

CRUSADE PREACHING, c. 1095-1216:
CONTROL, EVOLUTION AND IMPACT

by

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Abstract

This thesis investigates the papacy's authority over the preaching of crusades between 1095 and 1216. It connects for the first time the administrative government of the Papal Monarchy with the data relating to known crusade participants to show the varied effectiveness of crusade preaching. The study is divided thematically into four key areas that show the different ways in which crusading was communicated: the role of successive popes as crusade preachers; the significance of epistolary communication of the popes' crusade messages; the impact of the numerous proxy preachers who acted with or without the papacy's authority; and the contribution of *magnus rumor*, which developed organically from the original crusade message but was not subject to direct papal influence. By inputting data relating to known crusaders into Geographical Information Software, it compares crusade recruits with papal letters and preaching events and proves that crusade preachers' successes varied according to the time and regions in which they preached. The thesis shows that, despite a clear evolution in the methods of communication, the effectiveness of promoting a successful crusade recruitment campaign during a period in which successive popes sought to assert Petrine authority was constrained by external factors.

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In loving memory of my mother,
Elizabeth Durkin (1956-2018)

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Abbreviations

AA	Albert of Aachen, <i>Historia Ierosolimitana</i> , ed. and trans. S. B. Edgington (Oxford, 2007).
AS	<i>Acta sanctorum</i>
BB	<i>The Historia Ierosolimitana of Baldric of Bourgueil</i> , ed. S. Biddlecombe (Woodbridge, 2014).
CC:MM	Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis
FC	Fulcher of Chartres, <i>Historia Hierosolymitana</i> (1095-1127), ed. H. Hagenmeyer (Heidelberg, 1913).
GF	<i>Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolymitana</i> , ed. and trans. R. Hill (Oxford, 1972).
GN	Guibert of Nogent, 'Dei gesta per Francos', ed. R. B. C. Huygens, CC:MM 127A (Turnhout, 1996).
GP	Gilo of Paris, <i>Historia Vie Hierosolimitane</i> , ed. and trans. C. W. Grocock and J. E. Siberry (Oxford, 1997).
HBC	'Historia Belli Sacri', <i>RHC Oc.</i> 3. pp. 165-229
MGH	<i>Monumenta Germaniae Historica</i>
MGH SS	<i>Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores in Folio et Quarto</i> , ed. G. H. Pertz <i>et al.</i> (Hanover, Weimar, Stuttgart, and Cologne, 1826-).
MGH SSRG	<i>Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum separatim editi</i> (Hanover and Berlin, 1971).
OV	Orderic Vitalis, <i>Historia ecclesiastica</i> , ed. and trans. M. Chibnall, 6 vols. (Oxford, 1969-80).
PL	<i>Patrologiae cursus completus, series Latina</i> , ed. J.-P. Migne, 221 vols (Paris, 1844-64).
PT	Peter Tudebode, <i>Historia de Hierosolimitano itinere</i> , ed. J.H. and L.L. Hill (Paris, 1977).
RA	Raymond d'Aguilers, <i>Liber</i> , ed. J.H. and L.L. Hill (Paris, 1969).
RC	Ralph of Caen, 'Gesta Tancredi', <i>RHC Oc.</i> 3, pp. 602-716.
RHC Occ	<i>Recueil des historiens des croisades: Historiens occidentaux</i> , ed. Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, 5 vols (Paris, 1844-95).

- RM *The Historia Iherosolimitana of Robert the Monk*, eds. D. Kempf and M. G. Bull (Woodbridge, 2013).
- RS *Rolls Series*
- WT William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, ed. R.B.C. Huygens, CC:CM 63, 63A (Turnhout, 1986);

Introduction

When Pope Urban II preached the First Crusade at the Council of Clermont in 1095, he set in motion a military undertaking which was built firmly upon the authority of the papacy. In the century that followed, those who sought to launch new campaigns against enemies of the Catholic Church more often than not sought the approval of the pope before they began to recruit their armies. After the success of the First Crusade, the movement grew from Urban's single expedition to the Holy Land into multiple campaigns that were directed at different theatres of war.¹ The recruitment efforts for these new campaigns became progressively complex and the power of the papal office over them came to be determined by the legates and letters that communicated the pope's objectives to his intended audiences.² As these new methods were increasingly employed to confirm, reinforce and advance the crusade message, that message became further removed from the direct supervision of Urban's successors and much more open to distortion, misinterpretation or misunderstanding. The papal office's struggle to remain in control of its crusade message can be seen in the papal correspondence relating to the campaigns that took place over the century or so after the sermon at Clermont. From Urban's 1096 letter to the monks of Vallombrosa, which set out who the groups that intended to respond to his appeal, to Pope Innocent III's 1212 letter *Pium et sanctum*, which instructed the care his preachers needed to take in communicating his message to their

¹ This study will follow the 'pluralist' approach to the study of the crusades and will include those campaigns to the Baltic region, the Iberian Peninsula and southern France as well as those to the East. This approach has been most clearly established by G. Constable, *Crusaders and Crusading in the Twelfth Century* (Farnham, 2008) and J. S. C. Riley-Smith, *What were the Crusades?* 4th edn (Basingstoke, 2017), pp. xi-xii.

² Informative studies of those who preached on behalf of the pope can be found in S. Menache, *The Vox Dei: Communication in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1990); P. J. Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades to the Holy Land, 1095-1270* (Cambridge, MA, 1991); C. T. Maier, *Preaching the Crusades: Mendicant Friars and the Cross in the Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1994); J. S. C. Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders, 1095-1131* (Cambridge, 1997); J. P. Phillips, *The Second Crusade: Extending the Frontiers of Christendom* (New Haven and London, 2001); C. Tyerman, *How to Plan A Crusade: Reason and Religious War in the High Middle Ages* (London, 2015).

audience, the papal control over crusade recruitment involved much more than simple authorisation and was an evolving activity which changed in response to each initial launch.

Similarly, from the viewpoint of modern 'pluralist' historiography, it is the papal proclamation that is central to the very definition of crusading. Giles Constable has called papal authorisation 'the defining feature of a crusade' and it is his description of 'pluralism' as scholarship that enquires into the initiation and organisation of crusading that has shaped the approach of this thesis to investigate the control over that authorisation.³ The growth of the pluralist historiography in recent decades has seen thorough investigations into the varied elements of organising, promoting and recruiting for crusade expeditions. Jonathan Riley-Smith, John France, James M. Powell, John Pryor, Jonathan Philips, William Purkis, Nicholas Paul, Christopher Tyerman and many others have examined the myriad of factors that encouraged new campaigns and motivated the involvement of new crusade participants. They have shown that the instruction of the church was just one factor in the response to the call to join these expeditions and that other elements such as family, tradition, location and rumour all now have their place within the critical examination of that reaction.

This thesis builds on these newly identified motivations for crusade participation by showing how those factors affected the papal efforts to control crusade recruitment efforts. It will examine the preaching of the crusades between c.1095-1216, that is the period between the First Crusade and the growth of formalised preaching texts in the early thirteenth century. And it will investigate the role of the pope as the primary crusade preacher, the role of letters in the distribution and control over the crusade message, the individuals and groups who preached in place of the pope (with and without official authorisation), the development of the networks of

³ Constable, *Crusaders and Crusading*, pp. 19-20.

magnus rumor and the impact of the preaching events in relation to known numbers and locations of crusade recruits. This will show that the growth of crusade preaching developed alongside the papal mechanisms by which it could be controlled.

Any ‘traditional’ approach to the study of crusading that has focused solely on the primary campaigns to the East reveals a number of gaps in the historiography of preaching the crusades by excluding many of the campaigns to other theatres of war and failed expeditions to the East. By considering the failed attempts to launch campaigns in the years between the major crusade expeditions, this study will examine whether there was an absence of active preaching during these periods or if there was preaching which met with an apathetic response and therefore failed. Furthermore, this thesis will additionally examine the preaching of military expeditions which sought the Christian reconquest of Muslim ruled areas of Iberia, the campaigns against the pagans of northern Europe and those against the heretics in the Languedoc region of France in the early twelfth century to show that the promotion of the crusade was an ongoing project which was continually a part of papal administration.⁴

Central to the study of the distribution of the papal crusade proclamation is an understanding of the nature of methods of communication in the Middle Ages and the manner in which an audience received and responded to that message. In *The Vox Dei*, Sophia Menache addresses the issue of communication during this period and discusses the spread of Urban’s message as an entirely new phenomenon in its scale at the end of the eleventh century.⁵ She also attributes

⁴ For the consideration of what qualifies as a crusade, see R. A. Fletcher, ‘Reconquest and Crusade in Spain, c. 1050-1150’, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th series, 37 (1987), pp. 31-47; J. F. O’Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade in Medieval Spain* (Philadelphia, PA, 2003); For discussions and definitions of pluralism see Riley-Smith, *What were the Crusades?*; N. Housley, *Contesting the Crusades* (Oxford, 2006), pp. 18-23; W. J. Purkis, *Crusading Spirituality in the Holy Land and Iberia, c. 1095-1187*, (Woodbridge, 2008), p. 128.

⁵ S. Menache, ‘The communication challenge of the early crusades, 1099-1187’, in *Autour de la Première Croisade: Actes du Colloque de la Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East* (Paris, 1996), p. 297.

the success of the crusade movement to the Church's propaganda campaign and discusses how the scale of that success forced a change in the original papal intention for the message to be targeted specifically at a military audience.⁶ Her discussion of the communication of the crusading message reveals the manner in which the Church reacted and adapted to the needs and understanding of those who received it in order to retain control over it. Further to this, the complexities and practicalities of communication during this period have been examined by Helen Birkett in her paper *News In The Middle Ages: News, Communications, and the Launch of the Third Crusade in 1187-1188*. Her work correctly demonstrates the need for more detailed studies into the myriad of factors which affected the dissemination of information through both ecclesiastical and secular channels on both local and international levels.⁷

The audience perspective of crusade preaching has most recently been considered by Christopher Tyerman, who emphasises that it was a sensory experience which fully involved its audience and argues that successful recruitment was as dependent on a preacher's performance of the crusading message as it was on the authority and the rhetoric of the crusade sermons and letters.⁸ This shows that there was a need to make crusade preaching a theatrical experience. The idea that successful crusade preaching was a form of theatre is not a new one. For example, in *The First Crusaders, 1095-1131*, Riley-Smith concluded that Pope Urban's theatrical preaching was the beginning of a trend which would be followed for the next four hundred years and drove the continued support of the movement.⁹

⁶ Menache, *The Vox Dei*, p. 98.

⁷ H. Birkitt, 'News in the Middle Ages: News, Communications, and the Launch of the Third Crusade' in 1187-1188', *Viator* 49 (2018), pp. 23-61.

⁸ Tyerman, *How to Plan A Crusade*, pp. 63, 78, 86, 87-123.

⁹ Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders*.

In spite of this acknowledgment of crusade preaching as performance, the study of the sermons has largely centred around those who preached and the texts that they used as their preaching aids rather than their physical performances. In *The Preaching of the Crusades to the Holy Land, 1095-1270*, Cole addresses the sermons and letters that promoted the crusades to the East.¹⁰ She demonstrates that certain themes and ideas recurred throughout these texts and that great care was taken with the wording of these preaching tools in order to elicit the required response. This focus however has left room for the study of the response to that rhetoric and, although Cole admits that the analysis of the texts shows that there was certainly a consensus regarding what constituted a successful sermon, it is not possible to determine how an audience responded from the wording of the sermons themselves. The same idea regarding standardised rhetoric can be applied to the papal bulls that authorised each crusade expedition. These letters serve as the primary evidence of the pope's intentions in launching these campaigns and, as such, they are a crucial source for showing the kinds of crusading information that were being distributed to audiences across Europe. They also show how the message was tailored to different locations and that legates were instructed as to the manners of their preaching methods. However, the current historiography has not fully investigated the locations to which these letters were sent or enquired into the manner in which audiences responded to them. The same ideas can be applied to the model sermons and *exempla* that were produced as preaching tools to promote crusading throughout the thirteenth century. Christoph T. Maier has engaged with these in detail in his studies of crusade preaching in the period following that which is considered in this thesis. He has shown that from the 1220s, with the establishment of centres of education and the founding of the Dominican and Franciscan orders of friars, the ability to distribute standard texts benefited the control over the dispersal of the crusade message to a wide audience.

¹⁰ Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades*, p. 219.

Maier has also highlighted the significance of the Franciscan and Dominican friars as preachers of the crusades during the thirteenth century.¹¹ His work follows on from the period that is under scrutiny here, but nevertheless is useful for demonstrating that methods of communicating the crusade evolved to take advantage of the formation of the mendicant friars as a new means by which the Church could connect with the laity on a large scale. Pope Urban II used preachers such as Bishop William of Orange to supplement his own work and there has been historiographical debate about whether preacher Peter the Hermit was acting directly on his orders. Whether or not Peter was working on behalf of the pope, his success as a crusade recruiter demonstrates the risks involved in delivering the crusade message through a proxy as it shows that Urban II was unable to maintain control over such a campaign. In spite of this, from the beginning of the twelfth century the individuals who preached the crusade on behalf of the pope were the primary instrument of communicating the papal office's messages. These legates carried the pope's authority all over Europe to promote recruitment and they gave voice and physical expression to the papal message and letters. Many of those who acted on behalf of the pope were chosen for their experience as preachers or for their connections to areas that were targets for crusade recruitment. Figures such as Peter the Hermit, Bohemond of Taranto, Bernard of Clairvaux, the Cistercian monk Radulf and Archbishop Diego of Compostela were amongst numerous other figures that were charged with the distributing the crusade message. It is, however, Gerald of Wales's account of Archbishop Baldwin of Canterbury that offers the greatest insight into the practicalities of crusade preaching and the manner in which it adapted to evoke the best possible response from its audience.

¹¹ Maier, *Preaching the Crusades*.

The connection between the crusade message and its audience is therefore established. However, this thesis will approach this connection from a new perspective. This study will examine the evidence of crusade recruitment methodology and compare it with the data on those who were known to have taken the cross during this period. This study examines where crusade recruitment met with a positive response, where it was rejected and where it developed without any apparent connection to the actions of the Church. In doing so, it will explore the areas where the papacy faced challenges in its command over those who were recruited and the manners in which those challenges were addressed in order to show the evolution of the methods by which control was maintained.

There has been a significant growth in our understanding of those individuals who participated in crusade expeditions in recent decades. Research on those who went on expeditions, how they were recruited and how they were funded has shown that ‘crusaders’ came from across Europe and from all social ranks. The work of identifying participants is ongoing and a great deal of data relating to who they were and where they came from is accessible through a variety of sources. *The Database of Crusaders to the Holy Land, c. 1095-1149* is a searchable website that has grown out of the research carried out by Riley-Smith on the First Crusade and Phillips’s research into the Second Crusade.¹² In his introduction to *The First Crusaders, 1095-1131*, Riley-Smith underlines the importance of computer technology to his work in cataloguing the individuals who were connected to the First Crusade and emphasises such technology’s capacity to ‘make us conscious of openings into potential fields of research which might otherwise lie hidden’.¹³ This insightful statement shows that technology can be harnessed to provide new viewpoints on existing information and answer long-considered questions in new

¹² <https://www.dhi.ac.uk/crusaders/>

¹³ Riley-Smith, *First Crusaders*, p. 6.

ways. This thesis pursues one of those newly opened fields of enquiry by utilising the available catalogues of crusaders to ask questions about the methods by which they came to be recruited. By inputting the data relating to those individuals who can be shown to have taken the crusade vow and that of identifiable recruitment activities into a Geographic Information System (GIS), it is possible to compare areas of successful recruitment with known preaching activities. GIS is a computer programme that enables the management and visualisation of geographic data in the form of layers of information overlaid onto maps. The maps and data layers that are examined in this study were created in an online programme called *ArcGIS* and, by creating these layers, it has been possible to compare the levels of regional and individual crusade participation with the distribution of letters and the routes of preaching tours.

Although it is not possible to list the details of every single crusader, a substantial sample of proven participants can be found within the current historiography of crusade enrolment. Riley-Smith, Phillips, Nicholas Morton, Alan V. Murray, Alec Mulinder, Dana Cushing, Jean Longnon, Powell and Daniel Power have all collated evidence of those who answered the call to the cross and the areas from which they came, thus providing a substantial sample of known individual crusaders.¹⁴ Fordham's Center for Medieval Studies is currently developing the Independent Crusaders Mapping Project which has set out to investigate the small-scale independent crusade expeditions that took place during the twelfth century.¹⁵ It is necessary to explain that these names are not exhaustive and they provide only a sample of those who participated in the crusade expeditions. It is crucial to acknowledge that these results are subject to lost and as yet uncovered documentation pertaining to unidentified crusaders and, although

¹⁴ J. Longnon, *Les compagnons de Villehardouin: recherches sur les croisés de la quatrième croisade* (Geneva, 1978) details those who were recruited for the 1204 expedition; J. M Powell, *Anatomy of a Crusade* (Philadelphia, 1986) builds upon the list of participants which was collated by Reinhold Röhricht; <https://www.dhi.ac.uk/crusaders/> contains a detailed database of crusaders c. 1095-1149.

¹⁵ <https://medievalomeka.ace.fordham.edu/exhibits/show/independent-crusaders-project/>

this thesis utilises the data which was available at the time of writing, that evidence is a part of a much larger whole. The results therefore are open to the possibility of false positives and negatives which may offer a distorted picture of the origin locations of crusade recruits. However, it is still possible to use the available evidence in GIS to build an important picture of those who we do know to have taken the cross between the end of the eleventh and the beginning of the twelfth centuries and that information can be used to answer questions relating to recruitment. In the process of constructing the map data of those crusade recruits, it was necessary to apply certain criteria related to the location with which each individual was associated. Each crusader has initially been located according to their toponymic, for example, Markgraf Hermann IV von Baden has been attributed to Baden in Germany. If a place name used as toponymic occurs in multiple regions it has been omitted unless it is clear as to which region it comes from. Where no toponymic was available it was often possible to use the place names of official titles, for example Baldwin of Canterbury. However, a toponymic may not indicate the location at which the individual came to hear the crusade message or to take the cross and thus skew the data regarding the crusade preaching event at which they were recruited. In some cases, such as the recruitment of Bohemond of Taranto who came to hear the message when he was besieging Apulia, it is possible to remedy this by placing the crusaders at the location where they took the cross instead of that contained in their name. The other problem which has arisen with representing the data is where a particular place can be shown to have contributed multiple crusaders but where no single person can be identified, for example, Gerald of Wales describes three thousand people having taken the cross at Hereford. In these instances the origin or toponymic location has been identified with a single marker. Unfortunately, this creates a certain discrepancy within the map as it only shows locations and not individuals, but it does make the data clearer to read for the purposes of this thesis. Likewise, many identifiable crusaders were members of the clergy or nobility and they would

have travelled with their own associated followers and armies. These accompanying entourages are not accounted for here but would have multiplied the numbers of crusade participants shown on these maps many times over. Once the locations relating to the recruits was inserted into the GIS it was then possible to add map layers which illustrate the known locations of crusade preaching or recruitment events such as the 1146-47 preaching tour of Bernard of Clairvaux.

This technological approach, subject to the caveats detailed above, enables this study to show which preaching methods were most effective and how the patterns of recruitment changed over time. The technology allows this thesis to assess those individuals and organisations that promoted the crusade and compare them across different generations to demonstrate how the role of the preacher altered during the first 120 years of the crusade movement to show how they were carefully selected to reach out to specific audiences.

GIS mapping technology will also enable this study to test some of the key theories of modern crusade historiography in practice. For example, Nicholas Paul and Gary Dickson have made interesting and significant claims about the role of community memory and group identity to the success of crusade recruitment and the use of map data will enable this study to interrogate their claims. According to Paul, the importance of family connections within the crusading movement was crucial to the successful recruitment of multiple generations of nobles to the crusading cause.¹⁶ He has argued that the role of social and collective memories within family units influenced individuals to support and join the campaigns. This study will show that not only was it the case that multiple generations of the same noble families went on crusade, but

¹⁶ N. L. Paul, *To Follow in Their Footsteps: The Crusades and Family Memory in the High Middle Ages* (New York, 2012), p. 6.

also that this inclination towards support meant that they were deliberately targeted by the papacy on repeated occasions throughout the twelfth and into the thirteenth centuries.

Similarly, the theory put forward by Gary Dickson that successful crusade recruitment was sustained by a shared local tradition of crusading can be tested with GIS mapping technology. Dickson's work on the unauthorised popular crusade of 1212, also known as the Children's Crusade, focuses on the Chartrain area of France.¹⁷ He has argued that the region was repeatedly targeted by crusade recruitment efforts because it was a consistently reliable source of recruits, and that this was characteristically the case across the whole of crusading Europe. However, this study will use GIS mapping technology to show that there was no typical regional reaction to the preaching of the crusades between 1095 and 1216 and that this lack of a reliable response was one of the factors that forced the papacy to make amendments to their methods of recruitment throughout the period.

This study will also complicate the conclusion reached by Tyerman in *How to Plan a Crusade: Reason and Religious War in the High Middle Ages*. This most recent study into the mechanisms behind the organisation of crusading campaigns thoroughly explicates the scale of preparation that was involved in their promotion and organisation. However, Tyerman's summations that 'those who planned crusades knew what they wished to achieve and devised pragmatic ways to achieve it' indicates that those who were in charge had full control over the manner in which their messages were received.¹⁸ This focus on the systematic nature of planning these campaigns belies the nuances that were involved in communicating the preferred crusade messages to their intended audiences. It also crucially overlooks the number

¹⁷ G. Dickson, *The Children's Crusade: Medieval History, Modern Mythistory* (New York, 2008), p. 42.

¹⁸ Tyerman, *How to Plan A Crusade*, p. 295.

of failed attempts to launch expeditions that were subject to the same administrative tools of preaching and letter writing as those that did set out. This thesis will show that failure was a necessary part of the development of crusade recruitment methods, that planning was not always successful and that the papacy revised its systems of recruitment in response to the rejection of its message.

There are additional important themes which it has not been possible to discuss within the boundaries of this thesis and it is necessary to show that there are further questions to be asked of this subject and the related documentation. In the period between the late eleventh and early thirteenth centuries multiple antipopes made claims upon the papal throne. This thesis argues that papal authority was one of the defining features of the crusade movement so a fascinating avenue of enquiry would have been a discussion as to whether any of these antipopes sought to establish their authority by initiating their own crusade expeditions. There is also a growing body of work on the role of songs and troubadours as crusade propaganda.¹⁹ These lay methods of communicating the events of the crusades and actions of crusaders can be interpreted as a part of the *magnus rumor* which grew without the immediate involvement of the papacy. Additionally, as Birkitt begins to discuss in her paper on news in the Middle Ages, physical practicalities have an influence over communication and factors such as weather and available road networks could help or hinder the physical ability of a preacher or a letter to reach its target audience and thus affect the promotion of the crusade message.²⁰ Although it has not been possible to include these elements of debate in this thesis, they do show that the historiography related to this subject matter has room to continue growing.

¹⁹ S. T. Parsons, and L. M. Paterson, eds. *Literature of the Crusades* (Woodbridge, 2018); S. Vander Elst, *The Knight, the Cross, and the Song: Crusade Propaganda and Chivalric Literature, 1100-1400* (Philadelphia, 2017).

²⁰ Birkitt, 'News in the Middle Ages', pp. 23-61.

This thesis will approach the study of papal control of crusade recruitment thematically and will be divided into four key areas.

The first chapter will examine the role of the pope as the primary preacher of the crusade movement and his place as the figurehead of the recruitment efforts. Pope Urban II was at the forefront of the preaching of the First Crusade and it is the accounts of his preaching tour, of his sermon at Clermont and the letters that he wrote in the months immediately afterwards that give the greatest insight into what he intended the expedition to achieve and how those intentions were interpreted by those who witnessed and recorded them. The chronicles that recount the First Crusade shed light on his preaching and offer various accounts of the responses to the sermon at Clermont and the reaction to the spectacle of the papal tour and its entourage. Urban's efforts to promote this new campaign to the East was on a scale unlike anything undertaken by any of his predecessors and it demonstrated how the papal administration was capable of using its physical presence to communicate directly with an enormous audience. The significance of much of the 1095-96 tour has been largely lost in the chronicle narratives which describe the sermon at Clermont, but this chapter will show that it played a major part in developing the enthusiasm for the pope's proposed expedition both before and after 27 November 1095. The chapter uses GIS to compare the locations of Urban's preaching with First Crusade recruits and shows that not only did recruits take the cross close to most points on the tour, but that the response to his message came from such a large area that his preaching can have only made a partial contribution to the final number of crusaders. It also examines the effectiveness of preaching in person and ultimately shows that Pope Urban was the only pope who undertook such large-scale recruitment efforts. It demonstrates that his successors, some of whom accompanied him during the period of 1095-96 and witnessed its success first-hand, did not continue to promote their crusade expeditions in the same manner.

They turned instead to letters and legates as substitutions for their presence as these were more manageable and effective ways of spreading their message.

The second chapter addresses the role of papal letters in the preaching of the crusades. Letter writing was a crucial method of communication for the papacy and the bulls that exist from the period demonstrate the scale of the audience to whom each pope reached out. It will show how the papacy targeted certain individuals and areas that were more likely to be receptive in order to promote the cause and to recruit different groups for different theatres of war. It will demonstrate the papal influence these papal letters exerted over the crusade message and over those to whom the communication of that message to a wider audience was delegated. It is important to note that over the course of the twelfth century, the systems of papal government had developed in response to the wide range of business, petitions, and diplomacy with which the curia engaged.²¹ At the beginning of the thirteenth century the processes by which papal crusade letters were written and dispatched had benefitted from more than one hundred years of administrative growth. Just as is the case with the documentation relating to crusade recruits, it is important to point out that the existing evidence of papal letters and their recipients is also imperfect and doesn't reflect an entirely accurate portrayal of those who received the letters. However, this chapter will incorporate the existing evidence with the GIS software to show that letters came to be directed at areas that had been significant sources of recruits for earlier campaigns, that they successfully promoted enlistment in some areas but not others, and that they still do not fully explain the entire distribution of the papal crusade message.

²¹ C. Morris, *The Papal Monarchy: The Western Church from 1050 to 1250* (Oxford, 1989); T. W. Smith, *Curia and Crusade: Pope Honorius III and the Recovery of the Holy Land, 1216-1227* (Turnhout, 2017).

The third and fourth chapters are concerned with those who preached the crusades by proxy. These substitute crusade preachers came from religious, military and lay backgrounds but they did not always have the authority of the pope to carry out their work. These chapters will demonstrate that the use of preachers was both successful and problematic and that the pope did not always have full control over those who were perceived to represent him. Fully authorised preaching tours such as that of Bohemond of Taranto in 1105-06 and the preaching of the Fourth Crusade in 1204 resulted in campaigns that deviated from the pope's original message. These chapters will show that the papal office made efforts to reduce the risk of such deviation recurring by seeking to gain more control over the message that the preachers carried. This theme has been divided into two sections partly because of its scale and more importantly because of the shift in the drive behind crusade recruitment after the failure of the Second Crusade. It will utilise GIS to show the areas in which crusade proxy preachers were working and will, once again, compare this with numbers and locations of crusade recruits. By doing so, the scale of recruitment which can be attributed to proxy preachers will be revealed and the chapters will also show that preaching by proxy was the method of recruitment over which the papacy made the greatest exertions to maintain control.

The fifth chapter will examine the function and effectiveness of *magnus rumor* (word of mouth) as a recruitment tool. The spread of the crusade message by word of mouth is the method over which the pope had the least control and is the most difficult to measure here. It has, however, been described in the primary sources and it accounts for the numbers of recruits from areas that were not reached by preachers or letters, for example those who came from Scandinavia. The public enthusiasm for the crusade message was a key factor in its success and distribution. However, the chapter will also show that, between the First Crusade and the Children's Crusade of 1212, the evidence of the impact of the *magnus rumor* is more apparent from the data of

recruits than it is in the chronicle accounts. This means that if the papacy sought to control the *rumor*, it did so by dominating the widespread communication of its message through official channels. However, the Children's Crusade demonstrates the scale of impact that *rumor* could have over the promotion of the crusade message, whether or not it came from the papacy. This section will conclude that Pope Innocent III was able to harness this enthusiasm in order to promote the Fifth Crusade and successfully brought together the necessary preaching elements to recruit the largest number of crusade participants than for any other campaign.

The final section of this study will examine the impact of these recruitment activities on the enlistment of crusade participants. It will draw together all of the GIS map data from the previous chapters to show how preachers, letters and *magnus rumor* combined to determine the causes of the scale of the recruitment for each crusade campaign. This section will show that although some areas were reliable sources of recruits, this was not consistently the case for any one area between the years 1095 and 1216.

This study will conclude that the success of crusade preaching was dependent on numerous factors that were not necessarily within the control of papacy. It will show how papal control over the communication of the crusade message was forced to adapt and that a systematic approach to the planning of crusade preaching was no guarantee of its success. It will also demonstrate the importance of asking new questions of the data that is available on the crusades and show that it is possible to address established subject matter in new ways through new technology

Chapter One

The Presence of the Pope: Crusade Preaching as a Papal Endeavour

In October 1096, less than a year after Pope Urban II gave his sermon at the Council of Clermont, he wrote a letter to the ‘Monks of the Congregation of Vallombrosa’. His opening sentences reveal their response to his appeal, they show that the pope did not intend his message to be for everyone, and they indicate the uphill struggle the pope faced to contain the popularity of his message.

We have heard that some of you want to set out with the knights who are making for Jerusalem with the good intention of liberating Christianity. This is the right kind of sacrifice, but it is planned by the wrong kind of person.¹

The letter shows that not only had the papal message reached at least as far as the Benedictine abbey of Vallombrosa in Tuscany, but that Urban had already lost control of one of the particulars of his message. The letter clearly states that his intended audience were the ‘knights...[who] might be able to restrain the savagery of the Saracens’ and goes on to forbid clerics or monks from joining the expedition. This is the very first indication that Pope Urban had not only become aware of the enthusiastic response to his appeal, but that he also saw an immediate need to clarify his terms and to control its reception.

In order to examine the extent to which the papacy attempted to control the reception and dispersal of its crusade message, this chapter will consider the role of the pontiff as the physical

¹ ‘Papsturkunden in Florenz’, ed. W. Wiederhold, *Nachrichten von der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Phil.-hist. Kl* (Göttingen, 1901), pp. 313-4; *The First Crusade: The Chronicle of Fulcher of Chartres and Other Source Materials*, ed. E. Peters, (Philadelphia, 1971), pp. 44-5.

preacher of the crusades between the years 1095 and 1216. It will be broken down into the following sections: the events and circumstances of papal preaching prior to 1095, Pope Urban's preaching tour of 1095-6, the accounts of the Council of Clermont, and papal preaching post-1096. Beginning with Pope Urban II and concluding with Pope Innocent III, this section will show that the popes' physical presence before their audiences, or lack thereof, was not a crucial factor in their ability to attract large numbers of recruits for each expedition. The primary focus of this chapter will be the preaching tour of Pope Urban II which took place in 1095-96. Using the mapping facilities available in the Geographical Information Software (GIS), it is possible to map the places at which Pope Urban II was present on his 1095-96 tour and the origin locations of those individuals who are known to have participated in the First Crusade from the Database of Crusaders to the Holy Land.² A detailed comparison of these sets of data shows that there is a limited correlation between the locations in which the pope preached and the places from which the crusaders were recruited. This shows that Urban's physical preaching was not the sole factor that motivated many individuals to take the cross, and that in some areas, his presence as a preacher resulted in no apparent recruitment at all. Taking the view that successful recruitment was that which resulted from the direct targeting of the crusade message by the pope, Urban's physical preaching had only a limited impact. In addition, by investigating the crusade recruitment activities of each of Urban's successors up until 1216, this chapter will show that, due to political and practical reasons, Pope Urban's initial recruitment model was not repeated by any of his successors and a tradition of individual popes preaching the crusade message in person was not established. Ultimately, the varied success of Urban's tour of 1095-96 did not warrant the practical efforts involved in repeating it when greater recruitment success and more control over the papal message could be achieved by the writing of letters and the delegation of the work to official legates.

² <https://www.dhi.ac.uk/crusaders/>

Papal Military Recruitment Prior To 1095

On 27 November 1095 Pope Urban II famously gave the sermon which launched the movement that we now call the crusades.³ In order to fully place his preaching of the First Crusade in context, it is necessary to briefly consider the period immediately before he assumed the papal throne. The actions of Urban's immediate predecessors can be shown to have influenced his motivation to launch an expedition to the East and the manner in which he did so.

In the middle of the eleventh century a wave of new ideas within the Catholic Church heralded a movement of reforms which opened the doors for Pope Urban II to initiate the crusade movement. This period of papal reform began when, with the support of the Holy Roman Emperor Henry III, the church challenged the existing relationship between secular powers and the church, and fought against simony and other sins which had become inherent in the ecclesiastical system.⁴ When Pope Leo IX was appointed in 1049 he set about ameliorating the system and he engaged in public activities which saw him reach out in person for support from the laity and clergy. Just as would be the case for Urban II in 1095-96, Leo's physical presence was clearly very important to his process of reform and shows that he was actively controlling his own relationship with his audience.⁵ Leo IX also took a significantly international attitude to the role of the Church and he travelled in Northern Italy, Germany, France and Hungary. He held a total of twelve synods in locations including Rome, Rheims, Mainz and Bari. His council at Rheims was particularly noteworthy for having taken place outside of the boundaries of the

³ C. Tyerman, 'Were There Any Crusades in the Twelfth Century?', *English Historical Review* 110 (1995), pp. 553-77.

⁴ I. S. Robinson, trans., *The Papal Reform of the Eleventh Century: lives of Pope Leo IX and Pope Gregory VII* (Manchester, 2004), p.1.

⁵ Morris, *The Papal Monarchy*, p. 86; I. S. Robinson, 'Reform and the church, 1073-1122' in *The New Cambridge Medieval History, c.1024-c.1198, Volume 4, Part 1*, eds. D. Luscombe and J. S.C. Riley-Smith (Cambridge, 2004), pp. 268-334 contains a more in-depth discussion of the reforms of this period; Robinson, *The Papal Reform of the Eleventh Century*, pp. 191-2.

Holy Roman Empire and for seeing the pope exercise his powers as sole head of the church under the newly established idea of papal supremacy.⁶ He dedicated churches, issued decrees and brought about the legislation which formed the basis of his reforms. Blumenthal has noted how Leo engaged with secular affairs and that he preached to the laity, but it was his presence which was a crucial part of his reform efforts.⁷ By interacting with his congregation in person, he not only utilised the authority of his position to carry out his reform work but he maintained control over how his intentions were communicated.

In addition to his reforms and his preaching tour, Pope Leo IX also increased the military capacity of the church. Before he became pope he served on campaign with Emperor Conrad II in Italy in 1026 and had administrative duties which were relevant to the organisation of an army.⁸ In 1053, Leo took the significant step of leading an army against the Norman invaders of Southern Italy.⁹ He did this ‘to defend the territories of the Roman Church and to protect the population against Norman savagery’.¹⁰ His actions were recalled in the mid-1080s by Bishop Bonizo of Sutri who wrote in praise of the papal expedition and its success.¹¹ Both Bonizo and Urban II were too young to have witnessed Pope Leo’s actions first-hand, but the lasting impression of his achievements into the final decades of the eleventh century show the lasting influential of his actions. Leo IX was a pope who took on the roles of communicator, reformer and military leader but there appears to be very little evidence of how he set about recruiting an army. In light of this it is difficult to make a clear comparison between his methods and those of Urban II.

⁶ H. E. J. Cowdrey ‘The Structure of the Church, 1024-1073’ in *The New Cambridge Medieval History c.1024-c.1198, Volume 4, Part 1*, eds. D. Luscombe and J. S.C. Riley-Smith (Cambridge, 2004), p. 265.

⁷ U.-R. Blumenthal, ‘The beginnings of the Gregorian Reform’ in G. F. Lytle, *Reformation and Authority in the Medieval and Reformation Church* (Washington, 1981) p. 10.

⁸ *The Life of Pope Leo IX*, translation in Robinson, *The Papal Reform of the Eleventh Century*, pp. 107-8.

⁹ Leo IX, *JL* 4333, *MPL* 143, col. 778C-779B; *The Life of Pope Leo IX*, translation in Robinson, *The Papal Reform of the Eleventh Century*; pp. 149-150.

¹⁰ Morris, *The Papal Monarchy*, p. 145.

¹¹ Bonizo of Sutri, *Book to Friend*, translation in Robinson, *The Papal Reform of the Eleventh Century*, p. 193.

With the deaths of Emperor Henry III in 1056 and Leo IX's successor Pope Victor II in 1057, the close relationship between the imperial power and the papal court ended and a period of schisms which would hinder the work of the reformers began.¹² From 1059 under the papacy of Nicholas II, the development of Leo's reform resumed, but it was not until the reign of Pope Gregory VII (1073-85) that further significant contributions were made. During Gregory's papacy, there was also increased threat to Christian territories and, in 1074, the pope sent both specific and general pleas to defend the Eastern Churches against the threat of Muslim attack.¹³ Gregory VII set out plans for a 'militia Christi', or 'militia sancti Petri' which would not only protect the churches in the East from attacks by the Seljuk Empire but also indicated that the participants could continue to Jerusalem. Jensen has argued that Gregory VII authorised military action in return for spiritual benefits and that evidence can be found for this in the papal authorisation of Bishop Arnald of Acerenza to communicate to the Normans (specifically Roger of Calabria) that their war against the Muslims of Sicily be the penance they had to serve in order to be reconciled with Rome.¹⁴

In his attempt to organise this expedition to the East, one of Gregory VII's key themes was the idea that those who would defend the Christian faith should be willing to lay down their lives in imitation of Christ. The *Liber Pontificalis* shows that Gregory's actions had an effect on the actions of his successor and Cowdrey has used Gregory's letters to argue that this idea significantly influenced Urban II when he was preaching the First Crusade and establishes a

¹² For a detailed discussion of the effects of these schism on the reform efforts of the period, see M. Stroll, *Popes and Antipopes: The Politics of Eleventh Century Church Reform* (Leiden, 2011).

¹³ *Das Register Gregors VII.*, 1.46, 1.49, 2.31, 2.37; in *The Register of Pope Gregory VII, 1073-1085*, trans. H. E. J. Cowdrey (Oxford, 2002), pp. 50-1, 54-5; H. E. J. Cowdrey, 'Pope Urban II's preaching of the First Crusade' in *The Crusades: The Essential Readings*. Ed. Thomas F. Madden (Oxford, 2002), p. 17.

¹⁴ J. M. Jensen, "War, Penance and the First Crusade. Dealing with a 'Tyrannical Construct'", in: *Medieval History Writing and Crusading Ideology*, ed Tuomas MS Lehtonen and Kurt Villads Jensen with Janne Malkki and Katja Ritari (Helsinki, 2005), p. 54.

connection between the ambitions of the two popes.¹⁵ Similarly, the 1087 attack by northern Italian forces on the African town of Mahdia is an important part of the dialogue of possible influences upon the actions of Urban II. Cowdrey has discussed the event in detail and concluded that the combination of pilgrimage and holy war cannot have escaped Urban's attention.¹⁶ This happened only eight years before the sermon at Clermont, at a time when Urban was Cardinal Bishop of Ostia and just a year before Urban II became pope. Gregory VII had already offered the military classes the opportunity to serve penance by fighting for the church, but it fell to his successor to take this idea a step further and to put it into action as an expedition to the East.¹⁷

After the death of Pope Gregory VII in 1088, Odo of Châtillon was elected as head of the papal see and he chose the name Urban II. He had served as the archdeacon of Rheims and the prior of Cluny and he had also been a significant figure within Pope Gregory VII's administration. Gregory appointed him cardinal bishop of the suburbicarian diocese of Ostia in 1078 and then papal legate to Germany in 1085. In light of the influence of his immediate predecessors, it is understandable that Pope Urban II would ultimately build upon their actions and ideas by approving a military expedition against the enemies of the Catholic Church.

¹⁵ *Le Liber Pontificalis, Text, introduction et commentaire*, ed. L. Duchesne, 2 (Paris, 1955), p. 293, 'Audierat iste praeclarus et devotus pontifex praedecessorem suum Gregorium papam praedicasse ultramontanis Iherosolimam pro defensione christianae fidei pergere et Domini sepulchrum e minimis inimicorum liberare, quod facere minime potuit persecutione Heinrici regis inimicum eum undique urgebat.'; H. E. J. Cowdrey, 'Pope Gregory VII and Martyrdom' in *Dei Gesta per Francos: Crusade studies in Honour of Jean Richard*, ed. M. Balard, B. Z. Kedar and J.S.C. Riley-Smith (Aldershot, 2001), p. 9; H. E. J. Cowdrey, 'Pope Gregory VII's "Crusading" Plans of 1074', *Outremer*, ed. Kedar, B. Z. Mayer H. E. and Smail R. C. (Jerusalem, 1982), p. 40; see also C. Erdmann, *The Origin of the Idea of Crusade*, trans. M. W. Baldwin and W. Goffart (Princeton, NJ, 1977), p. 307; Tyerman, *How to Plan A Crusade*, p. 32 also argues that Urban took care to learn from the failure of Gregory's 1074 proposal.

¹⁶ H. E. J. Cowdrey, 'The Mahdia Campaign of 1087', *English Historical Review* 92, (1977), p. 23; A. C. Grant, 'Pisan Perspectives: The *Carmen in victoriam* and Holy War, c.1000–1150' *The English Historical Review* 131 (2016), pp. 983-1009.

¹⁷ H. E. J. Cowdrey, 'The Reform Papacy and the Origin of the Crusades', *The Crusades and Latin Monasticism, 11th-12th Centuries* (London, 1999) I, p. 83; Cowdrey, 'Pope Urban II's preaching of the First Crusade', pp. 17-8.

The beginnings of Urban's papacy, however, were marred by a number of political complications. The antipope Clement III had the support of Emperor Henry IV and it was only through skilled diplomacy that Urban was finally able to enter Rome in 1093. Similarly, King William II of England also refused to acknowledge his investiture until 1093. Furthermore, Urban II encountered diplomatic difficulties from the French court after the excommunication of King Philip I of France in 1094 as punishment for his affair with the wife of Count Fulk IV of Anjou. The schism which had existed between the Eastern and Western Churches since 1054 was also significant but the pope had communicated with the Byzantine Emperor Alexios I in order to secure his support against Henry IV. Alexios I's appeal to Urban II for help defending his lands against the Seljuk Turks at the Council of Piacenza in 1095 provides further evidence that amicable relations had begun to develop between the two churches.¹⁸ It was with this plea that the seed was sown for the Urban's idea for an expedition to the East.¹⁹

Pope Urban And The Preaching Tour Of 1095-96

Within two years of his return to Rome, Pope Urban II had set out on the tour which is best known for his sermon at Clermont and the dramatic manner in which he announced his idea for an expedition to the East. However, although that sermon is the focus of many of the chronicle accounts of the launch of the crusade expedition, the tour itself was crucial to the spread of Urban's message and for a substantial amount of recruitment for the mission. Similarly, much of the academic consideration of Urban's crusade preaching has focused heavily on the events of the Council of Clermont and it is important to remember that this was just one stop on his year-long journey around the south of France. These sources use Clermont

¹⁸ For discussion on the relationship between Urban II and Emperor Alexios, see P. Frankopan, *The First Crusade: The Call from the East* (London, 2012), pp. 97-100; Tyerman, *How to Plan A Crusade*, pp. 32-3.

¹⁹ F. Duncalf, 'The First Crusade: Clermont to Constantinople', *A History of the Crusades, Vol. I*, ed. K. Setton (Madison, WI, 1969), pp. 220-52; R. Somerville, *Pope Urban's Council of Piacenza* (Oxford, 2011), pp. 322-8.

as a narrative device which supports their pope, their church and the positive response to the initial appeal. To fully examine Urban's recruitment for the First Crusade, and to build a picture of how he deliberately took his message to certain areas, it is necessary to consider the whole of this preaching tour and not just the events of the Council of Clermont. By viewing the whole tour, it is possible to see that Urban II approached specific audiences, avoided others, engaged with local issues, and met with the laity. The chronicle sources offer clues as to where the pope preached, who accompanied him, the reputed responses of his audiences, the practicalities of organising the journey around France and they show that Clermont was not the sole location at which the Crusade was launched, even though it may have been the most significant for narrative purposes. What the chronicles fail to do is measure the success of the tour in terms of Urban's immediate recruits outside of the audience at Clermont. It is common to consider the success of Urban's initial appeal in terms of the total number of participants in the First Crusade and the ultimate capture of Jerusalem. However, by measuring the success of the pope's physical preaching as the number of recruits who came from the immediate area to the tour it becomes clear that the recruitment was sporadic and not universally successful. By comparing Urban's route with the known First Crusaders in GIS it is clear that using this tour to launch the crusade expedition was an experiment which did not guarantee the response which he wanted.

This section will show that the 1095-96 tour was a significant event but that its success was not enough to justify its repetition by those who succeeded Pope Urban II. The most significant sources for the events of 1095-96 can be found in a handful of chronicles that were written in the first two decades of the twelfth century. These accounts have been subject to a great deal of academic scrutiny regarding the sources and motives of their authors and, as Symes has noted, 'crusade historians are now moving beyond earlier efforts to establish the entangled

genealogies of these narratives and are looking more closely at their discursive strategies and goals'.²⁰ However, these chronicles do allow an insight into the manner in which the recruitment for the First Crusade was recorded in the years immediately following Urban II's papacy. Many of these chronicles address the pope's preaching, but they do so to varying extents and each places a different emphasis on the importance of the tour on which Urban embarked during 1095-96. By examining the manner in which these chronicles portrayed the origin, the transmission and the reception of the papal crusade message, with particular focus on the way in which their authors depicted the roles of both the pope and audience within the communication of the recruitment of the First Crusade, it is possible to build a picture of how the crusade was preached, the manner in which the message was received and how Urban II sought to govern the spread and development of his message.

The surviving chronicles are the anonymously written *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolymitana* which is thought to have been written by a cleric who accompanied Bohemond of Taranto as far as Antioch in 1098 and then appears to have followed Raymond of Toulouse to Jerusalem.²¹ Peter Tudebode's *Historia de Hierosolymitano itinere* which was written by a priest from Poitou whose work is remarkably similar to the *Gesta Francorum* but gives sufficient additional information to indicate that he was present on the expedition.²² Raymond d'Aguilers' *Liber* was written by the chaplain of Raymond of Toulouse who participated in the crusade.²³ Fulcher of Chartres' *Historia Hierosolymitana* appears to give an eyewitness account of the Council of Clermont and the events up to October 1097 when it then

²⁰ C. Symes, 'Popular Literacies and the First Historians of the First Crusade', *Past & Present* 235 (2017), p. 37-9; See also N. L. Paul, 'A Warlord's Wisdom: Literacy and Propaganda at the Time of the First Crusade', *Speculum* 85 (2010), pp. 534-66.

²¹ *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolymitana*, ed. and trans. R. Hill (Oxford, 1972).

²² Peter Tudebode, *Historia de Hierosolymitano itinere*, ed. J. H. and L. L. Hill (Paris, 1977); A discussion of which text was written earlier or if they are adaptations of an even earlier chronicle can be found in J. Rubenstein, 'What is the *Gesta Francorum*, and who was Peter Tudebode?', *Revue Mabillon* 16 (2005), pp. 179-204.

²³ Raymond d'Aguilers, *Liber*, ed. J.H. and L.L. Hill (Paris, 1969).

apparently reworks the *Gesta Francorum* account of events at Antioch and Jerusalem.²⁴ Robert of Rheims' *Historia Iherosolimitana* also contains an eyewitness account of the events at Clermont but confesses to be an adaptation of the *Gesta Francorum*.²⁵ Baldric of Bourgueil's *Historia Ierosolimitana* again appears to have been a response to the *Gesta Francorum* but he also supplements a full account of the events of the Council of Clermont.²⁶ Guibert of Nogent's *Dei Gesta per Francos* claims to be an adaptation of earlier chronicles, particularly the *Gesta Francorum* and Fulcher's *Historia*.²⁷ Ralph of Caen's *Gesta Tancredi* was written by the chaplain to Bohemond of Taranto and his nephew Tancred.²⁸ Albert of Aachen's *Historia Ierosolimitana* is a German account of the crusade expedition which exists without any apparent influence from the aforementioned chronicles and gives a version of the events from a geographically different perspective.²⁹ Ekkehard of Aura's *Hierosolymitana* is another German account which was written by a monk based at Corvey in the west of Germany who wrote his version after participating in the 1101 wave of the campaign to the Holy Land.³⁰ Orderic Vitalis' *Historia Ecclesiastica* closely echoes the account of Baldric of Bourgueil but also contains a great deal of apparent eyewitness evidence.³¹ Gilo of Paris' *Historia Vie*

²⁴ Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia Hierosolymitana* (1095-1127), ed. H. Hagenmeyer (Heidelberg, 1913).

²⁵ Robert of Rheims, 'Historia Iherosolimitana', *RHC Oc.* 3, pp. 717-822; C. Sweetenham, 'Robert the Monk's History of the First Crusade, *Historia Iherosolimitana*' (Aldershot, 2005); *The Historia Iherosolimitana of Robert the Monk*, eds. D. Kempf and M. G. Bull (Woodbridge, 2013).

²⁶ *The Historia Ierosolimitana of Baldric of Bourgueil*, ed. S. Biddlecombe (Woodbridge, 2014), pp. 3-120; translation in *Baldric of Bourgueil: 'History of the Jerusalemites': A Translation of the Historia Ierosolimitana*, trans. S. B. Edgington, introduction by S. J. Biddlecombe (Woodbridge, 2020); M. Bull, 'The Relationship between the *Gesta Francorum* and Peter Tudebode's *Historia de Hierosolymitano Itinere*', *Crusades* 11 (2012), pp. 1-17.

²⁷ Guibert of Nogent, 'Dei gesta per Francos', ed. R. B. C. Huygens, CC:CM 127 A (Turnhout, 1996); Guibert of Nogent, *The Deeds of God through the Franks*, trans. R. Levine (Woodbridge, 1997).

²⁸ Ralph of Caen, 'Gesta Tancredi', *RHC Oc.* 3, pp. 603-716; Also, B. S. Bachrach and D. S. Bachrach (trans.) *The Gesta Tancredi of Ralph of Caen* (Aldershot, 2005).

²⁹ Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, ed. and trans. S. B. Edgington (Oxford, 2007); BB, p. XLIX discusses the independent nature of the chronicle; cf. J. Rubenstein, 'Guibert of Nogent, Albert of Aachen and Fulcher of Chartres: Three Crusade Chronicles Intersect', in Marcus Bull and Damien Kempf, eds., *Writing the Early Crusades: Text, Transmission, and Memory* (Woodbridge 2014), pp. 24-37 considers that Albert of Aachen may have based his version on the same lost crusade *chansons* that possibly influenced Guibert of Nogent.

³⁰ Ekkehard of Aura, 'Hierosolymitana', *RHC OC.* 5, pp. 1-40; *The First Crusade*, ed. Peters, p. 112; Phillips, *The Second Crusade*, p. 21.

³¹ Orderic Vitalis, *Historia aeccelesiastica*, ed. and trans. M. Chibnall, 6 vols. (Oxford, 1969-80).

Hierosolimitane is a poem written by a Benedictine monk which retells the crusading actions of Bohemond of Taranto, and an unknown poet, known as the ‘Charleville poet’, who describes the actions of Godfrey of Bouillon.³² Finally, Caffaro of Genoa’s *De Liberatione civitatum orientis* gives an account of the crusade from the Genoese viewpoint.³³ The relationship between these texts and their influence upon each other is repeatedly discussed within the current historiography of the First Crusade. For example, in his demonstration of the relationship between the texts, France has discussed in detail the widespread use of the *Gesta Francorum* but concluded that even though it was very influential, it was substantially altered, edited and added to by those who created each new version.³⁴

Edgington’s demonstration of the relationship between the chronicles elegantly divides them into four different groups. She describes the *Gesta Francorum*, Raymond’s *Liber* and Fulcher’s *Historia* as ‘the holy trinity of the First Crusade sources, being authentic eye-witness accounts of many of the events they narrate’.³⁵ She has demonstrated how Guibert of Nogent, Baldric of Bourgueil and Robert of Rheims all reworked the *Gesta Francorum*. The third tier of the chroniclers are those who were in the Holy Land after 1099: Caffaro of Genoa, Ekkehard of Aura and Ralph of Caen. Finally, she shows that Albert of Aachen’s chronicle is entirely independent of these other chronicle sources.³⁶

³² Gilo of Paris, *Historia Vie Hierosolimitane*, ed. and trans. C. W. Grocock and J. E. Siberry (Oxford, 1997).

³³ Caffaro, ‘De Liberatione civitatum orientis’, ed. L.T. Belgrano, *Analli genovesi*, I (Genoa, 1890), pp. 95-124; Caffaro, *Genoa and the Twelfth Century Crusades*, trans. and ed. M. Hall and J. Phillips (Farnham, 2016).

³⁴ J. France, ‘The Anonymous *Gesta Francorum* and the *Historia Francorum qui ceperunt Iherusalem* of Raymond of Aguilers and the *Historia de Hierosolymitano Itinere* of Peter Tudebode; an analysis of the textual relationship between primary sources for the First Crusade’, in J. France and W. Zajac, eds., *The Crusades and their Sources. Essays presented to Bernard Hamilton* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), p. 36; For a discussion of the sources used by Gilo of Paris, S. Niskanen, ‘The origins of the *Gesta Francorum* and two related texts: their textual and literary character’, *Sacris Erudiri A Journal on the Inheritance of Late Antique and Medieval Christianity*, LI 2012, pp. 287-316 [Manuscript is Cambridge, St Catharine’s College, MS 3.] has also substantially contributed to the debate on the texts’ relationship and has compared GF and PT with a recently discovered version entitled *Peregrinatio Antiochie per Urbanem papam facta*.

³⁵ S. Edgington, ‘Albert of Aachen reappraised,’ in *From Clermont to Jerusalem: The Crusades and Crusader Societies, 1095-1500*, ed AV Murray (Turnhout, 1998), p. 55.

³⁶ AA, pp. xxxiv-xxxv, 60-3; S. Edgington, ‘The First Crusade: Reviewing the Evidence,’ in *The First Crusade - Origins and Impact*. ed. Jonathan P. Phillips, (Manchester, 1997), pp. 56- 77; Symes, ‘Popular Literacies and

Fulcher of Chartres' description of Urban II's activity at the beginning of his papacy foreshadows the preaching tour which was to come. The continued conflict with Antipope Clement III meant that he had been unable to enter Rome and 'while he was excluded from his church he travelled throughout the regions reconciling to God the people who had deviated'.³⁷ His description is of a pope who was not only capable of and willing to travel to where he felt it was necessary to reassert the dominance of the church, but a man who was becoming an experienced traveller, familiar with the procedures and administration of being constantly on the move, and who was used to addressing a varied audience which was not necessarily in his presence by invitation. With the exception of Pope Leo IX, prior to this it was normal for a pope to communicate by letter or to send legates and other papal representatives to act as ambassadors to nations and to implement papal decrees.³⁸ This shift in communication to the masses and the presence of the pope as communicator was a significant factor in the narrative of the recruitment for the First Crusade.³⁹

Although none of the chronicles lists the precise locations which the sixty-year-old Pope Urban II visited on his tour around France, it is possible to use the chronicles, letters and charters of the period to construct an itinerary of his whereabouts. Becker and Crozet have used these sources to create a full schedule of places he visited and the dates on which he was there. Map 1 (p. 33) below shows the route which visited some sixty different locations around the south-west of France between July 1095 and July 1096.⁴⁰

the First Historians of the First Crusade', p. 45 considers Albert's methods of gathering varied information; J. Rubenstein, 'Guibert of Nogent, Albert of Aachen and Fulcher of Chartres', pp. 24-37.

³⁷ FC, p. 147-8 '...Urbanum quandiu potuit a monasterio beati Petri alienum fecit. sed dum ab ecclesia sic eliminatus erat, per regiones incedens, populum in aliquantis devium Deo conciliabat.'

³⁸ U.-R. Blumenthal, 'The papacy, 1024-1122' in *New Cambridge Medieval History c.1024-c.1198 Vol. 4, Part 2*, eds. D. Luscombe and J. S. C. Riley-Smith (Cambridge, 2004), p. 24.

³⁹ G. Strack, 'The Sermon of Urban II in Clermont and the Tradition of Papal Oratory' *Medieval Sermon Studies* 56 (2012), pp. 30-45 compares the chronicle accounts of Urban's Clermont speech with non-narrative accounts of his preaching.

⁴⁰ R. Crozet, 'Le voyage d'Urbain II et ses négociations avec le clergé de France 1095-96, *Revue Historique*, 179 (1937), pp. 271-310; R. Crozet, 'Le voyage d'Urbain II en France (1095-96) et son importance du point de vue

Map and Itinerary of Pope Urban II's Preaching Tour 1095-96⁴¹

<u>Year</u>	<u>Dates</u>	<u>Location</u>
1095	July	Asti
1095	5 August	Valence
1095	5-10 August	Romans
1095	15 August	Le Puy
1095	18-19 August	Le Chaise Dieu
1095	August 19-25th	Chirac
1095	August 25th	Millau
1095	? August	Nimes
1095	1-6 Sept	Saint-Gilles
1095	11-12 Sept	Tarascon
1095	12-15 Sept	Avignon
1095	19 Sept	St-Paul-Trois-Chateaux
1095	9 Sept - 8 Oct	Cruas
1095	? Oct	Vienne
1095	8 Oct	Lyon
1095	17 Oct	Macon
1095	Oct 18-25	Cluny
1095	Oct/Nov	Autun
1095	Nov	Souvigny

archéologique', *Annales du Midi*, 49 (1937), pp. 42-69; A. Becker, *Papst Urban II*, Vol. 2 (Stuttgart, 1964) pp. 435-55; G. T. Beech. 'Urban II, the Abbey of Saint-Florent of Saumur, and the First Crusade' in *Autour de la Première Croisade: Actes du Colloque de la Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East* (Paris, 1996), pp. 57-70

⁴¹ All dates as according to A. Becker, *Papst Urban II*, pp. 435-55 except for Saint-Florent as discussed in Beech, 'Urban II, the abbey of Saint-Florent of Saumur, and the First Crusade', pp. 57-70.

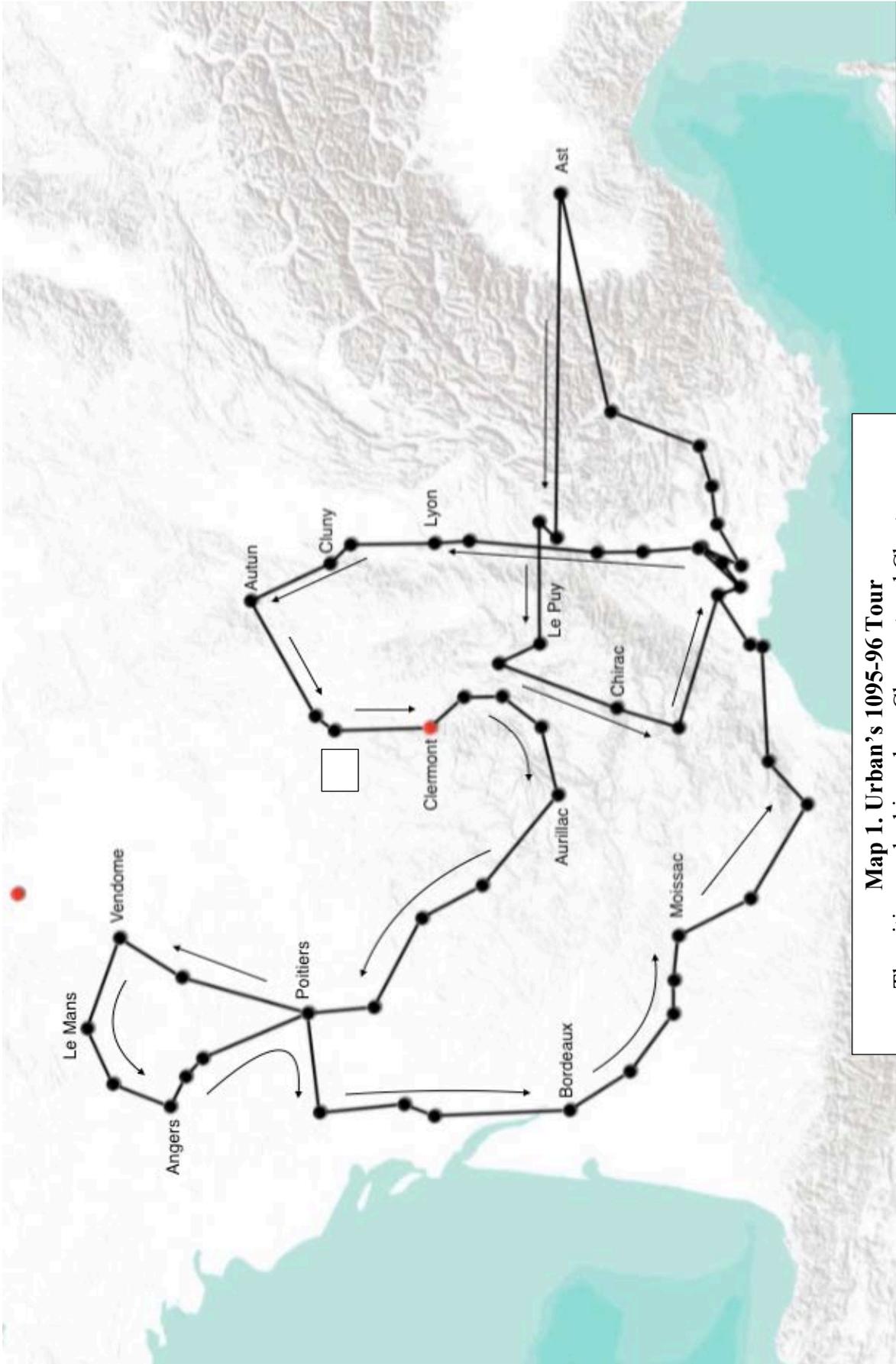
1095	13 Nov	Montet-aux-moines
1095	14 Nov - 2 Dec	Clermont
1095	3 Dec	Sauxillanges
1095	4-5 Dec	Brioude
1095	5-13Dec	Saint-Flour
1095	Dec	Aurillac
1095	21 Dec	Uzerche
1095/6	23 Dec - 6 Jan	Limoges
1096	10 Jan	Charroux
1096	13 - 27 Jan	Poitiers
1096	29 Jan - 4 Feb	Saint-Florent
1096	Feb	Saint-Maur de Glanfeuil
1096	6-12 Feb	Angers
1096	14 Feb	Sablé
1096	15 - 18 Feb	Le Mans
1096	26 Feb	Vendome
1096	3 - 26? Mar	Tours-Marmoutier
1096	29-30 Mar	Poitiers
1096	31 Mar	Saint-Maixent
1096	7 April	Saint-Jean d'Angely
1096	12-20 Apr	Saintes
1096	1 May	Bordeaux
1096	May	Bazas
1096	May	Nerac
1096	7 May	Layrac

1096	13 May 1	Moissac
1096	23 May - 3 June	Toulouse
1096	11-15 June	Carcassonne
1096	24 June	Saint-Pons de Thomieres
1096	28 June - 2/3 July	Maguelonne
1096	3/4? July	Montpellier
1096	5-14 July	Nimes
1096	15-20/21 July	Saint-Gilles
1096	22-23 July	Villeneuve-les-Avignon
1096	23 July	Avignon
1096	July	Arles
1096	30 July	Cavaillon
1096	5 August	Apt
1096	7 Aug	Forcalquier
1096	18 Aug	Gap
1096	9 Sept	Asti

Map 1 (p. 33) below shows a very clear and methodical figure of eight route around the south west of France and the itinerary demonstrates that the pope sometimes spent days or even weeks in certain locations. The organised route of this tour is a clear indication that the papacy was in control of its administration and, as Beech has pointed out, the structure of the tour appears to have been planned in advance and it allowed the pope enough time in each place for him to engage with local ecclesiastical matters.⁴² This hands-on approach to the administration

⁴² Beech, 'Urban II, the abbey of Saint-Florent of Saumur, and the First Crusade', pp. 61-2.

of clerical issues should be viewed in light of how the clergy perceived the Pope governing over matters on the ground and demonstrating his authority. By carrying out these actions himself, Urban ensured that he had full control over what was happening and how it was perceived by others.



Map 1. Urban's 1095-96 Tour
 The cities marked in red are Clermont and Chartres.

The importance of the pope's preaching in person and his influence over the recruitment for the crusade can be attributed to several different factors; the exceptional nature of his presence, the scale of the entourage with which he travelled, and the places that he chose to visit. All of this was carefully orchestrated to have a positive effect on the pope's reception over the course of the tour.

The rarity of the physical presence of the pope in the areas in which he preached had undoubted impact on those who saw him. Guibert of Nogent's *Dei gesta per Francos* describes how Urban was greeted by the public and why it induced such excitement:

When the pope crossed our borders, he was greeted with such great joy by crowds in the cities, towns, and villages, because no one alive could remember when the bishop of the apostolic see had come to these lands.⁴³

In this description of the crucial lay perception of the events, this account underlines the significance of the fact that the laity had never before seen the pope in person, and how rare it was to see him outside of Rome. Urban II was the first pope to have travelled outside of Italy since Leo IX held synods around Europe in 1049. Duncalf has also correctly pointed out that the possibility of seeing the pope in person would have brought people from nearby areas and the impact of his appearance must not be underestimated when considering its influence over his audience and their positive reception of his message.⁴⁴

⁴³ GN, p.110, 'Papa igitur, regni nostri fines ingrediens, tanta urbium, oppidorum villarumque letitia et concursione excipitur, quanto omnium qui adviverent memoriis incompertum fuerat quod aliquando apostolicae sedis antistes in regiones has venisse videretur. Annus itaque incarnati Verbi millesimus nonagesimus septimus properabat evolvi, cum presul idem valde frequens acceleravit convocare concilium, cui tandem in urbe Arvernica...'; translation in from Guibert of Nogent, *The Deeds of God through the Franks*, trans. R. Levine, p. 41.

⁴⁴ F. Duncalf, 'The Councils of Piacenza and Clermont,' in Setton, K. ed., *A History of the Crusades, Volume I*, (Madison, 1969), p. 238.

But the pope didn't travel alone. As far as the size of the pope's retinue is concerned it is difficult to determine exactly who travelled with him and how large the group would have been. Jonathan Riley-Smith has written of how Urban travelled 'among his own people and would have known how to impress them. His enormous train wound its way through country towns'.⁴⁵ Somerville has also underscored the large supporting cast which would have been present on the tour, listing cardinals, archbishops, bishops, abbots, and prelates, all of whom would have had their own entourages and administrative staff.⁴⁶ The sheer scale of the tour would have been a powerful and influential sight for those who witnessed it and, as an element of recruitment, this cannot be underestimated; it would have made the unusual sight of the pope a spectacular vision which demonstrated the scale and power of the papacy.

It is worth noting that almost none of the chroniclers gives any specifics as to who accompanied the pope on the tour. Whereas Fulcher and Baldric both give numbers regarding bishops, abbots and embassies present at Clermont, it is not clear as to whether these figures were part of the papal entourage or were invited attendants at the council. The only indication of specific figures who accompanied the pope, or preached alongside him, are contained in the *Gesta Francorum* and Peter Tudebode's *Historia*:

For the pope quickly set out across the mountains with his bishops, archbishops and priests.⁴⁷

⁴⁵ J. C. S. Riley-Smith, 'The Crusades, 1095-1198', in *The New Cambridge Medieval History, c.1024-c.1198, Volume 4, Part 1*, eds. D. Luscombe and J. S. C. Riley-Smith (Cambridge, 2004), p. 537.

⁴⁶ For details of the activities carried out by Urban on the tour and those who accompanied him, see R. Somerville, 'The Council of Clermont and Latin Christian Society', *Archivum Historiae Pontificae*, 12 (1974), pp. 55-90, and A. Becker, *Papst Urban II.*

⁴⁷ GF, p. 1 'Apostolicus namque Romanae sedis ultra montanas partes quantocius profectus est cum suis archiepiscopis, episcopis, abbatibus, et presbiteris.'

For Pope Urban quickly set out across the mountains with the most honourable and reverend bishops and archbishops, with the college of clerics and with the most honourable Roman laity and with Amatus of Bordeaux, an archbishop and legate of the Roman church.⁴⁸

In a single sentence these chroniclers express the haste and urgency of the pope's actions. By writing that he 'quickly set out', they indicate a very reactive papal response, perhaps to the appeal from Alexius I for help in the East. At the same time however, these multiple bishops, archbishops and clerics show that a significant number of high-status figures travelled with the pope and this indicates that there was a degree of planning and organisation. The *Gesta Francorum* description is of a purely clerical procession, but that of Peter Tudebode specifies that Archbishop Amatus of Bordeaux was a member of Urban's entourage and he also includes the presence of the laity. Both the omission and inclusion tell us about the potential makeup of the group. It is possible that the author of the *Gesta Francorum* was unaware of there being anyone other than an ecclesiastical presence on the tour, or that he did not think that the attendance of the laity was significant in his version of events. Peter Tudebode, however, extends the description and this suggests that he may have been better informed about the pope's entourage, that he did consider the lay attendance worthy of note, and that his deliberate mention of Amatus of Bordeaux gives us a clue as to how the preaching was being conducted. Bishop Amatus had been Pope Gregory VII's permanent legate in Aquitaine, just as Pope Urban II had served as Gregory's legate in Germany and, according to Robinson, the 'native' legates were indispensable to Urban after his exile from Rome.⁴⁹ This continuation of

⁴⁸ PT, pp. 31-2, 'Apostolicus namque Romane sedis Urbanus quantocius ultra montanas partes cum honorifico atque reverentissimo episcoporum et archiepiscoporum, clericorum collegio ac cum honestissimis Romanorum laicis personis est profectus ac proinde, domno Amato Burdegalensis ecclesie archiepiscopo et Rome legato'.

⁴⁹ I. S. Robinson, *The Papacy, 1073-1198: Continuity and Innovation* (Cambridge, 1990). pp. 149-155 and also, Blumenthal, 'The Papacy, 1024-1122', p. 26.

Gregory's communication network established Amatus as a trusted communicator who was familiar with preaching. As to why this particular cleric was singled out, it is possible to theorise that he was in some way known to Peter Tudebode, that he was a cleric from his locality, that he actually saw him preach, or that he carried out some action which made him worthy of note.⁵⁰

Further to this, both of these chronicles describe Urban as actively preaching, and that specifically 'with his clergy he preached sermons eloquently'.⁵¹ It is unclear from this if the description is of a single preaching event or of the general message of the sermons the pope was giving as he travelled around France. Neither of these accounts are specific as to where, when or whom his audience was but, once again, Peter Tudebode augments his description with the addition of the words 'cum suo clero'. These three words support the argument that Urban was using other preachers. In light of Peter Tudebode's reference to Amatus of Bordeaux, it is likely that the pope was sharing his preaching efforts and using those who travelled with him to support and enforce his message.

⁵⁰ Bull, 'The Relationship between the *Gesta Francorum* and Peter Tudebode's *Historia de Hierosolymitano Itinere*', pp. 1-17.

⁵¹ GF, p. 1, 'subtiliter sermocinari et predicare'; PT, p. 32, 'cum suo clero sublimiter sermocinari et predicare.'

Similarly, Baldric of Bourgueil's *Historia Jerosolimitana* supports the huge area covered by the pope on the journey and the efforts of his preaching in person, stating that 'For the sake of public preaching the Roman pope, Urban by name, came into the Gaulish lands, and as he was eloquent in a rather garrulous way, he sowed the word of God here and there'.⁵² Here Baldric makes it very clear that Urban II was taking his message to a large number of people and places.

Another chronicle which includes a description of the preaching tour is Albert of Aachen's *Historia Ierosolimitana*. Even though Albert attributes the original crusade idea to Peter the Hermit (this is an issue that will be discussed more fully in the section on proxy preachers), he describes more of Urban II's preaching tour than most of the texts which actually emphasise the sermon at Clermont.⁵³ He explains how the pope 'came to the city of Verzellaus [probably Vercelli, Italy according to Edgington], across the Alps, and was met by the whole West of France, and a council at Le Puy...Then he set out for Clermont in the Auvergne'.⁵⁴ In this passage Albert names just three (of the sixty) locations which the pope visited and he describes the vast number of people who came to see him even before the Council of Clermont. This German chronicler shows Urban's tour as having played a significant role in the recruitment for the crusade and the draw of the pope to an enormous audience who purposefully came to see him although it is not clear if that audience was responding to an invitation or to rumour of the pope's arrival.

⁵² BB, p.6, 'Publice predicationis causa, papa Romanus, Urbanus nomine, uenit in Gallias, et prout erat disertus seminiuerbius, verbus Dei passim seminabat.'; translation in *Baldric of Bourgueil: 'History of the Jerusalemites'*, trans. S. B. Edgington, p. 45.

⁵³ For a full comparison of how these chroniclers discuss Peter the Hermit, see C. Morris, 'Peter the Hermit and the chroniclers', in *The First Crusade - Origins and Impact*. ed. J. P. Phillips (Manchester, 1997), pp. 21-34 and Symes, 'Popular Literacies and the First Historians of the First Crusade', p. 4.

⁵⁴ AA, pp. 6-8 'uenit ad ciuitatem Verzallaus transactis Alpibus, et conuentum totius occidentalis Francie, et concilium apud Podium civitatem...Deinde ad Clarum Montem in Aluernas proficiscitur.'

Albert is also not the only chronicler who refers to Le Puy as a location which Urban visited during the tour. Caffaro of Genoa's *De Liberatione civitatum orientis* presents an account of Urban II preaching there and describes the audience who received that message.

For the pope...to Le Puy he came, and there conferred on the multitude of noble men, princes, counts and dukes, and all kinds of Christians, rich and poor, high and low, the pope preached to everyone the way to the Sepulchre in remission of all sins.⁵⁵

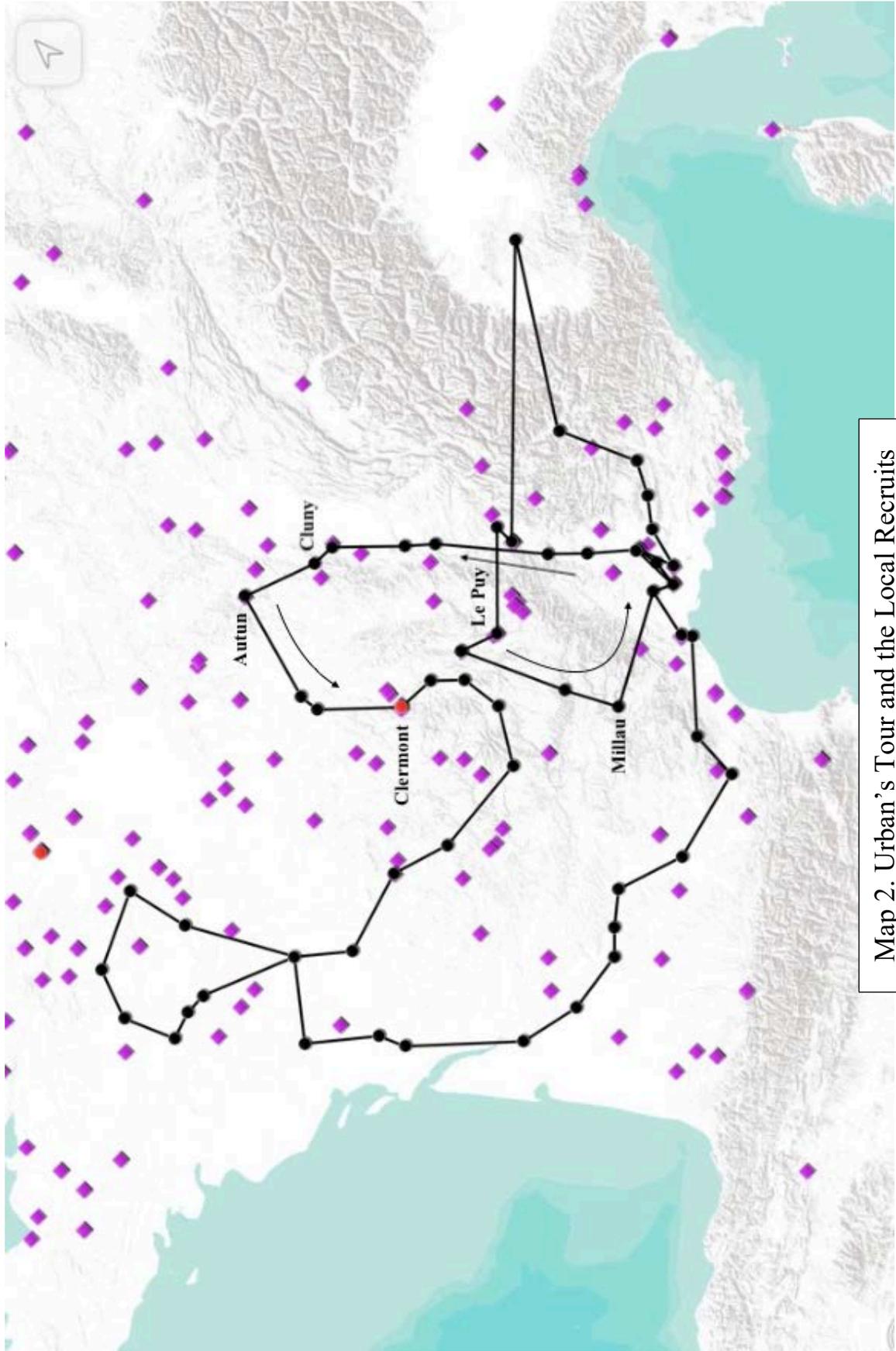
This is an account of a significant preaching event with a very large and varied audience. It is possible that this description is of the sermon at Clermont and that Caffaro was mistaken about the location, but it may also be the case that the pope held an event at Le Puy which was of comparable scale to that of Clermont. If this is so, Caffaro diverges here from the standard chronicle narrative of Clermont as a singular exceptional event. The focus on the importance of Clermont has been addressed by Bull who considers that the contemporary chroniclers used it as 'a commemorative and explanatory device' for the origin of the expedition.⁵⁶ This emphasis on Clermont as an 'inaugural motif' detracts from the possibility that similar events took place in other locations on the tour. Urban II's itinerary shows that he visited Le Puy in August 1095, some three months before he was in Clermont and, as will be discussed in a later section of this chapter, the bishop of Le Puy played a significant role during the later sermon. It is possible that Caffaro is correct in the location of this event and that a large sermon at Le Puy served as a precursor for what would occur at Clermont. Urban's visit to Le Puy was an

⁵⁵ Caffaro, p. 101, 'Papa enim, visione angelica (p.49) audita, sine mora iter accepit, et ad Podium venit, ibique collata multitudine nobilium virorum, principum, comitum et ducum, atque omnis generis christianorum, divitum et pauperum, majorum atque minorum, papa omnibus viam Sepulcri in remissione omnium peccatorum praecepit.'; translation in *Caffaro, Genoa and the Twelfth Century Crusades*, trans. and ed. M. Hall and J. Phillips, p. 109.

⁵⁶ M. Bull, 'View of Muslims and of Jerusalem in Miracle Stories, c. 1000-1200: Reflections on the Study of First Crusaders' Motivations' in *The Experience of Crusading, Vol. I*, eds. Marcus Bull and Norman Housley (Cambridge, 2003), pp. 21-2.

opportunity for Urban II to make arrangements with bishop Adhémar regarding his role at Clermont and within the wider expedition. It would also have provided an opportunity for the pope to rehearse what he had planned for his event in November and to gauge his audience's reception to his message. From the available evidence contained in the chronicles, it is not possible to show that preaching events of such a large scale were regular occurrences on the tour, but Caffaro and Albert of Aachen's accounts demonstrate that it is unlikely that Clermont was the only focal point for the launch of the expedition during 1095-96.

Map 2 (p. 42) shows Urban's route compared with the known crusade recruits from the immediate area. It demonstrates that there is a small cluster of recruits from Le Puy and enough in the areas surrounding Cluny and Autun to suggest that recruitment preaching was ongoing after the pope had departed Le Puy. It also shows that neither Le Puy nor Clermont was a more successful location for the message in their immediate area.



Map 2. Urban's Tour and the Local Recruits

The tour is also of key importance to the beginnings of the expedition in Ekkehard of Aura's *Hierosolymitana*, and he describes how Pope Urban 'gathered together a general council in the borders of Spain'.⁵⁷ Although this specifies a single event, this location is significantly different to other accounts; Ekkehard uses the words 'Hispaniae confinio'. It is possible to speculate that from a German point of view, Clermont was so far away that it might as well have been Spain, or that he was referencing cities such as Carcassonne and Toulouse, which were visited by Pope Urban II and were within 100 kilometres of the borders of the county of Barcelona and the Kingdom of Aragon. Ekkehard describes Urban's preaching tour as a 'very laborious journey, reaching countless people and ambassadors from diverse kingdoms who were assembled'.⁵⁸ Instead of recounting any more destinations of the tour or the administration of advertising the pope's presence, he indicates that large numbers of people from different places knew where to go and, in all probability, knew who they were going to see. He makes no mention of any other church administration which took place, but it is clear that Ekkehard was describing the whole tour as a significant event and more than just a single sermon at Clermont.

It is interesting to note that the chroniclers detail very little information about the activities of the pope on the tour other than launching the crusade. However, this failure to make mention of the dedications of churches, religious ceremonies or administrative activities which are contained in the works of Somerville and Becker, removes the tour from the context of the continuation of the Gregorian reform and Urban's assertion of his status as head of the church. Duncalf has pointed out that the need to restore the influence of the papacy in a region which had seen the decline of the state of the church, was a justifiable reason for Urban to undertake

⁵⁷ Ekkehard, 'Hierosolymitana', p. 15, 'Inde commotus apostolicus et omnia ecclesia... generale concilium in Hispaniae confinio congregari fecit...'

⁵⁸ Ibid., p. 15, '...quo etiam ipse laborioso nimis itinere perveniens, innumeris qui ibidem convenerant populis, diversorumque regnorum legatis...'

the journey to France.⁵⁹ The chronicles appear to disregard this, and they do a disservice to the recruitment possibilities contained within the religious actions and services which were part of the day-to-day ecclesiastical activities. A case in point is that of Urban II placing a relic of the Holy Cross upon the altar at Marmoutier in March 1096. Cowdrey has discussed the possibility of the pope travelling with multiple pieces of the true cross which he used to support his sermons as successful crusade propaganda.⁶⁰ This not only reinforces the image of the cross as a symbol of the crusade, but it also suggests a use of props and the theatrical ceremony which was a theme in the events of this tour.

A further case study of the ecclesiastic labours of the tour can be found in a paper by George T. Beech.⁶¹ Drawing upon a fragmented chronicle account of Urban's stay at a Benedictine abbey at Saint-Florent, approximately 45km southeast of Angers, at the end of January 1096, Beech indicates that Abbot William would have been present at the Council of Clermont and that they would have arranged for Urban to visit Saint-Florent in advance of the preaching tour.⁶² This paper focuses on the time that the pope spent with a single monastic community and what he did while he was there.⁶³ According to the author of the chronicle, 'Urban dedicated several churches in the area and exhorted the local population to make the trip to Jerusalem via Constantinople to rebuild the holy places destroyed by the pagans'.⁶⁴ He also writes that Urban preached both in public and in private and this supports other chronicle accounts of Urban repeatedly speaking eloquently to varied audiences.⁶⁵ Regarding the response to Urban's

⁵⁹ Duncalf, 'The Councils of Piacenza and Clermont,' p. 230.

⁶⁰ H. E. J. Cowdrey, 'Pope Urban and the Idea of Crusade', in *The Crusades and Latin Monasticism, 11th-12th Centuries* (London, 1999) V, pp. 737-8.

⁶¹ Beech, 'Urban II, the abbey of Saint-Florent of Saumur, and the First Crusade', p. 57.

⁶² '*Fragmentum chronicae prioratus de Casa Vicecomitis*', *Chroniques des églises d'Anjou*, ed. P. Marchegay and É. Mabile (Paris, 1869), pp. 335-43; Beech, 'Urban II, the abbey of Saint-Florent of Saumur, and the First Crusade', pp. 68-9.

⁶³ Beech, 'Urban II, the abbey of Saint-Florent of Saumur, and the First Crusade', p. 58.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 61.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 61.

crusade preaching on this occasion, Beech points out that there is very little documentary evidence (e.g. charters, papal bulls) of his having been successful in this area. This conclusion raises further questions about the pope's relationship with the abbot and whether the response of the clergy would have any bearing on that of the laity. Instead, by pointing out that not all of the areas to which Urban preached responded with such enthusiasm as many chronicles would indicate, it raises the further question of whether the preaching techniques of Urban were honed over the course of his preaching tour and if he came to learn skills which would produce greater results towards the end of the tour. Beech correctly considers that not only did the province of Poitou not contribute significantly to the 1096 expedition but its prince, the Duke of Aquitaine, did not become a crusader until 1101.⁶⁶ The minimal recruitment success in this area shows that the effect of the pope's presence on tour was not guaranteed. Instead it would be just one of many factors which inspired his audiences to take the cross.

These chronicles show the preaching tour to have been as much a part of the launch of the First Crusade as the Council of Clermont. Although there is no agreed narrative amongst these chronicles as to the significance of the preaching tour to the launch of the crusade, the locations that the pope visited, what he said or did, or of those with whom he travelled, they do indicate that this was an important event which brought the pope to an enormous and varied audience. They repeatedly describe the popularity of the pope's appearance, his frequent preaching, and they clearly indicate that there was a well-organised administrative structure to the practical operations of the tour. The pope's interaction with his audiences over the progress of the tour meant that he had full control over his message at the point of contact but, as this was the very first time such an expedition had been undertaken for such a purpose, it was impossible to foresee how that message would become distorted once the pope had preached his idea. It is

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 57-70.

important to consider that Robert of Rheim's *Historia Iherosolimitana*, Raymond d'Aguilers' *Liber* and Ralph of Caen's *Gesta Tancredi* make no mention of the preaching tour at all and their accounts focus on the events of the expedition itself instead of the mechanisms of its launch. But, because the majority of the chroniclers do choose to reference it, and it is included in both French and German accounts, it is possible to conclude that this omission was more to suit the narrative strategies of the individual chroniclers than as an argument that the tour was not a significant event. Ultimately, in spite of its significance, and that of such potential large-scale events as the sermon at Le Puy described by Caffaro of Genoa, the 1095-96 preaching tour has been overshadowed by the neat and dramatic narrative of the events at Clermont.

The Council of Clermont

The Council of Clermont was at the very centre of both the itinerary and the map of the tour of 1095-96. It continued the ecclesiastical administrative actions of the previous leg of the circuit but, finally, on 27 November, it culminated in Pope Urban II's sermon which called for an expedition to the East.⁶⁷ Enormous importance has been placed on the events of that day and almost every historiographical account of the First Crusade discusses the Council of Clermont as being the starting point of the crusade movement.⁶⁸ It neatly serves as the theatrical focal point for Urban's tour and offers a single event at which the crusade message came to be declared. However, in light of the scale and duration of the preaching tour, it is possible to argue that Clermont has become a tidy 'motif' which served the narrative purposes of the

⁶⁷ Robert Somerville's summary of the synod at Clermont in 'The Council of Clermont and the First Crusade', *Studia Gratiana*, 20, (1976), pp. 323-37 places it in the context of the rest of the council and the dynamics of the church in the eleventh century.

⁶⁸ S. Runciman, *A History of the Crusades* (Cambridge, 1951-4); Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders*; T. Asbridge, *The First Crusade: A New History* (London, 2004); Tyerman, *How to Plan A Crusade* and many others.

chroniclers to promote the crusade exclusively as Urban II's project.⁶⁹ Their focus on this one event and the potential to use creative licence to enhance what happened has thus detracted from the importance of the tour as a whole. That is not to diminish the Clermont sermon but to elevate the significance of the efforts made by Urban throughout the rest of 1095-96. In her account of Clermont, Cole draws attention to the significance of Urban's utilisation of a sermon to announce his new idea. As an oratorical medium, a sermon allows for a substantial amount of performance which cannot easily be recorded or conveyed in written form. Prior to the twelfth century, preaching had been a largely monastic practice which took place behind monastery walls. This has left us with very little evidence of public preaching to the laity from that time. Popular preaching by lay preachers did occur and the 'poverty and preaching' movement existed in France during the eleventh century.⁷⁰ But with no strict rules governing preaching to a lay audience at this time, Urban II's tour can be viewed as particularly significant to the development of preaching which continued over the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. A close examination of Clermont offers an opportunity to reconsider the rest of the tour as an organised and methodical process which engaged its audience under the full authority of the pope. If the Council of Clermont was just one of a number of similar events, albeit more refined and of a larger scale, it offers an example of how the pope used the theatre of his sermon to control and strengthen his message in front of audiences all over the area that he toured.

