

THE ROLE OF THE CISTERCIAN ORDER  
IN THE THIRD CRUSADE

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A Thesis  
Presented to  
The Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research  
University of Manitoba

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In Partial Fulfillment  
of the Requirements for the Degree  
Master of Arts

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by  
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September, 1972



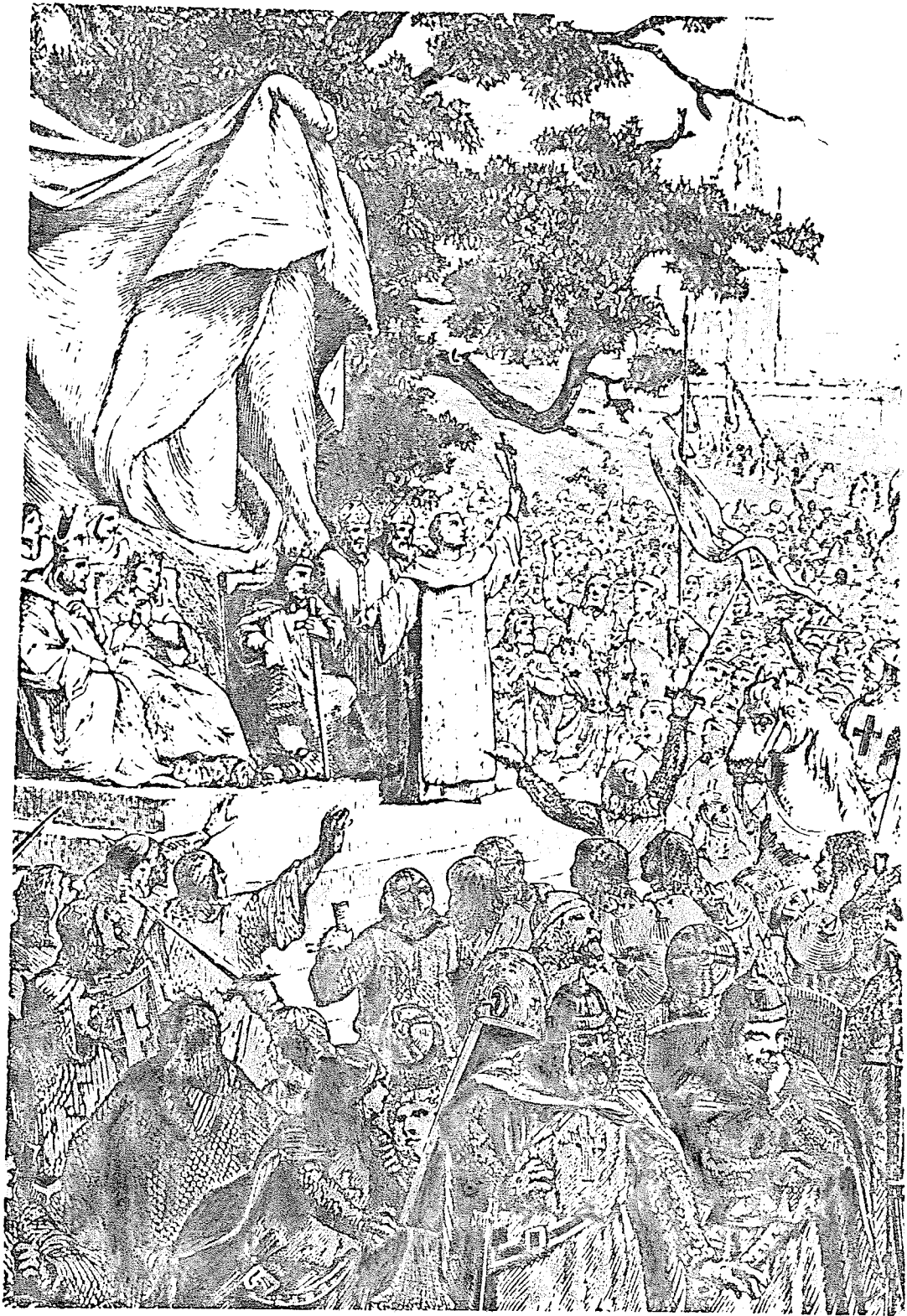


ПОСВЯЧУЮ

МАМІЙ

I

ТАТОВІ



Saint Bernard prêchant à Vézelay, la deuxième Croisade.

After G. Serbanesco, Histoire de l'Ordre des Templiers et les Croisades, vol. I, Paris, 1969, p. 380.



It is an act of Christian piety  
to vanquish the proud and also  
to spare the subjected.

Bernard of Clairvaux

## PREFACE

The aim of this study is to tell the story of the involvement of Cistercian Monks in The Third Crusade. The nature of their participation is revealed in the narration and consists of three more or less distinct categories: Prayer, preaching, and actual participation as warriors or pilgrims. There is little doubt, however, that the Monks' most significant contribution to the effort lay in their success as preachers and recruiters, and it is this subject which occupies the greatest space in the present work. When this study was begun, the question of whether the Cistercian Order had a single unified attitude toward the crusade, or whether opinion was as diverse as in the secular society of the day, seemed paramount. The power of the Cistercian vocation lay in its vigorous devotion to the contemplative life and a complete separation from worldly affairs. The crusade was most certainly a distant path from the tranquil cloister. If some members of the Order were enthusiastic in their espousal of the new cause, would not at least a few voices be raised in protest against such a distraction from the earliest Cistercian ideals? Was the Order ever clearly divided into an ardent "pro-crusade" camp, and a more cautious group wishing to leave the task to others? The evidence is meager, contradictory and difficult to pass judgment upon. While the

story told here tends to support the notion that two such fields of opinion did exist, their relative strengths - especially of the second sentiment - must remain very much an open question. Other themes are also worthy of attention. For example, the Cistercians were noted for their good constitutional organization and emphasis upon order. Did this in any way effect their attitude toward the crusade? To what extent did the twelfth-century Cistercians inherit the crusade-preaching inclinations of the fiery reformers and ragged hermits who made themselves so strongly felt at the close of the eleventh century? These are questions which continually recur throughout the narrative. Though, once again, the evidence does not permit a precise answer, certain general inferences may be made.

The actual text is divided into three chapters of approximately equal length. The chapters are fairly long and for the reader's convenience have been divided into subsections. The tone of each chapter differs considerably from the others. The first is an analysis of the basic ideas which constituted the notion of crusade, how the Order of Cîteaux was familiar with each of them, and how, to a certain extent, its spirituality was effected by them. With Saint Bernard and the Second Crusade precedents were established which could not be ignored forty

years later. The notes to this chapter are for the most part bibliographical in nature, aimed at giving the reader summaries and critiques of the latest literature. Chapter Two is based more thoroughly upon the primary sources, for the most part chronicles and collections of letters. In an attempt to give a picture of the psychological intensity which characterized reaction to the Fall of Jerusalem (1187), this chapter is somewhat less analytic and makes more use of direct quotation than does its predecessor. It deals with Henry of Albano and his orderly preaching of the crusade amidst the hectic dissensions of the time. The third chapter is a *mélange* of material chronicling the contributions of greater Cistercians such as Gerard of Ravenna and Baldwin of Canterbury, the reaction of the General Chapter of the Order, of a Cistercian prophet, and the prayers and participation of other monks and abbots. An attempt has been made to mention every type of contribution made by the Order and to list every crusading Cistercian whose name has come down to us. From the Second to the Third Crusade, the story is basically one of expanded involvement, and that is the tale told here. All other themes are secondary to it.

My debt to other scholars is great. But to my knowledge the Role of the Cistercians in the Third Crusade has been discussed by only one previous writer.

The late Father Eberhard Pfeiffer wrote a number of articles for the Cistercienser Chronik which dealt with the crusades. Though only one of them deals directly with the Third Crusade, and some of the others are mere registers, the studies of this erudite Cistercian have been of unquestionable assistance. However, I have had the benefit of recent research and have added certain new material. On occasion judgments herein differ from those of Father Pfeiffer. Also, the present study is more synthetic than his. To my knowledge, this is the first work on the subject in the English language.

My friend and director, Professor Lawrence A. Desmond, of St. Paul's College, Manitoba, must head the list of acknowledgments. His discerning criticism, constant encouragement, and quiet charity have done much to steer this work and its author through the troubled waters of research and composition. Professor John Wortley, of the Department of History, University of Manitoba, spent many long hours checking Latin footnotes and discussing the problems of crusading history with me. Father Drake, S.J., Librarian of St. Paul's College, and his staff, kindly obtained innumerable inter-library loans and xerox-photostats for me. This continued for a period of almost two years and it is certain they often wondered if the pile of requested books would ever cease. Father

Healy, S.J., also of St. Paul's, deserves special thanks for first suggesting the topic. Father Basil Pennington, O.C.R., Spenser, Mass., kindly suggested abbeys and scholars in Europe who would be of help to me. I am indebted to Father Leopold Grill, O Cist., Rein, Austria, whose name appears more than once in the notes, for his rigorous criticism of the provisional Chapter One. The Prior of Kloster Mehrerau, Bregenz, Austria, made several useful bibliographical suggestions and guided me through the complicated shelves of his abbey's wonderful library. Certain monks of Scourmont, Belgium, made further bibliographical suggestions and guided me through their extensive library. To both these Cistercian communities I owe a debt of hospitality. Professor P. Andrea of the University of Vermont, Burlington, Vermont, forwarded to me the difficult to obtain article of B. Flood. I must also thank Martha Krzyczkowski, who helped me translate many passages of difficult German. My uncle, Edward Miedzybrocki, provided me with stenographic help and Barry Hillman photographed and enlarged the frontispiece. To my family, especially my parents, to whom this book is dedicated, I owe a special debt for consideration and confidence beyond measure.

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CHAPTER I  
SAINT BERNARD AND THE SECOND CRUSADE

I

The origins of the religious enthusiasm which burst forth upon Western Europe at the end of the eleventh century can be found in the events of the preceeding decades. For in its recovery from the Hungarian, Viking, and Saracen devastations, the lands of the West were to exhibit a powerful creative energy far reaching in its effects. The vigor of the age was especially strong in the religious sphere. Men experimented with new forms of spiritual activity while reconstituting and strengthening old ones. From Cluny a purer spirituality had emerged which eventually found its way to Rome and across Europe. This effort to deepen and extend the Christianity of Europe was carried out along several fronts, and took many directions, reforming the hierarchy of the Church, purifying the monastic life, and intensifying the Christianity of a still half-barbaric laity through the promotion of a more stable, a more orderly and peaceful society. Peace was ardently sought in a variety of ways: In the secular world the Truce of God and the Peace of God were promoted in an attempt to mitigate the violence of feudal warfare. Within the cloister attempts at the rejuvenation of the monastic life gathered momentum. More attention was focused on the Rule of St. Benedict, and certain reformers produced new interpretations



of it. In turn, the movement towards closer observance of the Holy Rule reached a climax at the close of the eleventh century, as did the offensive against violence and unruliness in Christian society. Both the monk and the good Christian knight at this time became intensively aware of their special duties. A visible alliance between these institutions was but a matter of time.

