and Arabic sources for the Second Crusade. Excerpts from Johannes Cinnamus, Epitome Historiarum and from Nicetas Chroniates, Historia are compiled into "A History of the Second and Third Crusades, 1118-1190," and contain good information on the reigns of John and Manuel Comnenus. The primary Armenian source for the period of the Second Crusade is the Chronicle of Gregory the Priest. It covers the years 1137 to 1162 and is a continuation of Matthew of Edessa. Ibn al-Qadanisi, The Damascus Chronicle of the Crusades, is excellent for Moslem political history from 1097 to 1160. Moslem-Christian relations are illuminated by An Arab-Syrian Gentleman and Warrior in the Period of the Crusades: Memoires of Usamah Ibn-Mungidh.

The Third Crusade like the First was recorded by a great number of chroniclers. The history of William of Tyre was continued by Bernard le Tresovier and Ernoul, Chronicle, and provides good background

information. It is not of the high calibre of William of Tyre's work. Helmoldus, The Chronicle of the Slavs, is a very detailed work. He mentions the fact that many monks left in the wake of Peter the Hermit preaching. The Chronicle of Reims by an unknown minstrel, was meant for entertainment and its historical accuracy cannot be depended upon. The minstrel mentioned that Cistercians prayed for Philip Augustus' success.

The crusade of Richard the Lion-hearted was covered by a wealth of chroniclers many of whom had a great deal to say about the regular clergy. The preparations and the early phases of Richard's campaign are most accurately found in Benedict of Peterborough, Gesta Regis Henrici II; Ralph of Diceto, Opera Historica; Richard of Devizes, Chronicle; and William of Newburgh, Historia Rerum Anglicarum. The Annals of Roger of Hovedon contains facts about the Abbot Joachim and other bits of minor information on the regular clergy.

The two best sources for the actual crusade of Richard are Ambrose, The Crusade of Richard the Lion-heart, 1190-92, and the Itinerarium peregrinorum et gesta regis Ricardi. The two chronicles are very similar and are probably derived from a single source which has since disappeared. The missing source was a journal written by a soldier in Richard's army. Both chronicles emphasize the military aspects of the crusade and the great contributions of the military orders. They also praise the military ideal above the monastic. Both chronicles are particularly valuable as a source of names. Geoffrey de Vinsauf, Itinerary of Richard I and others to the Holy Land, is a translation of the Itinerarium and is of inferior quality.

The French leaders of the Third Crusade also had their chroniclers.

Rigord, Gesta Philippi Augusti, is a brief account of the French crusade.

There are many excellent Arabic sources for the Third Crusade. Be ha ed-Din wrote The Life of Saladin which is interesting for the light it throws on that great warrior and diplomat. However, there is no information directly related to monasticism. The Travels of Ibn Jubayr is the journal of a Spaniard who passed through the Holy Land in the early 1180's. He was particularly impressed by the compatibility of Latin residents and Moslems and is valuable for that subject.

The journals of pilgrims during the crusade era provide information on the monasteries in the Holy Land and illustrate the pilgrims' dependence on them. The Palestine Pilgrims Text Society is the best place to find English translations of the major journals. Volumes IV and V which cover the years 1047 to 1106 and 1130 to 1282 respectively are the most valuable. The series of anonymous journals of the eleventh and twelfth centuries in the sixth volume should not be overlooked.

Universal chronicles often include information about the crusade although it is usually scattered. Hugh of Fleury in his Chronicle gives some insight into the anti-Moslem propaganda. His chapters on the crusades are brief and were inspired by the Gesta Francorum. The Chronicle of Hugh of Flavigny is not of value for the crusades directly but is the best source for information on Abbot Gerento who negotiated the peace between William Rufus and Robert Curthose. Hugh was Abbot Gerento's secretary and drew up the agreement on paper. Information on the First Crusade is found in Orderic Vitalis, Historia Ecclesiastica, which ends several years before the Second Crusade. The universal chronicle of Otto, bishop of Freising, has been translated as The Two Cities and contains passing references to the crusades to 1147. Book VII,

pp. 402-452, is the most relevant to the crusades. Ibn el-Athir, Kamel-Altevarykh, is a history of the world from 1098 to 1230. He based his information on the First and Second Crusades on a selection of contemporary writers, but since he was born in 1160 the latter section is of particular value.

As in the case of source material, modern works also contain only scattered references to the regular clergy in relation to the crusades. There are several excellent secondary works on the history of the crusades which contain some information on monks, but emphasize the political and military aspects of the crusades. Steven Runciman, A History of the Crusades, 3 vols. (Cambridge, Eng., 1957), is the most exhaustive and scholarly work. Ernest Barker, The Crusades (London, 1925), is a good, but brief introduction. W. B. Stevenson, The Crusaders in the East (Cambridge, Eng., 1907), gives valuable information from the military point of view, but contains nothing not found in Runciman. A History of the Crusades, ed. Kenneth M. Setton, 5 vols. (Philadelphia, 1958-), of which vol. I, The First Hundred Years, ed. Marshall W. Baldwin is of particular value for the historical background of the crusades. It ends in 1189, but the second volume, which has just been published, covers the period from 1189 to 1311 and should be of value for the Third Crusade which was not covered in volume I.