As only three of the surviving canonical items from Clermont are of relevance to the crusade and, without the complete canons of the council to shed light upon the proceedings, it is necessary to look elsewhere for more details. Cole's overview of the content of Urban's sermon

⁶⁹ Bull, 'View of Muslims and of Jerusalem in Miracle Stories', p. 21.

⁷⁰ E. O. Blake and C. Morris, 'A Hermit Goes to War: Peter and the Origins of the First Crusade', *Monks, Hermits and the Ascetic Tradition*, W.J. Sheils, *Studies in Church History*, 22 (Oxford, 1985), p. 82.; J. M. B. Porter, 'Preacher of the First Crusade? Robert of Arbrissel after the Council of Clermont' in *From Clermont to Jerusalem: The Crusades and Crusader Societies, 1095-1500*, ed A.V. Murray (Turnhout, 1998), p. 43.

on 27 November 1095 examines the accounts of the various chroniclers who wrote immediately after Clermont and the First Crusade.⁷¹ Considering the likelihood of who would have been at the Council and which themes recur in their descriptions, she followed the ideas set out by Carl Erdmann to draw conclusions as to what Urban's sermon may have contained.⁷² For the purposes of this thesis it is not necessary to re-enter into the debate regarding the words of the sermon; this study is concerned with the physical manifestation of crusade preaching, not the rhetorical nature of the sermons.⁷³ However, it is possible to use these accounts to consider more than just the wording of the sermon. They can be used to examine how the sermon was staged and perceived and how it came to be recalled in the years immediately after the event. It also gives an insight into Urban's preaching skills and his control over his audience.

Those chronicles which mention the sermon at Clermont and attributed the initiation of the crusade to Urban, are the *Gesta Francorum*, Peter Tudebode, Fulcher of Chartres, Robert of Rheims, Baldric of Bourgueil and Guibert of Nogent. It is important to note that these chroniclers wrote their accounts in light of the successful capture of Jerusalem and that these versions benefitted from the evolution of crusade preaching in the time since Clermont.⁷⁴ The consistencies in these versions can be summed up as Urban's having called for an army to travel to Jerusalem to fight against the enemies of Christianity, the naming of Bishop Adhémar of Le Puy as leader on his behalf, the offer of a remission of sins for those who chose to go, and the bestowing of a fabric cross on each person to show that they had made a vow.

⁷¹ Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades*.

⁷² Erdmann, *The Origin of the Idea of Crusade*; D. C. Munro, 'The Speech of Pope Urban II at Clermont 1095', *American Historical Review* 11 (1906), p. 232.

⁷³ Bull, 'View of Muslims and of Jerusalem in Miracle Stories, c. 1000-1200', pp. 22-25.

⁷⁴ C. Morris, 'Propaganda for war: the Dissemination of the Crusading Ideal in the Twelfth Century', *The Church and War*, ed. W. J. Sheils, *Studies in Church History*, 20 (Oxford, 1983), p. 87.

The chronicle accounts of the events at Clermont are all different but two, maybe three, of them were written by individuals who were present at the council. The remaining chroniclers offer secondary retellings which are either adaptations of earlier chronicles and/or accounts based on word-of-mouth evidence.⁷⁵ Just as Cole has used the chronicles to examine the likely content of Urban's sermon, it is also possible to use them to construct the setting of the sermon, Urban's performance, who the audience were and how they responded to his words.

Robert the Monk's *Historia Iherosolimitana* is thought to have been written around 1110, more than a decade after the Council of Clermont.⁷⁶ His account of Urban's sermon gains substantial weight from his professing to have been present on the day in question.⁷⁷ In his introduction, Robert begins by setting the physical scene and he describes how 'the Pope came out into an open space of some size, none of the buildings being large enough to contain all those present.'⁷⁸ This suggests the popularity of the sermon, evokes a sense of anticipation and an awareness that this speech would be particularly significant to that audience. However, Robert gives us no direct indication that the crowd in attendance were aware of what the sermon would convey. He also identifies the attendance of the 'bishops and cardinals of Rome' at the Council and calls it 'famous for the gathering of French and Germans, both bishops and princes'.⁷⁹ This is a description of a powerful audience comprised of senior clergy and nobility from France and Germany, but apparently nowhere else. He makes no mention of anyone else who might

⁷⁵ For a further discussion of the role of the oral tradition within these so-called eye-witness accounts, there are discussions Y. N. Harari, 'Eyewitnessing in Accounts of the First Crusade: The *Gesta Francorum* and Other Contemporary Narratives,' *Crusades* 3 (2004), pp. 77-99; E. Lapina, "'Nec signis nec testibus creditur...': The Problem of Eyewitnesses in the Chronicles of the First Crusade', *Viator* 38 (2007), pp. 117-39.

⁷⁶ RM, pp. xxxiv-xli discusses the evidence relating to the completion of the work.

⁷⁷ RM, p. 3 Praeceptit igitur michi ut, qui Clari Montis concilio interfui'.

⁷⁸ Ibid., p. 5, exivit domnus papa in quadam spaciose latitudinis platea, quia non poterat omnes illos capere cuiuslibet edificii clausura. Qui hac suadela rhetorice dulcedinis generaliter ad omnes in hec verba prorupit...'. And mentioned in Somerville, *Council of Clermont*, p. 62.

⁷⁹ RM, p. 5, 'magnum intra fines Galliae concilium celebratum est, in Alvernia scilicet in civitate que Clarus Mons appellatur. Cui papa Urbanus secundus cum Romanis episcopis et cardinalibus praefuit. Fuit autem illud concilium valde celeberrimum conventu Gallorum ac Germanorum, tam episcoporum quam et principum.'

have been present, for example, any members of the laity, or the administrative staff of these bishops and princes that it would be reasonable to conclude could have been present.

In contrast with Robert the Monk's sprawling audience, Fulcher of Chartres' eyewitness description of the Urban's sermon gives no description of the physical setting of where it took place and he indicates a much more intimate and less specific audience. Fulcher gives the number of 'three hundred and ten bishops and abbots' in attendance but goes on to say that the pope 'gathered them around himself and in an eloquent address carefully made known the purpose of the meeting'.⁸⁰ This suggests that the audience was deliberately called together but learned only the content of Urban's sermon once he had begun to speak, and after he had encouraged them to take greater responsibility for the social state of the West. It is later in the chronicle that Fulcher identifies this audience being made up of 'clergy and people' ('clerus...populus'):

These and many other things having been suitably disposed of, all those present, both clergy and people, at the words of Lord Urban, the pope, voluntarily gave thanks to God and confirmed a faithful promise that his decrees would be well kept.⁸¹

Another eyewitness account of the events of the Council of Clermont can be found in Baldric of Bourgueil's *Historia Jerosolimitana*. This chronicle refers to both of Urban's 1095 councils and, after a brief mention of Piacenza, gives a slightly more detailed description of what occurred at Clermont (even though the place name is not actually given):

⁸⁰ FC, p.122, 'his itaque die ad haec praenominato ad se convocatis ad locutione dulciflua diligenter conventus causam innotuit'.

⁸¹ *The First Crusade*, ed. Peters, p. 52.

To be sure, a general council was held at Piacenza, then a short time afterwards the aforesaid pope arrived in the Auvergne, and there he held another general synod with many Gaulish bishops and abbots. At the synod, once matters pertaining to the faith had been dealt with, he added a sermon of this kind concerning the miserable things that had befallen the Christians of Jerusalem and Antioch.⁸²

This passage implies that only high-ranking members of the clergy were present and, only after they had dealt with ecclesiastical matters, did the pope talk about what was occurring in the East. Baldric goes on to describe an even bigger audience of nobility and lay military than the accounts of Robert the Monk and Fulcher of Chartres but whether that audience was present for the whole council or exclusively for the sermon of 27 November is unclear:

Countless powerful and distinguished men had also flocked to the council from many regions, magnificent men although they wore the sword-belt of lay knighthood. And so, settling in the pulpit, he spoke thus...⁸³

In this short statement Pope Urban II is describes as addressing, from a pulpit, an audience of bishops and abbots from Gaul, nobility from perhaps further afield ('the regions' could refer to places other than Gaul) and the lay military. There is no indication of how they heard about the council, whether they were specifically invited (although the mention of the military does

⁸² BB, p. 6, 'Sane Placentie concilio generali celebrato, prelibatus pontifex paulo post Aruernis aduenit, ibique cum multis Galliarum episcopis et abbatibus iterum generalem synodum celebrauit. In qua, que ad fidem pertinebant premissis, de Christianorum Ierosolimitanorum et Antiochenorum casibus erumnosis huiuscemodi sermonem subiunxit.'; translation in *Baldric of Bourgueil: 'History of the Jerusalemites'*, trans. S. B. Edgington, p. 45.

⁸³ BB, p. 6, 'Confluxerant etiam ad concilium e multis regionibus uiri potentes, et honorati innumeri, quamuis cingulo laicalis militie superbi. Itaque residens in pulpito sic perorauit.'; translation in *Baldric of Bourgueil: 'History of the Jerusalemites'*, trans. S. B. Edgington, p. 45.

imply that this audience was targeted for the purposes of the speech), or whether they knew what the pope was about to announce.

All three of these eyewitness accounts make sweeping statements about the groups who were at Clermont, but they give us little indication as to the individuals who were there or how they came to have been in attendance. Somerville has additionally considered the available epistolary verification of those who were present.⁸⁴ Bishop Lambert of Arras was summoned to Clermont by a papal letter which had been sent from Le Puy on 15 August 1095 but Somerville points out that it is impossible to know how many others were summoned in a similar manner. From the existence of this letter it is possible to surmise that a specifically invited core audience had been targeted, but it is not possible to know how many attendees also became aware of the Council by word of mouth. As for the number of laymen who were in attendance and what their response was, it is difficult to assess from the chronicles. It is also possible that people who knew of the events at Clermont chose not to go, for example there may have been an issue of people declining to attend in light of King Phillip's aforementioned excommunication. It is crucial to note here that there is little evidence that bishops from areas controlled by the king of France did not attend Clermont and Somerville asserts that King Philip would not have had the power to prevent the clergy from attending. This combined with Urban's letter to the archbishop of Rheims threatening those who failed to attend with the loss of their ecclesiastical status, establishes that the wishes of the king would have had little influence over those who were invited. The chronicles make it clear that the pope intended to select his audience, but it is difficult to assess his success from the available information.

Fulcher of Chartres also describes the process of Urban travelling to Gaul and how the pope 'caused a Council to be assembled in Auvergne, at Clermont [and that there were at this]

⁸⁴ Somerville, 'The Council of Clermont and Latin Christian Society', p. 57.

council, embassies suitably forewarned from all sides, made of 310 members, both bishops and abbots'.⁸⁵ This specific mention of the attendees having been 'forewarned' indicates that there had been an administrative effort publicising the council. It also implies that a formal letter writing process had occurred, but whether the pope's messages came from Auvergne or prior even to that is unclear. Fulcher also fails to acknowledge the role that the previous stops on the tour may have played in promoting the Clermont Council and inviting attendees. What Fulcher does show however, is that publicising the events of the Council at Clermont was an active process which continued even after Urban had departed from Rome.

The first-hand chronicle accounts do give a sense of the performance and the planning which went into Urban's address to his audience. They indicate that he spoke from a 'pulpit', or some kind of raised platform, and that his large audience was made up of the clergy and the laity, the nobility and the knightly classes, all seemingly from France and Germany but perhaps further afield. Without the need here to examine the details of the sermon, it becomes important to consider how the chronicles go on to describe the relationship between the pope, his sermon and his audience.

As well as the speech itself and those who were present, the reaction of the pope's audience is repeatedly described within the texts and enforces the idea that the audience were as much a part of the sermon event as the pope and his words. There is palpable excitement about the presence of the pope in Guibert of Nogent's description. This version describes four-hundred bishops and abbots in attendance and, as was touched upon in the discussion of the preaching tour earlier in this chapter, reprises the appeal of the unusual presence of the pope. According

⁸⁵ FC, p. 122, '...pietate compatienti dilectionisque Dei nutu permotus montes transmeando in Gallias descendit atque in Alvernia...concilium legationibus competenter undique praemonitum, apud Clarummontem...coadunari fecit, CCCX tam episcoporum quam abbatum adsistentium cambutis deputatis.'

to Guibert, ‘The council was even more crowded because of the great desire to see the face and to hear the words of such an excellent, rarely seen person’, thus underscoring his account of the public excitement upon seeing the papal preaching tour as discussed previously.⁸⁶

Robert the Monk depicts a much more visceral reaction to Urban’s words and the manner in which the pope interacted with his receptive audience: ‘all present were so moved that they united as one and shouted “God wills it! God wills it!”⁸⁷ When the venerable Pope heard this, he raised his eyes to Heaven, thanked God and, gesturing with his hand for silence’.⁸⁸ Urban is portrayed here as an orator who held his crowd in the palm of his hand with both his words and his gestures. The action of raising his eyes to Heaven emphasised that he was the link between God and his audience, and the hand signal to silence his crowd shows that he was using his body to control his audience and make himself heard. Robert’s version goes on to paint a picture of the extraordinary ceremony and ritual which followed the sermon. He describes all present as lying ‘prostrate on the ground’ in a gesture of submission to Urban. Then, Cardinal Gregory stepped forward to make confession and ‘In their turn all, beating their chests, begged absolution for the sins they had committed; after absolution they sought blessing; and, once they had received blessing, permission to return home’.⁸⁹ This extraordinary, frantic and yet orderly response to Urban’s speech demonstrates almost violent enthusiasm and a near desperate need to be a part of the performance which was taking place.

⁸⁶ GN, p. 110, ‘Quod fuit tanto celebrius, quanto excellentis et inusitatae personae ora cernere, verba audire erat desiderabilius.’; translation in Guibert of Nogent, *The Deeds of God through the Franks*, trans. R. Levine (Woodbridge, 1997), p. 41.

⁸⁷ RM, p. 7 ‘Hec et id genus plurima ubi papa Urbanus urbano sermone peroravit, ita omnium qui aderant affectus in unum conciliavit, ut adclamarent: ‘Deus vult! Deus vult!’

⁸⁸ Ibid., p. 7, ‘Quod ut venerandus pontifex Romanus audivit, erectis in celum luminibus, Deo gratias, et manu silentium indicens...’

⁸⁹ Ibid., p. 8, ‘His ita completis, usus ex Romanis cardinalibus, nomine Gregorius, pro omnibus terre prostrates dixit confessionem suam. Et sic omnes, pectora sua tundentes, impetraverunt de his que male commiserant absolutionem; et facta absolutione, benedictionem; et benedictione consecuta, ad propria remeandi licentiam.’

In comparison, Baldric of Bourgueil's version of the audience response is much more measured: 'some of their faces were covered with tears, some were trembling, others were debating about this affair'. The response is very emotional, but much more low-key than that described in Robert the Monk, and the use of the word 'debate' implies that there may have been some objection within the crowd. Ekkehard of Aura returns to the passionate in his description of the announcement of the remission of sins as being met with 'weeping...and cries of many languages to heaven'.⁹⁰ This emotional response to the sermon does not include the 'Deus Vult!' cry which can be found in so many of the other texts. Nor is it found in the Gilo of Paris version which has no room for tears but does recount a very noisy response where 'The whole meeting thundered with these and others, so that anyone could well believe that this was the will of God'.⁹¹ Whether they use the phrase 'Deus Vult!' or not, these chronicles make it very clear that the pope was communicating in his role as God's representative and that he was the source of the idea for the crusade.

Another key element of the chronicle descriptions of the Clermont sermon is the performance of the distribution of crosses to those who took the crusade vow. How they were given out and where they fit into the drama of the sermon does differ but there is an acknowledgement of the creation of a symbol for those who would participate in the expedition.⁹² By using such an easily recognisable sign, Urban simplified his message and made it understandable across the language and literacy barriers. According to Robert the Monk, Pope Urban announced the

⁹⁰ Ekkehard, 'Hierosolymitana', p. 14, 'Mox tot millibus in lacrymas resolutis, viarum quoque linguarum planctibus in altum levatis, in hoc eis doctor egregius remissionem omnium condonat peccatorum, si, renuntiatis omnibus quae possidebant, crucem post Christum una imiter portantes, periclitantibus conchristianis ferrent auxilium.'

⁹¹ GP, p.10, 'Talibus atque aliis conuentio peronat omnis, Ut sic uelle Deum bene posset credere quiuis. Tum uir apostolicus peruoluens singula queque Cum uidet in cunctis unum fore foedus idemque, Usus consilio primatum pontificumque...Pontificem Podii quem dicimus Aniciensem Militie sacre stabiliuit precipientem.'

⁹² Somerville, 'The Council of Clermont and the First Crusade', pp. 323-37 looks at the accounts of taking the cross in the chronicles of Baldric of Bourgueil, Guibert of Nogent and Robert the Monk but misses the descriptions in Caffaro, *Gesta Francorum* and Peter Tudebode.

action of taking the cross within his sermon, declaring that, ‘Anyone who has a mind to undertake this holy pilgrimage...shall wear the sign of the Cross on his forehead or his chest’.⁹³ He recounts the specific instructions that the cross be worn once the vow was taken, and that it then be worn between the shoulders by anyone who had completed their vow. This is a very specific establishment of the symbolism of the cross and what it means to the crusade vow forms a clear visual representation of a person’s crusader status. Urban here is in control of the theatre of instructing an enormous audience to assume the crusade symbol. Baldric too describes how ‘and at once they all stitched the badge of the holy cross on their outer clothing’ and he immediately establishes the Cross as the sign of the expedition, but he gives no description of the performance of it being physically handed out either by the pope or by organised widespread circulation by his staff.⁹⁴ Caffaro of Genoa also fully includes the crosses in the theatre of the sermon that he describes. Here the pope personally bestows crosses on the right shoulders of those who would take them, ‘Thus the pope’s preaching was finished, all immediately high and low humbly received the Cross of Christ from the apostolic hand on his shoulder’.⁹⁵ This physical interaction between the pope and his congregation as they take the vow shows an ordered staging of the presentation of the crosses.

Guibert of Nogent’s version of the distribution of crosses is much more rhetorical. In his version Urban declares the need for a military symbol to confirm the vow which should also reflect the status of the wearer as a person who was fighting for the church:

⁹³ RM, p. 6, ‘Quicumque ergo huius sancte peregrinationis animum habuerit, et Deo sponsonem inde fecerit, eique se libaturum hostiam vivam, sanctam et bene placentem devoverit, signum dominice Crucis in fronte sua sive in pectore praeferat.’

⁹⁴ BB, p. 10, ‘...et statim omnes in uestibus superamicis consuerunt sanctae crucis uexillum.’; translation in *Baldric of Bourgueil: ‘History of the Jerusalemites’*, trans. S. B. Edgington, p. 50.

⁹⁵ Caffaro, p. 101, ‘Apostolico enim praecepto peracto, omnes illico majores et minores crucem Domini in humero ab apostolica manu susceperunt humiliter: de majoribus quidem Raimundus, comes Sancti Aegidii, Gotefreus, dux de Bugnone, amonitione cujus praedicta incepta fuere, et Balduinus, frater ejus, et Frandalensis comes, Ugo magnus, frater regis Franciae, Boiamundus, Tanclerius, et multi alii quorum nomina longum esset narrare.’; translation in *Caffaro, Genoa and the Twelfth Century Crusades*, trans. and ed. M. Hall and J. Phillips, p. 109.

the superb man delivered his speech, and by the power of the blessed Peter absolved every man who vowed to go, confirming this with an apostolic benediction, and establishing a sign of this honourable promise. He ordered that something like a soldier's belt, or rather that for those about to fight for the lord, something bearing the sign of the Lord's passion, the figure of a cross, be sewn onto the tunics and cloaks of those who were going.⁹⁶

These accounts establish the cross as the symbolism of the crusade, its military significance, and the role of the pope in the theatre of its distribution. This was the simplest and clearest instance of Urban II controlling who would take his message.

The chronicle accounts of the Clermont sermon also recount the drama of the recruitment of Adhémar, bishop of Le Puy and the manner in which he assumed the role of Urban's representative on the expedition. This marks yet another example of Urban managing the development of his project. He had visited Le Puy three months prior to the Council of Clermont and as Albert of Aachen and Caffaro of Genoa have suggested, a significant preaching event happened there. It is reasonable therefore to conclude that Adhémar had been fully informed about what Pope Urban had planned for him, had likely rehearsed the sermon at Le Puy, and knew what would be expected of him on the day of the Clermont sermon. However, in spite of his important appointment as Urban's representative on the tour, the chronicle accounts do vary as to the immediacy and theatre of his role on 27 November.

⁹⁶ GN, p.117, 'Peroraverat vir excellentissimus et omnes qui se ituros voverent beati Petri potestate absolvit, eadem ipsa apostolica benedictione firmavit et signum satis conveniens huius tam honestae professionis instituit et veluti cingulum militae, vel potius militaturis deo passionis dominicae stigma tradens, crucis figuram ex cuiuscumque materie panni tunicis, birris et palliis iturorum assui mandavit.'

Baldric of Bourgueil's *Historia Jerosolimitana* makes Adhémar's appointment a part of the events immediately following Urban's sermon. He wrote that the bishop stepped forward and asked the pope for permission to join the expedition:

Moreover, among all those at that same council, as we ourselves saw, a man of great name and utmost nobility of character, the bishop of Le Puy, Adhemar by name, approached the lord pope with an agreeable expression, and on bended knee he asked and obtained his permission and blessing for his going; in addition he was awarded a commission by the pope, that all would obey him and it would be his duty to protect the army in every way, in as much as everyone knew him to be a bishop of great energy and remarkable diligence.⁹⁷

This use of the word 'uidentibus' in this passage emphasises both the eyewitness nature of Baldric's account and the idea that there were many people present who all saw the actions of both Adhémar and the pope.

Baldric also goes on to describes the arrival of Count Raymond of Toulouse's ambassadors who testified to the pope and the council that Raymond would take the cross and bring an army to the expedition.

'While these things were going on, quite without warning envoys of the count of Toulouse, that is to say of Raymond of Saint-Gilles, appeared, who reported that he

⁹⁷ BB, p. 10, 'Inter omnes autem in eodem concilio, nobis uidentibus, uir magni nominis et summe ingenuitatis episcopus Podiensis nomine Aimarus, ad dominum papam uultu iocundus accessit, et genu flexo licentiam et benedictionem eundi poposcit et impetrauit; insuper et ab apostolico mandatum promeruit, ut omnes ei obedirent et ipse, pro officio suo in omnibus exercitui patrocinaretur: utpote quem omnes magnae strenuitatis et singularis industrie presulem nouerant.'; translation in *Baldric of Bourgueil: 'History of the Jerusalemites'*, trans. S. B. Edgington, pp. 49-50.

was going to go and had already fixed the cross to himself, and they bore witness to this council. ‘And also,’ they said, ‘countless knights have already joined him, and he will bring together as many people as possible under his leadership.’ And they added, ‘Anyone who is a man of God, let him be joined to the count, since he will both share his wealth with those in need, and refuse his help and advice to none of those on the journey.’⁹⁸

The formality of Raymond’s representatives addressing the council lacks the theatre of his physically taking the fabric cross himself but, because Baldric says these ambassadors arrived unexpectedly, the element of drama which was experienced by the audience present at the council is heightened. This also shows that Raymond had foreknowledge of the sermon and what would be required of him. Thomas Lecaque’s work on the life of Raymond of Toulouse (also referred to as Raymond of Saint-Gilles) highlights the fact that he had a long-established relationship with Urban II and the two men had been corresponding with each other since he first became pope.⁹⁹ Lecaque proposes that Urban met with the count in September 1095, after he had departed Saint-Gilles, and that it was during this meeting that the pope engaged Raymond for the campaign to the East.¹⁰⁰ Just like Adhémar he had been recruited well in advance of the Council of Clermont and he too played a role in the theatre of Urban’s sermon. Here we have the Adhémar, Bishop of Le Puy and Raymond, Count of Toulouse, ‘the

⁹⁸ BB, p. 10, ‘...ecce ex improviso affuerunt legati comitis Tolosani, Raimundi uidelicet de Sancto Egidio, qui ipsum iturum iamque crucem sibi coaptasse papae retulerunt, et in concilio testati sunt. ‘Adiuncti sunt etiam ipsi, inquit, milites innumeri, et populam in ducatu suo conducet quam plurimum.’ Et adiecerunt: ‘Si quis est Dei, iungatur ei, quoniam et opes suas indigentibus communicabit, et auxilium et consilium suum nemini uiantium denegabit.’; translation in *Baldric of Bourgueil: ‘History of the Jerusalemites’*, trans. S. B. Edgington, p. 50. Orderic Vitalis also gives a similar account of this event, p. 18 ‘Legati quoque Raimundi Berengarii comitis Tolosani protinus affuerunt, qui ipsum cum multis milibus de suo ducatu iturum papae retulerunt, iamque crucem sibi coaptasse in concilio testati sunt. Ecce Deo gratias Christianis ituris dou ultronei duces alacriter processerunt. Ecce sacerdotium et regnum, clericalis ordo et laicalis ad conducendum phalanges Dei concordant.’

⁹⁹ T. Lecaque, *Raymond of Saint-Gilles: Occitanian Culture and Piety in the Time of the First Crusade (Rulers of the Latin East)* (Abingdon, forthcoming 2021), p. 95.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 129.

priesthood and the kingdom; the clerical order and laity in agreement to the army of God'.¹⁰¹ Baldric gives us a version of the response to the Clermont sermon which unites the religious and the secular and shows how the expedition was intended for all to join. This shows that Urban had skilfully and deliberately brought together his intended leaders at this one event.

Fulcher of Chartres also nods to Adhémar of Le Puy's taking of the cross after the sermon and being put in charge of Urban's 'army of God' ('*Dei exercitus*'). However, he gives no description of him stepping up to take the cross in the theatrical manner of Baldric's account. Instead Adhémar is one of the many in:

...the audience [who] were gladly animated, judging that there is nothing more worthy as such an act, immediately many of those who heard promised sacredly to go and diligently exhort those who were absent. One of whom was the bishop of Le Puy, named Adhémar, who afterwards exercised apostolic prudence to inspire, rule and consult with the army of God to carry out the business with enthusiasm.¹⁰²

Guibert of Nogent supports the previous chronicles and describes the tactile bestowing of responsibility on the bishop:

Finally, [the pope] entrusted the leadership of the expedition to the most praiseworthy of men, the bishop of the city of Puy. He granted him the power to teach the Christian people

¹⁰¹ BB, p. 11, 'Ecce, Deo gratias, iam Christianis ituris duo ultronei processere duces: ecce sacerdotium et regnum, clericalis ordo et laicalis ad exercitum Dei conducendum concordant. Episcopus et comes, Moysen et Aaron nobis reimaginantur.'

¹⁰² FC, pp. 138-9, 'His dictis et audientibus gratanter ad hoc animatis, nihil tali actu dignius aestimantes, statim plures audientium se ituros et alios absentes inde diligenter exhortatos se sponderunt. de quibus fuit unus episcopus Podiensis, nomine Ademarus, qui postea vice fungens apostolica cunctum Dei exercitum prudenter et consulte rexit et ad negotia peragenda vivaciter animavit.'

as his representative, wherever they went, and therefore, in the manner of the apostles, he laid hands upon him and gave him his blessing as well.¹⁰³

These versions of events all include very sensory descriptions of touching, kneeling, seeing and speaking; there is performance in all of these accounts and, as Baldric shows, there was an audience to absorb the experience and to see the pope and the solemn bishop carrying out their performance. This all supports the argument that the events at Clermont had previously been planned and rehearsed to maximise the impact on the audience.

In contrast, just as Ekkehard of Aura did not describe the handing out of crosses at Clermont, he also fails to make reference to the ceremonial bestowing of the expedition leadership of the expedition upon Bishop Adhémar of Le Puy. Instead he economically describes how ‘The aforesaid pope, who inherited the see of the blessed St Peter of Rome, granted Bishop Adhémar, power to bind and to release, always to be exercised in his place’.¹⁰⁴ He finishes his account with the pope blessing the army and travelling with many of them back to Italy but he makes no mention of any further preaching or recruitment efforts.

There are also accounts which remove the appointment of Adhémar from the events of 27 November 1095 entirely. Robert the Monk describes how he was chosen to be the spiritual leader of the crusade the day after the sermon, when all the laity had departed. ‘Urban convened a Council of Bishops’ to elect a leader, as no princes had yet committed to becoming pilgrims

¹⁰³ GN, p.117 ‘Ad extremum cuidam viro omnimodis laudibus efferendo, Podiensis urbis episcopo - cuius nomen doleo quia neque usquam repperi nec audivi - curam super eadem expeditione regenda contulit et vices suas ipsi super christiani populi, quocumque venirent, institutione commisit, unde et manus ei more apostolorum, data pariter benedictione, imposuit.’; translation in *The Deeds of God through the Franks*, trans. R. Levine, p. 45.

¹⁰⁴ Ekkehard, ‘Hierosolymitana’, p.16, ‘Hademarum episcopum, praefatus apostolicus praefecit, cui et ligandi solvendique potestatem, a beato Petro Romanae sedi haereditatam, sua vice semper exercendam concessit...’

on this expedition.¹⁰⁵ If Robert was there and saw these events for himself, it is possible to conclude that, instead of having been stage-managed prior to the sermon, the bishop of Le Puy's role was rewritten in later accounts to portray a more eager and willing action. Similarly, Gilo of Paris describes the pope withdrawing to consult with the clergy following his sermons. Only after that does he make 'the bishop of Le Puy the leader of the holy expedition'.¹⁰⁶ The inconsistencies of the accounts relating to Adhémar of Le Puy reveal little more than his presence at Clermont and his acceptance of his new role. So varied are the descriptions that it is difficult to conclude his part in the theatre of the crusade sermon. However, these versions do emphasise how Urban II chose who would act on his behalf and orchestrated the theatre involved in ensuring his message was visual and clearly communicated.

Using these chronicle accounts to uncover the events at Clermont shows that there was much variety in how the pope's sermon was remembered and represented in the years following the crusade expedition. In fact, just as how a number of the chronicles previously discussed made no mention of the 1095-96 preaching tour, a handful of them also entirely omit the events at the Council of Clermont entirely. Raymond d'Aguilers' chronicle is conspicuous for the absence of any explanation of the beginning of the crusade at all. As Raymond was a participant in the expedition it is very interesting that he does not refer to Urban's speech at Clermont, Peter the Hermit's recruitment activities or even the manner in which Count Raymond came to take the cross. Instead he opens his *Liber* with the march across Slavonia after the army had already been recruited. It is possible that he did not witness any of the preaching of the crusade first-hand and instead came to be a part of the expedition purely as a member of the clergy chosen to accompany Count Raymond. But it is notable that he does not include Clermont

¹⁰⁵ RM, p. 8.

¹⁰⁶ GP, p. 10, 'Talibus atque aliis conuentio pertonat omnis, Ut sic uelle Deum bene posset credere quiuis. Tum uir apostolicus peruoluens singula queque Cum uidet in cunctis unum fore foedus idemque, Usus consilio primatum pontificumque...Pontificem Podii quem dicimus Aniciensem Militie sacre stabiliuit precipientem.'

when his version of events focuses on Bishop Adhémar of Le Puy's role and, as a canon at Le Puy cathedral he would have been well placed to write an eyewitness account of the event there referred to by Caffaro and Albert of Aachen. The clearest conclusion to draw from this is that Raymond d'Aguilers' narrative objective was not concerned with the origins of the crusade but with the actual expedition and its ultimate goal.

Ralph of Caen also makes no mention of the Council of Clermont and he does not attempt to recreate Urban's speech or recount the details of Urban's preaching tour. Instead, his account is a biographical one which refers to Urban's launch of the First Crusade in the context of having settled Tancred's internal conflict over the contrast between the military life and the peaceful teachings of Christianity. He writes that 'when Pope Urban's decision granted a remission of sins to all of the Christians setting forth to fight against the pagans, then finally it was as if the vitality of the previously sleeping man was revived, his powers were roused, his eyes were opened and his boldness set in motion'.¹⁰⁷ The focus here is on the portrayal of Tancred and not on the efforts of the pope. Once the expedition begins however, Ralph's account gives us indications of certain things which directly relate back to the initial launch of the crusade. It is in the course of a speech regarding the capture of Antioch that we learn of the appointment of Bishop Adhémar of Le Puy as 'the man whom the pope had sent to lead the army in his own place'.¹⁰⁸ Ralph goes on to write of Adhémar that, 'God himself chose Moses, and Pope Urban chose this one, but he was following God's command, and thus God sent both of them'.¹⁰⁹ The text leaves no doubt that Adhémar was known for his appointment by the pope as the spiritual leader of the crusade, even though there is no description of how or where this

¹⁰⁷ RC, p. 606, 'At postquam Urbani papae sententia universis Christianorum gentilia expugnantibus peccatorum omnium remissionem ascripsit, tunc demum quasi sopiti prius experrecta est viri strenuitas, vires assumptae, oculi aperti, audacia geminata.'

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., p. 653, 'Appodiensem episcopum, virum quem papa Urbanus tanquam alterum eudem exercitui praefecerat adit.'

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., 'Ipse Deus Moysen, hunc papa Urbanus, et ipse Praeco Dei sequitur: misit utrumque Deus.'

occurred. This shows that Urban's intention was clearly understood and accepted without question once the expedition had departed, even by those who were not present at Clermont to witness his appointment in person. This demonstrates that the mechanism for publicising Adhémar's role as Urban's representative was firmly in place once the expedition set out.

Where it is clear that the sermon at Clermont was a notable event which was used by a number of the chroniclers to cement Pope Urban's place as the originator of the First Crusade, the details pertaining to the performance of the sermon show that it was, as Bull has suggested, a 'motif' which suited the origin narrative for the crusade. Instead of being a singular event, Clermont must be considered as an example of what may have been occurring on the whole of the 1095-96 preaching tour. These accounts are therefore misleading as to the significance of the wider tour which was hugely important to the promotion of the crusade and the establishment of the papal authority in the areas which the pope visited.

Papal Preaching in Person After 1099

Even after the launch of the First Crusade, Pope Urban continued to promote the cause right up until the Councils of Bari in October 1098 and Rome in April 1099.¹¹⁰ The current historiography relating to this period convincingly argues that the Crusade of 1101 was a continuation of the First Crusade, in line with the original ideal of Pope Urban, and it is not necessary to deviate from this idea here.¹¹¹ However, as the preaching of the crusade movement

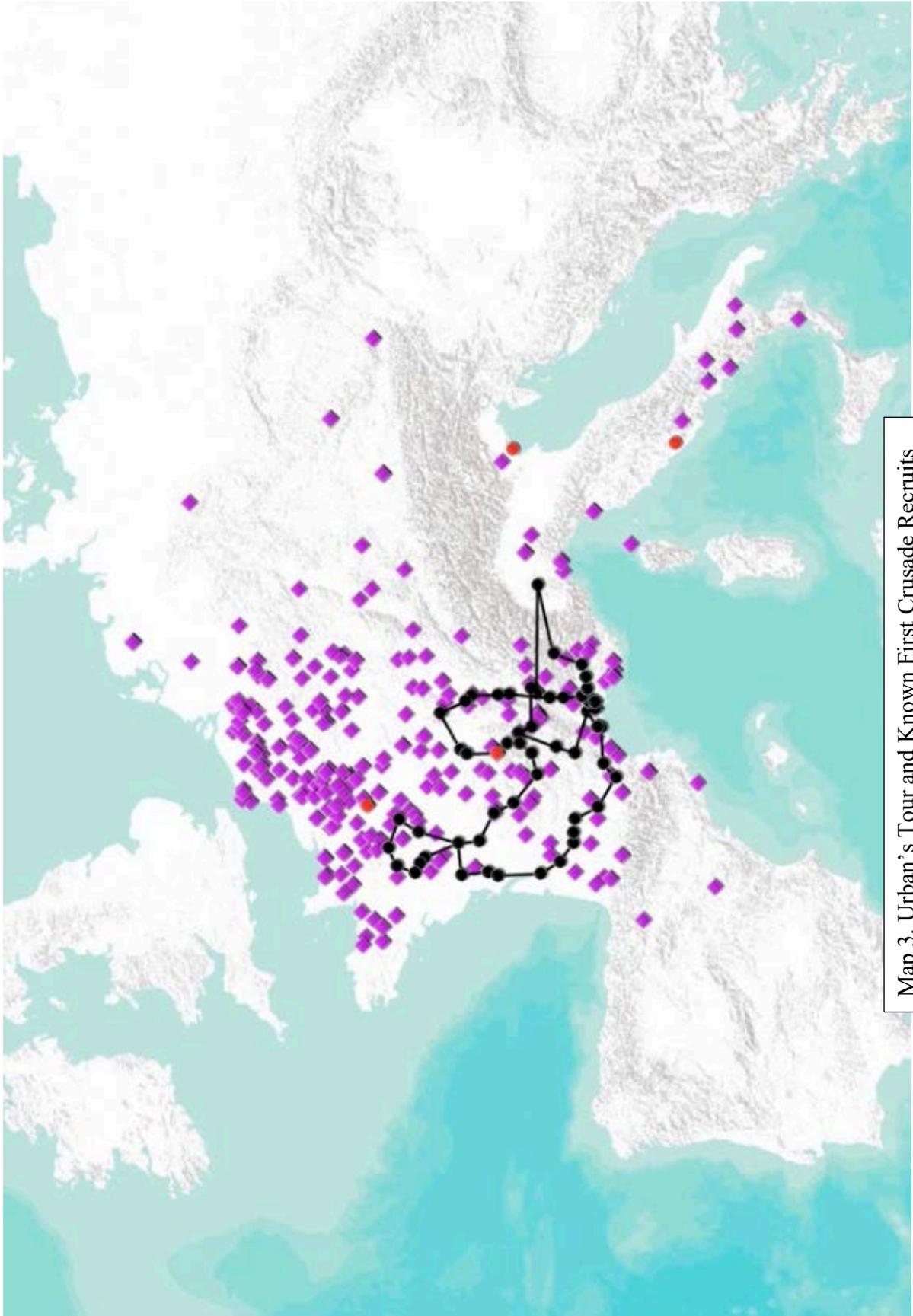
¹¹⁰ *Epistulae et chartae ad historiam primi belli sacri spectantes. Die Kreuzzugsbriefe Aus Den Jahren 1088-1100* ed. H. Hagenmeyer, nos. 6, 8, 9, 12, 15, 16, 17, pp. 141-167; also, Somerville, *Pope Urban's Council of Piacenza*, p. 126.

¹¹¹ M. Bull, *Knightly Piety and the Lay Response to the First Crusade. The Limousin and Gascony c. 970-c.1130* (Oxford, 1993) discusses the idea that 1101 crusade was part of wider movement; A. Mulinder, 'The Crusading Expeditions of 1101-1102', unpublished PhD thesis (University of Wales, 1996), argues that 1101 crusade was not separate from the First Crusade. See also J. S. C. Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading* (London 2009).

continued after the 1099 capture of Jerusalem and was carried out on the word of a new pope, it is necessary to consider it separately from the preaching which had been carried out by Pope Urban II.

As the city of Jerusalem fell to the crusading army in July 1099, the pontificate of Pope Urban II also came to an end. The pope died only days before the holy city was captured and he never learned the outcome of the expedition he had launched. His passing led to a shift in the manner in which expeditions to the East were promoted and no pope in the following century would interact as intimately as he had with the audiences that they intended to recruit for their crusades. The papacy would not be the public face of crusade recruitment over the course of the following century even though they did continue to promote and advance the movement itself. This section of the study will discuss where these successive popes had worked with their predecessors, where they were influenced by the preceding efforts to promote the crusade and why, despite the ultimate success of Pope Urban II's expedition, none of his immediate successors imitated his method of preaching in person. There are several reasons for this move away from the method of preaching in person: political circumstances, the brevity of their term as pope, the practicalities of undertaking such a tour, and the fact that Urban's tour had only actually yielded a fraction of the final number of final crusade recruits. One reason for this is likely to have been the relatively low impact of Urban's tour on the overall number of recruits. Map 3 (p. 67) shows the location of the tour in relation to those known first crusaders and it is clear that Urban's preaching can only have been responsible for a fraction of the number of people who responded. This means that he risked losing control over those with whom he did not communicate directly, and their efforts needed to be focused on keeping more overall control. They did this by utilising Urban's letter writing methods to define their intentions and

they employed veterans of previous preaching campaigns as legates to promote each new crusade campaign.



Map 3. Urban's Tour and Known First Crusade Recruits

Urban II was succeeded by Pope Paschal II (1099-1118), a former Cardinal priest of St. Clements under Gregory VII and a papal legate in Spain for Pope Urban II. It was he who received the letter from Archbishop Daimbert of Pisa regarding the successful capture of Jerusalem and the continuation of the legacy left to him by Pope Urban II as both reformer and crusade recruiter would be central to his actions as pope. From his roles within the papal courts of Gregory VII and Urban II, and his presence at papal councils, it is possible to surmise that Pope Paschal II was a part of the administration of Gregorian reform and party to knowledge regarding the administrative organisation of the preaching of the First Crusade. He was present at the Council of Bari in 1098 where had witnessed discussions regarding lay investiture and he recalled these discussions in a letter of 1102 to Anselm of Canterbury.¹¹² When he became pope in 1099, he continued much of his predecessor's papal policy regarding the continuing reformation of the church, particularly the continued investiture dispute with Emperor Henry V over a succession of antipopes. Blumenthal calls him 'a worthy heir of Gregory VII and Urban II through his struggle to secure the liberty of the church under a strong papacy'.¹¹³

Regarding the crusade movement, however, Paschal II did not preach a new war to the Holy Land, but instead continued to promote the original one and appealed for reinforcements to aid those who were already in Jerusalem.¹¹⁴ He went on to declare the expedition of 1101, promoted penitential warfare in the Iberian Peninsula, and authorised Bohemond of Taranto's 1106 mission, but there were no papal processions or preaching events at which people could travel to see this pope in person. His absence can be explained by the political circumstances of the period regarding his involvement with the ongoing investiture controversy which was not

¹¹² *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*, ed. P. Jaffé, rev. S. Loewenfeld, W. Wattenbach, F. Kaltenbrunner, and P. Ewald, 2 vols, (Leipzig, 1885-8), 5929, 'Anselm, archiepiscopo Cantuariensi, scribit, se cum suis decessoribus de ecclesiarum investitura consentire; additque de sacerdotum et Levitarum filiis'; Somerville, *Pope Urban's Council of Piacenza*, p. 127.

¹¹³ U.-R. Blumenthal, *Papal Reform and Canon Law in the 11th and 12th Centuries*, (Aldershot, 1998), XI, p.71.

¹¹⁴ *Epistulae et chartae ad historiam primi belli sacri spectantes*, ed. H. Hagenmeyer, pp. 175-6.

resolved in that instance until 1111. Paschal II was not on the front line of promoting the crusade in the same way as Pope Urban had been; instead he wrote letters, utilised councils and authorised legates to take his message to areas which were specifically targeted for recruitment.¹¹⁵ In this way he was able to maintain the promotion of the movement, make his message clear, and deal with other political matters which warranted his attention.

The papacy's lack of physical involvement in crusade preaching in the years after Urban II's death is underscored by the career of Paschal II's successor, Pope Gelasius II (1118-1119). As John of Gaeta, he had been a very prominent member of Pope Urban II's staff and a member of the papal entourage at the 1095 Council of Piacenza when the ambassadors of Emperor Alexius I Comnenus appealed to Pope Urban II for help against the threat of the Seljuk Turks.¹¹⁶ Most importantly, he was also a member of the 1095-96 crusade preaching tour and had attended the Council of Clermont.¹¹⁷ Gelasius's knowledge of the organisation of the preaching of the First Crusade can, therefore, be shown to have been first-hand and, as papal chancellor for Paschal II, the organisation of continued crusading efforts must also have been within the remit of his duties and therefore of interest to his own papal politics. Once again Gelasius's papacy was heavily affected by the continued investiture issues with Emperor Henry V and he was exiled from Rome for the duration of his papacy. Echoing the first years of Urban II's papacy, during this banishment the pope travelled with an entourage of clergy, nobles, laity and their families to Pisa, Genoa, Marseilles (October), Saint-Gilles, Maguellone (November), and he held a synod in Vienne (January 1119) where he was received with enthusiasm and

¹¹⁵ J. Goñi Gaztambide, *Historia de la bula de la cruzada en España* (Vitoria, 1958); Purkis, *Crusading Spirituality*, pp. 120-138.

¹¹⁶ Morris, *The Papal Monarchy*, p. 168; he served as papal chancellor from 1089 until 1118 under both Popes Urban II and Paschal II when he established a permanent staff of papal clerks and adopted a standard diploma and formal prose for papal documents; Somerville, *Pope Urban's Council of Piacenza*, p. 9.

¹¹⁷ *Archivum Historiae Pontificae*, 12 (1974), p. 81; See also, H.W. Klewitz, *Reformpapsttum und Kardinalskolleg*, (Darmstadt, 1957), p. 132; K. Ganzer, *Die Entwicklung des auswärtigen Kardinalats im hohen Mittelalter. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Kardinalkollegiums vom 11. bis 13. Jahrhundert* (Tübingen, 1963), pp. 55-6; Somerville, 'The Council of Clermont and Latin Christian Society'.

spoke eloquently to crowds.¹¹⁸ According to Suger of St Denis, the purpose of the tour was to seek the ‘care and protection of the most serene King Louis and ...the sympathy of the Gallic church’ against the emperor.¹¹⁹ We know from Abbot Suger’s writings that the pope had arranged to meet with the king of France at Vézelay, but whether he intended to launch another crusade and to promote it himself is unknown as he died in Cluny in January 1119.¹²⁰ During his time as pope, Gelasius II furthered his predecessors’ expansion of the crusade movement into Iberia, but he did this in writing and there is no evidence that he preached crusade recruitment in person.¹²¹ In spite of his efforts to continue to develop the crusade movement, the brevity of his term and his distance from St. Peter’s meant that he was unable to do so in person.

Papal preaching in person was once again not a part of the papacy of Pope Calixtus II (1119-1124) although he did actively continue the promotion of Christian expeditions into Iberia which had been begun by his predecessors.¹²² As Archbishop Guy of Vienne, Calixtus had witnessed Pope Urban II’s preaching tour of 1095-96, but his presence at the Council of Clermont is difficult to confirm.¹²³ However, he was present at Tours, Nimes and Toulouse in 1096, all of which were significant locations for the recruitment of crusaders on the expedition to Jerusalem and he would have witnessed first-hand the recruitment techniques which were

¹¹⁸ Suger of St Denis, *The Deeds of Louis the Fat*, ed. and trans. R. Cusimano and J. Moorhead (Washington D.C., 1992), p. 119. Also *Liber Pontificalis*, ed. J. M. March (Barcelona, 1925), p. 177, ‘Hii omnes cum papa simul honorifice satis atque solempniter ab innumera cleri ac populi multitudine Pisis recepti sent et tractate.’

¹¹⁹ Suger of St Denis, *The Deeds of Louis the Fat*, pp. 119.

¹²⁰ Suger of St Denis, *The Deeds of Louis the Fat*, pp. 119-20. Vézelay recurs through the period considered here and it is important to note that it had a connection with the Holy Land due to its claim to possess the relics of Mary Magdelene.

¹²¹ Gelasius II, ‘Epistolae et Priviledgia’, *PL*, 163, no. 25, col. 508. ‘exercitui Christianorum civitatem Caesaraugustanam obsidenti, et omnibus catholicae fidei cultoribus’.

¹²² Calixtus II, *Bullaire*, ed. U. Robert, 2. Vols. (Paris, 1891), vol. 2, Ep. 454, pp. 266-7; M. Stroll, *Calixtus II (1119-1124): A Pope Born to Rule* (Leiden and Boston, 2004), pp. 404-5.

¹²³ Stroll, *Calixtus II*, p. 21; see also Somerville, ‘The Council of Clermont and Latin Christian Society’, nr. 12, p. 86.

refined during the tour.¹²⁴ Just like his immediate predecessors, his membership of the papal entourage would have exposed him to the pope's preaching at first hand and demonstrated to him the effectiveness of a pope and his company on the response and recruitment of his audiences. There is also evidence that he accompanied Pope Paschal II on his visit to France in 1106 when he was involved in investiture negotiations with Philip of France and Prince Louis.¹²⁵ Calixtus served as Paschal II's legate in both England and France, where he replaced Hugh of Die who had left to promote and participate in the 1101 crusade expedition.¹²⁶ Three of his brothers died on the 1101 expedition to Jerusalem and a fourth brother fought against the Muslims in Spain.¹²⁷ His brother, Raymond of Burgundy, was married to Urraca of Leon and Castile and this made the pope the uncle of King Alfonso VII of Leon and Castile. It is therefore not difficult to see that he had a personal interest not only in the crusading movement, but also in its development into the Iberian Peninsula. This all suggests that his experiences made him the candidate for actively preaching but, for some reason, he did not utilise Urban's method.

During the First Lateran Council in 1123, Pope Calixtus II finally began to discuss Jerusalem and Spain on the same terms in relations to taking the cross and making a crusade vow.¹²⁸ By formally bestowing onto Spain the same status as the expeditions to Jerusalem, Calixtus built upon the actions of Popes Paschal II and Gelasius II. He opened up the potential for preaching campaigns to both theatres of crusade using the same methods and incentives in the west as those to the East. Although the 1123 Lateran Council was concerned with enforcing the crusade

¹²⁴ B. Schilling, *Guido von Vienne-Papst Calixt II*. (MGH Schriften 45; Hannover, 1998), pp. 135-6.

¹²⁵ Stroll, *Calixtus II*, p. 46; Schilling, *Calixt II*, pp. 357-360.

¹²⁶ Robinson, *The Papacy 1073-1198*, p. 156; Stroll, *Calixtus II*, p. 27.

¹²⁷ Phillips, *The Second Crusade* p. 32; See also, C. B. Bouchard, *Sword, Mitre, and Cloister: Nobility and the Church of Burgundy, 980-1198* (New York, 1987), pp. 155, 273-5; Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders*, pp. 94-5, 177.

¹²⁸ *Conciliarum oecumenicorum decreta*, ed. J. Alberigo *et al.* (Freiburg, 1962), p. 168.

vows which had already been taken, there is no clear evidence that Calixtus actually engaged in public preaching for the crusades. However, it is clear that a consistent thread of promoting crusading policy ran between these veterans of the events of 1095-6. Pope Calixtus also approved an expedition to the East after a direct appeal from King Baldwin of Jerusalem. However, once again, instead of preaching the expedition himself, he appointed cardinal Peter of Porto to act on his behalf with full papal authority. By this period, it was clear that papal preaching in person was not as effective as utilising the wealth of legates who had witnessed and gained experience of previous crusade preaching and Pascal's choice to focus his efforts on a multitude of other factors is unsurprising.

This focus on employing experienced preachers continued during the papal reign of Calixtus' II's successor, Pope Honorius II (1124-1130). He was the first heir to the papal throne whose name does not appear on any of the records which describe the attendants the 1095-6 tour or the Council of Clermont. Despite this, he was an active member of the administrations of Popes Gelasius II and Calixtus II having served the latter as a papal legate.¹²⁹ There is no indication that he promoted the crusades in person, but during his papacy, the call for assistance from the East was again sent by Baldwin II of Jerusalem. Honorius' gave his approval to this expedition through letters and the appointment of legates to act on his behalf.¹³⁰ His work to promote the crusade movement was now sufficiently far removed from that of Urban II that it is unsurprising that he followed the work of those to whom he had worked closely and had experienced for himself.

¹²⁹ OV, p. 164.

¹³⁰ *Papsturkunden für Kirchen im Heiligen Lande*, ed. R. Hiestand (Göttingen, 1985), pp. 139, 142. See also *Cartulaire général de l'ordre du Temple 1119?-1150*, ed. Marquis d'Albon (Paris 1913), no. 12, pp. 8-10; A. J. Forey, 'The Emergence of the Military Order in the Twelfth Century', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 36 (1985), p. 190. And *Regle du Temple*, ed. H. de Curzon, (Paris 1886) pp. 16-8; Bernard of Clairvaux, 'Epistolae', in *Sancti Bernardi Opera*, ed. J. Leclercq and H. Rochais, 8 vols (Rome, 1955-77), vols 7-8; many translation in *The Letters of Saint Bernard of Clairvaux*, new edn, tr. B. S. James, introduction by B. M. Kielzle (Stroud, 1988), vol. vii, ep. 21, pp. 71-2; M. Barber, *The New Knighthood: A History of the Order of the Temple* (Cambridge, 1994), p. 14.

The three successive popes who followed Pope Honorius II all served as legates and worked closely with predecessors who had continued to drive the original crusade message. This suggests that they too would have closely followed their example. However, Pope Innocent II's (1130-43) term was blighted by a schism which saw him exiled from the Lateran for eight years of his papacy, and both Pope Celestine II (1143-1144) and Pope Lucius II (c. 1144-1145) each served for only a year so did not have sufficient time to establish themselves. During this time, at least one more appeal was sent from the East for aid, and there are several papal bulls relating to the Order of the Templars from this period, but there is little evidence that these popes were able or had the opportunity to authorise recruitment for the crusade movement.

This period of comparatively inactive crusade recruitment came to an end in 1145 when Bernardo Paganelli da Pisa was elected pope and chose the name Eugenius III (c. 1145-1153).¹³¹ He was the very first Cistercian pope and had previously been a student of the Bernard Clairvaux, the man he would appoint to preach the Second Crusade.¹³² Eugenius and Clairvaux's long-term association explains how the two men were able to work together so closely, how Bernard came to be involved in the writing of Eugenius' bull *Quantum praedecessores*, and why, despite Bernard's initial disapproval of his appointment, the pope had no hesitation in authorising Bernard to act on his behalf to preach the crusade. Once again, Eugene's recruitment efforts were confined to the appointment of legates and a reliance on letters; he made no attempt to preach the Crusade in person. Nevertheless, Phillips has argued that during January-March 1147, Pope Eugenius himself may have been continuing to recruit for the crusade.¹³³ The pope is known to have travelled from Viterbo towards northern Europe

¹³¹ Tyerman, *How to Plan A Crusade*, p. 78.

¹³² Robinson, *The Papacy, 1073-1198*, p. 212.

¹³³ J. P. Phillips, 'Papacy, Empire and the Second Crusade', *The Second Crusade: Scope and Consequences*, ed. J. P. Phillips and M. Hoch (Manchester, 2001), p. 25.

via Lucca, Vercelli and Susa into Burgundy, then France.¹³⁴ Unfortunately, when this route is compared with the map of preaching tours and known crusaders, it fails to show that the pope had any impact on the number of recruits and it is not possible to determine if that was the purpose behind his tour. He also promoted northern crusades in his letter *Divinia dispensatione I* and those in Iberia with *Divinia dispensatione II*. Eugenius' impact as a letter writer and delegator show that he too was prioritising and refining techniques to launch his crusades, and it is not possible to completely rule out that he may have preached them in person as his tour of 1147 indicates that he may have taken the opportunity to do so. However, without more evidence that this was the case, preaching in person cannot be attributed to Eugenius III.

The very short pontificate of Pope Anastasius IV (1153-1154) gives evidence of only a single effort to promote the crusade when, in 1153, he granted crusade indulgences to those participating in the crusade in the Iberian Peninsula.¹³⁵ His bull used the same rhetoric as Eugenius III's *Quantum Praedecessores* and, as Fonnesberg-Schmidt argues, the pope maintained that the status of this crusade was equal to that of the campaigns to the East as set out by Pope Eugenius III.¹³⁶ There was no proactive effort to promote or preach a new crusade in this instance but, the papal support of the crusades during this period hints at continued interest in their development immediately after the death of Pope Eugenius III.¹³⁷ The brevity of Anastasius IV's papacy means that it is only possible to speculate as to what his future intentions regarding promoting the crusade movement may have been and gives no indication

¹³⁴ 'Regesta comitum Sabaudiae', ed. D. Carruti, *Bibliotheca Storica Italiana*, 5, no. 294 (Turin, 1937), pp. 114-15; J. B. Williams, 'The Making of a Crusade: The Genoese anti-Muslim Attacks in Spain, 1146-1148', *The Journal of Medieval History* (1997), pp. 32-33, 48-49; For itinerary, see JL, vol, 2, pp. 20-89; Phillips, 'Papacy, Empire and the Second Crusade', p. 25.

¹³⁵ *Colección de documentos inéditos de la Corona de Aragón*. Ed. Prosper Bofarull et al. 41 vols. Barcelona: Imprenta del Archivo, (1847-1910) 4, pp. 314-15, 320-21, nos. 128, 133; *Papsturkunden in Spanien: Vorarbeiten zur Hispania Pontificia*, ed. P. Kehr, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1926-8), 1:373-77, no. 70.

¹³⁶ I. M. Fonnesberg-Schmidt, *The Popes and the Baltic Crusades, 1147-1254* (Leiden, 2007), p. 63; O'Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade*, p. 48.

¹³⁷ O'Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade*, p. 47.

as to how he would have maintained control over his message. It is also important to note that the numerous brief pontificates since the death of Urban II were due to unfortunate circumstances and the fact that these men did not preach in person was not necessarily an indication of disengagement with his method.

Prior to becoming Pope Adrian IV in 1154, Nicholas Breakspear served the church in France, Spain and Norway.¹³⁸ As abbot of Saint-Ruf in Avignon, the future Pope Adrian IV (1154-1159) held a position that had been formerly filled by Archbishop Oleguer of Tarragona. Oleguer had been granted authority to preach the crusades in Iberia by Pope Gelasius II in 1118 and had been appointed legate responsible for the crusade in Catalonia at the 1123 Lateran council.¹³⁹ Where it can be shown that there was a continuation of support for the crusade which passed from one pope to his successor, and a hereditary passion for the call to the cross within family and kinship groups which will be shown in later sections of this discussion, it is reasonable to speculate the same motivation could be continued between one member of the clergy and his successor. The significance of the connection between these two men and the proximity of Avignon to Spain has been highlighted by Smith in his discussion of Breakspear's involvement in the promotion of the Second Crusade in Catalonia.¹⁴⁰ Regarding this involvement, it is likely that Eugenius III approved Nicholas' journey to Catalonia whilst at Council of Rheims, but it is difficult to determine exactly what the abbot was doing whilst in Spain.¹⁴¹ Jaspert and Constable both suggest that he was possibly present as an unofficial papal

¹³⁸ Cardinal Boso, 'Life of Adrian IV', *Adrian IV, the English Pope, 1154-1159: Studies and Texts*, eds. B. Bolton and A. Duggan (Aldershot, 2003), pp. 214-5.

¹³⁹ L. McCrank, 'The Foundation of the Confraternity of Tarragona by Archbishop Oleguer Bonestruga, 1126-9', *Viator* 9 (1978), p. 163.

¹⁴⁰ D. Smith, 'The abbot-crusader: Nicholas Breakspear in Catalonia', *Adrian IV, the English Pope, 1154-1159: Studies and Texts*, eds. B. Bolton and A. Duggan (Aldershot, 2003), p. 33.

¹⁴¹ R. Hiestand, 'The Papacy and the Second Crusade', *The Second Crusade: Scope and Consequences*, ed. J. P. Phillips and M. Hoch (Manchester, 2001), p. 38; Smith, 'The abbot-crusader: Nicholas Breakspear in Catalonia', p. 33.

legate, but it is unclear whether he was promoting the crusade movement on Eugenius' behalf and establishing a personal connection with the crusade movement.¹⁴²

Two years after Breakspear's appointment to Cardinal Bishop of Albano in 1149, he was sent as papal legate to Scandinavia where he remained for two years on a mission to promote, reform and develop the church in the north.¹⁴³ Once again, there is no indication that he was actively involved in promoting the crusade movement in this region, but his presence in an area which was becoming increasingly Christianized meant that he witnessed first-hand the missionary efforts to convert the local pagans. All of his experience in these theatres of war indicate that Adrian IV was motivated to promote the crusade to the East and into Iberia but, once again, offers no evidence that he became a preacher himself.

Roland of Siena, later Pope Alexander III (1159-1181) was made papal chancellor in 1153 by Pope Anastasius IV and, while continuing in this role, he was sent by Pope Adrian IV as legate to Emperor Frederick in 1157. Upon his election in 1159, there arose a papal schism which did not end until the third Lateran Council of 1179. During this period, he was exiled from Rome and spent much of his time travelling around Italy and France, finally returning to Rome in 1165. There is no evidence to support the idea that he may have preached the crusade during this period, but he responded to numerous appeals for help in the East, Iberia and the Baltic region with bulls which promoted crusade preaching and authorised legates. In spite of these numerous papal letters, and the pope's opportunity to preach to a wide audience during his

¹⁴² N. Jaspert, 'Capta est Dertosa, clavis Christianorum: Tortosa and the Crusades', *The Second Crusade: Scope and Consequences*, ed. J. P. Phillips and M. Hoch (Manchester, 2001), p. 92; Constable, *Crusaders and Crusading*, p. 278.

¹⁴³ A. J. Duggan, 'Servus servorum Dei', *Adrian IV, the English Pope, 1154-1159: Studies and Texts*, eds. B. Bolton and A. Duggan (Aldershot, 2003), p. 200; A. Bergquist, 'The Papal Legate: Nicholas Breakspear's Scandinavian Mission', *Adrian IV, the English Pope, 1154-1159: Studies and Texts*, eds. B. Bolton and A. Duggan (Aldershot, 2003), pp. 41-8.

exile, there is no indication that he did so and no major official crusade expedition was launched while he was pope. The numerous bulls which were issued by Alexander III show a persistent effort to continue the crusade movement, but they also indicate an apathetic response from his audience. In the thirty years since the failure of the Second Crusade, no new major expedition had been launched and this must to a certain degree be blamed as much on an audience who were not receptive to the message as on the message itself.

This period of failed attempts to launch official expeditions continued with the papacy of Pope Lucius III (1181-1185). He had served Pope Innocent II as a cardinal, was promoted to cardinal bishop by Adrian IV and then appointed to dean of College of Cardinals under Alexander III. As pope, he did attempt to recruit King Henry II of England to join the Crusade by encouraging him to follow in the footsteps of his ancestors.¹⁴⁴ Additionally, during his papacy, the patriarch of Jerusalem engaged on a large-scale crusade preaching tour around Europe with the permission of the pope.¹⁴⁵ However, none of his attempts gained any traction with their audience and he failed to launch a new expedition. It is clear that at this time the countless papal appeals were not registering with their audience and only a major change in circumstances would alter that. That change occurred when reports of the crusaders' defeat by Saladin's army at the Battle of Hattin in July 1187 reached the West.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴⁴ Roger of Howden, *Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi Benedicti Abbatis*, ed. W. Stubbs, 2 vols, *Rolls Series*, 49 (London, 1867), Volume 1, p. 333; William of Newburgh, *Historia rerum Anglicarum*, ed. H. Hamilton (London, 1856), pp. 245-7.

¹⁴⁵ Roger of Howden, *Gesta*, 1, pp. 331-2; Ralph of Diceto, *Ymagines Historiarum*, 1180-1202, ed. W. Stubbs, *Opera Historica*, 2 vols. *Rolls Series* 68 (London, 1876), 2, pp. 27-28, 32; B. Z. Kedar, 'The Patriarch Eraclius', *Outremer: Studies in the History of the Crusading Kingdom of Jerusalem presented to Joshua Prawer*, eds. B. Z. Kedar, H. E. Mayer and R.C. Smail (Jerusalem, 1982), pp. 191-93; J. S. C. Riley-Smith, *The Knights Hospitaller in the Levant, c. 1070-1309*, (Basingstoke, 2012), p. 195.

¹⁴⁶ For a detailed discussion of the transmission of the news relating to the Battle of Hattin see Birkitt, 'News in the Middle Ages'.

According to the *Chronica* of Roger of Howden, Pope Urban III's (1185-1187) death was attributed to the shock of the news of the events at Hattin.¹⁴⁷ His death meant that it fell to his successor, Pope Gregory VIII (October 1187-December 1187), to authorise the launch of the Third Crusade. He did so with the bull *Audita tremendi*, but his extremely brief papacy provides no evidence that he had the opportunity to physically preach the new expedition.¹⁴⁸ Clement III (1187-1191) carried on the promotion of the Third Crusade with letters and the authorisation of proxy preachers, in what had become an established pattern, but no existing examples of preaching to a wide audience.¹⁴⁹

Celestine III (1191-1198), formerly Cardinal Hyacinth, had extensively travelled around the Iberian Peninsula promoting the crusade as the papal legate to Spain under Popes Anastasius IV and Adrian IV.¹⁵⁰ It is possible to infer from this experience that he was invested in the promotion of the of the crusade in this region in particular and this is borne out by the effort he put into its continuation while he was pope. He wrote letters encouraging recruitment for a campaign in the area and sent his nephew, Cardinal Gregory of Sant'Angelo, to Spain to enlist the nobility and military orders to fight the Muslims. During his papacy, Celestine authorised Emperor Henry VI to preach an expedition to the East.¹⁵¹ He also authorised indulgences for those who supported the missionary work in the Baltic region which suggests a concerted effort

¹⁴⁷ Roger of Howden, *Chronica* ed. W. Stubbs, 4 vols, *Rolls Series*, 51 (London, 1868-71), 2, p. 322, 'Cum igitur papa Urbanus audisset quod temporibus suis captus esset rex Jerosolimitanus, et Crux Dominica, et civitas Sancta Jerusalem, doluit vehementer...et mortuus'; Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades*, p. 63.

¹⁴⁸ Gregory VIII, 'Epistolae et Privilegia', *PL*, 202, cols. 1539-1542; Full translation in L Riley-Smith and J.S.C. Riley-Smith, *The Crusades: Idea and Reality, 1095-1274* (London, 1981), pp. 63-70; Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades*, pp. 63-5.

¹⁴⁹ *La Continuation de Guillaume de Tyr* (1184-1197), (Paris, 1982), p. 18; translation in *The Conquest of Jerusalem and the Third Crusade: Sources in Translation*, ed. P. W. Edbury, (Aldershot, 1996), p. 75.

¹⁵⁰ D. J. Smith, 'The Iberian Legations of Cardinal Hyacinth Bobone', *Pope Celestine III (1191-1198): Diplomat and Pastor*, ed. J. Doran and D. J. Smith (Farnham, 2008), pp. 81-111.

¹⁵¹ Celestine III, 'Epistolae et Privilegia', *PL*, 206, cols. 1089-91; A. J. Duggan, 'Hyacinth Bobone: Diplomat and Pope', *Pope Celestine III (1191-1198), Diplomat and Pastor* eds. J. Doran and D. J. Smith (Farnham, 2008), pp. 25-6; P. W. Edbury, 'Celestine III, the Crusade and the Latin East', *Pope Celestine III (1191-1198): Diplomat and Pastor*, ed. J. Doran and D. J. Smith (Farnham, 2008), p. 132.

to continue to promote the work of his predecessors.¹⁵² However, there is very limited evidence of response to these appeals in spite of Celestine's long-term history as a promotor of the crusade movement. This indicates that once again, audiences were not always receptive to the crusade message in spite of the previous experience and success of the person behind the message.

In January 1198, the crusading movement gained a determined new commander-in-chief when Cardinal-Deacon Lothario of Segni was elected pontiff. As the nephew of his predecessor, Pope Clement III, he had been appointed cardinal of SS. Sergius and Bacchus in Rome in his early thirties. Within just a few years, he was elected to the papacy and choose the name Innocent III (1198- 1216).¹⁵³ It is important to consider that he not only served his time as a cardinal under Pope Celestine III, but that meant that he had worked closely with a pope who had promoted the crusade movement in the Iberian peninsula both as a papal legate and as pope, who had endorsed crusade preaching in Germany and England to recruit for the campaign in the Latin East, and had begun to include the missionary efforts in Livonia within the crusade movement.¹⁵⁴ Aged only 37 or 38 when he acceded to the papal throne, almost all of Innocent III's time as a senior member of the church had taken shape since the battle of Hattin and against the backdrop of the creation and promotion of the Third Crusade. There can be no doubt

¹⁵² Arnold of Lübeck, *Chronica Slavorum*, ed. J. M. Lappenberg, *MGH SS* 21, pp. 214-5, v 30, 'Et quia profectio sive peregrination Iherosolimitana tunc vacare videbatur, ad supplementum huius laboris domnus papa Celestinus indulserat, ut quicumque peregrinationi memorate se vovissent, huic itineri, sit amen ipsis complacissent, se sociarent, nec minorem peccatorum remissionem a Deo perciperent.'; translation in Fannesberg-Schmidt, *The Popes and the Baltic Crusades*, p. 69.

¹⁵³ J. E. Sayers, *Innocent III: A Leader of Europe, 1198-1216* (London, 1994), pp. 10-27; E. Peters, 'Lotario dei Conti di Segni becomes Pope Innocent III', *Pope Innocent III and His World*, ed. J. C. Moore (Aldershot, 1999), pp. 3-24.

¹⁵⁴ Henry of Livonia, *Chronicon Livoniae*, ed. L. Arbusow and A. Bauer (Hanover, 1955), p. 2; translation in *The Chronicle of Henry of Livonia*, trans. J. A. Brundage, (New York, 2004), p. 26; B. Bombi, 'Celestine III and the Conversion of the Heathen on the Baltic Frontier', *Pope Celestine III (1191-1198): Diplomat and Pastor*, ed. J. Doran and D. J. Smith (Farnham, 2008), p. 147; Fannesberg-Schmidt, *The Popes and the Baltic Crusades*, p. 65; Smith, 'The Iberian Legations of Cardinal Hyacinth Bobone', pp. 81-111; Celestine III, 'Epistolae et Privilegia', *PL*, 206, cols. 1089-91; Duggan, 'Hyacinth Bobone: Diplomat and Pope', p. 132.

that the development of the Third Crusade, his familial relationship with the pope who had driven that crusade, and the failure of the expedition to recapture Jerusalem in 1192, were all factors which would influence Innocent III to go on to launch another crusade almost as soon as he became pope and once again try to capture Jerusalem.

Innocent III promoted the crusading movement with more administrative organisation than had ever been previously utilised and, as Cole has written, upon his arrival ‘the crusade gained an exponent of unprecedented determination and ability’ who would formalise the message and the manner in which it was distributed.¹⁵⁵ As later chapters of this thesis will demonstrate, Innocent took full control of the organisation of the new crusade; he not only sent letters across Europe to organise preaching, but he also authorised preachers across the ranks of the clergy, he took advantage of the presence of the military orders, and he created a method of paying for the expedition. According to McNeal and Wolff, by taking such personal responsibility for the promotion of the crusade message, Innocent III ‘was reverting to Urban II’s original conception of the crusade as a papal responsibility’.¹⁵⁶ This statement neatly brings the relationship between the two popes full circle but sidesteps the enormous efforts to promote the crusades in the time in between. The manner in which Innocent III drove the Fifth Crusade raises the opportunity to compare the methods and successes of the two popes but he also had the benefit of the experiences of successes and failures of those had launched campaigns since Urban, including his own. And Innocent III, unlike Urban II, did not preach the crusade himself; there was no grand tour at which he stood as the visual figurehead to impress his audience with his immediate presence. Instead, his authority was contained firmly within the content of his letters and the authority he bestowed upon those who were endorsed to preach on his behalf. Instead

¹⁵⁵ Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades*, p. 80.

¹⁵⁶ E. H. McNeal, and R. L. Wolff, ‘The Fourth Crusade’, *A History of the Crusades*, ed. K. M. Setton, (Philadelphia, 1962), II, pp. 154.

of being like Urban II, Innocent III was the culmination of over a century of trial and error of letter writing and attempting to rein in preachers who were not working on the pope's behalf. Ultimately, it was his preaching of the Fifth Crusade which bears the closest resemblance to a fully controlled campaign.

During the century which followed the preaching of the First Crusade it is not possible to show that a tradition of papal crusade preaching in person was established. However, it is also not possible to completely rule it out. The political situation relating to the Investiture Controversy meant that many of these popes were fighting for their place at the head of the church during this time. Similarly, the practicalities of organising a preaching tour which would engage numerous senior clergy and all of their staff was a mammoth task which would have needed to ensure a greater degree of success than Urban's tour can be shown to have achieved. There was also the issue that a large number of very brief pontificates meant that a number of popes did not have the opportunity to establish themselves or their intentions towards the advancement of the crusade movement. Some popes, such as Eugenius III, Adrian IV and Celestine III, indicate that their travels and previous experience of crusade preaching may have predisposed them to taking the opportunity to announce their own message but, if they did so, they did not have enough impact on their audiences to have been recorded in the same way as Urban II's sermon at Clermont.

Conclusion

Crusade preaching in person, as carried out by Pope Urban II, enabled him to choose his audience and present himself in such a way that his intentions were clearly communicated to those who witnessed him. During this tour he was able to establish a brand for the expedition and he set in motion the initial stages of the campaign which would ultimately recapture

Jerusalem in 1099. He also used it as an opportunity to establish the church's authority at a time when he was in dispute with the powerful king of France and threatened by the presence of an antipope. The importance of the tour as a whole has been undermined by the chroniclers of the First Crusade who have mythologised the events at the Council of Clermont to create an impactful starting point for the expedition. However, control over the message was less easy to maintain in locations away from those at which the pope preached in person. The letter to Vallombrosa shows that, as his message was dispersed, he lost control of it and needed to take remedial action to rectify that. One man alone could not rule the entire reception of his appeal. The scale of the response to the crusade message also demonstrates that the tour was not the only way in which the message could be communicated. Whatever his ultimate success, those who succeeded the papacy after him did not imitate his preaching tour themselves and instead sought to balance general and specific control through other means.

Chapter Two

The Written Authority

This chapter is an examination of the role of papal letters in the promotion and control of the crusade message. Where the previous section addressed the role of the pope's physical presence in the preaching of the crusades, this chapter considers the epistolary alternative available to the papacy when they did not preach in person. Letters were the most incontrovertible tools with which the popes could establish their intentions and instructions regarding the recruitment for a crusade expedition. They enabled each pope to codify their crusade message in order to maintain control over it and they transferred the authority of the pope to those who preached the crusade on his behalf. By addressing the audiences for whom these letters were intended and their instructions regarding administrative practicalities of recruitment this chapter will show how the use of papal bulls pertaining to the launch of crusade campaigns developed chronologically between the Council of Clermont in 1095 and the issue of Pope Innocent III's *Pium et sanctum* in 1213. It will show that the use of letters was both active and reactive and as such that they were part of a two-way conversation between the pope and his intended recruits. They also allowed a degree of control over individual recruits by targeting them directly. This chapter will engage the use of GIS to examine the distribution of the papal crusade letters and show how their intended audiences changed over the course of time. It should be noted once again that this representation is built from the available records and that there may be lost or undiscovered documents which would alter the results shown here. Doing so will enable an examination of whether certain areas were consistently receptive to the message contained in them. It will also show that there was a very varied correlation between the intended destinations of the letters and the locations of recruits for each corresponding crusade expedition. The efforts of the papacy to control its message in writing was therefore

always subject to additional influences and the written word of the pope did not necessarily guarantee the success of his message.

The Letters Of Pope Urban II

Pope Gregory VIII had already used letters to authorise military action in return for spiritual rewards and Urban II followed this precedent by using letters to control the interpretations of his crusade message by those who had already received it.¹ These letters give an insight into the audience response to his message and illustrate how Pope Urban needed to use the written word to clarify and control it. The use of letters as the standard method of communication between the literate during the Middle Ages has been discussed extensively by Menache and she has correctly argued that Urban's letter regarding the crusade message not only corroborated the primary themes of the chronicle accounts but also demonstrated the types of audiences that he was targeting with his message, namely the nobility and senior clergy.²

The very first instance of Pope Urban II using letters to set in motion his ideas for Christian warfare against pagans occurred in 1089.³ He wrote to the Catalonian city of Tarragona in an

¹ *Das Register Gregors VII.*, 1.46, 1.49, 2. 31, 2.37; in *The Register of Pope Gregory VII, 1073-1085*, trans. H. E. J. Cowdrey, pp. 50-51, 54-55; 'Papsturkunden in Florenz', ed. W. Wiederhold, *Nachrichten von der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Phil.-hist. Kl* (Göttingen, 1901), pp. 313-4.

² Menache, *The Vox Dei*, pp. 101-3.

³ Pope Alexander III's 1064 letter *Clero Vulturmensi* addressed 'those who are intending to journey to Spain' ['qui in Hispaniam proficisci destinarunt'] and granted them a remission of sins for doing so. There has been extensive debate regarding Alexander's intentions to promote a military expedition with this letter. Without further clarification of those intentions, the letter is evidence of papal communication with a large audience but not of the beginnings of papal administrations in the involvement of the reconquest of the Iberian Peninsula. *Epistolae pontificum Romanorum ineditae* ed. S. Loewenfeld (Leipzig, 1885), 43, no. 82; Goñi Gaztambide, *Historia de la bula de la cruzada en España*, pp. 49-52; Erdmann, *The Origin of the Idea of Crusade*, p. 138, n.7; *La Chronique de St. Maixent, 751-1140*, ed. and trans. J. Verdon (Paris, 1979), p. 136: 'Anno MLXII Goffredus dux obsedit Sanctonas civitatem, casatris in circuitu positus; et fame et gladio vastavit, usque quo Andegavenses et cives qui in ea errant se cum suis omnibus in minibus tradiderunt. Inde habiens in Hispania, cum multis Vermannis, Barbastam civitatem nimini christiano, cunctis qui errant in ea prius perditis, adquisivit'; L. Villegas-Aristizábal, 'Norman and Anglo-Norman Participation in the Iberian Reconquista', unpublished Ph.D thesis, (University of Nottingham, 2007), p. 45; A. Ferreiro, 'The Siege of Barbastro 1064-65: A Reassessment', *Journal of Medieval History*, 9 (1983), p. 132; Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders*, p. 49; Bull,

effort to persuade ‘all the bishops and sheriffs of Tarragona and the province of Barcelona, and the rest of the nobility and powerful, whether clerics or lay persons, to stay to fight against Muslims and to establish a see in the city’.⁴ Urban II described this conquest of Tarragona as a penitential activity, offered spiritual rewards to those who joined the expedition and gave it equivalent status to a pilgrimage to Jerusalem.⁵ Written in only the second year of Urban’s papacy this bull immediately established his use of letters as a tool for communicating his ideas to a targeted audience and offering rewards in return for their actions.

During the period of his tour 1095-96, Urban II certainly used letters to support the efforts of his preaching tour but only a handful of these texts survive. They demonstrate that his message was being successfully distributed, that it was receiving an enthusiastic response and, most importantly to this study, that the clarification of his instruction was an ongoing process. In December 1095, when the pope was in or around Aurillac, he wrote to ‘all the faithful, both princes and subjects, waiting in Flanders’.⁶ This letter serves as a clarification of the terms of his sermon at Clermont and it confirms much of what we know about his speech from the chronicles. It refers to his preaching tour and his appeal to ‘free the churches of the East’, it states the pope’s offer of remission of sins and confirms the appointment of Adhémar, bishop of Le Puy as ‘leader of this expedition and undertaking in our stead’.⁷ Not only does this letter

Knightly Piety and the Lay Response to the First Crusade, pp. 73-8; O’Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade*, pp. 24-5.

⁴ Urban II ‘Epistolae et Priviledgia’, *PL* 151 no. 20, cols. 302-3, ‘omnibusque Tarraconensis et Barchinonensis provinciae episcopis, vicecomitibus, et caeteris nobilibus et potentibus, sive clericis sive laicis,’; in Purkis, *Crusading Spirituality*, p. 122. Also *Papsturkunden in Spanien: I. Katalonien*, ed. P. Kehr (Berlin, 1926), no. 22, pp. 286-7, and Urban II, ‘Epistolae’, no. 52, cols. 331-3: ‘Notissimum prudentie tue non ignoramus, quemadmodum urbs Tarraconensis famosissima dudum metropolis, annis iam ferme CCCXC transactis a Saracenis capta et christianis expulsus solitaria facta, nunc Deo propicio ex nostre auctoritatis precepto et bonorum uirorum studio ceperit restaurari.’

⁵ Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders*, p. 66.

⁶ *Epistulae et chartae ad historiam primi belli sacri spectantes*, ed. H. Hagenmeyer, p. 136, ‘Urbanus episcopus, seruus seruorum Dei, uniuersis fidelibus tam principibus quam subditis, in Flandria commorantibus, salutem et gratiam et apolosticam benedictionem.’

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 136 ‘...Gallicanus partes uisitauimus eiusque terrae principes et subditos ad liberationem Orientalium ecclesiarum...’

bolster his message, but it also demonstrates that Urban was using the written word to extend the reach of that message to an audience wider than that which he was able to address in person and that this communication continued after the end of his preaching tour in 1096.

In 1096, Urban II revisited the subject of Tarragona in his letter to the Catalan counts of Besalú, Empurias, Rousillon and Cerdaña and instructed them to ‘restore the city of Tarragona...[even] if any of you has made up his mind to go to Asia, it is here instead that he should try to fulfil his vow’.⁸ Similarly, in a letter to Bishop Peter of Huesca, Urban II authorised him to dissuade the Aragonese from joining the expedition to the East.⁹ These letters not only demonstrate that the pope’s message was travelling to Catalonia and eliciting a positive response, but that he was actively controlling his message by discouraging potential Iberian crusaders from joining the expedition to Jerusalem. Rather than simply restate his message, Urban II repurposed it and used the reaction to his Jerusalem appeal to return to the issue contained in his 1089 letter.

The two-way nature of the papal correspondence between the pope and his authorised preachers was necessary to ensure that the pope was able to control the message which they communicated on his behalf. Urban’s 1096 letter to his supporters in Bologna shows that Urban used the infrastructure of the church to communicate and clarify his message.¹⁰ It also suggests a wide distribution of official letters to major cities. This letter is most important for formally offering the remission of sins for all those who wished to travel to Jerusalem, ruling that the clergy should not take the cross ‘without the permission of their bishops or abbots’, that ‘parishioners...only go with the advice of their clergy’ and ‘nor should young married men

⁸ *Papsturkunden in Spanien: I. Katalonien*, no. 23, p. 288; *The First Crusade*, ed. Peters, pp. 45-6; translation in Riley-Smith and Riley-Smith, *The Crusades: Idea and Reality*, pp. 45-6.

⁹ Urban II ‘Epistolae et Priviledgia’, *PL* 151 no. 237, col. 505; Bull, *Knightly Piety and the Lay Response to the First Crusade*, p. 97.

¹⁰ *Epistulae et chartae ad historiam primi belli sacri spectantes*, ed. H. Hagenmeyer, pp. 137-8; *The First Crusade*, ed. Peters, p. 44.

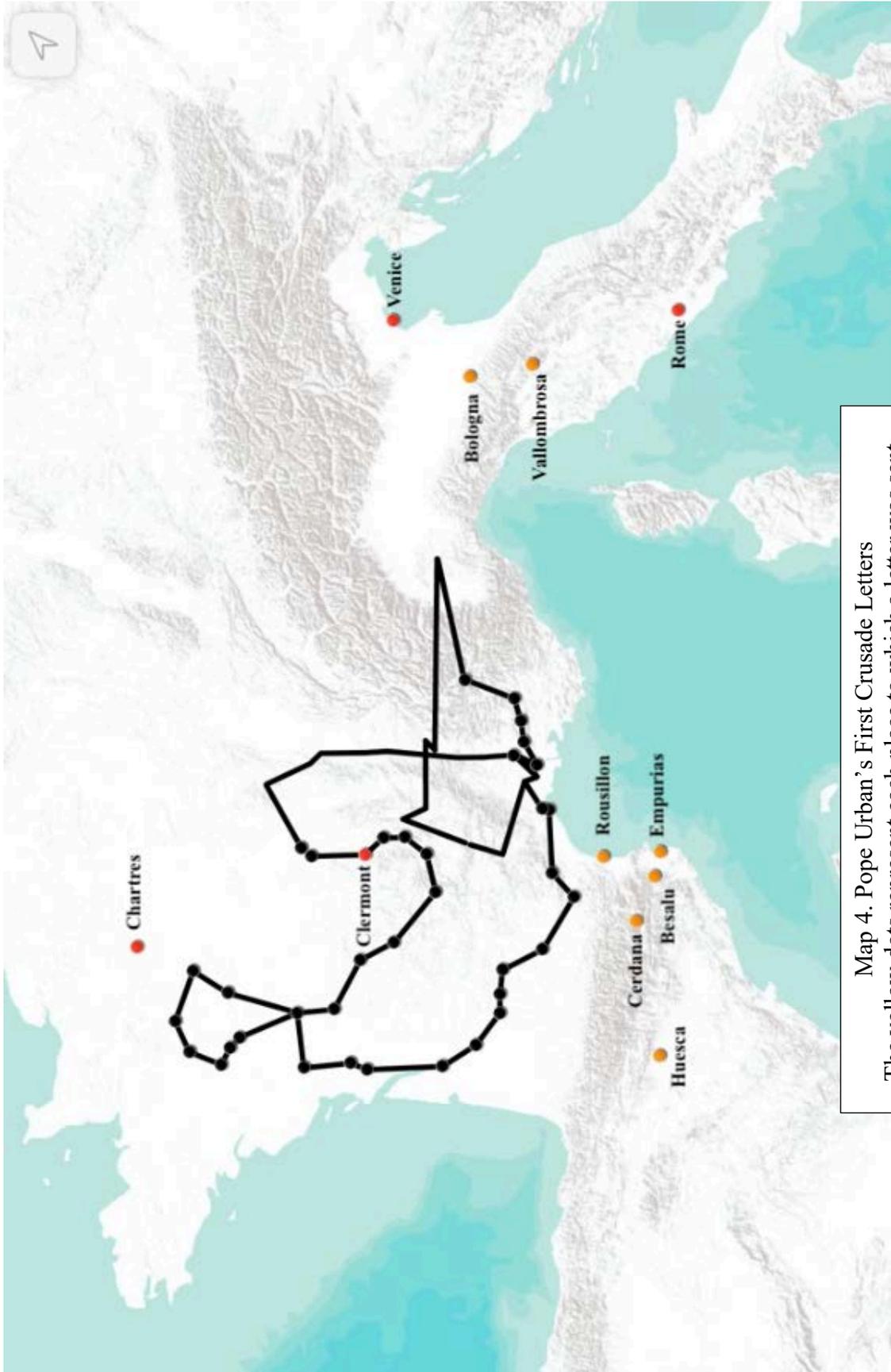
rashly set out on the journey without the consent of their spouses'. These specific terms indicate that Pope Urban had refined his message over the term of his preaching tour and that he was responding to queries and issues which arose as a result of his original call. That this letter was written almost a year after his sermon at Clermont shows that the preaching process was ongoing and that his message was proving to be popular but was raising questions amongst those who heard it.

The final surviving letter relating to the promotion of the crusade expedition during the Urban's preaching tour is his letter to the monks of Vallombrosa which was written in October 1096. The content of the letter reinforces the idea of two-way communication between the pope and the rest of Europe as it is clear that Urban was responding to the news of the success of his message. He writes that he had 'heard that some of you want to set out with the knights who are making for Jerusalem [and that he has] heard it said that your confrere, the abbot of the monastery of St. Reparata, is considering leaving'.¹¹ This specific statement indicates certain people, not just a general rumour of clerics, were reported as wishing to leave contrary to the command of the pope. The pope's letter firmly forbids the clergy and the abbot from leaving and threatens 'anyone else who perhaps dares to leave your congregation...be cut off with the sword of apostolic excommunication.' This letter sent out a firm message which contrasts with his previous letters encouraging people to join the expedition. It shows that instead of dispatching general messages, Urban was adapting his message to his specific target audiences and reaching out to control how they reacted.