The First Crusade was declared by Pope Urban II at the Council of Clermont (1095), and was forged into a distinct idea by the extraordinary chain of events ending with the capture of Jerusalem. A number of important themes distinguished the enterprise. Firstly, it was a pilgrimage; and the pilgrims were penitents who had voluntarily left the comfort of their homes to undergo the hardships of the road and visit the Holy Places. Secondly, it was an armed undertaking, a military expedition, sanctioned and supported by the Church to extend the borders of Christendom. It was a kind of holy war between Christian and infidel and its participants were doing God's work. Thus Crusaders were the soldiers of Christ: Milites Christi. Lastly, in contrast to earlier efforts led by the Emperor, it was an enterprise initiated and directed by the Papacy. Urban II and his successors were determined to provide aid for the hard pressed Eastern Christians while at the same time directing the anarchical warlike proclivities of feudal Christendom outward to a better end. This effort to create

more orderly society was a part of the general reform movement originating in the eleventh century which sought on all fronts to establish a new and purer Christianity.<sup>1</sup>

The emergence of the new religious orders of Fontevrault, Savigny, Prémontré and Cîteaux was also a part of this general movement for religious reform. The founders of these orders, Robert d'Arbrissel, Saint Vital and Saint Robert of Molesme were contemporaries of Urban II and lived through the period of the First Crusade. While Peter the Hermit and his followers preached the cross in France and Germany, renowned ascetics such as Robert d'Arbrissel and Saint Vital undertook evangelical preaching tours of their

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1. P. Alphandéry, La Chrétienté et l'idée de Croisade, text established by A. Dupront, 2 vols., Paris, 1954-1959, stresses that the idea of the crusade emerged from the events of the first expedition. C. Erdmann, Die Entstehung des Kreuzzugsgedankens, Stuttgart, 1935, details the emergence of the principle of a Holy War, as does E. Delaruelle, "Essai sur la formation de l'idée de croisade," Bulletin de Littérature Ecclésiastique, XLI, 1940, 25-44; XLII, 1941, 86-103; XLV, 1944, 13-46; 73-90; XIV, 1953, 226-239; LV, 1954, 50-63. The importance of pilgrimage is discussed in L. Bréhier, L'Eglise et l'orient au Moyen Age: Les Croisades, Paris, 1907, while the role of the Pope is emphasized in M. Villey, La Croisade: Essai sur une Théorie Juridique, Paris, 1942. More generally see P. Rousset, Les Origines et les Caractères de la Première Croisade, Neuchâtel, 1945; "L'idée de croisade chez les chroniqueurs d'Occident," Xe Congresso internazionale di scienze storiche, Rome, 1955, Relazioni, vol. III, pp. 547-563; E.O. Blake, "The Formation of the Crusade Idea," Journal of Ecclesiastical History, XXI, 1970, 11-31.

own.<sup>2</sup> The founder of the Order of Cîteaux, Robert of Molesme, was not directly involved in the First Crusade, but, nevertheless, was a part of the reform movement which was definitely related to the new cause. Monks and hermits had long dwelt upon the Pauline idea of the Christian as the soldier of Christ.<sup>3</sup> At Cîteaux, this notion was revived

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2. Baldricus, Vita Sancti Roberti de Arbrissello, c. ii, AASS, Feb. III, 611, 695; C. Auvry, Histoire de la Congrégation de Savigny, 3 vols., Paris, 1896, I, 320, passim. Ch. Kohler, Mélanges de l'Orient Latin, 2 vols., Paris, 1906, I, 156; S. Runciman, A History of Crusades, 3 vols., N.Y., 1964, I, 113. After the preaching of the crusade at Clermont most of the religious orders added the Office of the Virgin to the breviary for daily recitation; Saint Vital died (Sept. 1122) with this prayer on his lips. (Vita Sancti Vitalis, AASS, Jan. I, 389-90; Auvry, loc.cit.) In the chronicle of Robert of Auxerre (MGH SS, XXVI, 228) Peter the Hermit's name appears with that of Robert d'Arbrissel in a list of founders of religious orders at the beginning of the Twelfth Century.
  3. See Paul's epistles to the Thessalonians and to Timothy. The most venerable of ancient monastic documents, the Life of Saint Anthony, is filled with descriptions of the continuing battle against the great Enemy of mankind, the devil. Saint John Chrysostom writes of the monastic militia: "Come see the tents of these soldiers of Christ; come see their order of battle!" (Homil. in Matth., 69-70, ed. Gaume, pp. 771-779, cited H. Charrier, "Le sens militaire chez Saint Bernard," Saint Bernard et son temps, 2 vols., Dijon, 1928, I, 69.) "The cloister," says Saint Benedict, "must serve the military school." Rule of Saint Benedict, Prologue, and ch. 2, 49, 50, 55. The monastic community is the way of perfection offered to the soldiers of Christ according to the Rule of Saint Colomanus, ch. 8. Writing shortly after the First Crusade Odericus Vitalis used the terms miles Christi and militia Christi with regard to the monastic life. See the Historia Ecclesiastica, ed. Le Prevost, 4 vols., Paris, 1835-55, II, 13, 90; III, 98, 394.

and strengthened.

A literal interpretation of the Rule of Saint Benedict led the first Cistercians to a rigorous form of asceticism characterized by a constant struggle against temptation which demanded great courage and discipline. The simplicity and severity of their way of life conformed well to the traditional monastic vocabulary so that they freely called themselves nos pauperes milites Christi.<sup>4</sup> Cistercian writers such as Otto of Freising echo this military concept. For Otto, the meritorious communal life of the monks postpones the imminent destruction of the world, while the hermits stand out as doing single combat against the ancient Enemy.<sup>5</sup> This sense of battle, traceable to the very origins of Cîteaux, came to a climax in the writings of Bernard of Clairvaux. In temperament and in philosophy, Saint Bernard was in many ways a soldier of God. He had entered the Order when it was young and faltering; yet by the time of his death, it had become one of the largest and most powerful organizations in Christendom. His personal magnetism, oratorical and literary genius, and also his singleness of purpose, self-discipline and

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4. Exordium Parvum; DHGE, XII, 898.

5. Otto of Freising, Chronicon, lib. VII, c. xxxv, MGH SS, XX, 267ff.; tr. C.C. Mierow, N.Y., 1928, under the title The Two Cities.

sense of order and organization had done much to make this possible. These martial qualities reflect the stern sobriety which characterize most of his activity. Bernard's attitude toward life within the world was a grim one, and his faith in leading a successful Christian life outside the cloister small. His pessimism in this regard, was not restricted to the laity but included churchmen as well. Once, when preaching on the state of the Church, he sadly remarked that "her wound is inward and incurable".<sup>6</sup> This sadness regarding the state of the world was mitigated by his joy in the foundation of Clairvaux and the progress of his Order. Surrounded by the confusion and darkness of the world, it was a bright light of regularity, order, and peace. It was an organization composed of soldiers who were foremost in the struggle against the forces of evil. When urging his nephew Robert to return to the monastic life, he wrote: "Arise, soldier of Christ. Arise,... return to the battle from which you have fled."<sup>7</sup>

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6. In G.G. Coulton, Five Centuries of Religion, 4 vols., Cambridge, 1929, I, 319-320, who, viewing Bernard "as puritan", has collected most of the evidence on this subject. Brief surveys of his role in the Order's expansion may be found in NCE, III, 887-888; L. Lekai, The White Monks, Okauchee, Wis., 1953, pp. 34-44. The standard biography is still E. Vacandard, Vie de Saint Bernard, 2 vols., Paris, 1895. The best English biography is W. Williams, Saint Bernard of Clairvaux, Manchester, 1935.

7. Bernard of Clairvaux, Epistolae, no. 1, PL, CLXXXII, 68: "Surge, miles Christi, surge...revertere ad proelium unde fugisti." The Abbot's letters have been translated by B.S. James, The Letters of Saint Bernard of Clairvaux, London, 1953.

Bernard's letter to Suger of Saint Denis which dealt with the monastic life is filled with illusions to the monastic soldier. Obedience and order were imperative; Cistercian houses in the forests and frontiers of Christendom were outposts in the struggle. In the progress and expansion of the Order lay the prospect for the greater peace and strength of Christendom.<sup>8</sup> The notion of the Holy War as a pillar of Christianitas had a spiritual application of an antiquity far surpassing that of the novel physical usage. Monks had long antedated crusaders as Milites Christi, and Bernard and the Cistercians were very much aware of it.

Another important characteristic was shared by the monk and the twelfth century crusader. Both were pilgrims who had left their former life for a new path. The crusades of the twelfth century were extensions of the great pilgrimages of earlier times. Indeed, the word "crusader" was never used by the chroniclers, for the men who made the voyage to Jerusalem were always referred to as peregrini

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8. Ibid., no. 2, 78, 292, 441; Charrier, pp. 71-73; P. Rousset, "Saint Bernard et l'idéal chevaleresque," Nova et Vetera, XLV, 1970, 33-34. It has been suggested that feudal ethics greatly influenced Bernard's development. For example, when a monk fled a corrupt Benedictine monastery for Clairvaux, in spite of Canon Law being clearly on the Benedictine side, the Abbot defended him, citing the principle salus populi suprema lex. (Bern ep. no. 67, 68) G.G. Coulton thinks this analogous to the feudal "right of defiance". See his "Saint Bernard Guerrier de Dieu," Saint Bernard et son temps I, 125-126.

and their army as the exercitus peregrinus.<sup>9</sup> Similarly, the idea of pilgrimage held an important place in the monastic tradition. It offered opportunities for mortification and martyrdom and a chance to be alone with God. Thus Saint Thibaut of Vincence and his companions "became pilgrims wishing to serve God in solitude", while Saint Otger "taking up the insignia of pilgrimage set out to explore the houses of the monks". During the era of the First Crusade, Saint Poppo of Stavelot undertook the difficult journey - peregrinationis labor - to Jerusalem.<sup>10</sup> But after the conquest of the Holy City a change in accent occurred in the monastic attitude toward pilgrimage. Increasingly, the emphasis was placed upon spiritual pilgrimage

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9. Alphandéry, I, 9-42; Rousset, "L'idée de croisade," loc.cit.; G. Constable, "The Second Crusade as seen by Contemporaries," Traditio, IX, 1953, 213-279.

10. J. Leclercq, "Monachisme et pérégrination du IXe au XIIe siècle," Studia Monastica, III, 1961, 36-40, citing Mabillon, Acta Sanctorum Ordinis Sancti Benedicti, 1668-1701. Thibaut and his companions left "scilicet peregrinos se esse, Deo in solitudine velle deservire." (ASB, VI, ii, 160-163, 4-8) Saint Otger "suscipiens igitur peregrinationis insignia, peregre prefectus est monachorum explorare coenobia." (ibid., IV, i, 662, 19) For Saint Poppo see ibid., VI, i, 574, 7. Saint Ramuold "...monasterium et monachum deserens... devenit exul." (ibid., VI, i, 6, 1) So also Saint Simeon of Polirone became successively cenobite, hermit, and pilgrim, wishing to visit Jerusalem for its vision of peace, and at the end of the Eleventh Century Benedictines like Saint Geraud of Corbie undertook pilgrimages to Rome, Monte Cassino, and Jerusalem (Leclercq, loc.cit.). On the antiquity of this tradition see J. Leclercq, "Mönchtum und Peregrinatio in Frühmittelalter," Römische Quartalschrift, LV, 1960, 212-225.

toward the heavenly Jerusalem rather than actual physical travel. Saint Benedict had had much to say about false holy men who wandered about the countryside. He had greatly stressed the merit of stabilitas. This sentiment found new champions in the twelfth century. A monk of Peterhausen (1134-35) defined the pilgrim almost entirely in spiritual and erimetic terms,<sup>11</sup> while the Cistercians, with their disposition toward the literal interpretation of Benedict's Rule, frowned upon exit from the monastery<sup>12</sup> and further elaborated the theology of the celestial Jerusalem. The idea played an important role in the thought of monastic teachers such as Aelred of Rievaulx.<sup>13</sup> One Cistercian abbot was accustomed to refer to himself as "the servant of the paupers and sinners who do pilgrimage at Eberbach".<sup>14</sup> Thus

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11. Chronicle of Peterhausen, MGH SS, XX, 627: "De Peregrinus. Peregrinis vero, qui pro Deo proficiscuntur...qui circumierunt in melotis, in pellibus caprinis, egentes, angustiat, quibus dignus non erat mundus, in solitudinibus errantes et montibus et speluncis et in cavernis terre..."
  12. Thus, in the effort to cut off all contact with the outside world, sometime before 1134 the General Chapter of the Order forbade all monks, and even abbots, from baptizing infants of children except in case of death or in the absence of a priest. Statuta Capitulum Generalium Ordinis Cisterciensis, ed. J.M. Canivez, Louvain, vol. I, (1134: 1).
  14. Epistolae Moguntinae (1153-1158), ed. P. Jaffé, Bibliotheca rerum Germanicarum, 1866, III, 56, cited in Leclercq, "Pérégrination," p. 47.
  13. A. Hallier, Un éducateur monastique Aelred de Rievaulx, Paris, 1959, cited by Leclercq, "Peregrination," p. 49, n. 30, maintains that Aelred's entire doctrine is centered around the theme of pilgrimage.



in contrast to the idea of the Holy War and the miles Christi which during the twelfth century was extended from a spiritual centre outward to actual physical warfare and crusade, the monastic concept of pilgrimage was now translated into entirely spiritual terms from its largely physical basis. This twofold change was accompanied by a peculiar ambivalence in Cistercian attitudes toward the crusading movement and the newly founded Christian state in Palestine.

Urban II had permitted monks to participate in the crusade on condition that they first obtain the consent of their abbot.<sup>15</sup> As a result large numbers of Benedictine monks took part in the expedition.<sup>16</sup> The Cistercian Order, however, was still in the process of formation and was not directly involved in the enterprise. The founders had made a determined effort to cut themselves off from feudal

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15. JL 5670; Constable, "Second Crusade," p. 269, n. 290.