Various aspects of the First Crusade are illuminated by modern works. Frederick Dunclaf, "The Peasants' Crusade," American Historical Review, XXVI (1921), 440-453, is an excellent discussion of the initial crusading fervor among the poorer people and the results of their enthusiasm. Henri Hagenmeyer, Le Vrai et le Faux sur Pierre l'Hermite, trans. F. Raymond (Paris, 1883), remains the definitive work on Peter

of Amiens. W. Porges, "Clergy, the poor, and the non-combatants on the first crusade," Speculum, XXI (1946), 1-23, is an excellent study as far as it goes, but even the sources of the First Crusade are not covered exhaustively by Porges. He includes a list of clergy who went on the crusade which refers to five members of the regular clergy. A. C. Krey, "Urban's Crusade--Success or Failure?" American Historical Review, LIII (1941), 235-250, discusses the objectives and motivations of the crusade policy. Dana Carlton Munro, "Did the Emperor Alexius ask for aid at the Council of Piacenza, 1095?" American Historical Review, XVII (1922), 731-733, presents evidence for a positive answer. Matthew Spinka, "The Effect of the Crusades upon Easter Christianity," Environmental Factors in Christian History, ed. J. T. McNeill and others (Chicago, 1939), in Chapter XIV argues that the possibility of the reunion of the Greek and Latin churches seemed real at the time. He also concludes that as the Latins gradually lost their hold on the Holy Land during the twelfth century all hope for reunion disappeared.

The relationship between the Cluniac monks and the inauguration of the First Crusade is discussed by René Crozet, "Le Voyage d'Urban II et ses negociations avec le clerge de France," Revue Historique, CLXXIX (1937), 271-310, and by Alexander Gieysztor, "The Genesis of the Crusades: The Encyclical of Sergius IV, 1009-1012". Medievalia et Humanistica, V (1948), 1-25; VI (1950), 2-33.

Monographs on particular monks and abbots in the First Crusade are scarce, but J. de Petigny, "Robert d'Arbrissel et Geoffroi de Vendome," Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes, 3rd Ser., XV (1854), 1-30, illuminates the preaching of Robert. C. W. David, Robert Curthose (Cambridge, Mass., 1920), provides information on the argument with

William Rufus and on the settlement arranged by Abbot Gerento.

The Cistercians dominated the Second Crusade and there are several valuable studies of the relationship between Citeaux and the crusade. The most detailed account is P. Eberhard Pfeiffer, "Die Cistercienser und der zweite Kreuzzug," Cistercienser-Chronik, XLVII (1935), 8-10, 44-54, 78-81, 107-114, 145-150. E. Willems, "Citeaux et la seconde croisade," Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique, XCIX (1945), 116-151, is a much more recent article but adds no new facts beyond Pfeiffer. Abbé E. Vacandard, "St. Bernard et la seconde croisade," Revue des questions historiques, XXXVIII (1885), 398-457, is the best brief study of the saint's activities to promote the crusade. Peter the Venerable is the subject of several studies the best of which is Virginia Berry, "Peter the Venerable and the Crusades," in Studia Anselmiana, ed. Giles Constable and James Kritzeck (Rome, 1956), Chapter XI. M. l'abbé Demimuid, Pierre-le-Venerable (Paris, 1876) and B. Duparry, Pierre-le-Venerable (Chalons-sus-Saone, 1862), are both of lesser value and broader in scope.

There are fewer pertinent monographs for the regular clergy in the Third Crusade largely because of the decreasing monastic enthusiasm for the crusades. However, P. Eberhardt Pfeiffer, "Die Cistercienser und der dritte Kreuzzug," Cistercienser-Chronik, XLVIII (1936), 145-154, 179-183, 239-245, 270-277, 306-311, 337-343, discusses the role of the Cistercian monks and abbots. He does put more emphasis on the Cistercian bishops and cardinals who promoted the crusade, than on the regular clergy. Beatrice Siedschlag, English Participation in the Crusades, 1150-1220 (Randolph, Wis., 1939), includes a chapter on the clergy which is of value in evaluating the influence of the Hospitallers and

Templars. The author comments on the lack of participation and enthusiasm in the ranks of the regular clergy. Abbot Joachin of Flore is discussed in detail by Paul Fournier, "Joachin of Flore, ses doctrines et son influence," Revue des Questions historiques, LXVII (1900), 457-505.

The rise of monastic criticism of the crusade policy in the twelfth century receives some attention by Palmer A. Throop, Criticism of the Crusade: a Study of Public Opinion and Crusade Propaganda (Amsterdam, 1940), although the work concentrates on the thirteenth century and on the efforts of Pope Gregory X to initiate a crusade. Criticism of the crusading policy resulted partially from increased Western knowledge of the Moslems during the twelfth century. Dana Carlton Munro, "Western Attitude toward Islam during the Period of the Crusade," Speculum, VI (1931), 329-343, discusses that subject. An interesting but not entirely credible thesis is offered by R. S. Darbishire, "Moslem Antagonist According to the Latin Chronicles of the First and Second Crusades," Muslim World, XXVII (1938), 258-271, in which he argues that religion was not the cause of Moslem-Christian antipathy. Instead, it was a racial rivalry and the Seljuk Turk, not the Moslem, that were the Latins' enemy.

There is no study of monastic financial contributions to the crusades, and information on that subject must be deduced from several different works. One of the most dependable sources is James Westfall Thompson, Economic and Social History of the Middle Ages, 300-1300, 2 vols., (New York, 1959), and in particular Chapter XXIV, "The New Monastic Orders--Cluniacs, Cistercians, Premonstratensians, Franciscans, Dominicans," vol. II, 603-646. Also of value is his Chapter XVI on "The Crusades," vol. I, 380-435, which discusses the financing of the

crusades and points out the important role of the monasteries as a source of ready cash. R. Genestal, Rôle des monasteres comme établissements de credit (Paris, 1901), emphasizes the legal aspects of monastic loans in Normandy, but does not discuss the subject in relation to the crusades. Robert Schwarz, "Property Transfers of German Noble Crusaders in the Twelfth Century," Duquesne Review, II (1957), 63-72, provides numerous examples of crusader-monastery negotiations in preparation for the crusades. He also points out several cases of papal interference with feudal land laws in order to facilitate the transactions and the crusades.

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