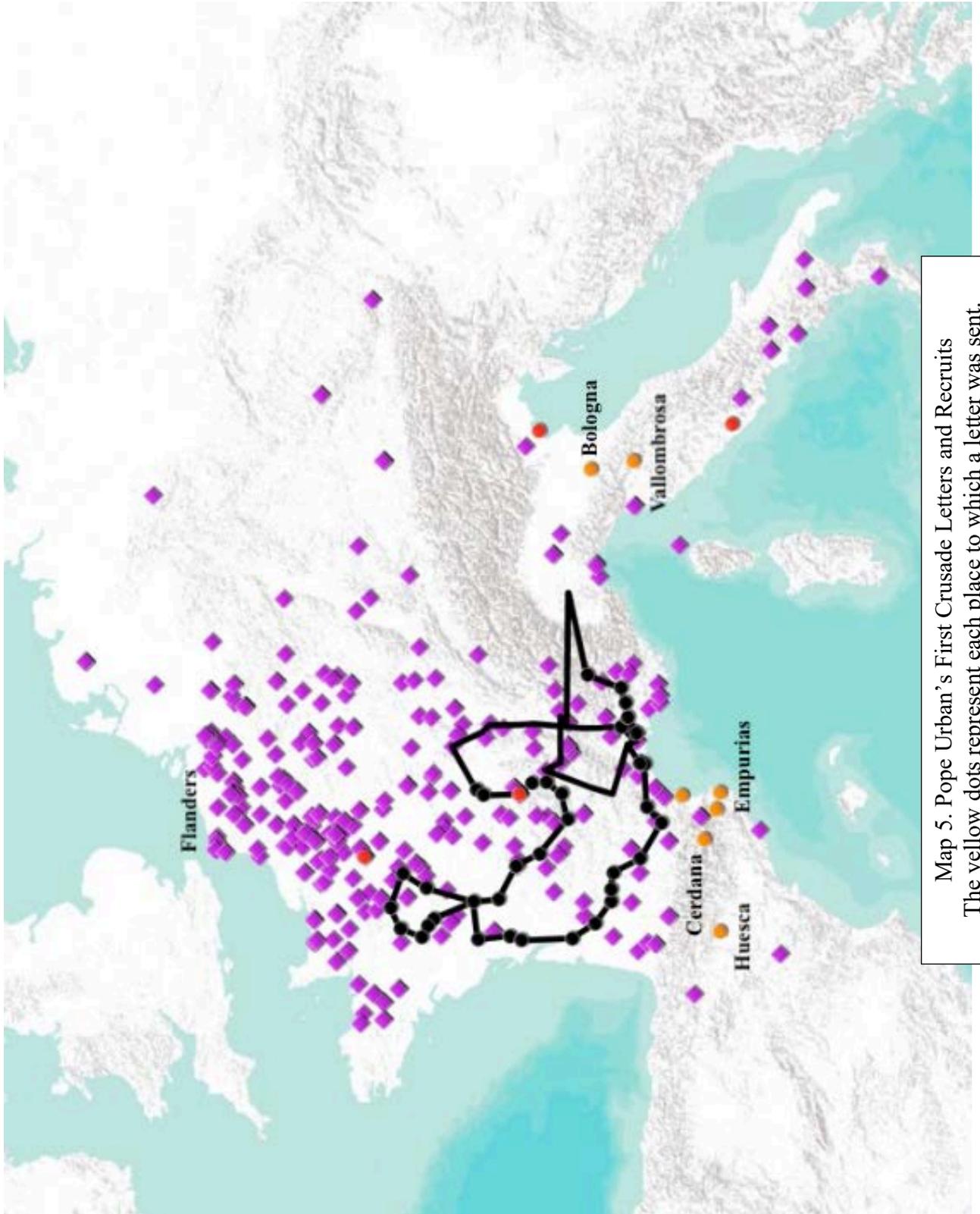
¹¹ Papsturkinden in Florenz', pp. 313-314; translation in Riley-Smith and Riley-Smith, *The Crusades: Idea and Reality*, pp. 39-40.

Pope Urban's letters are all very revealing of a pattern of targeted and localised communication and they raise the question as to why there does not appear to have been a single, general letter which would have addressed multiple queries at the same time. As it is likely the case that these letters serve as a small sample of the number which were written but have not survived, it is possible to hypothesise that countless letters were carried across Europe. The general nature of the Flanders letter suggests that a mass-produced letter could have been distributed on a large-scale to different areas but the specific characteristics of the other letters allude to Urban having been caught unawares by the scale of the response to his appeal and that he did not anticipate the number of ensuing questions which were prompted by his initial appeal. These efforts to both promote and restrict the response to the message show that flexibility and adaptability were crucial for the papacy to maintain control over its message.

Mapping these letters (pp. 89 and 90) beside the preaching tour and the known recruits shows that the pope does seem to have limited the response to his appeal in these areas and was successful in his attempt to maintain control in Iberia and Italy and similarly successful in stimulating enthusiasm in Flanders.



Map 4. Pope Urban's First Crusade Letters
The yellow dots represent each place to which a letter was sent.



Map 5. Pope Urban's First Crusade Letters and Recruits
The yellow dots represent each place to which a letter was sent.

Letters In The Early Twelfth Century

Where the physical preaching legacy of Pope Urban II was not clearly followed by his successors, the use of letters to control the crusade message was crucial to those who came after him. Letters were at the forefront of papal communication and there was a steady shift from Urban's individual responses to a more mass-produced method of distribution. During the first half of the twelfth century, the papal administration continued to use letters to confirm, reinforce and advance the crusade movement.

Urban's immediate successor, Paschal II, swiftly used the written word to continue his predecessor's work by issuing a papal mandate which threatened excommunication to those who did not fulfil their crusade vows.¹² This mandate was announced at a synod in Anse in December 1100 where Paschal's crusade message was preached by his legates. The necessity of this declaration and its success is clear from the chronicle descriptions of the contingent of the 1101 wave of the expedition. Ekkehard of Aura describes the sizeable expedition as comprising people from all the remaining countries in the West, mostly 'those individuals whose fear, despair, poverty, or feebleness had prevented them from fulfilling their vows'.¹³

¹² OV, 5, pp. 322-5. 'Many too were compelled to set out on pilgrimage by fear of papal excommunication. For Pope Paschal had publicly pronounced excommunicate and cut off from the Church all who had voluntarily taken the cross of the Lord and turned back without completing their journey, unless they set out again and paid their debt to God by accomplishing their vows'; OV, 5, p. 269, 'At that time there were great movements in the west and the shame and disgrace of the deserters from the crusade was publicly exposed. For Pope Urban [Chibnall considers that Orderic may have meant Paschal II] ordained by his supreme authority and by his apostolic power demanded the rigid application throughout the Latin Church of the rule that all who had taken the cross of Christ and failed in their resolution to complete the crusade to Jerusalem should either set out once again or be struck with anathema and suffer the penalty of exclusion from the Church.' Also, Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders*, pp. 75-6.

¹³ Ekkehard, 'Hierosolymitana', p. 28, 'Mox profectio populosa, ut quae paene priori posset numero dumtaxat aequari, subsequitur, quae, post auditas ultra spem res Hierosolimae prospere gestas, a residuis totius Occidentis gentibus, maxime ab his quorum prius votis, timor, vel diffidentia, inopia, vel imbecillitas obstiterat...'

Paschal also sent letters which would promote the continued uptake of the cross and enforcement of the vows of those who had already done so. Mulinder has called the evolution of papal crusade letter writing at this time a development of ‘more efficient machinery for the preaching of the cross [than that of Pope Urban II but that Paschal was]...vigorously pursuing his predecessor’s work...’.¹⁴ The letters of this period also continue the process of formally delegating the preaching of the crusade movement to the legates who would act on the pope’s behalf and show that the methods of crusade recruitment were increasing. Paschal sent a letter to the triumphant crusaders in the East in April 1100 urging them to stay and naming Maurice of Porto as his legate, he wrote a letter to the clergy of Gaul in August 1100 which urged them to preach the crusade, and a letter to the ‘consules Pisanos’.¹⁵

Another letter of the period, this time not from Pope Paschal, but from Archbishop Manasses of Rheims to Bishop Lambert of Arras, shows that the papal message was being received and passed on.¹⁶ Cate has speculated that Manasses in turn wrote to his other bishops and that this process was similarly carried out in other regions.¹⁷ This continuation of the crusade message from one point to another shows that there was administrative machinery in place for the pope to communicate his message to a wide area.

It is also important to note that not all letters pertaining to crusade recruitment were written by the pope or with his authority. The use and effectiveness of the letters outside of papal control can be seen in the *De liberatione civitatum orientis* of Caffaro of Genoa. This text describes

¹⁴ Mulinder, ‘The Crusading Expeditions of 1101-1102’, p. 9.

¹⁵ *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*, 5835, ‘Episcopis, clericis, proceribus, militibus et omni populo militiae Christianae in Asia triumphantis gratulatur. Mauritium, episcopum Portensem, vicarium suum, commendat’; Robinson, *The Papacy*, p. 62; See also letter of Paschal II dated 28 April, 1100, Ep. 4, *Papsturkunden für Kirchen im Heiligen Lande*, pp. 90-92 (PL 163: 42-43); AA, pp. 554-7; *Epistulae et chartae ad historiam primi belli sacri spectantes*, ed. H. Hagenmeyer, no. 19, pp. 174-5, 179-81.

¹⁶ *Epistulae et chartae ad historiam primi belli sacri spectantes*, ed. H. Hagenmeyer, no. 20, pp. 175-6.

¹⁷ J. L. Cate, ‘The Crusade of 1101’, *A History of the Crusades*, vol. 1, ed. K. Setton and M. W. Baldwin (Pennsylvania, 1969-89), p. 347.

the Genoese crusaders Primo and Guglielmo Embriaco who returned home from the First Crusade carrying a letter from Patriarch Daimbert and Godfrey, lord of Jerusalem appealing for additional military assistance.¹⁸ Caffaro describes how these letters were then sent by the Genoese ‘throughout the cities and towns of Lombardy. As a result, the men of Lombardy, clerics and laymen, the bishop of Milan and [Albert] the count of Biandrate, together with many counts and marquesses, reached Constantinople with a large army of knights and foot-soldiers’.¹⁹ Although this account gives a great deal of credit to the Genoese carriers of the letter from Jerusalem, it shows how the letter was used, how it was transmitted across western Europe and how it met with a varied audience of nobility, clergy and laity. There is, however, no indication in Caffaro’s account of the letters having been distributed under the authority of the pope and it gives the impression that the Genoese were responsible for the original promotion of the 1101 wave of crusaders. Caffaro’s chronicle provides a fascinating study of the crusade which is very specific to, and driven by the interest of, a single city. The manner in which he portrays Genoa as being central to its own involvement in the crusade shows the perspective of a single place and it is possible that other major cities would have become involved in much the same way. If this was the case, and patterns of recruitment were frequently established in this way, then it is possible to hypothesise that papal control over the crusade message could be very easily lost and that enthusiasm for the movement could be driven by those who wished to take the cross without the involvement of the pope. The communication of the official message was therefore increasingly important and Paschal’s

¹⁸ Caffaro, ‘De liberatione civitatum orientis’, p. 111. ‘et litteras de captione Iherusalem et de sucursu necessario a Iherosolimitana curia, uidelicet a patriarcha Dumberto et a Gotofreo regni Iherusalem domino detulerunt’; translation in *Caffaro, Genoa and the Twelfth Century Crusades*, trans. and ed. M. Hall and J. Phillips, p. 117.

¹⁹ Caffaro, ‘De liberatione civitatum orientis’, p. 112. ‘...et locos lombardie Ianuenses miserunt. quapropter Lombardie uiri, clerici et layci, Mediolensis episcopus et comes Brandionensis, una cum multis comitibus et marchionibus, cum magno exercitu militum et peditum usque Constantinopolim perrexerunt’; translation in *Caffaro, Genoa and the Twelfth Century Crusades*, trans. and ed. M. Hall and J. Phillips, p. 117.

contribution to the formalisation using letters to preach the crusade was just the first step in an increased use of letters to promote and develop the crusade movement.

An example of this development can be seen in Pope Gelasius II's 1118 letter 'to the army of Christians besieging Zaragoza and to all supporters of the Catholic faith' which continued the promotion of the crusades movement in direct furtherance of his predecessors' actions. This letter reinforced the Council of Toulouse in 1118 which had 'confirmed the way of Spain' as a focus for new crusade recruits.²⁰ The letter was addressed specifically 'to the army of Christians besieging Zaragoza and to all supporters of the Catholic faith' and in it the pope offered them his support and encouragement.²¹ Bull has discussed this letter as a part of on-going correspondence between the pope and those besieging Zaragoza and Purkis has suggested that it was intended 'to attract more recruits for the expedition'.²² However, where it is not possible to show is that this letter was actually the cause of successful recruitment, it does enforce the continued argument that letters were the primary tool of papal communication for the promotion of the crusades.

Pope Eugenius III And The Second Crusade

In the middle of the twelfth century, the papal bull *Quantum praedecessores* advanced the scale on which a papal letter could be communicated to its audience. This letter carried the pope's message across Europe and was written in 1145 in response to the news that the city of Edessa had fallen. This news was followed by a direct appeal for aid from the Latin East when Bishop Hugh of Jabala met with Eugenius III at Viterbo and then went on to meet with King Louis VII

²⁰ *La Chronique de St. Maixent*, p. 186.

²¹ Gelasius II, 'Epistolae et Privilegia', *PL*, 163, no. 25, col. 508. 'exercitui Christianorum civitatem Caesaraugustanam obsidenti, et omnibus catholicae fidei cultoribus'.

²² Bull, *Knightly Piety and the Lay Response to the First Crusade*, p. 109; Purkis, *Crusading Spirituality*, p. 128.

and Conrad III in order to request their help against the Muslim threat to Syria.²³ One chronicle of the period described multiple messengers who came to the West seeking help from Eugenius III, King Louis VII of France, Conrad III of Germany and also appealing to other nobles and princes:

And so there came to our region legates from Antioch and Jerusalem who were sent by the leading men of those districts to plead humbly that the unconquerable chivalry of the French remedy the present threat and ward off any other to come.²⁴

Quantum praedecessores was issued in December 1145 in response to this wave of appeals from the East.²⁵ The contents of this bull and its relationship to the principles behind the First Crusade have previously been discussed by both Cole, who argues that it is the written summary of Pope Urban II's intentions of 1095, and Purkis, who considers how the rhetoric of *Quantum praedecessores* differs from that of Urban.²⁶ However, the primary concern here is not with the rhetoric of *Quantum praedecessores*, but with its practical function and role in promoting the crusade. What is not disputed, and what makes this bull important to the course of this study, is the written text of *Quantum praedecessores* as a tool which could be formally passed around and read aloud to audiences of new potential crusader recruits.²⁷ On its initial publication the bull had very little impact, but this changed upon its reissue in March 1146.

²³ Otto of Freising, *Chronica sive historia de duabus civitatibus*, ed. A. Hofmeister and W. Lammers, trans. A. Schmidt (Darmstadt, 1961), p. 365; translation in *The Two Cities*, trans. C. C. Mierow (New York, 2002), p. 443, 'I heard him make pitiable lament concerning the perils of the church since the capture of Edessa...'

²⁴ *A translation of The Chronicle of the Abbey of Morigny, France c. 1100-1150*, trans. Richard Cusimano (New York, 2003), pp. 156-159; 'Venerunt ergo ab Antiochia et Jherusalem in nostrum regionem legati, a primoribus parcium illarum missi suppliciter exorantibus, ut Francorum invincibilis probitas periculum quod evenerat emendaret, et future repelleret.'; See also, 'Annales Reicherspergenses', *MGH SS 17*, p. 461; Otto of Freising, *Chronica*, p. 365; translation in *The Two Cities*, trans. C. C. Mierow, p. 443; Phillips, *Extending the Frontiers*, p. 38.

²⁵ Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades*; J. G. Rowe, 'Origins of the Second Crusade', *The Second Crusade and the Cistercians*, ed. M. Gervers (New York, 1992), pp. 79-89.

²⁶ Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades*, pp. 41-2; cf. Purkis, *Crusading Spirituality*, p. 87.

²⁷ Purkis, *Crusading Spirituality*, p. 87.

Phillips has highlighted how *Quantum praedecessores* ‘may have been the most widely circulated papal document in medieval Europe to date’ when it became an extremely well dispersed letter.²⁸ There is evidence of copies having been sent to Brittany, Denmark, Bohemia, Germany, Tournai, Flanders and England.²⁹ Where previously it has only been possible to speculate as to the number of crusade letters sent by Pope Urban II from the four which remain, we are fortunate to have much more definite evidence of the scale of the distribution of Eugenius’ *Quantum praedecessores*.

Following the 1146 issue of *Quantum praedecessores*, the mechanism for the launch of the Second Crusade was set in motion, and so too began the preaching tour of the Cistercian monk Bernard of Clairvaux. Bernard’s role as a crusade preacher will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter, but for the purposes of this section it is important to consider his letters and to examine how they were a key part of the launch of this new crusade expedition.

Bernard visited more than 50 known locations on his crusade preaching tour and he would have been preceded at each stop by his own letters.³⁰ These were written for wide distribution, they ‘were directed everywhere...and were carefully kept in the churches for the proclamation of this expedition’, and would have been read alongside *Quantum praedecessores*.³¹ These letters were sent to Speyer, Eastern *Francia* (Germany, around Mainz and Frankfurt), Bavaria, England, Cologne, Brescia, Flanders, Regensburg (read by Adam of Ebrach at an assembly in

²⁸ Phillips, *Extending the Frontiers*, p. 50.

²⁹ Nicholas of Clairvaux, ‘Epistolae’, *PL* 182, col. 672. ‘Nicolai Clarae-Vallensis ad comitem et barones Britanniae...pro negotio crucis’; *Regesta pontificum Romanorum*, 2, o. 8959, p.36; ‘Historia gloriosi regis Ludovici VII, filii Ludovici grossi’, *RHGF*, p. 126; ‘Historiae Tornacenses partim ex Herimanni libris excerptae’, *MGH SS* 14, p. 345; Otto of Freising, *Gesta Frederici seu rectius Chronica*, ed. G. Waitz, B. Simson and F.-J. Schmale, tr. A. Schmidt (Darmstadt, 1965), pp. 210-1; translation in *The Deeds of Frederick Barbarossa*, tr. C. C. Mierow (New York, 2004), p. 75; Bernard of Clairvaux, ‘Epistolae’.

³⁰ Phillips, ‘Papacy, Empire and the Second Crusade’, p. 25.

³¹ Bernard of Clairvaux, ‘Epistolae’, nos 265, pp. 320-2; 457, pp. 432-3; 458, pp. 434-7; ‘Annales Herbipolenses’, *MGH SS* 16, p. 3; Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades*, p. 55.

the presence of Duke Frederick), Bohemia (read out by Henry of Olmütz), and more generally to the Knights Hospitaller.³² During this time Pope Eugenius continued to actively spread the crusade message and we have evidence that he was moving it further afield, for example to England when, in 1146, he sent one of these letters to the bishop of Salisbury.³³

There is indication as to specific targeting of a city for recruits in October 1146, when Pope Eugenius issued the papal bull *Divina dispensatione I*.³⁴ This letter was aimed at recruiting the people of Northern Italy to the Second Crusade.³⁵ It was sent to those with a history of crusade involvement and, in the case of Genoa, previous experience of military campaigns in the Iberian peninsula.³⁶ A military attitude towards the Iberian ‘pagans’ had been established in the early part of the twelfth century and there was a specific group of recruits to which those organising a crusade expedition could turn, namely the cities in the north of Italy. Williams has pointed out that the perspective of the Italian cities differed from those in the more westerly crusading areas and that the lands of the East were more familiar and perceived as an opportunity for trade.³⁷ However, he goes on to discuss that there was a political drive behind their taking of the cross and the need to legitimise themselves as crusaders; ‘It was an important goal of the Genoese to create an identity for themselves that included both their activities as traders and crusaders’.³⁸ Their involvement in the crusade movement was already established and it is unsurprising that Pope Eugenius III would target them with a letter such as *Divina*

³² Bernard of Clairvaux, ‘Epistolae’, no. 485, pp. 434-7. See *The Deeds of Frederick Barbarossa*, tr. C. C. Mierow, p. 12; Bernard of Clairvaux, ‘Epistolae’, no. 265, pp. 320-2, no. 475, pp. 432-3, pp. 460-4; J. Groven, ‘Die Kölnfahrt Bernhards von Clairvaux’, *Annalen des historischen Vereins für den Niederrhein* 120 (1932), pp. 44-8; A. Theiner, *Baronii Annales ecclesiastici* 18 (bar-le-Duc, 1869), pp. 646-7; Otto of Freising, *Gesta Frederici*; translation in *The Deeds of Frederick Barbarossa*, tr. C. C. Mierow, p. 75; J. Leclercq, ‘Un document sur S. Bernard et la seconde croisade’, *Revue Mabillon*, 43 (1953), pp. 1-4.

³³ *Regesta pontificum Romanorum*, 2, no. 8959, p. 36.

³⁴ ‘Papsturkunden in Malta’, ed. P. Kehr *Nachrichten von der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Phil.-hist.* Kli (1899), no. 3, pp. 388-90; Odo of Deuil, *De profectione Ludovici VII in orientem*, ed. and trans. V. G. Berry (New York, 1948), p. 6; Eugenius III, ‘Epistolae et privilegia’, PL 180, no. 166, cols. 1203-4.

³⁵ Caffaro, ‘Cafari ystoria captionis Almarie et Turtuose ann. 1147 et 1148’, ed. L. T. Belgrano, in *Fonti per la Storia d’Italia* 11 (Genoa, 1890), p. 21.

³⁶ The appointment of legates to recruit in Genoa and Pisa will be discussed further in the following chapter.

³⁷ Williams, ‘The Making of a Crusade’, p. 29.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 31.

dispensazione I. Eugenius used this letter to target a selected audience who were not only likely to be receptive to his message, but also capable of following through on their crusade vow. The pope then went on to affirm the movement into Iberia with *Divina dispensazione II* which saw him supplement *Quantum praedecessores* and formally authorise military campaigns into Spain alongside those to the East and the Baltic region.³⁹ The communication of the crusade movement into new and old theatres of war was enforced by the use of the written word. These letters enabled Eugenius III to communicate his intentions to a far greater area than he would have been able to cover if he had preached in person and enabled him to select which message he wanted to send to which location in order to maximise the response.

Papal Letters After The Second Crusade

Following the failure of the Second Crusade and the death of Pope Eugenius in 1153, there is evidence of letters which continued to support the crusade movement. Purkis divides these letters into three categories: those which came directly from the West to request assistance, those which were sent by papacy to the potential crusade recruits, and those which the papacy sent to authorise crusade preachers.⁴⁰ An examination of how these types of letter were used as tools of crusade recruitment and the degree of success with which they were received, will show that the promotion of the crusade was ongoing, even though no new major campaigns were achieved until the latter part of the twelfth century.

In 1157, Pope Adrian IV was informed of the Christian defeat at the Battle of Jacob's Ford and he responded by issuing the bull *Quantum strenui et egregii* which called for a new crusade.⁴¹

³⁹ Eugenius III, 'Epistolae et privilegia', PL 180, no. 166, cols. 1203-4.

⁴⁰ Purkis, *Crusading Spirituality*, p. 113.

⁴¹ Adrian IV, 'Epistolae et Privilegia', PL 188, cols. 1537-8; *Papsturkunden in Spanien: Vorarbeiten zur Hispania Pontificia*, 1, No. 78, pp. 360-2; Bernard of Clairvaux, 'Epistolae', no. 485, pp. 434-7.

Extant copies of the letter were addressed to the archbishop of Rheims and to the master of the Order of the Temple in Spain.⁴² A third copy of the letter specifically states that the pope sent it ‘to our brothers the archbishops and bishops appointed in different parts of the world and also other kings and princes of the world’ thus indicating the widespread efforts to use this bull to recruit for a new expedition.⁴³ There is no apparent indication that these letters elicited any kind of response and it is possible to speculate that the failure of the Second Crusade had caused the audience to be apathetic to the appeal. Only Thierry of Flanders arrived in Holy Land on crusade in that the same year and William of Tyre describes his arrival in Beirut but not how he came to be recruited.⁴⁴ Thierry had not only repeatedly been on pilgrimage to Jerusalem but also, as a count of Flanders, he was the nephew of the First Crusader Count Robert and was from an area which had become a popular resource for new crusade recruits since 1095.⁴⁵ He perfectly fit the criteria for targeted crusade recruitment and, if Adrian IV had approached him, it would have demonstrated that the pope made informed choices about those he chose to recruit. Phillips has argued that his arrival occurred too soon after the Battle of Jacob’s Ford to have been in response to the papal letters of 1157 so it is possible to discount his presence as having been a result of *Quantum strenui et egregii*.⁴⁶ Although it is not possible to demonstrate that his journey on this occasion was a direct result of crusade preaching, it does indicate that, in Flanders at least, there was continued interest in travelling to Jerusalem at that time.

⁴² Phillips, *Defenders of the Holy Land*, pp. 129-130; I. M. Fannesberg-Schmidt, ‘Alexander III and the Crusades’, *Pope Alexander III (1159-81): The Art of Survival*, eds. P. D. Clarke and A. J. Duggan (Aldershot, 2012), p. 343.

⁴³ Fragment in *Papsturkunden in Spanien: Vorarbeiten zur Hispania Pontificia*, 1, no. 77, p. 359, ‘fratribus nostris archiepiscopis et episcopis in diuersis mundi partibus constitutes et tam regibus quam aliis mundi principibus’.

⁴⁴ William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, ed. R.B.C. Huygens, CC:CM 63, 63A (Turnhout, 1986), p. 833.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 176.

⁴⁶ Phillips, *Defenders of the Holy Land*, p. 129.

Two years later Pope Adrian attempted to dissuade King Louis of France and Henry II of England from joining together in a Spanish crusade.⁴⁷ In his letter *Satis laudibiliter* to Louis of France the pope cautioned against beginning an expedition without the approval of ‘the people of the land’ and reminded the monarchs of the failure of the Second Crusade.⁴⁸ This letter not only demonstrates a clear effort by the pope to limit and control this expedition, it also shows a continuation of the cautious approach taken by Pope Eugenius III when he approved Abbot Suger’s efforts to launch an expedition in 1150. Even though more than a decade had passed since the Second Crusade, the pope was wary of putting his full support behind a new campaign. Once again this shows the reactive response which was required to limit the response to the crusade as well as promote it to the appropriate audience.

In July 1165, in response to appeals for help from the East, Pope Alexander III issued a crusade bull at Montpellier.⁴⁹ This letter was based very heavily on *Quantum praedecessores* and it used much of the same rhetoric and offered the same indulgences.⁵⁰ Fonneseberg-Schmidt has discussed how the previous letter must have been utilised by the pope as a very effective template to stir recruitment and, in light of its widespread success relating to the Second Crusade, this is unsurprising.⁵¹ However, no large-scale campaign arose from the 1165 appeal and Rowe has argued that the failure of this reissue of *Quantum praedecessores* did not signal an intention to launch a new expedition but that Alexander III ‘seems to have been following ad hoc procedures...there were no new directions because there was no new policy’.⁵² That the

⁴⁷ Adrian IV, ‘Epistolae et Privilegia’, cols. 1615-17; Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades*, pp. 55-6; O’Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade*, p. 50; Smith, ‘The abbot-crusader: Nicholas Breakspear in Catalonia’, p. 39; Duggan, ‘Servus servorum Dei’, pp. 181-210.

⁴⁸ Duggan, ‘Servus servorum Dei’, pp. 191-2.

⁴⁹ Alexander III, ‘Epistolae’, *PL*, 200, cols. 384-6.

⁵⁰ Alexander III, ‘Epistolae’, no. 360, cols. 384-6; J. G. Rowe, ‘Alexander III and the Jerusalem Crusade: An Overview of Problems and Failures’, in *Crusaders and Muslims in Twelfth Century Syria*, ed. M. Shatzmiller (Leiden, 1993), p. 119; Phillips, *Defenders of the Holy Land*, p. 150; Fonneseberg-Schmidt, ‘Alexander III and the Crusades’, pp. 341-2.

⁵¹ Fonneseberg-Schmidt, ‘Alexander III and the Crusades’, p. 344.

⁵² Rowe, ‘Alexander III and the Jerusalem Crusade’, p. 121.

pope had not formally launched a new crusade at this point would explain the complete absence of any response to his appeal. The general nature of those to whom the letter was addressed implies that the crusade movement was being approved of by the papacy but not relaunched. Just as with Pope Eugenius' letter of 1150 to Suger of St Denis, Pope Anastasius' reissue of *Quantum praedecessores* in 1153 and Pope Adrian I's *Satis laudibiliter* the papal policies of this period appear to be very cautious. Their letters support the cause but are not proactive in promoting the crusade and this reissue of *Quantum praedecessores* is no exception. Any apathy on the part of the potential crusaders is unsurprising when the head of the church appeared reluctant to put the full force of his authority into an enthusiastic promotion of the expedition. However, it is possible to read the papal response as one of caution, continuation and control of the crusade movement.

Appeals for military support continued to be sent from the East and Phillips has discussed the apparent targeting of King Louis of France by letters from King Amalric of Jerusalem, the patriarch of Jerusalem and senior members of the Order of the Temple.⁵³ Letters were also brought directly to the West by members of the Temple and Hospital Orders and, in 1166, Gilbert d'Assailly, Master of the Hospitallers, arrived in France with a letter from the patriarch of Jerusalem which was addressed broadly to senior clergy and laity.⁵⁴ This prompted the pope to issue the bull *In quantis pressuris* on 29 June 1166.⁵⁵ Once again, evidence for any distribution of this letter or response to it is scarce but it was addressed to secular leaders. Fonnesberg-Schmidt hypothesises that the presence of William of Nevers in Jerusalem in 1167

⁵³ Louis VII, 'Epistolae', *RHGF* 16, nos. 91, 121-6, 194-7, 243-5, pp. 27-8, 36-40, 59-63, 79-81; Phillips, *Defenders of the Holy Land*, pp. 140-9; J. Richard, , *c. 1071-1291* (Cambridge, 2001), pp. 179-80.

⁵⁴ 'Documents', *Archives de l'Orient Latin*, ed. C. Riant, 2 vols. (Paris, 1881-4) 1, pp. 386-7, 'fratribus, archiepiscopis, episcopis, abbatibus, prioribus, prepositis, principibus, ducibus, palatinis, marchionibus, comitibus, et universis sancte matris Ecclesie filiis, ad quos iste littere pervenerint...'.
⁵⁵ *Papsturkunden für Templer und Johanniter: Archivberichte und texte*, ed. R. Hiedstand (Göttingen, 1972), No. 53, pp. 251-3. Karissimis in Christo filiis regibus, principibus, ducibus, marchionibus, comitibus, uicecomitibus et uniuersis Dei fidelibus, ad quos littere iste peruenerint... at p. 251.

may have been a result of this appeal but the description of his arrival by William of Tyre sheds no light on this.⁵⁶ Additionally, it would be reasonable to attribute his presence to the well-established history of crusading amongst the counts of the region of Nevers in the Burgundy region of central France.⁵⁷

William of Tyre also describes Eustace of Cholet from Ponthieu and Sicilian Hugh of Creona as having been killed in battle in 1167 but makes no reference to how they came to have been recruited or when they arrived in the East.⁵⁸ Phillips has suggested that they responded to the 1166 bull but there is no evidence to confirm that this was the case.⁵⁹

In 1169, as the result of a direct appeal from King Amalric of Jerusalem to the city of Pisa, a Pisan expedition to Egypt was organised and resulted in the capture of Alexandria.⁶⁰ There is no evidence from the *Annales Pisani* that the papacy had any immediate involvement in the launch of this expedition and it is important to consider this absence of the church in their recruitment. Previous research has demonstrated that the northern Italian cities of Pisa and Genoa were regular targets for crusade recruitment and had already responded to direct calls

⁵⁶ William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, p. 915: 'Per idem quoque tempus donimus Willelmus Nevernensis comes, magnus princeps, nobilis et potens de regno Francorum, cum honesta militia Ierosolimam venit, propositum habens in servitio Christianitatis contra hostes fidei nostre suis expensis militare.'; translation in *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*, trans. E. A. Babcock and A. C. Krey, 2 vols (New York, 1948), p. 347, 'About the same time, also, William of, a powerful lord of noble family and great influence, came to Jerusalem from the kingdom of France, attended by a noble band of knights. He had come with the intention of fighting in the service of Christianity at his own expense against the enemies of our faith.'

⁵⁷ For a full discussion of the background see E. Siberry 'The Crusading Counts of Nevers', *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, 34 (1990).

⁵⁸ William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, p. 899; translation in *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*, p. 332; J. France, *The Crusades and the Expansion of Catholic Christendom, 100-1714* (London, 2005), p. 149.

⁵⁹ Phillips, *Defenders of the Holy Land*, p. 154.

⁶⁰ 'Annales Pisani', *MGH SS* 19, p. 257; *Regesta regni Hierosolymitani, 1097-1291*, ed. R. Röhrich (Innsbruck, 1893), no. 449, p.117, 'Amalricus I, rex Hierosolymitanus, communi Pisanorum pro bono servitio, quod in obsidione Alexandriae sibi.'; Caffaro, 'De liberatione civitatum orientis', 'et litteras de captione Iherusalem et de sucursu necessario a Iherosolimitana curia, uidelicet a patriarcha Dumberto et a Gotofreo regni Iherusalem domino detulerunt'; translation in from Caffaro, *Genoa and the Twelfth Century Crusades*, trans. and ed. M. Hall and J. Phillips, p. 117; Phillips, *Defenders of the Holy Land*, pp. 159-67.

from Iberia and Jerusalem.⁶¹ Once again, the key factor to consider here is the direct approach from the East and lack of papal initiative in this recruitment which demonstrates how easy it continued to be for campaigns to be organised without the involvement of the pope.

The letters from the East continued in 1169 when, according to William of Tyre, the archbishop of Caesarea and bishop of Acre were selected as envoys to the West carrying 'letters from the king and all the bishops: to Frederick, emperor of the Romans; Louis, king of the Franks; Henry, king of the English' and William, king of Sicily; also to the noble and illustrious counts, Philip of Flanders, Henry of Troyes, and Theobald II of Chartres – in fact to all the other great nobles of the West'.⁶² The recurring theme of direct approach to experienced crusaders, those from crusading families and areas which had responded favourably to the crusade appeal beforehand is clearly established at this point in time.⁶³ The papacy appears to have lost control over the recruitment at this point as these appeals from the East seemingly bypassed the pope. Whether the letters from the East were expected to be delivered to him, or if his involvement was perceived as unnecessary, or even a hindrance, is unclear but this soon changed. This particular recruitment expedition was shipwrecked before it arrived in the West but Archbishop Frederick of Tyre and Bishop John of Banyas were later sent as envoys from the East to

⁶¹ *Regesta regni Hierosolymitani*, no. 153, p. 38, 'Balduinus, Guillelmi I, patriarchae Hierosolymitani, cancellarius, et Bernardus Vacarius a Syro II, archiepiscopo Januensis, et ejusdem civitatis consilibus petunt, ne inducias a Pisanis oblatas servent'; *Liber Maiolichinus de gestis Pisanorum illustribus*, ed. C. Calisse, (Rome, 1904); *Gesta triumphalia per Pisanos facta de captione Hierusalem et civitatis Maioricarum et aliarum civitatum et de triumph habito contra Ianuenses*, ed. M. Lupo Gentile, *Racolta degli storici italiani*, 6. 2 (Bologna, 1936), pp. 87-96; 'Vita sancti Olegarii', *España Sagrada*, 29 (Madrid, 2008), pp. 527-54; J. S. C. Riley-Smith, 'The Venetian Crusade of 1122-1124', *I comuni italiani nel regno crociato di Gerusalemme*, ed. G. Airdi and B.Z. Kedar (Genoa, 1986), pp. 345-6; Cate, 'The Crusade of 1101', p. 347; H. E. Meyer, 'Angevins versus Normans: The New Men of King Fulk of Jerusalem', *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 133 (1991), pp. 1-25.

⁶² William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, p. 926, 'Electi sunt ergo de communi consilio in opus ministerii huius dominus patriarcha, dominus Hernessius Cesariensis archiepiscopus, dominus Willelmus Aconensis episcopus sumptisque tam domini regis quam universorum episcoporum litteris ad dominum Fredericum Romanorum imperatorem, ad dominum Ludovicum Francorum regem, ad dominum Henricum regem Anglorum, ad <dominum> Willelmum Sicilie regem, ad comites quoque nobiles et inclitos Philippum Flandrensem, Henricum Trecensem, Theobaldum Carnotensem et ad reliquos Occidentalium partium principes, navem conscendunt'.

⁶³ Phillips, *Defenders of the Holy Land*, pp. 177-8.

promote a new crusade expedition, presumably with the same letters and target audience as their failed predecessors.⁶⁴ As a result of these repeated approaches from the East, Pope Alexander III finally issued the papal bull *Inter Omnia* on 29 July 1169 while Archbishop Frederick was at Benevento.⁶⁵ His presence in Rome indicates that the Eastern nobility had sought to gain papal approval from the outset but that it had been delayed by the loss of the previous delegation. However, Rowe has expressed doubts as to how *Inter Omnia* was communicated to a wider audience.⁶⁶ He calls it ‘a piece of coruscating rhetoric which would strain the Latinity of all but the highly educated’ and suggests that it was solely intended to be carried by Frederick of Tyre and his associates as proof of their papal approval while they continued on their tour. Rowe’s scathing attack suggests that this letter is more of a prop than a document of actual instruction. However, where a bull such as *Inter Omnia* can act as a symbol of the pope, even if its contents are alienating and its instructions are unclear, then it can serve as a preaching tool and underscore the importance of that papal approval. That this was the case was possibly understood and, on the same day that he issued *Inter Omnia*, the pope directed the bull *Cum gemitus* to Archbishop Henry of Rheims, brother of King Louis of France.⁶⁷ This letter ordered Henry to organise a council and continue the administration of recruitment for the aid of Holy Land. As Rowe states, of the two bulls issued by Pope Alexander on this occasion, this one contains the more proactive instructions.⁶⁸ It also placed the organisation of the expedition squarely in the hands of the church and assigned responsibility for the crusade to the archbishop of Rheims.⁶⁹ The letter entrusted papal authority on the archbishop and instructed him to call together the people of the province to offer them

⁶⁴ William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, p. 926.

⁶⁵ Alexander III, ‘Epistolae’, cols. 599-601.

⁶⁶ Rowe, ‘Alexander III and the Jerusalem Crusade’, p. 125.

⁶⁷ Alexander III, ‘Epistolae’, cols. 601-602, ‘Tu ipse quoque personas provinciae tuae in unum studeas convocare, atque cum eis quod ad honorem Dei et salutem illius terrae pertineat, deliberes ac disponas.’

⁶⁸ Rowe, ‘Alexander III and the Jerusalem Crusade’, pp. 125-6.

⁶⁹ Alexander III, ‘Epistolae’, PL cols. 601-2; Fönnesberg-Schmidt, ‘Alexander III and the Crusades’, p. 345.

indulgences to go to the aid of those in the East. Once again, there is still an absence of evidence of any response to this appeal, but it does show that the pope was becoming more involved in the promotion of a campaign than he had been previously.

Whilst these appeals and attempts to organise a crusade to the East were continuing, the other theatres of war to which Pope Eugenius III had formally opened the crusade in *Divina dispensatione II* of 1147 were not being entirely neglected.⁷⁰ The promotion of the crusade to the Baltic region after the Second Crusade is considered by Fannesberg-Schmidt who, citing a number of military expeditions made by the Danish King Valdemar I, has argued that ‘German and Scandinavian princes do not appear to have attempted to receive papal authorization of the campaigns or to have sought an indulgence for the participants’ thus calling into question the papal authority over the expedition at this time.⁷¹ However, in 1171 a crusade to the Baltic region was authorised in response to an appeal for a missionary expedition made by Archbishop Eskil of Lund and Peter, abbot of Montier-la-Celle.⁷² In yet another reactive response, the pope issued the bull *Non parum animus noster* which was addressed to kings, princes and the faithful in the Danish, Swedish and Norwegian kingdoms, offering indulgences to those who fought pagans in Estonia.⁷³

⁷⁰ Eugenius III, ‘Epistolae et privilegia’, cols. 1203-4, ‘Rex quoque Hispaniarum contra Saracenos de partibus illis potenter armature, de quibus iam per Dei gratiam saepius triumphavit. Quidam etiam ex vobis tam sancti laboris et praemii participes fieri cupientes, contra Sclavos caeterosque paganos habitans versus Aquilonem ire, et eos Christianae religioni subjugare, Domino auxiliante, intendant. Quorum nos devotionem attendentes, omnibus illis qui crucem eandem Hierosolimam non acceperunt, et contra Sclavos ire, et in ipsa expeditione, sicut statutum remissionem peccatorum quam praedecessor noster euntibus instituit, omnipotentis Dei et beati Petri apostolorum principis auctoritate nobis a Deo concessa concedimus, eadem auctoritate sub excommunicatione prohibentes, ut nullus de paganis ipsis, quos Christianae fidei poterit subjugare, eos in sua perfidia remanere permittat.’

⁷¹ Fannesberg-Schmidt, *The Popes and the Baltic Crusades*, p. 43; See F. Lotter, ‘The Crusading Idea and the Conquest of the Region East of the Elbe’, *Medieval Frontier Societies*, eds. R. Bartlett and A. MacKay (Oxford, 1989), pp. 268-306.

⁷² Peter of Celle, *The Letters of Peter of Celle*, ed. Julian Haseldine (Oxford, 2001), p. 719; Fannesberg-Schmidt, *The Popes and the Baltic Crusades*, p. 53-4; Fannesberg-Schmidt, ‘Alexander III and the Crusades’, p. 355.

⁷³ Fannesberg-Schmidt, *The Popes and the Baltic Crusades*, p. 59; France, *The Crusades and the Expansion of Catholic Christendom*, p. 142.

Pope Alexander finally appears to have become proactive in his attitude towards the crusade movement when he attempted to launch an eastern expedition in 1179 with the bull *Cor nostrum* which was addressed to ‘the noblemen, dukes and princes, earls, barons and to all God’s faithful’.⁷⁴ Copies of this letter were given to Kings Henry of England and Phillip of France by Hospitaller and Templar knights at St Rémi in April 1181.⁷⁵ Rowe has discussed the role of the military orders in the distribution of these letters writing that the pope ‘seems convinced that if a favourable response is to be had at all it will be given to the Templars’.⁷⁶ This is unsurprising considering the growth of the symbolism of their connections to the Latin East and their increasing role as the public face of the promotion of the crusade over the period since Hugh of Payns had preached the crusade in 1128-9. This important combination of letters and well-placed legates will be discussed in more detail in the following chapters of this thesis, but Alexander’s employment of the members of the Temple Order shows that he was carefully choosing how his message would meet with a positive response.

Where the papal bulls *Inter omnia* and *Cum gemitus* were issued together so that the latter could explain the details in the former, Pope Alexander III issued *Cum orientalis terra* to instruct how *Cor nostrum* should be used by those who received it. It was addressed to the clergy and instructed them to spread the message contained in *Cor Nostrum* by reading it to the public in the churches.⁷⁷ Utilising this method of preaching to the laity within church by reading papal letters aloud built upon a method which had been in place since the preaching of

⁷⁴ Alexander III, ‘Epistolae’, cols. 1294-7; Fannesberg-Schmidt, ‘Alexander III and the Crusades’, p. 347.

⁷⁵ Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, 2, p. 255; Phillips, *Defenders of the Holy Land*, pp. 247-50; C. J. Tyerman, *England and the Crusades, 1095–1588* (Chicago, 1988), pp. 44-5, 153-4; Rowe, ‘Alexander III and the Jerusalem Crusade’, p. 130.

⁷⁶ Rowe, ‘Alexander III and the Jerusalem Crusade’, p. 131.

⁷⁷ Alexander III, ‘Epistolae’, cols. 1296-7, ‘Litteras autem, quas propter hoc generaliter mittimus, universis faciatis ecclesiis publice legi, et exponatis earum tenorem, et remissionem peccatorum, quam facimus illis qui tam pium et necessarium opus assumpserint...’

Pope Urban II and shows the importance of the promotion of the crusade message through the clerical network. The papacy was using a practice which had been successful in the past at reaching out to a wider audience however, although the letters are recorded as having been received sympathetically by its target audience, there was still no further effort to launch a large-scale campaign at this time.⁷⁸ The crusade movement continued to be static at this point in spite of the letters which were dispatched by the papacy to areas which had previously been receptive to it.

In 1183 Pope Lucius II wrote a letter to King Henry II of England urging him to follow in his ancestors' footsteps.⁷⁹ In the 11 years since the treaty of Avranches had been agreed, Henry had still not departed for the Holy Land. His reasons for not leaving are discussed more fully by Phillips and Tyerman but the key point to take from this letter is the use of the phrase, '*praedecessorum tuorum vestigia subsecutus*' and its direct appeal to the nature of Henry's family history of crusading.⁸⁰ As Tyerman has pointed out, the Angevin line had ruled Jerusalem since Fulk of Anjou in 1131, thus creating a family link to the English ruler.⁸¹ However, Henry still failed to participate and, in 1183, his son, Prince Henry vowed to take the cross at the shrine of St. Martial at Limoges.⁸² The prince died in 1183 before he was able to make any preparations to depart. The enthusiasm for crusading during this period seems to have generally diminished across most of Europe. Certainly there is evidence of small samples of recruitment such as that in northern Italy, and the individual crusaders including William of Nevers, but the papacy could not seem to pitch its message in such a way that it would provoke a reaction.

⁷⁸ Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, 2, p. 259; Phillips, *Defenders of the Holy Land*, p. 248.

⁷⁹ Roger of Howden, *Gesta*, 1, p. 333, '*praedecessorum tuorum vestigia subsecutus*'; William of Newburgh, *Historia rerum Anglicarum*, pp. 245-7; Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, p. 48.

⁸⁰ Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, p. 50; Phillips, *Defenders of the Holy Land*, p. 249.

⁸¹ Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, p. 39.

⁸² Roger of Howden, *Gesta*, 1, pp. 287-98.

The Reawakening Of Crusade Enthusiasm At The End Of The Twelfth Century

The necessary catalyst for a reaction to the papal crusade message finally occurred in 1187 with the news of the Christian defeat at Hattin. Pope Gregory VIII immediately set the mechanism of epistolary crusade promotion and issued the papal bull *Audita tremendi* to ‘all the churches of these lands’.⁸³ It was this letter which officially launched the expeditions which would become known as the Third Crusade. *Audita tremendi* focused on events at Hattin and in it the pope attributed defeat to God’s anger at sins of the Christian west. The letter addressed its audience directly, in a manner which was, as so many of its predecessors, clearly meant to be read aloud. Birkitt has addressed the importance of this letter in the transmission of the news regarding the events at Hattin to a wider audience than just those with immediate interests in the East. Instead she highlights that it was intended to be circulated extensively throughout Europe and was reissued twice more within the space of a week.⁸⁴

The papacy of Gregory VIII lasted only two months and, in 1188, his successor, Pope Clement III, issued *Cum pro peccatis*.⁸⁵ This continued the endorsement of campaigns against Muslims in Iberia by guaranteeing the same remission of sins to Spanish crusaders as to those going to Jerusalem. This letter also authorised the collection of ecclesiastical money in Spain to support the Iberian crusaders and stated that those who were unable to take part could instead offer monetary assistance at the discretion of their local bishop. O’Callaghan has emphasised how this letter actively continued the work of Clement III’s predecessors by continuing the Iberian

⁸³ Gregory VIII, ‘Epistolae et Privilegia’, *PL*, 202, cols. 1539-1542; translation in Riley-Smith and Riley-Smith, *The Crusades: Idea and Reality*, pp. 63-70; Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades*, pp. 63-5.

⁸⁴ Birkitt, ‘News in the Middle Ages’; T. W. Smith, ‘*Audita tremendi* and the Call for the Third Crusade Reconsidered’, *Viator* 49 (2018), pp. 63-100.

⁸⁵ Juan Francisco Rivera Recio, *La Iglesia de Toledo en el siglo xii (1086-1208)*, (Rome, 1966), pp. 222-3; *Anales Compostellani* and *Anales Toledanos*, 23 pp. 323, 393-94.

crusades and extending Pope Gregory VIII's *Audita tremendi* to Spain.⁸⁶ In 1189 King Alfonso VIII of Castile led a campaign which captured a number of towns on the pagan side of the Guadiana River which ran between Christian and Muslim lands, most likely in response to this papal support.⁸⁷

In 1193, Celestine III proclaimed a crusade in Spain and urged members of the Military Orders and the laity to fight against the Muslims, even if their kings did not.⁸⁸ In doing so he opened up his invitation to anyone who was willing to take it and not just the nobility. Additionally, the pope wrote to Alfonso II of Aragon, and O'Callaghan assumes the other Christian rulers too, instructing him to fight against the Muslims to the south.⁸⁹ It had been seventy years since Pope Gelasius II had written to the Christians at Zaragoza and thirty years since Pope Adrian IV had written *Satis laudibilter* to suppress unauthorised expeditions into Iberia, but the renewed interest in the expedition to the East seems to have benefitted that into Spain. In 1196 a Spanish crusade was proclaimed and letters were sent to the Archbishop of Auch and the 'archbishop and faithful of Bordeaux' allowing crusaders to commute their crusade vow from Jerusalem to Iberia.⁹⁰ He also used a letter to address conflicts with the pagans in the Baltic region and, according to the chronicle of Henry of Livonia, in 1196, 'granted...the remission of sins to all those who would take the cross and go to restore that newly founded church'.⁹¹ This letter is only mentioned in this chronicle but Jensen argues that, in light of the crusade efforts in the Baltic region prior to the 1190s, there is no reason to doubt its existence.⁹² This

⁸⁶ O'Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade*, p. 57.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 58.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 60.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 61.

⁹⁰ Smith, 'The Iberian Legations of Cardinal Hyacinth Bobone'.

⁹¹ Henry of Livonia, *Chronicon Livoniae*, p. 12; translation in *The Chronicle of Henry of Livonia*, trans. J. A. Brundage, p. 30; Fønnesberg-Schmidt, *The Popes and the Baltic Crusades*, p. 68.

⁹² J. M. Jensen, 'The Nature of the Early Missionary Activities and Crusades in Livonia, 1185-1201', *Medieval Spirituality in Scandinavia and Europe; A Collection of Essays in Honour of Tore Nyberg*, ed. L. Bisgaard, C. S. Jensen, K. V. Jensen and J. H. Lond (Odense, 2001), pp. 129-30.

transformation of the mission into a crusade is not an exceptional event in light of the increased spread of the crusade movement to these new theatres of war and of Pope Celestine III having already granted indulgences to Spain. That he should do so towards the Baltic region echoes both the Pope Eugenius's authorisation of the Wendish crusade of 1147 and the continued efforts to promote the crusade in northern Europe by Alexander III in 1171.⁹³ That letters were used to establish the pope's intentions fits with the pattern of using them to set out the boundaries of what these expeditions were intended to be and how those who participated could benefit.

When Innocent III became pope in 1198, there continued to be a threat to Christian territory from the Almohads in the south of the peninsula. There was also still conflict between the Christian kings of León and Castile. In 1195 Pope Celestine III (1191-1198) not only excommunicated King Alfonso IX of León but, in response to an appeal from King Sancho I of Portugal, proclaimed a crusade against him. In this instance the pope granted the same remission of sins to those who attacked Alfonso as to those who fought in the Holy Land.⁹⁴ That same year letters were sent to the archbishop of Auch in Gascony and the 'archbishop and faithful of Bordeaux' which permitted crusaders to commute their crusade vow from Jerusalem to Iberia.⁹⁵ The pope targeted this communication at the areas of southern France which were closest to the warring Spanish kingdoms, which did not have the problematic heretical

⁹³ Eugenius III, 'Epistolae et privilegia', no. 166, cols. 1203-4; Peter of Celle, *The Letters of Peter of Celle*, ed. J. Haseldine, p. 719; I. M. Fannesberg-Schmidt, 'Pope Alexander III (1159-81) and the Baltic Crusades', *Medieval History Writing and Crusading Ideology*, ed. T. M. S. Lehtonen and K. V. Jensen (Helsinki, 2005), p. 355; Fannesberg-Schmidt, *The Popes and the Baltic Crusades*, pp. 53-4.

⁹⁴ R. Riu, 'Dos bulas inéditas de Celestino III', *BRAH* 11 (1887), pp. 457-8; F. Fita, 'Bulas históricas del reino de Navarra en los postreros años del siglo XII', *BRAH* 26 (1895), p. 423-4; *Papsturkunden in Portugal*, ed. C. Erdmann, (Berlin, 1927), 376, no. 154; Goñi Gaztambide, *Historia de la bula de la cruzada en España*, p. 101; J. F. O'Callaghan, 'Innocent III and the Kingdoms of Castile and Leon', *Pope Innocent III and His World*, ed. J. C. Moore (Aldershot, 1999), p. 319; O'Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade*, p. 62; Smith, 'The Iberian Legations of Cardinal Hyacinth Bobone', p. 107; Edbury, 'Celestine III, the Crusade and the Latin East', p. 135.

⁹⁵ P. Zerbi, *Papato, Impero e 'Respubblica christina' dal 1187 al 1198* (Milan, 1955), pp. 156-8; Goñi Gaztambide, *Historia de la bula de la cruzada en España*, p. 101; O'Callaghan, 'Innocent III and the Kingdoms of Castile and Leon', p. 319; Smith, 'The Iberian Legations of Cardinal Hyacinth Bobone', p. 123.

population of the neighbouring Languedoc region and which had been involved in previous efforts authorised by the pope in Iberia.⁹⁶ On that occasion very little came of the appeal to crusade in the Iberian peninsula and, despite the efforts of Innocent III's Cistercian legate Rainier of Pons, it was not until 1209 that the conflict between these Christian kings and the papacy was finally resolved.⁹⁷ In spite of his careful targeting of his message, Innocent failed to inspire a new crusade and it would seem that the enthusiasm for the Iberian crusade had, in this area at least, been exhausted.

Innocent III soon turned his attention to the East and issued *Post miserabile*, the bull which proclaimed what would become the Fourth Crusade, in August 1198.⁹⁸ Taking the form of a sermon, this letter was written in response to 'the pitiable collapse of the territory of Jerusalem, the lamentable massacre of the Christian people, [and] the deplorable invasion of that land on which the feet of Christ had stood'.⁹⁹ The letter was sent widely to the senior clergy of Europe. One copy was addressed to the 'archbishop of Narbonne and his suffragans' and concluded that 'a letter of the same sort was written to the archbishops of Lyons and Vienne, as well as to the prelates of the churches, also to the counts and barons and all the people residing in each province...[and] everyone in the kingdoms of France, England, Hungary and Sicily'.¹⁰⁰ This is evidenced by the existence of copies which were also sent to the 'archbishop of York and his

⁹⁶ *Papsturkunden in Spanien: Vorarbeiten zur Hispania Pontificia*, ed. P. Kehr, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1926-8), p. 200; O'Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade*, p. 63; Smith, 'The Iberian Legations of Cardinal Hyacinth Bobone', p. 100.

⁹⁷ For a full account of the efforts to restore peace between these parties see O'Callaghan, 'Innocent III and the Kingdoms of Castile and Leon', pp. 317-327.

⁹⁸ *Die Register Innocenz' III*, ed. O. Hageneder et al. (Graz and Cologne, 1964; Rome and Vienna, 1979), vol. 1, no. 336, p. 501; translation in Innocent III, 'Letters', *Contemporary Sources for the Fourth Crusade*, trans. A. J. Andrea (Leiden, 2000), p. 14.

⁹⁹ *Die Register Innocenz' III*, vol. 1, no. 336, p. 499, 'Post miserabile Ierusalimitane regionis excidium, post lacrimabilem stragem populi christiani, post deplorandam invasionem illius terre, in qua pedes Christi steterunt...'; translation in Innocent III, 'Letters', *Contemporary Sources for the Fourth Crusade*, trans. A. J. Andrea (Leiden, 2000), p. 10.

¹⁰⁰ *Die Register Innocenz' III*, vol. 1, no. 336, pp. 499-505; translation in Innocent III, 'Letters', *Contemporary Sources for the Fourth Crusade*, trans. A. J. Andrea pp. 10-9; L. R. Ross, *Relations between the Latin East and the West, 1187-1291*, unpublished Ph.D. thesis (University of London, 2003), pp. 58-60.

suffragans, abbots, priors, other prelates, earls, barons, and all the people at the province of York’, another to the ‘archbishop of Canterbury and his suffragans, abbots, priors, other prelates, earls, barons, and all the people of the province of Canterbury’.¹⁰¹ This is an enormously wide-ranging list of recipients and shows that the letter was sent to all ranks of clergy and laity across most of Western Europe. The bull also reaffirmed Pope Gregory VIII’s rule that those who were physically unable to go on crusade could earn indulgences in some other manner, namely that of a financial contribution. With this letter Pope Innocent III widened his invitation to take the cross to an enormous audience and made the criteria for participation in the crusade more inclusive. He was able to benefit from the growth in the mechanisms of papal communication what had taken place over the preceding century.¹⁰² He took control of the message and, where we shall see that earlier crusade messages had been shaped additionally by unauthorised preachers such as Peter the Hermit and by the *magnus rumor*, Innocent III left very little room for others to alter his meaning. In May 1201, he also sent a new letter to the English clergy which instructed them to advise their parishioners to take the cross.¹⁰³ It also carried the instruction that the church was to pay a fortieth of its income to the crusade cause and threatened those who did not fulfil their vow with excommunication.¹⁰⁴ Once again the pope continued his campaign of letter writing, reinforcing his previous messages and authorising the clergy to continue promoting the crusade on his behalf.

In response to the sacking of Constantinople by the Fourth Crusade of 1204, Pope Innocent III’s correspondence relating to the continuation of the crusade movement expressed his desire

¹⁰¹ Innocent III, *The Letters of Pope Innocent III (1198-1216) concerning England and Wales: A Calendar with an Appendix of Texts*, ed. C. R. Cheney and M. G. Cheney (Oxford, 1967), p. 9, nos, 38 & 39.

¹⁰² Morris, *The Papal Monarchy*; Smith, *Curia and Crusade*.

¹⁰³ Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, 4, p. 166, ‘Ad haec singuli vestrum in suis diocesisibus parochianos suos salubriter moneant, et diligenter inducant, eis remissionis apostolicae formam frequentius exponentes, ut signum assumant, ut saltem in rebus suis juxta facultates proprias Terrae Sanctae subveniant...’.

¹⁰⁴ Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, 4, p. 166; C. R. Cheney, *Pope Innocent III and England*, (Stuttgart, 1976), p. 242.

to resume the campaign to the East. In 1205, he sent a papal letter ‘to induce Philip, the king of France, to come to the aid of the Holy Land’.¹⁰⁵ King Philip had been one of the primary leaders of the Third Crusade after taking the cross at Gisors in 1188.¹⁰⁶ Two years later he had set off for the Holy Land with King Richard I of England but he returned to France after the siege of Acre in 1191. Upon his return Philip launched a campaign to capture the French lands which had been awarded to King Richard upon his (now broken) engagement to Philip’s sister Alice. The period between his return from the Holy Land and this 1205 letter from the pope was dominated by conflicts with the English monarchy (first Richard and then King John) over lands held in France and dispute with Popes Celestine III and Innocent III over the status of his marriage to Ingeborg of Denmark.¹⁰⁷ Instead of Philip II, the 1204 campaign had been led by the high-profile relatives of the kings of France and England, namely Count Thibaut of Flanders and Count Louis of Blois who assumed the roles of leaders of the expedition. At the time of Innocent’s 1205 appeal Philip II of France appeared to be the perfect leader for a new expedition. He could provide an army, he had the necessary finances to embark on the expedition, he had already taken the crusader vow but had not had the gratification of leading a successful crusade campaign. He would also have provided the pope with a high-status leader. Unfortunately, in spite of his seemingly being the perfect candidate, there is no indication of Philip responding to this call to the cross. Furthermore there are no indications that preachers

¹⁰⁵ Innocent III, ‘Opera Omnia’, *PL* 215, cols. 689-99; the text of this letter contains no addressee but states that it is ‘Ut Philippum regem Franciae ad subveniendum terrae sanctae inducant.’

¹⁰⁶ Roger of Howden, *Gesta* II, pp. 29-30; Gervase of Canterbury, *Historical Works*, ed. W. Stubbs, 2 vols. (London, 1879-80), I, 406; J. Gillingham, *Richard the Lionheart* (London, 1978), p. 88.

¹⁰⁷ For further discussion of the conflict between Philip and the kings of England, as well as the situation regarding his marriage see: Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, 4, p. 80; J. Crosland, *William the Marshal: the Last Great Feudal Baron* (London, 1962), pp. 78-81; Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades*, pp. 80-5; J. Gillingham, *Richard I* (New Haven and London, 1999), pp. 318-20; J. P. Phillips, *The Fourth Crusade and the Sack of Constantinople* (New York, 2004), p. 7; V. Ryan, ‘Richard I and the Early Evolution of the Fourth Crusade’, *The Fourth Crusade: Event, Aftermath and Perceptions: Papers from the Sixth Conference of the Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East in Istanbul, Turkey, 25-29 August 2004*, ed. T. F. Madden (Aldershot, 2008), p. 10.

were sent to recruit for a new expedition and Innocent's use of correspondence to attempt to recruit for a crusade in 1205 was unsuccessful.

The pope persisted and made another effort to persuade men to go to the East a year later, this time with a papal letter to the 'Marquis of Namur and all the faithful servants of Christ who desire to travel with him to Constantinople' which declared that pilgrimage to free Jerusalem took priority over all other pilgrimages.¹⁰⁸ It would appear then that Innocent's letters of this time reveal, not an announcement for a new crusade expedition, but a reinforcement of papal policy regarding support for the East and a clarification of his stance on the importance of Jerusalem above other theatres of war or potential targets for crusading army. At a time when there were competing crusade interests in different regions, it is interesting to see that the pope deliberately made it clear that one campaign was more important than the others. His predecessors had largely tried to manipulate which crusade a new recruit would join. Innocent III's concern for the situation in Jerusalem drove a shift in policy which created a hierarchy of these campaigns. In light of the diversion of the Fourth Crusade from Jerusalem to Constantinople, whether it was with the approval of the pope or not, it is clear that on this occasion Pope Innocent was establishing his strategy that the Holy Land was key to the crusade movement.¹⁰⁹

Innocent III's crusade efforts resumed in 1207 when a papal letter addressed to the archbishop of Tours ordered him to absolve all knights who had been excommunicated for participating in a tournament on the condition that they pledged to donate money for the aid of the Holy Land.¹¹⁰

The letter states that the intention was not to permit the organisation and participation in

¹⁰⁸ Innocent III, 'Opera Omnia', *PL* 215, cols. 854-55; Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades*, p. 100.

¹⁰⁹ Fonnesberg-Schmidt, *The Popes and the Baltic Crusades* discusses Innocent III's efforts to prioritise the campaign to the East over those to the Baltic, Iberian and Languedoc regions.

¹¹⁰ Innocent III, 'Opera Omnia', *PL* 215, cols. 1174-5; Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades*, p. 100.

tournaments but to mitigate the punishment for doing so from that of excommunication, which would have prohibited these knights from taking the cross, to a monetary donation towards the Holy Land. Not only does this shift in policy emphasise the importance of ensuring that these members of the knightly classes were available for a crusade expedition but also how critical it was to raise money for the crusade cause at the same time. In 1208 the vocabulary which was used within the papal letters, and the actions which were ordered by them, began to demonstrate a more positive move towards the launch of an official crusade expedition to the East. In his letter to Duke Leopold of Austria, Innocent III discussed the spiritual value of crusading and included a letter of indulgence.¹¹¹ Then, again in 1208, in a papal letter to ‘The archbishops and bishops, abbots, and other prelates of the Church in the kingdom of France’, Guala, cardinal deacon of St Mary *in Porticu*, was appointed as a papal legate to France and instructed to preach the cross.¹¹² In that same year the crusade to the East was further proclaimed in the papal letter *Utinam Dominus* which was sent to the people of Lombardy and the March.¹¹³ This letter authorised Bishop Sicard of Cremona, the bishop of Iporegia and the abbot of the Cistercian monastery of St Mary of the Holy Cross at Tiglietto to preach the campaign in these areas.¹¹⁴ There appears to be little evidence of response to this appeal but more proactive actions regarding the promotion of a new crusade were clearly beginning. However, these early stages of launching a new crusade expedition would be superseded by events relating to other theatres of war and a large-scale campaign to the East would not be preached for another four years. Between this time and the launch of the Fifth Crusade in 1213, the Albigensian Crusade and actions in the Iberian Peninsula would draw more attention and result in the recruitment of more people than Pope Innocent III’s crusade efforts to the Holy Land.

¹¹¹ Innocent III, ‘Opera Omnia’, *PL* 215, cols. 1339-41; Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades*, p. 100.

¹¹² Innocent III, ‘Opera Omnia’, *PL* 215, cols. 1401-3; Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades*, p. 100.

¹¹³ Innocent III, ‘Opera Omnia’, *PL* 215, cols. 1500-3; Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades*, p. 100.

¹¹⁴ Innocent III, ‘Opera Omnia’, *PL* 215, cols. 1500-3; Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades*, p. 100; E. Coleman, ‘Sicard of Cremona as Legate of Innocent III in Lombardy’, *Innocenzo III: Urbs et Orbis*, ed A. Sommerlechner (Rome, 2003), pp. 929-953.

The focus on addressing the issue of heretics in southern France can be seen in Innocent III's letter *Inveterata pravitatis haereticae* to '[King] Philip Augustus, counts, barons, knights and all the Christian faithful, etcetera...'.¹¹⁵ This letter set out the 'chronic heretical corruption which constantly grows in parts of Toulouse' and offered the remission of sins for those 'who work for the relief of the Holy Land'.¹¹⁶ At the time of receiving this letter the king of France was in dispute with both the king of England and Otto of Brunswick, the candidate for the imperial throne.¹¹⁷ It was therefore unlikely that Philip II would have heeded the pope's call in person.¹¹⁸ However, it is clear that the pope was aiming to reach a wider audience with this inclusive message against the heretics and to recruit nobility to the cause.¹¹⁹ Two men who did respond to the appeal were the duke of Burgundy and the count of Nevers. The influence of King Philip on these recruits can be seen in a letter which he sent to these two nobles instructing them that their armies be of no more than five hundred knights and that they must only come from the Burgundy region.¹²⁰ This letter demonstrates the king's attempt to limit the recruitment for the expedition in contravention of the wishes of the pope.¹²¹

At the early stage of the campaign in southern France, the efforts made by the Innocent III to address the heresy were clearly still focused on preaching conversion and promoting Catholicism, not on the threat of force. The pope made yet more determined efforts to tackle

¹¹⁵ Innocent III, 'Opera Omnia', *PL* 215, cols. 1246-7; J. Sumption, *The Albigensian Crusade* (London and Boston, 1978), p. 75.

¹¹⁶ Innocent III, 'Opera Omnia', *PL* 215, cols. 1246-7, 'illa valeat remissio peccatorum quam his qui laborant pro terrae sanctae subsidio duximus indulgendam'.

¹¹⁷ Pierre des Vaux de Cernai, *Historia Albigensis*, eds. P. Guébin and E. Lyon, 3 vols. (Paris, 1926-39); translation in Peter of Vaux-Cernay, *The History of the Albigensian Crusade*, trans. W. A. Sibly and M. D. Sibly (Woodbridge, 1998), pp. 73-4.

¹¹⁸ Sumption, *The Albigensian Crusade*, pp. 76-8.

¹¹⁹ R. Rist, 'Salvation and the Albigensian Crusade: Pope Innocent II and the Plenary Indulgence', *Reading Medieval Studies* 36 (2010), p. 100.

¹²⁰ *Actes de Philippe Auguste. Recueil des actes de Philippe Auguste Roi de France*. ed. H.-F. Delaborde and others, Chartes et diplômes relatifs à l'histoire de France, (Paris, 1916-79), vol. 3, no. 1035; D. Power, 'Who Went on the Albigensian Crusade?' *The English Historical Review* 128 (2013), p. 22.

¹²¹ Power, 'Who Went on the Albigensian Crusade?', p. 22.

the heresy at the most senior level and in 1207 the papal letter *Si parietem cordis* set out the excommunication of Count Raymond IV of Toulouse. It attempted to persuade him to change his beliefs and underlined the threat to his lands if he did not.¹²² The final shift from preaching against heresy to that of a full-blown crusade in the Languedoc region came about when, in January 1208, the papal legate Peter of Castelnau was assassinated by a servant of Count Raymond.¹²³ The response to his death was set out in a letter from the pope which was sent to the southern French bishops of Narbonne, Arles, Aix-en-Provence and Vienne. This letter, dated 10 March, promised indulgences to those fighting against the heretics.¹²⁴ Yet another papal letter, this time sent to Bishop Ralph of Couserans and the legates Hugh-Raymond of Riez and Abbot Arnaud Amalric of Cîteaux, ordered them to recruit King Philip II, his son Louis, the king's counts, viscounts, barons and all other faithful Christians to the campaign.¹²⁵ This letter offered indulgences to those who laboured against the heretics in France rather than in aid of the Holy Land. Rist has called this letter the crucial turning point at which the campaign in the south of France achieved that same crusade status as the campaigns to the East.¹²⁶ The response to it was recorded in the *Historia Albigensis* which describes how 'The indulgence which the pope had promised to anyone proceeding against heretics had been published throughout France, with the result that huge numbers of nobles and commoners had taken up arms, ready with the sign of the cross on their breasts to confront the enemies of the cross'.¹²⁷ The pope's continued attempt to recruit King Philip again went unanswered but it is clear that this letter set out his specific intentions regarding the campaign and was his attempt to control the crusade message and those who received it.

¹²² Innocent III, 'Opera Omnia', *PL* 215, cols. 1166-1168.

¹²³ Pierre des Vaux de Cernai, *Historia Albigensis*; translation in Peter of Vaux-Cernay, *The History of the Albigensian Crusade*, p. 31.

¹²⁴ Innocent III, 'Opera Omnia', *PL* 215, cols. 1354-8; Pierre des Vaux de Cernai, *Historia Albigensis*; translation in Peter of Vaux-Cernay, *The History of the Albigensian Crusade*, p. 31-38.

¹²⁵ *Die Register Innocenz' III*, vol. 7, no. 183, p. 319; Rist, 'Salvation and the Albigensian Crusade', p. 100-1.

¹²⁶ Rist, 'Salvation and the Albigensian Crusade', p. 101.

¹²⁷ Pierre des Vaux de Cernai, *Historia Albigensis*; translation in Peter of Vaux-Cernay, *The History of the Albigensian Crusade*, p. 45.

In the 1210 papal letter *Veniens ad praesentiam*, the pope instructed his legates the archbishops of Narbonne and Arles to hold a council at which the excommunicated Count Raymond IV of Toulouse could be absolved.¹²⁸ This council was arranged but the legates ignored him and proceeded to renew Raymond's excommunication. Again, in 1212, the pope sent the letter *Etsi resecandae sint* to Arnaud of Cîteaux accusing him of occupying lands which were not heretical and ordering him to stop and to hold another council at which Raymond of Toulouse would be released from his excommunication.¹²⁹ Once again the letter appears to have had no effect. As will be discussed more fully in a later chapter of this thesis, it is clearly important to address the relationship between the pope and his legates and whether they are representatives of his wishes, or whether they have his full authority to act according to their own wishes, or at their own discretion. This letter shows that Innocent was aware of Arnaud's deviation and making efforts to regain control over his behaviour.

The Albigensian Crusade was the first time that indulgences had been offered for the participation in a campaign against heretical practices within Western Europe.¹³⁰ What qualified as a crusade is subject to the pluralist classification for the purposes of this research and a papal letter to Philip II of France in 1204 which requested military assistance for the papal legates in return for the same indulgences as those offered to those who joined the expedition to the East immediately met some of the requirements of this pluralist definition.¹³¹ Although there is no mention of a vow, the pope was clearly launching a crusade and a letter instructing his legates to preach, *Etsi nostra navicula*, was also issued in 1204.¹³² A year later,

¹²⁸ *Die Register Innocenz' III*, vol. 12, no. 152, pp. 295-6.

¹²⁹ Innocent III, 'Opera Omnia', *PL* 216, 216, cols. 739-40.

¹³⁰ Morris, *The Papal Monarchy*, p.1; Rist, *The Papacy and Crusading in Europe 1198-1245* (London, 2009), p. 3.

¹³¹ *Die Register Innocenz' III*, vol. 7, no. 79, pp. 127-9; J. S. C. Riley-Smith, *The Crusades: A History*, 3rd edn (New Haven, 2014), *passim*; Fonnesberg-Schmidt, *The Popes and the Baltic Crusades*, pp. 5-6.

¹³² *Die Register Innocenz' III*, vol. 7, no. 77 (76, 77), pp. 122-6.

yet another letter requesting military assistance was sent to the king.¹³³ It is important to note that, at this time, the pope was not recruiting for a crusade on a large-scale.¹³⁴ Instead he was attempting to focus his efforts on promoting support for his campaign within the local area under the leadership of the King Philip II.¹³⁵ There is little evidence of a significant response to this appeal and that may have been a result of the poor relationship between the pope and the king as discussed previously. Although the papal letters very clearly establish the pope's intentions towards the campaign there is little indication at this point that they inspired their recipients to participate in the expedition thus leaving the pope very little to actually have control over.

As conflict continued in the Iberian Peninsula, Alfonso VIII of Castile appealed directly to Innocent III for aid and the pope responded in January 1212 by instructing the archbishop of Sens and his suffragans in France to exhort people to join and aid the king of Castile.¹³⁶ A month later Alfonso received a letter from Innocent which referred to his having sent similar instructions to the prelates of France and Provence.¹³⁷ Innocent was actively exercising control of the extension of the message outside of France. However, it is in this letter that, in spite of the efforts to promote the crusade, these actions of encouragement are diminished by Innocent's suggestion that this was not the most opportune time for the campaign and that, if

¹³³ Ibid., vol. 7, no. 212, pp. 372-4; Rist, 'Salvation and the Albigensian Crusade: Pope Innocent III and the Plenary Indulgence', *Reading Medieval Studies* 36 (2010), pp. 98-99.

¹³⁴ Pierre des Vaux de Cernai, *Historia Albigensis*; translation in Peter of Vaux-Cernay, *The History of the Albigensian Crusade*, p. 316, n. 3; Rist, 'Salvation and the Albigensian Crusade', pp. 99-100.

¹³⁵ Rist, 'Salvation and the Albigensian Crusade', p. 95 discusses the role of the crusade as a vital part of the enlargement of the Capetian French kingdom.

¹³⁶ D. Mansilla, *La Documentación pontificia hasta Inocencio III (963-1216)* (Rome, 1955), no. 497-8, pp. 475-7; Innocent III, 'Opera Omnia', *PL* 216, col. 514; '...mandamus quatinus subditos vestros sedulis exhortationibus moneatis in remissionem omnium peccatorum ex parte Dei et nostra vere penitentibus iniungentes...'

¹³⁷ Mansilla, *La Documentación pontificia hasta Inocencio III*, no. 470, 500-1; Innocent III, 'Opera Omnia', *PL* 216, col. 513; O'Callaghan, 'Innocent III and the Kingdoms of Castile and Leon', pp. 329-30.

possible, Alfonso should seek to achieve truces.¹³⁸ Smith discusses Innocent's hesitation in light of his having never launched a successful crusade and his view that this failure was a result of sin within Christian society.¹³⁹ Whether or not this is the case, there was clear contradiction in the instructions which the pope distributed in 1212. He both authorised crusade preaching and discouraged the crusade in favour of peaceful negotiations, but it is unclear as to why he did so. However, throughout the spring and early summer of 1212, the response to Innocent's appeal began to materialise and crusade recruits started to arrive in Castile from Gascony, Vienne, Poitou, Aragon, Catalonia, Castile, León and Portugal.¹⁴⁰ Cole has argued that their victory over the Almohads at Las Navas de Tolosa influenced Innocent III to write the bull *Quia maior* which ordered the end of both the Albigensian and Iberian campaigns in favour of the expedition to the Holy Land.¹⁴¹ The exception to this new instruction was that those from the south of France were still granted their indulgences for continuing to fight against the heretics.¹⁴² Once again, these letters show that the pope was attempting to control his message by targeting and offering incentives to people from certain areas, to continue the campaign in specific places. The preaching of this Albigensian Crusade did not end here but it did become much more localised and, in 1214, Peter of Benevento was appointed legate to the south of France. He received a papal letter which encouraged the recruitment of Christians to fight against heretics and offered plenary indulgences to those who did so.¹⁴³ Instead of culminating

¹³⁸ Mansilla, *La Documentación pontificia hasta Inocencio III*, no. 470, 500-1; Innocent III, 'Opera Omnia', *PL* 216, col. 513. 'Ceterum quia nunc fere totus mundus turbatus est et positus in malign, consulimus et monemus, ut si competentes treugas inveneris, ipsas recipias, donec opportunius tempus adveniat, quo ipsos valeas securius expugnare'.

¹³⁹ D. J. Smith, *Innocent III and the Crown of Aragon: The Limits of Papal Authority* (Aldershot, 2004), p. 105.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 104-5.

¹⁴¹ Innocent III, 'Opera Omnia', *PL* 216, cols. 817-22, 'Et propter eandem causam remissions et indulgentias a nobis concessas precedentibus in Hispaniam contra Mauros vel contra haereticos in Provinciam revocamus...'; translation in Riley-Smith and Riley-Smith, *The Crusades: Idea and Reality*, p. 122; Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades*, p. 103; Rist, 'Salvation and the Albigensian Crusade', p. 105.

¹⁴² Innocent III, 'Opera Omnia', 216, cols. 817-22; 'Concedimus tame nut hujusmodi remissiones et indulgentiae apud provincials remaneant...'; translation in Riley-Smith and Riley-Smith, *The Crusades: Idea and Reality*, p. 122.

¹⁴³ *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*, Vol 19, ed. D. Bouquet (Paris, 1880), pp. 589-90; Rist, 'Salvation and the Albigensian Crusade', p. 102.

in one significant triumph over the enemy, the preaching of the Albigensian Crusade had achieved a number of victories but had not succeeded in inducing King Philip of France back to the crusade movement and instead it was his son, prince Louis who toured the area in 1215 in what was a celebratory procession. Innocent III had successfully recruited for multiple campaigns but he had not achieved many of his ultimate intentions. The Fourth Crusade had not recaptured Jerusalem, he had not recruited Philip of France to the movement and he had lost the control of one of his primary legates in the Albigensian Crusade.

The period between the Third and Fifth Crusades shows that papal letters had been used to clarify and communicate the papal message to a wide area. They contained general messages and specific ones, they had been used to target certain recruits for different expeditions and ultimately show that their use had become increasingly refined since the first Crusade.

The Fifth Crusade And Innocent III's Inclusive Recruitment

‘Pope Innocent III came to the organization of this crusade a wiser and more mature man. Fortified by his experience of the crusade against Constantinople, by the Albigensian Crusade, and by the Castilian Crusade, Innocent had learned that questions of financing, recruitment, military goals, leadership, and the plethora of other practical matters necessary for a successful expedition demanded firm resolution’.¹⁴⁴

After the mixed successes of his previous campaigns and following the popular response to the unauthorised Children's Crusade of 1212, Pope Innocent III set about taking advantage of this clear enthusiasm amongst the laity for a new, inclusive expedition to the Holy Land. The

¹⁴⁴ Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades*, pp. 103-4.

enthusiasm of the lay members of European Christian society was not new and the general public had embraced the crusade message ever since Peter the Hermit had led the People's Crusade in 1096. With the issue of the *Supplicatio Generalis* of 1212, Pope Innocent tied together the crusade movement with the reform of the church and integrated crusade promotion into the public rituals of the church.¹⁴⁵ In April 1213, Pope Innocent III issued *Vineam domini* which summoned the Fourth Lateran Council. This was two years in advance of the date on which he proposed that the council would commence.¹⁴⁶ The letter was addressed to French 'archbishops and bishops, abbots, priors', and 'introduces the business of procuring suitable men for the Holy Land'.¹⁴⁷ The letter was not sent to King John of England on the grounds that he had been excommunicated or to Frederick II due to the continued conflict over his status as Holy Roman Emperor. It did not, however, exclude them from its message.¹⁴⁸ With this letter Innocent III set in motion what Powell described as a 'period of planning for the reform of the church and the promotion of the crusade' and this long period of preparation allowed the pope to take the opportunity to consult with those who were already experienced in both of these fields.¹⁴⁹

Pope Innocent III responded to the loss of control over his previous messages by issuing a letter which left no room for doubt as to his intentions regarding this next expedition. He also demonstrated his ability to react to the tone of public opinion by setting out to promote a new

¹⁴⁵ Innocent III, 'Opera Omnia', *PL* 216, col. 698; Powell, *Anatomy of a Crusade*, p. 20; C. T. Maier, 'Mass, the Eucharist and the Cross: Innocent III and the Relocation of the Crusade', *Pope Innocent III and His World*, ed. J. C. Moore (Aldershot, 1999), pp. 359-60.

¹⁴⁶ Innocent III, 'Opera Omnia', *PL* 216, col. 823; H. Roscher, *Innozenz III und die Kreuzzüge*, (Göttingen, 1969), p. 142; see also discussion in A. Melloni, 'Vineam Domini – 10 April 1213: New Efforts and Traditional Topoi – Summoning Lateran IV', *Pope Innocent III and His World*, ed. J. C. Moore (Aldershot, 1999), pp. 63-73.

¹⁴⁷ Innocent III, 'Opera Omnia', *PL* 216, col. 823, 'et praemittere viros idoneos ad terrae sanctae negotium procurandum'; Roscher, *Innozenz III und die Kreuzzüge*, p. 142.

¹⁴⁸ Powell, *Anatomy of a Crusade*, p. 16.

¹⁴⁹ Innocent III, 'Opera Omnia', *PL* 216, col. 823; Powell, *Anatomy of a Crusade*, pp. 15-6.

crusade to the East and he launched the Fifth Crusade with the bull *Quia maior*.¹⁵⁰ With this letter Innocent III set out his intentions and laid out the requirements and provisions of the new expedition; the message it contained was a combination of the ideals and the recruitment instructions of those letters which had gone before.¹⁵¹ Where it was significantly different however was that *Quia maior* offered a remission of sins, not only to those who undertook the expedition, but also to those who sent ‘suitable men at their own expense’ and those who ‘donate[d] a fitting proportion of their goods to the aid’ of the Holy Land.¹⁵² This inclusivity is not only much broader than that of previous crusade bulls but it also contained a new instruction as to the manner in which those who did not participate in the expedition could also contribute to the fight in a spiritual manner at home. The bull went on to explain that there would also be no requirement for anyone to prove their fitness for the expedition and that anyone, ‘except persons bound by religious profession, may take the cross in such a way that this vow may be commuted, redeemed or deferred by apostolic mandate’.¹⁵³ This opened the crusade up to anyone, regardless of their physical capability and Cole has rightly called this a clear method of raising money from those who were unable to go on crusade.¹⁵⁴ Powell has extended this idea to highlight the spiritual benefit which it offered to those who were now able to participate in the crusade in even the smallest way (their monetary contribution having been assessed on the basis of their wealth).¹⁵⁵ *Quia maior* set out a ‘decree and command’ that once a month there be a general procession much like that ordered by *Supplicatio Generalis* which had taken

¹⁵⁰ Innocent III, ‘Opera Omnia’, *PL* 216, cols. 817-22; translation in Riley-Smith and Riley-Smith, *The Crusades: Idea and Reality*, pp. 119-124; Mayer, *The Crusades*, p. 217.

¹⁵¹ Powell, *Anatomy of a Crusade*, p. 17.

¹⁵² Innocent III, ‘Opera Omnia’, *PL* 216, cols. 817-22; translation in Riley-Smith and Riley-Smith, *The Crusades: Idea and Reality*, p. 121; T. W. Smith, ‘How to Craft a Crusade Call: Pope Innocent III and *Quia maior* (1213)’, *Historical Research* 92 (2019), pp. 2-23.

¹⁵³ Innocent III, ‘Opera Omnia’, *PL* 216, cols. 817-22; translation in Riley-Smith and Riley-Smith, *The Crusades: Idea and Reality*, p. 122.

¹⁵⁴ Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades*, p. 106.

¹⁵⁵ Powell, *Anatomy of a Crusade*, p. 20.

place in Rome on 16 May 1212 as part of the promotion of the Iberian Crusade.¹⁵⁶ Following the processions, a chest was to be placed in the churches to collect ‘alms for the aid of the Holy Land’ and, in view of the fact that the letter makes no mention of a crusade tax, this was a straightforward method of raising funds where people could give what they could whilst participating in activities relating to the spiritual success of the crusade. Further to this the *Quia maior* ordered that ‘with this wise proviso that during the procession the preaching of the cross...should always be offered to the people in a way that is assiduous and encouraging’.¹⁵⁷ The instructions for these theatrical preaching events also provided for the repetition and reinforcement of the message that Innocent was setting out in this letter.

Maier has discussed how, by being more inclusive in *Quia maior* and incorporating crusade preaching into regular religious ritual, Innocent was relocating the crusade in such a way that it ‘no longer only took place in actual theatres of war’ but was a part of the everyday culture of worship.¹⁵⁸ The recent enthusiasm for the Children’s Crusade was here being utilised and the laity was being permitted to contribute to this new campaign and to reap the spiritual benefits of doing so. This was an opportunity for everyone to be involved in the crusade in some form, regardless of their physical or financial capability, and to be part of Innocent’s III’s merging of crusade and reform at this time.¹⁵⁹ Powell has correctly surmised that the ‘entire machinery of the crusade...[was] reinterpreted in terms of their salvific benefits to the entire

¹⁵⁶ Innocent III, ‘Opera Omnia’, *PL* 216, col. 698; G. Dickson, ‘The Genesis of the Children’s Crusade’, *Religious Enthusiasm in the Medieval West: Revivals, Crusades, Saints* (Abingdon, 2000), cap. IV, p. 38; C. T. Maier, ‘Crisis, Liturgy and the Crusade in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries’, *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 48 (1997), p. 639; Maier, ‘Mass, the Eucharist and the Cross’, p. 355; Smith, *Innocent III and the Crown of Aragón*, p. 105.

¹⁵⁷ Innocent III, ‘Opera Omnia’, *PL* 216, cols. 817-22; translation in Riley-Smith and Riley-Smith, *The Crusades: Idea and Reality*, p. 123; Powell, *Anatomy of a Crusade*, p. 21; Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades*, pp. 106-7.

¹⁵⁸ Maier, ‘Mass, the Eucharist and the Cross’, pp. 359-60.

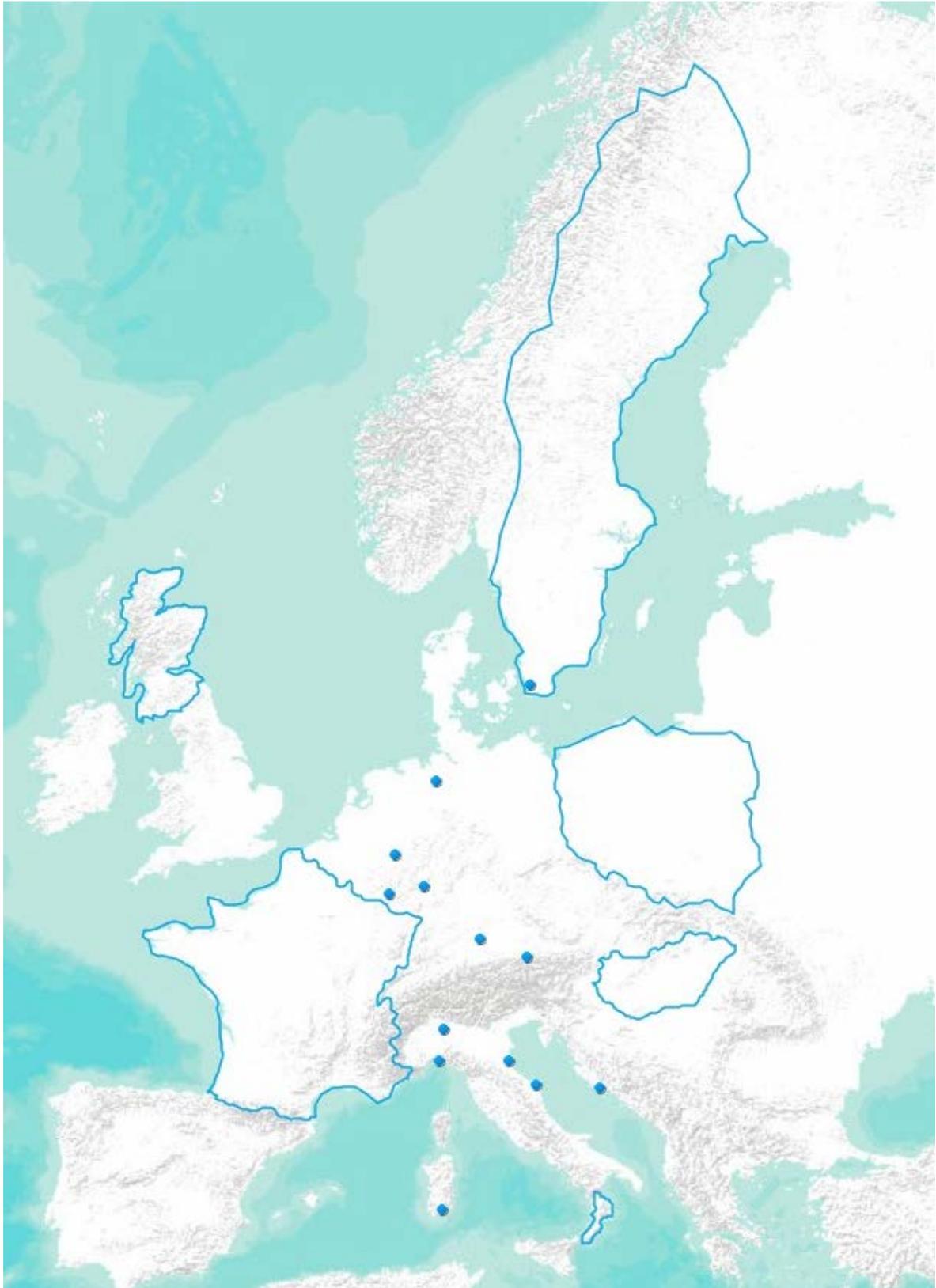
¹⁵⁹ Maier, ‘Crisis, Liturgy and the Crusade in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries’, pp. 638-9; J. Bird, ‘Innocent III, Peter the Chanter’s Circle and the Crusade Indulgence: Theory, Implementation, and Aftermath’, *Innocenzo III: Urbs et Orbis*, ed A. Sommerlechner (Rome, 2003), pp. 503-524.