16. Régine Pernoud, The Crusaders, tr. E. Grant, London, 1963, pp. 73-74, writes: "A goodly number of ... Crusader-clerks had been brought out as chaplains to barons rather than as soldiers. Godfrey of Bouillon was the first to set the example, for he took with him monks 'noted for the holiness of their lives' to say Divine Office on the journey. Raymond of Saint Gilles did the same." Benedictine monks, and especially Cluniacs, had long been encouraging feudal barons to pilgrimage and to war against the infidel. They had an important part in the reconquest of Spain and maintained hostels along the road to Compostella and as far away as Constantinople. See Boissonade, "Cluny, la papauté et la première grande croisade internationale: Barbastro," Revue des Questions Historiques, LX, 1932; Villey, pp. 63-94; J. Gay, "L'Abbaye de Cluny et Byzance au début du xiie siècle," Echos d'Orient, XXXIX, 1931, 84-90; Runciman, I, 48.

entanglements which might endanger the simplicity, poverty, and purity of the Order, but with the advent of Stephen Harding and Saint Bernard, a phenomenal growth ensued and the original isolation was endangered. The establishment of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem put thought of the Holy Places in the minds of Western Christians and Cîteaux was not excepted. Donations of departing, and the generosity of returned crusaders, drew the attention of the monks to the East.<sup>17</sup> Highly valued Eastern relics, the loot of pious warriors, sometimes made their way to safekeeping within the cloisters of the Order. Thus after the capture of Antioch (1098) French crusaders brought the revered Holy Shroud to the Abbey of Cadouin in Aquitaine.<sup>18</sup> Cistercian interest was aroused to such a point that Abbot Arnold of Morimond (1115-26), abandoning his position, announced a project for the establishment of a monastery in the Holy Land. Only the strenuous opposition of Saint Bernard and Arnold's untimely death prevented the departure of the monks.<sup>19</sup>

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17. For example, Rotrou III of Perche, before leaving for Palestine in 1145, made several important donations to the Abbey of La Trappe which had been founded by his father, L.D.B., Histoire de la Trappe, Paris, 1924, pp. 21-22.
  18. Recent examination has shown the relic to be of Islamic origin, a product of the textile factories of Fatamid Egypt. See O. Baumann, "Das Heilige Grabtuch von Cadouin," Cistercienser Chronik, L, 1938, 14-19. (I am indebted for this reference to the Prior of Kloster Mehrerau, Bregenz, Austria.)
  19. See Bernard's letters no. 4, 5, 6, (James, pp. 19-38) and the study of W. Williams, "Arnold of Morimond," Collectanea, VII, 1940, 149-155 (reprinted from Journal of Theological Studies, XL, 1939.)

Although Bernard opposed the immediate expansion of the Order to Palestine, even seeing that Syrian donations to Cîteaux were given over to the Premonstratensians,<sup>20</sup> he had a deep concern for the protection of the Holy Places. This is brought out in his admiration for the new Order of the Temple which united the vocations of monk and knight for the defense of unarmed pilgrims. Bernard had always had close contacts with the Templars. His uncle, Andrew of Montbard was one of their nine founding members, and eventually rose to become their fifth grand master.<sup>21</sup> Hugh of Champagne, whose goodwill and bounty had made possible the foundation of Clairvaux and Trois-Fontaines, also became a Templar.<sup>22</sup> And in 1128 Bernard, Stephen Harding and many other Cistercians were present at the Council of Troyes which ratified and put into written form the Rule of the Knights Templar.<sup>23</sup> Bernard played a special role in the

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20. Bern. ep. no. 253. Geoffrey of Auxerre suggests that "because of the incursions of the pagans, and the unhealthiness of the climate [Bernard] would never agree to send his brethren there, although the king of that land had prepared a place to receive them." Vita Sancti Bernardi, lib. III, c. vii, PL, CLXXXV, 316B.

21. Ibid., lib. III, c. iv; Vacandard, Vie, I, 254; P. Cousin, "Les Débuts de l'ordre des Templiers et Saint Bernard," MStB, pp. 41-52, esp. p. 52.

22. Bern. ep. no. 31; Vacandard, Vie, I, 231.

23. Others present who had Cistercian affinities were, Archbishop Henry of Sens, Archbishop Raynald of Rheims, Abbot Hugh of Pontigny, and the abbots of Trois Fontaines and Molesme. See John of Saint Michael's, Prologus in Regulam Templiorum, HGF, XIV, 232; Williams, Bernard of Clairvaux, p. 236; and n. 24 below.

composition of the "Rule of the Poor Knights of Christ and the Temple of Solomon".<sup>24</sup> The prestigious support of the Cistercians soon brought many recruits to the new military order,<sup>25</sup> and this trend was amplified when, about 1135, Hugh of Payns, the Grand Master, convinced the Abbot of Clairvaux to write a tract on its behalf.<sup>26</sup> De Laude Novae Militiae

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24. M. Melville, La Vie des Templiers, Gallimard, 1951, p. 20, believes Bernard played little or no part in the proceedings, merely consenting to what the assembly had established. G. De Valous, "Quelques Observations sur la toute primitive observance des Templiers et la Regula pauperum commilitonum Christi Templi Salomonici redigée par Saint Bernard au concile de Troyes (1128)," MStB, pp. 32-40, believes the written rule to be merely an extension of the primitive customs of the knights and that the role of Bernard has been overestimated. But Cousin, p. 43, has collected important evidence to support his contention that Bernard was "l'âme et la cheville ouvrière de l'assemblée." See also John of Saint Michael's, loc.cit. The famous historian of the crusades, William of Tyre, reports in his Historia Rerum in Partibus Transmarinis Gestarum (lib. XII, c. vii, RHC Hist Oc, I, tr. E.A. Babcock and A.C. Krey, 2 vols, N.Y., 1943) that the abbots of Cîteaux, Clairvaux, and Pontigny were present. Bernard Guidonis, Vita Honorii papae, RIS, IIIb, pars I, 422, writes: "data (eis) fuit regula quam S Bernardus conscripsit." For the text of the rule established at Troyes see the appendix to Schnurer, Die Ursprungliche Templerregel, Freiburg, 1903. The fullest account of the council is still that of Bishop Hefele, Histoire des Conciles, ed. & tr. H. Leclercq, Paris, 1907ff., V, pt. 1, 670f.
25. V. Carrière, "Les débuts de l'ordre du Temple en France," Moyen Age, XXV, 1914, 308-334. See the important letter printed by C. Sclafert, "Lettre inédite de Hugues de Saint-Victor aux Chevaliers du Temple," Revue d'Ascétique et de Mystique, XXXIV, 1958, 275-299. It is discussed in M. Barber, "The Origins of the Order of the Temple," Studia Monastica, XII, 1970, 219-240.
26. Bernard of Clairvaux, De Laude Novae Militiae, Prologus, PL, CLXXXII, 921.

reveals that enthusiasm with which Bernard greeted the new concept of the soldier-monk represented by the Templars. He feels there can no longer be any doubt as to the compatibility of warlike pursuits and monastic retreat. He thinks the warfare of the Templars only defensive and thus just and valid. When Moslems attack Christian pilgrims, the knights protect them; if infidels menace the Holy Places, which are a Christian inheritance, the new militia must defend them.<sup>27</sup> In contrast to the decadent, disorderly, and effeminate secular knights, the Templars are monks following the vows of poverty, chastity and obedience; they represent order and justice. Just as in Cistercian literature Stephen Harding is called fortissimorum atheletorum Christi,<sup>28</sup> so now Bernard refers to the new fortis athleta who both by their life, and by their death serve God; they are truly milites Christi.<sup>29</sup> In comparison to them, worldly knights bring about not order, but evil: non dico militiae sed malitiae.<sup>30</sup> The Templar, writes Bernard, "is the minister of God for punishing malfactors and when he kills them it is

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27. Ibid., c. i, 922-923; Cousin, p. 47.

28. PL, CLXXXV, 449B.

29. De Laude, c. i, 922B: "Gaude, fortis athleta, si vivis et vincis in Domino: sed magis exsulta et gloriare, si moreris et jungeris Domino."

30. Ibid., cii, 923B: "Quis igitur finis fructusve saecularis huius, non dico militiae, sed malitiae."

not homicide but malicide".<sup>31</sup> In the Order of the Temple, the abbot of Clairvaux saw an opportunity for the secular knight to escape worldly confusion and darkness, and become a tool of the Lord, doing His will. After Bernard, the term Soldier of Christ would no longer be primarily used in a spiritual sense.

### III

In the summer of 1145 pilgrims and merchants returning to Western Europe from Palestine began to spread news of Christian defeat in the East. The fall of Edessa to the Moslems weakened the Christian position in the Holy Land and alarmed the Palestinian baronage. At the urging of the young but pious Louis VII of France, and the command of Pope Eugenius III, Saint Bernard was persuaded to preach the cross.<sup>32</sup> On Palm Sunday, March 31, 1146, a great assembly

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31. De Laude, c.iii, 924B. "Dei etenim minister est ad vindictam malefactorum, laudem vero bonorum. Sane cum occidit malefactorem, non homicida, sed, ut ita dixerim, malicidia, et plane Christi vindex in his qui male agunt, et defensor Christianorum reputatur. Cum autem occiditur ipse, non periisse, sed pervenisse cognoscitur."

32. The story of the abbot's role in the Second Crusade has found many narrators within the enormous bulk of Bernardine literature. It was established in the nineteenth century that the first initiative did not come from Bernard. See E. Vacandard, "Saint Bernard et la Second Croisade," Revue des Questions Historiques, XXXVIII, 1885, 398-457; Vie, II; E. Pfeiffer, "Die Stellung des Hl. Bernhard zur Kreuzzugsbewegung nach seine Schriften," Cistercienser Chronik, XLVI, 1934, 273-283, 304-311; "Die Cistercienser und der zweite Kreuzzug," Ibid., XLVII, 1935, 8-10, 44-54, 78-81, 107-114, 145-150. Pfeiffer's studies have been condensed into the more readily available work of E. Williams, "Cîteaux et la Second Croisade," Revue

of lords and prelates was held at Vezelay, an important French shrine where the bones of Mary Magdalene were said to be preserved. The crowd was so vast that there was no room within the town for such a multitude. A wooden platform was erected outside the walls and from there the Abbot of Clairvaux read the Papal message and exhorted the throng. From Bernard's hands Louis VII received a special cross sent to him by the Supreme Pontiff. The king's subjects responded enthusiastically to the Abbot's appeal; many bishops and great lords enrolled in the venture. The multitude cried out for crosses until Bernard had exhausted his supply and had to rip pieces of white cloth from his own attire to satisfy the demand. The Second Crusade was launched.<sup>33</sup>

While the king and his advisors made arrangements for the journey,<sup>34</sup> Bernard preached the cross throughout France sending messengers or letters to those whom he could

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d'Histoire Ecclésiastique, XLIX, 1954, 116-151. Also see A. Seguin, "Bernard et la Second Croisade," Bernard de Clairvaux, Paris, 1953, pp. 379-409; and most recently B. Flood, "Saint Bernard's View of Crusade," The Australasian Catholic Record, XLVII, 1970, 130-143. For further references see following notes and Mrs. Berry's bibliography in PHC, I, 463-464.

33. Odo of Deuil, De Profectione Ludovici VII in Orientem, ed. & tr. V.G. Berry, N.Y., 1948, lib. I, pp. 6-11; Chronicon Mauriniacense, HGF, XII, 319; Otto of Freising, Gesta Friderici I Imperatoris, lib. I, C. xxxvii, MGH SS, XX; tr. C.C. Mierow, N.Y., 1953. For a modern account see PHC, I, 469.
34. Odo of Deuil, loc.cit., II; J. Leclercq, "Un document sur Saint Bernard et la Second Croisade," Revue Mabillon, XLIII, 1953, 1-4.

not personally reach.<sup>35</sup> He penned a general appeal to the rulers of Christendom, a kind of encyclical upon the necessity of assuming the cross.<sup>36</sup> He corresponded with princes as remote as Vladislav of Bohemia<sup>37</sup> and even gave attention to matters as distant as the "conversion" of Kievan Russia.<sup>38</sup> The crusade was to be a general offensive against infidelitas.

Bernard had no elaborately worked out logical formulation of the crusade. What he said about it in his letters contained few novel ideas and not a few contradictions.