Christian community, especially the laity'.¹⁶⁰ Ultimately, Innocent III cleverly made the crusade movement a part of the everyday religious life of almost all of Western Europe and offered everybody the opportunity to participate.

Copies of *Quia maior* were sent to Mainz, Bremen, Cologne, Sardinia, Salzberg, Dalmatia, Trier, Ravenna, Poland, Milan, Genoa, Sweden, the March of Ancona, Lund, Hungary, Calabria, Scotland and France.¹⁶¹ These locations are shown on Map 6 (p. 126).

¹⁶⁰ Powell, *Anatomy of a Crusade*, p. 16.

¹⁶¹ Innocent III, 'Opera Omnia', *PL* 216, cols. 821-2.



Map 6. *Quia maior*

Each blue dot on this map represents a known location to which the letter was sent. The blue lines outline the countries which were identifiable widespread recipients.

There are very distinct areas which do not appear to have been targeted to receive the letter, for example England, Wales and Denmark. This may be due to a lack of surviving copies from these areas but, in the case of Iberia it is unsurprising considering the recent exertions in the Iberian Peninsula against the Almohads and the victory at Las Navas de Tolosa.¹⁶² However, the letter does rescind the indulgences ‘formerly granted by us to those setting out for Spain against the Moors or against the heretics in Provence’.¹⁶³ By doing this Innocent prioritised the Holy Land as a crusading destination which took priority over the much closer theatre of war in the Iberian Peninsula.

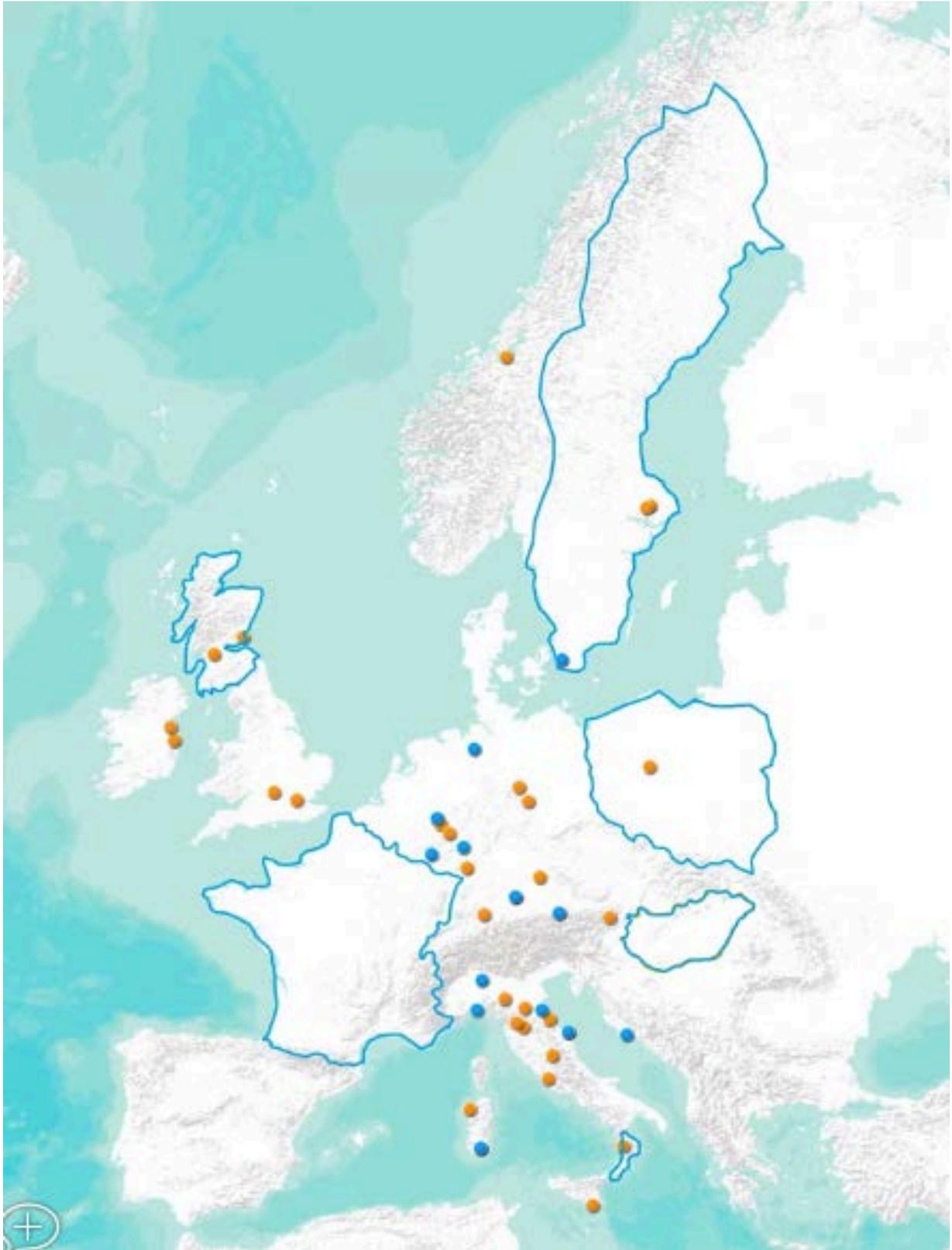
The widespread issue of this letter shows how Innocent III was returning to the mass appeal which he tried to utilise in his *Post miserabile* of 1198. The letter was intended to maximise his control over the message when he wasn’t able to preach it in person. He followed *Quia maior* in May 1213 with the papal letter *Pium et sanctum* which gave instructions as to how to assimilate the contents of *Quia maior* into crusade sermons.¹⁶⁴ It instructed the recipients to ‘pass on with great care and attention to detail exactly what is contained in the encyclical, transmitting carefully and effectively everything you will see has been included in that letter for the aid of the Holy Land, which we wish you to note most carefully’.¹⁶⁵ This very clearly set out how *Quia maior* did not just launch the crusade but was also intended for use as a preaching aid by those who were responsible for the distribution of its content. It also highlighted Innocent’s continuing efforts to emphasise that these legates were acting with his authority and that the letter contained his own message. The amount of specific detail contained in this letter underscores how determined Innocent III was to control his message.

¹⁶² Innocent III, ‘Opera Omnia’, *PL* 216, col. 817; Powell, *Anatomy of a Crusade*, p. 17.

¹⁶³ Innocent III, ‘Opera Omnia’, *PL* 216, col. 820; translation in Riley-Smith and Riley-Smith, *The Crusades: Idea and Reality*, p. 122.

¹⁶⁴ Innocent III, ‘Opera Omnia’, *PL* 216, col. 822.

¹⁶⁵ Innocent III, ‘Opera Omnia’, *PL* 216, col. 822; translation in Riley-Smith and Riley-Smith, *The Crusades: Idea and Reality*, p. 131; Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades*, p. 104.



Map 7. Locations of *Quia maior* and *Pium et sanctum*
The yellow dots denote the locations to which copies of *Pium et Sanctum* were sent.

Pium et sanctum also placed a great emphasis on how the preachers would be perceived by those who witnessed them. Innocent's message was to be one of modesty and poverty and *Pium et sanctum* specified that the preachers 'should not exceed on [their] travels the number of four or six persons in your company'.¹⁶⁶ In this letter the pope issued specific orders as to how the preachers were to visually present themselves to their audiences and he excluded any sense of the ostentatiously large entourages of previous preaching campaigns. This reversed the methods of those earlier preachers such as Pope Urban II who were accompanied by a huge following and created a spectacular preaching event. Instead Innocent III revisited the style of preaching which was carried out by those who had preached against the heretics in the south of France and it alludes to what a preaching tour of his own would have looked like.¹⁶⁷ He encouraged a method of crusade preaching which linked to the idea of apostolic poverty and the idea that these preachers were perceived as being Christ-like in their manner. In a time when the pope was making a definitive effort to make his call to crusade as inclusive as possible, it makes sense that he has scaled the preaching tour down to an event which was less intimidating and more inclusive for his audiences. The papal administrative control over these preachers is also included in *Pium et sanctum* where the pope instructed that the preachers should give a full report 'at the end of a year so that we may learn with whom you have worked in persons and in affairs...'.¹⁶⁸ The letter was a thorough and detailed command for the preachers and set out very clearly what the pope expected of them on his behalf.

Pium et sanctum was sent to a large number of individual crusade preachers who were also equipped with copies of both *Vineam domini* and *Quia maior*, thus ensuring that they could be

¹⁶⁶ Innocent III, 'Opera Omnia', *PL* 216, col. 822.

¹⁶⁷ Guillaume de Puylaurens, *Chronique 1145-1275*, ed. J. Duvernoy 2nd edn (Paris, 1996), p. 52; translation in *The chronicle of William of Puylaurens: The Albigensian Crusade and its Aftermath*, trans. W. A. Sibly and M. D. Sibly (Woodbridge, 2003), p. 23.

¹⁶⁸ Innocent III, 'Opera Omnia', *PL* 216, col. 822.

in no doubt as to the full details of the pope's instructions.¹⁶⁹ Innocent's target audience was not only spread across the areas which had previously responded to the crusade appeal, but the pope was attempting to control his message by sending it, in its definitive form, to as many potential recruits as possible. However, there exists evidence of correspondence between the pope and Conrad, dean of Speyer and Conrad, bishop of Regensburg regarding practicalities of the instructions contained in *Pium et Sanctum*.¹⁷⁰ Conrad of Speyer's queries related to the status of those he could recruit and Innocent III responded with clarification of the contents of *Quia maior*.¹⁷¹ Conrad of Regensburg queried the physical practicalities of the journey and the pope permitted him to use his discretion as to the number of horses used when travelling around to preach.¹⁷² This letter also set out how the crusade to the East should take priority over those other theatres of war; '...we give the advice that such men should be zealously persuaded to take on the labour of the journey to Jerusalem, because it is agreed to be of greater merit'.¹⁷³ This is the only letter in which the pope names the crusade to the East as taking precedence over those to which he has granted equal indulgences; however, this must show his need to prioritise the expedition in light of the circumstances of the deviation of the Fourth Crusade from Jerusalem and his determination to fulfil that mission.

Map 8. (p. 131) shows the known participants with the Fifth Crusade overlaid with the locations to which *Quia maior* and *Pium et sanctum* were sent. The huge scale of response in some areas

¹⁶⁹ Ibid.; Powell, *Anatomy of a Crusade*, p. 22.

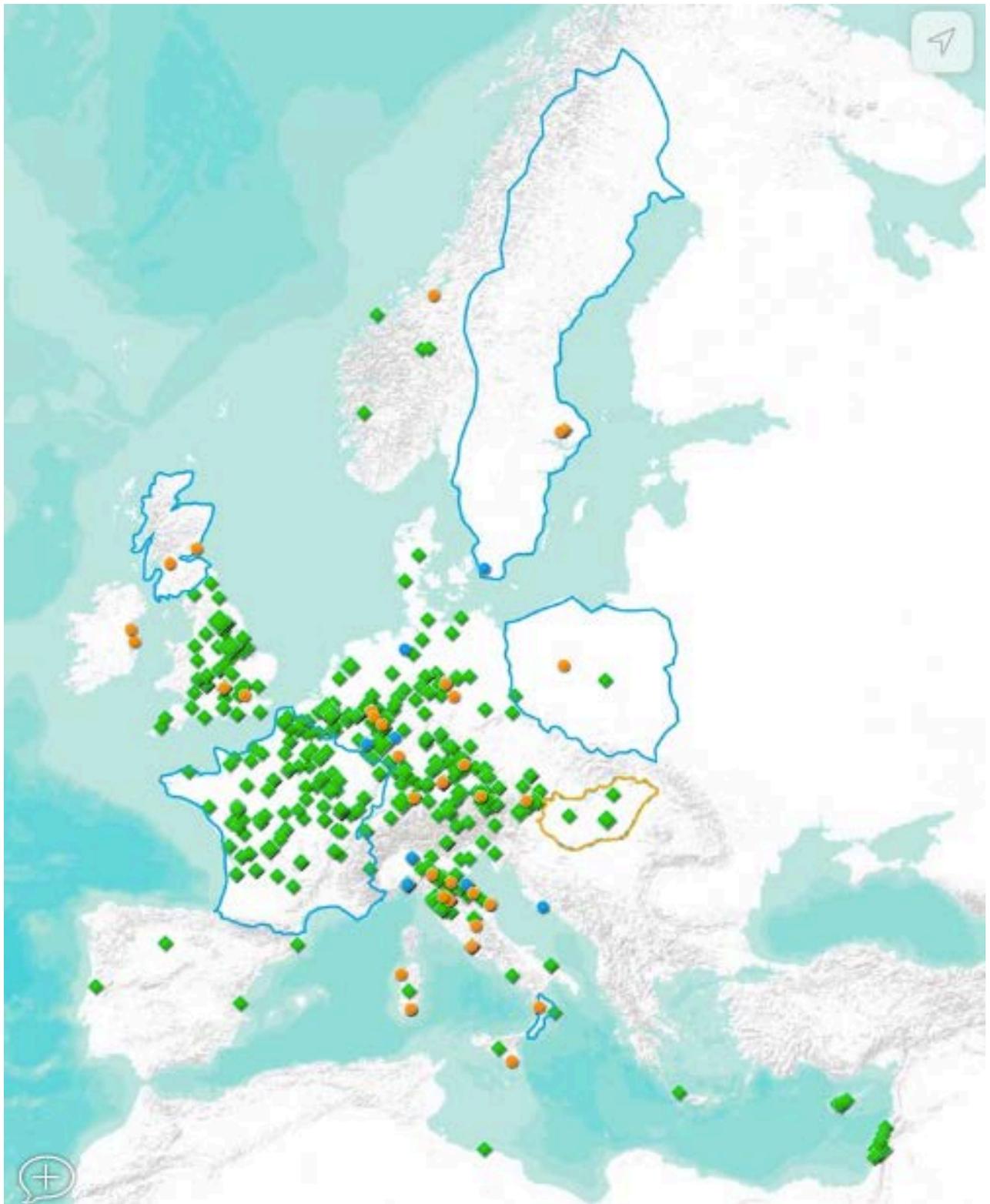
¹⁷⁰ Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades*, pp. 108-9.

¹⁷¹ Innocent III, 'Opera Omnia', *PL* 216, cols. 904-5; translation in Riley-Smith and Riley-Smith, *The Crusades: Idea and Reality*, pp. 131-2.

¹⁷² Innocent III, 'Opera Omnia', *PL* 216, cols. 906-7; translation in Riley-Smith and Riley-Smith, *The Crusades: Idea and Reality*, pp. 132-3.

¹⁷³ Innocent III, 'Opera Omnia', *PL* 216, cols. 905, '...de iis qui suscepto cruce signaculo proposuerunt contra haereticos in provinciam proficisci, necdum suum fuerunt exsecuti propositum, respondemus ut tales ad assumendum itineris Hierosolymitani laborem sedulo inducantur, cu illum majoris meriti esse constet...'; Rist, 'Salvation and the Albigensian Crusade', p. 106.

demonstrates the effectiveness of the letters but the complete absence in others shows that not all of the areas targeted were receptive to the letters.



Map 8. Locations of *Quia maior* and *Pium et sanctum* and Fifth Crusaders
The green dots represent the known Fifth Crusade participants.

In 1215, as had been set out in *Vineam Domini* in 1213, the Fourth Lateran Council took place.¹⁷⁴ It was here that *Ad liberandam* officially launched the Fifth Crusade and marked June 1217 as the date on which it would set out and determined Pope Innocent's precise communication of the message he intended.¹⁷⁵

Conclusion

Before the launch of the crusade movement, papal letters were already an established method of communicating to a wide audience. Their growth over the twelfth century as a mechanism for papal governance is clearly demonstrated by their use to promote the crusades. These letters were the simplest method by which the pope could set his intentions without having to do so in person. They solved the problem of loss of control due to misinterpretation of the message at the same time as enabling the papacy to direct their intentions at specific audiences. Under Pope Urban II, letters pertaining to the crusade were tailored to each individual audience in order for the pope to control their response to his message. Over the following century, papal letters such as *Quantum praedecessores* became increasingly more uniform and spread a single message to larger areas accompanied by letters which supported and clarified their content. By the reign of Pope Innocent III, letters like *Quia maior* offered the papacy much more detailed control over their message to much larger areas with multiple copies being dispatched across Europe inviting all levels of society to take to crusade vow. Ultimately, crusade letters established boundaries and they enabled the popes to maintain authority over their plans, but they were just one part of the overall mechanism by which a crusade could successfully be

¹⁷⁴ Innocent III, 'Opera Omnia', *PL* 216, col. 823; Roscher, *Innozenz III und die Kreuzzüge*, p. 142; see discussion in A. Melloni, 'Vineam Domini – 10 April 1213: New Efforts and Traditional Topoi – Summoning Lateran IV', *Pope Innocent III and His World*, pp. 63-73.

¹⁷⁵ *Conciliorum oecumenicorum decreta*, pp. 267-71; J. S. C. Riley-Smith, *The Crusades: A Short History* (London, 1987), pp. 124-9.

recruited. Although it is clear that letters alone could not inspire a large-scale recruitment success, they were the crucial connection between the papacy, its preachers and its audience.

Chapter Three

Preaching by Proxy, c. 1095-1146

The previous chapters of this thesis have examined the methods by which the pope was personally responsible for the preaching of the crusades, either due to his physical presence, or by the written authority of his letters. The role of the pope as crusade preacher clearly had its limitations and, for all that the preaching tour of Urban II resulted in a number of people joining his proposed expedition to the East, this method was not a practical or favourable option for his successors on such a scale. The issuing of papal bulls quickly evolved to become the primary method by which crusade expeditions and the terms which were attached to them were announced. But even then, these letters were just one part of the mechanism of official crusade recruitment. In a period during which illiteracy was common, the popes' wishes had to be communicated in a way which would inform and persuade potential crusaders to take the vow.¹ It became necessary to promote the crusade message through the combination of the popes' written authority and the physical performance of preachers. However, even when these proxy preachers were authorised by the pope, they were a step further away from his control. This chapter will consider the ancillary persons, either agents of the papacy or unofficial preachers, who carried out the work of recruiting for the crusades. It will compare who these preachers were, where they worked, how they worked and who they were known to have recruited. This research will draw upon the details of the previous two chapters as to how the work and letters of the pope instructed and influenced those who preached the crusade between c.1095-1218. Once again, it will be possible to demonstrate the success of these proxy preachers as crusade recruiters by comparing the locations in which they worked with the information relating to

¹ Menache *The Vox Dei*, pp. 15, 53.

the origin locations of known crusade recruits in GIS. By examining the preaching events of these secondary preachers, how they preached, where they preached, and their relationship to the papacy, this chapter will show which factors had a perceptible effect on their successes or failures as recruiters. Ultimately, even when they acted with papal authority, these preachers were as much capable of undermining the papal message as promoting it and they were rarely under the full control of the papacy.

The Proxy Preachers Of The First Crusade

This section will demonstrate that proxy preachers, whether authorised or not, complicated the papal message from the very outset of the development of the crusade movement. The origin locations of known First Crusaders show that Urban II's recruitment message for the First Crusade travelled much further afield than his preaching tour around the south of France. Word of the expedition to the East reached cities in the northern France, Germany and Italy, and the contemporary chronicles of the period shed light not only on the preaching which was done by the pope and his entourage, but also onto that carried out by a man known as Peter the Hermit, or Peter of Amiens. This itinerant preacher addressed the public around northern France at exactly the same time as Urban II preached in the south and the question therefore arises as to whether Peter the Hermit acted under the authority of the pope or entirely separately from him. There has been substantial academic examination of Peter the Hermit and Urban II as originators of the First Crusade, but this chapter will consider Peter as the first of the many alternative preachers of the crusades. It will show that proxy preachers, whether authorised or not, complicated the authority and content of the papal message from the very outset of the crusade movement.

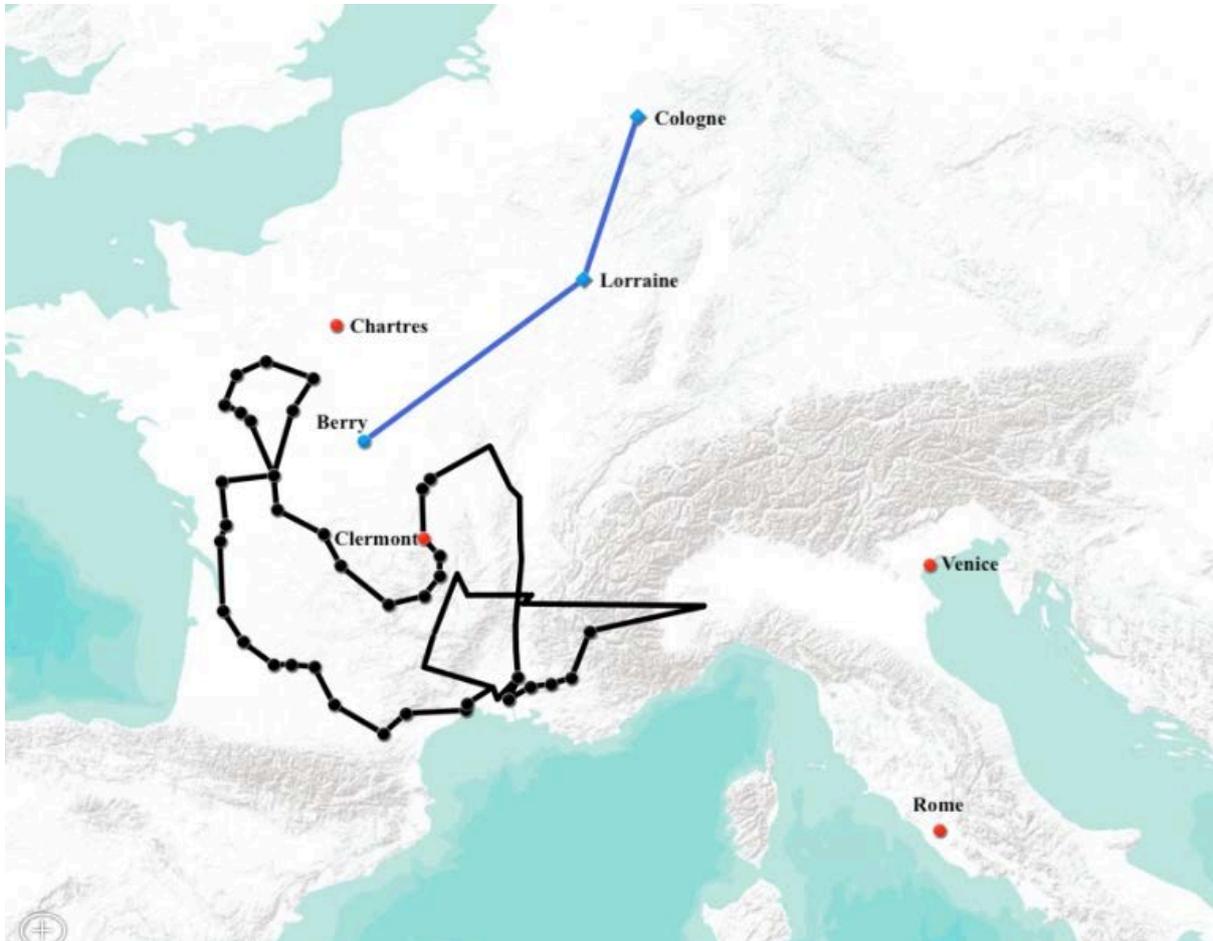
Peter's name occurs numerous times within the chronicle descriptions of the First Crusade and their versions of his preaching reveal a great deal about his manner. His preaching to the laity sits in stark contrast to the official, ceremonial and polished orations of the pope. Urban's tour was organised, his audiences were invited, and he travelled with a large retinue. Peter's travels were rudimentary, but for all that they lacked the organised spectacle of the pope's preaching tour, they still elicited a significant and enthusiastic response. Guibert of Nogent gives a very full account of Peter and how he interacted with those who saw and heard him preach:

...the common people, poor in resources but copious in number, attached themselves to a certain Peter the Hermit, and they obeyed him as though he were the leader.... and we saw him wander through cities and towns, spreading his teaching, surrounded by so many people, given so many gifts, and acclaimed for such great piety, that I don't ever remember anyone equally honoured. Whatever he did or said seemed like something divine...This man, partly because of his reputation, partly because of his preaching, had assembled a very large army...²

The locations in which Peter preached can only be traced very basically but are represented in Blue on Map 9 (p. 137). alongside the route of Pope Urban II in black. This shows that he did remain north of Pope Urban's tour and that their paths never crossed but that Berry was

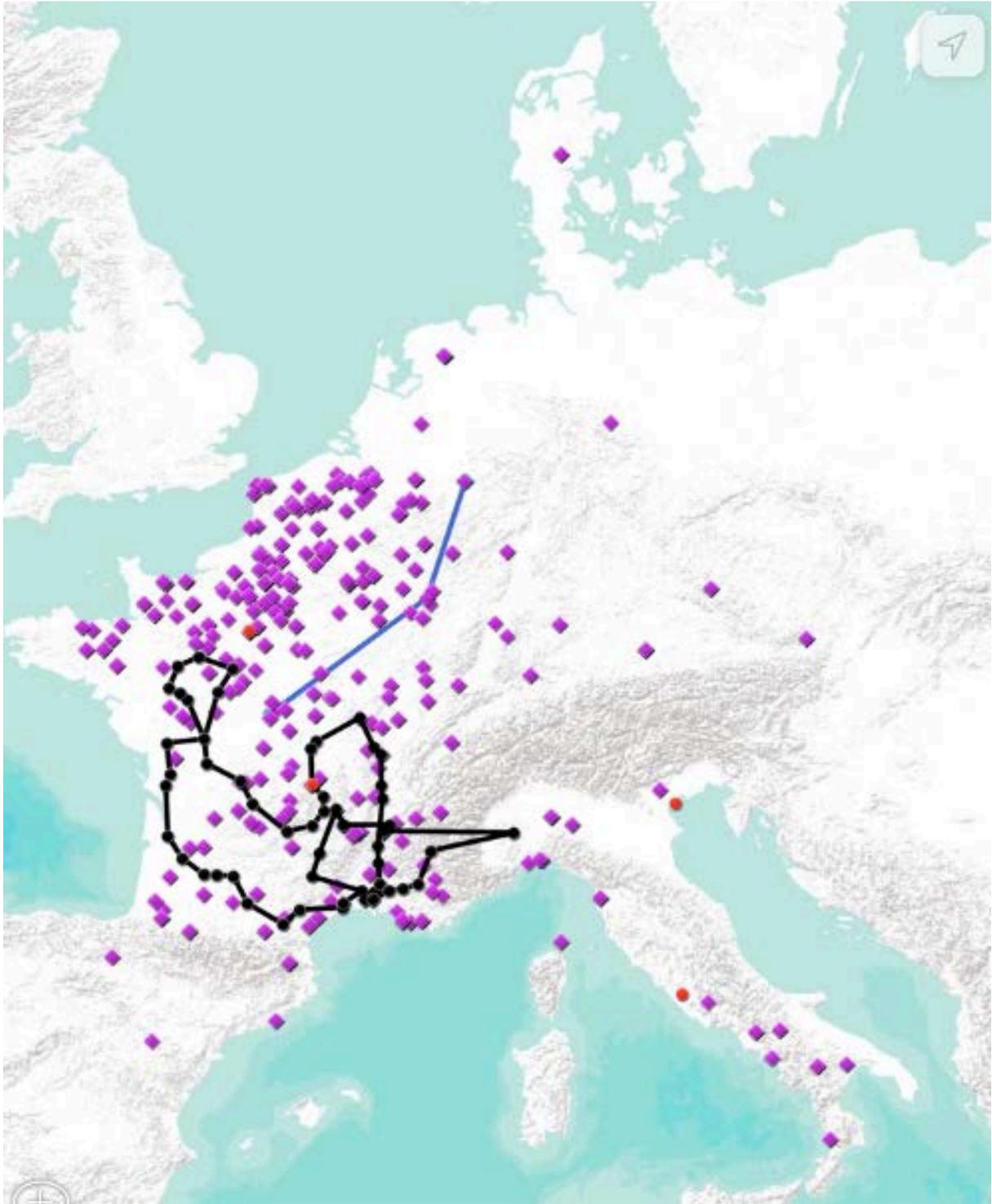
² GN, p.121 'Principibus igitur, qui multis expensis et magnis obsequentium ministeriis indigebant, sua morose ac dispensative tractantibus, tenue illud quidem substantia sed numero frequentissimum vulgus Petro cuidam Heremitaie cohesit eique interim, dum adhuc res intra nos agitur, acsi magistro paruit. Quem ex urbe, nisi fallor, Ambianensi ortum in superiori nescio qua Galliarum parte solitariam sub habitu monachico vitam duxisse comperimus, unde digressum, qua nescio intentione, urbes et municipia predicationis obtentu circumire vidimus, tantis populorum multitudinibus vallari, tantis muneribus donari, tanto sanctitatis preconio conclamari, ut neminem meminerim simili honore haberi: multa enim fuerat ex his quae sibi dabantur dilargitione erga pauperes liberalis, prostitutas mulieres non sine suo munere maritis honestans, in discordibus ubique paces et federa mira auctoritate restituens. Quicquid agebat namque seu loquebatur quasi quiddam subdivinum videbatur, presertim cum etiam de eius mulo pili pro reliquiis raperentur, quod nos non ad veritatem, sed vulgo referimus amanti novitatem...Is itaque vir partim opinione, partim suo monitu cum immanem conflasset exercitum...'; translation in *The Deeds of God through the Franks*, trans. R. Levine, pp. 47-8.

certainly close to the northernmost part of the pope's route and that it is possible that they were aware of each other's work.



Map 9. Preaching Locations of Peter the Hermit (in blue)

By overlaying the origin locations of the First Crusaders (purple dots) it is clear in Map 10 (p. 138) that both men were successfully recruiting for the expedition but that neither of the preaching tours can account for the wealth of recruits in Flanders and the Chartrain region of France.



Map 10. Preaching Locations of Peter the Hermit Urban II and Known First Crusaders

Guibert gives no indication that Peter was acting on behalf of the pope, nor that he was assumed to have been. This description has immediate implications for the control of the crusade message and, if Peter was preaching the pope's crusade message, he was seemingly addressing anyone who would listen and indiscriminately inviting them to join his group.

Albert of Aachen's *Historia* gives the most detailed account of Peter's preaching career prior to the First Crusade. Instead of giving the reader an account of Urban launching the crusade at Clermont, Albert gives full credit for the initiation of the crusade to Peter the Hermit and his preaching around the north of France.³ According to this chronicle, just like that of Guibert of Nogent, Peter preached his message to everyone who would listen, regardless of their social status:

A certain priest, Peter by name, once a hermit...was the first to urge constancy in this journey with all the inspiration he could; in Berry, a region of the aforesaid kingdom, he became a preacher of the utmost persuasiveness and oratory. In response to his constant admonishing and invoking bishops, abbots, clerics, monks, then the most noble laymen, princes of different domains, and all the common people...all flocked joyfully to this journey.⁴

³ AA, p. 4, '...et ab hiis fidelium oblationes asportari requirit, ecclesia uti pro stabulis, Christianos colaphizari, peregrinos sanctos iniusta mercede spoliari et multis oppressionibus ab hiis angustari'; p.6, '...et suscitabis corda fideium ad purganda loca sancta Ierusalem...ibi apostolico reperto, quam audiuit et accepit a Deo... hec uero apostolicus...ut accepit, in omnibus se promisit mandatis parere.'

⁴ AA, pp. 2-4, 'Sacerdos quidam Petrus nomine, quondam heremita...omni instinctu quo potuit huius uie constantiam primum adhortatus est; in Beru regione prefati regni factus predicator in omni admonitione et sermone. Huius ergo admonitione assidua et inuocatione episcopi, abbates, clerici, monachi, deinde laici nobilissimi diuersorum regnorum principes, totumque uulguus, tam casti quam incesti, adulteri, homicide, fures, periuri, predones, uniuersum scilicet genus Christiane professionis, quin sexus femineus penitentia ducti ad hanc letaner concurrent uiam.'

This description relays an account of a popular preacher who was able to appeal to and communicate with a massive audience. Coupe describes Peter's reputation and the likelihood that the laity 'regarded [him] as quasi-divine, which gave him unparalleled authority over the common folk' even without any indication of papal approval.⁵ Albert of Aachen portrays Peter as being indiscriminate in who he approached and universally successful in communicating his message. The individuals he recruited also appear to have contradicted Urban's instructions that members of the clergy were not intended to participate in the crusade and this points to his deviating from any possible instruction that Urban II might have given to him.

It is crucial to compare Albert of Aachen's account with the other chronicles which mention Peter the Hermit in order to establish if he was perceived to have preached with the authorisation of Urban II. The majority of these chronicles make no reference at all to his preaching; they primarily give his name during the descriptions of the events of 1095-96 as a leader of the first wave of the expedition to the East. For example, Baldric of Bourgueil does not refer to any preaching carried out by Peter but does describe him as a 'great hermit' who was the leader of the army through Hungary to Constantinople.⁶ The *Gesta Francorum* and Peter Tudebode also make no reference to Peter's preaching; they do both mention him, but only as one of the leaders of the crusading armies.⁷ Fulcher of Chartres only refers to 'A certain Peter the Hermit, [who] marched through Hungary with many people on foot but only a few

⁵ M.D. Coupe, 'Peter the Hermit - a Reassessment', *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, 31(1987), p. 40.

⁶ BB, p. 13, Petrus quidem, magnus heremita, cum multis Alamannis et Francis plurimis, subsequens agmen praecesserat, et regiam ad urbem applicuerat'; Urban's Letter to the Faithful in Flanders, December 1095' in *Epistulae et chartae ad historiam primi belli sacri spectantes*, ed. H. Hagenmeyer, p. 136; 'Urban's Letter to His Supporters in Bologna, September 1096' in *Epistulae et chartae ad historiam primi belli sacri spectantes*, ed. H. Hagenmeyer., pp. 137-8; 'Urban's Letter to the Monks of the Congregation of Vallombrosa', October 1096 in 'Papsturkunden in Florenz', pp. 313-314; 'Urban's Letter to the Counts of Besalu, Empurias, Roussillon, and Cerdana and Their Followers, Between January 1096 and July 1099' in *Papsturkunden in Spanien, I Katalonien*, ed. P. Kehr, (Berlin, 1926), pp. 287-288.

soldiers.’⁸ He references Peter at the end of a list of other leaders of the expedition and gives no indication of his having been particularly significant to the launch or recruitment of the crusade. Robert the Monk writes only that: ‘Peter, a famous hermit, who was held in great esteem by the lay people... directed a not insignificant force of knights and footsoldiers and set off through Hungary’.⁹ Robert’s description, just as those of Albert of Aachen and Guibert of Nogent, reaffirms Peter’s popular reputation with the laity and how it was unsurprising that many followed him, but there is nothing to indicate what he was preaching, if he was preaching the same message as Urban, if he was in any way connected to Pope Urban, or if he was acting entirely of his own accord.

Gilo of Paris’ *Historia Vie Hierosolimitane* makes reference to Peter the Hermit but also makes no indication of how Peter recruited, or of his having any previous experience or reputation as a preacher. The Charleville poet criticises Peter for his inexperience and calls his group of followers ‘stupid’ (‘stolide’) but does not suggest how Peter may have been involved with the official message, or if he had any connection to Pope Urban II at all:

Before the Duke [Godfrey] began the journey for the service of the Lord... a certain group had stupidly advanced before all the rest, a group of cavalry and foot soldiers alike. A certain hermit, who was called by the name Peter, had endeavoured to lead these people, but never learned to do such things.¹⁰

⁸ FC, pp. 158-9 ‘Petrus heremita quidam, multis sibi adiunctis peditibus sed paucis militibus, per Hungariam primitus perrexit...’

⁹ RM, p. 8, ‘Erat in illis diebus quidam, qui heremita exstiterat, nomine Petrus, qui apud illos qui terrena sapiunt magni aestimabatur... Hic ea tempestate collegit sibi non modicam equitum peditumque multitudinem, et iter suum direxit per Hungariam.’

¹⁰ GP, p. 24, ‘Ante uiam ceptam ducis in Domini famulatum Cum primum proceres niti coepere paratum, Pars quaedam stolide reliquos processerat ante, Agmen agens magnum pariter peditumque equitumque. Hos heremita Petrus quidam, sic nomine dictus, Ducere ceptarat, sed numquam ad talia doctus, Cuius in hoc socius quidam Uualtarius ibat, Qui ‘Sine Merce’.’

There are several ways to reconcile these widely differing accounts of Peter's role in the beginnings of the First Crusade and his relationship to the papacy. Firstly, there is perception. These chronicles came from very different areas and it may have been that in some places it was widely accepted that Peter was acting under his own volition. The pope and his message were not experienced first-hand in many places and it may have simply been assumed that the message had nothing to do with him. Coupe makes note of the physical proximity of the chroniclers to the tradition of Peter the Hermit as originator of the First Crusade. He points out that Peter was not acknowledged as a preacher by those who lived close to Clermont: Fulcher of Chartres, Guibert of Nogent, Robert the Monk and Baldric of Bourgueil, Raymond of Aguilers, Peter Tudebode, Gilo of Paris nor by the Southern Italian author of the *Gesta Francorum* who all attribute the appeal for crusaders to Urban II.¹¹ Edgington underlines the differences between the chronicles when she relates the role of Peter to the interrelationship of the chronicles and calls Albert's version independent from the others.¹² Thus, the accounts of Peter the Hermit's preaching of the crusade can be seen to be very geographically specific and related to the narrative influences of each chronicle. Secondly, there is propaganda. The idea for this expedition may have been Peter's but the Frankish chroniclers who sought favour with Pope Urban II's successors and their noble patrons instead chose to tell a different version of events and to exclude Peter from the origins of the launch of the First Crusade. Similarly, Albert's account of Peter telling the pope about his vision at Jerusalem may have been embellishment to imply that he had in fact received the pope's approval for his own message. Thirdly, there is simple error. Those same chroniclers may have inadvertently left Peter out of their accounts because they were not aware of, or did not understand, the role he may have played. Or, that in spite of what happened to Peter's followers, these chroniclers did not

¹¹ Coupe, 'Peter the Hermit - a Reassessment', p. 42,

¹² AA, p. 57.

consider Peter's preaching campaign to have been anything other than part of the rumour which spread following the Council of Clermont. Finally, it is possible that the two preaching tours were entirely unrelated and a result of pure coincidence. Whichever of these possibilities may have been the case, both Peter and Urban II very successfully communicated their message to their own audiences. Which of these men initiated the crusade is secondary to the question of whether Peter was acting with the official approval of the pope and the implications which that has on the pope's control of his message.

Tyerman has recently suggested that the timing of their preaching and the similarity in their message meant that there must have been some degree of complicity between Urban and Peter.¹³ However, as much as there were similarities between their work, there were also differences. Peter's methods of recruitment were clearly very different from Urban's and, without being able to use the chronicle accounts of Peter's preaching to definitively conclude if he was acting with the pope's authorisation, it is also difficult to say if these different techniques were also part of the pope's intentions. It therefore becomes important to expand our reading of the chronicle accounts to consider if Urban had instructed any other preachers to carry the crusade message with his authority.

Peter's preaching mission, and the pope's reform and crusade efforts, coincided with the rise of the 'poverty and preaching' movement in the north of France and which was headed by figures including Robert of Arbrissel and Bernard of Tiron.¹⁴ Robert of Arbrissel was an established preacher who, according to Baldric of Bourgueil's *Vita B. Roberti* was asked to preach before Urban at Angers in February 1096, just three months after the sermon at

¹³ Tyerman, *How to Plan a Crusade*, p. 31.

¹⁴ Blake and Morris, 'A Hermit Goes to War', p. 82.

Clermont.¹⁵ As a direct result of this, J. M. B. Porter has described how the pope appointed him ‘preacher second only to himself as a sower of the Word of God in men’s hearts with orders to travel everywhere in the performance of his duty’.¹⁶ It is very important to note here that although Robert was apparently ordered to preach by the pope, and historians such as Steven Runicman have considered him a crusade preacher, Porter argues very convincingly that the crusades were never a part of Robert of Arbrissel’s preaching remit. However, as well as demonstrating that Robert was a preacher of the poverty movement, he also shows that by authorising his work, ‘Urban’s licence to preach was granted as much to demonstrate Urban’s authority as his approval.’¹⁷ This deliberate effort to control a preacher and his message by bestowing papal authority upon him is interesting to note as it implies a need for such an action.

According to Blake and Morris, Guibert of Nogent’s account of Peter has the distinctive traits of this ‘poverty and preaching’ idea and they suggest, on the basis of the remarkable similarity in the dates of their work, that Urban may have personally charged this already established and charismatic preacher with preaching the crusade.¹⁸ Unfortunately, this is purely speculation and it is very difficult to determine any definite relationship between Urban and Peter without further evidence. What it does show is that the pope’s message was becoming muddled by the existence of another preacher with a similar message and that, if he did approve of Peter’s actions, Urban had lost control of him almost immediately.

Ekkehard of Aura gives us further insight into the recruitment for the crusade when he describes other, unnamed, preachers who were spreading the message, but he gives us no clue as to

¹⁵ Baldric of Dol’s *Vita B. Roberti de Arbrissello*, 4.22 in *PL*, 162:1047-1049

¹⁶ Porter, ‘Preacher of the First Crusade? Robert of Arbrissel after the Council of Clermont’, p.43.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 50. Porter uses Jean-Marc Bienvenu *L’étonnant fondateur de Fontevraud, Robert d’Arbrissel*, (Paris, 1981) pp. 42-47.

¹⁸ Blake and Morris, ‘A Hermit Goes to War’, p. 85.

exactly who they may have been. His reference to ‘people beyond the apostolic ordinance who were called by other prophets ... signs and revelations’ could include Peter the Hermit but Ekkehard has previously referred to him by name in a different context and he gives no indication that he may be one of these preachers.¹⁹ Instead, this hints that there was an apparent network of other preachers who were using tales of miracles and visions to bounce off Urban’s message and inspire people to take the cross. Given the scale of the pope’s recruitment mission this is unsurprising and it offers a further complication to Urban’s authority over his message as, the greater the number of preachers, the more difficult they would be for him to control.

It is feasible that these unnamed preachers were acting under orders from the pope, but it is more likely that these preachers were taking up the cause and continuing to spread the message without any official connection to the sermon at Clermont. Ekkehard makes no reference as to where these places ‘beyond the apostolic ordinance’ were and why they fell outside of the reach of the papal authority. This may relate to the excommunication of King Philip or to some left-over territories which were faithful to the anti-pope following the investiture contest. This is unclear but does confirm that there were areas which did not fall under the influence of the pope in the late eleventh century. This supports the idea that Urban was deliberately sending preachers to areas that he knew he would not welcome him in person and it lends weight to the argument that Peter the Hermit was preaching on the pope’s behalf but under the apparent guise of independence.

The only other chronicle account which gives a version of a crusade preacher at this time, who was neither Urban nor Peter, is that of Albert of Aachen. He reports another preacher who

¹⁹ Ekkehard, ‘Hierosolymitana’, p. 17, ‘Reliquarum nationum plebes vel personae aliae praeter apostolicum edictum, prophetis quibusdam inter se nuper exortis seu signis coelestibus ac revelationibus ad Terram se Repromissionis vocatas, aliae se quibusuis incommoditatibus ad talia vota compulsas fatebantur; magna quippe pars eorum cum coniugibus ac prole totaque re familiari onusti proficiscebantur.’

promoted the same cause after hearing a sermon of Peter's: 'a priest named Gottschalk, of the German nation, was inspired by love and desire for the same journey to Jerusalem because of Peter'.²⁰ This indicates not only how successful a preacher Peter was, but also that others were taking up the message that they had heard, whether they understood it or not, and they were passing it on to new audiences. This is only one example, but it shows how the original idea for the journey to the East was difficult to control and could be corrupted.

Whether Pope Urban II and Peter the Hermit had any influence over each other or whether the success of one is more significant than the other is a debate which will continue. However, it is clear that Peter's possible role as an initiator of the crusade is not apparent within the majority of these chronicle accounts. If, as Coupe suggests, this is due to the physical proximity of the chroniclers to the preachers, it is reasonable to conclude that his role within the recruitment for the crusade was not considered particularly significant by the French chroniclers or that it served them better to depict the expedition as an exclusively papal project. However, it is possible to hypothesise that Peter had been used by Urban to specifically preach to places which would be more receptive to his preaching ability, for example, in areas which were sympathetic to the anti-pope Clement III or to the excommunicated King Philip. Unfortunately, not one of the chronicles offers any evidence that this was the case. What they do show is that Pope Urban was not the only preacher of the crusade message at this time and that those other preachers were not necessarily representative of the pope's message or the people best qualified to act as leaders. In spite of Peter's success as a preacher, the first wave of the First Crusade was a disaster and it would underline the importance for Urban II's successors to have as much control as possible over those individuals who were commissioned to preach their crusades.

²⁰ AA, p. 44, 'Non multo temporis interuallo post Petri transitum, quidam presbiter Godescalus nomine, Theutonicus natione, incola fluminis Rheni, eiusdem vie in Jerusalem amore et desiderio succensus ex Peter.'

In contrast, a much more definitive account of those who did preach the crusade for Pope Urban II can be found in the *De liberatione civitatum orientis* of Caffaro of Genoa. As a chronicler of Genoa Caffaro's text is obviously localised but it does give an insight into a wider picture of legates who were being used to target specific centres of potential recruits for the crusade expedition. This description of a particular message being presented to a specific audience shows that the continuation of the message after the pope's sermon was considered, deliberate, and delivered by those who were clearly acting on Urban's behalf. Caffaro follows his account of Urban's initial recruitment by describing a certain degree of organised distribution of the message, specifically the despatch of two bishops to Genoa to communicate the details of the pope's previous sermon.

Before the nobles I have mentioned had left the region where they had received the cross and the papal blessing, the pope at their own request sent two bishops to Genoa, those of Grenoble and Orange. The bishops came to Genoa without delay. They first had the people of Genoa come en masse to the church of San Siro, and there they explained the pope's mandate regarding the service of God and of the Holy Sepulchre in remission of all sins, just as the pope had preached.²¹

Bishop William of Orange would go on to be a part of the First Crusade and he succeeded Adhémar of Le Puy as leader of the crusading clergy. Caffaro's version sets out a proactive response to the Genoese appeal for crusade preachers and indicates that the mechanism was in place for these two legates to immediately travel with the crusade message. At the end of the

²¹ Caffaro, p. 101, 'Ante enim quam praedicti principes de partibus illis in quibus crucem et apostolicam benedictionem susceperant recessissent, apostolicus duos episcopos, scilicet Gratianopolitanum, Aurisiacensem, prece corum, Januam misit. Episcopi namque Januam sine mora venerunt, in ecclesia Beati Siri populum Januensem insimul primitus venire fecerunt, ibique apostolicam legationem de servitio Dei et Sancti Sepulcri, sicuti apostolicus praeceperat, in remissione omnium peccatorum narraverunt'; translation in *Caffaro, Genoa and the Twelfth Century Crusades*, trans. and ed. M. Hall and J. Phillips, pp. 109-110.

eleventh century San Siro was Genoa's cathedral and although it isn't explicitly stated here, the implication is that the congregation had deliberately gathered to hear the two men preach. In fact, Caffaro follows his description of the sermon by writing that 'after these legates preached the pope's message, many of the leading Genoese took the cross' meaning that those who responded to the message were the city's nobility.²² Caffaro's statement that the legates addressed their audience in the grandest church in the city 'as the pope had preached', indicates that this was a spectacular event with as much pomp and ceremony as had taken place during Urban's preaching events. It is not difficult to imagine crosses being handed out, and possibly the bishop of Orange committing to take part in the expedition with the same theatre as Adhémar of Le Puy had at Clermont. These representatives were sent as a high-status embassy to Genoa and they would have needed to have with them a smaller scale, but not insignificant, entourage such as that of the pope's preaching tour. The pope was using his representatives to sell his message to the people of Genoa with an impressive sight and the stamp of papal authority. This sermon in Genoa is very different from the accounts of the preaching of Peter the Hermit, and when it shows such clear control of both the event and the recruited, it is difficult to reconcile the two. These wildly varying versions either show that the pope was targeting different audiences in different manners, or that he only had full control over one of these two events.

The proxy crusade preachers who recruited during the pontificate of Urban II show just how diverse and difficult to control they could be. The preaching by the bishops of Orange and Grenoble at Genoa are a textbook example of how officially authorised preaching was intended to work. They succeeded in recruiting their targeted audience in their specified location with

²² Caffaro, p. 102, 'Sermone enim peracto et apostolica legatione audita, multi de melioribus Jannuensibus illa die crucem susceperunt.'

all the theatre necessary to make it clear that they were acting on behalf of the papacy. However, those preachers who were associated with the ‘poverty and preaching’ movement were chaotic and disorganised. Their popularity was not a sign of successful preaching and the deviation of their mission from the official expedition authorised by Urban II shows that the papacy needed to take tighter control of those who sought to share their message in order to maintain a sense of authority over the crusade appeal.

Proxy Preaching After Urban II

After the death of Urban II, Pope Pascal II also used legates to preach to targeted areas in order to recruit for the crusade message. In an expansion of the template set by Pope Urban’s legation to Genoa, it immediately became much more customary to place the crusade message into the hands of senior members of the clergy. We know from Paschal II’s letter to the triumphant crusaders in the East, that he named Maurice of Porto as his legate.²³ Clearly Paschal saw a need to continue the momentum of the crusade message after the first campaign but the little information that we have regarding the cardinal of Porto does not point to his having had any involvement in recruiting new crusaders.²⁴ However, he was just one of several legates that Paschal would appoint to promote the movement and there could be very little doubt that these men, with their official letters, robes of office and accompanying entourage were acting under the instruction of the pope.

²³ *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*, 5835, ‘Episcopis, clericis, proceribus, militibus et omni populo militiae Christianae in Asia triumphantis gratulatur. Mauritium, episcopum Portensem, vicarium suum, commendat’.

²⁴ AA, pp. 554-7; Robinson, *The Papacy*, p. 62; See also letter of Paschal II dated 28 April, 1100, Ep. 4, *Papsturkunden für Kirchen im Heiligen Lande*, pp. 90-92 (PL 163: 42-43). Cardinal Maurice of Porto was appointed legate to Jerusalem and immediately travelled there by sea, thus bypassing the opportunity to recruit new crusaders.

The key instance of Paschal's legates at the forefront of the preaching of the crusade movement occurred during the 1100 synod at Anse in the East of France, north of Lyon. This synod was led by Hugh of Die, Archbishop of Lyons, a Gregorian reformer who had served as a legate for both Gregory VII and Urban II. According to the chronicler Hugh of Flavigny, Bishop Hugh was a significant figure of the period who had been an important member of Gregory VII's church and was a zealous reformer.²⁵ He fell out of favour in 1087 and was excommunicated by Pope Victor III, only to be made a legate again in 1094 and went on to accompany Urban on the 1095-6 preaching tour. The presence and continued utilisation of Hugh of Die at the fore of recruitment for the crusade of 1101 enforces the idea that, by using significant members of the previous administration, the preaching of the crusade in this period was a continuation of what had gone before. Pope Paschal took advantage of the experience of other veteran preachers, namely those who had accompanied Pope Urban, to attempt to ensure an enduring enthusiasm for the message. According to the *Chronicon* of Hugh of Flavigny, the Anse synod was attended by four other archbishops and nine bishops. Bishop Hugh of Die preached the renewed expedition to Jerusalem and raised the issue of excommunication for those who had not completed their vow.²⁶ The pope was clearly communicating directly to the upper levels of the church hierarchy who would, as indicated by the letter from Archbishop Manasses of Rheims to Bishop Lambert of Arras, pass the message on to their peers and continue to foster support for the movement.²⁷ Authorised preachers authorising other preachers had occurred during Urban's papacy and the continuation of this by Pope Pascal indicates that this established a network of preachers had been successful previously.

²⁵ Hugh of Flavigny, 'Chronicon', *MGHS* 8, ii pp. 334, 487.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 487-8, 491-4; also, Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders*, pp. 75-6.

²⁷ *Epistulae et chartae ad historiam primi belli sacri spectantes*, ed. H. Hagenmeyer, no. 20, pp. 175-6.

Pope Paschal II instructed a number of other legates to carry out the preaching of the crusade on his behalf. Archbishop Anselm of Milan, who had already been approached by Urban II before his death to promote the crusade in Lombardy, met with success and his preaching was recorded by Anselm the Younger as having elicited the response ‘Ultreja, Ultreja!’ from his audiences.²⁸ Just as Pope Urban II’s preaching was greeted with ‘Deus vult!’ on the previous campaign, this enthusiastic chant evokes a collective response to the preacher. However, it is worth noting that this description exists nowhere except in this Milanese chronicle. According to the note in the Muratori edition of this text, the song was a Milanese marching song and the word ‘Ultreja’ is a combination of ‘orsù’ and ‘avanti’, both strongly imperative Italian words meaning ‘come on!’²⁹ This places the description very firmly in this one city alone. A handful of the contemporary chronicles mention Anselm of Milan’s involvement in the crusade of 1101 and although Albert of Aachen makes no mention of his preaching prior to the journey, he does describe Archbishop Anselm as having been an active leader and preacher, during the expedition.³⁰ Other than the description in the *Historia Mediolansis* there appears to be no other information of Anselm having preached anywhere other than Milan, so it is not possible to conclude that his recruitment efforts were on the scale of the tour of 1095-6. Instead, his efforts are much more comparable with the single-city approach of the Genoese recruitment efforts made by the bishops of Grenoble and Orange. Where Anselm of Milan differs, however, is that he was preaching to the congregation which he had worked with since his appointment in 1097. He is an example of a preacher who specifically addressed a single city and was acting under papal instructions, but one who was playing to his home crowd and addressing a congregation

²⁸ AA, pp. 586-7, mentions Anselm, among others, taking the cross; OV, pp. 206-7. Orderic describes Anselm as having been instructed by Urban to preach at the Council of Bari in 1098; Landulf the Younger, ‘Historia Mediolanensis’, *MGH SS* 20, pp. 17-49, 22; ‘et in hoc studio premonuit preelectam inuentutem Mediolanensium, cruces suspicere et cantilenam de ultreja cantare’; W. Starkie, *The Road to Santiago: Pilgrims of St. James*, (London, 1957), p. 75, the song ‘Ultreja’ has connections with the pilgrim route to Santiago de Compostela.

²⁹ Landulf the Younger, ‘Historia Mediolanensis’.

³⁰ AA, p. 604, ‘...sermonen ad populum Dei uiuentis faciens...’

who were already familiar with him and almost certainly receptive to his message. Another clue as to the mechanism of authorised preachers occurs in the *Liber Hystoriarum Mediolanensis Urbi* of Landulf of St Paul which indicates that there was resistance from local preachers to taking on the responsibility of preaching the cross themselves.³¹ This shows that the control of authorised preachers could be problematic if they were not willing to fully participate with the pope's wishes.

Paschal II also appointed cardinals John of St. Anastasia and Benedict of St. Eudoxia as legates to France. They were appointed not only to promote the crusade movement, but also to take care of administrative issues and address the continued dispute with King Philip I.³² This legation held a council at Valence on 30 September 1100, passed through Limoges, and then held another council in Poitiers on 19 November of the same year where the cardinals excommunicated Philip I.³³ Unfortunately there is no remaining evidence of them having actively preached the cross and all of the information contained in the *Chronicon* of Hugh of Flavigny concerns ecclesiastical administration and issues relating to the investiture controversy.³⁴ It is significant, however, that the locations in which they held these councils had been visited by Pope Urban II on his preaching tour of five years previous and had been locations which had received the message favourably. Although it is too early to determine whether areas had become exhausted by the repeated targeting of the crusade message, the

³¹ According to Tyerman, *How to Plan A Crusade*, p. 66 Archbishop Anselm 'found local preachers reluctant to preach the cross themselves.' In Landulf of St Paul, *Liber Hystoriarum Mediolanensis Urbis*, ed. C. Castiglioni (Bologna, 1935), pp. 4-5; in general J. Richard, 'La papauté et la direction de la première croisade', *Journal des savants* (1960), pp. 49-59.

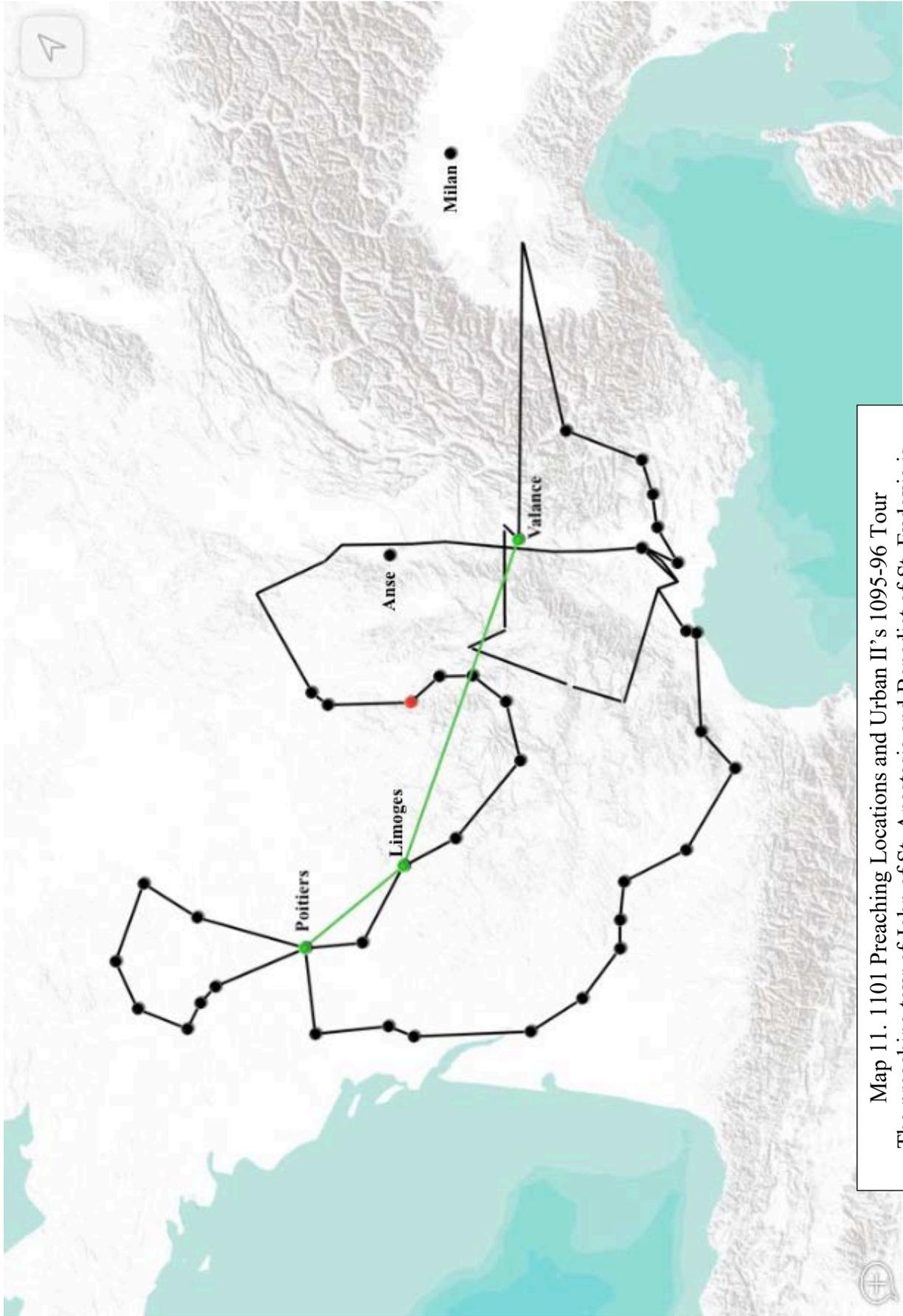
³² Hugh of Flavigny, 'Chronicon', p. 488, 'Igitur anno incarn. Domin. 1100 advenerunt missi ad Gallias sanctae Romanae ecclesiae, Iohannes et Benedictus, a quibus concilium primo apud Eduam designatum, apud urbem Valentinam institum est. 2. Kal. Octobris, ad quod...'; For a more detailed discussion of the events of these councils see P. Healy, *The Chronicle of Hugh of Flavigny: Reform and the Investiture Contest in the Late Eleventh Century*, (Aldershot, 2006), pp. 79-81.

³³ *La Chronique de St. Maixent*, p. 172; 'Vita Beati Gaufridi', ed. A. Bosvieux, *Mémoires de la Société des Sciences Naturelles et Archéologiques de la Creuse*, 3 (1862), pp. 75-160.

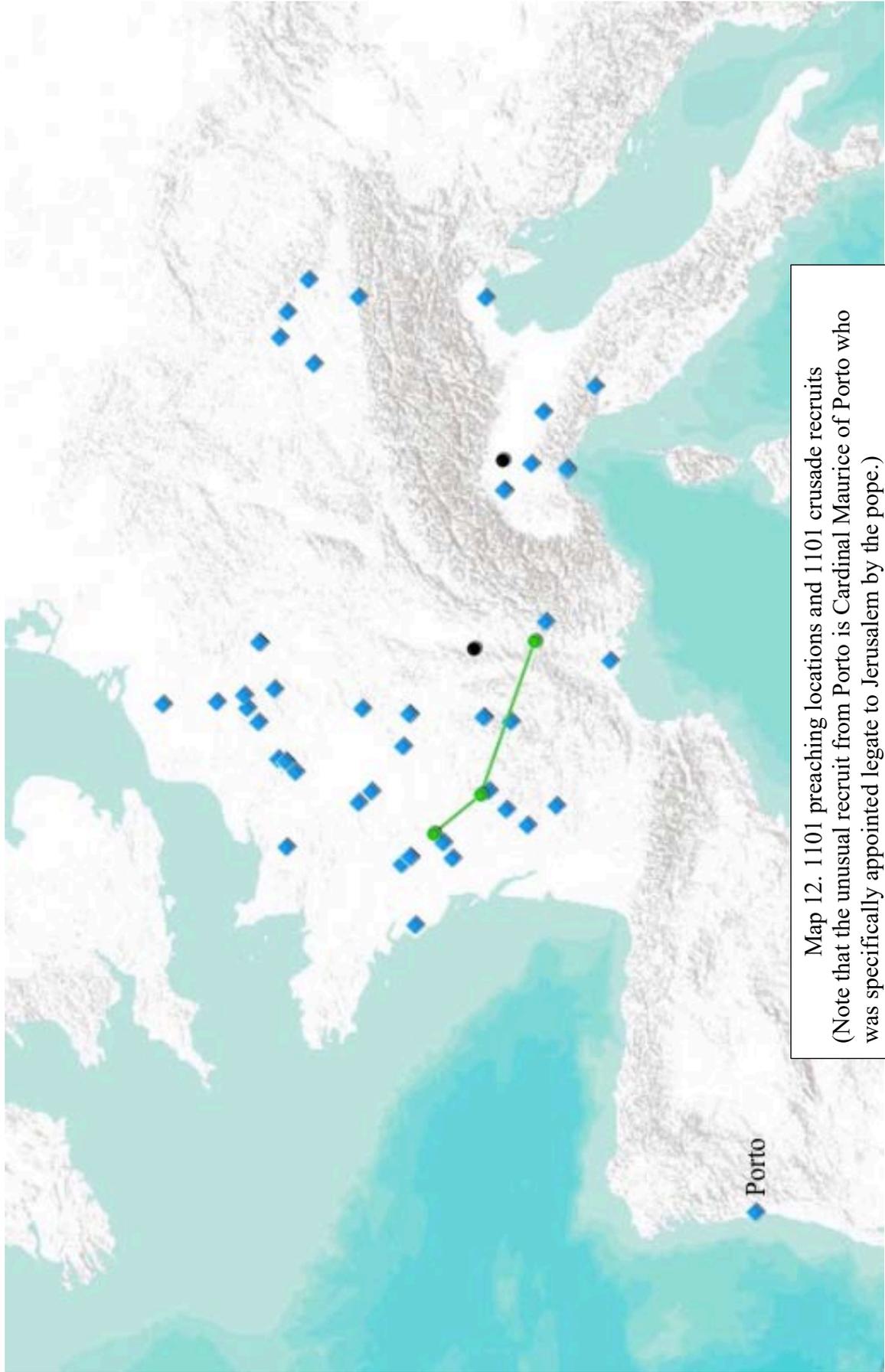
³⁴ Hugh of Flavigny, 'Chronicon', p. 488.

pope was clearly demonstrating a deliberate attempt to communicate with areas which had been receptive to crusade preaching only 4 or 5 years earlier.

All of these preaching locations can be mapped in comparison with Urban's tour as shown in Maps 11 and 12 (pp. 154 and 155).



Map 11.1101 Preaching Locations and Urban II's 1095-96 Tour
 The preaching tour of John of St. Anastasia and Benedict of St. Eudoxia is marked in Green and Urban's tour is in black.



Map 12. 1101 preaching locations and 1101 crusade recruits
(Note that the unusual recruit from Porto is Cardinal Maurice of Porto who was specifically appointed legate to Jerusalem by the pope.)

The recruitment for the 1101 wave of the First Crusade was clearly successful and areas such as Aquitaine and Burgundy, Lombardy and Germany which had not joined the 1095 expedition did contribute a significant number of recruits. Cate has written that ‘there was an enthusiastic response from regions which had contributed little to the First Crusade - from, where the propaganda techniques of 1096 were repeated’ but this is difficult to confirm from the map evidence of known recruits.³⁵ This description accounts for new crusaders taking the cross from areas which were targeted by preachers, letters and by rumour.

In lieu of his own presence as a crusade preacher, Pope Pascal II deliberately followed the example his predecessor set by sending senior members of the clergy to promote the crusade on his behalf. Their work was successful and his message that new recruits and those who had already taken the vow should be encouraged to travel to the East was met with enthusiasm. The mechanism existed for authorised preachers to bestow authority on their peers and they enabled the continuation of the crusade message without the pope being present.

The Recruitment Tour Of Bohemond Of Taranto

After the expedition of 1101 a new figure became the face of recruitment for a new crusade campaign. At this point in time no strong tradition of papal control over the methods of recruitment had been established. This meant that there was opportunity for innovation in the methods by which the crusade message was preached. At the forefront of that innovation was the First Crusader Bohemond of Taranto who, at the centre of a storm of propaganda, politics and preaching, initiated the 1105-06 expedition to the East. Following his participation in the 1095-99 crusade, Bohemond was captured by the Turkish emir Danishmend, and was detained

³⁵ J. L. Cate, ‘A Gay Crusader’, *Byzantion*, 16 (1942-43), p. 513.

for three years.³⁶ His capture temporarily removed one of the most charismatic and enthusiastic personalities of the First Crusade from the continuation of recruiting for the movement. However, Bohemond's return to the West saw the reappearance of the most noteworthy crusade preacher since Pope Urban II or Peter the Hermit. He went on to successfully transport his message around Europe using 'a charismatic personal presence, a well-crafted story, and a carefully staged performance [with]...which a wise warlord harnessed popular support'.³⁷ The following section of this chapter will consider the process of Bohemond's 1105-06 preaching tour and examine the manner in which his preaching for a new wave of crusaders built upon what Pope Urban II had done ten years earlier and took advantage of the knowledge and experience of crusade veterans.

The physical gathering of Bohemond's army is described by a number of chroniclers: Fulcher of Chartres, Albert of Aachen, Ekkehard of Aura, Orderic Vitalis, Suger of St Denis, *The Narrative of Fleury*, the *Historia peregrinorum euntium Jerusalem*, Bartolf of Nangis, and Sigebert of Gembloux.³⁸ For the most part these chronicles give little indication of how he recruited or the preaching which he carried out. They focus instead on his successful raising of

³⁶ FC, pp. 518-9; RC, pp. 704-5; AA, pp. 522-5.

³⁷ Paul, 'A Warlord's Wisdom', p. 566.

³⁸ FC, pp. 518-9, '...Bohemond, after he had returned from Gaul, collected as many men as possible and prepared a fleet in the port of Brindisi, which is in Apulia'; AA, pp. 754-5. 'Bohemond sailed down to Avlona with an army of Christians he had gathered from the different kingdoms of Gaul and Italy...'; Ekkehard, 'Hierosolymita', pp. 37-8, 'Bohemond then travelled all the way to the kingdoms of Hispania, and he began to gather an army as large as he was able by all kinds of treaties against the tyrant Alexius'; Suger of St Denis, *The Deeds of Louis the Fat*, pp. 43-6; 'Narratio Floriacensis de captis Antiochia et Hierosolyma et obsesso Dyrrachio', *RHC Oc.* 5, p. 361. 'innumerabilem tam equitum quam peditum multitudinem ab eis eduxit, non solum de Galliis, verum et de toto Occidente'; 'Historia peregrinorum euntium Jerusalem', *RHC Oc.* 3, p. 228. 'ex cuius scilicet itineris occasione, et ipse gentium nonullos Gallicanarum incitaret, quatinus, secum transmare pergentes, contra gentiles et imperatorem Alexium, quibus tunc incessanter infestabantur, pugnaturi essent'; Bartolf of Nangis, 'Gesta Francorum Iherusalem expugnantium', *RHC Oc.* 3, p. 538, 'Bohemondum vero trans Alpes in Gallias et partes Occidentis, ut contra imperatorem sibi adjutoria quaereret, legavit, atque signiferum Christi exercitus eum constituit, vexillumque sancti Petri ei tradens, in pace dimisit'; Sigebert of Gembloux, 'Chronica', *MGH SS* 6, p. 372. 'Boiamundus dux Apuliae contracto undeunde exercitu, accingitur ad invadendum Constantinopolitanum imperium.'

his army and the expedition itself. However, some of them do provide enough information to build a picture of the manner in which he recruited for the new campaign.

Upon his return to Bari in Italy in 1105, Bohemond immediately set about recruiting an army for another expedition to the East and in September of that year he travelled to Rome.³⁹ The purposes of this campaign, as to whether it was initially intended as a crusade to Jerusalem or against Constantinople, and whether the pope had approved a crusade against either of these cities is discussed in much of the historiography.⁴⁰ Here, however, it is crucial to consider why Pope Paschal II was willing to let a layman recruit for this expedition. As discussed previously, Pope Paschal was not physically at the forefront of the recruitment campaign and, instead, he used letters, legations, synods and councils to authorise the preaching for the campaign of 1101. The preachers he had previously approved were all senior members of the church, many of whom had been involved with the pomp, ceremony and spectacle of Urban's tour, thus benefiting from their experience. In 1105, by handing the preaching tour over to Bohemond, Paschal allowed an experienced crusader to attempt to win over new crusaders. It is possible that the pope had no choice in the matter and when Bohemond first came to him to ask for permission, it may have been the case that Paschal felt that his approval gave him some control over the actions that Bohemond was going to take anyway. It is also conceivable that Paschal was too involved with the ongoing investiture controversy and the disputes within the French

³⁹ Anonymi Barensis Chronicon, *RIS* 5, ed. L.A. Muratori (Milan, 1723-51), p. 155.

⁴⁰ M. Baldwin, 'The Papacy and the Levant during the Twelfth Century', *Bulletin of the Polish Institute for Arts and Sciences*, vol. 3 (1945), pp. 277-87; W. Daly, 'Christian Fraternity, the Crusaders, and the Security of Constantinople, 1097-1204: The Precarious Survival of an Ordeal', *Medieval Studies* 22 (1960), pp. 43-91; J. G. Rowe, 'Paschal II, Bohemond of Antioch and the Byzantine Empire', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, 49 (1966-7), pp. 165-202; B. E. Whelan, 'God's Will or Not? Bohemond's Campaign Against the Byzantine Empire (1105-1108)', *Crusades. Medieval Worlds in Conflict* ed. T. Madden (Aldershot, 2010), pp. 111-25.

monarchy to preach the crusade in person.⁴¹ After the 1101 expedition, he may also have seen an advantage in presenting the image of a successful First Crusader to potential new recruits.

Pascal sent Bohemond away from Rome with the banner of St. Peter, the assistance of the papal legate Bishop Bruno of Segni and his authorisation ‘to summon and urge people to make an expedition to the Holy Sepulchre’.⁴² Just like Archbishop Hugh of Lyons, the preacher of the 1101 campaign, Bruno had accompanied Pope Urban’s 1095-6 First Crusade preaching tour. An important member of the senior clergy at the time, Rubenstein calls Bruno of Segni an ‘experienced, learned, respected churchman who had helped build the crusade from the ground up’.⁴³ By commissioning a senior member of the church and a veteran of Urban’s tour to travel with Bohemond, Paschal gave him the mark of authority and a very clear indication of an effort to impose control over this new campaign message; he clearly intended to maintain control and not repeat the disastrous impact of the preaching of Peter the Hermit. Instead, Paschal was acting as he had in his 1101 crusade by enlisting those with experience of Pope Urban II’s successful preaching campaign.

Once he left Rome, Bohemond embarked on a recruitment tour. His route through France as constructed and discussed by Yewdale is as follows:

⁴¹ U.-R. Blumenthal, *The Early Councils of Paschal II, 1100-1110* (Toronto, 1978), pp. 33-73; U.-R. Blumenthal, *The Investiture Controversy: Church and Monarchy from the Ninth to the Twelfth Century* (Philadelphia, 1988), pp. 166-8.

⁴² Bartolf of Nangis, ‘Gesta Francorum Iherusalem expugnantium’, p. 538; Suger of St Denis, *The Deeds of Louis the Fat*, p. 45; see also J. S. C. Riley-Smith, ‘The First Crusade and Saint Peter’, *Outremer: Studies in the History of the Crusading Kingdom of Jerusalem*, ed. Benjamin Kedar and et al. (Jerusalem 1982), pp. 41-63;

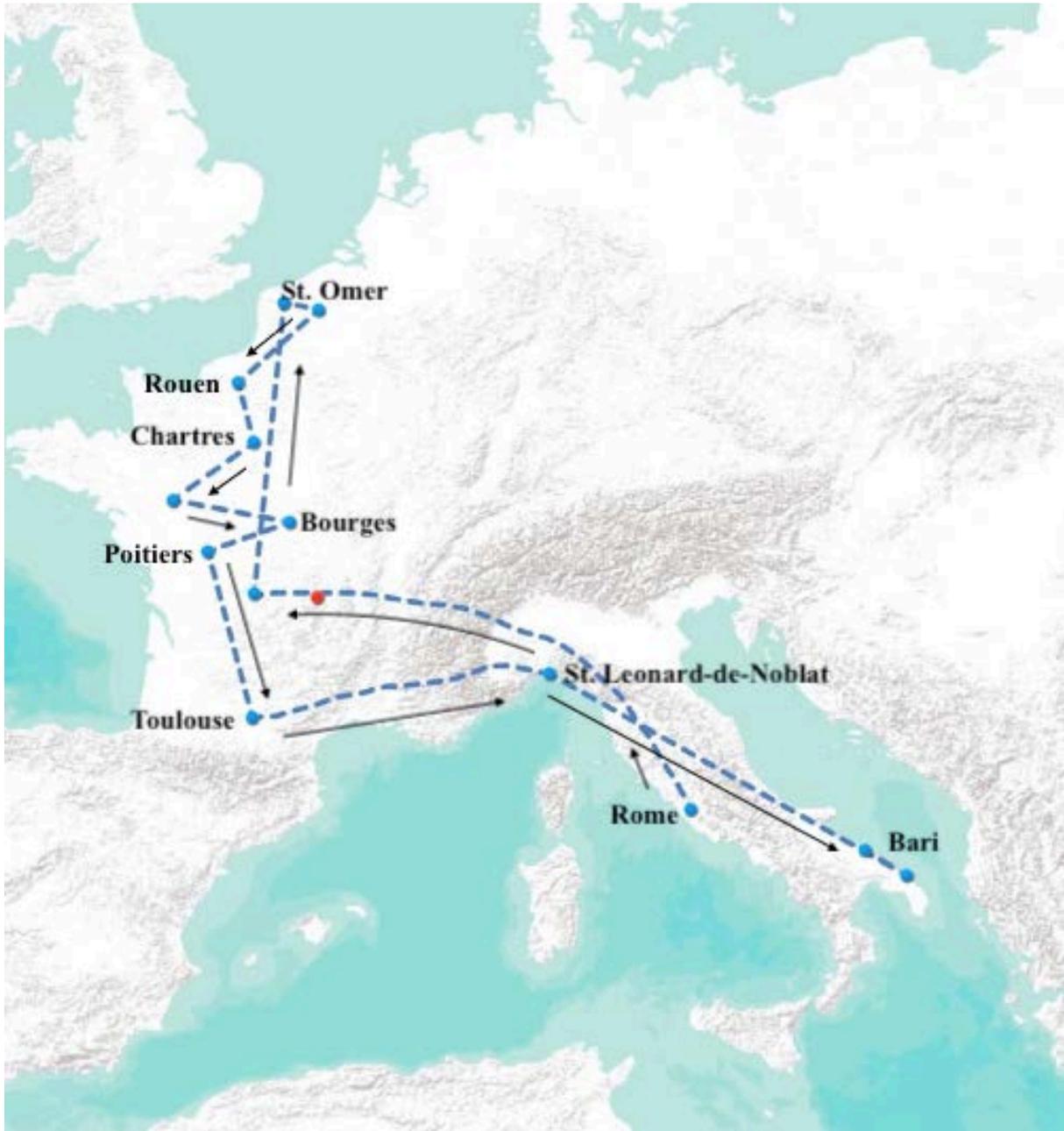
⁴³ J. Rubenstein, ‘The Deeds of Bohemond: Reform, Propaganda, and the History of the First Crusade’, *Viator* 47 (2017), p. 126.

Bohemond of Taranto's Itinerary⁴⁴

September 1105	Rome
February/March 1106	St. Leonard-de-Noblat
30 March	St. Omer, Flanders
Unknown dates	Mons
April	Rouen
	Chartres (Wedding)
May	Angers
	Bourges
26 June	Poitiers (Council)
Unknown dates	Toulouse
Unknown dates	Genoa, Italy
August	Apulia
August/September	Brindisi
September	Bari

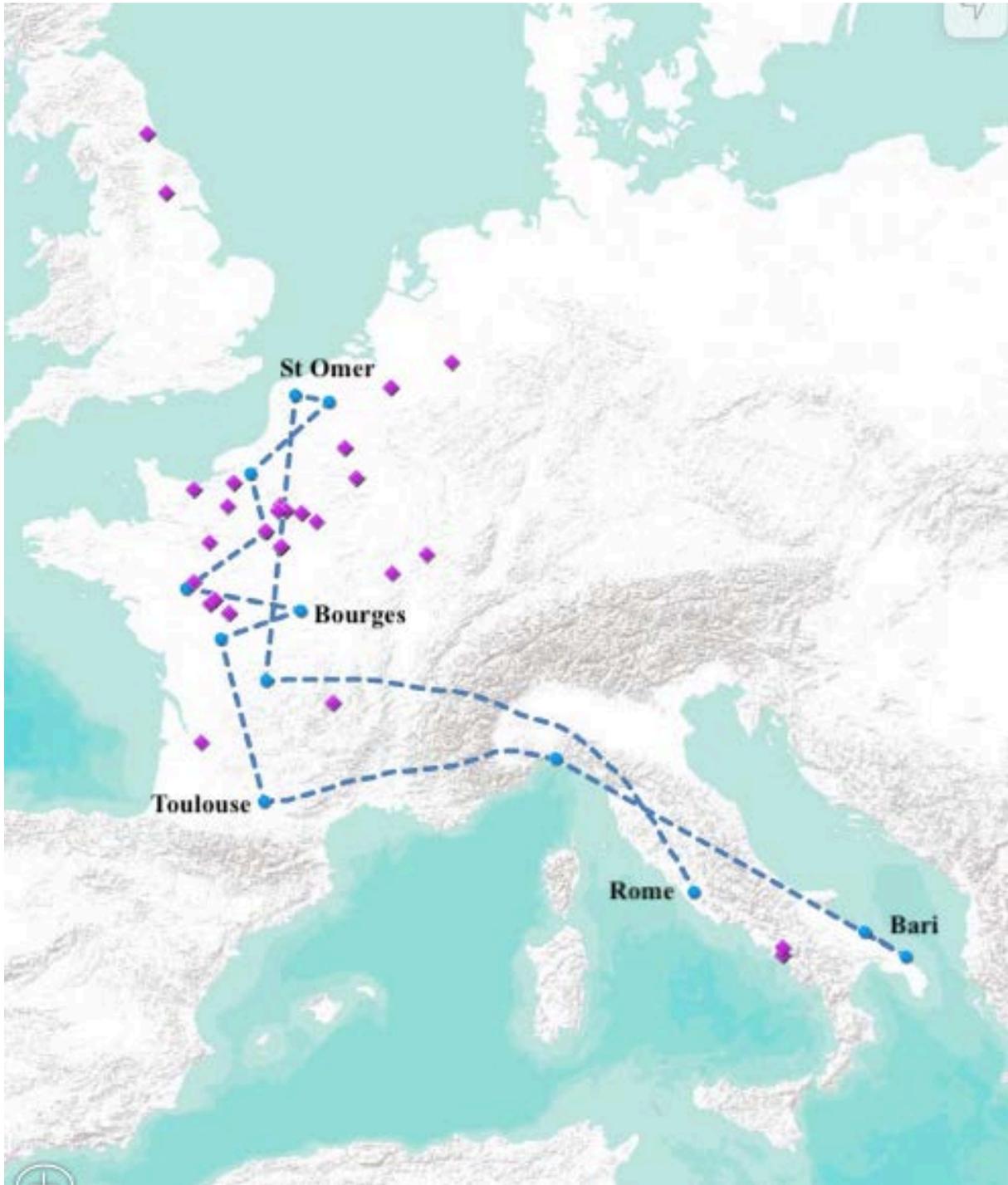
These locations are shown in Map 13 (p. 161) and this route shows much more localised recruitment than for the earlier expeditions.

⁴⁴ R. B. Yewdale, *Bohemond I, Prince of Antioch* (Princeton, 1917), pp. 110-15.



Map 13. Bohemond of Taranto's 1105-6 Preaching Tour

Map 14 (p. 162) below demonstrates a very organised tour that visited the regions in Northern France and Flanders which were so receptive to the crusade message in 1095-6 and 1101. This was clearly deliberate and Bohemond held his most significant recruitment in Chartres, right in the heart of that region.



Map 14. Bohemond of Taranto Preaching Tour and Known Recruits (shown in purple).

A comparison of the tour with the known crusade participants shows that Bohemond was right in his decision to visit the northern areas of France as that was where he was most successful.

In February or March of 1106 Bohemond paid a visit to the shrine of St. Leonard at Noblat in the Limousin. Bohemond made an offering of a gift of silver chains at the shrine and gave credit to St. Leonard, as a patron of captives, for intervening and ensuring his release from his previous captivity. The cult of St. Leonard, a sixth century hermit, had been promoted during the eleventh century with the writing of a *Vita* which, as discussed by Marcus Bull, ‘was appealing to arms-bearers not only as contrite villains but also as direct beneficiaries’.⁴⁵ This cult was apparently directed at those who bore arms and Bohemond’s arrival at Noblat would be incorporated into Bishop Walram of Naumburg’s (d. 1111) revised version of St. Leonard’s *Vita*. The version of events in this *vita* portrays a very strong connection between the captive Bohemond, the canons of Noblat who had prayed for his release, and the interceding saint, and it serves to promote all three. However, if we consider this event as an element of his preaching tour, it is clear that Bohemond was presenting himself in a spiritual light. Russo writes that he was pilgrim, not a warrior; his journey began with the presentation of himself as a man who had been aided by a saint and who intended to keep his holy promises.⁴⁶ Orderic Vitalis briefly described this visit to Noblat and how Bohemond ‘solely fulfilled his vow at the tomb of St. Leonard the confessor in Limousin’.⁴⁷ This marked the starting point for the tour of France where ‘his fame resounded everywhere as the peoples of the west acclaimed the noble standard-bearer of the armies of Christendom’.⁴⁸ He goes on to describe the tour and the response to Bohemond’s presence as that of an entertainer regaling his audience in both secular and ecclesiastic environments:

⁴⁵ ‘Vita et miracula S. Leonardi Nobiliacensia’, *AS* (Nov.) 3, pp. 148-73; Bull, *Knightly Piety and the Lay Response to the First Crusade*, pp. 241-2 considers the cult of St. Leonard as a case study for the influence of saints over those pilgrims who bore arms.

⁴⁶ L. Russo, ‘Il viaggio de Boemundo d’Altavilla in Francia (1106): un riesame’, *Archivio Storico Italiano* 163 (2005), p. 15.

⁴⁷ OV, 6, pp. 68-71, ‘Mense Martio Buamundud dux sicut in carcere Dalimanni Domino uouerat in Gallias uenit, et in pago Lemouicensi uotum ad sancti Leonardi confessoris tumulum celebre compleuit.’ Pilgrims guide, Vol 2, p. 47 gives an account of Bohemond in its description of the shrine of St Leonard.

⁴⁸ OV, 4, pp. 264-5.

[Bohemond] travelled throughout France during Lent, greeted with the greatest enthusiasm wherever he went; entertained in monasteries, in castles, and in cities, he told of his adventures in the Orient, and exhibited the relics which he had brought back with him from the Holy Land.⁴⁹

His use of relics as sacred props shows how he was preaching and promoting the idea that he had the approval of the Church. This was not a case of promising potential heavenly rewards; Bohemond was showing his audience that he had been granted God's approval in both his success and the objects which he had obtained. This skilful utilisation of storytelling and performance is underlined by Paul in his discussion of the chronicle accounts of responses to the presence of Bohemond:

Throughout his campaign, Bohemond played upon the fame that preceded him and the profound curiosity surrounding what the crusaders had done in the East. In the hands of Bohemond and his followers, narrative could be a powerful tool to capture an audience and rouse their emotions.⁵⁰

Although Bohemond and Bruno of Segni are the key players in almost all of the chronicle descriptions of this tour, Eadmer's *Historia novorum in Anglie* gives an account of one of Bohemond's officers, a man named Ilger Bigod.⁵¹ He comes to the forefront of events at Rouen in April 1106 when Bohemond and Bruno met with Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury. Notable for his correspondence continuing the papal instruction that the clergy not take the

⁴⁹ R. B. Yewdale, *Bohemond I, Prince of Antioch*, p. 111; OV, 4, p. 212. Also described in 'Chronicon Vindocinense sen de Aquaria', *Chroniques des églises d'Anjou*, ed. P. Marchegay and É. Mabile (Paris, 1869), pp. 171-72.

⁵⁰ Paul, 'A Warlord's Wisdom', p. 557-8.

⁵¹ Eadmer, *Historia novorum in Anglie*, ed. Martin Rule, Rolls Series 81 (London, 1884). pp. 179-80; Also, Paul, 'A Warlord's Wisdom'.

cross prior to the First Crusade, Archbishop Anselm may have been approached by Bohemond in order to reach out to potential recruits from England. Ilger, having ‘known Anselm for years, entertained the archbishop with stories of wars in the East and the geography of the Holy Land, and told him of the relics he had brought back with him and the way in which he had obtained them’.⁵² That Bohemond was not making his own persuasive theatrical presentation to the archbishop indicates that he was not necessarily always the most appropriate person for the job and that in this case, Ilger Bigod’s existing relationship (and possibly a common language) with Anselm, meant that he was the one who told the tales of adventure in the East. His methods, however, were exactly the same as those of Bohemond; he told heroic stories of the crusade and presented the apparent heavenly approval of the relics bestowed upon them by Pope Pascal. Whether any other members of Bohemond’s entourage preached the crusade is unclear but this one instance shows how both the audience and their response was considered.

In April 1106, after departing Rouen, Bohemond and his party travelled to Chartres. It was at Chartres Cathedral that a particularly significant preaching event occurred immediately after Bohemond’s marriage to King Philip of France’s daughter, Constance. This wedding drew a magnificent audience of nobility and church hierarchy who came to see Bohemond make a connection with French royalty and for the excommunicated king to ally himself with a famous crusader. According to both Suger of St. Denis and Orderic Vitalis, this royal wedding served as an opportunity for Bohemond to recruit for his new expedition ‘in the presence of the king and the lord Louis, with many archbishops, bishops, and magnates at the kingdom in attendance’.⁵³ Bohemond did not miss the chance to address this powerful audience and according to Orderic Vitalis:

⁵² Yewdale, *Bohemond I, Prince of Antioch*, p. 112; Eadmer, p. 180, ‘Familiariter itaque cum eo gens, inter plurima quae ipsi de superatis bellis, de urbibus captis, de situ locorum, aliisque nonnullis quae in expeditione Ierosolimitana acceperat, delectabili allocutione disseruit.’

⁵³ Suger of St Denis, *The Deeds of Louis the Fat*, p. 45.

the duke, who made a fine figure even among the greatest, proceeded to the church, mounted the pulpit before the altar of the blessed Virgin and Mother, and there related to the huge throng that had assembled all his deeds and adventures... Many were kindled by his words and, taking the Lord's cross, left all their belongings and set out on the road for Jerusalem like men hastening to a feast.⁵⁴

Fassler has examined the staging of this action and the physical environment of the church at Chartres. Information found in the obituary notes of Bishop Ivo of Chartres, the bishop at the time of Bohemond's wedding, describe his having constructed a *pulpitum*, from which he 'could teach and preach, in full view'.⁵⁵ She considers whether this was the pulpit from which Bohemond may have spoken, writing that 'one cannot assume that this 'pulpitum' was an actual jubé, a choir screen that separated the nave from the choir, although it may have been an early example of that type of structure' and would have given a great vantage point for addressing a crowd.⁵⁶ Just as Urban II was reported to have preached his sermon at Clermont from a pulpit, Bohemond also used this raised stage to add to the theatre of his sermon.

After his success at Chartres Bohemond's tour continued throughout France and, in Poitiers on 26 June 1106, a council was held at which speeches were made by both Bohemond and Bruno of Segni.⁵⁷ Suger of St. Denis witnessed how both men 'aroused many of those present' to join the expedition.⁵⁸ Map 14 above (p. 162) shows that the preaching in these areas was successful

⁵⁴ OV, 6, pp. 70-1, 'casus suos et res gestas enarravit, omnes armatos secum in imperatorem ascendere commonuit, ac approbatis optionibus urbes et oppida ditissima promisit. Unde multi vehementer accensi sunt, et accepta cruce Domini omnia sua reliquerunt, et quasi ad epulas festinantes iter in Ierusalem arripuerunt.'

⁵⁵ M. Fassler, *The Virgin of Chartres* (New Haven, 2010), p. 146.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 146.

⁵⁷ 'Chronicon s. Maxentii Pictavensis', *Chroniques des églises d'Anjou*, ed. P. Marchegay and É. Mabile (Paris, 1869), p. 423, 'Pictavis concilium fuit, in quo interfuit Boamundus dux; quem Bruno legatus sanctae Romanae ecclesiae adduxit, et tenuit concilium et viam Sancti Sepulcri confirmavit.'; Suger of St Denis, *The Deeds of Louis the Fat*, p. 23; 'Chronica Monasterii Casinensis', *MGH SS 7*, p. 777.

⁵⁸ Suger of St Denis, *The Deeds of Louis the Fat*, p. 45.

and the identifiable crusaders are definitely concentrated around these cities. Paul also argues that not only was Bohemond's vivid storytelling that was remembered by the western chroniclers, but also his use of the written word.⁵⁹ He considered the letter a tool for recruitment, just as had been done by Pope Urban II and Pope Paschal II in previous recruitment campaigns. For example, we know of a letter composed by a chaplain named Hugh which was sent by Bohemond to Archbishop Gerard of York, because the archbishop's written response still exists.⁶⁰ Even though Bohemond's recruitment campaign was largely dependent on the physical preaching, it did utilise other forms of correspondence and shows that Bohemond attempted to communicate his message further afield than just to the locations targeted on his tour.

Once again, the accounts of the preaching of this expedition focus on the physical presence and preaching ability of one man, as in the cases of Pope Urban II and Peter the Hermit. Bohemond's apparent popularity and eloquence, along with the papal approval signalled by the presence of Bruno of Segni, his experience of recruiting for the First Crusade, his marriage to the daughter of a king and his previous experience of an expedition to Jerusalem, all combined to make him a powerful recruiter.⁶¹

Whether Bohemond's purpose was to raise an army for Constantinople or Jerusalem does colour how we should consider his initial authorisation from Pope Paschal II and it is unclear if he was preaching the pope's cause or if he had persuaded the pope to let him preach his own. It does not, however, diminish his power to communicate to an audience or undermine the continued existence of enthusiasm for the expedition, whatever its purpose may have been.

⁵⁹ Paul, 'A Warlord's Wisdom', p. 559.

⁶⁰ Liebermann, *Quadripartibus, ein englisches Rechtesburg von 1114, nachgewiesen und, soweit bisher ungedruckt*, (Halle 1892), p. 161.

⁶¹ Paul, 'A Warlord's Wisdom', p. 560.

This period of crusade preaching built on the physical preaching of the crusade which Pope Urban II and Peter the Hermit carried out for the campaign for the 1101 crusade. Where it advances on this in the presence of a war hero who had already been to Jerusalem and was bringing back his own first-hand experiences as a method of persuasion and the use of Bruno of Segni who was a veteran of Urban II's preaching tour. By appointing Bruno to oversee this recruitment drive, he was exercising as much authority over Bohemond as was possible.

Bohemond's preaching campaign, although apparently successful, did not result in a victorious return to the Holy Land. Instead he was defeated by Emperor Alexios's army at Constantinople and died in 1111 in Apulia. It was around this time that the continuation of the crusade movement shifted its focus away from the East to include a different theatre of war.

The Growth Of Crusading In New Theatres Of War

During Paschal II's papacy there was increased necessity to address the issue of the threat to western Christian lands in much the same way as those in the East. As before the papacy approved and encouraged military expeditions into these areas but they were selective about whom they approached with their message. They continued to use papal legates to recruit for these campaigns and this demonstrates that they were considered to be effective and reliable representatives over whom the papacy had full control.

In 1113 the city of Pisa retaliated against the Balearic Islands for an attack in which, according to the *Liber Maiolichinus*, Muslim raiders from Majorca had taken Pisan prisoners.⁶² The

⁶² *Liber Maiolichinus de gestis Pisanorum illustribus*, ed. C. Calisse, (Rome, 1904); Purkis, *Crusading Spirituality*, pp. 166-7 discusses the evidence for categorizing this campaign as a crusade.

primary sources for the 1113-15 campaign are the epic poem *Liber Maiolichinus*, the *Gesta Triumphalia* and the *Vita sancti Olegarii* and they establish that the preaching for this campaign was started in March 1113 by Pietro Moriconi, archbishop of Pisa.⁶³ The archbishop took it upon himself to promote an expedition to the Balearics to rescue the Christian captives and he organised twelve consuls to accompany him to Rome to request papal approval for the expedition.⁶⁴ Pascal II responded by conferring the cross upon them and authorised Cardinal Boso of St. Anastasia to serve as papal legate although he did not join the campaign until it reached Barcelona in 1114.⁶⁵ The increased importance of the cardinals to the pope is discussed by Morris who writes that ‘the general activity of the cardinals in the government of the western church has a continuous history from the pontificate of Urban II...[and]... the use of cardinals as legates became normal practice under Paschal’.⁶⁶ These men, many of whom were veterans of the earlier crusade preaching efforts were clearly becoming the primary means of promoting and controlling the crusade message.

In his discussion of the role of the First Crusade in the motivation and preaching of the Iberian Crusade of 1113-15, Doxey discussed why it is omitted from the *Liber Maiolichinus*. He concludes that ‘the invasion of the Balearic Islands belongs in large measure to an older, pre-crusading tradition of Pisan campaigns in the western Mediterranean’ and not to the wave of campaigns to the East.⁶⁷ He also considers the importance of the Balearics as a commercial trade route arguing that those ‘Romans and Longobards, Catalans and Occitans, Corsicans and

⁶³ ‘Gesta triumphalia per Pisanos facta de captione Hierusalem et civitatis Maioricarum et aliarum civitatum et de triumph habito contra Ianuenses’, ed. M. Lupo Gentile, pp. 87-96; ‘Vita sancti Olegarii’, *España Sagrada*, 29, pp. 527-54; *Liber Maiolichinus de gestis Pisanorum illustribus*, vv. 39-48.

⁶⁴ G. B. Doxey, ‘Christian attempts to reconquer the Balaeric islands before 1229’, unpublished Ph.D. thesis (Cambridge University, 1991), pp. 98-99.

⁶⁵ *Liber Maiolichinus de gestis Pisanorum illustribus*, v. 74; Doxey, ‘Christian attempts to reconquer the Balaeric islands before 1229’, p. 98; Purkis, *Crusading Spirituality*, p. 166. Also Goñi Gaztambide, *Historia de la bula de la cruzada en España*, pp. 68-70.

⁶⁶ Morris, *The Papal Monarchy*, pp. 167-8.

⁶⁷ Doxey, ‘Christian attempts to reconquer the Balaeric islands before 1229’, p. 95, lists these previous campaigns.

Sards and Tuscans from many cities and towns' who participated in it only did so because of their commercial interests in the trade routes which used the Balearic Islands.⁶⁸ The call for this crusade, however, was deliberately carried to places outside of Pisa and the communication for this expedition can be tied into the routes for trading even though there appears to be no evidence of the letters that were carried, or of sermons preached in these areas.⁶⁹ This repeats the manner in which Pope Urban II and Bohemond of Taranto had chosen where to take their message in order to elicit the required response.

In contrast to this measured and targeted preaching, the religious origins of this campaign are described in the *Gesta Triumphalia* as being when 'divine fire inflamed the hearts of the citizens of Pisa and the peoples of other Tuscan cities against Majorca'.⁷⁰ In an echo of the 'great stirring of heart' described in the *Gesta Francorum* the author of the *Gesta Triumphalia* conveys the mass response to a religious call.⁷¹

According to the *Liber Maiolichinus*, further recruitment for this expedition came about when a storm drove the Pisan fleet into the lands of Count Ramon Berenguer III of Barcelona.⁷² The Pisans sent an embassy to the count inviting him to join with their invasion.⁷³ With the arrival of the count of Barcelona came a number of French allies who were connected to Ramon Berenguer II by his marriage to the Countess Dolça of Provence. These political motivations and embassies were behind the recruitment of the Catalans and the Provençals to this crusade, albeit under the authority of the pope. It is difficult to examine how this crusade was communicated other than by letters and word of mouth after the initial launch of the expedition

⁶⁸ Ibid., p. 107.

⁶⁹ Ibid., p. 106.

⁷⁰ Ibid., p. 90.

⁷¹ GF, p. 1.

⁷² Doxey, 'Christian attempts to reconquer the Balaeric islands before 1229', pp. 115-122.

⁷³ Purkis, *Crusading Spirituality*, p. 166.

in 1113 by the pope but it is clear that new traditions of authorised preaching were developing and political allegiances were being exploited to promote recruitment.

Iberian Expeditions Of 1116-1130

In 1116, after the events of the Balearic Crusade, Count Ramon Berenguer III sought an audience with Pope Pascal II in Rome. He was 'granted papal sponsorship of the new assault on Tortosa', given letters to take back to Spain to promote penitential warfare, and, once again Cardinal Boso of St. Anastasia was assigned as his legate.⁷⁴ Cardinal Boso's preaching efforts on this campaign are much easier to trace than those of 1113-14 and he not only travelled extensively to recruit for this campaign but also held two councils during this time.⁷⁵

According to the chronicler of Saint-Maixent, at the Council of Toulouse in 1118, a number of senior clergy, possibly including Pope Gelasius II amongst their number authorised the conquest of Zaragoza by King Alfonso I of Aragón.⁷⁶ This authorisation and increased organisation of preaching events and involvement of senior clergy members in the promotion of this expedition to this new theatre of war show how seriously it was being taken by the papacy.

⁷⁴ 'Vita sancti Olegarii' *España Sagrada*, 29 p. 475; Doxey, 'Christian attempts to reconquer the Balearic islands before 1229', p. 194; Purkis, *Crusading Spirituality*, p. 127.

⁷⁵ R. A. Fletcher, *Saint James' Catapult: The Life and Times of Diego Gelmirez of Santiago de Compostela* (Oxford, 1984), p. 210; *Historia Compostellana*, ed. E. Falque Rey, CC:MM 70 (Turnhout, 1988), p. 275.

⁷⁶ Gelasius II, 'Epistolae et Priviledgia', *PL*, 163, no. 25, col. 508. 'exercitui Christianorum civitatem Caesaraugustanam obsidenti, et omnibus catholicae fidei cultoribus'; Riley-Smith *The Crusades: A History*, pp. 116-17; Purkis, *Crusading Spirituality*, p. 127; *La Chronique de St. Maixent*, p. 186: 'Tholose fuit concilium, in quo confirmata est via de Hispania.'; also Bull, *Knightly Piety and the Lay Response to the First Crusade*, pp. 108-9; C. Stalls, *Possessing the Land: Aragon's Expansion into Islam's Ebro Frontier under Alfonso the Battler, 1104-1134* (Leiden, New York and Cologne, 1995), p. 37 notes that Pope Gelasius is not mentioned in *La Chronique de St. Maixent*, and that the grant of indulgences upon those besieging Zaragoza was done in Alais, not Toulouse.

The archbishop of Compostela, Diego Gelmirez, was also a hugely significant figure in the promotion of crusading to Iberia in this period. Appointed legate to Spain by Calixtus II in 1120, there is indication that Archbishop Diego met and corresponded with Cardinal Boso of St. Anastasia. Both men were present at the election of Pope Calixtus II Cardinal Boso was in Santiago de Compostela in 1121. They were both also very enthusiastic advocates for the promotion of Compostela to an archbishopric, a cause in which they succeed in 1120.⁷⁷

Archbishop Diego was in regular correspondence with Rome regarding ecclesiastical policy and administration from Santiago de Compostela.⁷⁸ In light of this communication it is unsurprising that Diego knew about the events of the 1123 Lateran council and that only a year later he followed it by organising a council at Santiago de Compostela.⁷⁹ According to the *Historia Compostelana* Diego gave a sermon at this council in which ‘he preached, proclaimed and commended in a loud voice, a campaign against the Moors for the humiliation and confusion of paganism, and the exaltation and edification of Christianity’.⁸⁰ That Diego was in such frequent contact with Rome, that he was associated with Boso of St. Anastasia who had been involved with preaching Iberian expeditions since 1113, and that Canon 10 of the First Lateran Council confirmed Iberia as equal to Jerusalem in crusading terms, all demonstrate that this speech was a direct result of Pope Calixtus’ crusade ideas. Even without information that Diego was granted papal authority to preach an expedition, it is possible to conclude that he too was assuming the mantle of crusade preacher.

⁷⁷ Fletcher, *Saint James’ Catapult*, pp. 200-1 discusses how their careers coincided and Fletcher describes Boso as Diego’s ‘friend and ally’.

⁷⁸ Fletcher, *Saint James’ Catapult*, pp. 193-8.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 299; *Historia Compostellana*, p. 387.

⁸⁰ *Historia Compostellana*, p. 387. ‘Postremo expeditionem super Mauros ad depressionem et confusionem paganism et ad exaltationem atque edificationem Christianismi in eo concilio uiua uoce predicauit, laudauit et commendauit...’

In 1120 Pope Calixtus II made it very clear that the cause of crusading to the East had not been forgotten. Following the death of Prince Roger of Antioch at the Battle of the Field of Blood the year before, Calixtus II received an envoy from King Baldwin II of Jerusalem appealing for help from the pope and the city of Venice.⁸¹ In response, Calixtus II sent a delegation led by the head of cardinals, Peter of Porto, to Venice instructing a new expedition.⁸² Peter was a very senior figure within Gelasius' administration and had not only acted as regent for the pope during his exile from Rome but also went on to serve as his legate in Jerusalem.⁸³ Stroll has correctly compared the role of Peter of Porto to that of Adhémar of Le Puy in 1095, thus demonstrating that these legates fully represented the power of the pope himself and would have been perceived as such by their audiences.⁸⁴ To emphasise his role as the pope's deputy, Peter was also sent with a prop, the *pallium* of St Peter (the banner which was associated with armies who had received papal approval) to Doge Domenico.⁸⁵ As with the objects which were bestowed upon Bohemond of Taranto, these items serve to emphasise their roles as papal proxies. The pope intended to be seen to have authority over them and the work that they carried out.

⁸¹ *Historia Ducum Venetorum*, ed. H. Simonsfeld, *MGH SS* 14, pp. 73-4, 'Cum propter hec et alia ingens tremor ac pavor regem et principes Ierosolimorum invasisset, ad pontificem qui tunc Romane ecclesie preerat [Calixtus] et ad ipsum ducem Venecie nuncios direxerunt, supplicantes instancius et petentes, ut ecclesie transmarine festinum providerent auxilium. At papa ille, hoc opportunius per Venetos posse fieri reputans, ad prefatum ducem nuncios destinavit, diligenter illum et populum Venecie ammonens et exortans, ut intuitu fidei fidelibus Christi succerrere festinarent.'; U, Robert, *Histoire du Pape Calixte II* (Paris, 1891), pp. 189-90; Riley-Smith, 'The Venetian Crusade of 1122-1124', p. 341; see also Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders*.

⁸² Stroll, *Calixtus II*, pp. 442-3; R. Hüls, *Kardinäle, Klerus und Kirchen Roms, 1049-1130*, (Tübingen, 1977), p. 123.

⁸³ *Liber Pontificalis*, ed. J. M. March, p. 176.

⁸⁴ Stroll, *Calixtus II*, p. 411; Robert, *Histoire du Pape Calixte II*, pp. 159, '...les legates que Calixte y avait envoyes pour traiter avec l'empereur de la reunion des Eglises grecque et latine...'; Stroll also refers to Calixtus as having stationed legates in Constantinople at this period but a closer examination of Robert's *Histoire* indicates that they were there for the purpose of diplomacy between the Greek and Latin churches, and not as promoters of the crusade.

⁸⁵ Stroll, *Calixtus II*, p. 444; *Historia Ducum Venetorum*, p. 73: 'Dux vero, legatione regis et Ierosolimorum principum intellect et apostolica commonitione reverenter suscepta, cum omni devocione crucem cum multis nobilibus suscipiens, ducentas quantocius naves inter bellicas et honerarias, que exercitui necessaria portarent, fecit parare ad ejusdem eciam ducis robur et vires augendas.'

Following the death of Calixtus II, Pope Honorius II presided over a period which would see yet another response to a call for crusade from the East. This time it was Hugh of Payns, Master of the Order of the Temple, who took the lead in promoting and preaching for a new expedition to Damascus. Although the Hospitaller Order had been established in 1113 by Paschal II's *Piae postulatio voluntatis*, and its privileges had been confirmed in 1119 by Calixtus II's *Ad hoc nos*, the Order of the Temple had not received papal approval in the late 1120s. Forey describes how the Templar order had been formed 'for the purpose of protecting pilgrims visiting the holy places...by 1129 had become involved in the defence of the kingdom of Jerusalem', and would later assume a role in the conversion of Muslims in Spain and the Holy Land.⁸⁶ Hiestand points out the absence of the military orders in any of the academic studies of preaching of the last 30 years, e.g. Cole, and attributes this to the fact that the orders were not central to any crusade appeal, were not invited to join any crusade expeditions and were not authorised to preach the crusades.⁸⁷ However, the broad sweep of this statement fails to take into account the more recent work of Tyerman and Phillips regarding the recruitment for the 1129 campaign and the importance of Hugh of Payns' role as a crusade preacher.⁸⁸

The arrival of Hugh of Payns in Europe in 1128, despite the unofficial status of the Order of the Temple, was depicted in the chronicle of William of Tyre. He described Hugh as having been sent from Jerusalem to Western Europe by King Baldwin II of Jerusalem, specifically to recruit for an expedition to capture Damascus.⁸⁹ This was a decade after Baldwin II had

⁸⁶ Forey, 'The Emergence of the Military Order in the Twelfth Century', p. 160; A. J. Forey, 'The Military Orders and the conversion of Muslims in the Twelfth and Thirteenth centuries', *Journal of Medieval History* 28 (2002), pp. 1-22.

⁸⁷ R. Hiestand, 'The Military Orders and Papal Crusading Propaganda', *The Military Orders, History and Heritage*, ed. V. Mallia-Milanes (Aldershot, 2008), pp. 156-7; Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades*.

⁸⁸ Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*; J. P. Phillips, 'Hugh of Payns and the 1129 Damascus Crusade', *The Military Orders: Fighting for the Faith and Caring for the Sick*, ed. M. Barber (Aldershot, 1994), p. 141.

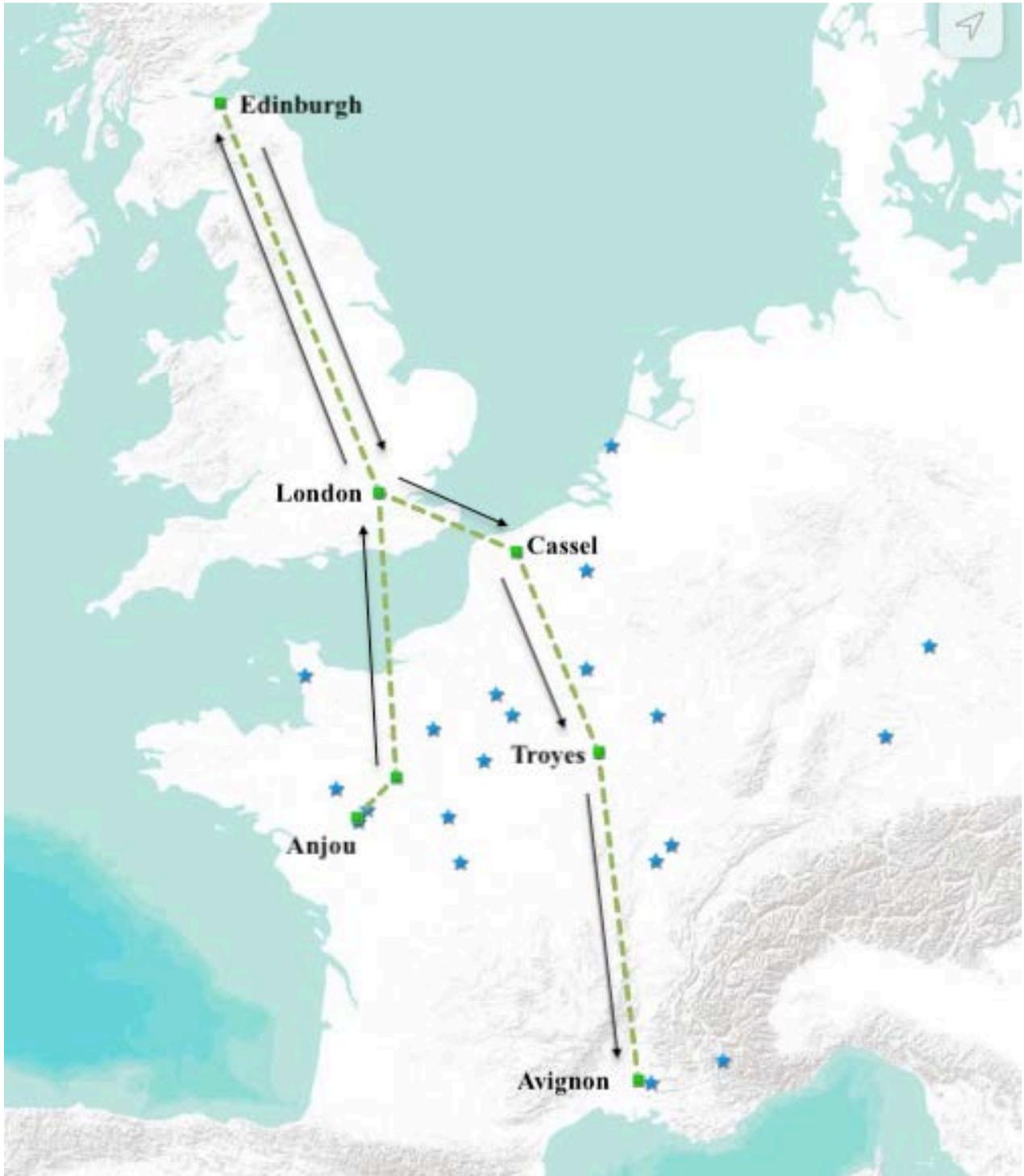
⁸⁹ William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, p. 620.

appealed to Pope Calixtus II and the city of Venice but this time, instead of asking for recruits, he sent Hugh to fetch them.⁹⁰

Using charters of the Order of the Temple and details from the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, it is possible to trace an idea of the route of Hugh's tour around France and parts of England and Scotland between 1128-1130.⁹¹

⁹⁰ *Historia Ducum Venetorum*, pp. 73-4, 'Cum propter hec et alia ingens tremor ac pavor regem et principes Ierosolimorum invasisset, ad pontificem qui tunc Romane ecclesie preerat [Calixtus] et ad ipsum ducem Venecie nuncios direxerunt, supplicantes instancius et petentes, ut ecclesie transmarine festinum providerent auxilium. At papa ille, hoc opportunius per Venetos posse fieri reputans, ad prefatum ducem nuncios destinavit, diligenter illum et populum Venecie ammonens et exortans, ut intuitu fidei fidelibus Christi succerrere festinarent.'; Robert, *Histoire du Pape Calixte II*, pp. 189-90; Riley-Smith, 'The Venetian Crusade of 1122-1124', p. 341.

⁹¹ *Cartulaire général de l'ordre du Temple 1119?-1150*; Phillips, 'Hugh of Payns and the 1129 Damascus Crusade', p. 143.



Map 15. Hugh of Payns' Tour and Recruits
Green dash shows direct route between locations.
Blue stars denote locations of known recruits.

Hugh of Payns' Itinerary

3-28 April 1128	-	Anjou ⁹²
31 May 1128	-	present when Fulk of Anjou took the cross at Le Mans ⁹³
17 June 1128	-	is possible that he was still in Le Mans for wedding of his son Geoffrey to Henry I's daughter, Mathilda.
1128	-	England (founded house in London)
1128	-	Scotland (founded house near Edinburgh) ⁹⁴
13 September 1128	-	Cassel, Flanders
January 1129	-	Grangia (near Troyes)
January 1129	-	Council of Troyes
29 Jan 1130	-	possibly Avignon

All of these locations were likely to have been targeted as sympathetic to Hugh's appeal and most of them were sources of previous crusade recruits on earlier expeditions. For example, it is possible to argue that Hugh had travelled to Anjou, the first location to which we can attribute to this tour, to specifically recruit Count Fulk V of Anjou 'as a figurehead around whom the crusaders could gather'.⁹⁵ According to Orderic Vitalis, Count Fulk was already acquainted with the Templars from his 1120 pilgrimage to Jerusalem 'where he remained for some time, attached to the Knights of the Temple' and it was his father, Fulk IV, who had received the golden flower from Urban II on the 1095-6 preaching tour.⁹⁶ This is the first time that we see a clear effort to create a second generation of crusaders who would follow in the footsteps of

⁹² *Cartulaire général de l'ordre du Temple 1119?-1150*, no. 8, pp. 5-6.

⁹³ *Cartulaire général de l'ordre du Temple 1119?-1150*, no. 12, p. 9. 'Ad eandem quippe civitatem maxima cleri pre cerumque curia convenerat, quia comes Andegavensis, Ierusalem prefecturus, crucem ibidem accipere debebat. Ipsa igitur die festivitatis...cumque per domnum Hugonem de Pagano, magistro (*sic*) Templi...'

⁹⁴ *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, trans. and ed. M. J. Swanton (London, 1996), p. 258.

⁹⁵ Phillips, 'Hugh of Payns and the 1129 Damascus Crusade', p. 145.

⁹⁶ OV, pp. 310-1, 'ibique militibus Templi associatus aliquandiu permansit'; J. Chartrou, *L'Anjou de 1101 à 1151* (Paris, 1928), pp. 14-5.

their crusading fathers. As well as Hugh of Payns, King Baldwin II of Jerusalem also sent a separate envoy to the west from the Holy Land in 1128. This second group was led by William of Bures, prince of Galilee, and Guy of Brisbarre, lord of Beirut who were tasked with proposing that Count Fulk V of Anjou marry Baldwin's daughter, Melisende of Jerusalem.⁹⁷ Baldwin was clearly leaving nothing to chance and attempting to ensure that his messages would reach their intended audiences as quickly as possible. The two separate missions clearly complemented each other and as Baldwin was planning to make Count Fulk the consort to the heir of the Kingdom of Jerusalem he was also therefore, the perfect leader for a new crusade expedition.⁹⁸ Unfortunately, there is no indication as to whether Fulk continued to travel with Hugh for the remainder of the tour and the preaching carried on without the presence of its proposed figurehead.

As for the western part of the expedition, Schenk has suggested that Hugh came to France in the company of another founder of the order, Godfrey of St. Omer, and that 'the two men were able to cover large parts of northern France with personal requests for support'.⁹⁹ Schenk has also suggested that Hugh's family connections with the Champagne area, and Godfrey's ties to Flanders and Picardy dictated the route of their recruitment tour. Hugh's positive reception in England may also have been, in part, due to the fact that Henry I of England was the younger brother of the First Crusader Duke Robert of Normandy, and this family connection may have increased the support for a new campaign. Hurlock has discussed how, prior to 1128, the British Isles were not a good target for crusade preaching due to the fact that King William II was not on good terms with his bishops and that England was more reliant on royal peace-making than

⁹⁷ Barber, *The New Knighthood*, pp. 11-2.

⁹⁸ Phillips, *The Second Crusade*, p. 12.

⁹⁹ J. Schenk, *Templar Families: Landowning Families and the Order of the Temple in France, c. 1120-1307*, (Cambridge, 2012), p. 127.

on the Peace and Truce of God movement as delivered by the clergy.¹⁰⁰ The fact that Hugh appears to have been given permission to preach by the crown hints that an absence of previous approval may explain the lack of earlier preaching missions in England.¹⁰¹ Map 15 above (p. 176) shows that the tour did travel through these provinces and these family ties can certainly account for the western route of the expedition. This establishes that there was a definite and deliberate focus on recruiting from areas which were predisposed to answer the call to crusade.

The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* makes some very important points about how Hugh was received in France, England and Scotland,

This same year [1129] Hugh of the Temple came from Jerusalem to the king [Henry I of England] in Normandy; and the king received him with great honour...and afterwards he sent him to England, and there he was received by all good men, ... and in Scotland likewise ... And he summoned people out to Jerusalem; and then there went, with him and after him, as great a number of people as ever did before since the first expedition which was in Pope Urban's day...¹⁰²

It would appear from this description that King Henry I not only supported Hugh, but also instructed him to travel to England to recruit for the expedition.¹⁰³ It depicts the importance of Hugh being received in person and being given gifts by his audiences. It also makes an explicit comparison between Hugh and Pope Urban II.¹⁰⁴ so from this account it is clear that the physical presence of a charismatic individual, even one without papal authority, was still being utilised

¹⁰⁰ K. Hurlock, *Britain, Ireland and the Crusades, c. 1000-1300*, (Basingstoke. 2012), p. 31.

¹⁰¹ Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, p. 161.

¹⁰² *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, p. 258.

¹⁰³ The significance of this location will be visited in chapter 5.

¹⁰⁴ Phillips, *The Second Crusade*, p. 12.

as a tool for recruitment, specifically for a crusade. On the other hand, in spite of this description of the number of people who followed Hugh, there is no other evidence of his having recruited any crusaders from England and, as Tyerman argues, this may have been exclusively a trip to raise funds for the Templar order and the Damascus expedition.¹⁰⁵ This lack of evidence for English recruits during this campaign, entirely contradicts the description of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle and makes it difficult to argue that Hugh had any impact there other than establishing Templar houses.

Phillips argues that, as no one else was recruiting, all those noble men who took the cross in the Flanders area during this time (Thierry of Chièvres, Hugh III of Le Puiset, Henry and Robert Burgundio, Guitier of Rethel, and Reynard of Bar-le-Duc) were due to Hugh's recruitment efforts and the pattern of Hugh's preaching tour enforces this idea when compared with the handful of recorded recruits.¹⁰⁶

There is also the question of whether Hugh's expedition had any papal authority, or if Honorius II was entirely unaware of his preaching. Riley-Smith considers the involvement of Honorius II to have been entirely passive with no evidence of his participation or of his assigning legates but a papal letter of 1128 refers to recruitment in Anjou and the presence of papal legates Matthew of Albano and Gerald of Angoulême (formerly legate to Paschal II), the archbishops of Rheims and Sens and their bishops, as well as seven abbots, including those of Cîteaux and

¹⁰⁵ Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, p. 31.

¹⁰⁶ William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, p. 620; *Cartulaire de l'abbaye d'Ename*, ed. C. Piot (Bruges, 1881), no. 28, p. 29; Suger of St Denis, *The Deeds of Louis the Fat*, pp. 170-1; *Cartulaire de l'église Saint-Lambert de Liège*, ed. S. Bormans and E. Schoolmeesters, 6 vols (Brussels, 1893-1933) 1, pp. 58-60; *Cartulaire des Guillems de Montpellier*, ed. C. Chabeneau (Montpellier, 1884-6), p. 177; Phillips, 'Hugh of Payns and the 1129 Damascus Crusade', p. 144.

Clairvaux, at the 1129 Council of Troyes shows a very distinguished audience and also indicates that Honorius had in fact given his consent.¹⁰⁷

As Phillips has pointed out, the recruitment tour of Hugh of Payns stood out from other preaching tours in its origins in that it arose out of a desire to extend the Christian territory into Syria, not from a cry for help following a defeat at the hands of the Muslims.¹⁰⁸ It was also the first instance of the Latin settlers carrying out their own crusade recruitment whereas ‘subsequent missions focused upon envoys whose role was to deliver a letter to a major figure and then leave either the pope or local ecclesiastics to arrange the details of recruitment’.¹⁰⁹ King Baldwin II had already taken the initiative to request aid from the West in 1120 but, on this occasion, he took the organisation of a preaching tour into his own hands. Just as Honorius’ predecessors used letters and sent carefully chosen legates on preaching tours to enforce the crusade idea and encourage new recruits, so too did Baldwin and, although papal permission was most likely granted, it does not appear to have been necessary to the success of Hugh’s tour.

Bernard Of Clairvaux and The Second Crusade

As was discussed in Chapter One of this thesis, the fifteen years between 1130 and 1145 were relatively quiet regarding crusade preaching to the East. Popes Innocent II, Celestine II and Lucius II do not appear to have authorised any crusade preachers during this time. However,

¹⁰⁷ *Papsturkunden für Kirchen im Heiligen Lande*, pp. 139, 142; *Cartulaire général de l’ordre du Temple 1119?-1150*, no. 12, pp. 8-10; Forey, ‘The Emergence of the Military Order in the Twelfth Century’, p. 190; see *Regle du Temple*, ed. H. de Curzon, pp. 16-8; Bernard of Clairvaux, ‘Epistolae’, vols 7-8; Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders*, p. 185; Barber, *The New Knighthood*, p. 14; Phillips, ‘Hugh of Payns and the 1129 Damascus Crusade’, p.144.

¹⁰⁸ Phillips, ‘Hugh of Payns and the 1129 Damascus Crusade’, p. 147.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 145.

there was still a need for support, and the Patriarch of Jerusalem sent a letter to the city of Pisa appealing for help.¹¹⁰ Renewed enthusiasm for the promotion of the cause came about after the fall of Edessa in 1145. Pope Eugenius III not only used the papal bull *Quantum praedecessores* to launch the Second Crusade, but he also turned to the Cistercian abbot, Bernard of Clairvaux to further its message. Bernard became the figurehead of the launch of the crusade in much the same way that Urban II had in 1095-96 and he embarked on a large-scale preaching tour with the full authority of the pope.

At the same time that Bernard began to preach the Second Crusade under the authority of the pope, King Louis VII of France was also beginning to act upon his own crusade ambitions. The sources do not make it clear as to whether these two initiatives were connected but Odo of Deuil tells us that, during Louis VII's Christmas court at Bourges, a crusade sermon was given by Godfrey of Langres, Louis's chaplain, to an audience 'of bishops and magnates of the realm, whom he had purposely summoned'.¹¹¹ Whether this was as a result of the appeal to Louis from the East or in response to a preview of *Quantum praedecessores* is unclear.¹¹² However, the issue of the papal bull and the sermon at Bourges overlap and it is difficult to see which influenced the other. Phillips has argued that Louis was impatient to begin an expedition and that his attempt to launch the crusade without papal authorisation caused it to stall.¹¹³ Cole has suggested that the appeals of both the pope and the French king fell flat and it would not be until Louis approached Bernard of Clairvaux with his intentions that the two would be drawn together and begin to move forward.¹¹⁴ Odo of Deuil's account describes how after the sermon

¹¹⁰ *Regesta regni Hierosolymitani*, no. 153, p. 38, 'Balduinus, Guillelmi I, patriarchae Hierosolymitani, cancellarius, et Bernardus Vacarius a Syro II, archiepiscopo Januensis, et ejusdem civitatis consilibus petunt, ne inducias a Pisanis oblatas servent.'; Mayer, 'Angevins versus Normans', pp. 1-25.

¹¹¹ Odo of Deuil, *De profectione Ludovici VII in orientem*, pp. 6-7.

¹¹² Rowe, 'The Origins of the Second Crusade', pp. 78-89.

¹¹³ Phillips, *Extending the Frontiers*, p. 63.

¹¹⁴ Otto of Freising, *Gesta Frederici*; translated as *The Deeds of Frederick Barbarossa*, tr. C. C. Mierow, p. 70; Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades*, p. 41.

at Bourges, the audience was then appointed to reconvene at Vézelay at Easter, that ‘the king sent messengers concerning it to Pope Eugenius at Rome’ and the pope sent Bernard of Clairvaux to speak on his behalf.¹¹⁵

Vézelay is situated in the Burgundy region of central France and was one of the main starting points for the pilgrimage route to Santiago de Compostela.¹¹⁶ According to William of Tyre, Pope Urban II had nearly launched First Crusade at Vézelay in 1095 but he makes no further reference to why Clermont was chosen instead and it is only possible to speculate that the reason for doing so was that Vézelay was located further north than the Urban II’s intended audience.¹¹⁷ It is however centrally located for those who may have been travelling from parts of Germany to the council. All of this demonstrates the care which was put into selecting the most appropriate location for crusade sermons with a view to maximising the potential audience who may have been supportive of the cause.

Otto of Freising describes how Bernard was greeted in Vézelay by an enormous invited crowd, and Odo of Deuil records that he was forced to give his sermon from a platform which had been built in a field outside the town.¹¹⁸ This echo of the sermon at Clermont is most likely more than just a narrative device as Bernard had taken to the stage with the king of France. From that platform, with King Louis stood beside him, Bernard spoke and the crowd responded

¹¹⁵ Odo of Deuil, *De profectione Ludovici VII in orientem*, pp. 8-9; Tyerman, *How to Plan A Crusade*, p. 64.

¹¹⁶ Whereas V. G. Berry, ‘The Second Crusade’, *History of the Crusades*, 6 vols, ed. K. M. Setton (Wisconsin, 1969-89), pp. 463-511 argues that this was Bernard’s first sermon; *Gesta Frederici*, trans. p. 70 indicates that Bernard had already been recruiting. ‘...when he had aroused the hearts of many for the expedition overseas, finally a general assembly was summoned at Vézelay’; *Remembering the Crusades: Myth Image and Reality*, N. Paul and S. Yeager, eds. (Baltimore, 2012). Attendees listed in ‘Historia gloriosi regis Ludovici VII, filii Ludovici grossi’, *RHGF* pp. 125-7.

¹¹⁷ William of Tyre, *Chronicon*; R. Somerville, ‘The French Councils of Pope Urban II: Some Basic Considerations’, *Annuaire de l’histoire des conciles* 2 (1970), p. 65.

¹¹⁸ Otto of Freising, *Gesta Frederici*; translation in *The Deeds of Frederick Barbarossa*, tr. C. C. Mierow, p. 73, ‘The great and illustrious of all the provinces of France were summoned to attend’; Odo of Deuil, *De profectione Ludovici VII in orientem*, pp. 8-9.

in an enthusiastic and vocal manner: ‘from everywhere men began to shout and ask for crosses’.¹¹⁹ This response evokes the ‘Deus Vult’ cry from the chronicle accounts of Pope Urban II’s sermon at the Council of Clermont in 1095. Odo’s chronicle also describes how the pre-prepared crosses were quickly taken and that Bernard had to resort to tearing up his own clothing to meet the demand:

...with loud outcry people on every side began to demand crosses. 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.¹²⁰

This description suspiciously mirrors that of the distribution of crosses given out by both Pope Urban at Clermont and of Bohemond of Taranto at Apulia. This begs the question of whether the author had written the events in light of the earlier accounts or if the actual staging of the sermon was deliberately orchestrated to evoke the memory of the earlier recruitment events. Stage-managing a scene in which the abbot runs out of crosses conveys a much clearer message to the audience present than one in which he has an abundance left over, not to mention that it might have created a more desperate demand for them. And, as was made clear with the tearing up of Bohemond’s best cloak when he was recruited to the First Crusade, the image of Bernard of Clairvaux sacrificing his own clothing to make sure that those who wished to take a cross could do so, portrays Bernard as giving his own personal blessing to the vow. There is no indication that the king or any of the lesser clergy who were there tore their clothing so this spectacle was entire a part played by Bernard.

¹¹⁹ Odo of Deuil, *De profectioe Ludovici VII in orientem*, p. 8.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 8. For a discussion on the differing meaning of the distribution of crosses by Pope Urban II and Bernard of Clairvaux, and efforts to redefine the use of the cross, see Purkis, *Crusading Spirituality*, pp. 91-3.

Bernard's sermon was supported by Louis who also spoke to the crowd, 'addressing all in a reverent tone...[and] this speech of the king struck a chord in the head of many of those assembled there'.¹²¹ Phillips has deliberately contrasted the Council of Vézelay with the Council of Clermont and asked where it is, or is not, similar.¹²² Likewise, it is important to contrast involvement of Louis VII with that of Philip I during the launch of First Crusade. The relationship between Pope Urban II and King Philip I in 1095 and the issue of the king's excommunication was detrimental to the pope's tour but not necessarily his message. However, by 1106, Philip I had sought to associate himself with the crusade movement by allowing his daughter Constance to marry Bohemond of Taranto.¹²³ The role of the French monarchy became a significant element in the promotion of the first fifty years of the crusade movement and even where King Philip I was not actively involved in the earliest days, he did not prohibit its promotion and a large number of recruits came from his lands. Significantly, the events at Vézelay were organised in conjunction with King Louis VII of France, unlike those of Clermont, and Louis's presence by Bernard's side during his sermon show that this was an expedition which, although authorised by the church, was driven by the crown.

Following the success at the Council of Vézelay, Bernard went on to preach in France, Flanders and Germany.¹²⁴ Now that Louis VII was involved, the focus turned to the effort to recruit King Conrad III.¹²⁵ The involvement of the German leader was crucial to the promotion of the crusade and Phillips states that Pope Eugenius III was aware of and supported his

¹²¹ *The Chronicle of the Abbey of Morigny*, pp. 156-9, 'omnesque pio modulo alloquens...multis igitur eorum qui convenerant corde infixus est sermo regis.'

¹²² Phillips, *Extending the Frontiers*, p. 67.

¹²³ OV, 6, pp. 70-1.

¹²⁴ Pitra, 'Documents sur une voyage de S. Bernard en Flandre,' PL 185: 1797-1816, and Elphège Vacandard, *Vie de Saint Bernard, abbé de Clairvaux*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1927), 2: 287-88 and n. 4.

¹²⁵ Otto of Freising, *Gesta Frederici*; translation in *The Deeds of Frederick Barbarossa*, tr. C. C. Mierow, pp. 74-5.

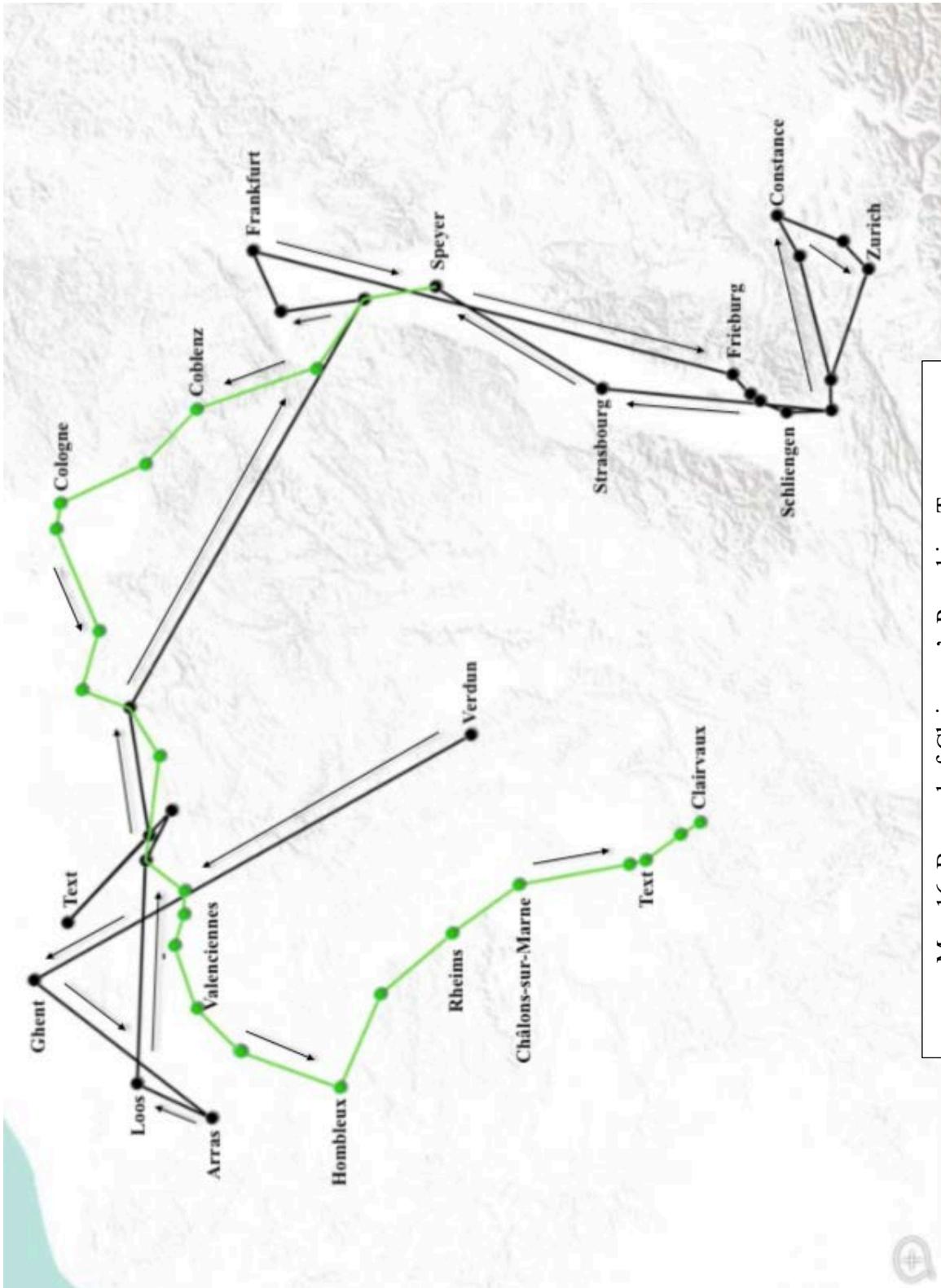
recruitment.¹²⁶ It would have been important to have a proper leader for the German contingent who would have held equal power as the head of the French.¹²⁷

It is possible to trace Bernard's known whereabouts in 1146-47 from the *Vita Prima S. Bernardi* in Map 16 (p.187):¹²⁸

¹²⁶ Phillips, 'Papacy, Empire and the Second Crusade' p. 15.

¹²⁷ Ibid., p. 24; Bernard of Clairvaux, 'Epistolae', no. 8, p. 314.

¹²⁸ 'Vita Prima S. Bernardi', *PL* 185, cols 225-466.



Map 16. Bernard of Clairvaux's Preaching Tour.
Note that the journey after Speyer is shown in green.

Bernard of Clairvaux's Itinerary

- 12 May 1146 - Verdun
- 14 Aug 1146 - Ghent¹²⁹
- late summer 1146 - Council of Arras,
 - Loos, nr Lille
- 18 October 1146 - Villers, Brabant
 - Namur
 - Abbey of Afflighem
 - Gembloux
 - Liège
 - Worms
- early Nov 1146 - Mainz
- Second week of Nov - Frankfurt
- Dec 1146 - Freiburg
 - Krozingen
 - Heitersheim
 - Schliengen
 - Basel
 - Rheinfelden
 - Schaffhausen
 - Constance
 - Winterthur
 - Zürich

¹²⁹ *De oorkonden der graven van Vlaanderen (Juli 1128-17 Januari 1168) II. Uitgave Band I*, ed. T. de Hemptinne and A. Verhulst, with L. De Mey (Brussels, 1988), no. 90, p. 150.

- Rheinfelden
 - Basel
 - Strasbourg
 - Sailed up the Rhine
- 24 Dec 1146
- Speyer – where Conrad III agreed to take the cross
 - Worms
 - Kreuznach
 - Pichenbach
 - Coblenz
 - Remagen
 - Cologne
 - Abbey of Brauweiler
- 15 January 1147
- Aachen
 - Maastricht
 - Liege
 - Huy
 - Gembloux
 - Villers
 - Fontaine-l’Eveque
 - Binche
 - Mons
 - Valenciennes
 - Cambrai
 - Vaucelles
 - Gomme

- Abbey of Hombleux
- Abbey of St-John, Laon
- Rheims
- 1 February 1147 - Châlons-sur-Marne
- Rosnay
- Brienne
- Bar-sur-Aube
- 6 February 1147 - Clairvaux

What is most striking about the route is its apparent lack of structure; where the 1095-96 tour covered a lot of ground in a well-ordered fashion, the 1146-47 tour repeatedly doubles back on itself and there is no apparent evidence that it had been thoroughly thought out. If this route is overlaid (in black) with that of Pope Urban's tour (in blue) it shows how starkly it contrasts with the relatively well-ordered figure of eight which looped around the south-west of France at the end of the eleventh century. One explanation for this could be that the chronicles do not provide the full itinerary of Bernard's tour. Another could simply be that it was improvised from place to place and that Bernard was free to travel to wherever he thought his message was most needed or would be best received. Considering the scale of organisation of other preachers and the distribution of letters, it seems surprising that the tour was not planned in advance and that the itinerary had not been approved by the papacy. A third explanation could relate to the preaching of a Cistercian monk named Radulf who had to be challenged and controlled by Bernard. Otto of Freising sets out two purposes for Bernard's tour: to promote the crusade expedition, specifically for the purpose of the recruitment of Conrad III, and to rein in Radulf whose preaching incited anti-Jewish violence. He had been preaching the cross around the

Rhine valley to much popular acclaim and success.¹³⁰ According to the *Gesta abbatum Lobbiensium*, although he was unable to speak German this language barrier did not hinder the success of his message as he used Abbot Lambert of Lobbes as his translator.¹³¹ The *Annales Colonienses Maximi* considers Bernard and Radulf as equals and, such was the response to his preaching, that Archbishop Henry of Mainz was forced to write directly to Bernard for help.¹³² The abbot of Clairvaux had already sent letters throughout Europe in 1146 which forbade any hostility towards the Jews but this failed to have any effect on Radulf or his followers.¹³³ Bernard responded to the appeal from Henry of Mainz by setting out his full objection to Radulf, his unauthorised status and his ‘incitation to murder’.¹³⁴ This letter was still not enough to stop him and, upon his arrival in Mainz in November 1146, Bernard confronted the preacher in person and ordered him to return to his monastic house.¹³⁵

Although his recruitment efforts were popular, his central message was unauthorised and anti-Jewish and therefore in conflict with the teachings of Bernard and the church.¹³⁶ However, it is important to consider Radulf as a successful crusade preacher. Even though he had been given no authority to preach and he was encouraging people to take the cross and he must be given credit for recruiting new crusaders, some of whom are likely to be represented on the maps in this thesis.

¹³⁰ ‘Gesta abbatum Lobbiensium’, ed. Wilhelm Arndt, *MGH SS* 21, p. 329; ‘Annales Rodenses’, *MGH SS* 16 p. 718, ‘egrediente interea diacono nomine Rudolpho, magna et celebri exhortatione unanquamque animam versus Ierosolimam informare, cum crucis impositione.’

¹³¹ ‘Gesta abbatum Lobbiensium’, p. 329.

¹³² ‘Annales Coloniensis Maximi’, ed. Karl Pertz, *MGH SS*, 17, p. 761; ‘Huis viae auctores maxime fuerunt Bernardus abbas Clare-vallensis et quidam monachus nomine Ruodolfus.’

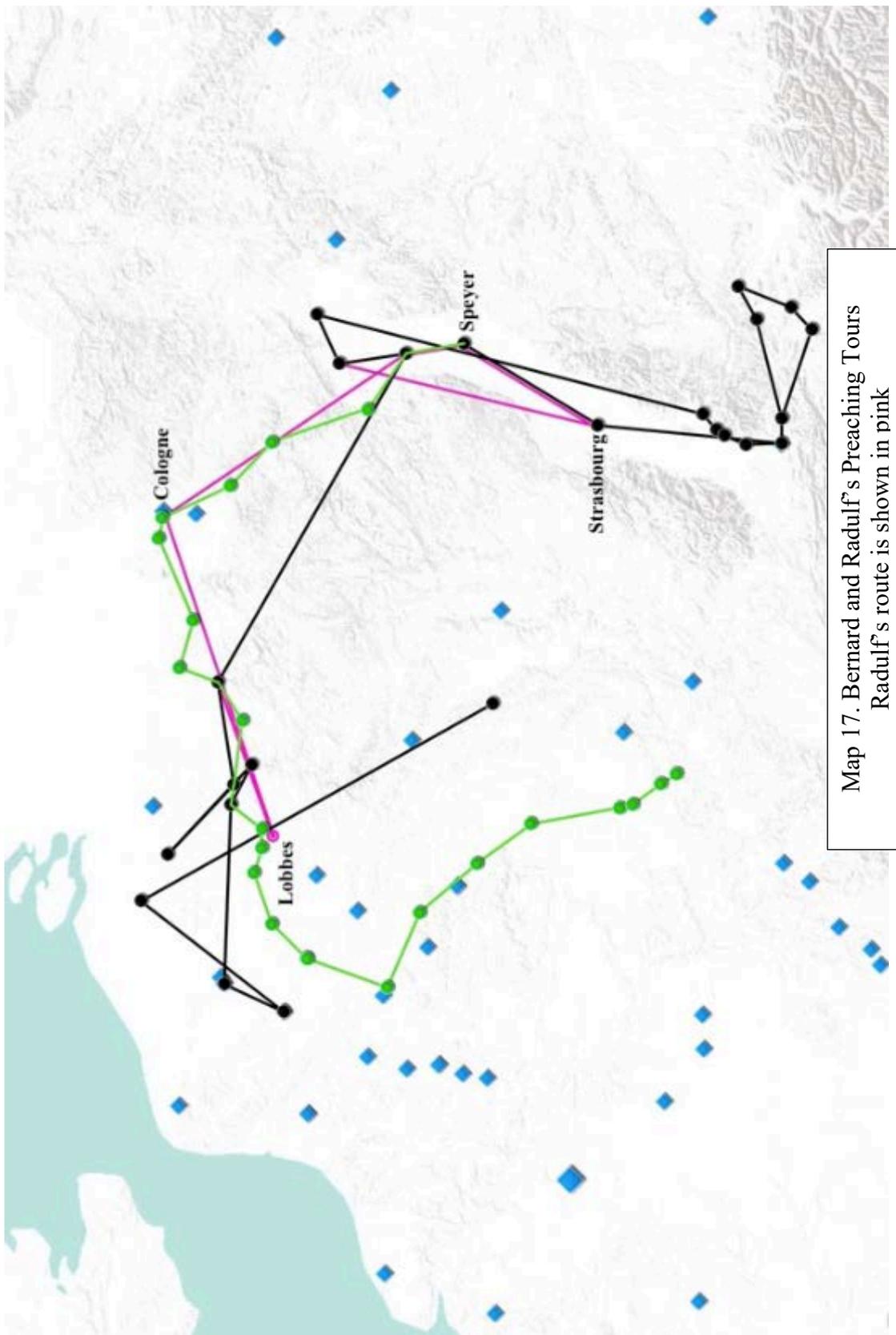
¹³³ Otto of Freising, *Gesta Frederici*; translation in *The Deeds of Frederick Barbarossa*, tr. C. C. Mierow, p. 73

¹³⁴ Bernard of Clairvaux, ‘Epistolae’, no. 365, pp. 321-2; translation in *The Letters of Saint Bernard of Clairvaux*, new edn, tr. B. S. James, p. 466.

¹³⁵ Otto of Freising, *Gesta Frederici*; translation in *The Deeds of Frederick Barbarossa*, tr. C. C. Mierow, p. 74.

¹³⁶ Bernard of Clairvaux, ‘Epistolae’, no. 365, pp. 321-2; translation in *The Letters of Saint Bernard of Clairvaux*, new edn, tr. B. S. James, p. 466; Otto of Freising, *Gesta Frederici*; translation in *The Deeds of Frederick Barbarossa*, tr. C. C. Mierow, pp. 74-5; Also, Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades*, pp. 43-5.

Radulf's preaching tour can be added (in green) to the overall recruitment map alongside the tour of Bernard below:



Radulf's Itinerary

- Liege¹³⁷
- Lobbes, Hainault¹³⁸
- Cologne
- Worms
- Speyer
- Strasbourg¹³⁹
- Mainz

The addition of this route shows that Bernard covered the same ground as Radulf had; perhaps as damage control and to clarify what the crusade message was. This idea may go some way to explain the inconsistent character of the route. It also shows success along only the northern part of his preaching route and not the eastern side; considering that his success was so notable, either the records from this eastern area fail to support this, or this area was not inclined to take the cross in spite of being visited by two consecutive preachers, or the effect of these two preachers had cancelled each other out.

There is also much here to compare Radulf with previous unauthorised crusade preachers, primarily Peter the Hermit. The anti-Jewish nature of his message alarmed the Church and, in consideration of the events of the first wave of the First Crusade in 1096, it would have been important to Bernard that he prevent a repeat of the massacre of Jews that Peter had caused. Clairvaux was situated close to where Peter had preached and the horrors of what had occurred in 1096 must not only have been common knowledge, but Bernard would likely have heard of

¹³⁷ 'Annales Sancti Iacobi Leodensis', ed. George-Heinrich Pertz, *MGH SS* 16, 641, 'Predicatur populus et a Rodulpho propheta crucizatur. Visa et signa mendacii creduntur.'

¹³⁸ 'Gesta abbatum Lobiensium,' p. 329.

¹³⁹ Phillips, *Extending the Frontiers* lists Worms, Speyer and Strasbourg.

them from eyewitnesses. Once again, this instance of an unauthorised preacher goes to show that the response to a skilled and charismatic orator with a clear message can evoke a tremendous response with potentially disastrous consequences. In this case Bernard was able to control the situation but his ultimate prohibition of Radulf was met with strong, almost violent objection, by the local population and only the physical presence of the abbot of Clairvaux managed to quell the situation.¹⁴⁰ It also shows that Bernard was clearly the authority in this situation and, as Eugenius' representative, he had the power to intervene on his behalf.

After departing from Mainz, the most significant large-scale event on Bernard's tour took place at Speyer in December 1146 when Conrad III agreed to take the cross. According to the *Vita prima* of Bernard of Clairvaux, Bernard preached a crusade sermon in the cathedral to which Conrad responded by weeping and shouting out his willingness to join the expedition.¹⁴¹ As the crowd in the cathedral roared with approval, Bernard took a ready-made cross and attached it to the emperor. Echoing his efforts at Vézelay, Bernard proved himself to be a persuasive performer who created a spectacle which convinced his audience to join the expedition. Those Germans who took the cross following the events at Speyer are described by Helmold of Bosau as 'King Conrad, Duke Frederick of Swabia...along with bishops and princes, an army of the noble and the common and the vulgar, exceeding estimation in number'.¹⁴² Conrad himself described his response as having been in direct response to the 'urging of the most holy pope Eugenius and the lord Bernard, most pious abbot of Clairvaux...'.¹⁴³ It is possible to conclude that Conrad was receiving correspondence from Eugenius III as well as being preached to by

¹⁴⁰ Otto of Freising, *Gesta Frederici*; translation in *The Deeds of Frederick Barbarossa*, tr. C. C. Mierow, pp. 74-75.

¹⁴¹ 'Vita Prima S. Bernardi', *PL* 185 col. 382.

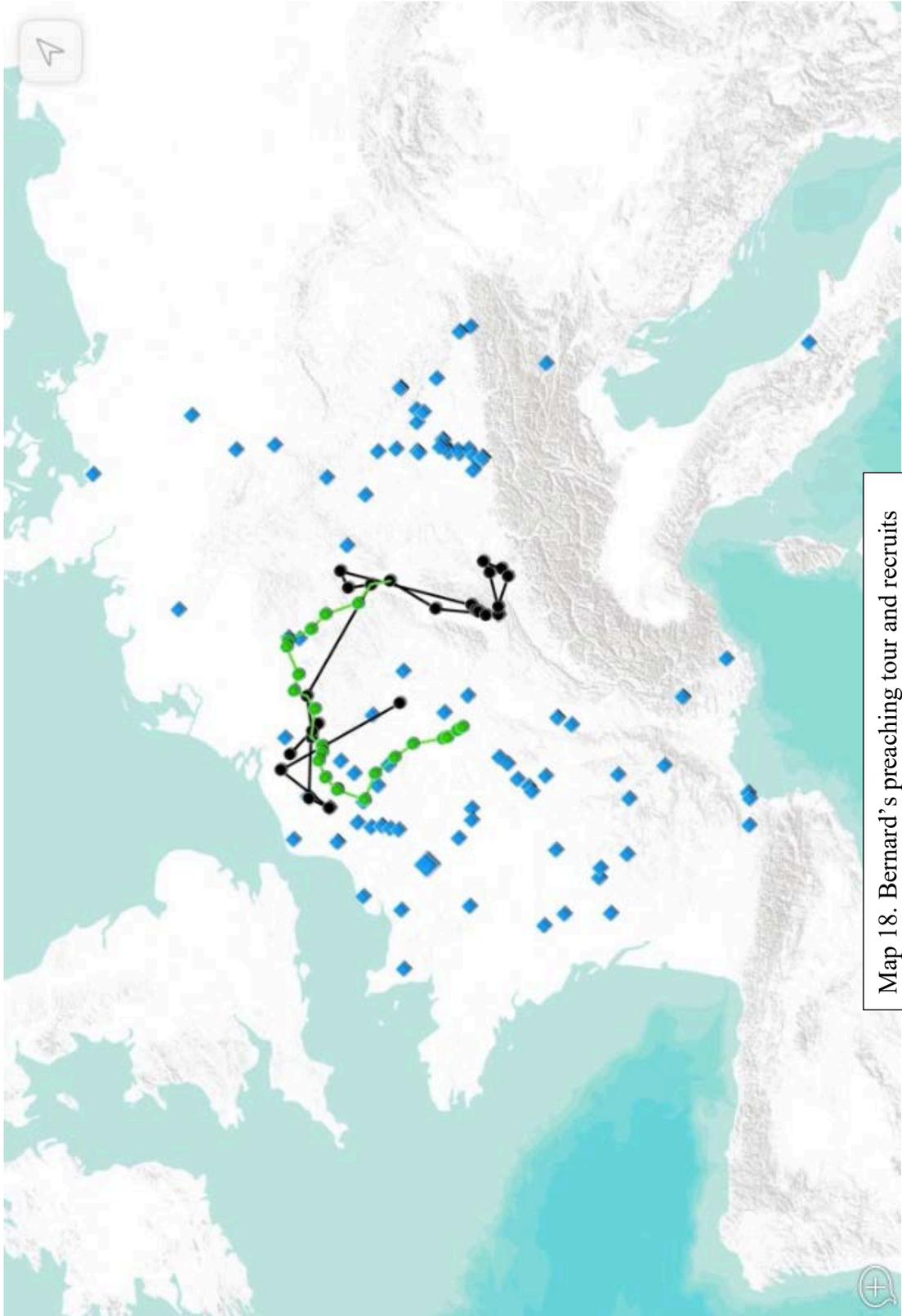
¹⁴² Helmold of Bosau, 'Chronica Slavorum', *MGH SS* 21, pp. 1-99; trans. F. J. Tschann, *The Chronicle of the Slavs* (New York, 1935), p. 172.

¹⁴³ Conrad III, *Diplomata*, no. 198, p. 358.

Bernard of Clairvaux.¹⁴⁴ He was deliberately targeted by both the pope and Bernard and this shows that Eugenius III was still taking leading his recruitment effort from afar in spite of Bernard's authorised agency.

The success of Bernard's preaching can also be plotted against known recruits as demonstrated in Map 18 (p. 196). The recruits are shown in blue dots and are a significant sign that Bernard's presence was effective for recruitment on the western part of his tour but the opposite is the case for the eastern side. There are recruits to the East but they are too far away from his route to be directly attributed to Bernard's preaching efforts.

¹⁴⁴ Vincent of Prague, 'Annales', *MGH SS* 17, p. 663; Phillips, 'Papacy, Empire and the Second Crusade', p. 22.



Map 18. Bernard's preaching tour and recruits

After his preaching tour Bernard of Clairvaux attended a council held by Conrad III in Frankfurt between 11-23 March 1147.¹⁴⁵ A number of those Germans present at this gathering refused to take the cross for the purpose of travelling to the Holy Land and instead asked permission to fight the pagans who threatened their own lands:¹⁴⁶

...the Saxons, refusing to set out for the Orient because they had as neighbours certain tribes that were given over to the filthiness of idolatry, in like manner took the cross in order to assail these races in war.¹⁴⁷

The background to the dispute between the German Christians and these pagans, and the earlier efforts to convert them are discussed in detail by Phillips and the status of this campaign as one of combat or of conversion is subject to debate.¹⁴⁸ However, the issue as to its promotion is pertinent to the discussion here. Bernard stated in a later letter that he gave them permission to carry out this undertaking and made them an offer of ‘the same privileges as those enjoy who set out for Jerusalem’.¹⁴⁹ This shows Bernard responding to the demands of his audience, making his own judgements about the theatres in which the crusade campaign could be waged and willing to act without the official authorisation of the pope. Phillips has highlighted the extraordinary nature of this action on the part of the abbot and it is important not to underestimate the significance of what this meant to the relationship between Eugenius III and

¹⁴⁵ Otto of Freising, *Gesta Frederici*; translation in *The Deeds of Frederick Barbarossa*, tr. C. C. Mierow, p. 78.

¹⁴⁶ E. Christiansen, *The Northern Crusades*, 2nd edn (Harmondsworth, 1997), pp. 1-49 discusses who these Slavs were and defines the target of this Wendish Crusade.

¹⁴⁷ Otto of Freising, *Gesta Frederici*; translation in *The Deeds of Frederick Barbarossa*, tr. C. C. Mierow, p. 76.

¹⁴⁸ Bernard of Clairvaux, ‘Epistolae’, no. 457, p. 433; translation in *The Letters of Saint Bernard of Clairvaux*, new edn, tr. B. S. James, p. 467 letter refers to ‘complete wiping out or conversion of these people’; Vincent of Prague, ‘Annales’, *MGH SS 17*, p. 663 refers to conversion; *Divinia Dispensatione II* appointed Anselm of Havelberg, who had a history of conversion work, as legate to the Wendish Crusade; Phillips, *Extending the Frontiers*.

¹⁴⁹ Bernard of Clairvaux, ‘Epistolae’, no. 457, p. 433; translation in *The Letters of Saint Bernard of Clairvaux*, new edn, tr. B. S. James, p. 467.

Bernard.¹⁵⁰ Bernard had been authorised to preach on the pope's behalf and here he is exercising much more power than he appears to have been given. However, his action was supported retroactively when, in April 1147, Pope Eugenius III issued the bull *Divina dispensatione II* and gave papal endorsement for Wendish Crusade 'against the [polytheistic] Slavs' and making reference to crusading in Iberia.¹⁵¹

The chronicler Helmold of Bosau wrote of the three-way division of the crusade contingent and is apparent that this division came about in response to this public demand, as is clearly the case in Bernard's declaration of this expedition.¹⁵² Helmold wrote:

The initiators of the expedition...deemed it advisable to design one part of the army for the Eastern regions, another for Spain, and a third against the Slavs who live hard by us...¹⁵³

The chronicles of Vincent of Prague and the *Annales Magdeburgenses* give an indication as to where the message spread, or was targeted, in their lists of those who participated in the expedition: primarily the Saxons (present-day northern Germany) who had originally asked to fight against these pagans at the Council of Frankfurt, and the Danes who had received *Divina dispensatione II* from the pope.¹⁵⁴

¹⁵⁰ Phillips, *Extending the Frontiers*, p. 235.

¹⁵¹ Eugenius III, 'Epistolae et privilegia', no. 166, cols. 1203-4, 'Rex quoque Hispaniarum contra Saracenos de partibus illis potenter armature, de quibus iam per Dei gratiam saepius triumphavit. Quidam etiam ex vobis tam sancti laboris et praemii participes fieri cupientes, contra Sclavos caeterosque paganos habitans versus Aquilonem ire, et eos Christinae religioni subjugare, Domino auxiliante, intendant. Quorum nos devotionem attendentes, omnibus illis qui crucem eandem Hierosolimam non acceperunt, et contra Sclavos ire, et in ipsa expeditione, sicut statutum remissionem peccatorum quam praedecessor noster euntibus instituit, omnipotentis Dei et beati Petri apostolorum principis auctoritate nobis a Deo concessa concedimus, eadem auctoritate sub excommunicatione prohibentes, ut nullus de paganis ipsis, quos Christianae fidei poterit subjugare, eos in sua perfidia remanere permittat.

¹⁵² Helmold of Bosau, pp. 216-17; translation in F. J. Tschan, *The Chronicle of the Slavs*, p. 172.

¹⁵³ Helmold of Bosau, pp. 216-17; translation in F. J. Tschan, *The Chronicle of the Slavs*, p. 172.

¹⁵⁴ Vincent of Prague, 'Annales', *MGH SS* 17, p. 663; 'Annales Magdeburgenses', *MGH SS*, 16, p. 188.

Bernard also used his authority to sanction a number of other carefully selected preachers to declare the crusade message across Europe. This organised use of preachers carrying the official message shows how the administration of the promotion of the crusade had developed. It was widespread and organised, utilised the skills and political relationships already established by those sent to preach in specific areas and shows how the message was being controlled and targeted. Geoffrey of Lèves, bishop of Chartres, had previously been Innocent II's legate in France, had worked with Louis VI and Suger of St Denis and was announced as a crusade preacher to Brittany in a letter sent by Nicholas of Clairvaux.¹⁵⁵ Geoffrey's experience of working in France meant that he would have already made connections in the area and was a perfect candidate for preaching the crusade in that location.¹⁵⁶ Reynald, abbot of Morimond, preached at Bassigny under instruction of Bernard of Clairvaux.¹⁵⁷ And Adam of Ebrach preached the crusade to an assembly at Regensburg in February 1147 by reading one of Bernard's letters:

...after reading letters of the apostolic see and of the abbot of Clairvaux, by a brief exhortation persuaded practically all who were present to undertake the aforesaid military service.¹⁵⁸

Gerlach, abbot of Rein, was given copies of Bernard's and Eugenius III's letters by Adam of Ebrach and instructed to preach in Carinthia and Styria.¹⁵⁹ Henry, bishop of Olmütz, was also

¹⁵⁵ *The Chronicle of the Abbey of Morigny*, p. 139; W. Janssen, *Die päpstlichen Legaten in Frankreich von Schisma Anaklets II. Bis zum Tode Coelestins III (1130-1198)* (Cologne and Graz, 1961), pp. 17-30; Nicholas of Clairvaux, 'Epistolae', col. 672.

¹⁵⁶ Phillips, *Extending the Frontiers*, p. 69 lists and discusses the background of these preachers.

¹⁵⁷ L. Grill, 'Der hl. Bernard von Clairvaux und Morimond, die Mutterabei der österreichischen Cistercienserklöster', *Festschrift zum 800 Jahrgedächtnis des Todes Bernhards von Clairvaux* (Vienna, 1953), pp. 102-3.

¹⁵⁸ Otto of Freising, *Gesta Frederici*; translation in *The Deeds of Frederick Barbarossa*, tr. C. C. Mierow, p. 75; Constable, *Crusaders and Crusading*, p. 260.

¹⁵⁹ E. Willems, 'Cîteaux et la seconde croisade', *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 49 (1954), n. 9, p. 135.

given a letter by Adam of Ebrach which ordered him to promote the crusade in Bohemia.¹⁶⁰ Bishop Geoffrey of Chartres, who worked alongside Bernard and Alberic of Ostia in 1144 campaigning against heretics, also read out Bernard's letter. These letters demonstrate just how important they were for maintaining control over the message that these preachers communicated.¹⁶¹

Pope Eugenius also commissioned other preachers including the papal legate Hubaldus of Sancti Crucis who was dispatched to Denmark to invite King Eric the Lamb to join the Second Crusade.¹⁶² There had been a Scandinavian presence in the crusades during the early part of the twelfth century when, in 1103, King Eric the Good of Denmark travelled to Jerusalem (whether he had taken a crusade vow or was travelling as a pilgrim is unclear from the source material), and when King Sigurd of Norway participated in the 1110 campaign.¹⁶³ However, it is reasonable to say that from the sparse evidence we have of crusaders coming from northern Europe, this area had not yet proved itself to be a source of potential recruits. It is therefore fair to assume that Hubaldus had been sent to preach in an area which showed potential for crusade involvement but had not yet been actively exploited. Bernard's didn't take his message so far north which could have been for a number of reasons including the practicalities of such a long journey, or the fact that the pope himself may have had greater influence than Bernard on the king's decision to become involved.

¹⁶⁰ Otto of Freising, *Gesta Frederici*; translation in *The Deeds of Frederick Barbarossa*, tr. C. C. Mierow, p. 75.

¹⁶¹ Geoffrey, Bishop of Chartres, 'Epistolae Gaufredi', *PL*, cols 410-16; 'Vita Prima S. Bernardi', *PL* 185, cols 313-14, 337-8.

¹⁶² *Scandinavia and Europe, 800-1350: Conflict and Coexistence*, J. Adams and K. Holman, eds. (Turnhout, 2004), p. 224.

¹⁶³ J. M. Jensen, 'Selavorum expugnator: Conquest, Crusade and Danish Royal Ideology in the Twelfth Century', *Crusades 2* (2003), p. 69; K. V. Jensen, 'Crusading at the fringe of the ocean. Denmark and Portugal in the twelfth century', *Medieval History Writing and Crusading Ideology*, ed. T. M. S. Lehtonen and K. V. Jensen (Helsinki, 2005), p. 197, Jensen refers to King Eric as having been a crusader.

Conclusion

This period of preaching has demonstrated a clear development in the papacy's control over its proxy preachers. Peter the Hermit's actions made it clear that there was a necessity to control those who preached the crusade without the formal authority of the pope. However, the benefits of using approved preachers such as Bishop William of Orange made it clear that proxies were a crucial tool for spreading the message to targeted areas when the pope was not able to do so in person. From the earliest use of networks of clergy who instructed each other to preach the pope's message, to Bernard's careful selection of his own preachers, it is clear that there was a growth in the traditions of crusade preaching. Letters were also still crucial for establishing authority and maintaining control. Proxy preachers such as Bohemond of Taranto and Hugh of Payns were able to exploit their political allegiances and recruit for their own campaigns. With the support and approval of Pope Pascal, Bohemond was able to innovate crusade preaching by using his own reputation as a former crusader. Throughout this period, preaching campaigns were led by significant figureheads who assumed the role that had been developed by Pope Urban II at the end of the eleventh century. The most noteworthy of these was Bernard of Clairvaux who was at the forefront of preaching for the Second Crusade. His power over his own preaching tour was clear even though he had the full support of Eugenius III and this relationship could have established a new tradition of proxy preachers who usurped the role of the papacy in the preaching of the crusades. However, in light of the ultimate failure of the Second Crusade the next chapter will examine how it was possible for the papacy to regain the trust of the public and establish new proxy preachers who would rebuild the popularity of the crusade movement.

Chapter Four

Preaching By Proxy, c. 1150-1216

This section addresses the use of proxy preachers after the failure of the Second Crusade and their roles in attempting to maintain enthusiasm for the movement on behalf of the pope. However, it demonstrates that in spite of previous support, some areas showed no interest in participating with new campaigns until the news of the Battle of Hattin reinvigorated the appeal on a large scale.

Following the failure of the Second Crusade in 1149, the chroniclers of the period attributed blame for the defeat on a large number of factors, including the work of Bernard of Clairvaux.¹ Bernard's biographer, in the *Vita Sancti Bernardi*, wrote that 'men raised great scandal against him because of his preaching of the journey to Jerusalem'.² Despite this failure, there was still a need for aid in the Latin East. In France in 1150, the Grand Master of the Temple, Everard of Barres, received a letter asking that he inform the pope and King Louis of the situation in the East from another member of the Order, Andrew of Montbard.³ These increasingly

¹ Odo of Deuil, *De profectione Ludovici VII in orientem*, p. 98; G. Constable, 'The Second Crusade as Seen by Contemporaries', *Traditio*, 9 (1953), pp. 213-79; John of Salisbury, *Memoirs of the Papal Court (Historia Pontificalis)*, ed. and trans. M. Chibnall (New York and Oxford, 1986), p. 55; Louis VII, 'Epistolae', *RHGF* 16, pp. 488, 495-6; See also 'Annales Palidenses', *MGH SS* 16, p. 83; 'Historia Welforum Weingartensis', *MGH SS* 21, p. 468; 'Annales et notae Schleflarienses', *MGH SS* 17, p. 336; *Monumenta Corbeiensia*, ed. P. Jaffe (Berlin, 1864) nos. 48 (p. 126), 78 (p. 152-3) and 144 (p. 225-6); Otto of Freising, *Chronica*; Otto of Freising, *Gesta Frederici*; translation in *The Deeds of Frederick Barbarossa*, tr. C. C. Mierow; Henry of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum*, ed. T. Arnold. *Rolls Series*, 74 (London, 1879), pp. 280-1; Vincent of Prague, 'Annales', *MGH SS* 17, p. 663; 'Sigeberti continuatio Gemblacensis', *MGH SS* 6, p. 390; William of Newburgh, *Historia rerum Anglicarum*, p. 66; Bernard of Clairvaux, 'Epistolae', ep. 386. col. 590-1; 'Annales Herbipolenses', p. 3; Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades*, pp. 54-6; Rowe, 'Alexander III and the Jerusalem Crusade', p. 112; M. Hoch, 'The Price of Failure: the Second Crusade as a turning-point in the history of the Latin East?' *The Second Crusade: Scope and Consequences*, ed. J. P. Phillips and M. Hoch (Manchester, 2001), p. 180-200.

² 'Vita Prima S. Bernardi', *PL* 185, cols 308-9; 'Annales Herbipolenses', p. 3; translation in Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades*, pp. 54, 57-8; E. Siberry, *Criticism of Crusading, 1095-1274*, (Oxford, 1985), p. 191; Bernard of Clairvaux, 'Tractus de consideratione ad Eugenium Papam,' *Opera*, 3, pp. 393-493.

³ 'Epistola A. Dapiferi Militiae Templi', *RHGF* 15, pp. 540-1, 'Praeterea terrae perditionem domino Papae et Regi Francorum, et personis ecclesiae et principibus nunciate, eos admonendo ut subveniant desolatae matri suae, aut praesentia corporum, aut bonorum suorum participatione; Phillips, *Defenders of the Holy Land*, pp. 9, 104-6; *Cartulaire général de l'ordre du Temple 1119?-1150*, no. 1, p. 1; Barber, *The New Knighthood*, p. 71; D.

independent actions of the Military Orders reflected the importance with which they regarded themselves and the access they expected to powerful audiences such as the king and the pope.⁴ Andrew of Montbard's letter of 1150 echoes the earlier appeal of Hugh of Payns but it came from the Order itself and was not carried under the instruction of the king. In that same year further letters appealing for military aid from the West were sent by King Baldwin of Jerusalem and the patriarch of Antioch.⁵ That the only surviving letters, or references to letters, appealing for help in this period are addressed to the pope and King Louis VII shows that the French veterans of the Second Crusade were being deliberately targeted by the Latins in the East. Phillips has addressed this area as a specific 'target' of appeals from the East for the period 1163-8 but it is clear from the evidence here that this was the case as early as 1150.⁶ When considering King Louis VII's continued presence in Jerusalem for the year following the failed siege of Damascus in 1148, the success of crusade recruitment in France prior to the Second Crusade and the established tradition of family participation in the movement over repeated generations, it makes sense that France was the first place to which appeals for help were sent. The recruitment grounds which had been so successful for the First Crusade, Bohemond of Taranto, Hugh of Payns and Bernard of Clairvaux, were considered a source from which new crusaders could be enlisted.

Selwood, *Knights of the Cloister: Templars and Hospitallers in Central-Southern Occitania, c. 1100-c. 1300* (Woodbridge, 1999), p. 59-60; T. Reuter, 'The 'Non-Crusade' of 1149-50', *The Second Crusade: Scope and Consequences*, ed. J. P. Phillips and M. Hoch (Manchester, 2001), p. 156; Schenk, *Templar Families: Landowning Families and the Order of the Temple in France*, p. 126. Andrew, who would go on to become Grand Master in 1153, had previously acted as an envoy for King Baldwin of Jerusalem in 1129 by carrying a letter requesting papal approval for a proposed campaign to Damascus

⁴ Phillips, *Defenders of the Holy Land*, p. 104.

⁵ Suger of St Denis, 'Vie de Suger', *Oeuvres complètes de Suger*, ed. A. Lecoy de la Marche (Paris, 1867), p. 399, 'Epistolas quippe transmarinas a rege Hierosolymorum vel patriarcha Antiocheno acceperat, quibus illum ad subveniendum sibi lacrimabiliter invitabant, asserentes occiso principe crucem salvatoris intra Antiochiam a Sarracenis inclusam, urbemque, nisi celerius sibi subveniretur, deditioi proximam.'

⁶ Phillips, *Defenders of the Holy Land*, pp. 106, 140-49; J. S. C. Riley-Smith, 'The Military Orders and the East, 1149-1291', *Knighthoods of Christ: Essays on the History of the Crusades and the Knights Templar, Presented to Malcolm Barber*, ed. N. Housley, (Aldershot, 2007), p. 138.

These letters of appeal did elicit some response within the western church and efforts were made to launch another crusade expedition throughout 1150.⁷ William of St Denis' biography *Vie de Suger* describes letters sent by Pope Eugenius III regarding the need to assist those in the East following their appeals for help.⁸ Further correspondence regarding a new crusade expedition in 1150 also exists between Bernard of Clairvaux, Abbot Suger of St. Denis and Peter the Venerable, Abbot of Cluny.⁹ These three figures were all significant within the preaching of the earlier crusades as either preachers or, in Abbot Suger's case, witness and chronicler. Bernard had toured Western Europe extensively in 1146-7 preaching the crusade. Peter the Venerable, abbot of Cluny, had been present at many of the significant events in the promotion of the Second Crusade and he had preached the sermon *De Laude Dominici Sepulchri* in Paris in 1147 in the presence of Pope Eugenius III. As a young man, Abbot Suger of St Denis had witnessed to the preaching of Bohemond of Taranto at Poitiers.¹⁰ The important question to consider here is the manner in which they utilised this experience to begin to promote a new expedition.

From the description in the *Vie de Suger*, Abbot Suger took the initiative to attempt to organise another expedition as a result of the correspondence from the East.¹¹ In March 1150, he held a council in Laon where Bernard of Clairvaux had preached as recently as 1147, and it had been an enthusiastic area for recruitment since the First Crusade, in spite of being located so far from the preaching of Pope Urban II across southern France. Abbot Suger described the council in

⁷ G. Constable, 'The Crusading Project of 1150', *Montjoie: Studies in Crusade History on Honour of Hans Eberhard Mayer*, ed. B. Z. Kedar, J. S. C. Riley-Smith and R. Hiestnad (Aldershot, 1997), pp. 67-75; Reuter, 'The 'Non-Crusade' of 1149-50', p. 159.

⁸ Suger of St Denis, 'Vie de Suger', p. 399, 'Hisdem nihilominus diebus, Eugenius papa scripta illi direxit apostolica, et pro obsecrans, et pro auctoritate imperans ut, secundum datam a Deo sibi sapientiam, Orientali ecclesiae subveniendo consulere, et christianorum quibus posset modis auferret opprobrium'.

⁹ Suger of St Denis, 'Epistolae', *Oeuvres complètes de Suger*, ed. A. Lecoy de la Marche (Paris, 1867), pp. 268-9, 280-2; Peter the Venerable, *The Letters of Peter the Venerable*, ed. G. Constable, 2 vols. (Harvard, 1967), 1, pp. 395-400; Bernard of Clairvaux, 'Epistolae', no. 8. p. 344.

¹⁰ Suger of St Denis, *The Deeds of Louis the Fat*, pp. 43-6.

¹¹ Suger of St Denis, 'Vie de Suger', p. 399.

a letter to Peter the Venerable as having been attended by the ‘archbishops and bishops, also the king and the great men of the kingdom’.¹² Suger’s description of his own audience mirrors that of his account of the audience for Bohemond of Taranto’s preaching at Chartres in 1106 which took place ‘in the presence of the king and the lord Louis, with many archbishops, bishops, and magnates of the kingdom in attendance’.¹³ His first person account of the Council of Poitiers and how Bohemond and Bruno of Segni ‘made sure that the zeal for the journey to Jerusalem not grow lukewarm...aroused many of those present to make it’ shows that Abbot Suger had witnessed the impact that the direct rhetoric of a motivating speech given by an eloquent speaker could have on his audience and sought to mimic it.¹⁴

A month after the council the pope wrote to Abbot Suger warning of possible failure but still offering the same privileges contained in *Quantum praedecessores*.¹⁵ This papal approval and its accompanying note of caution indicated support for this new campaign but not on the same scale as that of 1145. The pope handed over the reins to the abbot but did not put the full force of his power behind a new crusade. This cautious behaviour appears to diminish the power of his support and calls into question the serious intention behind the promotion of this expedition.¹⁶ Undeterred by this caution however, Suger of St Denis organised a council at Chartres on 8 May 1150 between King Louis and senior clergy, including Bernard of Clairvaux.¹⁷ The significance of the location must be considered here as Chartres had been

¹² *Historiae Francorum scriptores*, ed. André Duchesne, 5 vols. (Paris, 1636–49), 4:534, no 130; Suger of St Denis, ‘Epistolae’, *Ouvres*, pp. 268–9, ‘Inde est quod archiepiscopi et episcopi, quin etiam dominus rex et regni optimates, et nos super hoc lauduni convenimus’; *The Letters of Peter the Venerable*, 1, pp. 389–399, no. 165; Constable, ‘The Crusading Project of 1150’, p. 69; L. Grant, *Abbot Suger of St-Denis: Church and State in Early Twelfth-Century France* (New York, 1998).

¹³ Suger of St Denis, *The Deeds of Louis the Fat*, p. 45.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*,

¹⁵ Eugenius III, ‘Epistolae et Privilegia’, col. 1414.

¹⁶ Constable, ‘The Crusading Project of 1150’, p. 70.

¹⁷ Suger of St Denis, ‘Epistolae’, *Ouvres*, p. 269, ‘inde est quod archiepiscopi et episcopi, quin etiam dominus rex, et regni optimates et nos super hoc Lauduni conuenimus, et usque adeo res processit, quod 15 dies post octauas Paschae Carnoti generaliter conuentum celebrare super hac causa et multarum provinciarum archiepiscopos, episcopos, abbates convocare...’; *The Letters of Peter the Venerable*, 1, p. 399.

visited by crusade preachers previously, most notably when it hosted the wedding and crusade speech of Bohemond of Taranto. It was also an area which, like Laon, had been a crucial source of recruits in the past.¹⁸ These councils were described with an increasing similarity to those which promoted the earlier crusades; the summoning of powerful figures to hear a sermon given by a renowned crusade preacher in a place with such an established connection to the crusade movement as Chartres shows that earlier efforts which met with success were being repeated.

A third meeting was then proposed to take place at Compiègne by both Bernard and Pope Eugenius III but there remains no physical record of it having occurred and there is debate in the secondary literature as to whether this meeting actually took place at all.¹⁹ It is in the same region of France as the previous two locations but differs in that it has not appeared on any of the aforementioned preaching tours so it is possible that these preachers were testing out a new audience.

Ultimately, in spite of these efforts there was a lack of support for the expedition; it failed to elicit any response and was hindered by lack of resources.²⁰ There was also an apparent reluctance from the Cistercians to allow Bernard to be involved in an expedition and Sigebert of Gembloux wrote that 'it came to nothing entirely owing to the Cistercian monks'.²¹ Constable argues that the complete absence of response to the 1150 appeal is the best evidence

¹⁸ Dickson, *The Children's Crusade*, p. 42.