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35. Odo of Deuil, loc.cit. "Abbas vero...ubique circumvolat praedicando, et multiplicati sunt super numerum in parvo tempore crucem portantes." Throughout the Autumn of 1146 he preached in Northern France and Flanders. See PL, CLXXXV, 1797ff. and the outline in Williams, Saint Bernard of Clairvaux, p. 269.
36. Bern. ep. no. 363: Ad Orientalis Franciae Clerum et Populum, PL, CLXXXII, 564-568; To the English People, tr. James, pp. 460-463. The participation of Spain and contact between Bernard and that land has been suggested by Father Leopold Grill, "Die Kreuzzugs-Epistel St. Bernhards: Ad Peregrinantes Jerusalem," Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktiner-Ordens, LXVII, 1956, 237-253, but rejected by J. Leclercq in his important study "L'encyclique de Saint Bernard en faveur de la croisade," Revue Benedictine, LXXXI, 1971, 282-308, esp. 288, n.1.
37. Bern. ep. no. 458, Ad Wladislaum ducem, PL, CLXXXII, 652-654. Vladislav corresponded in turn with Louis VII. See E. Pellegrin, "Membra disiecta Floriacensia," Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des chartes, CXVII, 1959, 22-23, cited in Leclercq, "L'encyclique," p. 282.
38. See the letter of Bishop Matthew of Cracow to Bernard in PL, CLXXXII, 681-2. It is interesting to note that Vladislav returned to the West not by the usual route through Latinized Hungary, but through Kiev. See L. Grill, "Bernhard von Clairvaux und die Ostkirche," Analecta, XIX, 1963, 165-188, esp. 179ff.



Nevertheless, his words convey to us the power of his character and the strength of his commitment. Above all else he considered the call of Eugenius III with its offer of indulgence a surprising but wonderful opportunity. "Now is the acceptable time," he begins, "now is the day of salvation."<sup>39</sup> The Holy Places are severely threatened, but the hand of the Lord is not shortened; he is not powerless. "Could he not send more than twelve legions of angels?"<sup>40</sup> asks the Abbot. The battle is just, because it is defensive, opportune because it is a cause in which victory means glory but death is of all the more gain. To Bernard it is a time of "jubilee", a time of pardon and of deliverance.<sup>41</sup> The matter at hand is the negotia Christi to be carried out by the exercitus Domini.<sup>42</sup> If hope for those outside the cloister was small, the present situation is an opportunity for conversio, a call to moral reform.<sup>43</sup> It is the initial step of assuming the cross which is of greatest importance.

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39. Bern. ep. To the English People, tr. James, p. 461. For the text of the circular see Leclercq, "Encyclique," loc.cit.: "Ecce nunc, tempus acceptabile, ecce nunc dies copiosae salutis."

40. Ibid.

41. Ibid. p. 462. Cp. note 29 above.

42. Bern. ep. no. 468, PL, CLXXXII, 654A.

43. Ibid., no. 363, 566A; Leclercq, loc.cit. p. 297, line 45: "non vult mortem vestram, sed ut convertamini et vivatis." The Gesta Abbatum Lobbiensium, MGH SS, XXI, 369, aptly describes Bernard's crusade preaching "ad conversionis et conversationis habitum."

If Bernard used many of the same ideas as those originally brought forth by Urban II and the first crusaders, there is a change in accent in his preaching. He writes in an uncompromising spirit highly suggestive of the idea of a Holy War;<sup>44</sup> but his emphasis is always on the spiritual and eternal aspect of the conflict. He draws upon the Cistercian experience to issue a more personal and more mystical appeal.<sup>45</sup> The stress is no longer upon collective

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44. In none of his crusade epistles does he use the term sacrum bellum. To the English, however, he writes (James, p. 463): "...as [the pagans] have now begun to attack us, it is necessary for those of us who do not carry a sword in vain to repel them with force. It is an act of Christian piety both to vanquish the proud and also to spare the subjected..." (Aeneid, 6, 853). It was still very much an open question whether such a war could be called "Holy". On the gradual adoption of Moslem ideas of Holy War see J. Leclercq, "Gratien, Pierre de Troyes, et la Seconde Croisade," Studia Gratiana, II, 1957, 583-593, where there is an analysis of the question put by the Latin Patriarch of Jerusalem to Abbot Peter Manducator of Troyes (1147-1167), and the latter's reply affirming that the blood of infidels may freely be shed in a war for the Holy Places. More generally see P. Lorson, "Saint Bernard devant la guerre et la paix," Nouvelle Revue Theologique, LXXXV, 1953, 785-802.

45. E. Delaruelle, "L'idée de croisade chez Saint Bernard," MStB, pp. 53-67, maintains that the Abbot's theology of the human and historical Christ rather than pilgrimage and the Celestial Jerusalem was at the basis of this aspect of his crusade idea. Moreover its major merit is "une puissante synthèse moins intellectuelle que mystique - sa dialectique est celle du coeur - et de leur prêter une voix éloquente" (p. 64). To Bernard the crusade has "un caractère sacramental; avant d'être une stratégie et une politique, elle est une liturgie" (p. 58). The sacramental character is analogous to traditional Benedictine monastic vows. Benedict's Rule with its constant emphasis upon compassion unites with Bernard's stress upon the human Christ to produce

pilgrimage but upon the general struggle between Christianitas and Infidelitas.<sup>46</sup> The Abbot's support of the Saxon project of a northern crusade against the Slavic Wends,<sup>47</sup> in place of the Palestinian expedition, underlines the importance of the spiritual as opposed to the temporal goals. Since spiritual aims were manifestly superior, the actual physical destination of the crusaders could be changed. Bernard's emphasis upon penitence and moral reform reflected his monastic outlook and his intimate concern with the spiritual battle. This emphasis was to set the tone for all later Cistercian preachers of the crusade. "Take up the Sign of the Cross," he concludes, "and you will find indulgence for all the sins which you humbly confess. The cost is small.

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an intensely personal appeal. The Abbot has added a new note of compassion to earlier calls to duty and obedience. On this see F.W. Wentzlaff-Eggbert, Kreuzzugsdichtung des Mittelalters, Berlin, 1960, pp. 20-28, and more succinctly his "Devotio in der Kreuzzugspredigt des Mittelalters," Festgabe Kurt Wagner, Giessen, 1960, pp. 26-33, esp. pp. 29-30. On the themes of crusade preaching in general see G. Wolfram, "Kreuzpredigt and Kreuzlied," Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum, XXX, 1886, 89-122, who lists duty (p.97) as a foremost characteristic. I have not seen V. Cramer, Die Kreuzzugspredigt zur Befreiung des Heiligen Landes, Cologne, 1939, or the preparatory studies for this work.

46. Delaruelle, "Idée," p. 60, after P. Dérumaux, "Saint Bernard et les infidèles," MStB, pp. 68-79, notes of Bernard "qu'il n'y a que deux blocs, Christianitas et Infidelitas, entre lesquels c'est une question de force." On the idea of collective pilgrimage and its decline see Alphandéry, I, passim.
47. Otto of Freising, Gesta Friderici, lib. I, c xlii; Bern. ep. no. 457; PHC, I, 478-479; Willems, p. 136; Seguin, p. 403.

The reward is great."<sup>48</sup>

IV

Bernard looked upon the crusade as an unexpected blessing for the Christian laity but he did not believe that monks should take part in the venture. The monastic - more specifically, the Cistercian - way of life was a higher calling than that of crusader or pilgrim, and the monk could not abandon his obligation to stabilitas.<sup>49</sup> The quest for

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48. Bern. ep. no. 363, PL, CLXXXII, 267A; James, p. 462; Leclercq, "L'encyclique," p. 298, lines 73-75.

49. When the Abbot of Saint John of Chartres considered leaving his post for the Holy Land, Bernard immediately attempted to dissuade him, asking who else would trouble unity and peace by such an idea "if not the ancient Enemy of the human race, the enemy of the cross of Christ, the Devil?" See letter no. 288, PL, CLXXXII, 493; James, p. 479. Above all else see Bernard's circular letter to his fellow abbot's cautioning them against allowing their monks to go on the crusade, "trying to mix themselves in the turmoil of the world." (James, p. 468f. Not in PL.) The Cistercian Saint was not alone in his opinion. He was anticipated by Anselm of Canterbury who had objected to monastic participation in the First Crusade (PL, CLIX, 165; S. Schmitt, "Zur Überlieferung der Korrespondenz Anselms von Canterbury, Neue Briefe," Revue Benedictine, XLIII, 1931, 224-238), and seconded by Peter the Venerable in 1147-1148. (V. Berry, "Peter the Venerable and the Crusade," Petrus Venerabilis, ed. G. Constable and J. Kritzik, Studia Anselmiana, XLI, Rome, 1956.) On the period after the Twelfth Century see J.A. Brundage, "A Transformed Angel (x3. 31. 18): The Problem of the Crusading Monk," Studies in Medieval Cistercian History Presented to Jeremiah F. O'Sullivan, Cistercian Studies Series, 13, Spenser, Mass., 1971, pp. 55-72. References to monastic participation exist for the Second Crusade. Robert of Torigny (Chronica, RS, LXXXII, pt. 4, p. 152) refers to "non solum milites et laici, sed etiam episcopi, clerici, monachi." According to Abbé Du Bois,

the celestial Jerusalem was of greater importance than visiting the physical city. To neglect the former for the latter was to upset the right order of things.<sup>50</sup> Lay knight, Cistercian, and even Templar,<sup>51</sup> each held a special place in society; to move from one's assigned post would be a betrayal of the order and safety of Christendom.

The early success of the Order of Cîteaux had been helped considerably by an emphasis upon good constitutional organization and discipline.<sup>52</sup> And though occasional breaches of discipline occurred - notably amongst the Lay brothers<sup>53</sup> - order and regularity marked the life of the monks

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Histoire de l'Abbaye du Morimond, Paris, 1852, p. 93, a group of Cistercian monks from that house had been authorized to go to the East to bring back the relics of Saint George.

50. See Bern ep. no. 64, where the Abbot defends a young canon who gave up the Iter Jerusalem for Clairvaux and "that free Jerusalem which is above and mother of us all." For another example see ibid., no. 399. Similarly when a young knight who had wished to go on crusade to the Holy Land joined the Cistercian house of Mortemer, its abbot made him understand "which road extends toward the heavenly Jerusalem." See J. Bouvet, "Le récit de la fondation de Mortemer," Collectanea, XXII, 1960, p. 152, 3-4, cited by Leclercq, "Pérégrination," p. 47.
51. Bern. ep. no. 288, PL, CLXXXII, 493; James, p. 479.
52. See Lekai, The White Monks, pp. 22-33, esp. 26-28.
53. J.S. Donnelly, The Decline of the Medieval Cistercian Laybrotherhood, Fordham University Studies, N.Y., 1949, p. 63. "During the years 1168-1308, there were, at the very least 123 revolts in the Cistercian Order, for most of which lay brothers and monks were responsible. Whereas monks were responsible for twenty of them, and

and provided a light against the darkness and disorder of the outside world. Thus, it was with great consternation that Bernard and his companions heard news of disorders in parts of France and the Rheinland said to have been provoked by a wandering Cistercian monk named Ralph.<sup>54</sup> This monk was very successful in arousing enthusiasm for the crusade and was especially admired by the poorer classes. Popular excitement was great. "Everywhere, in all parts of Germany and the West," writes a chronicler, "the word of the Holy Cross thundered as if from the heavens."<sup>55</sup> As in the First Crusade, the excitement soon turned into anger against the Jews. There were Jewish massacres in Cologne, Mainz, Worms,

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monks and conversi for twenty-seven, the lay brothers alone caused forty-nine. Obviously the recalcitrance of the conversi was extraordinarily disturbing. The catalogue of violence in these outbursts was as varied as one might expect in serious emotional aberrations - ranging from the relatively mild offenses of chasing the abbot some fifteen miles (admittedly with a more pointed objective in mind) and of concocting plots that were stillborn, to mutilation, and, in at least six and possibly eight cases, homicide with the abbot and the cellarer taking prominence among the victims."

54. The Annales Rodenses, MGH SS, XVI, 718, tell us "Rodolphus iste fuit ex ordine Clarevallensis aecclesiae." Possibly he was a lay brother, for according to Otto of Freising he was a man of only moderate learning, "sed litterarum notitia sobrie imbutus." (Gesta, lib. I, c. xxxvii.) Otto carefully refrains from mentioning that Ralph was a member of the Cistercian Order.
55. Annales Rodenses, loc.cit. "Eodem anno, intonuit quasi de caelo verbum sanctae crucis in omnibus ubique partibus Germaniae et occidentis super filios Ierosolimitanae expeditionis..."

Speyer and Strassburg.<sup>56</sup> Although great lords like Archbishop Henry of Mainz tried to maintain order and protect the persecuted race, their efforts proved insufficient.<sup>57</sup> Popular enthusiasm was too great. Attempts by the authorities to control the crowds only led to friction and moved the people of the cities "to repeated outbreaks against their lords."<sup>58</sup>

Like some of the ragged hermits whose fiery eloquence had aroused the people in the era of the First Crusade, Ralph's preaching soon led his audience to attempt an internal purification of Europe prior to the offensive against foreign lands.<sup>59</sup> Despite the fact that he could

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56. Runciman, Crusades, II, 254. The Jews of Norwich were rumored to have killed a Christian child and were persecuted as a result. See Vacandard, Vie, II, 276ff. In France, Jews were attacked at Ham (Somme), Sully (Eure), Carentan (Manche), and Ramerupt (Aube). See J. Prawer, Histoire du Royaume Latin de Jérusalem, tr. G. Nahon, vol. I, Paris, 1969, p. 356.

57. See Bernard's letter replying to Henry's request for aid no. 365, PL, CLXXXII, 570; James, p. 465.

58. Otto of Freising, Gesta Friderici, lib. I, c xxxix.

59. Itinerant preachers like some of Peter the Hermit's followers had found it an easy matter to transform the ideas of collective pilgrimage and reform into the internal purification of Christendom by destruction of such enemies of the faith as the Jews. Ralph clearly stood in this tradition, whereas Bernard's accent upon individual salvation was alien to it. See Prawer, pp. 335-336; E.L. Dietrich, "Das Judentum im Zeitalter der Kreuzzüge," Saeculum, III, 1952, 94-131.

speaking no German,<sup>60</sup> to the paupers of the Rhineland he was a special kind of leader, a saintly man, an apostle<sup>61</sup> and prophet.<sup>62</sup> Rudolphus propheta had been preceded by extraordinary signs: The harsh winter of 1144, famine, and the appearance of the comet had been followed by the circulation of certain Celestial Letters<sup>63</sup> and the Sybiline Prophecies.<sup>64</sup> Letters dispatched by Bernard to Henry of Mainz failed to quell the disturbance, for the people were now aroused to eschatological excitement and the feeling that the Last

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60. So great a man as Abbot Lambert of Lobbes condescended to act as his interpreter. See the Gesta Abbatum Lobbiensium, MGH SS, XXI, 329.
61. Ibid. "Sub hiis quoque diebus a novo quodam ut putabatur apostolo Radulpho nomine, vita et habitu et scientia insigni per universos populos verbum Dei disseminabatur." On the attractiveness of such ideas to the poorest classes of society see N. Cohn, The Pursuit of the Millennium, N.Y., 1961, p. 57ff.
62. See the brief but moving description of events in the Annales S. Iacobi Leodiensis, MGH SS, XVI, 640-641. It is interesting to note that St. Hildegard in a critique of the Cistercian lay brothers thought that in their rebelliousness "they are like false prophets." (pseudoprophetis simile sunt) PL, CXCVII, 263-264; Donnelly, p.27.
63. Chronicon S. Maxentii, HGF, XII, 405. See the discussion in Alphandéry, I, 171-172.
64. On the sybiline oracle, its application to Louis VII, and its appearance when Ralph was preaching in the Rhineland see Cohn, loc.cit. For the text of the oracle see Otto of Freising, Gesta Friderici, Prologue.



Days were at hand.<sup>65</sup> The common people rallied to their leader as to a messenger from God; lesser authorities they would not heed. Bernard resolved to go to Mainz.

When the Abbot arrived in Mainz, reports Otto of Freising, he found Ralph living there "in greatest favor with the people".<sup>66</sup> Bernard finally prevailed upon the propheta to return to his monastery. Whereupon "the people were very angry and even wanted to start an insurrection, but they were restrained by regard for Bernard's saintliness".<sup>67</sup> It was this saintliness which finally won over the German peoples aroused by Ralph to a more orderly type of Crusade. The exceptional aura which animated Bernard's appearance and speech combined with the vigorous discipline of Cîteaux to produce a powerful front. The strength of the former moved the crowds of the Rhineland toward the latter. Only a more obvious or greater sign from God could

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65. Bernard thought it necessary to mention in his letter that Ralph had not been sent as God's messenger. See Bern. ep. no. 365, PL, CLXXXII, 570B; James p. 465. For a contemporary account that favours Ralph over Bernard see the Annales Rodenses, loc.cit. On the eschatological implications of natural phenomena see Annales S. Dionyisii Remenses, MGH SS, XXIII, 83; Auctarius Gemblacensis, Chronicon, HGF, XIII, 273, 274; Gerhoh of Reichersberg, De Investigatione Antichristi, lib. I, c. lxvii, MGH LdeL, III, 384-385; Notae Pisanae, MGH SS, XIX, 266. The best modern account of Ralph's place in the millenial tradition is Alphandéry, I, 170-176.

66. Gesta Friderici, lib. I, c. xxxix.

67. Ibid.

win the hearts of the multitude from the Prophet Ralph. This Bernard accomplished. Like Ralph, speaking through an interpreter, the Abbot aroused his listeners so much by his very appearance and supposedly unintelligible words that it was accounted a miracle.<sup>68</sup> "The blessed Abbot," writes his companion, Geoffrey, "while he had scarcely entered the Kingdom of Germany, shone forth there through the gift of curing with such power that it cannot be expressed in words, nor believed if it is told."<sup>69</sup>

Bernard had not been long in Germany before he turned to Conrad III, heir to the Imperial crown, as a leader for the new German recruits. At first, Conrad refused to have anything to do with the venture, but one day, as Bernard was saying Mass before the Imperial court at Speyer, the Abbot suddenly turned to the King picturing

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68. Geoffrey of Auxerre, Vita Sancti Bernardi, lib. III.

69. "Regnum quoque Germaniae cum introisset aliquando Vir beatus, tam excellenter enituit in gratia sanitarum, ut nec verbis exprimi, nec credi valeat si dicitur." (ibid., lib. IV, c.v., 338A.) Similarly, in another chapter (lib. III, c. iv,) Geoffrey argues that God's blessing was given to Bernard's preaching of the Crusade because of the constant miracles performed by the Abbot. Vacandard, "Second croisade," p. 428. writes: "Si l'on en cruit ses compagnons de route, de Spire jusqu'à Clairvaux sa course fut une véritable trainée de miracles...C'est elle puissance surnaturelle de saint Bernard, plus encore que son éloquence, qui explique le succès de ses predications sur les bords du Rhin." Some observers of the miracles worked by Bernard thought that they ushered in the Last Days and had great eschatological implications. See for example, Alphandéry, I, 180f.

him in judgment before Christ. "O man, what have I not done for thee that I ought to have done!" cried the Abbot, listing the Lord's gifts to Conrad and charging him to take up the cross. The king, ashamed of his ingratitude, broke down and acknowledged his submission to God's will. He received the cross from Bernard's own hands. Amidst general excitement the Abbot called it "the miracle of miracles."<sup>70</sup>

It was natural that Bernard should be so delighted at Conrad's decision, for only the king's leadership could ensure order among the unruly crowds recruited by Ralph. Conrad was heir to the Western Imperium and the traditional defender and military leader of Christendom. The emphasis Bernard placed on his participation in the crusade reflects the basic Cistercian love of good organization, of order and discipline. The hierarchy of the offensive would be incomplete without him.<sup>71</sup> Similarly, the Abbot attempted to

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70. Vita Sancti Bernardi, lib. VI, pars I, c. iv, PL, CLXXV, 381-383; Otto of Freising, Gesta Friderici, lib. I, c. xlii. For modern accounts see Williams, Saint Bernard of Clairvaux, pp. 273-274; and PHC, I, 474-475, which gives further references. Most recently see "Der Kaiserdom zu Speyer als Wirkenstätte Bernhards von Clairvaux," 900 Jahre Speyerdom: Festschrift zum Jahrestag der Domweihe 1061-1961, Spire, 1961, pp. 188-218.

71. This accent upon order is brought out in Bernard's circular letter (no. 363, PL, CLXXXII, 564ff.; Leclercq, "Encyclique," p. 299, line 114ff.): "It is necessary that real soldiers, men trained in the art of warfare, be chosen as commanders; that the Army of the Lord take the field at one concerted time, acting as a united force in order to be strong at all points, and ready to resist attack from any quarter" Alphandéry, I,

ensure that a general spirit of humility and penitence be preserved among the pilgrims. Rules were drawn up to ensure discipline.<sup>72</sup> Bishop Geoffrey of Langres, a former prior of Clairvaux who maintained close contact with Bernard, travelled with the French King and was his constant advisor.<sup>73</sup> Another Cistercian bishop, Otto of Freising, led

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185, speaks of "une pensée d'ordre et de hierarchie que Bernard a prêché." The Abbot's efforts to quell the internal feuds of Christendom also reflect concern with peace and order. See PHC, I, 473, and more extensively A. Bredero, "Studien zu den Kreuzzugsbriefen Bernhards von Clairvaux und seiner Reise nach Deutschland im Jahre 1146," Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung, LXVI 1958, 331-343.

72. They are fully described by Mrs. Berry in PHC, I, 481-482, who suggests that they may have been influenced by the ideas of Bernard.
73. Cistercian monks or abbots who became prelates were not dispensed from wearing the habit of the Order. They were expected to observe the regular fasts, recite the Cistercian Breviary and to attend the meetings of the General Chapter. Always accompanied by a small group of choir monks and lay brothers from the Order, the prelate was considered to be the abbot and head of a religious family distinct from his greater congregation. See the Compendium of the History of the Cistercian Order, Gethsemani, Kentucky, 1944, pp. 82-83. Geoffrey of Auxerre says that his namesake of Langres consulted Bernard frequenter et familiariter (Vita Bernardi, lib. IV c. iii, PL, CLXXXV, 328D). John of Salisbury writes that he claimed special authority by virtue of his relationship to Bernard (Historia Pontificalis, c. xxiv, ed. & tr. M. Chibnall, London, 1956, p. 55). He had been a keen supporter of Louis VII's crusade project from the very beginning (Odo of Deuil, De Profectione, lib. I, p. 7; PHC, I, 467ff.) but was later noted mainly for his anti-Greek sentiment (Odo of Deuil, De Profectione, lib. III, 55, 58; lib. II, 27; lib. IV, 68). On his role in the crusade see G. Drioux, "Geoffrey de la Roche et la Seconde Croisade," Cahiers Haut Marnais, XIII, 1948, 166-172. His place in the

the German army to Syria.<sup>74</sup> Pope Eugenius, a Cistercian and disciple of Bernard, was also concerned with orderly conduct and strong leadership.<sup>75</sup> Above all else towered the compelling personality of the Abbot of Clairvaux. He alone was able to unite an intensely personal appeal - which was linked to his remarkable ability to perform miracles - with a general sense of order and discipline. Like many an unruly rustic prophet he could arouse intense popular emotion, yet this was always moderated by a sense of direction and respect for the established order. By contrast, the Prophet Ralph possessed a fiery appeal reminiscent of Peter the Hermit and his disciples, and with little respect for the hierarchy. According to Bernard unauthorized preaching, contempt for authority, incitation

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rising hostility against Byzantium is discussed in W. Daly, "Christian Fraternaty, the Crusaders, and the Security of Constantinople, 1097-1204; The Precarious Survival of an Ideal," Mediaeval Studies, XXII, 1960, 43-91.