¹⁹ Bernard of Clairvaux, 'Epistolae', no.8. pp. 483-4; *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Corneille de Compiègne*, ed. E. Morel, 1 (Montdidier, 1904), pp. 114-5, no. 62; V. G. Berry, 'Peter the Venerable and the Crusades', *Petrus Venerabilis 1156-1956: Studies and Texts Commemorating the Eighth Centenary of his Death*, ed. G. Constable and J. Kritzeck, *Studia Anselmiana*, 40 (Rome, 1956), p. 162; B. Bolton, 'The Cistercians and the Aftermath of the Second Crusade', *The Second Crusade and the Cistercians*, ed. M. Gervers (New York, 1992), p. 138; cf. Constable, 'The Crusading Project of 1150', p. 74; Reuter, 'The 'Non-Crusade' of 1149-50', p. 157.

²⁰ Bernard of Clairvaux, 'Epistolae', no. 8. pp. 483-4; Suger of St Denis, 'Vie de Suger', p. 399.

²¹ 'Sigeberti continuatio Praemonstratenis', *MGH SS* 6, p. 455; Constable, 'The Crusading Project of 1150', p. 75.

for the mass public opinion of the crusade movement following the Second Crusade.²² Their efforts show that the appeals from the East were not being ignored; instead they were taken to an audience which was reluctant to repeat the failure of the Second Crusade. The nature of the absence of response, in light of the pope's letter of caution to Suger, would not appear to arise from a complete sense of apathy but from a hesitancy to embark upon another mission which would fail in the same way that the expedition of 1146-7 had.²³

Concurrently with the efforts to promote a crusade to the East in 1150, those crusaders who had successfully captured Lisbon in 1147 made their own efforts to draft reinforcements when Afonso I and Alfonso VII sent Bishop Gilbert of Lisbon to England to recruit for a campaign against Seville.²⁴ The *Historia* of John of Hexham gives no indication of the response to this expedition but the *Chronica Gothorum* references ships from 'France and the neighbouring parts' aiding Afonso's two unsuccessful sieges of Alcácer do Sal.²⁵ It appears that the Iberian kings were using their own initiative to seek recruits but whether they were doing so under the terms the pope had set out in *Quantum praedecessores* is unclear from the evidence. Potential papal intervention did occur in 1155 when the papal legate to Spain, Cardinal Hyacinth (who had first served Anastasius IV as legate to Iberia in 1153 and would become Pope Celestine III in 1191) began to promote the crusade at the Council of Valladolid and offered remission of sins equivalent to those given to crusaders to the East.²⁶ Hyacinth travelled extensively around

²² Constable, 'The Second Crusade as Seen by Contemporaries', p. 276.

²³ Constable, 'The Crusading Project of 1150', p. 75. Constable has suggested that the efforts made by these preachers indicated a great deal of enthusiasm for another expedition to the East but the failure to launch an expedition does not support this idea.

²⁴ John of Hexham, *Historia*, in Simeon of Durham, *Opera Omnia*, ed. T. Arnold, 2 vols. (London, Longmans, Green, 1882-85), 2:324; *Annales D. Alfonsi Portugallensium regis*, ed. Monica Blöcker-Walter. *Alfons I. von Portugal. Studien zu Geschichte und Sagen des Begründers der Portugiesischen Unabhängigkeit* (Zurich, 1966), pp. 157-58; O'Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade*, p. 47.

²⁵ *Chronica Gothorum*, *PMH SS*, I, 15, 'Iam quidem prius obsederat eum per duas vices adjutus multitudine navium que advenerant de partibus Aquilonis, id est de Francia, et finitimis eius partibus.'

²⁶ F. Fita, 'Primera legación del Cardenal Jacinto en España: Bulas inéditas de Anastasio IV. Nuevas luces sobre el Concilio nacional de Valladolid (1155) y otros datos inéditos,' *BRAH* 14 (1889), pp. 530, no. 1; C. Erdmann,

the peninsula through 1154-55 and although there is no definitive evidence that he was preaching the crusade, the fact that he addressed it at the Council implies that he was most likely doing so.²⁷ Also, despite a lack of written evidence that Adrian IV had instructed Hyacinth directly to promote the crusade, in his role as papal legate, the cardinal was acting on the pope's behalf.²⁸ Just as many of the most important crusade preachers from the first half of the twelfth century were papal legates, it is important to include Cardinal Hyacinth alongside the likes of Adhémar of Le Puy, Maurice of Porto, Hugh of Die, John of St. Anastasia. Boso of Anastasia, Peter of Porto, Bruno of Segni and many others. The previous preaching experience of these men was crucial to maintaining papal authority over their work.

As the crusade movement continued to be supported in the Baltic region, it was also promoted in the Iberian Peninsula. Cardinal Hyacinth who, as legate to Adrian IV, had previously promoted the crusade in Spain at the 1155 Council of Valladolid, appeared again offering remission of sins to those besieging Huete with Alfonso VIII in July 1172.²⁹ As before, O'Callaghan assumes that the cardinal was acting with the approval of the pope and upon his return to Rome he encouraged the pope to address a new call to crusade to the people of Spain.³⁰ As a result, in 1175 Pope Alexander III issued the bull *Merore partier* which was addressed to 'all the Christians settled throughout Spain' and offered remission of sins to those who participated in crusading but there is no surviving evidence of how it was received.³¹

Das Papsttum und Portugal im ersten Jahrhundert der portugiesische Geschichte (Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1928), p. 55; O'Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade*, p. 48.

²⁷ Smith, 'The Iberian Legations of Cardinal Hyacinth Bobone', pp. 83-5.

²⁸ O'Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade*, p. 47.

²⁹ Erdmann, *Das Papsttum und Portugal im ersten Jahrhundert der portugiesische Geschichte*, p. 55; F. Fita, 'Concilios nacionales de Salamanca en 1154 y Valladolid en 1155,' *BRAH* 24 (1984), pp. 467-75; O'Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade*, pp. 48, 55; Smith, 'The Iberian Legations of Cardinal Hyacinth Bobone', pp. 81-111.

³⁰ O'Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade*, p. 55.

³¹ F. Fita, 'Tres bulas inéditas de Alejandro III,' *BRAH* 12 (1888), pp. 164-68, Alexander episcopus, servus servorum dei, Delectis filiis universis christianis per Hispaniam constitutis, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem'; Goñi Gaztambide, *Historia de la bula de la cruzada en España*, p. 94; Riley-Smith, *The Crusades: A Short History*, pp. 106-7; Fonnesberg-Schmidt, 'Alexander III and the Crusades', pp. 220-1, 360.

Another call from the East came in 1175 when Count Balian of Jaffa was despatched to France with an appeal for help.³² That this embassy was led by a secular figure was particularly unusual having seen only ecclesiastic representatives and members of the military orders sent on behalf of previous kings of Jerusalem.³³ Unfortunately the *Chronica* of William of Tyre gives no record of the destination or routes of Balian's embassy and, although Phillips speculates that the crusade of Philip of Flanders may have arisen from the count having visited the region, there is no concrete evidence to demonstrate this in any of the chronicles or charters.³⁴ It is important to note, however, that the counts of Flanders were well-established crusaders; they had participated since the First Crusade in 1095 and Count Philip's father Thierry had been married to the half-sister of Kings Baldwin and Amalric of Jerusalem. This made them an obvious audience for the approach made by Balian of Jaffa even though there is no clear evidence that they responded on this occasion.³⁵

Yet another appeal was made to the West in 1184-5 but this time, instead of yet another letter, 'the most high-level mission ever to be sent to Western Europe' was led by Patriarch Heraclius of Jerusalem.³⁶ Carrying papal letters, a banner of the Holy Cross and the keys of both the Holy Sepulchre and the Tower of David which were a potent symbol of access to the Holy City, the patriarch travelled along with the masters of the Hospitallers and the Templars to appeal directly to the potential leaders of a new expedition.³⁷ It is not possible to construct a complete itinerary for the patriarch's tour but it can be shown that he arrived in Italy in September 1184 and travelled from Brindisi (which had previously been visited by Bohemond in 1106) to

³² William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, pp. 964-5; B. Hamilton, 'Miles of Plancy and the Fief of Beirut', *The Horns of Hattin*, ed. B. Z. Kedar (Jerusalem, 1992), pp. 136-46.

³³ Phillips, *Defenders of the Holy Land*, p. 226.

³⁴ 'Sigeberti continuatio Praemonstratenis', *MGH SS* 6, p. 415; Phillips, *Defenders of the Holy Land*, p. 226.

³⁵ Phillips, *Defenders of the Holy Land*, p. 176.

³⁶ Phillips, *Defenders of the Holy Land*, p. 253; C. J. Tyerman, *The Invention of the Crusades* (Basingstoke, 1998), p. 65.

³⁷ Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, p. 50.

Verona where he met with Pope Lucius and Emperor Frederick.³⁸ The embassy then carried a letter from the pope to a meeting with King Philip of France in Paris in January.³⁹ The chronicle of Ralph Niger describes the ostentatious spectacle of the tour with its sounds of ringing gold and silver, smells of spices and smoke, and his expression of hatred towards this sight all are completely unlike any previous report of official crusade preachers.⁴⁰ Only Guibert of Nogent's comments on Peter the Hermit come close but in this instance Ralph was describing a senior member of the clergy, not a lay preacher. Whether his opinion of Heraclius can be read as a demonstration of contempt towards the wealth of the Church or the whole crusade movement is unclear, but his chronicle suggests that the failure to react to this appeal may be a result of something stronger than apathy. As an eyewitness account from Paris, which was a very fertile recruitment ground for the first fifty years of the crusade movement, Ralph's rejection of this preacher supports the hypothesis that no single area could be relied upon to respond to every crusade appeal.

Heraclius went on to preach a sermon at Canterbury cathedral and met King Henry II of England in Reading between February and April 1185.⁴¹ On this occasion the patriarch's address, according to Ralph of Diceto, reduced his audience to tears and the complete opposite of the disdainful description given by Ralph Niger of his previous visit to Paris.⁴² Once in

³⁸ *Gesta regis Henrici secundi et Ricardi primi*, ed. W. Stubbs, 2 vols. (London, 1867), 1, p. 331-2; Ralph of Diceto, *Ymagines Historiarum*, 2, pp. 27-8, 32; Kedar, 'The Patriarch Eraclius', pp. 191-3; Riley-Smith, *The Knights Hospitaller in the Levant*, p. 195.

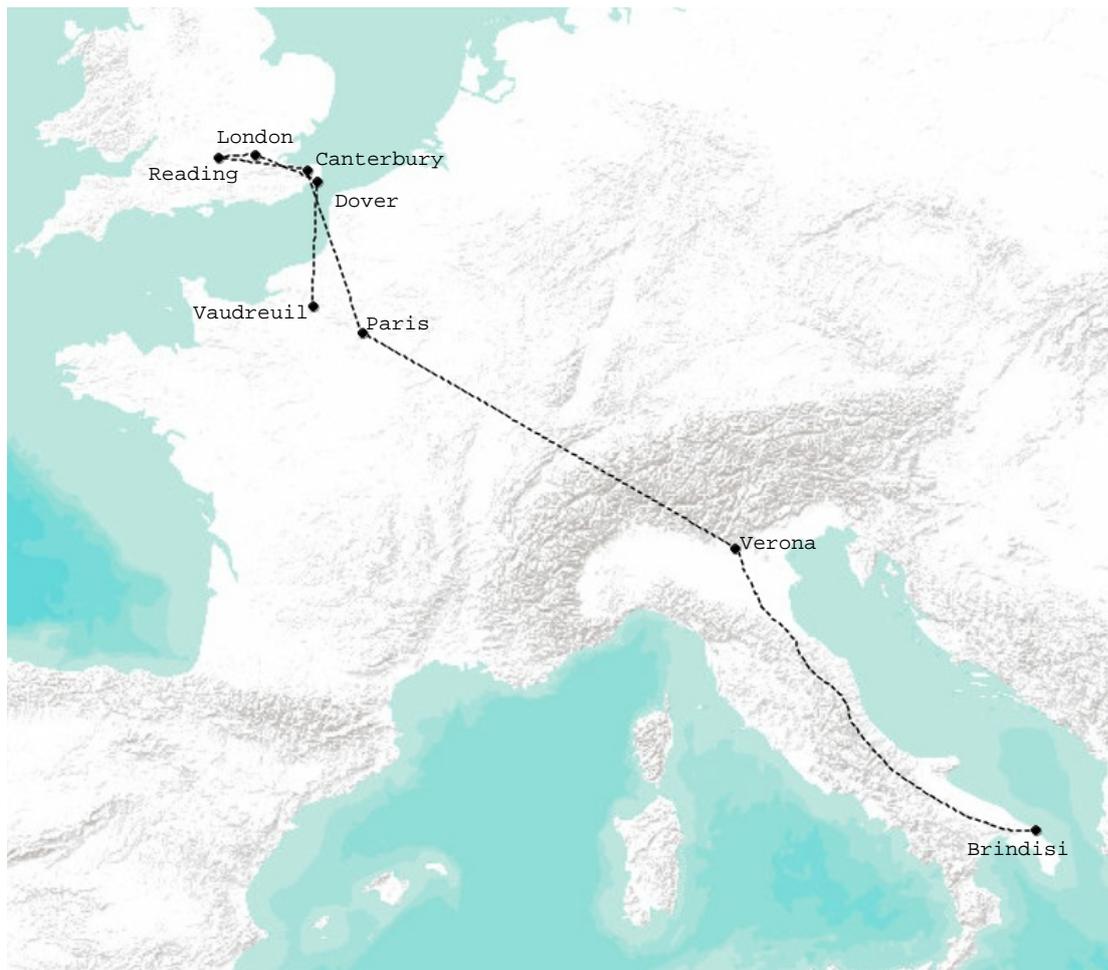
³⁹ Ralph of Diceto, *Ymagines Historiarum*, 2, p. 32.

⁴⁰ Ralph Niger, *De Re Militari et triplici peregrinatione Ierosolimitanae*, ed. L. Schmutge (Berlin, 1977), pp. 193-4, 'Vidi utique patriarcham Ierosolimitanum venisse in partes occidentales pro adiutorio in multa pompa supellectilis argenteae et aureae, cuius etiam repositionem propter tinnitum tedium erat audire. Sed et fumigationes aromatum quas facerent multiplices et varie hausit, unde et vestes redolerent et totum cerebrum moveretur. Vidi capellam eius, cui simile nusquam viderim neque adeo pretiosam. In summa, similem apparatus non habuit ullus occidenti orbis patriarcha. Si alias illius terre delicias secundum ea, que vidimus estimemus in ea multa fuisse, que deus haberet odio presumere poterimus.'

⁴¹ Gervase of Canterbury, *Historical Works*, 1, p. 325; *Gesta Regis Henrici secundi*, 1, pp. 331-2; Roger of Howden, *Gesta*, 2, p. 300; Riley-Smith, *The Knights Hospitaller in the Levant*, p. 195.

⁴² Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, p. 155; Ralph of Diceto, *Ymagines Historiarum*, 2, pp. 32-3, 'regem et omnem illam multitudinem quae convenerat ad suspiria provocarunt et lacrimas'; Roger of Howden, *Gesta*, 1, pp. 335-7, 'Statuta itaque die concilii, convenerunt secundum regis edictum apud Lundonias, dominus rex et

London in March, the patriarch consecrated the Templar church and there attended a council where he and the archbishop of Canterbury preached crusade sermons but failed to recruit the king.⁴³ They then travelled on to Dover from where the embassy, accompanied by King Henry, sailed to France and met with King Philip at Vaudreuil in May.⁴⁴ On this occasion, the monarchs both refused to take the cross and the entire entourage returned to the Holy Land.⁴⁵



Map 19. Known Locations of Tour of Patriarch Heraclius of Jerusalem c. 1184-5.

patriarcha, episcopi et abates, comites et barones regni; et cum diu tractassent de itinere Jerosolimitanae professionis, tandem placuit regi et consiliariis consulere inde Philippum regem Franciae.’

⁴³ Roger of Howden, *Gesta*, 2, pp. 301-2; Ralph of Diceto, *Ymagines Historiarum*, 2, pp. 33-4; Gervase of Canterbury, *Historical Works* 1, p. 325; Gerald of Wales, *Opera*, eds. G. Warner, J. Brewer and J. Dimock (London, 1861-91), 5, pp. 362-4.

⁴⁴ Roger of Howden, *Gesta*, 1, p. 366; Ralph of Diceto, *Ymagines Historiarum*, 2, p. 34.

⁴⁵ Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, 2, p. 302; Roger of Howden, *Gesta*, 1, p. 359.

The spectacle of this high-ranking preacher and his entourage carrying the recognisable crusader symbol of the cross on a banner along with the most significant symbols of admission to the city of Jerusalem suggests a return to the large-scale theatrical event of the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries. The route of the tour is very deliberate and indicates having been carefully organised in advance; the expedition met with the pope, the kings of England and France and included a council in London to which an audience was invited. As the full details of his itinerary are unavailable it is difficult to fully contrast the locations of his preaching tour with those which went before but the details that we do have show him having spent more time in England than any previous preacher since, and including, Hugh of Payns. By comparing the descriptions of Heraclius' receptions in France and England it seems apparent that not only was the king of England already charged with an expedition to Jerusalem by the Church, but the English audience offered a more sympathetic reception than that of the French. Where both of these areas had not responded to the call to crusade for almost forty years, it does seem clear that England was a more promising place in which to attempt to preach the crusade and Heraclius' presence here seems to reflect this. Unfortunately, where the earlier tours had made a universal appeal which met with an enthusiastic response, the evidence we have of Heraclius' appeal appears to have been met by an unresponsive audience.

This changed in the year 1187 when Saladin successfully defeated the crusader army at Hattin. The battle of Hattin and the capture of the True Cross by the Muslim army was followed by the fall of Ascalon and Acre and, ultimately, the surrender of city of Jerusalem. This capture of the most symbolically charged Christian cities and objects was the catalyst which had been required to reawaken the enthusiasm for the crusade movement. The period immediately after the battle of Hattin offers the opportunity to examine the reinvigoration of crusade promotion and how preaching continued and gained momentum when it had stalled for so long.

The preaching of the Third Crusade

In 1187, Marquis Conrad of Montferrat, who had been a crucial figure in the defence of the city of Tyre, sent Joscius, archbishop of Tyre, to seek aid from Rome in person. Once again the initial drive for a crusade came from the East but this time a succession of popes was more proactive in its response than their predecessors had been since the end of the Second Crusade. This meant that a profusion of carefully chosen new legates would be required to act under the direct orders of the papacy and to convey their message under their control.

The fact that Archbishop Joscius brought bad news was conveyed with a sense of theatre before he had even disembarked from his voyage.⁴⁶ The Old French Continuation of William of Tyre tells of how he

...boarded a galley whose sails were painted black. They had them painted like this so that whenever the galley came near to land the people who saw it would know that it brought bad tidings.⁴⁷

As well as the black sails, the Muslim chronicle of Baha' ad-Din described how Marquis Conrad of Tyre (future king of Jerusalem) commissioned a picture of a Muslim knight riding a horse urinating on the Holy Sepulchre and 'this picture was sent abroad to the markets and meeting places; priests carried it about...[and]...in this way they raised a huge army...among them the King of Germany with his troops'.⁴⁸ An account of an image being used in a similar

⁴⁶ M. D. Legge, *Anglo-Norman Literature and its Background*, (London, 1963), p. 49.

⁴⁷ *La Continuation de Guillaume de Tyr (1184-1197)*, p. 18; translation in *The Conquest of Jerusalem and the Third Crusade*, p. 73.

⁴⁸ F. Gabrieli, *Arab Historians of the Crusades*, trans. F. Gabrieli, (London, 1969), pp. 208-9; J. Gillingham, *Richard I*, p. 88.

way was written by a Muslim chronicler named Ibn al-Athir. This describes how, at Tyre, the patriarch of Jerusalem, in the company of ‘monks, priests and a crowd of Frankish knights and nobles [who had] dressed themselves in black and expressed grief at the loss of Jerusalem’, travelled through the Frankish domains carrying an image of Christ being struck in the face by an Arab in order to drum up support for the defence of the city of Tyre.⁴⁹ There exists no record of these particular visual aids within the western descriptions of events which raises the question as to the reliability of the use of this type of preaching tool. However, Patriarch Heraclius had used visual props to aid his preaching in Europe and it is possible to conclude that there were attempts to use visual aids to enhance recruitment efforts. However, after Heraclius’ failed attempts to use them in 1184-5, it would be significant that his methods reverted from holy symbols to crude cartoons which simplified the message and, apparently, met with more success.

In 1187 Joscius firstly approached William II of Sicily who dispatched a fleet to reinforce Antioch and Tyre and then travelled from Sicily to Rome to meet with the pope.⁵⁰ According to the Continuation of William of Tyre, Joscius met with Pope Urban III at Ferrera but the pope was killed by the shock of the news of events at Hattin.⁵¹ Instead it fell to his successor, Pope Gregory VIII to act in response to the events of the battle of Hattin and to promote the next crusade expedition.

Pope Gregory appointed Henry, cardinal bishop of Albano, as his legate to preach the crusade in both France and Germany, the areas which had been most responsive to previous calls to

⁴⁹ *Arab Historians of the Crusades*, p. 182.

⁵⁰ *La Continuation de Guillaume de Tyr (1184-1197)*, p. 19; translation in *The Conquest of Jerusalem and the Third Crusade*, pp. 74-5; S. Painter, ‘The Third Crusade: Richard the Lionhearted and Philip Augustus’, *A History of the Crusades*, ed. K. M. Setton, (Philadelphia, 1962), II, p. 47.

⁵¹ Howden, *Chronica*, 2, p. 322; *La Continuation de Guillaume de Tyr (1184-1197)*, p. 18; translation in *The Conquest of Jerusalem and the Third Crusade*, p. 75; Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades*, p. 63.

crusade. Cardinal Henry was a former member of the Cistercian Order who had previously held the roles of abbot of Hautecombe and of Clairvaux, the very same position as his great crusade preaching predecessor Bernard. Henry of Albano's pedigree as a preacher was well established and he had previously been authorised by Pope Alexander III to preach against the so-called heretics in southern France.⁵² Throughout 1178-81, he had been very active in the suppression of the heretics and led a successful military expedition against Roger II, count of Béziers, at the town of Lavaur.⁵³ He had also been considered a favourite to take over the papacy after the death of Pope Urban III but instead he promised to preach the crusade to the East.⁵⁴ This clearly indicates that his role as papal legate and preacher of the Third Crusade was not purely the choice of the pope but that his own wishes had some influence on the appointment.

Despite the very brief pontificate of Gregory VIII, his orders regarding the launch of the Third Crusade were carried out without any loss of momentum and, in 1187, Archbishops Henry of Albano and Joscius of Tyre travelled to France to publicise *Audita tremendi*:

Clement III...sent his messengers...to all the great men of Christendom [and when they] heard the news, the emperor, the kings, the archbishops, the bishops and all the other people took the cross.⁵⁵

⁵² M. G. Newman, *The Boundaries of Charity: Cistercian Culture and Ecclesiastical Reform, 1098-1180* (Stanford, 1996), p. 229.

⁵³ Sumption, *The Albigensian Crusade*, pp. 55-56; B. M. Kienzle, *Cistercians, Heresy and Crusade in Occitania, 1145-1229: Preaching in the Lord's Vineyard* (Woodbridge, 2001), p. 132.

⁵⁴ Alberic of Trois-Fontaines, *Chronica*, ed. P. Scheffer-Boichorst. *MGH SS* 23, pp. 860-1; Robinson, *The Papacy*, p. 505; Kienzle, *Cistercians, Heresy and Crusade*, p. 133.

⁵⁵ *La Continuation de Guillaume de Tyr (1184-1197)*, p. 18; translation in *The Conquest of Jerusalem and the Third Crusade*, p. 75.

At the same time, Bishop Henry of Strasbourg and Bishop Godfrey of Würzburg (also count of Helfenstein, Germany) were authorised to preach the same message in Germany.⁵⁶ *Historia de Expeditione Frederici Imperatoris* described an imperial diet In December 1187 at which:

...the trumpet of the preaching of the overseas expedition first resounded in...Strasbourg [and]...it was sounded by [Bishop Henry] who roused the minds of many men of distinction to undertake the journey of Christ.⁵⁷

Bishop Henry's appeal was received enthusiastically but Bishop Godfrey, who was preaching at the same time, is described as having determined to travel by sea instead of taking 'the difficult expedition by land', and this resulted in a dampening of enthusiasm for his message.⁵⁸ In response to this, according to *The History of the Expedition*, 'Emperor Frederick recalled both the bishop and others from their uncertainty of purpose...and a stern warning from the supreme pontiff Clement...was added to the urgings of the emperor'.⁵⁹ That the pope was perceived, within this German chronicle, to have supported the emperor gives a clear indication that the main authority and more reactive individual was seen to have been Frederick Barbarossa. In spite of the proactive despatch of letters and legates, from a German account at least, Pope Clement appears to have assumed a secondary role in respect to the promotion of

⁵⁶ E. N. Johnson, 'The Crusade of Frederick Barbarossa and Henry VI,' *A History of the Crusades*, ed. K. M. Setton, (Philadelphia, 1962), II, p. 90; C. J. Tyerman, *God's War: A New History of the Crusades* (London, 2006), p. 377.

⁵⁷ Alberic of Trois-Fontaines, *Chronica*, p. 861; 'Chronicon Clarevallense', *PL* 185, p. 1251; 'Ex Giselberti Montensis praepositi Hannoniae chronico', *RHGF* 18, pp. 387-8; 'Historia peregrinorum', ed. A. Chroust, *MGH SRG* 5, p. 125; Y. M.-J. Congar, 'Henri de Marcy, abbé de Clairvaux, cardinal-évêque d'Albano et légat pontifical', *Analecta monastic: Textes et études sur le vie des moines au moyen âge*, eds. Y. M.'J. Congar et al, (Rome, 1958), pp. 46; Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades*, p. 66; Tyerman, *God's War*, p. 377; *Historia de expeditione Frederici Imperatoris*, ed. A. Chroust, *MGH SSRG* 5, p. 13; translation in *The Crusade of Frederick Barbarossa: The History of the Expedition of the Emperor Frederick and Related Texts*, trans. G. A. Loud (Farnham, 2010), p. 43; note also that the motif of the trumpet as the call to crusade has appeared previously in the chronicles of Ekkehard of Aura and Robert the Monk.

⁵⁸ 'Historia de Expeditione Frederici Imperatoris', p. 13; translation in *The Crusade of Frederick Barbarossa: The History of the Expedition of the Emperor Frederick and Related Texts*, trans. G. A. Loud, p. 45.

⁵⁹ 'Historia de Expeditione Frederici Imperatoris', p. 14; translation in *The Crusade of Frederick Barbarossa: The History of the Expedition of the Emperor Frederick and Related Texts*, trans. G. A. Loud, p. 44.

the crusade and the control of those preaching it. However, this does show that the pope was exercising his control over his preachers albeit through the channels of the Emperor.

It was around this time when Henry of Albano wrote a letter to lay and ecclesiastical leaders of Germany summoning them to a council in Mainz in March 1188.⁶⁰ One particular chronicle records Henry as having then visited Mons, Nivelles, Louvain, and Liège in February 1188 before arriving in Mainz in March for the council. There is however, no evidence of Henry having preached at Mainz and instead Godfrey, bishop of Würzburg, gave a sermon.⁶¹ Describing how the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa took the cross in the presence of ‘princes, bishops, dukes, margraves, counts and the most distinguished noblemen...along with a great flood of knights’, *The History of the Expedition* recounts the emotional impact of the event upon those who ‘were in floods of tears’.⁶² Since Pope Urban preached the crusade at Clermont there have been many similar chronicle accounts of the emotional response to the sermons at large-scale recruitment events. The role of the crowd and its response had become a clear part of the preaching event; to record it appears not only to be a confirmation of the success of the sermon but also to acknowledge the audience as a key part of the event.

In addition to the main tour of Henry of Albano, there were also smaller, subsidiary tours such as that of the bishop of Strasbourg which went to Hainault, Nesle, Louvain and Lille.⁶³ The success of these preaching tours meant that in May 1189, Emperor Frederick’s expedition

⁶⁰ ‘Historia de Expeditione Frederici Imperatoris’, p. 14; translation in *The Crusade of Frederick Barbarossa: The History of the Expedition of the Emperor Frederick and Related Texts*, trans. G. A. Loud., p. 41; Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades*, p. 66.

⁶¹ ‘Ex Giselberti Montensis praepositi Hannoniae chronico’, *RHGF* 18, p. 388; ‘Historia peregrinorum’, ed. A. Chroust, *MGH SRG*, 5, p. 125; Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades*, p. 67.

⁶² ‘Historia de Expeditione Frederici Imperatoris’, p. 14, ‘...non sine multorum uberrimis lacrimis’; translation in *The Crusade of Frederick Barbarossa: The History of the Expedition of the Emperor Frederick and Related Texts*, trans. G. A. Loud, p. 45.

⁶³ ‘Historia de Expeditione Frederici Imperatoris’, p. 14; translation in *The Crusade of Frederick Barbarossa: The History of the Expedition of the Emperor Frederick and Related Texts*, trans. G. A. Loud., p. 45; Tyerman, *God’s War*, p. 377.

departed from Regensburg with 12,000-15.⁶⁴ It is difficult to assess how these tours came to be authorised but, as has been the case since the First Crusade, senior members of the clergy had appointed their fellow cleric to preach the crusade without the direct approval of the pope. It is likely that this method of recruitment continued here.

While Henry of Albano successfully preached the crusade in Germany, Joscius of Tyre went to recruit the kings of France and England. In January 1188, the monarchs met at Gisors and Archbishop Joscius preached a crusade sermon which resulted in both Henry II and Philip II taking the cross.⁶⁵ Many counts of northern France were present at this event including those from Flanders, Blois, La Perche, Champagne, Dreux, Clermont, Beaumont, Soissons, Bar and Nevers.⁶⁶ On this occasion it was also decided that French crusaders should wear red crosses, the English white, and the Flemish green ones.⁶⁷ This not only gave an additional meaning of national identity to the symbol of the cross but also imposed a division within the recruits; instead of being united in their purpose, they were divided in their loyalties to their rulers. As Tyerman writes, ‘this may have made military sense, but it spoke little of any spirit of unity or friendship’.⁶⁸ It is important to note the concentration of the appeal to the northern areas. These regions had been particularly responsive to the crusade call in the past and were once again the primary focus for this recruitment drive. Despite their limited response to crusade appeals in the period between the Second and Third Crusades, the pope was justified in sending his preachers to these locations.

⁶⁴ E. Eickhoff, *Frederich Barbarossa im Orient. Kreuzzug und Tod friedrichs I* (Tübingen, 1977). p. 77; A. V. Murray, ‘Finance and Logistics of the crusade of Frederick Barbarossa’, *In Laudem Hierosolymitani: Studies in Crusades and Medieval Culture in Honour of Benjamin Z Kedar*, ed I. Shagrir, R. Ellenblum and J. C. S. Riley-Smith (Aldershot, 2007), p. 358.

⁶⁵ Howden, *Gesta*, II, pp. 29-30; Gervase of Canterbury, *Historical Works*, I, 406; Gillingham, *Richard I*, p. 88.

⁶⁶ Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, p. 392; Tyerman, *God’s War*, p. 377.

⁶⁷ Gillingham, *Richard I*, p. 89.

⁶⁸ Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, p. 60.

Following the events at Gisors, King Henry II travelled on to Le Mans where he proclaimed the ‘Saladin tithe’ to raise funds for the crusade. This tax was a tenth of the income and was assessed and collected by locally appointed authorities.⁶⁹ Crusaders were exempt from paying this and Roger of Howden records that many individuals responded by taking the cross instead of paying the levy.⁷⁰ The tax is recorded by a number of chroniclers as having been wildly unpopular amongst the English population but in spite of protests, it was still imposed.⁷¹ The administration of the tax was also of great importance to the dispersal of the crusade message and, as Tyerman writes, ‘the process of collecting this tax...spread the news of the [crusade] perhaps more effectively than any grandiose preaching campaign’.⁷² That the preaching of the crusade was, as Tyerman indicates, a by-product of collecting this tax seems to be an extraordinary method of recruitment. The nature of the administration and communication of such a tax across England would have meant that the opportunity to go on crusade was widely dispersed. Crusading prior to this period had been largely self-funded, and this marked a phase which would see an increase in the administration of the financing of the crusades through the next century.

King Henry’s son, Count Richard of Poitiers, and other French nobility joined him at Le Mans and in February they travelled to Geddington in Northamptonshire.⁷³ This particular site lay off the track of the long-established Roman Ermine Street which led from London to York so

⁶⁹ Roger of Howden, *Gesta*, II, pp. 31, 33.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 30-2; Gillingham, *Richard I*, p. 89.

⁷¹ Ralph of Diceto, *Ymagines Historiarum*, 2, p. 73; Geoffrey of Coldingham, *Liber de statu ecclesiae Dunelmensis*, ed. J. Raine, *Historiae Dunelmensis Scriptorum Tres*, Surtees Society, IX (London, 1839), 13; *The Chronicle of the Third Crusade* (A translation of the *Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi*), trans. H. Nicholson (Aldershot, 1998), p. 278; Gervase of Canterbury, *Historical Works I*, pp. 422-3; Ralph Niger, *Chronicon universale*, *MGH SS* 27, p. 388; William of Newburgh, *Historia rerum Anglicarum*, p. 282; Siberry, *Criticism of Crusading*, pp. 120-1.

⁷² Tyerman, *God’s War*, p. 377.

⁷³ Gillingham, *Richard I*, p. 89.

Geddington was not a part of a major thoroughfare.⁷⁴ It was, however, an established royal site located in central England which was easily reachable by an invited audience. It was here that Baldwin of Canterbury took the cross and preached the crusade alongside his clerk Gilbert de Glanville, bishop of Rochester.⁷⁵ The role of the senior clergy in supporting the lay nobility on this tour is very clear. Just as Bohemond of Taranto was accompanied by Bruno of Segni to preach the crusade in 1106-7, the archbishop and bishop lent the authority of the pope to a campaign which would otherwise appear to be driven by the monarchy.⁷⁶ The French and English came to the forefront of the recruitment efforts in this period and began to bypass the direct authority of the pope. A case which demonstrates the monarchy authorising their own preachers is that of Baldwin of Canterbury around Wales. There was no indication that this preaching tour was controlled directly by the pope but it certainly behaved as if it had been. This implies that this authority had been bestowed on King Henry once he was recruited for the crusade.

Preaching The Crusade In Wales

After the events at Geddington, King Henry II appointed the former Cistercian Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury, to preach the crusade in Wales in the company of Gerald, archdeacon of St. David's, referred to hereafter as Gerald of Wales.⁷⁷ The authorisation of this tour immediately raises the question as to why a preaching tour was targeted at an area which

⁷⁴ Geddington was the location of one of Henry II's hunting lodges and would later be one of the locations of the twelve crosses built in the thirteenth century to commemorate his Queen, Eleanor of Castile.

⁷⁵ Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, p. 338; H. V. Livermore, 'The "Conquest of Lisbon" and its author', *Portuguese Studies*, 6 (1990), pp. 1-16; Gilbert was a former archdeacon of Lisieux and a relation of Hervey de Glanville whose chaplain is thought to have written *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi*, the eyewitness account of the 1147-8 siege of Lisbon. Gilbert was also a relative of Ranulf de Glanville who, as seen below, was a member of the king's Privy Council and travelled to New Radnor with Baldwin of Canterbury on his 1188 tour of Wales.

⁷⁶ Suger of St Denis, *The Deeds of Louis the Fat*, p. 45.

⁷⁷ Gerald of Wales, *Itinerarium Cambriae*, ed. J. F Dimock RS, 21 (London, 1868), p. 151; translation in *The Journey Through Wales/The Description of Wales*, tr. L. Thorpe (Harmondsworth, 1978), p. 208.

had apparently never been approached directly before, or had ever shown any significant evidence of having been a fertile recruitment ground for new crusaders. The nearest preaching events had taken place in England and Scotland in 1129, and again during 1185.⁷⁸ The only known Welsh recruit of this period was Morgan ap Cadwgan who is recorded in the Red Book of Hergest version of the *Brut y Tywysogyon* chronicle as having died ‘on his way back from Jerusalem, after having gone as a crusader [in 1128]’.⁷⁹ Aside from the date, however, there is no evidence that his participation was as a result of the activities of Hugh of Payns.⁸⁰ Hurlock has argued that evidence of Welsh crusaders in 1144 can be found in the chronicles *Brut y Tywysogyon* (both Red Book and Peniarth MS versions), the *Annales Cambriae* and the *Brenhinedd y Saesson*.⁸¹ All of these chronicles refer to these individuals as ‘pilgrims’ and Hurlock argues that as there was no Welsh word for crusader at the time, ‘this need not imply that they were not armed and intended to fight’.⁸² Also, Dyfed and Ceredigion, the areas from which these pilgrims came, had large Flemish settlements so it is possible that these crusaders were not actually Welsh. However, whether they were Welsh or Flemish, crusaders or not, none of these chronicles give any indication as to how these individuals were recruited and, therefore, prior to 1188, there is no evidence of any crusade preaching or other recruitment events having been targeted at Wales. However, it was clearly thought that this area was a potential fertile recruitment ground for the new expedition.

⁷⁸ Gervase of Canterbury, *Historical Works*, 1, p. 325; *The Chronicle of the Third Crusade* (A translation of the *Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi*), pp. 331-2; Roger of Howden, *Gesta*, 2, p. 300; Ralph of Diceto, *Ymagines Historiarum*, 2, pp. 32-3; Gerald of Wales, *Opera*, 5, pp. 362-4; Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, p. 155; Riley-Smith, *The Knights Hospitaller in the Levant*, p. 195.

⁷⁹ *Brut y Tywysogyon, or The Chronicle of the Princes: Red Book of the Hergest Version*, ed. and trans. T. Jones (Cardiff, 1955), p. 111.

⁸⁰ K. Hurlock, *Wales and the Crusades, c. 1095-1291* (Cardiff, 2011), p. 18.

⁸¹ *Annales Cambriae*, ed. J. Williams ab Ithel (London, 1860), p. 43; *Brenhinedd y Saesson, or the Kings of the Saxons*, ed. and trans. T. Jones (Cardiff, 1971), p. 149; *Brut y Tywysogyon, or The Chronicle of the Princes: Peniarth MS 20 Version*, p. 53; *Brut y Tywysogyon, or The Chronicle of the Princes: Red Book of the Hergest Version*, ed. and trans. T. Jones (Cardiff, 1955), p. 119.

⁸² Hurlock, *Wales and the Crusades*, p. 19.

In his consideration of the motivations for this tour of Baldwin and Gerald, Tyerman discusses the political nature of the Welsh preaching tour as Henry II asserting his authority over the Welsh princes.⁸³ Hurlock too discusses the inspiration for recruitment in Wales and lists a number of reasons why it may have been targeted. First, she points out the significance and reputation of the Welsh mercenaries and how English kings had previously used them.⁸⁴ Wales was a much poorer country than England, which offered a greater wealth in its soldiers than in its financial riches and ‘Henry would get further asking for men than money’.⁸⁵ Second, Hurlock addresses Baldwin’s personal reasons for preaching in Wales; he had been in dispute with the monks of the cathedral chapter over his appointment and his attempt to build a new church outside Canterbury; according to Gervase of Canterbury, he was avoiding this disagreement.⁸⁶ Also, Baldwin’s presence in Wales would acknowledge and heighten his authority over the area and allow him to supervise his bishops.⁸⁷ This tour, therefore, served a number of personal purposes, not just that of preaching the crusade.

Gerald of Wales wrote a detailed description of Baldwin’s tour of Wales in his *Itinerarium Cambriae*. This diary account of the tour is largely a description of the physical and historical attributes of places which the tour visited and not of the text of the sermons.⁸⁸ Cole has lamented the absence of the text of Baldwin’s sermons from Gerald’s account, and how ‘Gerald’s account [of the preaching tour] is governed by the criteria of where it was preached, the composition of the audience, and the impact which the sermon had’.⁸⁹ However, the *Itinerarium*

⁸³ Tyerman, *The Invention of the Crusades*, p. 66; See also Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, pp. 59-61, 161-2; Johnson, ‘The Crusade of Frederick Barbarossa and Henry VI’, II, p. 90.

⁸⁴ Hurlock, *Britain, Ireland and the Crusades*, p. 41.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 41; H. Pryce, ‘Gerald’s Journey Through Wales’, *Journal of Welsh Ecclesiastical History* 6 (1989), pp. 24-5.

⁸⁶ Gervase of Canterbury, *Historical Works*, I, p. 421; Hurlock, *Britain, Ireland and the Crusades*, p. 43.

⁸⁷ Hurlock, *Britain, Ireland and the Crusades*, p. 42.

⁸⁸ Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades*, p. 74.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 74.

Cambriae is an invaluable source which offers a first-hand perspective of a preaching tour which is unlike anything seen previously.

Baldwin of Canterbury was already an experienced crusade preacher who had accompanied Patriarch Heraclius to preach the crusade in Canterbury in 1185.⁹⁰ Both men had then travelled to the Temple church in London where they preached the crusade to King Henry II.⁹¹ This was an apparently unsuccessful recruitment campaign, but Baldwin's experience and actions show that, along with the political reasons mentioned above, he was a qualified choice to undertake such a tour around Wales in 1188.

On 4 March 1188, Baldwin's entourage, which included not only Gerald of Wales, but also a member of the king's Privy Council named Ranulf de Glanville, departed Hereford and travelled to New Radnor.⁹² The archbishop utilised the skills of interpreters to translate his sermons whenever necessary and Gerald describes Baldwin's public sermon at New Radnor as having been translated into Welsh.⁹³ Additionally, Gerald also describes how, when he himself preached in both Latin and French at Haverfordwest 'those who could not understand a word of either language were just as moved to tears as the others, rushing forward in equal numbers to receive the sign of the cross'.⁹⁴ In Gerald's autobiography, *De rebus a se gestis* (c. 1208-1216), he compares this to Bernard of Clairvaux having preached in French to a German

⁹⁰ *Gesta Regis Henrici secundi*, 1, pp. 331-2; Gervase of Canterbury, *Historical Works*, 1, p. 325; Roger of Howden, *Gesta*, 2, p. 300; Riley-Smith, *The Knights Hospitaller in the Levant*, p. 195.

⁹¹ *Gesta Regis Henrici secundi* 1, p. 336; Gervase of Canterbury, *Historical Works*, 1, p. 325; Roger of Howden, *Gesta*, 2, pp. 301-2; Ralph of Diceto, *Ymagines Historiarum*, 2, pp. 33-4; Gerald of Wales, *Opera*, 5, pp. 362-4.

⁹² See note 76.

⁹³ C. Morris 'Picturing the Crusades: The Uses of Visual Propaganda, c. 1095-1250', *The Crusades and their Sources: Essays Presented to Bernard Hamilton*, ed. J. France and W. G. Zajac (Aldershot, 1998), p. 91.

⁹⁴ *Itinerarium Cambriae*, pp. 82-3, 'Ubi et pro mirando, et quasi pro miraculo ducebatur a multis, quod ad verbum Domini ab archidiacono prolutum, cum tamen lingua Latina et Gallica loqueretur, non minus illi qui neutram linguam noverunt, quam alii, tam ad lacrimarum afflientiam moti fuerunt, quam etiam ad crucis signaculum catervatim accurrerunt'; translated in *The Journey Through Wales*, p. 141.

audience who received his message with enthusiasm.⁹⁵ Once again it is clear that the words of the sermon were not necessarily as important to the preaching event as the visual staging and communication to the crowd.

As well as verbal communication, there are also instances of the visual theatre of previous preaching events. For example, when Gerald took the cross at New Radnor he ‘threw [himself] at the holy man’s feet and devoutly took the sign of the cross’.⁹⁶ Whether Gerald had previously arranged with Baldwin to perform in such a symbolic and ceremonial manner is not clearly stated but it is not unreasonable to conclude that, although sincere, this event was carefully rehearsed beforehand. Hurlock calls the tour ‘heavily stage-managed from the start’ and there is no reason to think that it was any different from those which had preceded it.⁹⁷ Gerald’s actions in taking the cross were followed by lay and ecclesiastic members of the audience and he considers that he had given ‘strong encouragement to the others and an added incentive to what they had just been told’.⁹⁸ This demonstrates that the tried and tested methods which had been established by Pope Urban II had been copied ever since because they worked and enabled the successful communication of the message.

Upon moving on to Cruker Castle, Gerald describes Baldwin as having one-to-one conversations with two young men who then chose to take the cross. Immediately there is a contrast between these two accounts of recruitment; the first was a public sermon in the presence of a lay representative of the king at which numerous people took the cross and the second consisted of two private conversations with individuals. This followed the instances

⁹⁵ Gerald of Wales, *De rebus a se gestis*, ed. J. S. Brewer, *RS*, 21 (London, 1861), pp. 75-76; translation in *The Autobiography of Giraldus Cambrensis*, tr. H. E. Butler, (London, 1937), p. 101.

⁹⁶ *Itinerarium Cambriae*, p. 23; translation in *The Journey Through Wales*, p. 75.

⁹⁷ Hurlock, *Britain, Ireland and the Crusades*, p. 42.

⁹⁸ *Itinerarium Cambriae*, p. 23; translation in *The Journey Through Wales*, p. 75.

when Bernard of Clairvaux privately persuaded Conrad III to take the cross in 1146 and, Ilger Bigod's private conversations with Archbishop Anselm of Canterbury in order to promote Bohemond's 1106-7 expedition.⁹⁹ Already Gerald's account shows how the preaching tour was adapted to suit its various audiences and to recruit as many people as possible. However, there is no direct input into these events from the papacy and it is not possible to show that Clement III was directly involved. What it does demonstrate is that there was an established template by which these preaching tours occurred and the archbishop of Canterbury does not appear to have deviated from the general call to take the cross as it was conveyed to King Henry at Gisors.

The itinerary below lists the places at which Gerald describes sermons as having been preached, frequently following mass. This combination of preaching and liturgy was not unusual and previous evidence of crusade sermons as having been accompanied by mass or ecclesiastical ceremony to establish the authority of the church in each location.¹⁰⁰ The responses to the call to the cross varies in different places but is mostly successful and Gerald frequently makes general reference to the large numbers who responded positively.¹⁰¹ Following a sermon at Hay-on-Wye, Gerald describes 'a great number of men who wanted to take the cross come running towards the castle where the archbishop was'.¹⁰² It is unclear whether they had heard the archbishop preach or that they had heard his message from others but that the message was being successfully communicated.¹⁰³

⁹⁹ Eadmer, *Historia novorum in Anglie*, pp. 179-80; Also, Yewdale, *Bohemond I, Prince of Antioch*, p. 112; Paul, 'A Warlord's Wisdom'.

¹⁰⁰ Otto of Freising, *Gesta Frederici*; translation in *The Deeds of Frederick Barbarossa*, tr. C. C. Mierow, p. 75; Constable, *Crusaders and Crusading*, p. 260.

¹⁰¹ *Itinerarium Cambriae*, p. 75; translation in *The Journey Through Wales*, p. 157.

¹⁰² *Itinerarium Cambriae*, p. 28; translation in *The Journey Through Wales*, p. 80.

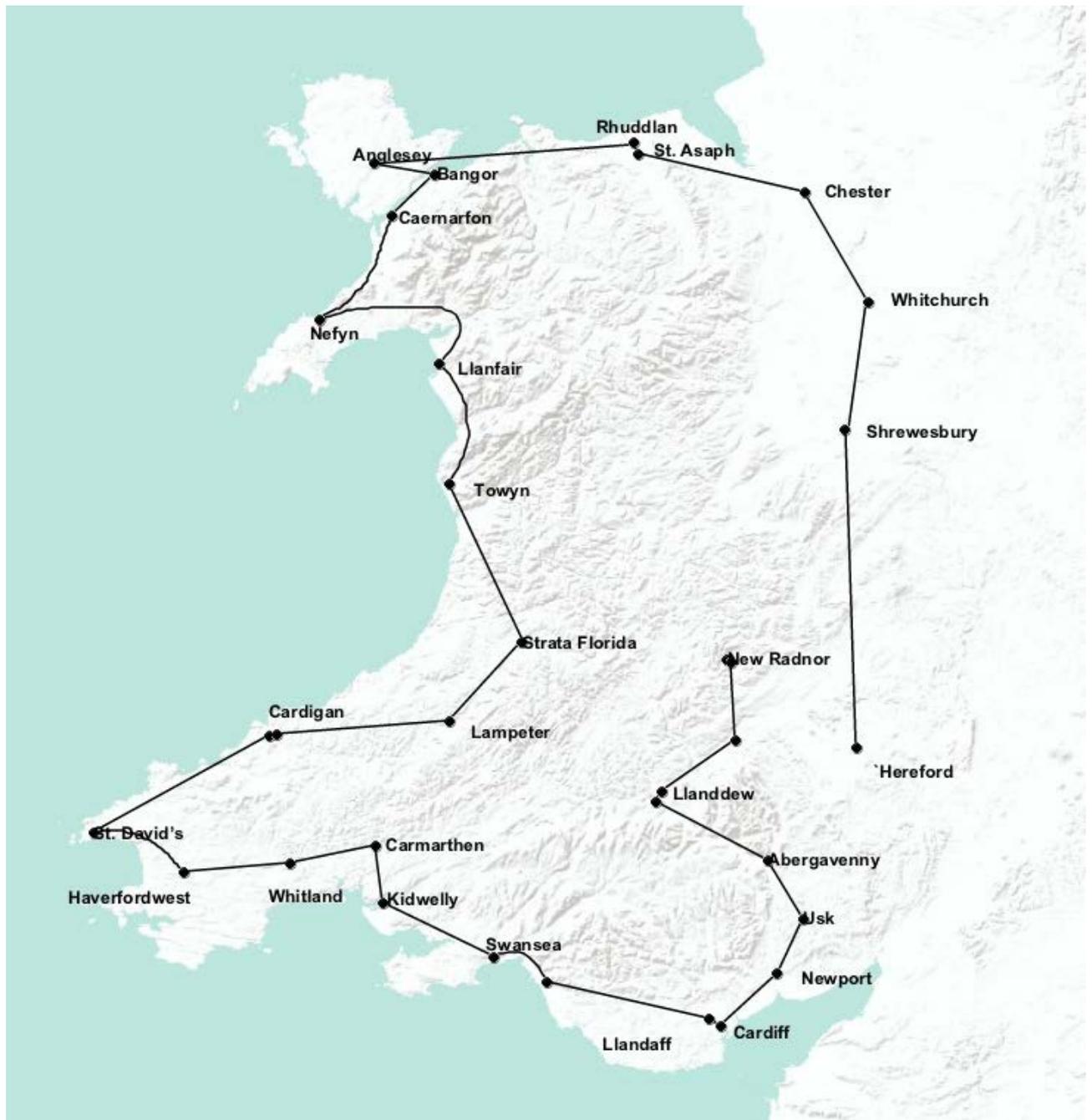
¹⁰³ The responses were not universally positive and Gerald's account does show that there were negative reactions but these anecdotes are used as exempla within the narrative. *Itinerarium Cambriae*, pp. 83, 126, 144; translation in *The Journey Through Wales*, pp. 141-2, 185, 202.

The itinerary of Baldwin, Archbishop of Canterbury and Gerald, Archdeacon of Wales as described within the *Itinerarium Cambriae* is as follows:

- New Radnor – met by Rhys ap Gruffydd, prince of South Wales. Sermon translated by an interpreter. Gerald was first to take the cross by throwing himself at Baldwin’s feet.¹⁰⁴
- Cruker castle – private recruitment conversations with Hector and the son of the prince of Melenia.
- 7 March, Hay-on-Wye
- 8 March, Llanddew
- 9 March, Brecon
- 10 March, Abergavenny – public sermon preached and private conversation with Arthenus
- 11 March, Usk castle – Baldwin and William, Bishop of Llandaff preached. Sermon translated by Alexander, archdeacon of Wales
- 12 March, Newport – ‘many people were persuaded to take the cross’
- 14 March, Cardiff – English and Welsh took cross
- 15 March, Llandaff – sermon
- 16 March, spent the night at Margam Abbey
- 18 March 18, Swansea
- 19 March, Kidwelly castle
- 20 March, Carmarthen
- 21 March, Whitland
- 22 March, still Whitland – signed 12 archers of St Clears with the cross
- 22, 23 March, Haverfordwest – Baldwin and Gerald preached

¹⁰⁴ *Itinerarium Cambriae*, p. 14; translation in *The Journey Through Wales*, p. 76.

- 24 March, St. David's
- 29 March, St. Dogmael's
- 30 March, Cardigan
- 31 March, both Baldwin and Gerald preached by the River Teifi
- 1 April, Lampeter, Baldwin, Gerald and abbots of Whitland and Strata Florida preached
- 2 April, Strata Florida
- 6 April, preached to Rhys ap Gruffydd and his sons
- 7 April, Towyn
- 8 April, Llanfair
- 9 April, Nefyn – Baldwin preached
- 10 April, Caernarfon
- 11 April, Bangor – Baldwin said mass
- 11 April, Anglesey – Baldwin, Archdeacon Alexander of Bangor and Abbot Seisyll of Strata Florida all preached
- 12 April, Rhuddlan Castle – sermon the following morning
- 13 April, St. Asaph - Baldwin said mass
- 14 April, Chester – Baldwin preached
- 18 April, Whitchurch
- 19 April, Shrewsbury – both Baldwin and Gerald preached
- 23 April, travelled through Ludlow and Leominster before finally arriving in Hereford where a sermon was preached.



Map 20. Locations of 1188 preaching tour of Wales

The *Itinerarium Cambriae* is also very revealing about the number of preachers who spoke on the tour. At Lampeter, where they were joined by the Cistercian abbots John of Whitland and Seisyll of Strata Florida, Baldwin and both of the abbots gave sermons. Additionally, the bishop of Llandaff had preached at Usk Castle and the bishop of Bangor spoke at Anglesey. There was apparently a structure to these alternating speakers and it is possible that preachers

passed a cross to each other whenever it was their turn to speak. In *De Rebus a se Gestis*, Gerald describes how Baldwin ‘gave the cross which he had in his hand to be taken to the Archdeacon that he might support himself with it’.¹⁰⁵ This passage can be read in more than one way; the cross either used as a prop to support his argument or for him to literally lean upon as he stood to speak. If the former is the case then once again the symbol of the cross is used, not as an item to be distributed, but as a visual proof of the preacher’s authority to speak and to distinguish his turn to speak amongst the entourage of clergy around him. This is an action which has not been described in any previous account of crusade preaching so indicates a new preaching method. The Latin word *innitor* translates as ‘to lean upon or support oneself by’ and it is more likely to mean that it was being used to help the speaker stand up. However, the cross’ role as a visual device cannot be dismissed and the symbolism of a cross in the hands of a crusade preacher was a well-established emblem of their message.

As well as sermons given by members of the entourage, the local clergy also addressed the crowd, for example, Alexander, archdeacon of Anglesey spoke after Archbishop Baldwin. And in the area around Chester, Gerald describes how many members of their audience had already been persuaded to take the cross by the local bishop, Reiner, thus demonstrating that the crusade message had already reached that area and that they had already been forewarned of the arrival of the tour. This utilisation of the local clergy and the trust placed in others to preach is enforced by the description at St David’s, the cathedral at which Gerald himself was archdeacon. Baldwin departed to meet with Prince Rhys and left Gerald ‘with orders that I should preach to the people’.¹⁰⁶ It is clear that the archbishop’s colleagues were trusted to

¹⁰⁵ Gerald of Wales, *De Rebus a se Gestis*, p. 75, ‘Cumque crucem suam portatilem ad tenendum eique innitendum archidiacono tradi juberet, et archidiaconus episcopo suo Petro, qui ad latus archiepiscopi sedebat, verbum injungi moneret; translation in *The Autobiography of Giraldus Cambrensis*, pp. 99-101.

¹⁰⁶ *Itinerarium Cambriae*, p. 110; translation in *The Journey Through Wales*, p. 169.

communicate the message without supervision and that those best suited to address the audiences were utilised in the best possible manner.¹⁰⁷

The division between nationalities, which had been demonstrated previously by the taking of different coloured crosses at Gisors in 1188, arose again when Archbishop Baldwin's entourage arrived in Llandaff and the 'English stood on one side and the Welsh on the other; and from each nation many took the cross'.¹⁰⁸ However, on this occasion the cross unites the two nations instead of dividing them. This tour was partially driven by the political need to impose authority over the Welsh and this event shows that this was achieved by inclusion with the English.

The significance of the presence of the Cistercian order in Wales is also very important to consider. One key issue of this twelfth century is the role of the Cistercian order in the promotion of the crusades and, 'preaching continued to be the Order's most distinctive contribution'.¹⁰⁹ As Prymak has pointed out, not only were the most prominent preachers members of the Order, those being Henry of Albano, Baldwin of Canterbury and Gerard of Ravenna, but so too were abbots of Neuberg, Salem and Clairvaux as well as those who were involved in the Welsh preaching tour. The Cistercian Order not only had a history of involvement with preaching the crusade, but it also had the necessary communication networks to spread the message across the West.

¹⁰⁷ Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades*, p. 75. In addition to the local clergy, Cole discusses the significance of the support of Rhys ap Gruffydd in influencing other Welsh princes to take the cross and this demonstrates the careful planning which must have gone into the organisation of this tour.

¹⁰⁸ *Itinerarium Cambriae*, p. 67; translation in *The Journey Through Wales*, p. 126.

¹⁰⁹ T. M. Prymak, 'The Role of the Cistercian Order in the Third Crusade', unpublished MA. thesis (University of Manitoba, 1972), pp. 106-7.

As well as their predecessor Bernard of Clairvaux, the Third Crusade preachers Henry of Albano and Baldwin of Canterbury had been former Cistercian abbots. Tyerman considers the Cistercian networks of communication in regard to the histories of both of these men and ‘their order played a distinctive role in fostering crusade enthusiasm at this time by devising special regular prayers for *crucesignati* included in their liturgical round’.¹¹⁰ Gerald of Wales wrote of the generous nature of the Cistercians in the areas to which the Welsh tour of 1188 travelled and the [former Cistercian] Baldwin was supported by Cistercian abbots who were local to the area and had built their own reputation and communication network. Houses of the Cistercian order were the most prevalent in Wales and Map 21 below (p. 232) shows the Welsh houses of the order at the time overlaid onto the route of the tour.

¹¹⁰ Tyerman, *God’s War*, p. 381.

was like to be involved of one of these tours exposes the methods and experience of the preaching tour. However, it gives no instance of papal authority or interaction and fails to show how the pope went about controlling such an expedition. It is more likely that, as this tour visited a completely new region for crusade recruitment, it was not a primary target for the pope but that it was a show of authority for Archbishop Baldwin over the church in Wales.

In contrast to the targeted recruitment campaign in Wales, there is no evidence of any such effort in Scotland. Only a few Scottish crusaders were recruited, most notably Robert de Quincy, Osbert Olifard of Arbuthnott and possibly Earl David, the brother of William, king of Scotland although Macquarrie argues against the evidence for this.¹¹¹ The only evidence of an individual having been sent to Scotland regarding the crusade was not a preacher but instead, following the announcement of the Saladin tithe, Hugh de Puiset, bishop of Durham was sent to announce the tax to King William. Where it would appear that the announcement of the tax had influenced English people to take the cross, there was no such corresponding effect in Scotland. This indicates that where previously, the communication of this tithe had acted as a form of crusade preaching; it did not always have this effect. The failure by the Scottish king to take the cross and the absence of any formal preaching to promote the crusade contrasts with the enthusiasm of the English and French kings to enlist, and the organised tour of Wales by Baldwin of Canterbury.

While the recruitment tour was taking place in Wales, those who were actively promoting the crusade across the rest of Europe also continued in their work. For example, Archbishop Gerard of Ravenna, yet another former Cistercian, had been authorised by the pope to preach the

¹¹¹ A. Macquarrie, *Scotland and the Crusades, 1095-1560* (Edinburgh, 1985), pp. 27-32.

crusade in Italy.¹¹² Unfortunately, the only record of Gerard's preaching describes events how those 'of note and obscure were signed with the cross' in Florence in February 1188.

In July 1190, Richard, count of Anjou (now king of England), and King Philip II of France began the Third Crusade at the Benedictine abbey church at Vézelay. This location has occurred repeatedly as a site for crusade preaching. Paul has called Vézelay 'a place of important ritual significance' and in Dodds's discussion of the tympanum of the church at Vézelay (which was dedicated in 1104), considering the physical messages contained in the building, she writes that 'perhaps the multivalent communication of its sculptural vision made Vézelay a dramatic stage set for the launching of the crusades'.¹¹³ However, her discussion relates to the commemoration of events and not as a recruitment tool and there is no description of the crusade being further preached at Vézelay on this occasion. Instead the events acknowledge the historical role of Vézelay within the crusade movement and serve a ceremonial purpose to promote it further.

In October 1191, King Richard continued the promotion of this expedition and sent a letter 'to his most venerable and dear friend in Christ, the abbot of Clairvaux', asking that he continue to promote the crusade and call for others to take arms.¹¹⁴ Edbury has discussed this letter as potentially having two possible purposes. First to inspire the abbot of Clairvaux to emulate the preaching success of his predecessor prior to the Second Crusade and second, that it established Richard as the primary leader of the expedition over his French counterpart.¹¹⁵ Of these two

¹¹² Ughelli, *Italia Sacra*, 10 vols. (Venice, 1717), II, p. 373, 'tum nobiles, tum ignobiles quamplurimos cruce signavit 1188.'; Prymak, 'The Role of the Cistercian Order in the Third Crusade', pp. 106-7.

¹¹³ Paul, *To Follow in their Footsteps*, p. 249; J. Dodds, 'Remembering the Crusades in the Fabric of Buildings; Preliminary Thoughts about Alternating Voussoirs', N. Paul and S. Yeager, eds. *Remembering the Crusades: Myth Image and Reality*, (Baltimore, 2012).

¹¹⁴ *The Conquest of Jerusalem and the Third Crusade: Sources in Translation*, ed. P. W. Edbury, (Aldershot, 1996), p. 179.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 181.

possible motivations for this letter, naturally the most important is the suggestion that Richard was trying to involve Abbot Garnier of Clairvaux in spreading the crusade message. The role of the pope in the promotion of the crusade at this point had been clearly taken over by its military leaders who, as demonstrated by the tour of Wales, chose their own preachers and the areas in which they would recruit.

Crusade preaching after the Third Crusade

After the launch of the Third Crusade, Pope Clement was succeeded by Celestine III. He actively encouraged the continuation of the crusade in Iberia and in 1191 ‘called on the archbishop of Toledo to procure a ten-year truce between the Christian kings so that they would take up arms against the Moors’.¹¹⁶ Pope Celestine’s prior experience and knowledge of the peninsula must have been a key factor in his promotion of the crusades to this area and in October 1192, he sent his nephew Cardinal Gregory of Sant’Angelo to Spain to encourage Christian kings and military orders to fight against Muslims. Unfortunately, there is no evidence of any response and there continued to be conflict amongst the Christian rulers of Iberia.¹¹⁷ Although Celestine had taken the opportunity to control the political events in the region, he failed to do so but his interests in spreading the crusade into other theatres of war did continue. During the pontificate of Clement III, there had been efforts to convert the pagans around the Baltic area of Europe to Christianity and preachers had been sent on missions to the area.¹¹⁸ However, in 1185, a mission led by an Augustine canon regular named Meinhard travelled to Livonia on the Eastern shores of the Baltic Sea (the area is now a part of both

¹¹⁶ Smith, ‘The Iberian Legations of Cardinal Hyacinth Bobone’, p. 99.

¹¹⁷ O’Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade*, pp. 60-2; Goñi Gaztambide, *Historia de la bula de la cruzada en España*, pp. 95-6.

¹¹⁸ For a discussion of the development of this mission see Fønnesberg-Schmidt, *The Popes and the Baltic Crusades*, pp. 65-75; also Jensen, ‘The Nature of the Early Missionary Activities and Crusades in Livonia, 1185-1201’, pp. 121-137.

Latvia and Estonia) in the company of German merchants.¹¹⁹ Meinhard was permitted to preach conversion and carry out baptisms by the Russian prince Vladimir of Polock.¹²⁰ However, continued hostility from the pagans towards the mission resulted in Meinhard secretly sending Theodoric of Trieden to Rome to seek further support from the pope.¹²¹ According to the *Chronicon Livoniae*, Theodoric took it upon himself to organise a crusade against the Livonians and recruited people from Sweden and Gotland who were ultimately blown off course and ended up negotiating a truce against pagans in Estonia.¹²²

Abbot Berthold of Loccum in Lower Saxony succeeded Meinhard at Livonia and the chronicles of both Henry of Livonia and Arnold of Lübeck give accounts of his actions in 1196-8. Henry of Livonia wrote that Berthold was subject to such hostility from the pagans that he fled to Saxony and ‘bewailed both to the lord pope and to the bishop...the ruin of the church in Livonia’.¹²³ In return he received letters from the pope renewing the indulgences offered to those who took the cross against the Livonian pagans. ‘The Lord pope, therefore, granted remission of sins to all those who should take the cross and arm themselves against the perfidious Livonians’.¹²⁴ The launch of this crusade into Livonia shows that the pope actively supported the crusade in the region and he furthered this by allowing those who had

¹¹⁹ Henry of Livonia, *Chronicon Livoniae*, p. 2; translation in *The Chronicle of Henry of Livonia*, trans. J. A. Brundage, p. 26.

¹²⁰ Henry of Livonia, *Chronicon Livoniae*, p. 2, ‘Hic simpliciter pro Christo et predicandi tantum causa cum comitatu mercatorum Lyvoniam venit...Accepta itaque licencia prefatus sacerdos a rege Woldemaro de Ploceke, cui Lyvones adhuc pagani tributa solvebant, simul et ab eo muneribus receptis, audacter divinum opus aggreditur, Lyvonibus predicando et ecclesiam in villa Ykescola construendo’; translation in *The Chronicle of Henry of Livonia*, trans. J. A. Brundage, p. 26; Bombi, ‘Celestine III and the Conversion of the Heathen on the Baltic Frontier’, p. 147; Fønnesberg-Schmidt, *The Popes and the Baltic Crusades*, p. 65.

¹²¹ Henry of Livonia, *Chronicon Livoniae*, p. 7; translation in *The Chronicle of Henry of Livonia*, trans. J. A. Brundage, p. 29.

¹²² Henry of Livonia, *Chronicon Livoniae*, p. 13; translation in *The Chronicle of Henry of Livonia*, trans. J. A. Brundage, p. 31; Jensen, ‘The Nature of the Early Missionary Activities and Crusades in Livonia’, p. 130.

¹²³ Henry of Livonia, *Chronicon Livoniae*, p. 13; translation in *The Chronicle of Henry of Livonia*, trans. J. A. Brundage, p. 32.

¹²⁴ Henry of Livonia, *Chronicon Livoniae*, p. 12; translation in *The Chronicle of Henry of Livonia*, trans. J. A. Brundage, p. 30; Fønnesberg-Schmidt, *The Popes and the Baltic Crusades*, p. 68; Jensen, ‘The Nature of the Early Missionary Activities and Crusades in Livonia’, p. 132.

already taken the vow to go to Jerusalem to travel instead to Livonia:

Pope Celestine wanted to further the work in Livonia and thus allowed those, who had taken a vow [to go to Jerusalem], to go to Livonia instead, if they wished to do so, and they would not receive a smaller indulgence therefore.¹²⁵

Those who responded to the call to the crusade in Livonia included all classes of laity from Saxony, Westphalia and Friedland.¹²⁶ However, it would not be until the beginning of the papacy of Pope Innocent III that a more systematic and reactive promotion of the crusade in Livonia would come into existence.¹²⁷ In 1199, Albert of Buxhöveden was consecrated bishop of Livonia and he signed a number of men, including King Canute of Denmark and Archbishop Absalon of Lund, with the cross for a Livonian campaign.¹²⁸ Bishop Albert repeatedly appealed to the pope for assistance in the Baltic region and in response Pope Innocent III issued the letter *Sicut ecclesiastice religionis*. Addressed to all the faithful living in Saxony, Westphalia and the lands beyond the Elbe, the letter set out the crusade for the defence of the missionaries and new converts to the faith.¹²⁹ Bombi has discussed the contents of this letter and Innocent's intention to distinguish this crusade *ad defensionem Christianorum* from the offensive taken against the opponents of the church in other theatres of war.¹³⁰ This set out that the pope was establishing

¹²⁵ Arnold of Lübeck, *Chronica Slavorum*, pp. 214-5, v 30, 'Et quia profectio sive peregrination Iherosolimitana tunc vacare videbatur, ad supplementum huius laboris dominus papa Celestinus indulserat, ut quicumque peregrinationi memorate se vovissent, huic itineri, sit amen ipsis complacissent, se sociarent, nec minorem peccatorum remissionem a Deo perciperent.'; translation in Fønnesberg-Schmidt, *The Popes and the Baltic Crusades*, p. 69.

¹²⁶ Arnold of Lübeck, *Chronica*, p. 214, v. 30.

¹²⁷ H. J. Nicholson, *The Crusades* (Westport, CT, 2004), p. 44.

¹²⁸ Henry of Livonia, *Chronicon Livoniae*, p. 16; translation in *The Chronicle of Henry of Livonia*, trans. J. A. Brundage, p. 35.

¹²⁹ *Die Register Innocenz' III*, vol. 2, no. 182 (191), pp. 348-9; B. Bombi, 'Innocent III and the praedicatio to the Heathens in Livonia (1198-1204), *Medieval History Writing and Crusading Ideology*, ed. T. M. S. Lehtonen and K. V. Jensen (Helsinki, 2005), pp. 233-4.

¹³⁰ Bombi, 'Innocent III and the praedicatio to the Heathens in Livonia (1198-1204), p. 235; M. Tamm, 'How to Justify a Crusade? The Conquest of Livonia and new crusade rhetoric in the early thirteenth century', *Journal of Medieval History* 39 (2013), p. 442.

a difference between the two campaigns; this was not a campaign of aggression but one of conversion and defence. He carefully constructed this crusade as one which best used the available military closest Christian areas to support the growth of the church in a new land.

In the year 1200, Bishop Albert established the see of Riga on the northern coast of Livonia (he will thus be referred to as Albert of Riga) and continued to appeal to the pope for assistance.¹³¹ In 1204, he sent two clerics, Theoderich and Caupo, to Rome to appeal for a new crusade proclamation and, in response, Pope Innocent issued yet another letter supporting the Livonian Crusade. The letter *Etsi verba evangelizantium* was addressed to ‘the archbishop of Bremen, his suffragans and the abbots, priors and clergy of the province of Bremen’.¹³² It authorised the preaching of the Livonian Crusade in churches in Hamburg-Bremen and, according to Fønnesberg-Schmidt, gave Bishop Albert ‘almost complete discretion over the planning and implementation of the preaching and recruiting there’.¹³³

Innocent III’s attitude towards the preaching of the crusade to the East and of that to Livonia were very different. His efforts to control and administer the crusade to the East were comprehensive and painstaking, but his delegation to Bishop Albert appears to be much more grounded in the progress of conversion, just as the efforts of Pope Celestine III had been during his pontificate. This was a minor expedition which the popes authorised in support of their missionaries. They were able to target their recruitment at specific areas and took advantage of those who had already expressed an interest in travelling to the East. This project offers a perfect example of controlled recruitment for a crusade expedition.

¹³¹ Fønnesberg-Schmidt, *The Popes and the Baltic Crusades*, p. 83.

¹³² *Die Register Innocenz’ III*, vol. 7, no. 139, pp. 304, 347.

¹³³ Fønnesberg-Schmidt, *The Popes and the Baltic Crusades*, p. 101.

While the papacy attempted to support its crusade projects in Iberia and Livonia, Emperor Henry VI decided to take the cross and, in 1195 he wrote to the pope to authorize preaching of his expedition.¹³⁴ Duggan has explained that the emperor's power was such that the pope had little option but to comply with his demands.¹³⁵ Celestine III responded with the bull *Licet ex communi debito* on 27 April and sent two legates, cardinals Peter of S. Cecilia and Gratian of SS. Cosma e Damiano (replaced by John of S. Stefano in Celiomonte) to preach the crusade.¹³⁶ By confirming the appointment of these legates Celestine was able to take control over the preaching of an expedition which he hadn't initially planned.

The emperor then held a diet at Bari in April 1195 and travelled to preach the cross and supervise recruitment.¹³⁷ It is only possible to identify a handful of places in which Henry VI was present, for example in October 1195 the emperor was in Gelnhausen with the papal legates, and in December he arrived in Worms (where Bernard had preached in 1146) but by March 1196 had moved on to Würzburg. In July 1195, he appointed Hubert Walter, archbishop of Canterbury, as legate to preach the crusade in England and to encourage King Richard to send knights to the East.¹³⁸ And in August 1195, the pope issued a papal bull ordering German clergy to preach the cross.¹³⁹ Unfortunately there is no evidence of any response to the English appeal but in 1197 the 16,000 participants of the German Crusade set out from Italy without Emperor Henry.¹⁴⁰ Although apparently successful, the details of the preaching of this crusade appears frustratingly sparse. It would appear that a handful of papal letters and a number of

¹³⁴ *Chronica regia Coloniensis*, ed. G. Waitz *MGH SSRG* 18 (Hanover, 1880), p. 157.

¹³⁵ Duggan, 'Hyacinth Bobone: Diplomat and Pope', p. 27.

¹³⁶ Celestine III, 'Epistolae et Privilegia', *PL*, 206, cols. 1089-91; Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades*, pp. 78-9; Duggan, 'Hyacinth Bobone: Diplomat and Pope', pp. 25-6; Edbury, 'Celestine III, the Crusade and the Latin East', p. 132.

¹³⁷ Tyerman, *God's War*, p. 102.

¹³⁸ Celestine III, 'Epistolae et Privilegia', *PL*, 206, cols. 1107-10; Ralph of Diceto, *Ymagines Historiarum*, 2, pp. 132-5; Duggan, 'Hyacinth Bobone: Diplomat and Pope', p. 27; Edbury, 'Celestine III, the Crusade and the Latin East', p. 133.

¹³⁹ Celestine III, 'Epistolae et Privilegia', *PL*, 206, col. 1110.

¹⁴⁰ Edbury, 'Celestine III, the Crusade and the Latin East', p. 134.

imperial diets were apparently all that was necessary to assemble this army when this was clearly not the case.

The Papal Proxies Of Innocent III

When Innocent III launched the Fourth Crusade he appointed two papal legates to the promotion of the new expedition within the text of his letter *Post miserabile*.¹⁴¹ Cardinal Priest Soffredo of Santa Prassede and Cardinal Deacon Peter Capuano of Santa Maria in Via Lata were given very specific papal authority by the bull. These two individuals were highly qualified to carry out the work appointed to them by the pope. Soffredo had accompanied a papal legation in 1187 to negotiate peace between Kings Henry II of England and Philip II of France. That same year he had accompanied Cardinal Peter Diana (later cardinal of Saint Cecilia) to mediate between Pisa and Genoa and, in 1188, he remained in Lombardy on a peace keeping mission between Parma and Piacenza. For much of the 1190s he remained in Rome but with his knowledge of northern Italy and his successful peacekeeping activities in the area, he appears to have been an obvious choice for the preaching mission.¹⁴² Similarly, Peter Capuano had been sent to Poland and Bohemia in 1197 to implement reform in the area and was also appointed legate in Sicily by Innocent III in 1198.¹⁴³ Both of these figures were well established and trusted legates which shows that they were well suited for the task ahead of them, in spite of their lack of experience as preachers of the crusade movement.

¹⁴¹ *Die Register Innocenz' III*, vol. 1, no. 336, p. 501; translation in Innocent III, 'Letters', *Contemporary Sources for the Fourth Crusade*, trans. A. J. Andrea, p. 14.

¹⁴² W. Maleczek, *Papst und Kardinalskolleg von 1191 bis 1216: Die Kardinäle unter Coelestin III. und Innocenz III* (Vienna, 1984), pp. 73-76.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, pp. 117-124.

The papal letters were the source of these preacher's remit and papal authority. The text of *Post miserabile* placed heavy emphasis on their having the full, personal authority of the pope and, by stating that 'we have placed with our own hand the emblem of the Cross on our beloved sons...', Pope Innocent made particular effort to emphasise this influence.¹⁴⁴ The *Gesta Innocentii III* describes how Innocent 'imposed the sign of the cross [on these legates], so that by word and example they might invite others to the service of the cross'.¹⁴⁵ The pope ensured that the control of these preachers and the authority upon which they acted was entirely his own and that this crusade was his initiative.

According to *Post miserabile*, Soffredo was ordered to travel to Venice to appeal for assistance and Peter Capuano was instructed to reach a peace agreement between Kings Richard and Philip, the respective rulers of England and France.¹⁴⁶ Their destinations as crusade preachers must be considered in light of previous crusade recruitment; they were given very specific locations, namely Venice, England and France. Previous evidence has shown that in the years immediately prior to the pontificate of Innocent III the majority of those responding to the call to crusade came from France and England under the command of their respective monarchs so it is unsurprising that these areas would be targeted again.

¹⁴⁴ *Die Register Innocenz' III*, vol. 1, no. 336, p. 502; translation in Innocent III, 'Letters', *Contemporary Sources for the Fourth Crusade*, trans. A. J. Andrea, p. 15.

¹⁴⁵ *Gesta Innocentii III*, *PL* 221 vols. (Paris, 1844-64), 214, cols. 17-227; translated as *The Deeds of Pope Innocent III*, trans. J. M. Powell, (WashingtonD.C., 2004), p. 61.

¹⁴⁶ *Die Register Innocenz' III*, vol. 1, no. 336, p. 502; translation in Innocent III, 'Letters', *Contemporary Sources for the Fourth Crusade*, trans. A. J. Andrea, p. 15; 'Devastatio Constantinopolitana', *Contemporary Sources for the Fourth Crusade*, trans. A. J. Andrea (Leiden, 2000), p. 212; A. J. Andrea, 'The *Devastatio Constantinopolitana*, a special perspective on the Fourth Crusade: an analysis, new edition, and translation', *Historical Reflections* 19 (1993), pp. 107-49; Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades*, pp. 80-5; Phillips, *The Fourth Crusade and the Sack of Constantinople*, p. 7; Ryan, 'Richard I and the Early Evolution of the Fourth Crusade', p. 10.

The *History of William Marshall* contains a description of Peter Capuano's arrival in England but his appeal to Richard was so unsuccessful that the legate fled his audience with the king.¹⁴⁷ He travelled instead to France in 1198 and preached the crusade to a council of French bishops in Dijon who consented to pay a third of their wealth to the expedition. The legate then met with both Kings Richard and Philip in January 1199 and, ultimately, a five-year truce was agreed.¹⁴⁸ The success of this peace treaty became a lost opportunity for the crusade movement as, only a few months later Richard I was dead, and the end of his reign immediately altered the likelihood of a significant English contingent in the new crusade expedition. An experienced and dedicated crusader king had been lost to the cause and Ryan has argued that the succession of Richard's brother John to the throne meant that as a result, 'the nobles of that realm were preoccupied protecting their tenuous positions' at home.¹⁴⁹ Under the title count of Anjou, Richard was from a significant line of crusading nobility and had pursued the tradition of his Angevin ancestry on crusade.¹⁵⁰ This established family connection with the crusade movement is discussed in detail by Paul but following Richard's death the title of count of Anjou passed to his nephew Arthur, duke of Brittany. Not long afterwards, in 1204, the Angevin county fell into the hands of King Philip of France and no count of Anjou would participate in an attempt to capture the Holy Land until Philip II's grandson Charles I, king of Naples in 1248.¹⁵¹ Richard I's heir to the English throne, King John I, finally took the cross in 1215 thus bringing the English monarch back to the crusade movement.¹⁵² Peter Capuano was not an effective recruitment proxy for Innocent III in spite of his having been so carefully selected and promoted in *Post miserabile*, thus showing that control did not guarantee success.

¹⁴⁷ *The History of William Marshall*, eds. A. J. Holden, S. Gregory and D. Crouch, 3 vols. (London, 2002-2006). See also Gillingham, *Richard I*, pp. 318-20; Phillips, *The Fourth Crusade and the Sack of Constantinople*, p. 8.

¹⁴⁸ Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, 4, p. 80; Ryan, 'Richard I and the Early Evolution of the Fourth Crusade', p. 11.

¹⁴⁹ Ryan, 'Richard I and the Early Evolution of the Fourth Crusade', p. 13; see also Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, p. 95-6.

¹⁵⁰ Ralph of Diceto, *Ymagines Historiarum*, 2, p. 50; Gillingham, *Richard I*, p. 87.

¹⁵¹ Paul, *To Follow in Their Footsteps*, p. 250.

¹⁵² Powell, *Anatomy of a Crusade*, pp. 42-3.

Cardinal Soffredo's mission 'to Venice in search of aid for the Holy Land' initially appears more unusual than Peter Capuano's mission to England and France as these two nations had been so important to the Third Crusade.¹⁵³ Andrea argues that nothing should be read into the sending of a messenger to Venice as other delegations were sent to Genoa and Pisa at the same time and are recorded in the *Gesta Innocentii III*:

[Innocent III] sent two other cardinals, namely, Peter, cardinal priest of the title of Saint Cecilia, and Gratian, cardinal deacon of Saints Cosmas and Damian, to Pisa and Genoa to negotiate a treaty of peace between the Pisans and the Genoese to support the Holy Land.¹⁵⁴

However, the Venetian association with the crusade movement can be shown to have been established since the First Crusade.¹⁵⁵ As Madden has pointed out, where in 1120, Pope Calixtus had encouraged the Venetians to set out on their own crusade, in 1198, Pope Innocent III was definitely appealing to the Venetians to join the crusade on his behalf.¹⁵⁶ This was a city with a deep-rooted enthusiasm for the crusade and it is important to remember that 'this armed pilgrimage was primarily a religious expression for the Venetian merchant as well as for the simple French knight'.¹⁵⁷ As a part of the continued careful targeting of the crusade message by the papacy, Venice was selected by Pope Innocent III as source of potential crusade recruits

¹⁵³ *Die Register Innocenz' III*, vol. 1, no. 336, p. 502; translation in Innocent III, 'Letters', *Contemporary Sources for the Fourth Crusade*, trans. A. J. Andrea, p. 16.

¹⁵⁴ Translation in *The Deeds of Pope Innocent III*, trans. J. M. Powell, pp. 62-3.

¹⁵⁵ PT, p. 131; RA, p. 108; E. Bellomo, 'The First Crusade and the Latin East as seen from Venice: the account of the *Translatio sancti Nicolai*,' *Early Medieval Europe* 17 (2009), pp. 421-22, 443. Bellomo has considered the text of the *Translatio sancti Nicolai*, a twelfth century account of the translation of the relics of Saint Nicholas from Mira to Venice following the First Crusade; J. H. Pryor, 'The Venetian Fleet for the Fourth Crusade and the Diversion of the Crusade to Constantinople', in *The Experience of Crusading: Western Approaches*, eds. M. Bull and N. Housley (Cambridge, 2003), pp. 104-5; see also L. B. Robbert, 'Venice and the Crusades', in *A History of the Crusades*, Vol. V, ed. K. M. Setton, (Madison, WI., 1985), pp. 379-451.

¹⁵⁶ T. F. Madden, *Enrico Dandolo and the Rise of Venice* (Baltimore, 2003), pp. 119-120.

¹⁵⁷ A. J. Andrea, 'Cistercian accounts of the Fourth Crusade: were they anti-Venetian?', *Analecta Cisterciensia*, 41 (1985), pp. 3; see also, D. E. Queller and G. W. Day, 'Some Arguments in Defense of the Venetians on the Fourth Crusade', *American Historical Review* 81 (1976), pp. 717-37; D. E. Queller and T. F. Madden, 'Some Further Arguments in Defense of the Venetians on the Fourth Crusade', *Byzantion* 62 (1992), p. 436.

who would take the cross as a spiritual act and who would support their city and its crusade heritage.

Just like Cardinals Soffredo and Peter Capuano, the two legates described in the *Gesta Innocentii III* had previous experience of this work and were well qualified for their roles. Both of these cardinals had previously been commissioned as crusade preachers in response to Emperor Henry's desire to take the cross in 1195.¹⁵⁸ On that occasion Cardinal Gratian was replaced by John of S. Stefano in Celiomonte but these two figures had been recognised as crusade preachers before their appointment in 1198 and it would seem logical for Pope Innocent III to use them again in a similar manner.¹⁵⁹ However, these delegations were sent on a mission of establishing peace between Pisa and Genoa and Innocent III makes no reference to their having been assigned to preach on this occasion. In contrast, Soffredo was specifically sent to Venice to seek aid for the East and so it must be surmised that Venice was definitely being targeted for the new crusade.

Soffredo's preaching to Venice immediately yielded results and the *Gesta Innocentii III* records that the cardinal successfully recruited vast numbers of Venetians and the Doge Enrico Dandolo:

...due to [Soffredo's] exhortations, that very doge and many from the general population assumed the sign of the cross. Also, the marquis of Montferrat, the bishop of Cremona, the [Cistercian] abbot of Lucedio and many other nobles from the province of Lombardy,

¹⁵⁸ Celestine III, 'Epistolae et Privilegia', *PL*, 206, cols. 1089-90; Duggan, 'Hyacinth Bobone: Diplomat and Pope', p. 27.

¹⁵⁹ Maleczek, *Papst und Kardinalskolleg von 1191 bis 1216*, pp. 85-86; Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades*, pp. 78-9.

along with an innumerable multitude of people, pledged themselves to the service of Him Crucified.¹⁶⁰

Post miserabile draws to a close by appointing its recipient, the archbishop of Narbonne, along with William, bishop of Nîmes, and Arnulf, bishop of Orange as crusade preachers ‘to so motivate your co-bishops and the others who have been invited to the Lord’s cause that you might be participants in this remission...’.¹⁶¹ Innocent used this letter to place the distribution of the crusade message in the hands of his bishops and he strengthened this call with the instruction that each of these preachers be accompanied by ‘one of the brothers of the Military Order of the Temple, as well as a second brother of the Order of the Hospital of Jerusalem’.¹⁶² This inclusion of these military orders from the outset of Innocent’s campaign shows his intention to take advantage of the relationship between these orders and the crusade movement and well as the communication networks which they now had spread across Europe and the Latin East. The role of the Order of the Temple gradually increased since the Order’s very first Grand Master, Hugh of Payns had preached the crusade in 1128-29.¹⁶³ The presence of a Templar and a Hospitaller alongside a high-ranking crusade preacher would also have occasioned a certain degree of theatricality as well as authority. It has been established that the physical appearance of a crusade preacher dressed in full ecclesiastical vestments surrounded by his colleagues and appropriate holy props was a persuasive sight. It is only possible to speculate, but the physical appearance of knights in full armour, wearing the sign of the cross,

¹⁶⁰ *Gesta Innocentii III*, PL 221 vols. (Paris, 1844-64), 214, cols. 17-227, ‘xc-xci ad cuius exhortationem ipse dux et multi de populo crucis characterem assumerunt. Marc’io quoque Montisferrati, episcopus Cremonensis, et abbas de Lucedio, multique alii nobiles de provinciali Lombardia, cum multitudine plebis innumera, deieverunt se ad obsequium Crucifixi.’; translation in *The Deeds of Pope Innocent III*, trans. J. M. Powell, p. 62; see also Andrea, ‘Cistercian accounts of the Fourth Crusade: were they anti-Venetian?’, p. 6.

¹⁶¹ *Die Register Innocenz’ III*, vol. 1, no. 336, p. 502; translation in Innocent III, ‘Letters’, *Contemporary Sources for the Fourth Crusade*, trans. A. J. Andrea, p. 18.

¹⁶² *Die Register Innocenz’ III*, vol. 1, no. 336, p. 502; translation in Innocent III, ‘Letters’, *Contemporary Sources for the Fourth Crusade*, trans. A. J. Andrea, pp. 18-9.

¹⁶³ William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, p. 620; *Cartulaire général de l’ordre du Temple 1119?-1150*; Phillips, ‘Hugh of Payns and the 1129 Damascus Crusade’, p. 143; *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, p. 258.

would have added a new level of visual communication to the crusade preaching. The pomp and ceremony of some of the earlier preaching tours utilised the ecclesiastic spectacle of the clerical vestments and relics but here the authority of the Military Orders conveyed a different message. This was a military recruitment drive for an army which had suffered great losses since the battle of Hattin in 1187 and was seeking to recapture the Holy City.

Around this time the pope also appointed preachers who would recruit in their local areas. In a letter dated 13 August 1198, the pope assigned Master Vacarius and the prior of Thurgarton to preach the crusade 'aided by one Templar and one Hospitaller'.¹⁶⁴ Master Vacarius was well known for his legal career but Landau estimates that he had been born in Lombardy c. 1115-1120.¹⁶⁵ This would have meant that he was extremely elderly at the time of being appointed to preach and Cole argues that by choosing individuals such as Vacarius and Joachim of Fiore, Innocent was mistakenly recruiting preachers who were not physically capable of carrying out the task.¹⁶⁶ The pope appears to be assigning the duty of crusade preaching to famously successful orators but he failed to take into account the practicalities of using such men and there is not only no evidence of Master Vacarius preaching the crusade but no evidence of crusader recruits from England. By appointing inappropriate preacher Innocent made a mistake which may have cost him a large number of recruits.