74. For a biographical sketch of Otto see Mierow's introduction to his translation of the Chronicon, p. 3ff. He was especially noted as a regular attendant at the General Chapters of Cîteaux and always wore the habit of the Order (Compendium, loc.cit.). His role in the crusade is described by Runciman, Crusades, II, 267-268. In contrast to Geoffrey of Langres, Otto betrays to us no hostility to the Greeks whatsoever. See the Gesta Friderici, lib. III, c. xx, and Constable, "Second Crusade," pp. 220-224. When speaking of the Bishop of Langres, Runciman (ibid., p. 268) refers to the "un-Christian intolerance of a monk of Clairvaux." Otto's example shows that Clairvaux was not the determining factor in this reaction.
75. See H.K. Mann, Lives of the Popes in the Middle Ages, 18 vols., London, 1925, IX.

to murder were Ralph's three greatest offences.<sup>76</sup> All three ran strongly against the primitive ideals of Cîteaux; all three resulted in disorder and chaos. Though the Monk Ralph was a Cistercian and reflected one dark undercurrent within the Order, the overwhelming influence of Bernard made possible the containment of this anarchical tendency. The rigorous asceticism of Cîteaux was matched by its subservience to higher authority. The people at large might be more moved by the highly charged apparition of the rustic hermit than the cold diplomacy of great prelates, but in Saint Bernard and the Cistercian Order, the Pope and the hierarchy gained a tool whose utility in the awakening of public ardour was to be unsurpassed. While the brethren

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76. Bern. ep. no. 365, PL, CLXXXII, 570f.; James p. 465f. In another letter Bernard referred to the disaster brought on by Peter the Hermit's preaching, the fate of his followers in the East, and the folly of undertaking such an adventure without proper organization. (no. 363, 568. Not in James.) During the course of his preaching in Germany the Abbot often fled the crowds of poor folk which continually flocked to see, hear, and be cured by him. See Williams, Saint Bernard of Clairvaux, 268-274, 278-281, who also suggests that when the Saint passed by the Abbey of Neufmoutier, founded by Peter the Hermit, and where his relics were preserved, he hastened onward with all speed to avoid arousing the imagination of the rustic classes whose hero Peter had been (p. 276). Alphandéry, I, 179, thinks Bernard very much concerned with the opportunity that the crusade provides for the rich who are the only ones capable of actual warfare. Thus the Abbot directs his preaching primarily at the wealthy. Alphandéry claims, however, that Bernard does make use of the crowds of poor folk to create a spirit of hopefulness so that the wealthy upper classes might be convinced to take the cross more easily (I, 183).

of Cîteaux prayed, the powerful armies which they had helped to create marched toward the Holy Sepulchre and battle with the infidel.

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The Second Crusade was a military disaster. Conrad's army was cut to pieces on the plains of Anatolia, Louis VII's was destroyed in Syria. The Saxons achieved nothing against the Wends. Voices were raised against the architects of the enterprise and the Cistercian Order fell under a shadow.<sup>77</sup> Attention was most readily focused upon the role of Saint Bernard. "On account of its sins God allowed the Western Church, to be cast down," begins the

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77. F. Winter, Die Cistercienser des nordostlichen Deutschlands, 3 vols., Gotha, 1868, I, 56, thinks the slower growth rate of the Order after the crusade one of the results of the failure. Constable, "Second Crusade," p. 276, writes: "Certainly 1147 was the peak year, after which there was a sharp reduction in the number of new houses; but the falling off in the middle and late 1150's was presumably owing largely to the death of Saint Bernard and to the stringent restriction on the foundation of new abbeys enacted by the General Chapter in 1152." Willems, p. 148, who throughout minimizes Cistercian participation in the crusade writes: "...une situation générale de désaffection pour l'ordre de Cîteaux est loin d'être prouvée. Bien au contraire, des recherches minutieuses dans les cartulaires de nombreuses abbayes amènent à conclure que les largesses en faveur des monastères cisterciens furent aussi fréquentes et aussi importantes après qu'avant la croisade." But this is certainly not so in the case of Clairvaux. A. King, Cîteaux and her Elder Daughters, London, 1954, p. 241, writes: "The preaching of the Crusade (1147-1148), with the gifts of those who had taken the cross, greatly extended the domain of Clairvaux, but from the lamentable failure of the enterprise till the death of the Saint there were no fresh donations."

stern annalist of Wurtzberg, "There arose, indeed, certain pseudo-prophets, sons of Belial, and witnesses of Antichrist, who seduced the Christians with empty words...to liberate Jerusalem."<sup>78</sup> Gerhoh of Reichersberg thought the whole enterprise was from the start the work of the devil,<sup>79</sup> while Nivard of Ghent accused Bernard of causing "fornicators, rapists, killers, oath-breakers, and arsonists" to take the cross.<sup>80</sup> These are the opinions of the Abbot's fellow clergymen. The laity did not record its feelings.

Already surprised at the extent of the Christian defeat,<sup>81</sup> Bernard was aroused by the intense criticism and

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78. Annales Herbipolenses, MGH SS, XVI, 38. This translation by J. Brundage, The Crusades: A Documentary Survey, Milwaukee, 1962, p. 121.

79. De Investigatione Antichristi, loc.cit.; Constable, "Second Crusade", p. 268. The logic of this kind of criticism was often supplemented by assurances that the omens, divine portents, and "signs" were unfavorable before the beginning of the venture. John of Salisbury tells how while the pope was saying Mass, the Eucharist wine spilled on the cloth before the altar and it was taken as a sign of evil things to come: "universalis ecclesie periculum timebatur" (MGH SS, 520). The comet of 1145 and a cyclone which struck the German camp before Constantinople were taken as bad omens. See Alphandéry, loc.cit., who writes that "les prodiges furent, on le sait, rares; et les prodiges de départ, si intéressants et nombreux dans la première croisade, sont ici particulièrement pauvres."

80. Nivard of Ghent, Ysengrimus, ed. E. Voigt, Halle, 1884, p. cxii, cited by P. Throop, Criticism of the Crusade: A Study of Public Opinion and Propaganda, Amsterdam, 1940, p. 99.

81. Bernard of Clairvaux, De Consideratione, lib. II, c.



inserted an apology for his actions into his widely circulated tract On Consideration. He did not doubt the rightfulness of his actions. He had not taken up the cause voluntarily but had done so upon the command of the Pope.<sup>82</sup> It was God's work. The ultimate causes of the failure lay in the inscrutable will of the Almighty.<sup>83</sup> They lay also in the fact that human misery is due to human sin. Bernard thought that the crusaders, though they had started well, were in the end faithless and rebellious. Consequently, God had allowed them to feel the full result of their own inconstancy. Like the Children of Israel wandering in the desert "they fell and perished on account of their iniquity."<sup>84</sup>

Certain Cistercians agreed with Bernard that the failure of the crusade was rooted in the sins of the

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i, PL, CLXXXII, 743B; tr. G. Lewis, Oxford, 1908 pp. 37-38: "We all know that the judgments of the Lord are true. But this is such a great deep one that I could almost justify myself for calling him blessed who is not offended thereat."

82. Geoffrey of Auxerre, Vita Bernardi, lib. III, c. iv; Vacandard, "Seconde Croisade," passim.

83. De Consideratione, loc.cit. "...how strange it is that men are so rash as to dare to reprehend what they cannot comprehend!" Constable, "Second Crusade," p. 267, stresses this point.

84. Ibid, 477A "...illi ceciderunt et perierunt propter iniquitatem suam..." Rousset, Première Croisade, passim. XX, and "L'idéal chevaleresque," p. 32, emphasizes this aspect of the Abbot's apology.

participants.<sup>85</sup> But Otto of Freising had led one of the armies and could not so easily condemn his fellow pilgrims. Instead, this eminent Cistercian made use of the Abbot's stress upon the crusade as an opportunity for salvation. "If our expedition," he concludes, "was not good for the extension of boundaries or the comfort of our bodies, it was good, however, for the salvation of many souls."<sup>86</sup> Greater spirits like Otto might find some consolation in such a philosophy, yet there were many Cistercians whose faith in the crusade was too severely tried. Perhaps a new lay disaffection with the monks had a part in this.

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85. About 1185-1186 Abbot John of Ford put these words into the mouth of his venerable hero, the hermit Wulfric of Haselbury: "[God] abandoned the false pilgrims, shaved the heads of the proud, and shamed the great men of the world because they sought not the Lord in truth but polluted the way of pilgrimage in idols." See G. Constable, "A Report of a Lost Sermon by Saint Bernard of Clairvaux on the Failure of the Second Crusade," Studies in Medieval Cistercian History Presented to Jeremiah F. O'Sullivan, Cistercian Studies Series, 13, Spenser, Mass., 1971, pp. 53-54.

86. Gesta Friderici, lib. I, c. lx: "...etsi non fuit bona pro dilatatione terminorum vel commoditate corporum, bona tamen fuit ad multarum salutem animarum." Abbot John of Casa Maria united Bernard's ideas with those of Otto, explaining that the crusade had started piously but later turned to sin. However, God in His wisdom "turned their wickedness into His mercy..." and decreed that "the host of angels who had fallen were to be replaced by those who died [in the Holy Land]." And because He had foreseen that the crusaders, although sinful, would be redeemed in this way, He had granted to Bernard "the grace of preaching and laboring in this matter." (Bern. ep. no. 386, PL, 590-591; Constable, "Second Crusade," pp. 270-271.) Similar arguments appear in Geoffrey of Auxerre, Vita Bernardi, lib. III, c. iv.

But while Bernard became involved in a new crusade project, even to the extent of urging on the Pope,<sup>87</sup> many members of the Order now refused to cooperate.<sup>88</sup> And so, despite the fact that toward the end of his life the most renowned of Cistercian saints became increasingly involved in the plight of the Holy Land,<sup>89</sup> the Order as a whole came to look upon the matter in an entirely different light. As well, continuing sickness severely limited Bernard's efforts; after his death in 1153, the project of a new crusade collapsed. The Cistercian Order could now attempt a return to its primitive isolation from the turmoil of worldly affairs.

## VI

Cistercian mistrust of travel, and devotion to the old idea of stabilitas were reinforced by the experience of the Second Crusade. Contact with Palestine was particularly

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87. In De Consideratione, loc.cit., he suggests to Eugenius the example of the Isrealites who returned to the task a second and third time. Above all else see letter 256 to Eugenius (PL, 463-465; James, pp. 470-472). For a modern commentary see B. Jacqueline, "Le role missionnaire du pape selon Saint Bernard de Clairvaux," Collectanea, XXI, 1969, 220-224.

88. Chronicum Turonense, HGF, XII, 474: "...abbas Clara-vallensis per Franciam ad alios praedicandos mitteretur, grandis iterum sermo de profectu transmarina celebratur sed per monachos Cistercienses totum cassatur." Also see Continuatio Praemonstratensis, MGH SS, VI, 455, and A. Manrique, Cistercienses seu verius ecclesiastici Annales a condito Cistercio, 4 vols., Lyons, 1642-1659, III, 129.

89. See longer notes.

discouraged. Four years after the death of Saint Bernard the General Chapter declared: "Whosoever leaves the Order in order to go to Jerusalem, or to make a pilgrimage to any other sanctuary, ... without any exceptions, will be banished from their own monastery and sent to another house of the Order never to return."<sup>90</sup> In following years the statutes limiting the ministry of monks outside their abbeys were reiterated.<sup>91</sup> This legislation was in line with the purest traditions of the Order and was consistent with the clear delineation between monk and crusader originally marked out by Bernard. Yet a complete return to the primitive isolation of Cîteaux was impossible to achieve.

Interest in the Holy Land was never entirely extinguished. Even during the era of the Second Crusade members of the Order were involved in pilgrimage to the East. Saint Famian of Osera, the first Cistercian to be canonized (1154), set out on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem in 1146.<sup>92</sup> Shortly afterward the Blessed Conrad, a monk of Clairvaux,

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90. Statuta, (1157: 53). "Qui de ordine exeunt ita ut Ierosolynam eant, vel aliam peregrinationem aliorum faciant, vel seipsos qualibet occasione faciunt abscidi vel incidi, sine omni personarum acceptione de domibus propriis amoti, mittantur in alias domos ordinis perpetuo nunquam reversi."

91. Ibid., (1157: 7), (1185: 8), (1186: 5), (1190-92: 74, 26, 30).

92. S. Steffen, "Der hl. Famian in der Geschichte und Legende," Studien und Mittheilungen aus dem Benediktiner und dem Cistercienser Orden, XXIX, 1908, 163-169, 461-470; NCE, V, 825.

managed to obtain the consent of Bernard himself in his project of going to the Holy Land to live as a hermit.<sup>93</sup> The aura of the Levant entered the Order with the foundation of new houses by returned crusaders, and by the retirement of the more pious or tired veterans into its cloisters. This continued even after the failure of the Second Crusade: William de Chevron, who had taken the Cross in 1147, wished upon his return to join his brothers who had entered the monastery of Tamie,<sup>94</sup> while elsewhere returned crusaders founded Bronnbach and Herrenalb.<sup>95</sup> Slowly, as the defeats of 1147-1148 became only a distant memory, contacts between Cîteaux and the Holy Land multiplied.

By retreating into the depths of the Burgundian forests, the founders of Cîteaux had hoped to avoid the worldly influence of feudal entanglements, but the gifts of crusaders who in a penitential spirit made donations to

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93. Conrad was one of those monks of Morimond who in the time of Arnold had undertaken to found a Cistercian community in the Orient. Persuaded to give up the venture by Bernard, he had retired to Clairvaux. See Historia Welforum Weingartensis, MGH SS, XXI, 463; A. Dietrich, "Der sel. Konrad von Bayern," Cistersienser Chronik, XXVI, 1914, 71-76; DHGE, XIII, 480; King, p. 336, n. 4.
94. J. Garin, Histoire de l'Abbaye de Tamie, Paris, 1927, p. 75.
95. L. Janauschek, Originum Cisterciensium Tomus I, Vienna, 1877, 92, 128; E. Pfeiffer, "Beziehungen deutscher Cistercienser und ihrer Kloster zu Kreuz und Pilgerfahrten nach dem hl. Land (1100-1300)," Cistersienser Chronik, XLVII, 1935, 271-272.

various monasteries constantly directed the attention of the monks toward events in the Orient. Interest in the Holy Land was probably aroused by the continuous stream of pious bequests which occurred from 1148 to 1189: Ludin, Altenberg, Rosières, Igny, Mellerai, Dalon, and Bonnevaux all benefited,<sup>96</sup> as did La Ferté,<sup>97</sup> Savigny,<sup>98</sup> and Longpont.<sup>99</sup> Donations from crusaders who later died in the Holy Land actually got the monastery of Foigny into legal disputes over inheritance rights.<sup>100</sup> Crusaders earned the gratitude of the monks by other kinds of gifts as well. The greatest of relics, a particle of the True Cross, was sent to the famous Abbey of Heiligenkreuz by Duke Leopold V of Austria,<sup>101</sup> while King Amalric of Jerusalem, at the instigation of a dream-vision of Saint Bernard, sent another particle to Clairvaux.<sup>102</sup>

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96. E. Pfeiffer, "Beziehungen der Cistercienser zu Palästina-reisen zwischen dem II u. III Kreuzzug," Cistercienser Chronik, XLVII, 1935, 194-195.
97. A. Bernard, "La Bourgogne du Sud et la Bresse aux Croisades, (1095-1395)," Saint Bernard et son Temps, 2 vols., Dijon, 1928, III, 27.
98. Auvry, Hist Sav, III, 112-113.
99. L'Abbé Poquet, Notice Historique et descriptive de l'Abbaye de Longpont, Lyons, n.d., pp. 23-24.
100. A. Piette, Histoire de l'Abbaye de Foigny, Vervins, 1847, pp. 45-46. In this way "l'Abbaye fut victime de son imprudente générosité, qui devint pour elle une source de disgrâces."
101. Pfeiffer, "Deutsch. Cist.," p. 9.
102. Geoffrey of Auxerre, Vita Bernardi, lib. V, c.iii; Manrique, II, 547-558; Le Nain, Essai, VII, 197-199, who informs us that the cross was closely kept and revered up to his own time.

But such bequests were only one in a proliferating number of contacts with the East. In 1157, the old wish of Arnold of Morimond was fulfilled when some of the brethren of his monastery founded its twenty-second daughterhouse, the Abbey of Belmont, a little south-east of Tripoli in Syria.<sup>103</sup> It grew quickly and soon had a number of daughter-houses of its own.<sup>104</sup> Later other French Cistercians established themselves near Antioch,<sup>105</sup> and before the Third Crusade at least one Cistercian nunnery was founded.<sup>106</sup> So rapid an expansion suggests that the monks had a growing interest in the Holy Land. With such close connections, they could not fail to appreciate the continuing Moslem threat both to Jerusalem, and to Christendom.

Awareness of the Moslem threat was particularly

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103. P. Couvreur, "L'Abbaye Cistercienne au Liban, N.D. de Belmont," Collectanea, I, 1934, 98-103; DHGE, VII, 198; and most recently A.C. Brecha-Vathier, "Deir Balamand: Témoin de Cîteaux en Terre Libanaise," Bulletin de Musée de Beyrouth, XX, 1969, 1-20 (I am indebted for this reference to the Prior of Kloster Mehrerau, Bregenz, Austria.)
104. DHGE, XII, 899.
105. Breycha-Vathier, p. 9.
106. St. Mary Magdalene in Tripoli, whose nuns, together with monks from Belmont, were evacuated to Sicily in the spring of 1188 when William II of Sicily sent admiral Margaritas with eighty galleys to relieve the city from the siege of the triumphant Saladin. See Manrique, II, 302; Janauschek, p. 139; White, Latin Monasticism, pp. 176-177. After the partial Latin reconquest (1190-1192), an Abbey of La Madeleine de Saint Jean de Acre was established and its abbess asked the archbishop of Cyprus to recognise a second Cistercian abbess in Nicosia. See Couvreur, p. 101.

acute in Spain where some monks were actually converts from Islam, and others achieved martyrdom through its persecutions.<sup>107</sup> Special privileges were granted to Abbots, monks, and conversi who were forti in confinio Saracenorum,<sup>108</sup> and the entire Order was encouraged to convert the pagans through repeated decrees of the General Chapter.<sup>109</sup> In Spain the monks became closely involved in the war against the infidel. When no other help was forthcoming, Abbot Raymond of Fitero and his monks undertook the defence of the town of Calatrava (1158). With the example of Bernard's patronage of the Templars before them, the volunteers soon established a military religious organization bearing the habit of Cîteaux. "Then many, inspired by devotion," records the chronicler, "having modified the habit as military activity required, received their Order, and vehemently began to battle and slaughter the Moors, and with the help of the Lord the work prospered in the hands of the

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107. The best example is the case of Saint Bernard of Spain, formerly called Hamet, and believed to be the son of a Moslem prince. After his conversion to Christianity he became a monk of the great Cistercian house of Poblet. Later he returned to his family and succeeded in converting some of them but was martyred in the process. See Manrique, II, 277; Le Nain, Essai, VI, 412-438. There are other examples in the studies of M. Cocheril, Le Monachisme en Espagne et au Portugal, Lisbon, 1966.

108. Statuta, (1182: 3).

109. Ibid., (1152: 25). "De Saracenis antiqua sententia teneatur, scilicet ut nec emanatur, nec baptizari prohibeantur." Also see ibid., (1157: 49), and (1175: 16).



monks."<sup>110</sup> About 1164, the new organization was incorporated into the Cistercian Order and recognized as such by Pope Alexander III.<sup>111</sup> It was not long before other groups of pious warriors put themselves under the jurisdiction of Cîteaux.<sup>112</sup> Eventually the Cistercian Order came to have five military orders associated to it: Calatrava, Alcantara, Montesa, Aviz, and Christ.<sup>113</sup> Contact between the monks and the military orders was more than just a legal form. It has been said that one Master of the Templars retired to Clairvaux where he was greatly celebrated for his asceticism.<sup>114</sup> A knight of Calatrava became abbot of La Ferté by 1178, and another attained the same position by 1200.<sup>115</sup> At the same time returned crusaders continued

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110. See J.F. O'Callaghan, "The Affiliation of the Order of Calatrava with the Order of Cîteaux," Analecta, XV, 1959, 161-193, esp. p. 182. Also see the relevant sections of M. Cocheril, "Essai sur l'origine des ordres militaires dans la péninsule éberique," Collectanea, XX, 1958, 346-361; XXI, 1959, 228-250, 302-329.

111. O'Callaghan, "Calatrava and Cîteaux," p. 183.

112. DHGE, II, 6; J.F. O'Callaghan, "The Foundation of the Order of Alcantara," Catholic Historical Review, XLVII, 1962, 471-486.

113. Gallia Christiana, IV, 816; King, pp. 352-353; Cocheril, Monachisme, p. 383ff.

114. Manrique, II, 362; Le Nain, Essai, VI, 110-112.

115. King, 113, 116.

to enter the Order.<sup>116</sup> Thus the monks had continual access to information concerning the progress of the war against the Moslems. They had personal contact with these events through their houses in the East, their patronage of the military orders, and through the gifts and retirement of crusaders.

Between 1148 and 1187 access to information was supplemented by actual Cistercian participation in the crusading movement. Just as Cistercian Bishops had travelled with the armies of Louis VII and Conrad III in the second Crusade, so also did an eminent member of the Order take part in the expedition of Henry the Lion. Bishop Conrad of Lubeck, a former Abbot of Riggagshausen, played an important role in the enterprise, negotiating the passage of Hungary and performing other duties. He was the first

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116. The career of the saintly Hildegund provides the most striking example. After travelling with her crusading father to the Holy Land (c. 1183) she returned to Europe disguised as a youth and entered the Cistercian Abbey of Schönau. After a brief but exemplary novitiate she died and her secret was discovered. Her fame was immediate and widespread. See the *Vita* by her confrere, Berthold of Bebenhausen (*AASS*, Apr. II, 782-790). Also see Manrique, III, 115ff.; *NCE*, VI, 1117. Other examples include an uncle of Saint Theobald of Vaux-de-Cernay who travelled to Palestine in 1175 and upon his return retired to N.D. du Val; and Prilislav, a prince of the Wends who took part in the expedition of Henry the Lion, founded Kloster Doberan, and retired to Althof upon his return. See Pfeiffer, "Cist. zwischen II u. III," pp. 194-197.

eminent Cistercian to die in the Holy Land (1172).<sup>117</sup> Also, the example of Bernard's preaching of the Second Crusade was followed up in 1177 when Pope Alexander III commissioned Henry de Marcy - only recently elected Abbot of Clairvaux - to preach the cross.<sup>118</sup> From 1175 to 1177 a terrible series of floods and famines, had combined with eclipses and disheartening news from the Orient to produce much eschatological excitement. In these hard times the generosity of the Cistercians had greatly raised their prestige amongst the populace.<sup>119</sup> Thus the Abbot of Clairvaux was a natural candidate for Alexander's commission. Despite the general indifference of Europe, Henry was able to induce so great a lord as the Count of Champagne to take

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117. See Arnold of Lubeck, Chronica Slavorum, MGH SS, XXI, 116-121, passim. Conrad is listed in D. Willi, Päpste Kardinäle und Bischöfe aus dem Cistercienser-Orden, Bregenz, 1912, no. 351. His role is appropriately described in E. Joranson, "The Palestine Pilgrimage of Henry of Lion," Medieval and Historical Essays in Honor of J.W. Thompson, Chicago, 1938, pp. 146-225.

118. So in one of his letters Henry refers to the great care of preaching the cross "quam nobis apostolica delegavit auctoritas," Henry of Albano, Epistolae, PL, CCIV, 215.

119. Describing the natural disasters, William of Nangis, Chronique, sub annis 1175, 1176; Guizot, XIII, 48, writes: "...for this reason a great many people said that the Antichrist was born and that such a great calamity announced his coming." The misery of the times was so deep that "in order to sustain the poor the ornaments of the churches and the reliqueries of the Saints were broken open; but above all shone the generosity of Cîteaux which maintained the poor."

the cross.<sup>120</sup> In following years the struggle against the Albigensian heresy in Southern France, occupied much of the Abbot's time, yet he probably continued his efforts on behalf of the Eastern Church.<sup>121</sup> These cares outside the cloister prepared him for the important role which he would eventually play in the preparations for the Third Crusade. They also underline the continuing alliance which united Cîteaux and the crusade right up to the Fall of Jerusalem in 1187.

In the time of Saint Bernard the Order had been firmly allied to the crusade but had also been able to retain much of its early spirit of isolation from worldly affairs. Cistercian and crusader were comrades in the greater struggle against infidelity, but their roles were distinct, their posts separate. Though he became intimately involved in the crusade, Bernard had the strength of character to staunchly maintain this distinction. After his death Cistercian connections with the East and with the Holy War proliferated. It was then easy to recall the example of the Saint's championship of the cross, but to continue primitive Cistercian aloofness to worldly affairs became more difficult.

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120. Alberic of Trois Fontaines, Chronica, MGH SS, XXIII, 855: "Henricum vero Companie comitem liberalitate nominatissimum ad hoc induxit idem abbas [Henricus], ut pro peccatis cruce signatus iter arriperet Jerosolimitanum; et cum eodem comite quidam nobiles transfretaverunt."

121. W. Janssen, Die Päpstlichen Legaten in Frankreich, Cologne, 1961, p. 111.

In spite of the lessons taught by the defeat of 1148, the Order acquired an ever expanding circle of interests. Houses in the East and the connections with the military orders somewhat blurred what was once a clear distinction. Later Cistercians would remember the fervor of Bernard's efforts on behalf of the cross, his ideas of the jubilee, of moral reform, and of order and organization. His initial reluctance to become involved would seldom be recalled.