Not long after he issued *Post miserabile* Pope Innocent III also began to employ the preaching talents of the Cistercian Order. Ever since Bernard of Clairvaux preached the Second Crusade

¹⁶⁴ Innocent III, *The Letters of Pope Innocent III (1198-1216) concerning England and Wales*, no 38, p. 8; account of appointment to preach can also be found in Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, 4, p. 75; Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades*, pp. 84-5.

¹⁶⁵ P. Landau, 'The Origins of Legal Science in England in the Twelfth Century: Lincoln, Oxford and the Career of Vacarius', *Readers, Texts and Compilers in the Earlier Middle Ages: Studies in Medieval Canon Law in Honour of Linda Fowler-Magerl*, eds. M. Brett and K. G. Cushing (Farnham, 2009), p. 168. He is described as a 'gente Longobardus' in Robert of Torigny, *Chronica*, ed. R. Howlett, RS 82 (London, 1889), iv, pp. 158-9.

¹⁶⁶ Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades*, p. 86.

in 1146-47, the Cistercian connection with the crusade movement had been a significant one. Loud has discussed the growth of the Cistercian Order in twelfth century Italy and established that the first Cistercian monastery in the south of the country (at that time known as the kingdom of Sicily) was that of Sambucina sometime before 1145 and by the late 1180s there were only four or five Cistercian houses in that area.¹⁶⁷ In the 1190s these established houses began to establish new monasteries and by 1198, according to Loud, 'this resulted in the appointment of Abbot Luke of Sambucina as a crusade preacher.'¹⁶⁸ There is little evidence as to where or how the abbot carried out his preaching tour but a papal letter of August 1198 to the Bishop of Lydda appointed him to preach in Sicily along with Archbishop Luke of Trani, the bishop of Conversano, Abbot Joachim of Fiore, the prior of St. Andrew of Benevento and the bishop of Syracuse.¹⁶⁹ Only the abbot of Fiore is easily identifiable as an established preacher of renown, but the locations to which the letter was addressed show that Innocent was continuing his blanket coverage of the local clergy with letters authorising the promotion of the crusade and that the Cistercians were only one element of his ranks of preachers.

Where these official legates carried out the pope's instructions to preach the Fourth Crusade, there are a number of other individuals who it is less easy to define as acting with the authority of the pope. In 1198 the Benedictine Abbot Eustace of Saint-Germer-de-Fly carried out a preaching mission in England which is described in the chronicle of Roger of Howden and the *Chronica* of Ralph of Coggeshall.¹⁷⁰ However, there is no evidence he was either preaching the

¹⁶⁷ G. A. Loud, *The Latin Church in Norman Italy* (Cambridge, 2007), p. 488.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 489; *Die Register Innocenz' III*, vol. 1, no. 358, p. 540, 'Ad haec, cum dilectum filium nostrum abbatem de Sambucino de fratrum nostrorum consilio ad proponendum verbum Domini populis Siciliae ac eos citandos ad obsequium crucifixi, duxerimus destinandum, ipsum habere vos rogamus et volumus excusatum, utpote quem causa Domini, auctoritas mandatoris et utilitas communis etiam sine litteris nostris sufficienter excusant.'; E. A. R. Brown, 'The Cistercians in the Latin Empire of Constantinople and Greece, 1204-1276', *Traditio* 14 (1958), pp. 64-5; Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades*, p. 85.

¹⁶⁹ *Die Register Innocenz' III*, vol. 1, no. 343, pp. 513-4; Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades*, p. 85.

¹⁷⁰ Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, 4, pp. 123-4, 167-72; Ralph of Coggeshall, *Chronicon Anglicanum*, ed. J. Stevenson, RS 60 (London, 1875); translation in Ralph of Coggeshall, 'Chronicle', *Contemporary Sources for the Fourth Crusade*, trans. A. J. Andrea (Leiden, 2000), pp. 282-3 mistakenly refers to him as the abbot of

crusade or working under the authority of the pope.¹⁷¹ In 1201 he carried out a second preaching mission in England but Cole states that this has no obvious connection to the preaching of the crusade and instead focuses on Sunday observance.¹⁷² Without any definitive evidence that he was preaching the crusade at this time it is not necessary to discuss his work in any greater depth. Eustace is, however, an interesting indication that the laity were being addressed by touring preachers who carried different messages at this time and that the crusade was not the only instruction that was directed at them by these clergy.

In contrast, a significant figure whose presence as a crusade preacher recurs with the thirteenth century crusade chronicles is Fulk of Neuilly. According to the *Historia Orientalis* of Jacques de Vitry, Fulk's early experiences as a public speaker left a lot to be desired and, instead of inspiring his audiences, he turned them against him.¹⁷³ Fulk's lack of oratorical technique and an absence of knowledge of the Scriptures themselves meant that he was accused of being incompetent.¹⁷⁴ After honing his preaching skills at the University of Paris,¹⁷⁵ Geoffrey of Villehardouin's *The Conquest of Constantinople* describes Fulk in 1197 when 'he began to preach God's word in France and in other neighbouring lands, and...this holy man's renown spread so far that it reached Pope Innocent'.¹⁷⁶ The *Chronicon Anglicarum* describes Fulk's work and reputation as preacher and miracle-worker throughout Gaul until, in September 1198,

Flavigny; See also J. L. Cate, 'The English Mission of Eustace of Flay (1200-1202)', *Etudes d'histoire dédiées à la mémoire d'Henri Pirenne*, ed. F. L. Ganshof, E. Sabbe, and F. Vercauteren (Brussels, 1937), pp. 67-89; Cheney, *Pope Innocent III and England*, p. 241; Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades*, pp. 88-90.

¹⁷¹ Cheney, *Pope Innocent III and England*, p. 241

¹⁷² Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, 4, pp. 172; Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades*, pp. 88-9; Tyerman, *How to Plan A Crusade*, p. 68.

¹⁷³ Jacques de Vitry, *Historia Orientalis*, ed. and trans. J. Donnadieu (Turnhout, 2008), p. 276.

¹⁷⁴ Ralph of Coggeshall, *Chronicon Anglicanum*, p. 81; translation in Ralph of Coggeshall, 'Chronicle', *Sources for the Fourth Crusade*, trans. A. J. Andrea, p. 278.

¹⁷⁵ E. H. McNeal, 'Fulk of Neuilly and the Tournament at Écry', *Speculum* 28 (1953), pp. 371-5.

¹⁷⁶ Geoffrey of Villehardouin, 'The Conquest of Constantinople', *Chronicles of the Crusades*, trans. M. R. B. Shaw, (London, 2008), p. 5; The chronicle of Geoffrey of Villehardouin is key to the events of this period as Geoffrey was an eyewitness to the major decisions of the crusade and he describes only versions of events which he had been party to.

he arrived at the annual meeting of the General Chapter of the Cistercian Order at Cîteaux.¹⁷⁷ In spite of Ralph of Coggeshall making no previous reference to Fulk having preached the cross, he writes that at this meeting, alongside Bishop Garnier of Langres,¹⁷⁸ Fulk asked the Cistercians for ‘some companions for his Holy Pilgrimage and assistant preachers of the Word of God’.¹⁷⁹ He then visited the Cistercian abbey of Cîteaux to ask for help but was denied so moved his preaching outside and ‘gave an exhortatory sermon to the people who had convened...and they eagerly receive the sign of the cross from him’.¹⁸⁰ Brown has discussed how the Cistercian rejection of Fulk at this time does not necessarily indicate that they were against the preaching of the cross; this was the same chapter meeting at which they had agreed to the appointment of the abbot of Sambucina as a crusade preacher.¹⁸¹ Brown has correctly concluded that, at this time, the only crusade preacher who was authorised was Luke of Sambucina, and therefore the Cistercian rejection of Fulk of Neuilly was to be expected.¹⁸² Ralph’s account then describes Fulk taking his message into the regions of Gaul and, in November 1198, he received a letter from the pope which appointed him to execute the office of preaching, especially for the ‘relief of the province of Jerusalem’.¹⁸³ Innocent made it clear in his letter that Fulk was to preach under the supervision of the legate Peter Capuano and that his efforts must involve the Benedictine and Cistercian monks; ‘[you should]...freely attach to yourself as assistant monks, black as well as white, or several canons regular, whom you have

¹⁷⁷ Ralph of Coggeshall, ‘Chronicle’, *Sources for the Fourth Crusade*, trans. A. J. Andrea, pp. 278-9.

¹⁷⁸ *The Conquest of Jerusalem and the Third Crusade: Sources in Translation*, p. 179. Formerly the Abbot of Clairvaux to whom Richard I had addressed a letter in 1191. He was a controversial figure who apparently became an ineffectual crusade preacher. See Brown, ‘The Cistercians in the Latin Empire of Constantinople and Greece, 1204-1276’, p. 66, n. 14; A. J. Andrea, ‘Adam of Perseigne and the Fourth Crusade’, *Cîteaux: Commentarii Cistercienses. Revue d’histoire cistercienne/A Journal of Historical Studies* 36 (1985), pp. 26-7.

¹⁷⁹ Ralph of Coggeshall, *Chronicon Anglicanum*; translation in Ralph of Coggeshall, ‘Chronicle’, *Sources for the Fourth Crusade*, trans. A. J. Andrea, p. 280.

¹⁸⁰ I Ralph of Coggeshall, *Chronicon Anglicanum*; translated in Ralph of Coggeshall, ‘Chronicle’, *Sources for the Fourth Crusade*, trans. A. J. Andrea, p. 280.

¹⁸¹ Brown, ‘The Cistercians in the Latin Empire of Constantinople and Greece, 1204-1276’, p. 65.

¹⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 65.

¹⁸³ *Die Register Innocenz’ III*, vol. 1, no. 336, p. 502; translation in Innocent III, ‘Letters’, *Contemporary Sources for the Fourth Crusade*, trans. A. J. Andrea, pp. 20-1; Geoffrey of Villehardouin, ‘The Conquest of Constantinople’, p. 29.

judged capable of preaching'.¹⁸⁴ Whether Innocent III's letter approved Fulk as a crusade preacher has been debated; Queller and Madden state that the letter was 'clearly not a crusade commission'.¹⁸⁵ However, the perception of Fulk's work as seen in the chronicles definitely indicates that he was actively recruiting for the crusade and that his audiences thought that he did so with approval. Geoffrey of Villehardouin states that Fulk was 'to preach the cross with papal authority'.¹⁸⁶ Similarly, Robert of Clari refers to Fulk's success in both recruitment and collecting finances, and how he 'went through the land preaching the cross, and many people followed him...and this priest won much wealth to be carried to the Holy Land'.¹⁸⁷ The Cistercian chronicler Alberic of Trois-Fontaines recorded that people 'were scandalized because [Fulk] collected tremendous wealth under the pretext of assisting the land of Jerusalem' but that he had 'a letter and commission from the pope [which] supported him'.¹⁸⁸ If Fulk had not been granted permission to preach the cross, his actions challenged the efforts Innocent had made to control those who spread his message and show that those who responded to Fulk did so in spite of his lack of authorisation.

By the end of 1199 there was still no indication that the crusade expedition was taking shape. In spite of Innocent's letters, his legates, his attempts to recruit the kings of France and England as leaders and his efforts to appoint crusade preachers across Europe, the only indications that there was successful preaching happening is to be found in the chronicle descriptions of the actions of Fulk of Neuilly and account of Soffredo's preaching in Venice in the *Gesta Innocentii III*. There is no hint that a crusade had either found a leader or was beginning to take

¹⁸⁴ *Die Register Innocenz' III*, vol. 1, no. 336, p. 502; translation in Innocent III, 'Letters', *Contemporary Sources for the Fourth Crusade*, trans. A. J. Andrea, p. 20.

¹⁸⁵ D. E. Queller and T. F. Madden, *The Fourth Crusade: The Conquest of Constantinople*, 2nd edn. (Philadelphia, 1997), p. 209, n. 18.

¹⁸⁶ Geoffrey of Villehardouin, 'The Conquest of Constantinople', p. 5.

¹⁸⁷ Robert of Clari, *The Conquest of Constantinople*, trans. E. H. McNeal (New York, 2005), p. 31; Tyerman, *How to Plan a Crusade*, p. 68.

¹⁸⁸ Translated in Alberic of Trois-Fontaines, 'Chronicle', *Contemporary Sources for the Fourth Crusade*, trans. A. J. Andrea (Leiden, 2000), p. 293.

the necessary steps towards being ready to commence. It is possible that Innocent had not targeted the right people, although his widespread letter distribution indicates that this was unlikely, or that he had simply not embraced the theatricality which was needed to inspire potential crusaders to take the cross.

This period of stagnation finally ended in November 1199 when Count Thibaut of Champagne held a tournament at Écry in the Ardennes region of France. Phillips has discussed the role of tournaments and the relationship between the knightly classes and papacy.¹⁸⁹ The church repeatedly banned tournaments but some areas were dedicated to the spectacle and it would be to the advantage of the crusade movement that a tournament could bring together a group of the knightly class in an area with a long history of crusade involvement.¹⁹⁰ This shift from the usual recruitment grounds of fields and churches to the secular and military shows that Pope Innocent III had been addressing his message to the wrong audience and that, at the beginning of the thirteenth century, the recruitment for the crusade would have to change its focus.

According to Geoffrey Villehardouin, sometime during the course of the Écry tournament, the knights present, including Count Thibaut of Flanders and his cousin Count Louis of Blois, took the crusade vow.¹⁹¹ Geoffrey of Villehardouin records that ‘in the year following the preaching of God by...Fulk, a tournament was held in Champagne, at the castle of Écry’.¹⁹² Where earlier historians had constructed a narrative in which Fulk of Neuilly addressed Count Thibaut and the other knights, the historiography has called into question the presence of Fulk at Écry at all.¹⁹³ It is possible that an unknown preacher addressed those gathered at the tournament but it

¹⁸⁹ Phillips, *The Fourth Crusade and the Sack of Constantinople*, pp. 39-45.

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 45.

¹⁹¹ Geoffrey of Villehardouin, ‘The Conquest of Constantinople’, p. 29.

¹⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 5.

¹⁹³ McNeal, ‘Fulk of Neuilly and the Tournament at Écry’, pp. 371-5.

is equally likely that it occurred on the initiative of Counts Thibaut and Louis themselves. Geoffrey of Villehardouin simply describes ‘it so happened that Thibaut...took the cross along with Count Louis’.¹⁹⁴ There is no description of ceremony or ritual in this account. They were not the first members of the western nobility who had sought to lead their own crusading armies; Bohemond of Taranto and Emperor Henry VI among others had led their own expeditions. The process and theatrical events of recruiting for a crusade had been well publicised for almost a century by this point; numerous chronicle accounts of crusade sermons existed, not to mention an established tradition of crusaders taking the cross at public events. Phillips speculates that the whole event was prearranged, and it must be considered that, without the leadership of the English and French monarchs, it was possible that these individuals had been sought to lead a new expedition.¹⁹⁵ Count Thibaut of Flanders and Louis of Blois were the grandsons of King Louis VII of France and Queen Eleanor. They were also the nephews and first cousins of King Richard I of England and King Philip of France.¹⁹⁶ This continuation of participation within the noble family traditions had become a significant factor for the examination of those areas to which the crusade was preached and those which responded to the call.¹⁹⁷

The preaching of the crusade had previously taken place in churches, at weddings, in public, at royal hunting lodges and during ecclesiastical councils, but this tournament was the first time that a mass recruitment event had taken place during an event at which the knightly classes demonstrated their military prowess. Queller and Madden make the point that during such an event, the element of military bravado would be just as important a motivating factor to take

¹⁹⁴ Geoffrey of Villehardouin, ‘The Conquest of Constantinople’, p. 5.

¹⁹⁵ Phillips, *The Fourth Crusade and the Sack of Constantinople*, pp. 46-47.

¹⁹⁶ Geoffrey of Villehardouin, ‘The Conquest of Constantinople’, p. 5; Queller and Madden, *The Fourth Crusade: The Conquest of Constantinople*, pp. 4-5; Ryan, ‘Richard I and the Early Evolution of the Fourth Crusade’, p. 12.

¹⁹⁷ Paul, *To Follow in their Footsteps*, p. 197.

the cross as that of faith.¹⁹⁸ This connects with the family tradition of crusading and the combination of these elements can be shown to have been hugely impactful of the success of crusade recruitment.¹⁹⁹ Additionally, Phillips argued that, for the knightly classes, the elements of a tournament could become ‘a forum in which to prove all aspects of chivalric, as well as Christian, virtue’.²⁰⁰ To see their lords take the cross in an environment of knightly competition must also have influenced those others who took the cross that day.²⁰¹ The message was targeted so specifically at an audience who were almost certain to respond that it seems extraordinary that the opportunity had not been seized upon sooner.

Phillips views the recruitment at Écry as a turning point in the promotion of the Fourth Crusade and Queller and Madden have considered that ‘the tournament...provided the first tangible nucleus for a crusading army’.²⁰² Innocent III had finally found the leaders he needed to move the expedition forward. Other crusaders who took the crusade vow at Écry included Geoffrey of Villehardouin, Simon of Montfort (who was later involved in Albigensian crusade) and Reynald of Montmirail (a cousin of both Counts Thibaut and Louis).²⁰³ Geoffrey also describes how ‘word spread far and wide throughout the land when these two eminent men took the cross’.²⁰⁴ The tournament at Écry had completely changed the prospects of Innocent’s crusade and it appears to have done so without any evidence of his direct involvement.

¹⁹⁸ Queller and Madden, *The Fourth Crusade: The Conquest of Constantinople*, p. 5.

¹⁹⁹ Paul, *To Follow in their Footsteps*, pp. 1-3, 6-12.

²⁰⁰ Phillips, *The Fourth Crusade and the Sack of Constantinople*, p. 46; Tyerman, *How to Plan a Crusade*, pp. 40-5.

²⁰¹ Queller and Madden, *The Fourth Crusade: The Conquest of Constantinople*, p. 5.

²⁰² *Ibid.*, p. 5.

²⁰³ Geoffrey of Villehardouin, ‘The Conquest of Constantinople’, p. 6; C. Morris, ‘Geoffrey de Villehardouin and the Conquest of Constantinople’, *History* 53 (1968), pp. 24-34; A. J. Andrea, ‘Essay on Primary Sources’, *The Fourth Crusade: The Conquest of Constantinople*, D. E. Queller and T. F. Madden, 2nd edn. (Philadelphia, 1997), pp. 299-344; Also, Longnon, *Les compagnons de Villehardouin*.

²⁰⁴ Geoffrey of Villehardouin, ‘The Conquest of Constantinople’, p. 6.

The message of the crusade then spread across the nobility of France but the chronicles give us little information as to how it spread or to who controlled its contents.²⁰⁵ Apart from referring to Fulk as having preached at the same time as the events at Écry, there is no further information as to how the preaching networks operated or whether the promotion of the crusade had shifted into the hands of the family connections of the nobility. It would be reasonable to conclude that, as we know that crusade preaching was taking place during this time, that it was a result of both of these factors.

Following the events of Écry, an initial meeting of leading nobles took place at Soissons in spring 1200 but disbanded without agreeing upon a departure date or a route.²⁰⁶ Another meeting was then convened at Compiègne in northern France.²⁰⁷ Situated between Paris, Laon, Rouen, Amiens and Rheims, Compiègne had also been the proposed meeting place of Suger of St Denis, Bernard of Clairvaux and Peter the Venerable in 1150 when they had attempted to launch an expedition immediately after the failure of the Second Crusade.²⁰⁸ Phillips proposes that it was here, instead of repeating the arduous and hazardous journey to Jerusalem by land which had been taken by previous crusaders, a sea-route was discussed and decided upon.²⁰⁹ None of the crusade leaders had access to a fleet which could make the crusade voyage and thus it was necessary to approach Venice, Genoa or Pisa for further assistance.²¹⁰ A dispute between Genoa and Pisa at this time meant that of the three cities, Venice was the obvious choice and Pope Innocent III had already sent Cardinal Soffredo to Venice to appeal for help

²⁰⁵ Geoffrey of Villehardouin, 'The Conquest of Constantinople', pp. 30-1; Queller and Madden, *The Fourth Crusade: The Conquest of Constantinople*, p. 5.

²⁰⁶ Geoffrey of Villehardouin, 'The Conquest of Constantinople', p. 7.

²⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

²⁰⁸ Bernard of Clairvaux, 'Epistolae', no. 8. pp. 483-4; *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Corneille de Compiègne*, ed. E. Morel, 1, pp. 114-5, no. 62.

²⁰⁹ Phillips, *The Fourth Crusade and the Sack of Constantinople*, p. 51.

²¹⁰ J. H. Pryor, 'Winds, Waves and Rocks: the Routes and the Perils Along Them', *Maritime Aspects of Migration*, ed. K. Fiedland (Cologne, 1989), p. 78.

in launching a new expedition in 1198.²¹¹ There exists no reference that the nobles at this meeting were aware of the earlier approach by the legate, so it is unclear whether these ideas to utilise Venice were in any way connected. Ultimately, at the council of Compiègne it was decided that six representatives would be sent to Venice with appropriate documentation in order to negotiate the voyage for the crusade.²¹²

Following the death of Thibaut of Champagne, the crusaders sought a new leader. They initially approached Duke Odo of Burgundy, but he refused and instead, Boniface of Montferrat (brother of King Conrad of Jerusalem) was invited to a council at Soissons where:

in an orchard at the abbey...they asked the marquis to accept what they had offered him, pleading with him, for God's sake, to take the cross...They fell down at his feet, weeping heavily, and he in turn fell at their feet, saying he would do so most willingly.²¹³

This group plea to one individual turns on its head the descriptions of a single person appealing to a crowd which had become a familiar motif at previous preaching events. When Boniface accepted the leadership, he was then led from the abbey orchard by 'Fulk...and two Cistercian abbots whom he had brought with him...led him into the church...and fastened the cross to his shoulder'.²¹⁴ The account clearly shows the theatrical appointment of the new leader but gives

²¹¹ Innocent III, 'Letters', *Contemporary Sources for the Fourth Crusade*, trans. A. J. Andrea, p. 16; M. Angold, *The Fourth Crusade: Event and Context* (Harlow, 2003).

²¹² Geoffrey of Villehardouin, 'The Conquest of Constantinople', p. 31; *The Deeds of Pope Innocent III*, trans. J. M. Powell, p. 131; see also, N. Berend, *At the Gate of Christendom: Jews, Muslims and 'Pagans in Medieval Hungary, c. 1000-c. 1300* (Cambridge, 2001).

²¹³ Geoffrey of Villehardouin, 'The Conquest of Constantinople', pp. 13-4; Robert of Clari, *The Conquest of Constantinople*, pp. 35-6; 'Devastatio Constantinopolitana', *Contemporary Sources for the Fourth Crusade*, trans. A. J. Andrea, p. 213 also briefly describes Boniface taking the cross; *The Deeds of Pope Innocent III*, trans. J. M. Powell, p. 132.

²¹⁴ Geoffrey of Villehardouin, 'The Conquest of Constantinople', p. 14.

no indication as to Innocent III's involvement and it is difficult to conclude that he had chosen Boniface for the role.

In September Boniface travelled to the annual chapter of the Cistercians in Cîteaux where Fulk preached the cross in the company of the abbot of Cercanceaux, Abbot Adam of Perseigne, and Abbot Guy of Vaux-de-Cernay.²¹⁵ It is unclear as to whether these Cistercians were involved in preaching prior to this event.²¹⁶ Adam of Perseigne had travelled with Peter Capuano to arbitrate a suit between King Richard I of England and the archbishop of York. Abbot Guy, along with the bishop of Paris, the bishop of Soissons and the abbot of St. Victor, were authorised to collect the crusade tax in a letter of May 1200 but there is no indication that they may have also been preaching.²¹⁷ Statute thirty-seven of the Cistercian Chapter General of 1201 states, 'At the command of the supreme pontiff and in response to the entreaties of the marquis of...[Montferrat]...and the counts of Flanders and Blois, permission is extended to the abbots of [Vaux-de-] Cernay, Perseigne, Loos and Cercanceaux to depart signed with the Cross...'.²¹⁸ This puts the papal authority for the preaching front and centre of the statute and it is clear that Innocent III was exerting his control over who should preach and who was to be recruited.

The Cistercian order continued to be at the forefront of crusade preaching in 1201 when Abbot Martin of Pairis, a monastery in Alsace, preached the crusade in St Mary's cathedral in Basel.²¹⁹

²¹⁵ Ralph of Coggeshall, *Chronicon Anglicanum*; translation in Ralph of Coggeshall, 'Chronicle', *Sources for the Fourth Crusade*, trans. A. J. Andrea, p. 281; Andrea, 'Adam of Perseigne and the Fourth Crusade', pp. 21-37; McNeal and Wolff, 'The Fourth Crusade', p. 166.

²¹⁶ Andrea, 'Adam of Perseigne and the Fourth Crusade', p. 28.

²¹⁷ Guy of Vaux-de-Cernay would go on to preach the Albigensian Crusade and his nephew Peter would write Pierre des Vaux de Cernai, *Historia Albigensis*; translation in Peter of Vaux-Cernay, *The History of the Albigensian Crusade*.

²¹⁸ *Statuta Capitulum Generalium Ordinis Cisterciensis ab anno 1116 ad annum 1786*, ed. J. Canivez, 8 vols. (Louvain, 1933-1941), 1, p. 270, no. 37; Also Andrea, 'Adam of Perseigne and the Fourth Crusade', p. 21.

²¹⁹ C. T. Maier, 'Ritual, what else? Papal Letters, Sermons and the Making of Crusaders', *Journal of Medieval History* 44 (2018), pp. 333-46.

Bernard of Clairvaux had preached the Second Crusade in Basel in December 1146 and the city is ideally positioned on the Rhine where it connects with Germany and the rest of Central Europe.²²⁰ The sermon at Basel was addressed to a public audience, not an invited group of nobility or clergy and this crusade preaching took place in the midst of everyday life. The *Historia Constantinopolitana* contains an account of Martin's sermon and how he had 'received from the supreme pontiff...a mandate that he assumed the sign of the cross...[and] that he preach this same cross publicly'.²²¹ The *Historia* also indicates that news of Martin's sermon had been publicised in advance and that the clergy and the laity attended the sermon fully aware of what it was about. Gunther goes on to give an account of Martin's sermon and, more importantly for the purposes of this study, he described the reaction of the audience. He writes that Martin finished his sermon by taking the crusade vow and then, in a scene which again plays out the motifs of numerous previous crusade sermons and indicates that the account subscribed to the template of numerous previous chronicle versions of crusade sermons, 'you could see tears flowing copiously on his face as well as from the eyes of everyone else'.²²² The *Historia* also indicates that Martin of Pairis may have carried out a preaching tour. According to Gunther, 'accompanied by a worthy retinue, he travelled about to the principal and heavily populated centres of the entire region, stopping frequently to preach, and he converted many to that same army of Christ'.²²³

Around the same time that Martin of Pairis preached in 1202, Peter Capuano 'crossed the Alps into Burgundy, Champagne, the Île de France, and Flanders and preached the cause of the

²²⁰ Phillips, *The Fourth Crusade and the Sack of Constantinople*, p. 28.

²²¹ Gunther of Pairis, *The Capture of Constantinople: The 'Historia Constantinopolitana'*, ed. and trans. A. J. Andrea (Philadelphia, 1997), p. 68; Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades*, pp. 92-7; C. T. Maier, 'Kirche, Kreuz und Ritual: Eine Kreuzzugspredigt in Basel im Jahr 1200', *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 55 (1999), pp. 101-4.

²²² Gunther of Pairis, *The Capture of Constantinople*, p. 73.

²²³ *Ibid.*, p. 71.

Cross'.²²⁴ His purpose here was not only to preach the crusade and he is described in the *Gesta Innocentii* as having been instructed by the pope to also 'negotiate and conclude treaties between the kings of the Franks and the English, and to admonish and compel, if necessary, the King of the Franks to leave his false wife, and receive his own wife, whom he had unjustly deserted'.²²⁵ It is possible to see that many of the preachers of the period were tasked with multiple roles as well as preaching the cross, be that mediation or taxation. Clearly the pope was being economical and taking advantage of the skills of his legates, but it is difficult to show whether the crusade message was undermined by the multitasking nature of these envoys.

The account given in the *Gesta episcoporum Halberstadensium* of Bishop Conrad of Halberstadt actually taking the cross is different from any other account we have, either for this period or any previously. The *Gesta* describes Conrad as having been summoned to Cologne by the papal legate, Cardinal-Bishop Guy of Palestrina in order to submit to a papal injunction regarding the papal choice for the heir to the disputed crown of the German Empire. Upon declining to do so Cardinal Guy declared bishop Conrad to be excommunicated. In response to this, following a Palm Sunday sermon at a convent in Quedlinburg, Conrad 'signed himself with the sign of the Cross in the service of Jesus Christ and for the relief of the Holy Land'.²²⁶ There is no indication of his having received a recruitment letter from the pope or of anyone having preached the crusade in this area. Instead, Conrad physically placed the cross upon himself in response to the summons to face the papal legate. This peculiar action includes none of the ceremonial bestowing of the cross by a representative of the pope or celebration of the action of becoming a crusader. Instead, those who were present responded to his action in a very negative manner. The *Gesta* describes how the taking of the cross 'immediately

²²⁴ 'Devastatio Constantinopolitana', *Contemporary Sources for the Fourth Crusade*, trans. A. J. Andrea, p. 212.

²²⁵ *The Deeds of Pope Innocent III*, trans. J. M. Powell, p. 63.

²²⁶ 'Deeds of the Bishops of Halberstadt', *Contemporary Sources for the Fourth Crusade*, trans. A. J. Andrea (Leiden, 2000), pp. 239, 246.

transformed the enormous joy of all who were present to melancholy desolation'.²²⁷ The account then goes on to describe how Conrad was received and encouraged by those nobles who he met with on his journey through Bohemia, Austria, Salzberg and Aquileia to Venice in 1202.²²⁸ There is no indication however, that bishop Conrad was actively recruiting for the crusade expedition and the *Gesta* makes no mention of any of these nobles choosing to travel to Jerusalem with him. Strictly speaking, he had been excommunicated so would not have been authorised to preach by the pope even if he had wished to do so. The *Gesta episcoporum Halberstadensium* does describe the preaching of Fulk of Neuilly in 'Gaul' and lists a number of his recruits but makes no reference to Bishop Conrad as having been influenced by his message or even having been aware of it.²²⁹ *Devastatio Constantinopolitana* also includes the bishop of Halberstadt in its list of those who took the cross following the description of the preaching tours of Peter Capuano and Fulk of Neuilly but there is no direct indication that his taking of the crusade vow was as a result of their direct preaching.²³⁰ However, the Anonymous of Soissons attributes the recruitment of Count Henry, Lord Nivelon, bishop of Soissons, Count Baldwin of Flanders, Louis of Chartres, Bishop Garnier of Troyes and many others to the 1202 preaching efforts of Fulk of Neuilly.²³¹ The impact of these numerous papal legates on the recruitment for the Fourth Crusade shows the success of carefully selecting the correct preachers for the appropriate areas. It is to the credit of Pope Innocent III that he was able to control his crusade recruitment message over such a period of time, with so many preachers, and in spite of so many setbacks. It was only once the expedition set out that this control was lost and expedition deviated from the pope's original intentions.

²²⁷ Ibid., p. 247.

²²⁸ Ibid., pp. 247-8.

²²⁹ Ibid., pp. 248-9.

²³⁰ 'Devastatio Constantinopolitana', *Contemporary Sources for the Fourth Crusade*, trans. A. J. Andrea, p. 213.

²³¹ Anonymous of Soissons, *Contemporary Sources for the Fourth Crusade*, trans. A. J. Andrea (Leiden, 2000), p. 233.

Preaching To Other Theatres Of War At The Beginning Of The Thirteenth Century

During the first years of the thirteenth century a continuation of the crusade preaching in the Iberian peninsula can be seen when King Pedro II of Aragon made a written request to the pope for a legate to preach the cause.²³² On this occasion the pope advised against his action and refused to send a representative.²³³ King Pedro ignored the papal message had begun to prepare his own fight against the Almohads to the south.²³⁴ He travelled to Rome to visit the pope in person with plans to recruit crusaders from Genoa and Pisa on the way. In 1204 he sent his notary, Master Colom, and a member of the Templar Order to the pope to appeal for a representative who could assist his talks with the two cities.²³⁵ Unfortunately the papal response that Pedro first visit Rome in order that he may receive his authorisation to take with him to those two cities appears not to have arrived before his departure.²³⁶ If it were the case that Pedro intended to recapture Majorca, it would be unsurprising that he approached these Italian port cities, particularly given the Pisan association with the Balearic campaign of 1113-15 which had involved Pedro's great-grandfather Count Ramon Berenguer III of Barcelona.²³⁷ However, Spanish involvement in an incident between a Pisan and a Genoese ship near Barcelona meant that only the city of Genoa would have been inclined at that time to show any support to Pedro's

²³² Mansilla, *La Documentación pontificia hasta Inocencio III*, no. 295, pp. 329-30; *Die Register Innocenz' III*, vol. 6, no. 234, p. 395; Innocent III, 'Opera Omnia', PL 215, col. 265; O'Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade*, pp. 64-5; Smith, *Innocent III and the Crown of Aragón*, pp. 40-42.

²³³ Mansilla, *La Documentación pontificia hasta Inocencio III*, no. 295, pp. 329-30, '...unde, ad praesens, ex causa praedicta, legatum in Hispaniam non proponimus destinare'.

²³⁴ O'Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade*, p. 64; Smith, *Innocent III and the Crown of Aragón*, p. 41.

²³⁵ Smith, *Innocent III and the Crown of Aragón*, p. 42.

²³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 42.

²³⁷ *Liber Maiolichinus de gestis Pisanorum illustribus*, pp. 527-54; 'Gesta triumphalia per Pisanos facta de captione Hierusalem et civitatis Maioricarum et aliarum civitatum et de triumph habito contra Ianuenses', ed. M. Lupo Gentile, pp. 87-96; Also Goñi Gaztambide, *Historia de la bula de la cruzada en España*, pp. 68-70; Doxey, 'Christian attempts to reconquer the Balearic islands before 1229'; 'Vita sancti Olegarii', *España Sagrada*, 29 pp. 527-54; Purkis, *Crusading Spirituality*, p. 166.

mission.²³⁸ The *Annales Ianuenses* records Pedro as having been welcomed to Genoa but, having no papal authorisation, he failed to make any form of recruitment impact.²³⁹

In November 1204 Pedro finally arrived in Rome in the company of Michael, archbishop of Arles, Guy de Ventadour, provost of Maguelonne, Guillaume de Bonnieux, abbot-elect of Montemaior, Count Sanç (Pedro's uncle), Hugh de Les Baux, Rocelin of Marseilles, Arnau de Foixà and 'many other noble and powerful men'.²⁴⁰ It is not clear how these men were persuaded to join him but they were significant figures in the region of Provence, an area which had strong ties to the Aragonese crown. Prior to his arrival in Rome, Pedro had visited a number of noteworthy locations. Miret Y Sans lists Pedro's itinerary as having been Carcassonne, Millau, Aix-en Provence, Montpellier and Marseille, before finally arriving in Rome at the end of the year.²⁴¹

Over the few days following his arrival Pedro was crowned king of Aragon by Innocent III and, amongst great papal pomp and ceremony, he swore loyalty to the pope and the church before returning home.²⁴² Apart from serving to strengthen the relationship between the papacy, the Provençal lords and the crown of Aragon, there is no indication that Pedro II used this contact with the pope to continue to pursue a military campaign against Majorca. In fact, as

²³⁸ Smith, *Innocent III and the Crown of Aragón*, p. 42.

²³⁹ 'Annales Ianuenses', *MGH* 18, p. 122.

²⁴⁰ *Die Register Innocenz' III*, vol. 7, no. 229, pp. 406-9, 'Venit autem per mare cum quinque galeis et applicuit apud insulam inter Portum et Hostiam, adducens secum Arelatensem archiepiscopum, praepositum Magalonensem, cum quibus interfuit electus Montis majoris et alii quidam clerici nobiles et prudentes. Proceres quoque secum adduxit, Sanctium patrum suum, Ugonem de Baucio, Roselinum de Marsilia, Arnaldum de Fotian. et alios multos nobiles et potentes'.

²⁴¹ J. Miret i Sans, 'Itinerario del rey Pedro I de Cataluña, II de Aragón', *Boletín de la Real Academia de Buenas letras de Barcelona*, 3 (1905-6), pp. 265-284; *Els testaments dels comtes de Barcelona i dels reis de la Corona d'Aragó. De Guifré Borrell a Joan II*, ed. A. Udina I Abelló, (Barcelona, 2001), no. 18, pp. 133-5; Smith, *Innocent III and the Crown of Aragón*, p. 4.

²⁴² *Die Register Innocenz' III*, vol. 7, no. 229, pp. 406-9; For a full discussion of the significance of the events described in the *Ordo Coronationis Petri Regis Aragonum*, see Smith, *Innocent III and the Crown of Aragón*, pp. 43-78.

Smith makes clear, it is more likely that events in the Languedoc region of France were more relevant to the coronation and that it was in the interests of both parties to cement their relationship and unite against heretics even at a time when there was no immediate plan for a crusade.²⁴³ There is no mention of the crusade in the *Ordo Coronationis Petri Regis Aragonum* and after Pedro's return to Barcelona his efforts became focused on disputes and revolts on home territories and in Provence.²⁴⁴

In 1209-10, more than five years after his visit to Rome, Pedro II of Aragon began to renew his efforts to campaign against the Almohads. He dispatched ambassadors to Innocent III requesting that he recruit Alfonso VIII of Castile and that he at least did not prevent his subjects from joining the campaign.²⁴⁵ Possibly upon hearing this request, in February 1210, the pope commissioned Archbishop Rodrigo of Toledo to encourage the king of Castile to participate in the expedition and to offer remission of sins to any Castilian subject who wished to join the king of Aragon on the campaign.²⁴⁶ The archbishop of Toledo, along with the bishops of Taragona, Coimbra and Zamora also received papal instruction to excommunicate any other Spanish king who attempted to attack Castile while the king and his eldest son Fernando fought the Almohads.²⁴⁷ At the same time, although he clearly authorised the senior Spanish clergy to enforce his instructions, the pope refused a request by King Alfonso VIII to send a papal legate to the area. In all of the previous efforts to launch and preach an official crusade, each pope had used legates to act on his behalf as both the communicator and (mostly) the controller of their message. Pope Innocent III was no exception to this previously, but he had now refused

²⁴³ Smith, *Innocent III and the Crown of Aragón*, pp. 52-3.

²⁴⁴ *Die Register Innocenz' III*, vol. 7, no. 229, pp. 406-9.

²⁴⁵ Mansilla, *La Documentación pontificia hasta Inocencio III*, no. 416, pp. 436.

²⁴⁶ *Ibid.*; D. W. Lomax, *The Reconquest of Spain* (London, 1978), p. 123; Smith, *Innocent III and the Crown of Aragón*, p. 91.

²⁴⁷ Mansilla, *La Documentación pontificia hasta Inocencio III*, no. 442, pp. 474-5; Innocent III, 'Opera Omnia', PL 216, col. 353.

to send a preacher to Iberia on two occasions. It was possible that the continuing issues with the Empire, the East, England and the south of France meant that Innocent could not spare anyone to act as a legate here at this time but by declining to do so, he risked losing control over the preaching and the message.²⁴⁸ It is also conceivable that he saw no need and that his letters and Pedro II and Alfonso VIII's determination to lead an expedition were enough to ensure the crusade went ahead. Alfonso VIII took it upon himself to instruct Archbishop Rodrigo of Toledo to appeal directly to King Philip II of France and Bishop Gerardo of Segovia to Rome.²⁴⁹ As O'Callaghan has written, there is little indication of success in the appeal directly to King Philip II and the only significant recruit from Northern France was Bishop Geoffrey of Nantes.²⁵⁰ It is unsurprising that Philip did not respond to this appeal as he was continuing to defend his own lands and to limit the northern French participation in the Albigensian Crusade. It was also unlikely that those who wished to take a crusade vow would travel from northern parts of France when a concurrent campaign was being preached closer to home. The control of crusade preaching here appears to have slipped in this instance away from the pope and into the hands of Alfonso. And although a handful of recruits came from northern France, they were individuals who had intended to sail around the peninsula to reach the Holy Land. At a time when the majority of crusaders were travelling to the East, these efforts were not enough to establish a Spanish campaign.

The supposed growth of heretical groups in Western Europe had been an on-going issue throughout the twelfth century and preachers had been authorised by Pope Eugenius III to campaign against heresy in 1145.²⁵¹ Initially, just as had been the case regarding the campaigns

²⁴⁸ Smith, *Innocent III and the Crown of Aragón*, p. 95.

²⁴⁹ Mansilla, *La Documentación pontificia hasta Inocencio III*, no. 447-8, pp. 475-7; Innocent III, 'Opera Omnia', *PL* 216, col. 380; Lomax, *The Reconquest of Spain*, p. 123.

²⁵⁰ O'Callaghan, 'Innocent III and the Kingdoms of Castile and Leon', p. 331, n. 65.

²⁵¹ Geoffrey, Bishop of Chartres, 'Epistolae Gaufredi', *PL* 185, cols 410-16; 'Vita Prima S. Bernardi', *PL* 185, cols 234-42.

to the Baltic in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, the pope authorised missionary efforts to convert these enemies to Catholicism but their opposition and ‘the poison of [their] superstitious unbelief’ ultimately led the pope to authorise more aggressive action.²⁵²

In 1178 a mission to the Languedoc had been authorised by Pope Alexander III who sent Peter of Pavia, cardinal of St. Chrysogon as his legate to address the issue. The cardinal was accompanied by Abbot Henry de Marcy of Clairvaux, Bishop Reginald Fitzjoscelin of Bath, and Bishop John of Poitiers.²⁵³ In 1179 Abbot Henry was appointed cardinal bishop of Albano and two years later was authorised to lead a military campaign against the heretics which resulted in the surrender of the city of Lavaur.²⁵⁴ Cardinal Henry had preached the Third Crusade in France and Germany in 1187-88 and his continued role as a papal representative again shows the recurring use of certain individuals and of the Cistercian Order in the campaigns against enemies of the church.²⁵⁵

As soon as he acceded the papal throne in 1198 Pope Innocent III continued to address the issue of heresy in southern France by preaching against it and as by appointing individuals to address the issue he was making a concerted, but non-violent, effort to control them.²⁵⁶ He assigned the Cistercian Rainier of Pons and his adviser Guy the role of ‘commissioners’ in the south of France. The pope’s use of members of the Cistercian Order to carry out his directives

²⁵² Pierre des Vaux de Cernai, *Historia Albigensis*; translation in Peter of Vaux-Cernay, *The History of the Albigensian Crusade*, p. 9; The use of the word ‘heretic’ rather than ‘Cathar’ is deliberate in this study, see M. G. Pegg, ‘Catharism’ and the Study of Medieval Heresy’, *New Medieval Literatures*, 6 (2004), pp. 249-69.

²⁵³ Henry of Albano, ‘Tractatus de peregrinante civitate Dei’, *PL* 204, cols 234-42.

²⁵⁴ ‘Chronicon Clarevallensis’, *PL* 185, cols. 1247-52; for Henry’s own account see Henry of Albano, ‘Tractatus de peregrinante civitate Dei’ *PL* 204, cols. 234-42; Kienzle, *Cistercians, Heresy and Crusade in Occitania*, pp. 132-4.

²⁵⁵ Alberic of Trois-Fontaines, *Chronica*, p. 861; ‘Chronicon Clarevallense’, *PL* 185, p. 1251; ‘Ex Giselberti Montensis praepositi Hannoniae chronico’, *RHGF* 18, pp. 387-8; ‘Historia peregrinorum’, ed. A. Chroust, *MGH SRG* 5, p. 125; Y. M.-J. Congar, ‘Henri de Marcy, abbé de Clairvaux, cardinal-évêque d’Albano et légat pontifical’, pp. 46; Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades*, p. 66; Tyerman, *God’s War*, p. 377.

²⁵⁶ M. Costen, *The Cathars and the Albigensian Crusade*, (Manchester, 1997), p. 109.

was not necessarily an indication of crusading intentions at this time, even though they had been the most active crusade preachers of the second half of the twelfth century. It does however show, that once again, members of the Cistercian Order were central to the popes' efforts to spread messages to specific areas.²⁵⁷ Graham-Leigh has called the Cistercian Order 'the church's best weapon against heresy in the [Languedoc] region' and the fact that the church could use them against its enemies indicates just how significant their network and capabilities had become by this time.²⁵⁸ In light of this, Bolton has called Rainier of Pons 'probably the most significant Cistercian since St. Bernard' and this high praise is demonstrated by the trust placed in him by Pope Innocent III regarding both the Albigensian and Iberian regions at the end of the twelfth century.²⁵⁹ He had previously been an associate of Joachim of Fiore (who had been appointed a preacher of the Fourth Crusade by Innocent III) at Casamari and in 1198, he was appointed legate to León, Castile and Portugal.²⁶⁰ Only a year later, having served as legate in the Languedoc region of France, Rainier's health forced his return to Rome where he became Innocent's confessor.²⁶¹ Throughout the course of the next decade, Innocent III continued to use the White Monks and in 1204 he appointed the Cistercians Peter of Castelnau and Master Ralph (a monk from Fontfroide) as his legates 'to urge the count of Toulouse to expel heretics and mercenaries from his territory'.²⁶² In the same year, Arnaud Amalric, abbot

²⁵⁷ Newman, *The Boundaries of Charity: Cistercian Culture and Ecclesiastical Reform*, discusses the development of the role of the Cistercian order throughout the twelfth century.

²⁵⁸ E. Graham-Leigh 'Evil and the Appearance of Evil' – Pope Innocent III, Arnould Amaury and the Albigensian Crusade', *Innocenzo III: Urbs et Orbis*, ed. A. Sommerlechner (Rome, 2003), p. 1031; J. Burton and J. Kerr, *The Cistercians in the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge, 2011), pp. 196-7.

²⁵⁹ B. Bolton, 'For the See of Simon Peter: The Cistercian at Innocent III's Nearest Frontier', *Innocent III: Studies on Papal Authority and Pastoral Care* (Aldershot, 1995), II, p. 13.

²⁶⁰ H. Grundmann, 'Zur Biographie Joachim von Fiore und Rainiers von Ponza', *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 19 (1960), pp. 437-546. *Die Register Innocenz' III*, vol. 1, no. 92, pp. 132-4; 'Gesta Innocentii III', *PL* 214, cols. 79-81; Bolton, 'For the See of Simon Peter', pp. 13-4.

²⁶¹ *Die Register Innocenz' III*, vol. 2, no. 72 (75), pp. 126-134; Caesar of Heisterbach, *Dialogus miraculorum*, ed. and German trans. Horst Schneider and Nikolaus Nösges. *Fontes Christiani* 86. 5 vols. (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009), vol. 3., pp. 1178-83; A. Manrique, *Annales Cistercienses*, 4 vols. (Lyon, 1613-59) III, 369; A. P. Evans. 'The Albigensian Crusade', *A History of the Crusades*, ed. K. M. Setton, (Philadelphia, 1962), II, p. 283; Bolton, 'For the See of Simon Peter', p. 14; This was the same Renier who was appointed legate to Spain in 1198 and settled the dispute between the papacy and the Iberian kings in 1209.

²⁶² Guillaume de Puylaurens, *Chronique*; translation in *The chronicle of William of Puylaurens*, p. 21; Graham-Leigh, 'Evil and the Appearance of Evil', p. 1032.

of Cîteaux was appointed legate to Languedoc.²⁶³ Amalric had previously served as abbot of Poblet in Catalonia and of Grandselve in southwestern France before becoming abbot of Cîteaux in 1200 and he was clearly well acquainted with this region from these previous appointments. This made him the ideal choice for the role of legate and he would have had substantial influence²⁶⁴ over the Cistercians in Languedoc.²⁶⁴ At the time of the Albigensian Crusade there numbered some twenty-seven Cistercian houses in the region and their presence there offered the opportunity for a communication network which the pope could use to spread his message.²⁶⁵

In 1206 Innocent III authorised Peter of Castelnau and the monk Master Ralph to preach against the heretics in Languedoc region.²⁶⁶ After the assassination of Peter of Castelnau in 1208, Innocent III appointed Bishop Ralph of Couserans, Hugh-Raymond of Riez, and Abbot Arnaud Amalric of Cîteaux, to recruit King Philip II of France and his vassals to the campaign in the south of France.²⁶⁷ A year later, the papal notary, Master Milo, was despatched as a legate along with a Theodisius, a canon from the cathedral church of Genoa, to meet with Arnaud Amalric, the legate to the Languedoc region, and to take instruction from him regarding the situation in the south of France.²⁶⁸ They met at Auxerre and travelled together to Villeneuve (in Senonnais

²⁶³ *Die Register Innocenz' III*, vol. 7, no. 76 (75), 77 (76, 77), pp. 118-126.

²⁶⁴ Graham-Leigh, 'Evil and the Appearance of Evil', p. 1033; cf. B. M. Kienzle, 'Innocent III's Papacy and the Crusade Years 1198-1129: Arnould Amaury, Gui of Vaux-de-Cernay, Folque of Toulouse', *Heresis* 29 (1999), p. 69 which is extremely critical of this legate and his methods and even suggests that he may have had a hand in the murder of Peter of Castelnau in order to force the pope to authorise a full crusade.

²⁶⁵ B. Wildhaber, 'Catalogue des établissements cisterciens en Languedoc', in *Les Cisterciens en Languedoc*, (Toulouse, 1986), pp. 21-44 lists these houses as: Ardorel, Belleperche, Belloc, Berdouès, Bonnecombe, Bonnefont, Bouillas, Boulbonne, Calers, Candeil, Eaunes, Escaledieu, Feuillant, Flaran, Fontfroide, Franquevaux, La Garde-Dieu, Gimont (Planselve), Gondon, Grandselve, Locdieu, Nizors, Perignac, Saint-Marcel, Silvanes, Valmagne and Villelongue; Kienzle, *Cistercians, Heresy and Crusade in Occitania*, p. 30 refers to twenty-four Cistercian monasteries in the Languedoc region c. 1135-1620.

²⁶⁶ Pierre des Vaux de Cernai, *Historia Albigensis*; translation in Peter of Vaux-Cernay, *The History of the Albigensian Crusade*, pp. 7-8.

²⁶⁷ *Die Register Innocenz' III*, vol. 7, no. 183, p. 319; Rist, 'Salvation and the Albigensian Crusade', p. 100-1.

²⁶⁸ Innocent III, 'Opera Omnia', *PL* 216, cols. 174-6; Pierre des Vaux de Cernai, *Historia Albigensis*; translation in Peter of Vaux-Cernay, *The History of the Albigensian Crusade*, pp. 40-1.

region) where King Philip of France was holding an assembly with his barons.²⁶⁹ Milo and Theodisius then travelled to Montélimar in Provence and onto Valence where they met with Count Raymond of Toulouse.²⁷⁰ These legates then moved on to Lyon where they met with the rest of the crusading army.²⁷¹ The Fourth Crusade participant Simon de Montfort was appointed leader of the Albigensian Crusade by a committee consisting of Arnaud Amalric, two bishops and four knights.²⁷² Philip II had refused to respond to Innocent's appeals to lead this crusade since 1207 and Simon de Montfort was a sensible substitute for the king even though he did not have the advantage of bringing with him the finances and army which the king would have automatically provided.

At this time it seems that Innocent III lost control of his legates and they made alterations to the indulgences which he had offered. The *Historia Albigensis* describes how they ordered that the indulgences on offer were for at least forty days service.²⁷³ Rist has discussed whether the brevity of this discouraged desertion or encouraged the crusaders to fight in France rather than in the East.²⁷⁴ Riley-Smith argues that this time period derived from the nature of the campaign as an 'internal' crusade (as opposed to an 'external' one to the Holy Land or Northern Europe) and served to weaken the penitential nature of the crusade.²⁷⁵ At the time of this preaching campaign a crusade to the East was not being actively promoted by the pope so the issue of

²⁶⁹ Pierre des Vaux de Cernai, *Historia Albigensis*; translation in Peter of Vaux-Cernay, *The History of the Albigensian Crusade*, p. 41.

²⁷⁰ Pierre des Vaux de Cernai, *Historia Albigensis*; translation in Peter of Vaux-Cernay, *The History of the Albigensian Crusade*, p. 44.

²⁷¹ Pierre des Vaux de Cernai, *Historia Albigensis*; translation in Peter of Vaux-Cernay, *The History of the Albigensian Crusade*, p. 45.

²⁷² Guillaume de Puylaurens, *Chronique*, p. 68; translation in *The chronicle of William of Puylaurens*, p. 23; Sumption, *The Albigensian Crusade*, p. 100.

²⁷³ Pierre des Vaux de Cernai, *Historia Albigensis*; translation in Peter of Vaux-Cernay, *The History of the Albigensian Crusade*, p. 187.

²⁷⁴ Innocent III, 'Opera Omnia', *PL* 215, col. 358, '...cum illos, qui contra haereticos fideliter laborarint, eadem indulgentia gaudere velimus, quam in Terrae sanctae subsidium transfretantibus indulgemus.': Rist, 'Salvation and the Albigensian Crusade', pp. 96-7.

²⁷⁵ Riley-Smith, *The Crusades: A History*, p. xxxi.

whether it drew crusaders away from the Holy Land is not a problem here. As Simon de Montfort was primarily dependent on the recruits enlisted by the preachers there was a lack of continuity in their service and, according to Riley-Smith, this meant that every summer, he would be assisted by an army who would serve their forty days and leave again.²⁷⁶ These forty days are not mentioned in any of the pope's correspondence regarding this crusade and it is likely that this was an instance of the legates acting on their own initiative.²⁷⁷ During this period disputes arose between Arnaud Amalric and the pope to such an extent that Graham-Leigh has suggested that the legates were in control of the pope, but there is little evidence to show that this was the effect of their actions.²⁷⁸ Pope Innocent III had made efforts to address this relationship and letters such as *Post miserabile* clearly gave the papal legates the full authority of the pope when recruiting new crusaders.²⁷⁹ However, where the letters bestowed papal authority upon the preachers, they made no reference to whether or not they had a power to deviate from his original message. The question to ask here is whether the pope permitted a departure from his instructions. It is possible that if the alteration increased the success of the pope's intended outcome, it might go unchallenged and even encouraged. In this instance there appears to be no evidence of any papal reaction, either positive or negative, to the change in the message at this time. From this it is possible to surmise that Innocent was implying his approval and saw no reason to amend Arnaud's actions on this occasion. This meant that the success to those who were recruiting for the crusade was insufficient for those who actually fought it and Innocent's message had been corrupted to the detriment of the army.

²⁷⁶ Ibid., p. 100.

²⁷⁷ Rist, *The Papacy and Crusading in Europe*, pp. 96-7.

²⁷⁸ Graham-Leigh, 'Evil and the Appearance of Evil', p. 1034.

²⁷⁹ *Die Register Innocenz' III*, vol. 1, no. 336, p. 502; translation in Innocent III, 'Letters', *Contemporary Sources for the Fourth Crusade*, trans. A. J. Andrea, p. 15; see also 'Gesta Innocentii III', *PL* 214, cols. 17-227; translation in *The Deeds of Pope Innocent III*, trans. J. M. Powell, p. 61.

The legations of William, archdeacon of Paris, and Jacques de Vitry also undertook a preaching tour around France and Germany to preach for the Albigensian Crusade in 1211 and 1212.²⁸⁰ The *Historia Albigensis* describes their success in recruiting participants from northern France to the campaign in the Languedoc.²⁸¹ Dickson surmises that German participants including Count William of Julich, Duke Leopold of Austria, Count Adolf III of Berg and Engelbert, the provost of Cologne must also have arrived as the result of a preaching tour, most likely undertaken by Jacques de Vitry.²⁸² However, the absence of a full itinerary of these tours and their instructions from the papacy makes it difficult to map their direct impact on the recruitment.

Ultimately Innocent's call to crusade was met with an enthusiastic response in spite of the deviation from the precise details of his original message. It shows that the legates were able to adapt their instructions so long as they did not do so to the detriment of the overall outcome, and that it was possible for the pope to allow some degree of improvisation by his approved preachers.

Preaching The Fifth Crusade

After the failure to control the outcome of the Fourth Crusade, but the success of the campaign in the Languedoc, Innocent III issued the letters which authorised the Fifth Crusade and used them to appoint some of the numerous and varied preachers who used them as a tool for their work. *Quia Major* set out the pope's instructions for the expedition and stated that it was to be

²⁸⁰ Pierre des Vaux de Cernai, *Historia Albigensis*; translation in Peter of Vaux-Cernay, *The History of the Albigensian Crusade*, p. 142; Dickson, 'The Genesis of the Children's Crusade', p. 23.

²⁸¹ Pierre des Vaux de Cernai, *Historia Albigensis*; translation in Peter of Vaux-Cernay, *The History of the Albigensian Crusade*, pp. 115-16, 124.

²⁸² Dickson, 'The Genesis of the Children's Crusade', p. 23.

sent to Eberhard, Cistercian abbot of Salem, the former Cistercian abbot Peter of Neuberg, Conrad, dean of Speyer and the provost of Augsburg, all of whom were permitted to appoint other men suitable to carrying out the instructions of the letter.²⁸³ The accompanying letter, *Pium et sanctum* appointed as legates Conrad the former Fourth Crusader and bishop of Halberstadt;²⁸⁴ Friedrich, the former Cistercian abbot of Sichern; Master Oliver of Cologne (Oliver of Paderborn) who would become a very significant preacher and chronicler;²⁸⁵ Hermann, deacon of Bonn; the bishop of Regensburg; the provost of Salzberg; the abbots of Vilar and Rommersdorf; the archbishop of Gniezno who had previously acted as a papal representative in Poland;²⁸⁶ the archbishop of Uppsala; and the archbishop of Lund. *Pium et sanctum* also lists Walter, archdeacon and chancellor of London; Master Philip of Oxford; John, bishop of Florence; the archbishop of Pistoia; the archbishop of Dublin; the abbot of Mellifont; the archbishop of Nidaros; the bishops Rimini and Ancona; the bishops of St. Andrews and Glasgow; the archbishops of Cagliari and Sassari; the bishops of Spoleto and Ragusa; the bishop of Parma; the abbot of St. Stephen of Bologna; the archbishops and bishops of Hungary; the archbishop of Cosenza; the abbot of Sambucina; Nicholas, the papal subdeacon; and Robert of Courçon,²⁸⁷ legate and cardinal priest of St. Stephen in Monte Celio.²⁸⁸

Powell correctly concludes that this group of preachers shows that ‘by the standards of the early thirteenth century, papal administration was a model of rational procedure and

²⁸³ Innocent III, ‘Opera Omnia’, *PL* 216, col. 821; Powell, *Anatomy of a Crusade*, p. 24 refers to Innocent’s strong reliance on the Cistercian Order for preachers.

²⁸⁴ Powell, *Anatomy of a Crusade*, p. 232.

²⁸⁵ Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades*, p. 105.

²⁸⁶ Innocent III, ‘Opera Omnia’, *PL* 215, cols. 820, 1424; Powell, *Anatomy of a Crusade*, p. 23.

²⁸⁷ Robert was a colleague of Innocent III who had come from the Paris circle of Robert the Chanter; he also possibly assisted Fulk of Neuilly. See Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, 4, p. 76; also Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades*, p. 127 for more on his *Summa*.

²⁸⁸ Innocent III, ‘Opera Omnia’, *PL* 216, col. 822.

professional selection'.²⁸⁹ In addition to the expected preaching representatives of the Cistercian Order, the list of preachers to whom *Pium et sanctum* was addressed not only emphasises their importance but it contains a very mixed group of episcopal, monastic and academic individuals. It shows how the pope was utilising a wide network of religious organisations to act as his representatives and to reach out to as wide an audience as was possible with exactly the same message and instructions as to how it was to be used.

The role of the Cistercian order in the promotion of the Fifth Crusade underscores their continued value to the popes who had ordered crusade preaching ever since the Second Crusade. The order was not only administratively organised but also consisted of a network of houses which spread across Europe in the early thirteenth century. Bolton has highlighted how the Cistercians 'were ideally suited as crusade preachers and organisers and as frontier guards of the faith in those areas where the Church's writ ran weakly'.²⁹⁰ This idea that they were fully representing the pope in areas which were not necessarily securely Catholic placed greater emphasis on the pope's reliance on their work. More recently Jamroziak has referred to Innocent as having 'had an unflinching faith in the Cistercian loyalty and ability'.²⁹¹ In this instance, as during the Second, Third, Fourth, Albigensian and Iberian Crusades, they were the perfect organisation for the spreading of Innocent III's crusade message. Closely connected with the Cistercians, the Premonstratensian Order was represented amongst the list of addressees in *Pium et sanctum*.²⁹² This order of canons regular was heavily influenced in its structure by the Cistercian Order so it is unsurprising that they would be included alongside

²⁸⁹ Powell, *Anatomy of a Crusade*, p. 25.

²⁹⁰ Bolton, 'For the See of Simon Peter', p. 5.

²⁹¹ E. M. Jamroziak, *The Cistercian Order in Medieval Europe 1090-1500* (London, 2013), p. 78.

²⁹² F. Kempf, 'Das Rommersdorfer Briefbuch des 13. Jahrhunderts', *Mitteilungen des Österreichischen Institut für Geschichtsforschung. Ergän-zungsband* 12 (1933), pp. 502-71; P. B. Pixton, 'Die Anwerbung des Heeres Christi: Prediger des Fünften Kreuzzug in Deutschland', *Deutsches Archiv* 34 (1978), p 176; Powell, *Anatomy of a Crusade*, p. 24.

the White Monks as crusade preachers. On the other hand, only one member of the Premonstratensian Order is listed as having been specifically invited to preach the Fifth Crusade by the pope. Why the Premonstratensian Order, and other recently established groups such as the Order of the Knights Templar or the Hospitallers, were not included in *Pium et sanctum* is unclear. However, the preaching here was being led by the church and senior religious figures. It was being incorporated into daily pious ceremonies and the remit of the recruitment had changed so that not everybody who responded was expected to contribute by joining the campaign. It is possible that the military orders, therefore, were not as crucial to the message as they had been previously.

The different types of preachers also appear to have been carefully dispatched to certain areas: bishops and archbishops to Italy, Hungary, Poland, Scandinavia, Ireland and the French Midi; monks and academics to Germany; academics to England and the papal legate Robert of Courçon, cardinal priest of St. Stephen in Coelio Monte, was sent to France.²⁹³ Powell has suggested that care was taken to ensure that those who were commissioned to preach in Hungary, the French Midi and in remote regions, had respect for the local hierarchy.²⁹⁴ This attention to detail and selection of appropriate preachers shows the caution with which Innocent III appointed those who were carrying his message and assessed their suitability for their audiences.

As well as his own approach to maintaining control, the pope was supported by the development of the formal training of preachers. Cole has correctly considered how the preaching manual was a solution to the problem of the regulation of the papal crusade message

²⁹³ Powell, *Anatomy of a Crusade*, p. 25.

²⁹⁴ Innocent III, 'Opera Omnia', *PL* 216, col. 757; Powell, *Anatomy of a Crusade*, p. 23.

in a time when crusade preaching was no longer led by a single individual such as Urban II or Bernard of Clairvaux.²⁹⁵ The role of the Paris schools and these academic preachers came to prominence in the early part of the thirteenth century and meant that preachers were now receiving formalised instruction as to how to carry out their work. Preaching texts (*ars praecandi*) offered a new method of supporting crusade preachers and formalizing the manner of preaching as well as the message itself. The early thirteenth century marked a period when the expansion of the universities meant that the preaching texts and the model sermon collections would begin to develop on a large scale and the pontificate of Innocent III only began to see the earliest stages of this.²⁹⁶ One such text which relates to the promotion of the Fifth Crusade is the *Ordinacio de predicatione S. Crucis in Anglia*.²⁹⁷ Cole, Powell, Tyerman and Maier have closely examined the *Ordinacio de predicatione* and the manner in which it was deliberately structured so as to enable the preacher to use it with ease.²⁹⁸ Comprised of four sections, the text of the *Ordinacio de predicatione* placed heavy emphasis on the role of the crusader, not as an armed pilgrim who was to set out to liberate the Holy Land but as a person assuming a vocation in the imitation of Christ in order to achieve salvation.²⁹⁹ The text built upon the message which was contained in *Quia major* and did not deviate from the papal instruction even though there is no evidence that Innocent had directly authorised such a preaching device. What is important to consider here is the use and audience of this text and whether this was a successful preaching tool. Tyerman conjectures that the text was aimed at a

²⁹⁵ Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades*, pp. 126-7.

²⁹⁶ D. L. d'Avray, *The Preaching of the Friars: Sermons Diffused from Paris before 1300* (Oxford, 1985), p. 3; Morris, *The Papal Monarchy*, p. 306; A. Thompson, 'From Texts to Preaching: Retrieving the Medieval Sermon as an Event', *Sermon, Preacher and Audience in the Middle Ages*, ed. C. Muessig (Boston, 2002), p. 16; O. Edwards, *A History of Preaching* (Nashville, Abingdon, 2004), p. 166.

²⁹⁷ 'Ordinacio de Predicatione S. Crucis in Anglia', ed. R. Röhricht, *Quinti Belli Sacri Scriptores Minores*, (Geneva, 1879), pp. 3-26.

²⁹⁸ For a full examination of the content and message of the text see Powell, *Anatomy of a Crusade*, pp. 52-9; Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades*, pp. 117-126; Maier, *Preaching the Crusades*; Tyerman, *How to Plan A Crusade*; C. T. Maier, 'Brevis Ordinacio de Predicacione Sancte Crucis: Edition, Translation and Commentary', *Crusades* 18 (2019), pp. 25-65.

²⁹⁹ 'Ordinacio de Predicatione S. Crucis in Anglia', p. 18, 'vocacio hominum ad crucem'.

wealthy, martial audience because what he calls the ‘punch lines’ are written in French, the language of the English aristocracy.³⁰⁰ This is not to say that it was not intended for preachers to adapt for a wider demographic as it was a manual which the preacher could use as required. The success of the *Ordinacio de predicacione* is difficult to measure as there are only two remaining manuscript copies and these are both in Oxford. The absence of remaining copies which prove a wide distribution, or other texts which refer to it means that it is difficult to show that this text was being utilised.³⁰¹ However, as Cole highlights, the existence of this text is extraordinary; it shows a proactive move by those with university training to apply their methods to the papal instructions regarding the preaching of the crusade.³⁰² Preaching texts would develop into more accessible and usable tools over the subsequent decades of the thirteenth century.³⁰³

Cardinal Robert of Courçon was a key member of the University of Paris and would have been familiar with the use of preaching manuals; he had been both a professor there, its chancellor and a member of the circle of Peter the Chanter. A well-known preacher and advocate for reform in the church, Robert had been promoted to cardinal priest of St. Stephen in Coelio Monte in 1212 before his appointment as papal legate to France.³⁰⁴ This legate was crucial to the papal effort to recruit the French monarch at a time when, as was discussed earlier, the dispute between the French and English crowns threatened the entire crusade.³⁰⁵ Innocent had

³⁰⁰ C. J. Tyerman, ‘Who went on crusade to the Holy Land?’, *The Horns of Hattin*, ed. B. Z. Kedar (Jerusalem, 1992), p. 15.

³⁰¹ Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades*, p. 126; Maier, ‘Brevis Ordinacio de Predicacione Sancte Crucis: Edition, Translation and Commentary’, pp. 25-65.

³⁰² Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades*, p. 126.

³⁰³ Maier, *Preaching the Crusades*.

³⁰⁴ Innocent III, ‘Opera Omnia’, *PL* 216, col. 827.

³⁰⁵ M. Dickson, and C. Dickson, ‘Le Cardinal Robert de Courçon: sa vie’, *Archives d’histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen âge* 9 (1934), esp. p. 75; W. Baldwin, *Master, Princes, and Merchants: The Social Views of Peter the Chanter and his Circle*, 2 vols (Paris, 1970), 1, p. 19; Powell, *Anatomy of a Crusade*, p. 33.

made repeated efforts to encourage King Philip to lead an expedition and, by appointing a cardinal as his legate, he sent an appropriately well-educated and high-ranking representative. Robert's legation to France served as preparation for the Fourth Lateran Council and, as well as the promotion of the crusade, also involved promoting peace in France and reform within the church. The *Historia Albigensis* describes Robert as having 'toured the country, held meetings of archbishops and bishops, instructed preachers and advanced the cause of a crusade to the Holy Land by every means available to him'.³⁰⁶ It is possible to locate some of the places in which he preached but difficult to establish a full tour itinerary. William the Breton records Robert as 'preaching throughout the whole kingdom of Gaul' and it is possible to place him in Limoges, Laon, and he summoned councils at Paris (June 1213), Rouen (February 1214), Bordeaux, Clermont, Montpellier and Bourges (May 1215).³⁰⁷ Many of these are places which hosted successful preaching events for earlier crusade campaigns, so it seems natural that they would be targeted once again having not been exhausted by the recent recruitment campaigns.

However, in spite of Innocent's careful selection, the contemporary accounts of Robert's preaching are not particularly favourable and one describes how 'he had made himself hated by all on account of his own rashness'.³⁰⁸ Robert and his fellow preachers were also criticized by William the Breton for their indiscriminate recruitment of 'children, old men, women, the lame, the blind, the deaf, lepers: thereby impeding the work of the cross rather than aiding the Holy Land'.³⁰⁹ This contemporary account of an authorised preacher making the recruitment

³⁰⁶ Pierre des Vaux de Cernai, *Historia Albigensis*; translation in Peter of Vaux-Cernay, *The History of the Albigensian Crusade*, pp. 199-200.

³⁰⁷ William the Breton, 'Historia Philippi Augusti', *Testimonia minora de quinto bello sacro e chronicis Occidentalibus* ed. R. Röhricht, (Geneva, 1882: repr., Osnabrück. 1968), p. 78; Bernardus Iterius, 'Chronicon s. Martialis', *Testimonia minora de quinto bello sacro e chronicis Occidentalibus* ed. R. Röhricht, (Geneva, 1882: repr., Osnabrück. 1968), p. 337; Powell, *Anatomy of a Crusade*, p. 36.

³⁰⁸ 'Ex chronologia Roberti Altissiodorensis Praemonstratensis ad S. Marianum Canonici', *RHGF* 18, p. 283, 'Robertus, Sancti Stephani in Monte Celio presbyter cardinalis, cum iam fere biennium ob negotium crucis Franciam peragrasset, et propter temeritatem suam omnibus se fecisset exosum...'.
³⁰⁹ William the Breton, pp. 78-9.

process more inclusive is extremely interesting as it provides a lay interpretation of how the orders of the pope were being implemented but were also subject to misinterpretation and criticism. Robert of Courçon's actions in allowing everyone to take the cross were different from what had gone before and thus may have been misunderstood by William the Breton as being contrary to the normal papal instructions. However, in spite of this contemporary criticism, Robert was enormously effective as a crusade preacher and the pope's message was communicated clearly and received favourably by its target audience.³¹⁰

All of those who were appointed to preach the crusade in England seem to have come from mainly academic and administrative backgrounds. Powell has proposed that this was due to the involvement of the episcopal clergy in the dispute with King John over the selection of Stephen Langton to the see of Canterbury.³¹¹ This is a further illustration of Innocent III having chosen preachers who were best suited to the area in which they were to preach. These preachers in England were Walter, archdeacon of London who had studied in Paris alongside Jacques de Vitry;³¹² Master Philip of Oxford who had been involved in the organisation of the Fourth Crusade and is thought to have written the preaching text *Ordinacio de Predicatione S. Crucis in Anglia*; Master John of Kent; Master William of London; and Leo, the dean of Wells about whom little seems to have been recorded.³¹³

³¹⁰ *Regesta Honorii Papae III*, ed P. Pressutti, 2 vols. (Hildesheim, 1978), vol. 1, pp. 4, 14 credits Robert with having recruited the majority of the leading member of the French crusade expedition. For a discussion of the secondary literature relating to Robert of Courçon's success as peacemaker and crusade preacher, see M. Dickson, and C. Dickson, 'Le Cardinal Robert de Courson: sa vie', pp. 126-31; H. E. Mayer, *The Crusades*, trans. J. Gillingham (Oxford, 1972), p. 206; Powell, *Anatomy of a Crusade*, pp. 33-41.

³¹¹ Powell, *Anatomy of a Crusade*, p. 24.

³¹² 'Annales prioratus de Dunstaplia, A.D. 1-1297', *Annales monastici*, ed. H. R. Luard, RS, 36/3 (London, 1866), p. 40; Jacques de Vitry, *Historia Occidentalis*, ed. J. F. Hinnebusch (Fribourg, 1972), p. 102; A. J., Andrea, 'Walter, Archdeacon of London, and the *Historia Occidentalis* of Jacques de Vitry', *Church History* 50 (1981), esp. p. 143; Powell, *Anatomy of a Crusade*, p. 24.

³¹³ Roscher, *Innozenz III und die Kreuzzüge*, p. 81; Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades*, pp. 109-111; Maier, *Preaching the Crusades*, p. 114 is less certain about the author of the text but Röhrich and Cole's conclusions are strong enough that I concur with their reasoning; Innocent III, *The Letters of Pope Innocent III (1198-1216) concerning England and Wales*, p. 110, 662, 711; Cheney, *Pope Innocent III and England*, p. 263; Andrea, 'Walter, Archdeacon of London', p. 147.

At the time of the issue of *Quia major* and *Pium et sanctum*, there was an on-going struggle between Frederick II and Otto IV for the imperial crown. However, the pope still sent preachers to promote the crusade in Germany and the most significant of these was Oliver of Paderborn. He was associated with both the cathedral school in Cologne and the University in Paris and in 1208 he had been involved in preaching the Albigensian Crusade. In 1213 Oliver received *Quia major* and was appointed to recruit Frederick II in spite of the uncertainty of his position as Holy Roman Emperor.³¹⁴ Oliver of Paderborn had a number of co-preachers including his student Master Arnoldus; John of Xanten;³¹⁵ Hermann, deacon of Bonn; Theobald, cantor of St. Stephen at Mainz; Bernard and Abbot Henry and brother Winand of Heisterbach.³¹⁶ The known itinerary for Master Oliver's preaching can be traced from Liège, Namur, Brabant, Bruges, Ghent, Geldt, Utrecht and Frisia (Friesland) before arriving in Rome for the Fourth Lateran Council in November 1215.³¹⁷

Oliver was recorded as being an extremely active and clever preacher who executed the instructions of *Quia major* with great care.³¹⁸ He not only initiated preaching, processions and collections but he also took opportunities to seek new audiences. The chronicler Renier of Liège detailed how he cancelled a local tournament and instead 'six appointed preachers expounded the word of the cross so effectively that many man and women were signed with

³¹⁴ P. B. Pixton, 'Die Anwerbung des Heeres Christi: Prediger des Fünften Kreuzzug in Deutschland', *Deutsches Archiv* 34 (1978), p. 176; Powell, *Anatomy of a Crusade*, p. 24.

³¹⁵ Caesar of Heisterbach, *Dialogus miraculorum*, vol. 2, pp. 574-77.

³¹⁶ *Ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 382-3, vol. 2, pp. 516-7, vol. 2, pp. 696-8 and vol. 4, pp. 1974-6; B. P. McGuire, 'Written Sources and Cistercian Inspiration in Caesarius of Heisterbach', *Analecta Cisterciensia* 35 (1979), p. 238; W. P. Purkis, 'Crusading and crusade memory in Caesarius of Heisterbach's *Dialogus miraculorum*', *Journal of Medieval History* 39 (2013), pp. 100-27.

³¹⁷ Caesar of Heisterbach, *Dialogus miraculorum*, vol. 2, pp. 516-7.

³¹⁸ 'Ex Reineri ad Sanctum-Jacobum monachi chronico Leodeinsi', *RHGF* 18, pp. 630, 'In capite jejunii, magister Oliverius Coloniensis scholasticus, et magister Herimannus Bonnensis decanus, a domino Papa literas et mandatum habentes, Leodium veniunt, de cruce sermonem faciunt, accipientibus crucem remissionem omnium peccatorum promittunt, per totum episcopatum praedicando vadunt, et multis utriusque sexus crucem imponunt, processions omni prima feria sexta mensis ordinant; collections ad opus viae Jerosolymitanae fieri praecipiant, vicem suam magistris commitunt, et recedunt.'; Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades*, p. 129.

it...'.³¹⁹ This opportunistic transformation of a secular event into one of successful crusade preaching echoes the events at the tournament in Écry in 1199 in shows how this particular preacher used the papal instructions contained in *Quia major* and *Pium et sanctum* to reach a wide audience.

This phase of preaching does also offer an instance of discord between the papal message and the actions of the legates. As seen above, among those commissioned to preach were individuals who came from the Paris schools or those who were familiar with the preaching work done by those who were associated with the Paris circle. They were critical of the new, all-inclusive indulgences offered which allowed individuals to make a financial contribution instead as this meant that individuals who were fit to participate could make a payment instead.³²⁰ There was instance of these preachers offering partial indulgences for actions such as listening to crusade sermons; this changed the meaning of crusade participation from that of physically going on crusade, to include partial participation which still offered lesser forms of indulgences.³²¹ Records show that Oliver of Paderborn ordered his priests to give the cross only to those who were able to contribute to the crusade either by physical participation or monetary donation. Those who were unable to offer either would be unable to receive the reward of indulgences earmarked for those who could to participate.³²² It would seem that these preachers used their discretion regarding what Innocent had ordered and in this instance underlined both their own power and how, in spite of providing three different letters of instruction, Innocent had once again lost control of the details of his message.

³¹⁹ 'Ex Reineri ad Sanctum-Jacobum monachi chronico Leodeinsi', *RHGF* 18, p. 632, 'et in loco torneamenti sex praedicatores constituit, qui verbum Crucis efficaciter exposuerunt, plurimos signaverunt; tantaque fuit ibi turba sexus utriusque, quod vix legenti videretur credibile.'

³²⁰ Bird, 'Innocent III, Peter the Chanter's Circle and the Crusade Indulgence', pp. 511-12. Bird discusses more fully the nature of these open indulgences to the raising of finances and whether that was Innocent's original intention or whether it was simply the eventual outcome of this change in crusade participation policy, p. 515.

³²¹ Bird, 'Innocent III, Peter the Chanter's Circle and the Crusade Indulgence', pp. 512-3.

³²² *Ibid.*, p. 514.

Conclusion

By the beginning of the Second Crusade it was clear that the papacy had established the best route to the successful control of the preaching of the crusades. The careful selection of experienced preachers who would convey the contents of papal letters to selected audiences with an inherited predisposition to joining the campaign seemed to be the perfect recipe for launching a new expedition. However, after the failure of the Second Crusade it was apparent that the enthusiasm for crusading had waned. Areas which had previously been reliable sources of new recruits demonstrated evidence of rejecting or ignoring the crusade message. Calls from the East which attempted to relaunch a new crusade produced little response until the Battle of Hattin stimulated a reaction which was communicated across the whole of Europe. Letters continued to be a key connection between the pope and their immediate proxies but the recruitment for the Third Crusade was largely driven by the monarchs who had taken the crusade vow. This demonstrates that the papacy lost dominance over the manner in which their crusade was promoted until Pope Innocent III sought to reassert his authority following the events of the Fourth Crusade. Even his determination to control his message through the most organised transmission of letters and careful selection of legates, was subject to the corruption of his initial message.

Chapter Five

The *Magnus Rumor* and the Uninvited Audience

when the council held at Clermont...was over, the great news (*magnus rumor*) spread through all parts of France, and whoever heard the news of the pontiff's decree urged his neighbours and family to undertake the proposed 'path of God' (for this was its epithet).¹

In his description the spread of Urban II's crusade message, Guibert of Nogent described an element of communication over which the pope could have very little control, the *magnus rumor*. This thesis has already discussed how, since the initiation of the First Crusade, papal control, or lack thereof, was an ongoing process which was crucial to the successful transmission of the crusade message. Official letters and authorised preachers were tools by which the papacy could reach out to those who might respond to their appeal. However, it would be remiss not to examine other methods by which the call was conveyed. Having briefly touched upon those preachers who acted of their own volition, and the irrepressible enthusiasm with which the message dispersed, this chapter will consider more fully how the call to the East reached audiences for whom it was possibly never intended. By considering the public involvement in the continuation of the crusade message it will show that the need for papal control of this preaching was necessary and that ultimately it was impossible to achieve.

¹ GN, p.117-8, 'Terminato itaque concilio quod Claromonti habitum citra beati Martini octabas Novembri mense consederat, magnus per universas Franciae partes rumor emanat et quisque, ad quem primo pontificis preceptum prevolans fama detulerat, de proponenda 'via dei' - sic enim antonomasice vocabatur - contiguos sibi ac familiares quosque sollicitat.'; translation in from *The Deeds of God through the Franks*, trans. R. Levine, p. 46-6.

Rumor After Clermont

The events at Clermont in 1095, and the tour of which it was a part, certainly gives specific dates and written details which serve as evidence for the formal announcement of the crusade. However, Urban II's sermon was not the only catalyst for the massive reaction which followed. Letters and legates were also a part of the authorised recruitment mechanism, but the speed with which Urban's message spread was considered miraculous by more than one of the earliest chroniclers. That the appeal was met with such a large response indicates that it tapped into a more social and emotional need, and that it also built upon actions and ideas which were already in circulation amongst the general population. An examination of Map 2 (p. 42), of those who were known to have taken the cross for the First Crusade, offers the raw data which shows that the claims of these chronicles was not hyperbole. The message reached so far from the preaching tour and the remaining papal letters that the only explanation for this widespread recruitment was the *magnus rumor*.

In Morris' discussion of the communication of the Clermont sermon, and the manner of its reception, he notes that there was no formally organised preaching system in place at this time. Instead he refers to the significance of communication by word of mouth:

‘We have, then, the picture of a movement which was spread, not by the rather clumsy machinery of communication offered by the diocese, but by report and rumour, by popular preaching to mass audiences, by the infectious enthusiasm generated by the badge of the cross, and by the initiative of princes who had friendly relations with Urban and the Gregorian papacy’.²

² Morris, ‘Propaganda for war: the Dissemination of the Crusading Ideal in the Twelfth Century’, p. 82.

The difficulty of controlling this organic method of transmission can be seen in Urban II's letter which forbade the clergy of Vallombrosa from joining the expedition.³ Further to the speech at Clermont, many of the chronicles discuss the extraordinary continuation of the pope's message purely by word-of-mouth and make it clear that the pope had lost control of the message.

Fulcher of Chartres describes the communication of the Pope's message on a wider scale as being passed casually from person to person.

Such as was said in the council, established and confirmed well by all, given the blessing of absolution and they departed; and afterwards returned to their houses, and told what had carried on to those who did not know.⁴

Fulcher goes on to describe the sight of the crusaders with delight: 'Oh, how pleasing and worthy to all of us seeing those crosses of silk or gold or every kind of other beautiful fabric, which the pilgrims had sewn on the shoulders of their cloak or tunics after they made the vow to go!'⁵ This image of a beautiful and brightly coloured army bearing the crosses which signalled their vows conveys a spectacle which announced itself visually to every place and person that it passed. The message had begun to spread without words by visual spectacles and the logo of the cross. Pope Urban had intended to the sign of the cross to be a clear

³ 'Papsturkinden in Florenz', pp. 313-314; translation in Riley-Smith and Riley-Smith, *The Crusades: Idea and Reality*, pp. 39-40.

⁴ FC, p.140, 'taliter in concilio quae diximus stabilitis et ab omnibus bene confirmatis, absolutionis benedictione data, discesserunt; et hoc nescientibus, postmodum ad mansiones suas regressi, prout gestum fuerat, divulgaverunt. quod ut passim per provincias edictum est iurisiurandi firmitudine pacem, quam dicunt treviam, invicem tenendam constituerunt.'

⁵ Ibid., pp. 140-2, 'o quam dignum erat et amoenum nobis omnibus cruces illas cernentibus, vel sericas vel auro textas aut quolibet genere pallii decoras, quas in chlamydibus suis aut birris aut tunicis iussu praedicti papae post votum eundi super humeros suos peregrini consuebant!'

communication of the wearer's vow but it is unclear as to whether he intended it to recruit those who saw it.

Robert the Monk conveys the extent to which the message spread when he writes that word of the expedition 'set the whole world astir so that even in the islands of the sea it was common knowledge that a pilgrimage to Jerusalem had been launched at the Council'.⁶

So widespread was the message that Robert goes on to describe the variety of people who answered the rumoured call and how the news was carried seemingly without any attempt to control it:

...many of various ages and abilities and stations in life took crosses and committed themselves to pilgrimage to the Holy Sepulchre! The news of that revered Council spread throughout every country, and the story of its important decision reached the ears of kings and princes. They understood, and more than 300,000 decided to go on pilgrimage...⁷

Urban's message is consistently met with unquestioning enthusiasm within the chronicles and, although this is unsurprising when they were all written as largely positive accounts of events, they also account for the scale of the lay participation in the crusade. According to Baldric of Bourgueil news of the pope's sermon was received with enthusiasm by the laity: 'The bishops were preaching, and laymen were now proclaiming the same message loudly and outspokenly. The word of God was spread, and every day the number of pilgrims going to Jerusalem was

⁶ RM, p. 8, *Et ut cunctis clarescat fidelibus quod hec via a Deo non ab homine sit constituta, sicut a multis postea comperimus, ipso die quo hec facta et dicta sunt, fama preconans tante constitutionis totum commovit orbem, ita ut etiam in maritimis Oceani... fuisset.*

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 8, 'O quot diverse etatis ac potentie seu domestice facultatis homines in illo concilio cruces susceperunt et viam sancti Sepulcri sponponderunt! Hinc divulgatum est ubique terrarum illud concilium venerabile, et ad aures regum ac principum pervenit concilii constitutum honorabile. Placuit omnibus, et plus quam trecenta millia mente iter concipiunt, et adimplere satagunt, prout unicuique posse contulit Dominus.'

increased'.⁸ Baldric repeatedly refers to the 'rumours' and how it 'was circulated on this side of the mountains'.⁹ He also mentions that Godfrey, Baldwin and Eustace 'received the sermon' but does not make it clear whether this was in a controlled form or by rumour and he describes how holy men took the cross without seeking permission from their superiors.¹⁰

A number of the chronicles continue to confirm the distance which the rumour spread in their descriptions of the many nationalities who came to take the cross; these descriptions also show that the languages to which the message was carried became more and more varied. For instance, Fulcher of Chartres' description of the crusading army shows how far the message had spread in his list of national languages:

And whoever heard of so many languages in one army? There were present Franks, Flemings, Frisians, Gauls, Allobroges, Bavarians, English, Scots, Aquitanians, Italians, Dacians, Apulians, Iberians, Bretons, Greeks and Armenians.¹¹

Baldric too described how no geographical barrier could stop the *rumor* of the crusade sermon:

'Nor indeed could that thunder escape the notice of Anglia or other maritime islands, although they are cut off from the world by the depths of the booming sea; furthermore

⁸ BB, p. 11, 'Praedicabant episcopi, et voce liberiori iam illud idem vociferabantur laici; verbum Dei seminabatur, et quotidie numerus Jerosolimitanorum augebatur.'; translation in *Baldric of Bourgueil: 'History of the Jerusalemites'*, trans. S. B. Edgington, p. 51.

⁹ BB, p. 12, 'Talibus enim rumoribus concursus euntium in tantum augmentabatur, ut iam esset numerus innumerus...Nec tantummodo populares citramontanos homines his rumor exciuit, sed palatinos consules et regios tyrannos cieuit; uidelicet Hugonem Magnum, fratrem regis Francorum; Robertum Normaniae comitem, Anglorum regis filium; iterum Robertum Flandrensem.'

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 12, 'In Alemanniae partibus dux Godefredus, cum fratre suo Balduino, sermonem hunc recepit, et iterum alius Balduinus comes de Monte.'

¹¹ FC, pp. 202-3 'sed quis unquam audivit tot tribus linguae in uno exercitu, cum ibi adessent Franci, Flandri, Frisi, Galli, Allobroges, Lotharingi, Alemanni, Baiouarii, Normanni, Angli, Scoti, Aquitani, Itali, Daci, Apuli, Iberi, Britones, Graeci, Armeni?'

the rumour swiftly grew and it inspired and called to arms both the Bretons and the Gascons, and the Galicians, the most far off of men.¹²

Ekkehard of Aura describes the French laity as particularly receptive to the message and that the ‘Western Franks could easily be persuaded to leave their fields’ to take the cross.¹³ Without any description of how it came about, he estimates the number of those who took the vow as ‘about one hundred thousand men, [from] Aquitaine and Normandy, England, Scotland and Ireland, Brittany, Galicia, Gascony, Gaul, Flanders, Lotharingia, and other Christian kingdoms, whose names do not occur to me now. They signed the cross on their garments...’.¹⁴ Ekkehard also references the variety of languages which were present on the expedition but raises no mention of whether this had been thought to be problematic when it came to communication. Albert of Aachen’s *Historia* conveys just how far the crusade message had travelled ‘from the different kingdoms and lands, namely, from the kingdom of France, of England, Flanders, Lotharangia, innumerable Christians, burning with a great fire of divine love, and having received the sign of the cross’.¹⁵ Once again, there is little indication of how the message was carried this distance but it is clear that the further the message travelled, the more languages join the crusade, the more difficult to communicate it would have become, and the message was soon out of control.

¹² BB, pp. 12-3, ‘Neque siquidem ipsam Angliam, uel alias maritimas insulas, licet a nobis undisoni maris abyssu ab orbe remotas, tonitruum illud latere potuit; immo et Britones et Gascones, et extremos hominum Gallicos, fama perneciter succrescens animauit et armauit.’; translation in *Baldric of Bourgueil: ‘History of the Jerusalemites’*, S. B. Edgington, pp. 52-3.

¹³ Ekkehard, ‘Hierosolymitana’, p. 17, ‘Francigenis occidentalibus facile persuaderi poterat sua rura relinquere. Nam Gallias per annos aliquot nunc seditio civilis, nunc fames, nunc mortalitas nimis afflixerat. Postremo plaga illa, quae circa Nivalensem Sanctae Gertrudis ecclesiam orta est, usque ad vitae desperationem terruerat.’

¹⁴ Ekkehard, ‘Hierosolymitana’, pp. 15-6, ‘Quae sponsione arrectis animis omnium, designata sunt ad praesens in Domini militiam circiter centum millia virorum, ex Aquitania scilicet atque Normannis, Anglia, Scothia et Hibernia, Britannia, Galicia, Wasconia, Gallia, Flandria, Lotharingia, caeterisque gentibus christianis, quarum nunc minime occurrunt vocabula. Crucis signaculum in vestibus...’

¹⁵ AA, p. 48, ‘ex diuersis regnis et terris, scilicet e regno Francie, Anglie, Flandrie, Lotharengie, gens copiosa et innumerabilis Christianorum diuini igne amoris flagrans, et crucis signo suscepto.’

The Charleville poet also illustrates how far the message travelled recounting how the crusaders:

...came from the Loire and the Allier, the Marne and the Seine, the Saône, the Rhône, the Durance and the Isère, the Ainse and the Oise, the mighty Garonne, the Schelde, the Meuse, the Rhine, and the Moselle too, from beside the lovely Adige and the Po, the Tiber, the Magra, the Volturno, and the Corica. There rushed the Italians, Gauls and Alemannians, Noricans, Swabians, Saxons, and Bohemians. Pisans and Venetians drove their oars like horses, and the ocean extended the sails of the fair British. They went enthusiastically from diverse regions and agreed where they should join by land and sea.¹⁶

Not only did the message travel in the direction of the expedition to the East but the chronicles of both Ekkehard of Aura, and Sigebert of Gembloux, refer to Spanish participants when they list the nationalities of those who took part in the First Crusade.¹⁷ From the evidence of these chroniclers and the presence of Spanish representatives at Clermont, it is possible to conclude that the crusade message had been carried to Spain but, further to this, there is nothing to show that any preaching events took place further south than Carcassonne in 1095-96.¹⁸

The fact that ecclesiastical centres associated with the pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela were hearing the pope's crusade message opens up the discussion of why Pope Urban might have chosen this particular route, particularly regarding the possibility that he was deliberately

¹⁶ GP, p. 12, 'Quos Liger atque Elaber, Matrona et Sequana mittit, Quos Arar et Rhodanus, Durentia et Isara promit, Exona et Esia quos agitat magnusque Garumna, Quos Scaldes, Mosa, Rhenus pariterque Mosella, Quos Athesis pulcher preterfluit Heridanusque, Quos Tyberis, Macra, Vulturnus Crustumiumque. Concurrent Italia, Galli, pariterque Alemanni, Noricii, Sueui, tum Saxones atque Boemii. Pisani ac Veneti propulsant equora remis, Oceanus flauis distendit uela Brytannis. Procedunt alacres diuersis partibus, atque Conducunt ubi se socient terraque marique.'

¹⁷ Ekkehard, 'Hierosolymitana', p. 16; Sigebert of Gembloux, 'Chronica', *MGH SS* 6, p. 367; Bull, *Knightly Piety and the Lay Response to the First Crusade*, p. 96.

¹⁸ Becker, *Papst Urban II*, Vol. 2, pp. 435-55.

targeting pilgrims bound for Spain. The first thing to note is that twelve cities overlap on both Urban II's tour and the pilgrim routes; that is not so say however that the circular route Urban took would not have crossed paths with the traffic of pilgrims in other, smaller places and may have taken advantage of their enthusiasm to spread the message further.¹⁹ Additionally, if Urban were targeting certain cities where he was guaranteed to find those who were already inclined to participate in pilgrimages, there is no guarantee that his message of the First Crusade would inspire them to change direction and travel to the East. Instead, they were as likely to take his message with them on their intended route and would become a part of the *magnus rumor*. It is possible that a degree of *rumour* was deliberate, and that Urban wanted word of the expedition to spread in such a way that established his authority over this new message.

Ekkehard also confirms the argument that Urban II deliberately avoided recruiting in certain areas for political reasons by describing those areas which were not preached to as a part of the official campaign:

The trumpet blew quietly for the Eastern Franks, Saxons, Thuringians, Bavarians, and the Alemanni, because of the great schism that has existed between the kingdom and the priesthood from the time of Pope Alexander.²⁰

The papal message was clearly not spread universally and, instead, the 'Teutonic people...[were]...taught the whole of the matter by pilgrims'.²¹ Here Ekkehard brings the rumour of the crusade through the more eastern lands of Europe and addresses the fact that

¹⁹ Cross referenced with map from *The Pilgrim's Guide to Santiago de Compostela: A Critical Edition*, eds. A. Stones, J. Krochalis, P. Gerson and A. Shaver-Crandell, 2 vols. (London, 1998).

²⁰ Ekkehard, p.17, 'Orientalibus autem Francis, Saxonibus et Thuringis, Bajoariis et Alamannis, haec buccina minime insonuit, propter illud maxime scisma, quod inter regnum et sacerdotium, a tempore Alexandri papae usque hodie.'

²¹ *Ibid.*, p.17, 'Theutonicus ...a commeantium scilicet turbis rem ad integrum edoctus.'

people who knew of the sermon must have carried Urban's message with them as they travelled through Germany.

Thus far all of these accounts have offered a broad overview of the places to which the pope's message spread and the groups which responded to it. A specific case study of the message finding a new audience after Clermont can be found in both the *Gesta Francorum* and Peter Tudebode's chronicle. Neither of these texts describe the Clermont sermon and instead they give an account of the recruitment of Bohemond of Taranto to the First Crusade. In this instance the *rumor* worked in the pope's favour and recruited a member of his target audience. According to both, Bohemond was besieging Amalfi when he heard of the arrival of the Frankish army. Neither version mentions whether he received his information by rumour or official messenger, only that he 'heard' it:

...the great warrior Bohemond, who was at the siege of Amalfi...heard that innumerable Christian Franks had come, would go to the Holy Sepulchre and were ready to fight against the pagan people.²²

Bohemond assumed the role of Urban II and handed out crosses made from his own cloak before he addressed his army. Bohemond's recruitment in these texts is such a clear substitute for the drama of the sermon at Clermont and the bestowing of the cross on Adhémar of Le Puy, that it is possible to read the text in two different ways. Firstly, it could be construed that Bohemond was simply mimicking what his messengers had told him that Urban had done.

²² GF, p. 7, 'At Bellipotens Boamundus qui erat in obsidione Malfi...audiens uenisse innumerabilem gentem Christianorum de Francis, ituram ad Domini Sepulchrum, et paratem ad prelium contra gentem paganorum.' PT, pp. 39-40, 'At bellipotens vir Boamundus qui erat in obsessione Malfi,...audiens uenisse innumerabilem gentem Francorum, quantinus Sancti Sepulchri viam de manu eriperet pessimorum paganorum utrum alterius foret liberata et Christianis omnibus.'

Secondly, it is possible that these chroniclers were overlaying Urban's actions onto their own eyewitness accounts in order to either flesh out Bohemond's role in the recruitment of crusaders, or to give a credibility to their own status as eyewitnesses. Neither account gives a version of any speech which Bohemond may have made at Amalfi and, considering that even though the author of the *Gesta Francorum* was to be a part of Bohemond's campaign, there is little evidence any evidence for either of these chroniclers to have seen Bohemond give out his crosses or address his army.

Robert the Monk follows the path of the *Gesta Francorum* when he too describes how the *magnus rumor* caused Bohemond of Taranto to join the crusade:

Rumour of such an army reached the ears of a certain prince of that area, Bohemond, who at that time was busy besieging Amalfi on the coast near Scafati. On hearing the news, he sent to enquire which princes were in charge of such a large army, what arms it carried, the order of march and whether it intended to plunder or to buy supplies.²³

Upon being told who the leaders of the expedition were and that they led an army of pilgrims, marked with the 'Sanctae Crucis' and who cried 'Deus vult! Deus vult!', Bohemond addressed his own army. Once again, Bohemond had crosses made from his own cloak and, having prepared his props, went on to address the whole of his army and offer these crosses to them as a sign of their having taken the crusaders vow.²⁴ Their response is as enthusiastic as that of Urban's audience and 'so many surged forward to take crosses that there were not enough for

²³ RM, p. 14, 'Dum vero sic incederent, rumor tanti exercitus ad aures cuiusdam terrae illius principis pervenit, nomine Boamundi, qui tunc erat in obsidione Malphi super litus Scaphardi pelagi constituti. Qui hec audiens, fecit inquiri quibus principibus tantus exercitus regebatur, quibus armis muniebatur, quo ordine incederent, utrum rapere venerant, aut sibi necessaria compararent.'

²⁴ Ibid., pp. 14-5, 'Qui concite eadem devotione succensus, duo preciosa pallia iussit afferri, et ex eis corrigiatim incisis precipit cruces fieri.'

all those wanting them'.²⁵ This speech then goes on to create a rumour of its own and is heard by other princes:

When the nobles of Apulia, Calabria and Sicily heard that Bohemond had taken the cross, they all flooded to him and promised to go to the Holy Sepulchre – the lowly and the powerful, young an old, servants and masters.²⁶

Baldric of Bourgueil's description echoes that of the *Gesta Francorum* and gives more details as to how Bohemond came to hear the *rumor*. Instead of by official invitation or low-key word-of-mouth, it was the appearance of the crusading army itself which brought the message to Italy:

Hugh Magnus and the count of Flanders and the Norman count bypassed Rome with their comrades and arrived in Apulia. Moreover, Bohemond, hearing that so many crowds of Franks were drawing near - and indeed so widespread a rumour of this matter could not leave so great a man in ignorance - and having examined carefully the credentials and signifiers of each of them, ordered his best cloak to be brought. He instructed that it be cut up into small pieces and he distributed crosses to every one of his men, keeping his own for himself.²⁷

²⁵ Ibid., p. 15, 'Tunc tot ad accipiendum confluerunt, quia multis accipere affectantibus cruces defuerunt'

²⁶ Ibid., p. 15, 'Audientes igitur optimates Apuliae, et Calabriae, et icilae, quod Boadumndus crucem viae Sancti Sepulcri susceperat, omnes ad eum confluent, et tam mediocres quam potentes, senes quam juvenes, servi quam domini, viam Sancti Sepulcri promittunt.'

²⁷ BB, p. 16, 'Hugo Magnus et Flandrensis comes, et Normannus, cum suis commilitonibus Romam pretereuntes, in Apuliam devenerunt. Boamundus autem tantas Francorum frequentias audiens adventare, neque siquidem tantum hominem huiusce rei ignarum tam diuulgata fama pertransire poterat, singulorum probitatibus signisque perscrutatis, pallium optimum sibi precepit afferri. Quod per particulas concisum, crucem unicuique suorum distribuit, suamque sibi retinuit.'; translation in *Baldric of Bourgueil: 'History of the Jerusalemites'*, trans. S. B. Edgington, p. 56.

Orderic Vitalis' version of this same event he describes Bohemond as having 'heard of the movements of leaders and many peoples. He enquired immediately about the character of the different men and their emblems, and after examining them closely commanded a very precious cloak to be brought to him. Cutting it into strips, he handed a cross to each of his men, keeping one for himself. At once a great crowd of knights flocked round him...'.²⁸

On the other hand, Ralph of Caen directly credits the sermon at Clermont with having influenced Bohemond; 'The same apostolic sermon that stirred the souls of other princes around the world to free Jerusalem from the yoke of the infidels also moved him'.²⁹ He gives no account of how Bohemond took the cross at Amalfi or enlisted his entire army to do the same but the chronicles show that Bohemond's joining of the crusade was a significant event within the preaching of the crusade. Whether his taking of the cross was a deliberate copy of Urban's sermon, the impulsive action of a man moved by the cause, or a narrative device used by the chroniclers in place of an account of the Council of Clermont is very difficult to determine. What this event does prove is that the continuation of the crusade message was heard and responded to months after Urban had announced it and, even after the expedition had departed and was not subject to the management of the papacy.

Returning Crusaders And The *Magnus Rumor*

Where the recruitment for the First Crusade was built upon sermons, letters and the word-of-mouth *magnus rumor*, the preaching for the later waves of crusaders can be seen to use not

²⁸ OV, p. 34, 'Dum Marcus Boamundus cum Rogerio patruo suo comite Siciliae quoddam castrum obsideret et motiones ducum multarumque gentium audiret, mox singulorum probitates et signa diligenter inuestigavit quibus subtiliter inspectis sibi tandem optimum afferrī pallium precepit. Quod per particulas concidit et crucem unicuique suorum distribuit, suamque sibi retinuit. Nimiū igitur militum concursus ad eum subito factus est....'

²⁹ Ralph, p. 606, 'Hujus quoque animos eadem quae ceteros per orbem principes apostolica praedicatio ad liberandam ab infidelium jōgi Hierusalem excitaverat.'

only these methods, but also a new tool of communication which lacked the influence of the papacy and had not existed before; that of the returning crusaders. Just as the papacy had not been able to contain the *magnus rumor*, nor could it control the word of mouth carried directly by the success of the campaign. The chronicles indicate the effect of those who had already participated in the expedition upon those who would also join the cause. According to Ekkehard of Aura, 'they prepared anew after hearing of the fruitful deeds carried out after the glorious victory at Jerusalem'.³⁰ Orderic Vitalis also made repeated references to the news of the success of Jerusalem:

When good news had been received of the renowned champions who had set out on pilgrimage and had won glorious victories over the infidels of the East in the name of Christ, the nobles of the west were inspired...[and] moved by their example to undertake a similar enterprise.³¹

Albert of Aachen wrote of '...a host of Lombards from the kingdom of Italy, countless in number, who had heard of the Christians' remarkable victory after Antioch and Jerusalem had been taken, gathered from different regions of Italy...'.³² This new variant on the great rumour shows how these heroes of the First Crusade became a form of propaganda which was both invaluable and uncontrollable. All of these are positive reports and, unsurprisingly, the

³⁰ Ekkehard, 'Hierosolymitana', p. 28.

³¹ OV, 5, p. 281, 'News flew swiftly through the west of the memorable deeds performed triumphantly in the East by the Christian princes and people for the honour of Christ, and the sons of the western church were overjoyed to hear of the splendid capture of Jerusalem and overthrow of Babylon'; OV, 5, p. 269, 'They had heard good accounts of the glorious champions of Christ, who had fought against the pagans armed with faith in the Holy Trinity, and through the strength of their blessed Saviour had won a noble victory, and earned praises that would endure eternally.'

³² AA, pp. 856-7, 'Eodem tempore quo bellum hoc mense Septembri actum est, et cruenta uictoria a rege Baldwino habita, anno regni ipsius primo, gens Longobardorum numero incomputabilis de regno Italie, post captionem Antiochie et Ierusalem, audita Christianorum insigni uictoria, e diuersis regionibus Italie collecta per regnum Vngarie prospero itinere transeuntes, profecti sunt usque in regnum Bulgarorum, uolentes confratribus Christianis auxilio augeri et prodesse.'

chronicles make absolutely no reference to crusaders who recounted bad experiences of the expedition or those who had been injured.

After the positive propaganda of the First Crusade, the message was also carried to new areas and it was at the very beginning of the twelfth century that the chronicles refer to crusaders from Northern Europe. One argument for their absence earlier than that is that any Scandinavian crusaders would have travelled by sea and not across the land in the manner that those commonly described by the chroniclers would have done. Another explanation is that there 'is a general lack of medieval sources from Scandinavia'.³³ Another still is that the word of the expedition did not reach them until later, for example in 1103, King Eric the Good of Denmark travelled to Jerusalem but his capacity as a pilgrim or as a crusader is unclear.³⁴ Only the chronicles of Fulcher of Chartres, Albert of Aachen, Orderic Vitalis, William of Tyre and William of Malmesbury continue the narrative of the First Crusade past the capture of Jerusalem in July 1099 and include the involvement of the Norwegian crusaders, led by King Sigurd 'Jorsalafarer' (an old Norse word literally meaning 'the Jerusalem farer'), in the capture of Sidon in 1110. These chronicles give very little indication of the manner in which the Scandinavian army came to be recruited to the cause. The northern crusaders therefore are a case study for the success of the *magnus rumor* and how their recruitment came about in the absence of any apparent crusade preaching.

One of the initial factors to take into account when examining the nature of conveying a message to Scandinavia is its physical relationship to the rest of the western Europe and how

³³ Jensen, 'Crusading at the fringe of the ocean. Denmark and Portugal in the twelfth century', p. 196.

³⁴ Ibid., p. 197. Whether he had taken a crusade vow or was travelling as a pilgrim is unclear, but Jensen refers to King Eric as having been a crusader who 'provides a strong link to the Crusade' and argues that his description in an Icelandic poem of around 1107 uses the same terms as descriptions of other crusaders. Markús Skeggjason, *Eiríksdrápa*, in *Den norsk-islandske skjaldedigtning*, ed. Finnur Jónsson, 4 vols (1912-15; repr. Copenhagen, 1967-73), cap. 8, ln:415.

practical it would have been to deliberately deliver a message there. Jensen points out the three routes of transport to medieval Scandinavia: through the Russian rivers in the East, through the rivers in the south which led to central Europe, and to the west into the North Sea towards France, England and Iberia.³⁵ Viking raids had been carried out around the coasts of England, France and Spain since the eighth century and, as Unger points out, ‘early crusade voyages continued previous Norse voyages to Iberia and into the Mediterranean’.³⁶ From this evidence, it can be argued that this was not an isolated area which was beyond the reach of medieval communication. However, the possibility of communication also raises the issue of languages, and the practicalities of translation is a difficult area to examine. There can be no doubt that the language differences and the practical nature of taking a message to these northern areas was difficult, but earlier missionaries had brought churches and the Latin language to Scandinavia. That combined with the trade routes which exist between the East and west would have meant that the northern part of Europe was not as isolated as it would seem on first impression. In fact, ever since the ninth century, the message of Christianity had been brought to the north of Europe. There is also evidence of direct papal communication to Norway in the form of a letter from Pope Gregory VII to King Olaf Haraldsson in 1079 which sets out the pope’s intention ‘to link this distant country more closely to the Holy See by inviting the king to send promising young men of good family to Rome for education’.³⁷ This letter from this reforming pope brings us full circle within this section of this research to the popes Urban II and Paschal II who had followed the path of Gregory VII in their work. It is perhaps a clue, but

³⁵ K. V. Jensen, ‘Introduction’, *Crusade and Conversion on the Baltic Frontier 1150-1500*, ed. A. Murray (Aldershot, 2001), p. xvii.

³⁶ S. Coupland, ‘The Vikings in Francia and Anglo-saxon England to 911’, *The New Cambridge Medieval History, c. 700-900, Volume 2*, ed. R. McKitterick, (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 190-201; R. W. Unger, ‘The Northern Crusaders: the logistics of English and other northern crusader fleets’, *Logistics of Warfare in the Age of the Crusades: Proceedings of a Workshop held at the Centre for Medieval Studies* (Aldershot, 2006), pp. 254-5.

³⁷ *Latinske dokument til norsk historie*, E. Vandvik (Oslo, 1959) no. 2; S. Bagge, ‘Christianisation and State Formation in Early Medieval Norway’, *Scandinavian Journal of History*, 30 (2005), p. 125.

without further evidence no more than that, of communications between Scandinavia and the new plans of the papacy at the end of the eleventh century.

Fulcher of Chartres describes ‘a certain Norwegian people whom God had inspired to make the pilgrimage from the Western sea to Jerusalem’.³⁸ Albert of Aachen introduces the Norwegian contingent quite abruptly as having ‘spent two years sailing from his [Sigurd’s]³⁹ own kingdom around the wide seas, with much equipment, much armour, a strong army...’.⁴⁰ And Orderic Vitalis’ introduction of Sigurd is just as abrupt:

Before he came to the throne, he sailed to Jerusalem, besieged from the sea the wealthy city of Tyre which is almost surrounded by the sea, and, while the forces of Jerusalem attacked from the land side, Sigurd stormed it from the deep.⁴¹

William of Malmesbury describes how ‘...a good-looking and brave young man, sailed not long ago to Jerusalem by way of England, and there performed countless brave feats against the Saracens, especially at the siege of Sidon, which in defence of the Turkish cause was raging madly against the Christians’.⁴² The role of the Norwegian crusaders in the continuation of the campaign is clear in these chronicles but they give us little clue as to how they came to be recruited. Only William of Tyre makes any reference to Sigurd having heard that Jerusalem

³⁸ FC, pp. 543-4, ‘Applicuerant interim Ioppe gens quaedam Norrensis, quam de mari occiduo concitaverat Deus, ut Hierusalem peregrinarentur, quorum classis navium erat.’

³⁹ AA, pp. 798-801. Note that Albert of Aachen gives Sigurd’s name as Magnus, most likely confusing his name with that of his father.

⁴⁰ Ibid., pp. 798-9.

⁴¹ OV, 5, p. 221, ‘Antequam regnaret in Ierusalem nauigauit, Tirum opulentam urbem in corde maris sitam per mare obsedit, ipsamque Ierosolimitis in terra inuadentibus cum suis Segurd in salo expugnauit.’

⁴² William of Malmesbury, ‘Gesta regnum Anglorum’, eds. R. A. B. Mynors, R. M. Thomson, M. Winterbottom, *Oxford Medieval Texts*, 2 vols (Oxford 1998), pp. 480-1, ‘quorum posterior, adolescens spetiosus et audax, non multum est quod Ierosolimam per Angliam nauigauit, innumera et preclara facinora contra Saracenos consummans, presertim in obsessione Sidonis, quae pro conscientia Turchorum immania in Christianos fremebat.’

was under Christian control and thus being spiritually inspired to travel to the East.⁴³ As none of these chronicle sources make reference to deliberate recruitment events being organised by the church, no preachers are named, there is no reference to letters being sent by the papacy, and, in light of the suggestion made by Bull that the spread of crusade enthusiasm to Iberia was considered a problem, there is nothing to suggest that there was any need to seek new crusade recruits in Sandinavia.⁴⁴

A number of Scandinavian sagas do give an account from the Norwegian perspective: *Ágrip af Nóregskonungasögum* (c. 1190), *Morkinskinna* (c. 1220), *Orkneying Saga* (c. 1220), *Heimskringla* (c. 1230) and *Fagrskinna* (c. 1230) but, once again they are not concerned with how the crusade message came to Scandinavia.⁴⁵ These sagas, despite having been written much later than the events which they describe, all contain information which ‘derives from earlier written sources and reliably transmitted oral accounts, [even though] the identity of these sources is not resolved’.⁴⁶ These texts are so similar in structure and content that it can be concluded that they draw from the same sources.⁴⁷

The *Ágrip* simply describes Sigurd as having ‘got the urge to leave Norway and travel to Jerusalem’ where, having been generously received, he was given a piece of the True Cross on the condition that ‘he would advance Christianity with all his might and establish an

⁴³ William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, p. 517, ‘Eodem anno quinam populus de insulis Occidentalibus egressus, maximeque de ea Occidentis parte que Noroegia dicitur, audientes quod a Christi fidelibus capta esset sancta civitas Ierosolima, volentes illuc devotionis gratia properare classem sibi paraverant oportunam. Quam ascendentes, aura flante secunda Mare Britannicum navigantes, deinde inter Calpem et Atlanta angustias huius mediterraneae influxionis ingressi, nostrum hoc mare pertranseuntes apud Ioppen applicuerunt. Erat autem predictae classis primicerius et preceptor supremus quidam iuvenis procerus corpore et forma decorus, Noroegia regis frater.’

⁴⁴ Bull, *Knightly Piety and the Lay Response to the First*, p. 97.

⁴⁵ *Orkneying Saga: The History of the Earls of Orkney*, eds. and trans. H. Pálsson and P. Edwards (London, 1978); *Heimskringla: History of the Kings of Norway*, trans. L. M. Hollander (Austin, 1995); *Ágrip af Nóregskonungasögum*, ed. and trans. M. J. Driscoll, Viking Society for Northern Research Text Series 10. 2nd ed. (2008); *Morkinskinna*, trans. T. Andersson, & K. E. Gade (London, 2000); *Fagrskinna: A Catalogue of the Kings of Norway*, trans. A. Finlay (Leiden, 2004).

⁴⁶ G. B. Doxey ‘Norwegian Crusaders and the Balearic Islands’, *Scandinavian Studies* (1996), p. 142.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 143.

archbishop's see in his country'.⁴⁸ The *Heimskringla* explains Sigurd's journey to England, his fight against the heathens in Iberia and the Balearic Islands, how he bestowed the title of king upon Duke Roger in Sicily and, finally travelled to the East where he established friendly relations with King Baldwin.⁴⁹ Although these accounts give no indication that the area was being targeted by crusade preachers, the *Heimskringla* does describe the arrival and influence of the *magnus rumor* when mercenaries arrived in Norway seeking new recruits to fight in Constantinople.⁵⁰ These mercenaries may have returning from the First Crusade but they may have also been working for Alexius Komnenos.⁵¹ However, the descriptions of fighting the pagans in Iberia imply a Christian purpose to the expedition and Doxey has explored this theme more fully.⁵² The *Fagrskinna* paints a similar picture of Sigurd's journey, with King Baldwin bestowing upon him 'a piece of the Holy Cross and many other holy relics'.⁵³ This recurrence of the supporting relics and symbols of the crusade movement make that it clear that this journey was significant for Sigurd to establish himself as a Christian king.

Despite the absence of evidence of any papal recruitment for this phase of the crusade, these chronicle accounts demonstrate how widespread the crusade message had become and how the outer edges of Christianity became involved. King Sigurd's participation in the crusade is as much evidence of the successful transmission of Christianity as it is of the crusade message and it was this which enabled the *rumor* of Urban's appeal to reach audiences which he had never intended.

⁴⁸ *Ágrip af Nóregskonungasögum*, ed. and trans. M. J. Driscoll, Viking Society for Northern Research Text Series 10. 2nd ed. (2008), pp. 71, 73.

⁴⁹ *Heimskringla: History of the Kings of Norway*, trans. L. M. Hollander (Austin, 1995), pp. 282-3.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 238.

⁵¹ Phillips, *The Second Crusade*, p. 10 makes this assumption.

⁵² Doxey 'Norwegian Crusaders and the Balearic Islands'.

⁵³ *Fagrskinna*, p. 255.

The Children's Crusade

The events which have come to be known as the Children's Crusade are a clear example of the capability of the laity to organise a large-scale recruitment campaign without the management or control of the papacy. Ultimately its message spread to such an extent that it would set the scene for Pope Innocent III's launch of the Fifth Crusade.

In May of 1212, an extraordinary event relating to the Iberian campaign occurred in Rome. The pope had issued *Supplicatio Generalis* which called for a procession to take place on the Wednesday after Pentecost (16 May).⁵⁴ Smith has called this procession the 'fusion of the ideology of the crusade with the movement of lay piety' and this event is extremely important to the study of crusade preaching at this time.⁵⁵ Although it was not strictly speaking a recruitment event, the pope incorporated the promotion of the crusade movement into the daily worship and included everyone in his message: men and women, laity and clergy, nobility and the general public.⁵⁶ Those who participated were to process along predetermined routes in the city until they arrived at the steps of the palace of the cardinal bishop of Albano where the pope who, along with the bishops, cardinals and chaplains, had processed a relic of the True Cross from the Sancta Sanctorum of the Lateran Palace, preached a sermon.⁵⁷ This procession shows very clearly that Innocent III was attempting to incorporate the crusade movement into the liturgy and turn it into something which was accessible to the laity on a regular basis.⁵⁸

⁵⁴ Innocent III, 'Opera Omnia', *PL* 216, col. 698.

⁵⁵ Smith, *Innocent III and the Crown of Aragón*, p. 105.

⁵⁶ Dickson, *The Children's Crusade*, p. 51.

⁵⁷ Dickson, 'The Genesis of the Children's Crusade', p. 38; Maier, 'Mass, the Eucharist and the Cross' p. 99; Smith, *Innocent III and the Crown of Aragón*, p. 105-6.

⁵⁸ Dickson, *The Children's Crusade*, p. 99.

Later that same year a movement which came to be known as the Children's Crusade emerged in both France and Germany. Those who participated in this *peregrinatio puerorum* were involved in an expedition which would go on to become widely mythologised but, it is necessary to address how the expedition came about, how the *pueri* joined the crusade and the areas from which they were recruited.⁵⁹ By addressing the Children's Crusade from a preaching, recruitment and control point of view it is possible to see where it fits alongside the other crusades of the beginning of the thirteenth century. As has been discussed previously, Pope Innocent III was the driving force behind a crusading enthusiasm which resulted in the Fourth Crusade, the Albigensian Crusade, the Iberian Crusade and the crusading campaigns in the Baltic region. In 1212 the crusades in the south of France and the Iberian Peninsula were actively being promoted by official papal letters and authorised preachers. Dickson has argued therefore that the preaching of the Albigensian Crusade had created an atmosphere which was conducive to the origins of the Children's crusade.⁶⁰ It certainly is possible that the movement grew out of the crusade preaching which was promoting the Albigensian and Iberian Crusades in 1210-12, for example the preaching tour of Jacques de Vitry and Archdeacon William of Paris who 'fired with zeal for the faith they toured France and Germany...recruited an incredible number of faithful to the army of Christ'.⁶¹ However, there is no evidence of direct connection between these preachers and the beginning of the Children's Crusade.⁶²

The primary sources which describe the Children's Crusade do not offer a wealth of information regarding the origin of the crusade. However it is possible to discern some sense

⁵⁹ P. Raedts, 'The Children's Crusade of 1212', *Journal of Medieval History* 3 (1977), pp. 295-300; Dickson, *The Children's Crusade*, pp. 34-5 further discusses the social meaning of this term.

⁶⁰ Dickson, *The Children's Crusade*, pp. xi and 49.

⁶¹ Pierre des Vaux de Cernai, *Historia Albigensis*; translation in Peter of Vaux-Cernay, *The History of the Albigensian Crusade*, p. 142; Dickson, 'The Genesis of the Children's Crusade', p. 23.

⁶² N. P. Zacour, 'The Children's Crusade', *A History of the Crusades*, K. M. Setton (Philadelphia, 1962) II, pp. 326-8; Raedts, 'The Children's Crusade of 1212', pp. 304-5.

of who the crusaders were, who witnessed them and how they came to be recruited. These sources must be treated carefully. In his work on Children's Crusade, Raedts has discussed three types of primary sources: those which were written prior to 1220, those from between 1220 and 1250, and those that were created after 1250.⁶³ This chronological division relates to how far removed the potential eyewitness status of those accounts could be, with those which were written prior to 1250 likely to have been from first-hand experience of the expedition. Those written after 1250 would likely have drawn information from second or third hand accounts but may have used those earlier sources as well. However, it was during the 1220-50 period that we begin to see a more structured narrative being imposed upon the events; Dickson considers the *Chronica* of the Cistercian monk Alberic of Trois-Fontaine, the *Chronica Majora* of Matthew of Paris and the chronicle of Vincent of Beauvais to be the three primary mythistorical texts and suggests that all later works were based on their fictitious accounts.⁶⁴ It is necessary here to use the later accounts with caution but to consider all the information relating to the preaching and recruitment of the crusade where it occurs within these thirteenth century sources. It is also important to note that there are no surviving papal letters from Innocent III which refer to the Children's Crusade.⁶⁵ This popular crusade was not a response to a direct papal summons, nor does it appear that there was any offer of indulgences and, on these grounds, was never officially preached as a crusade and was outside the remit of the pope's control.⁶⁶

⁶³ Raedts, 'The Children's Crusade of 1212', pp. 283-8; Dickson, 'The Genesis of the Children's Crusade', pp. 1-3, n. 1 adds a number of other primary sources to this.

⁶⁴ Alberic of Trois-Fontaines, *Chronica*; translation in Alberic of Trois-Fontaines, 'Chronicle', *Contemporary Sources for the Fourth Crusade*, trans. A. J. Andrea, pp. 291-309; Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, ed. H. R. Luard, 7 vols, *RS 57* (London, 1877); Vincent of Beauvais (Vincent Bellovacensis), *Speculum Historiale* (Graz, reprint 1965); Dickson, *The Children's Crusade*, p. 13.

⁶⁵ G. Dickson 'Innocent III and the Children's Crusade', *Innocenzo III: Urbs et Orbis*, ed A. Sommerlechner (Rome, 2003), pp. 586-97.

⁶⁶ Tyerman, *God's War: A New History of the Crusades*, p. 608.

However, if this crusade was neither launched nor promoted by the pope, it is important to consider whether Innocent III had any other kind of knowledge of, or involvement with the expedition, which may be interpreted in such a way as to give it official status. Dickson considers the place of the Children's Crusade in the context of Innocent's papacy.⁶⁷ Of the fifty-four chroniclers writing about the Children's Crusade prior to 1301, only six of them connect the expedition in any way with Innocent III.⁶⁸ The *Annales sancti Rudberti* records the pope sending legates to intercept the expedition at Treviso and ordering them to return home.⁶⁹ This highlights both the pope's knowledge and disapproval of the expedition. The *Annales Stadensis* claims that the pope was critical of the campaign and implies that he was aware of the undertaking, but once again, he had not authorised it. The *Chronica regia Coloniensis* records that a number of participants arrived in Rome but gives no further details as to how the pope responded to their presence.⁷⁰ The continuator of the *Annales Marbacenses* records the group arriving in Rome and states that the youngest and the oldest were released from their vows but he makes no mention of Innocent having any involvement and it is doubtful whether such an event would have been made known to the pope.⁷¹ This account draws attention to the significance of the crusade vow which the participants of this expedition took; if only select groups were released from it, the implication is that the rest were still bound by it and thus the promise they made was official.⁷² Another account which makes mention of a crusade vow is Alberic of Trois-Fontaines' *Chronica* which records the surviving participants as having promised Innocent that they would keep their vows in the future.⁷³ There is further indication that there was an enforceable crusade vow which was taken as part of this expedition and this

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 586-97.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 590; for a full discussion of the chronicles which refer to the Children's Crusade see Raedts, 'The Children's Crusade of 1212', pp. 279-323.

⁶⁹ 'Annales Sancti Rudberti Salisburgensis', *MGH SS* 9, p. 780.

⁷⁰ 'Chronicae regiae Coloniensis continuation prima (1175-1220)', *MGH SS* 24, pp. 17-8.

⁷¹ 'Annales Marbacenses', *MGH SS* 9, pp. 82-83; Raedts, 'The Children's Crusade of 1212', p. 285; Dickson, 'Innocent III and the Children's Crusade', p. 591.

⁷² Dickson, 'Innocent III and the Children's Crusade', p. 591.

⁷³ Alberic of Trois-Fontaines, *Chronica*, pp. 631-950, cit. n. 5.

is evidenced by an individual named Otto who, in 1220, was named in a letter from Pope Honorius III to the patriarch of Aquileia. Otto claimed to have taken crusade vows in 1212 but had still not fulfilled them in 1220 and he was subsequently absolved.⁷⁴ If the case was that the popes (both Innocent III and Honorius III) took the vow seriously, and as such it had to be officially absolved, the implication was that these participants were crusaders even though they had not been officially recruited for an authorised expedition.

So, if the Children's Crusade was not authorised or preached by the pope, it is necessary to consider how it came about and who was responsible for its promotion. What is immediately obvious from the primary sources is that this crusade had two different contingents, one of which began in northern France and the other which started in Germany. Which of these two parts of the crusade started first has been debated amongst the secondary literature as no single chronicle mentions both expeditions. Zacour and Raedts give credit for the first call as coming from Germany whereas Dickson argues that the message originated in France.⁷⁵ It is also possible, although unlikely, that both movements sprung up independently of each other at the same time.⁷⁶ Dickson examines this argument closely but for the purpose of this study, it is only necessary to consider how each part of the campaign began and if there is an apparent connection or overlap which contributes to the discussion.⁷⁷

The French part of the Children's Crusade is most commonly described as having been led by a boy named Stephen of Cloyes.⁷⁸ The anonymous Praemonstratensian chronicler of Laon

⁷⁴ *Regesta Honorii Papae III*, ed P. Pressutti, 2 vols. (Hildesheim, 1978), no. 2627, '[Otto] olim cum multitudine puerorum aliorum cruce imprudenter assumpsit sperans se siccis posse pedibus transire [sic]'; Dickson, 'Innocent III and the Children's Crusade', pp. 594-5; Dickson, *The Children's Crusade*, pp. 121-3.

⁷⁵ N. P. Zacour, 'The Children's Crusade', p. 332; Raedts, 'The Children's Crusade of 1212', p. 291.

⁷⁶ Dickson, 'The Genesis of the Children's Crusade', p. 11.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 9-19.

⁷⁸ 'Chronicon anonymi Laudunensis canonici', *RHGF* 18, p. 715.

describes how ‘nearly thirty thousand people flocked to him from various parts of France’ and made their way to Saint-Denis where Stephen performed miracles until the king ordered the *pueri* to return home. As a starting point for this section of the crusade, a number of chronicles refer to the expedition as having begun near Vendôme, but no others make mention of a leader or refer to a particular event having initiated the campaign. The *Chronica* of Alberic of Trois-Fontaines refers to *pueri* coming from Vendôme to Paris.⁷⁹ Other chronicles describe a ‘commotion from Vendôme throughout the whole of Gaul’.⁸⁰ Yet none of these accounts gives a detailed description of the preaching activities of the Children’s Crusade prior to Stephen’s arrival in Saint-Denis.

The second part of the beginning of the Children’s Crusade was reported to have been led by Nicholas of Cologne and it started in the Rhineland.⁸¹ An anonymous chronicler from Cologne describes how ‘around Easter...from every part of Germany and France, with no one exhorting or preaching...many thousands of *pueri* ...began to travel towards Jerusalem with banners raised high’.⁸² The *Gesta Treverorum* (thought to be an eyewitness account but written around 1242), recounts how ‘Nicholas, a boy from Cologne [and the *pueri*] assembled from all the towns and villages of Germany, almost as if they were divinely inspired’.⁸³ Unlike France however, there is no evidence of Innocent III’s *Supplicatio Generalis* having been sent to Germany so it is not possible to attribute appearance of Nicholas of Cologne to the processions which promoted the Albigensian Crusade. Equally as enigmatic as Stephen of Cloyes, Nicholas of Cologne was a figurehead of the expedition, but it is difficult to examine their roles as

⁷⁹ Alberic of Trois-Fontaines, *Chronica*, p. 893, ‘Expeditio infantium satis miraculose undique convenientium facta est hoc anno. Primo venerunt a partibus castri Vindocini Parisius’.

⁸⁰ ‘Anonymi continuation append. Roberti ad Monte’, *RHGF* 18, p. 344, ‘...facta est commotion puerorum per totam Galliam a Vindocino castro, et deinceps per civitates et plurima castra, vagantium et dicentium se Deum quaere, nec potunt cohiberi donec, urgente fame, ad propria remearunt.’; see also ‘Chronicon Savigniacensis’, *RHGF* 18, p. 351 and ‘Annales Gemmeticenses’, *MGH SS* 26, p. 510.

⁸¹ ‘Gesta Treverorum continuata’, *MGH SS* 24, p. 399; Dickson, ‘Innocent III and the Children’s Crusade’, p. 587.

⁸² ‘Chronicae regiae Coloniensis continuation prima (1175-1220)’, *MGH SS* 24, p. 17.

⁸³ ‘Gesta Treverorum continuata’, *MGH SS* 24, p. 399

unofficial crusade preachers. The closest comparison it is possible to draw is that of the People's Crusade in 1096 which was not formally launched by the pope but it did come about as the by-product of an official expedition and was led by a charismatic but unauthorised preacher.⁸⁴ Without the control of the papacy the expedition ultimately ended in disaster even though Peter the Hermit successfully recruited large numbers of participants and the echo of this in the Children's Crusade is clear.

The proximity of this crusade to the areas which had been a crucial part of the recruitment for the earlier expeditions is very important to its development and the predisposition of those areas to achieve enthusiasm for the crusade cause. In his monograph on the Children's Crusade, Gary Dickson not only places the emphasis on the origins of the crusade on the crusading climate created by Innocent III but also on the status of Chartres as a centre for the beginnings of earlier religious fervour.⁸⁵ The chronicle account of Jean d'Ypres, which was written more than one hundred years after the events of the Children's Crusade, describes the processions which resulted from the order contained in *Supplicatio Generalis* as having been witnessed by a shepherd boy from Chartres.⁸⁶ For Dickson, this shepherd boy must have been Stephen of Cloyes and this procession must have been the catalyst for the launch of the crusade.⁸⁷ However, this source was written much later and is the very first time that Chartres is referred to in relation to this crusade movement.

⁸⁴ Zacour, 'The Children's Crusade', pp. 328-30; cf. Dickson, *The Children's Crusade*, p. 61 discusses the similarity between Peter the Hermit and the lay individuals who preached the Children's Crusade.

⁸⁵ Dickson, *The Children's Crusade*, pp. 40-1.

⁸⁶ Jean d'Ypres, 'Chronica monasterii sancti Bertini', *MGH SS 25*, p. 828 '...contra infidels tunc processions per Franciam fierent, cuidam pastorello in dyochesi Cartotensi venit in mentem, ut iret ad processionem, et ivit...'; Dickson, *The Children's Crusade*, p. 53.

⁸⁷ Dickson, 'The Genesis of the Children's Crusade', p. 38; Maier, 'Mass, the Eucharist and the Cross', p. 355; Dickson, 'Innocent III and the Children's Crusade', p. 597; Dickson, *The Children's Crusade*, pp. 53-8.

Dickson is broadly correct in his discussion of the long-term relationship between the Chartrain area and the crusade movement.⁸⁸ Ever since Count Stephen of Blois and Chartres had taken the cross in early 1096, this area had been a focal point for repeated preaching events and earlier maps have shown that this place was a reliable resource for crusade recruits. Urban II never preached his crusade anywhere near Chartres but there is evidence of a number of recruits from the area. One of the key texts which records the events of the First Crusade was that written by the participant Fulcher of Chartres. In 1106, Bohemond of Taranto married the daughter of the king of France at Chartres Cathedral and preached his own crusade from the pulpit immediately after the ceremony. However, preaching was not targeted at the area for the Second Crusade and there is little evidence of it having provided participants for that expedition. The local enthusiasm was revived in 1187 when Count Theobald V participated in the Third Crusade and again in the Fourth Crusade when some nineteen prominent nobles and knights, including count Louis of Blois and Chartres took the cross following the tournament at Écry.⁸⁹ Those who came from the Chartrain to join the Fourth Crusade included the Cistercian Abbot Guy of Vaux de Cernay and Simon de Montfort.⁹⁰ These details disprove Dickson's suggestion that the Chartrain region was a consistently reliable source of crusade participants.⁹¹ Instead, the Chartrain was yet another area whose crusade participation had ebbed and flowed over the course of the previous century and, as there had not been a successful crusade to the Holy Land since 1099, these changes in enthusiasm were the typical pattern of crusade recruitment across Europe. There was consistent enthusiasm for the movement from the northern regions of France and Flanders and they were the main regions which responded to each of the large-scale

⁸⁸ Dickson, *The Children's Crusade*, pp. 37-41.

⁸⁹ Geoffrey of Villehardouin, 'The Conquest of Constantinople', p. 29; C. Métais, 'Croisés chartrains et Dunois: documents inédits,' *Bulletins de la Société Dunoise*, Vol. 8 (1894-96), pp. 198-216; Longnon, *Les compagnons de Villehardouin*; Paul, *To Follow in Their Footsteps*, *passim*.

⁹⁰ Geoffrey of Villehardouin, 'The Conquest of Constantinople', p. 54; Pierre des Vaux de Cernai, *Historia Albigensis*; translation in Peter of Vaux-Cernay, *The History of the Albigensian Crusade*, p. 59.

⁹¹ Dickson, *The Children's Crusade*, p. 46-7.

crusades to the East, however, it was not the case that they answered every single call every time it was made.

Similarly, just as with the French contingent, Dickson refers to the Rhineland as being particularly disposed towards the crusade message.⁹² Previous sections of this study have shown that this area was a source of recruits for the People's Crusade, Bernard of Clairvaux's preaching of the Second Crusade, the Third Crusade, Fourth Crusade and the Albigensian Crusade. It is correct that this was a fertile recruitment ground, and a region which preachers returned to because, based on previous experience, it was likely to yield a positive response to their message.

The Children's Crusade ultimately falls into the classification of crusade preaching as *magnus rumor*. Its beginnings were firmly planted in crusading climate which had been created during the preceding 14 years even though it appears to have developed without papal authorisation. It was an important event in terms of the lay response to an unofficial crusade appeal and would go on to demonstrate to Innocent III that there was a public demand for a new expedition to the East. The Children's Crusade caused a shift in Innocent III's crusade policy and would ultimately lead to the launch of the Fifth Crusade.

Conclusion

The *magnus rumor* is the crucial connection between the known preaching events and the number of crusade recruits, and this was the case from Pope Urban II's papacy until that of Innocent III. No matter how determined the attempt to control the message, its underlying

⁹² Ibid., p. 99.

message of spiritual reward met with such a popular response that it is unsurprising that the laity responded to it with such enthusiasm. The response to each crusade appeal cannot be easily attributed solely to the papal letters or preaching legates who were appointed by the pope. Instead the spread of news by word of mouth enabled it to travel further than each papal administration could have intended. It was the ultimate loss of control over the crusade message. Only with the papacy of Pope Innocent III, and his ability to harness that enthusiasm for a new crusade, would the *magnus rumor* be turned into an advantage for the movement and be used to involve every person who wanted to take the vow, to be involved in some way.

Chapter Six

Patterns of Crusade Recruitment

In order to fully examine the patterns of recruitment for the crusades between 1095-1216, the information pertaining to the origin locations of known crusade recruits in a system which enables them to be appropriately compared. By collating the evidence pertaining to the locations known crusade recruits it is possible to enter this data into a Geographical Information System (GIS) and display it as layers within a map. These layers facilitate the ability to compare the events from separate crusade recruitment campaigns and build a picture of where patterns of recruitment correlate. The data here is taken from the important research works of Riley-Smith, Phillips, Morton, Murray, Mulinder, Cushing, Longnon, Powell and Power. This chapter will also focus on the development of patterns of recruitment for each of the major crusade expeditions to the East. These expeditions offer the greatest wealth of data to analyse and compare. Ultimately this will show that papal control over the reception of the crusade message varied between campaigns and that some areas were more receptive than others at different points over the period between 1095-1216.

The First Crusade

In order to determine the effectiveness of the preaching tour, a layer containing the data of identifiable First Crusade recruits can be overlaid onto that of Pope Urban's preaching tour. Map 22 (p. 312) shows these two sets of data together and demonstrates that there was a very wide dispersal of recruits. There is a concentration around those areas on the pope's tour, for example, in Limoges and Poitiers which demonstrates that the pope's efforts were successful and that his presence did inspire people to take the crusade vow, but this cannot account for

the number of crusaders from the most northern and southern regions, as well as those from Germany. The recruitment in these areas appears much more concentrated and it is necessary to assume that these individuals had heard of the crusade from some other source, for example, the *magnus rumor* or the despatch of letters. At this time there was no influence of a prior crusade tradition upon which to promote recruitment, so it is extraordinary that such a large number of people took the cross. The main clusters of recruits were widely distributed across France and parts of Italy with the most concentrated groupings from the surroundings of large cities such as Chartres, Rheims and Paris, the areas of Blois, Flanders, Chartres and northwestern Germany. There is no evidence of recruits at this time from England, Wales or Scotland and only scant evidence of crusaders from the northern parts of the Iberian Peninsula, the Netherlands and Denmark.

In the period immediately following the First Crusade, Urban's successors managed to maintain momentum over the crusade campaign to the East with the 1101 and 1106 campaigns. They also managed to pursue campaigns into the Iberian Peninsula but the preaching campaigns for these were more localised than those for the East.

The Second Crusade

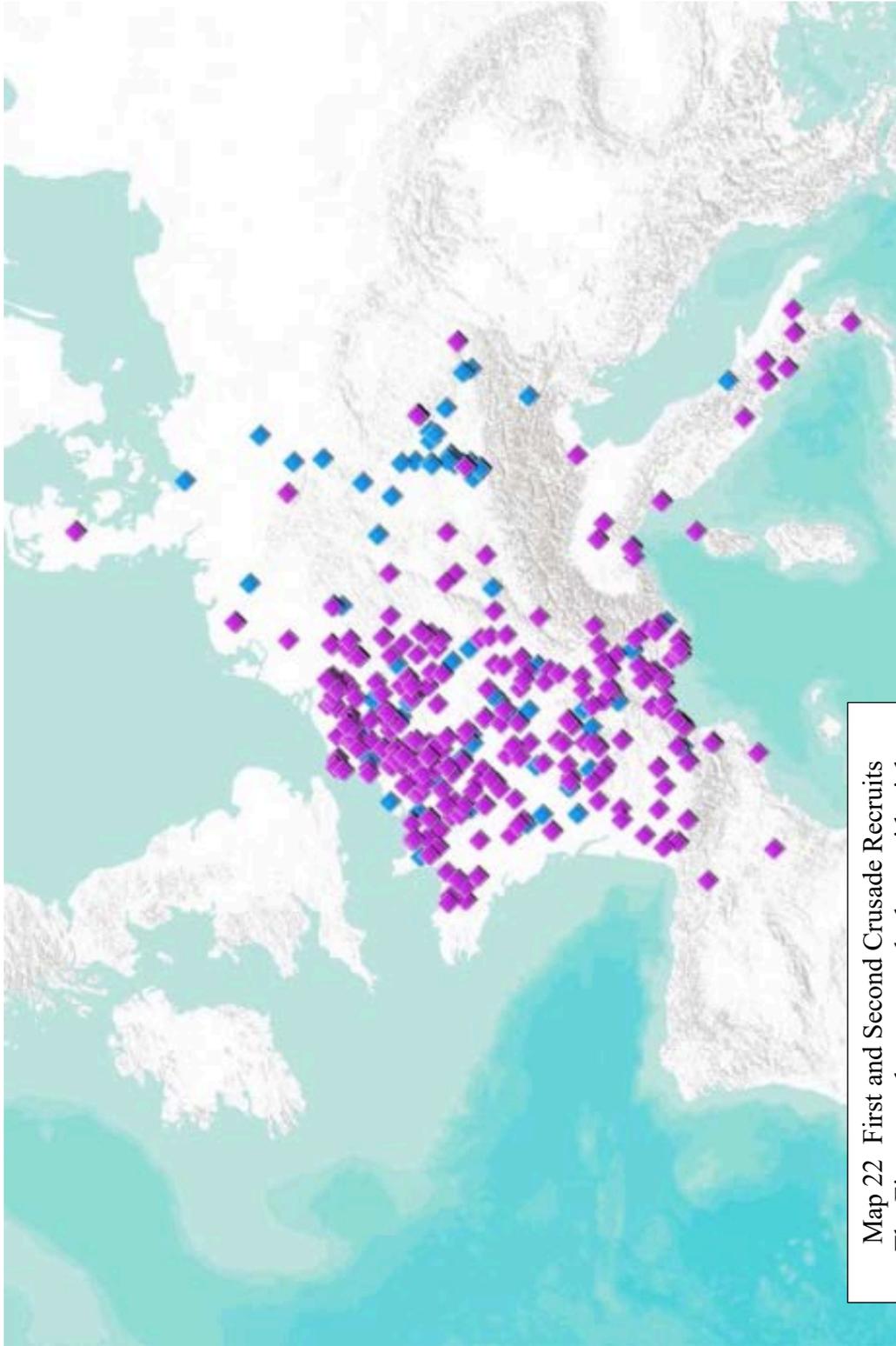
Bernard of Clairvaux was the most significant preacher of the Second Crusade and his preaching tour can also be overlaid with a map which contains the data relating to the Second Crusaders. This shows that those who joined came from all across Europe and as far afield as Denmark but that the most significant clusters came from Flanders and to the East around Munich. Just as with the First Crusade, the effects of papal letters, other preachers and *magnus rumor* would have influenced the scale of the overall recruitment at this time. There was also

still interest from areas which had contributed to the earlier campaign and the initial focus on France as the starting point of the Second Crusade is addressed by Phillips who highlights the diplomatic and familial relationship between France and the Levant, as well as the ties which originate from the First Crusade.¹ Riley-Smith has also discussed these family connections and, by tracing the ancestry of those who consistently contributed to this period of crusading, he has shown the beginnings of crusade traditions within this area.² Map 3 (p. 76) clearly sets out the established enthusiasm for the crusade across France and the new interest in parts of Germany.

Map 22 (p. 311) overlays the recruits for the Second Crusade with those of the First and demonstrates a shift in the pattern of recruitment over time since the First Crusade. This shows that the spread of both sets of recruits is very wide with numerous Second Crusaders originating in the same regional locations as the first. However, this map also shows a very clear shift to the East for those recruits participating in the Second Crusade and this can clearly be attributed to the targeted preaching efforts to recruit Conrad III.

¹ Phillips, 'Papacy, Empire and the Second Crusade', p. 20.

² J. S. C. Riley-Smith, 'Family Traditions and Participation in the Second Crusade', *The Second Crusade and the Cistercians*, ed. M. Gervers (New York, 1992), pp. 101-8; Paul, *To Follow in Their Footsteps*.



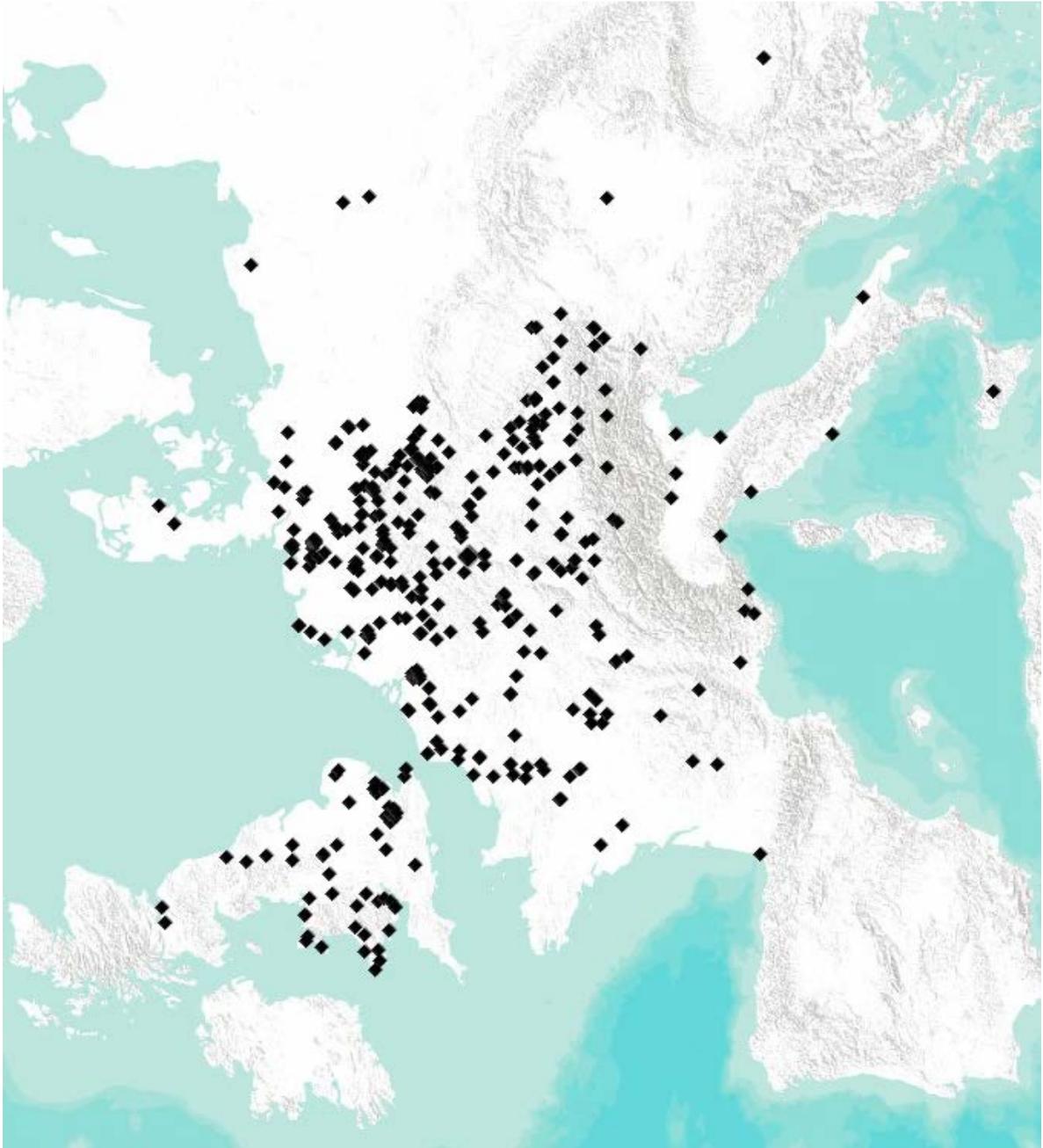
Map 22 First and Second Crusade Recruits
The First crusaders are marked out with pink
dots and Second crusaders with blue dots

The Third Crusade

From the evidence of known recruits between 1150 and 1187, it would appear that the whole of Europe had become 'burnt over' and that, apart from a number of smaller privately organised expeditions such as that of Thierry of Flanders in 1157, the enthusiasm for the crusade movement had almost ground to a halt.³ This was not the case and the papacy had continued to develop the boundaries of the crusade movement into new theatres of war. They also supported numerous appeals for aid from the East but during this time the areas which had previously been so enthusiastic, were not so receptive to the crusade message. However, the launch of the Third Crusade marked a renewed zeal for the campaign and Map 23 (p. 313) shows a clear expansion of the message into new areas. Recruits were enlisted from a very wide area across Europe and from farther afield than the maps of previous recruits, for example Poland, Hungary and Wales.⁴

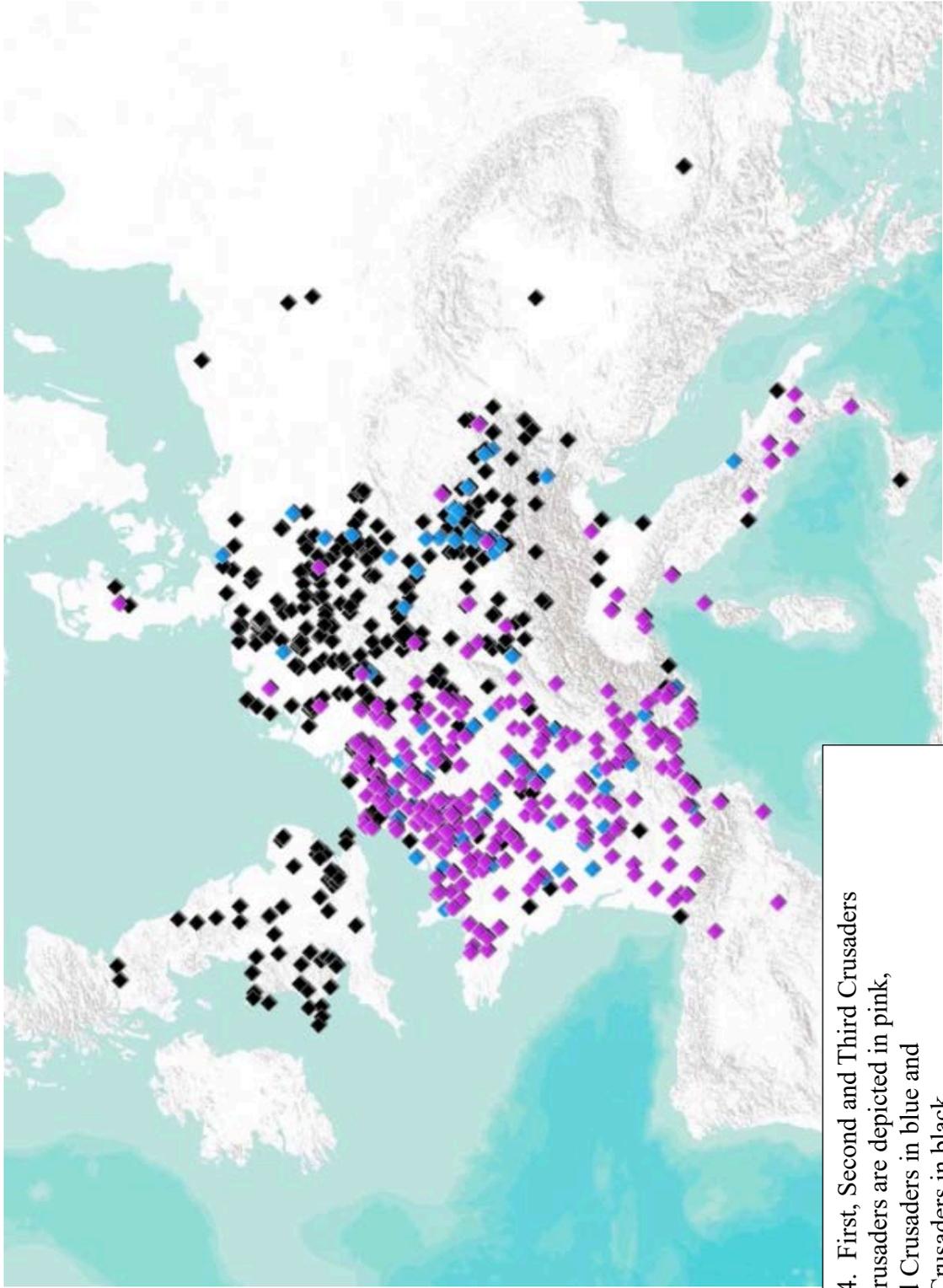
³ William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, p. 833; Phillips, *Defenders of the Holy Land*, p. 129.

⁴ *De Itinere Navali: A German Third Crusader's Chronicle of His Voyage and the Siege of Almohad Silver, 1189 AD/ Muwahid Xelb, 585 AH*, tr. and ed. D. Cushing (2013).



Map 23. Locations of known Third Crusaders

The majority of the clusters of recruits on this map are located in Germany, northern France and England and in light of the leaders of this crusade, Emperor Frederick Barbarossa, King Richard of England and King Philip II of France, this is unsurprising.



Map 24. First, Second and Third Crusades
First Crusaders are depicted in pink,
Second Crusaders in blue and
Third Crusaders in black.

A comparison of the crusade recruits from the First and Second and Third Crusades shows that while there continued to be a positive response to the appeal in northern France and Flanders, there was a shift even further north into England and Wales (Map 24 on p. 314). These participants in the Third Crusade are the largest numbers of recruits yet from the British Isles and credit for this must be attributed to a combination of preaching and the number of participants who took the cross instead of paying the 'Saladin tithe'. The number of crusaders from the south of France also appears to be greatly diminished and this reflects the focus on recruitment by the kings of England and France who had a greater influence over the northern areas. The recruitment across the Holy Roman Empire has grown since the Second Crusade so, interestingly, the area to which Bernard of Clairvaux preached did remain a source of many recruits but that area to which Pope Urban II preached had, apparently, been exhausted of enthusiasm.'

The Fourth Crusade

In Map 25 (p. 317) the most notable members of the Fourth Crusade have come from France, Flanders and Venice, two areas which, as has been discussed, had a pre-existing and long-established connection with the crusade movement. This paper has already considered the failure of those promoting the crusade to recruit an English contingent in spite of efforts to do so. This leads then to the question of the other most obvious area which had significantly contributed to the crusade over the previous century: Germany. Of the primary sources being considered here, it is important to note that the *Devastatio Constantinopolitana*, Gunther of Pairis' *Historia Constantinopolitana* and the anonymously written *Gesta episcoporum Halberstadensium* were all of German origin. That three of these sources came from Germany is in stark contrast to the fact that only a small proportion of the crusaders did so too. Andrea

has estimated that the Germans made up only ten percent of the crusading army and, from the list of 305 identifiable crusaders contained in Longnon's *Les compagnons de Villehardouin: recherches sur les croisés de la quatrième croisade* it is possible to show that only eleven of these came from the Holy Roman Empire.⁵ Obviously, that list of 305 crusaders is far from a comprehensive list of Fourth Crusade participants but it does show what a minority the German contingent were.⁶

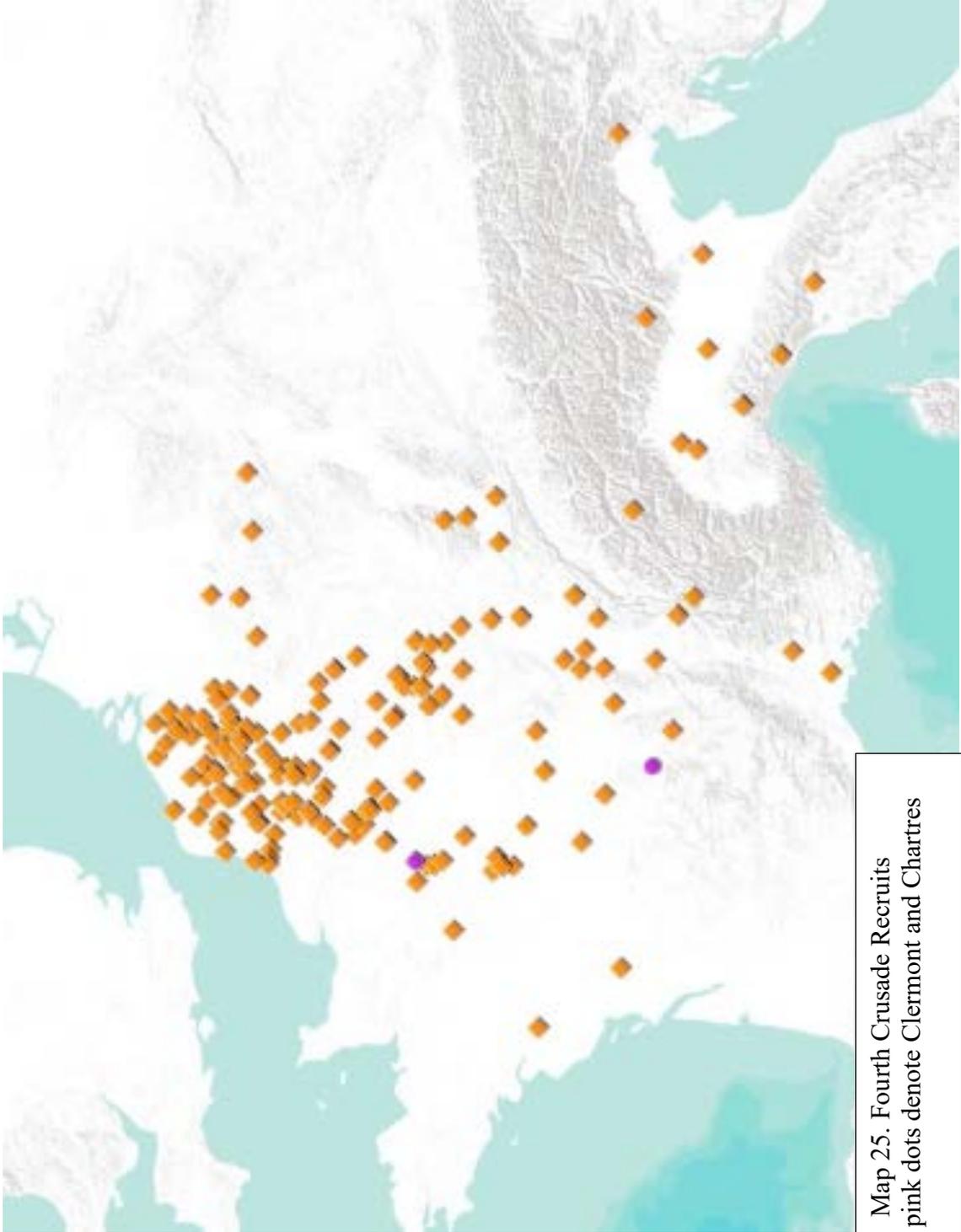
Flanders and northern France had been involved since the First Crusade and Longnon's study of the participants of the Fourth Crusade highlights the family connections between them.⁷ The counts of Flanders had been involved with the crusade movement since the very First Crusade when Robert II had led a contingent to the Holy Land. Count Thierry had participated in the Second Crusade and was also married to Sybilla, daughter of King Fulk of Jerusalem and as Paul has considered, 'some sense of the burden of memory and the growing sense of responsibility that came with kinship to a renowned crusader like Robert II'.⁸ Similarly, Count Thibaut of Champagne was son of Count Henry II who had participated in the Second Crusade and great-grandson of the First Crusader Stephen of Blois. Just as was discussed previously in regard to the relationship with the house of Anjou to the crusade, it is also possible to show that other families had the same connections and to demonstrate that the family tie to the crusade occurs over multiple generations.

⁵ 'Deeds of the Bishops of Halberstadt', trans. A. J. Andrea, p. 239; see Longnon, *Les compagnons de Villehardouin*, pp. 242-50 for German Fourth Crusaders.

⁶ 'Deeds of the Bishops of Halberstadt', trans. A. J. Andrea, pp. 241-2.

⁷ J. Longnon, 'Sur le croisés de la quatrième croisade', *Journal des savants* 2:2 (1977), pp. 119-127; Paul, *To Follow in their Footsteps*, p. 8.

⁸ Paul, *To Follow in their Footsteps*, p. 43

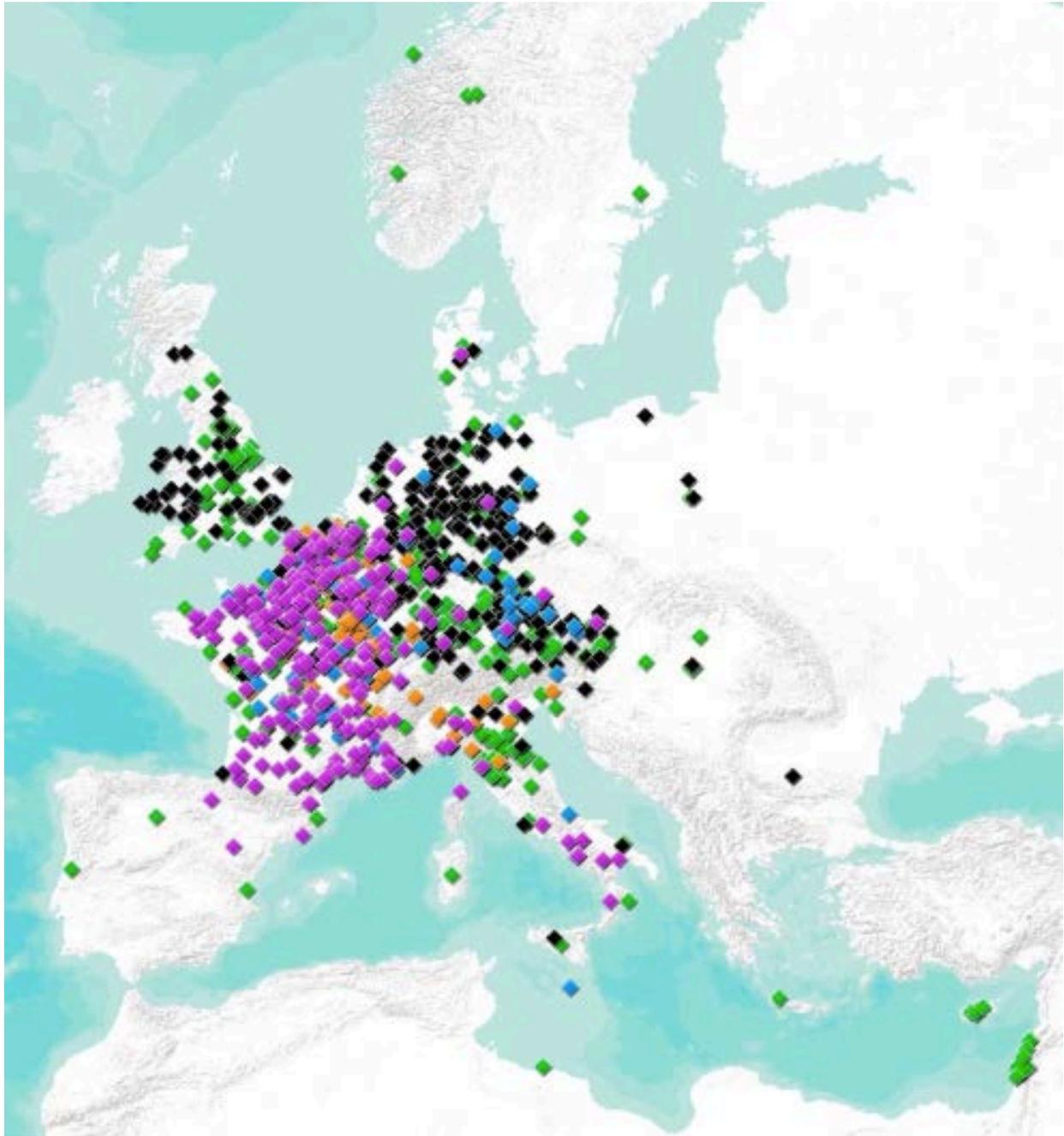


Map 25. Fourth Crusade Recruits
The pink dots denote Clermont and Chartres

Although there is a fair spread of recruits across central France with a few individuals in Germany and Italy, what is most obvious is the cluster of crusaders from Flanders and northern France. This evidence clearly supports the argument that these crusaders were motivated by a family tradition of crusading and that Pope Innocent's message of that time had barely any impact elsewhere. This is a much more concentrated recruitment ground than for any previous crusade and it is possible to show this in contrast to the known recruits of the previous crusades.

Ultimately, Map 25 (p. 317) demonstrates that Innocent's efforts to promote the crusade message across the whole of Europe had ultimately failed. These recruits do not come close to being representative of the distribution of letters and if it were not for the successful legation of Soffredo to Venice and the events at Écry which opened up an opportunity for the preaching of Fulk of Neuilly and Peter Capuano, this crusade expedition may not have happened when it did.

Map 26 (p. 319) on the following page compares the recruits from the Fourth Crusade with those which had gone before.

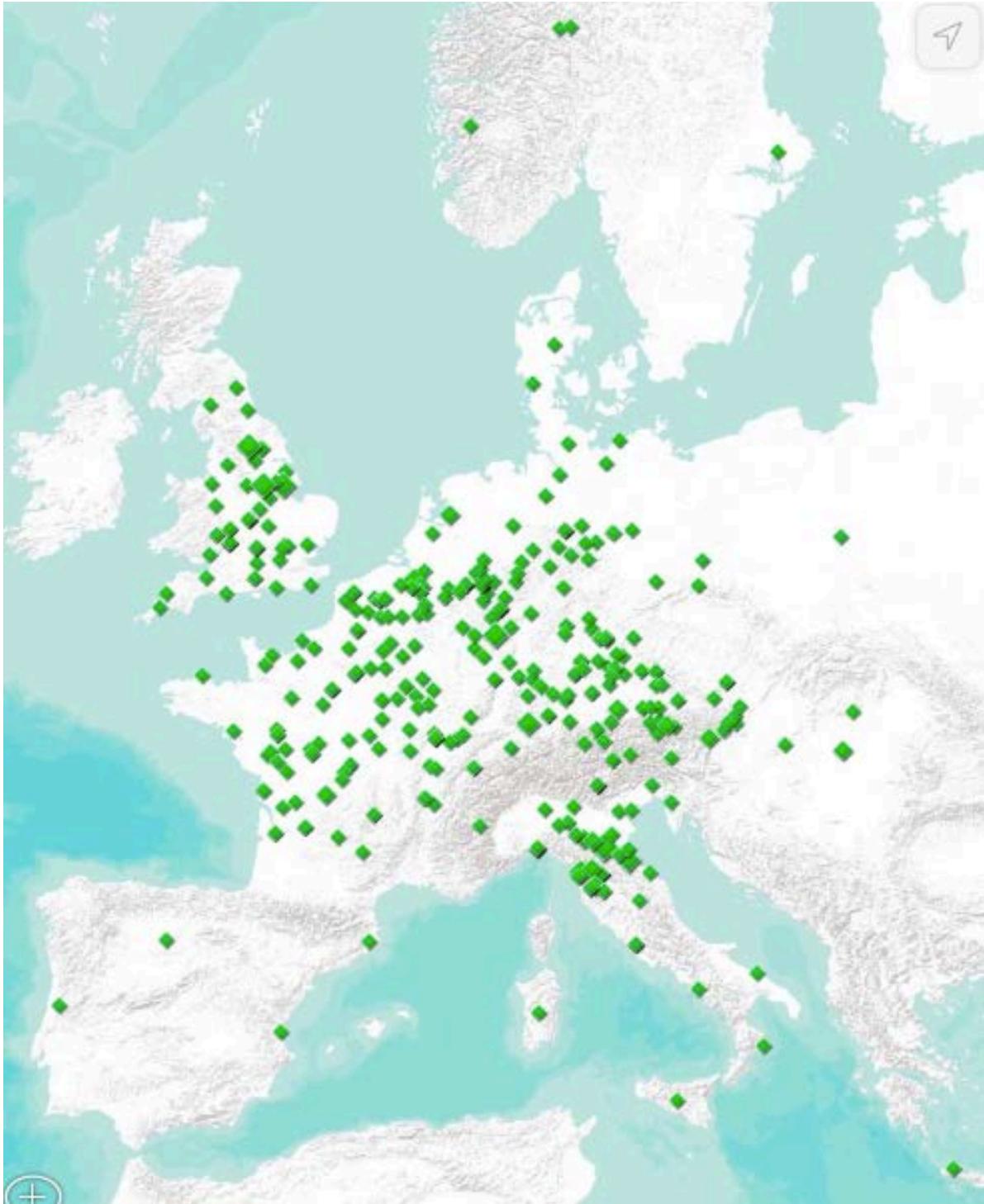


Map 26. First, Second, Third and Fourth Crusade Recruits

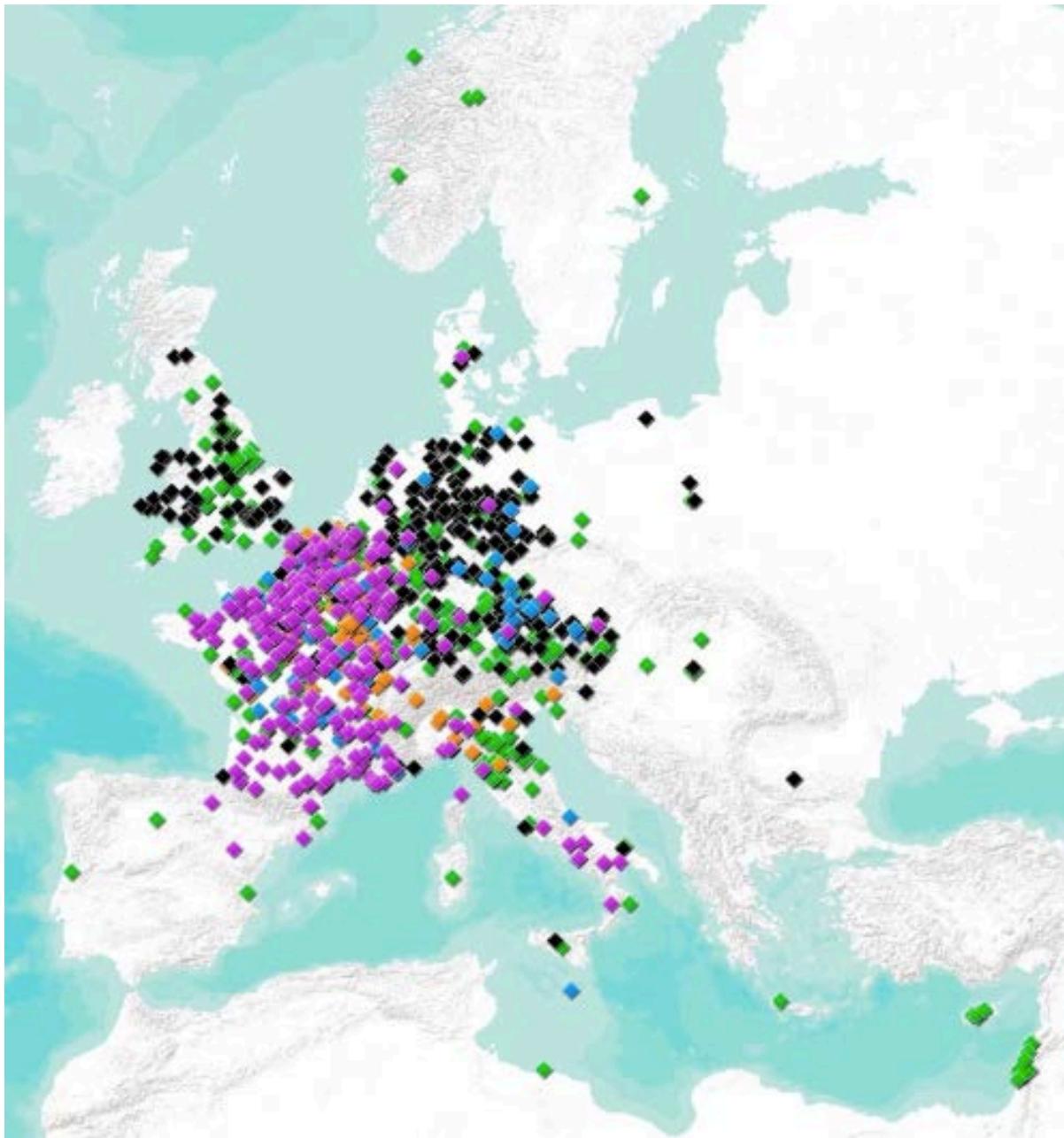
First Crusaders are depicted in pink,
Second Crusaders in blue,
Third Crusaders in black and
Fourth Crusaders in orange

The Fifth Crusade

Map 27 (p. 321) demonstrates just how successful the preaching of the Fifth Crusade had been. The recruits here come from the widest area seen in any of the previous maps and, apart from Spain, almost all of western Europe is represented. It is clear that the areas in which Pope Innocent III and his legates implemented *Quia major* and *Pium et sanctum* had responded to the call and this is a complete reversal of the more concentrated reaction to the call to the Fourth Crusade. It shows that Innocent's attempt to distribute the same message across Europe was the most successful method of crusade preaching to achieve a large-scale, general response.



Map 27. Fifth Crusade Recruits



Map 28 First, Second, Third, Fourth and Fifth Crusade Recruits

Conclusion

The data displayed in these maps shows the long-term development of the response to the crusade message over more than a century. It demonstrates that with carefully planned and targeted preaching, the papacy was able to increase the popularity of its message across an enormous number of locations. The role of inherited crusade enthusiasm must not be downplayed, and it is correct that a long-term familial or regional relationship did mean that many individuals were more likely to take the cross. However, the number of repeated appeals from both the East and the papacy for new crusade expeditions between these major campaigns does show that the crusade enthusiasm was not universally instinctive even to the most devoted regions.

Conclusion

The conclusions of this thesis demonstrate a number of wider implications concerning the study of the preaching of the crusades and the administration of the papal monarchy between the years 1095-1216. The promotion of the crusades saw the mechanisms of papal government grow enormously over this period and its methods of broad and localised communication became increasingly refined. Crusade recruitment came about in response to the distribution of letters, the physical preaching of sermons, and the *magnus rumor* which spread to new areas and drove the recruitment of new crusaders. However, this study has also demonstrated that papal control over the authorisation of crusade campaigns was subject to limitations which weakened its power over how the message was conveyed and who responded to it. The numerous external factors which influenced the promotion of the crusade movement included the tenure of individual popes, the political relationship between the papacy and the monarchy, the influence of the Investiture Controversy, and the distrust of the crusade message by its audience after disastrous campaigns. However, crusading became firmly established as a papal project which was a part of the political landscape across much of western Europe. The extent to which it grew and eventually became embedded in everyday church services which were a part of the ordinary lives of the laity shows the power of the church to dominate its message through the available networks of communication.

Urban II's preaching tour of 1095-96 set the standard for the successful promotion of the crusade message. The evidence of recruits localised to the entire distance of the tour, and the German chronicle accounts of a large-scale preaching event at Le Puy, prove that the focus on Clermont by the chroniclers has undermined the importance of the tour as a whole. Not only was the impact of that tour, or at least the chronicle versions of the sermon at Clermont, hugely

influential on the manner in which the origins of the crusade were remembered, but it showed that carrying the message directly to its intended audiences was the foundation upon which successful crusade recruitment was built. Although none of Pope Urban II's successors followed his example and embarked upon preaching tours of their own, there was an inherited continuation of promoting the crusade after his death. During the twelfth century papal preaching in person was not the most practical or politically convenient method for the head of the church to foster support for the movement but it was possible to follow his example through letters and authorised preachers.

Letters were the most immediate and practical form which the pope could use to convey his message when he was not able to preach in person. They contained his own words and established the boundaries for each successive campaign. However, it is difficult to demonstrate the power of these letters without also combining them with the skills and experience of the preachers who would read them out to their audiences. Preaching tours undertaken by proxies became enormously effective as these preachers were the physical connection between the papacy and their audience through the authority of papal letters. The case study offered by Gerald of Wales' *Itinerarium Cambriae* has made it possible to examine the practicalities of the methods, languages and stage-management which were used on a successful preaching tour.

This study has made it clear that successful crusade recruitment was nuanced and complicated but that through the careful manipulation of his message, it was possible for a pope to encourage or discourage certain groups of people from participating in different crusade expeditions. In contrast with Tyerman's claims that spontaneity was a hindrance to the promotion of the crusade and that planning was crucial to a successful recruitment campaign,

it is the case that these expeditions were both planned and spontaneous. Emotional responses and spontaneity were the driving forces behind many of the countless individuals who chose to go on crusades, and the papacy took advantage of this in the utilisation of staging and performance in preaching events which set out to achieve emotional responses from their audiences. The papacy was able to draw upon localised and familial enthusiasm for the crusade movement in order to promote it and played upon the emotional connection with crusading which was passed from generation to generation. By combining the available data of crusade recruits into GIS this thesis has proved that patterns of recruitment did form and that certain areas could regularly be relied upon to answer the call to take the cross. It has however, also demonstrated that this response was not always guaranteed and that these reliable sources of recruits did not respond to many of the repeated calls to arms in the periods between the major crusade expeditions. As was established previously, there are gaps in the records which are certain to have affected the results given by this data but, the picture portrayed by the available information sheds a new light on the manner in which crusade recruitment was carried out. It also demonstrates how evolving technology enables new questions to be asked of existing documentation.

These apparent interludes between the large crusade campaigns were also important to the development of the administration of the crusade movement. It was in the time between those expeditions that new methods of communication grew with the birth of the military orders, the organisation of crusade preaching by the rulers of Jerusalem, and the establishment of increasingly experienced legates who could continue the promotion of the crusades. They also saw targeted audiences encouraged into participation in new theatres of war and thus the boundaries of crusading were consistently expanded by the papacy.

In spite of all of these methods of control, there were never-ending means by which the pope's message could be disrupted. Unauthorised preachers, bad preachers, miscommunication, political disputes and misunderstandings were just some of the factors which hindered the control over the crusade message. Due to the unpredictability of the *magnus rumor*, it was never possible to achieve universal papal control over the crusade message but, in the time between 1095 and 1216, there was a distinct evolution in the way that the papacy used letters and proxy preachers to manage how and to whom it was communicated. There was wisdom in the repeated targeting of certain areas such as northern France even after periods of time when they appeared unreceptive to the recruitment message. The church also repeatedly demonstrated its adaptability in the face of regular loss of control to rebellious preachers or the unrestrained spread of the message.

These conclusions speak to a wider sense of the development of the church at a time when it was subject to numerous disputes and the regular presence of an antipope. The growth of communication channels and of schools which sought to advance the methods of preaching meant that in the early thirteenth century, the use of preaching manuals to support both the papal letters and the authorised preachers signalled that a new phase of crusade preaching was about to begin. That phase offered the papacy greater control over the standardisation of their message and, by giving the preachers full instructions as to how to carry out their work, the papacy had access to a wealth of capable representatives who could carry their message even farther than before. These achievements would not have been possible without the events relating to the growth of the crusading movement in the century before.

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