As the years passed the Moslem threat to the Holy City increased and Palestinian requests for aid grew more frantic. In the West natural disasters combined with unusual prophecies to redouble popular disquiet. With its sense of order and organization and its international connections, the Order of Cîteaux was ballast to the increasingly tense atmosphere of the 1180's. Half a century of interest in the Holy Land ensured that when disaster finally fell Cîteaux would be far from indifferent; but neither would its reaction be one of immediate hysteria.

## CHAPTER II

### IN THE FOOTSTEPS OF BERNARD:

#### HENRY OF ALBANO & THE THIRD CRUSADE

##### I

During the Pontificate of Urban III (1185-7) the peace of Christendom was disturbed by a number of disquieting rumors, both clergy and laity were restless due to the circulation of certain strange prophecies. According to Roger of Hovedon "the astrologers of both Spain and Sicily, as also the diviners throughout almost the entire world, both Greek and Latin, set forth nearly one and the same opinion as to the conjunction of the planets."<sup>1</sup> This opinion contained many startling revelations. Great tempests, sickness, death, and destruction would all fall upon Europe. "In parts of the East," the chroniclers faithfully record, "there shall arise a mighty wind, and with its strong blasts it shall blacken the air and shall corrupt it with its poisonous stench."<sup>2</sup> Earthquakes, an eclipse of the sun, and

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1. Roger of Hovedon, Chronica, ed. Wm. Stubbs, RS, LI, (pt. II, 290): "astrologos tam Hispanenses quam Siculi, et fere universi orbis conjectores tam Graeci quam Latini, unam eandemque proferentes sententiam de conjunctinne planetarum scripserunt."
  2. Ibid., II, 291: "Nam partibus Occidentis orietur ventus vehemens et valdissimus, denegrans aera et foetore corrumpens venenoso." Also see Rigord, De Gestis Philippi Augusti Francorum Regis, HGF, XVII, 22-23; tr. Guizot, XI, 63ff., and Robert of Torigny, Chronica, PL, CLX; tr. Stevenson, London, 1861, p. 795; William the Breton, De Gestis Philippi Augusti, HGF, XVII, 67-68; Guizot, XI, 199.

the appearance of a comet were all predicted.<sup>3</sup> These revelations were all contained in a mysterious Letter of Toledo, reputedly sent to northern Europe by a Master John of Toledo, whose city was renowned as a great center of both wisdom and necromancy.<sup>4</sup> In England a lay brother in a monastery of Worcester<sup>5</sup> fell into a trance and laid for nine days and nights, prostrate in the form of a cross. His terrible stammerings were given special attention because of his reputation for sanctity. The abbot wrote them down after a brother for whom the rustic prophet had predicted death, actually ended his life that same day.

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3. Rigord, loc.cit. "terrae motum...erit eclipsis Solis ignei coloris tanta, quod totum corpus illius obscurabitur...videbitur in coelo cometes, stella scilicet crinita sive caudata."
4. Chroniclers, in addition to those already cited, who report the circulation of this letter include Robert of Auxerre, Benedict of Peterborough, Gervais of Canterbury, Roger of Wendover, Giraldus Cambrensis (De Principis Instructione, dist. III, c. VI, ed. G. Warner, RS, XXI, pt. VIII, 242-3, who openly connects the Third Crusade with the emotion produced by this letter), and other Chroniclers both German and Italian, as well as French. See the brief remarks of Cohn, pp. 75-6, and the study of M. Gaster, "The Letter of Toledo," Folklore, XIII, 1902, 115-134. On the Middle Eastern and Jewish apocalyptic origins of the Letter see F. Baer, "Eine jüdische Messiasprophetie auf das Jahr 1186 und der dritte Kreuzzug," Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums, LXX, 1926, 113-122, 155-165.
5. There were no Cistercian houses in this shire, the nearest establishment of the white monks being Merevale in Warwick. See Janauschek, p. 114.

A letter of this abbot containing all the predictions was widely circulated and dutifully copied down by the chroniclers.<sup>6</sup> As the time of the foretold events approached excitement and confusion grew in both clergy and laity.<sup>7</sup>

In the year 1187 the predicted eclipse of the sun actually occurred.<sup>8</sup> In this same year, a Cistercian monk of Orval<sup>9</sup> reported that in the Low Countries there occurred an enormous flood which "overcame many men and tore out the bodies of the dead from their tombs."<sup>10</sup> The misfortunes of the times extended even to the cloister, as in the preceding year (1186) upon which so many of the predictions focused,<sup>11</sup> the monks of Clairvaux had been disturbed by the loss of their beloved abbot.<sup>12</sup> In the same year the abbot

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6. Hovedon, II, 293-6.

7. Ibid., II, 296.

8. Rigord, De Gestis, 24D.

9. Not far from Liège. See Janauschek, p. 23.

10. Aegid of Orval, Gesta Episcoporum Leodiensium, MGH SS, XXV, 112. "Tanta inundatio aquarum facta est mense Aprili in civitate Leodii in ea parte que dicitur extra castrum, ut multos submergeret et mortuorum corpora diluvium atque de sepulchris erueret." (Also see Lamberti Parvi Annales, MGH SS, XVI, 649.)

11. See the outline of the expected events for this year in Cohn, pp. 75-76.

12. "Anno Domini 1186, mortuus est apud Claramvallem vir reverentissimus, abbas Petrus monoculus." (Chronicon Clarevallense, PL, CLXXXV bis, 1250D.) Caesarius of Heisterbach, Dialogue on Miracles, dist. VI, c. ii, (tr. H. Scott & C. Bland, 2 vols., London, 1929, I, 420) calls him the "son of a dove". He was succeeded by abbot Garnier who was to be more than once reprimanded by the General Chapter for his "un-Cistercian" behavior. See King, p. 258ff.



of the Cistercian monastery of Trois Fontaines was assassinated by a monk.<sup>13</sup> The shadow of the times also fell upon the German abbey of Heisterbach, as Caesarius of that house vividly records, when a certain brother Simon had a vision one day while he was standing before the altar of the Mother of God. He heard a voice saying to him: "Take this warning to your chief pastor...My people will begin to be troubled by the cruel beast who is become incarnate... Jerusalem shall be taken and destroyed, and my enemies will fulfil my anger, because they have polluted the streets... Heaven and earth tremble... After this shall the sun be turned into darkness....."<sup>14</sup> Finally, out of the East a storm did indeed arise.

On October 2, 1187, the Holy City, Jerusalem, fell to the Kurdish Sultan Saladin. The Christian host was

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13. A. Luchaire, Social France at the Time of Philip Augustus, tr. E.B. Krehbiel, Harper, N.Y., 1967, p. 240.

14. Caesarius of Heisterbach, Dialogue, I, 113-4. The vision continues: "Then shall come the day that shall have the length of two days. But after the darkening of the sun it shall be known that the cruel beast will be revealed to the Ten Lost Tribes. And the blood of the Saints, that is of all my people shall be poured forth, because at that time the former persecutions shall revive. Therefore let every one of my chosen prepare himself, that he may walk uprightly in this short life." And after this Caesarius records that brother Simon saw a demon "clad in breastplate and helmet, having scales like the scales of a carp. His eyes blazed fitfully, like a torch that the wind blows upon. Out of his mouth and nostrils proceeded flames of sulfur; his teeth were part white, part yellow."

defeated. "The Holy City in which the name of God had been called upon from ancient times," exclaims the historian, "in which the sacred prophecies abounded, in which the symbols of human redemption were displayed, and from which the waters of salvation flowed to the farthest ends of the earth...fell into the hands of a profane and unclean nation."<sup>15</sup> Of the greater towns of Palestine only Tyre remained in Christian hands, and even that city was saved by the chance arrival of an unexpected pilgrim.<sup>16</sup>

The tragic news from the Orient proved too much for the ailing Pope Urban, and on October 20, he died.<sup>17</sup> The discomfort of Christendom and the crisis in Palestine had a profound effect upon the ensuing election. A pontiff was required who displayed an energetic concern for the Holy Land, who could effectively keep the peace between the kings and princes, and who would not be

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15. William of Newburgh, Historia Rerum Anglicarum, lib. III, c. xv, (ed. R. Howlett, RS, LXXXII, 249.)

16. The story is well told in R. Grousset, Histoire des Croisades et du Royaume Franc de Jérusalem, 3 vols., Paris, 1934-6, II, 288f.; Runciman, Crusades, II, 472.

17. Hovedon, II, 322, "Cum igitur papa Urbanus audisset quod temporibus suis captus esset rex Jerosolimitanus, et crux Dominica, et civitas Sancta Jerusalem, doluit vehementer... et mortuus est." Also see Runciman, Crusades, III, 4. It is probable that he died shortly after receiving news of the disaster at Hattin. Jerusalem fell only a short time before his death, and the news would have required some time to reach the West. There is little doubt, however, that Europe believed, with Hovedon, that the fall of the Holy City had been his death blow.

intimidated by the Emperor. Character, experience, and piety were all necessary. The very day following Urban's death the cardinals met together to choose a successor.<sup>18</sup> Henry de Marcy, the Cardinal Bishop of Albano, and former Abbot of Clairvaux, was put forth for the position.<sup>19</sup> In the Cloister from boyhood,<sup>20</sup> Henry was deeply imbued with the Cistercian spirit and kept in touch with his monastic brethren throughout his varied ecclesiastical career.<sup>21</sup> Perhaps this influenced his reaction to the choice of the cardinals;<sup>22</sup> most certainly the news of the fall of the King of Jerusalem, and the capture of the True Cross by the infidel had deeply affected him. As the cardinals were still discussing the relative merits of Henry and two other

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18. Mann, X, 313.

19. Alberic of Trois Fontaines, 860. "Sanior pars cardinalium voluit domnum Henricum Albanensem quondam Clarevallis abbatem in Papam eligere."

20. He had lived at Clairvaux under Blessed Robert of Bruges (1153-7) and became abbot of Hautecombe before returning to Clairvaux, See G. Künne, Heinrich von Clairvaux, Berlin, 1909, p. 27; King, p. 254.

21. R. Foreville (Fliche & Martin, Histoire de l'Eglise, Paris 153, IX pt. 2, 202) calls him "le vrai fils spirituel de saint Bernard." He gave liberally to his old monastery so that the grateful monks extolled him thus (in Coulton, Five Centuries of Religion, III, 320): Hinc praesul factus Albano cardine dignus. Pauperibus nobis is bona plura dedit.

22. He is said to have refused the bishopric of Toulouse and the abbacy of Cîteaux and only accepted the church of Albano in compliance with the wishes of the Pope. King, p. 255.

candidates, it was proposed that the three should withdraw outside for awhile. Whereupon the Cistercian Cardinal stepped forward: "What need is there for us to withdraw?" he asked, "I assure you that I will never accept the dignity; and my lord of Palestrina is, on account of his weak health,<sup>23</sup> wholly unfit to bear the burden of the papacy. There remains then the chancellor. Amongst us there is no one so suitable as he. He knows full well the rights and customs of the Roman See, and is beloved by the princes of the earth. As for myself," he concluded, "I am the servant of the Cross of Christ, ready to go forth to preach it to the kings and peoples."<sup>24</sup> The influence of the Cistercian Bishop proved decisive. The Chancellor, a former Premonstratensian canon, Albert de Mora became Pope Gregory VIII and confirmed the mission of Henry de Marcy as a kind of universal legate of the Roman See.<sup>25</sup>

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23. This was Paul Scolari, who had heart trouble but was later to become Pope Clement III.

24. These words are partly recorded in the letter of an English monk visiting Rome to the Archbishop of Canterbury, (Epistolae Cantuarienses, ed. Wm. Stubbs, RS, XXXVIII, 108) and partly by Alberic of Trois Fontaines, loc. cit. This translation by Mann, loc. cit.

25. Alberic of Trois Fontaines, loc. cit., "Electus est itaque in papam magister Albertus cancellarius et vocatus est Gregorius VIII, a quo dictus Henricus Albanensis per Franciam et Alemanniam constitutus est legatus." Lamberti Parvi Annales, loc. cit. "Henricus venerabilis cardinalis sancte Romane ecclesie missus a Gregorio papa, viam indicit omnibus Iherosolimorum in remissionem omnium peccatorum." Gestorum Treverorum Continuatio III, MGH SS, XXIV, 388. "Assumpto igitur viro venerabili Heinrico Albanensi episcopo, misit eum ad imperatorem et ad caeteros reges terrae et omnes populos, principes et omnes iudices terrae."

The new pontiff made an excellent decision in his confirmation and promotion of the Cardinal of Albano. Henry's self denial and enthusiasm on behalf of the Holy Land was obvious, but in addition to this, he was an experienced diplomat and had held a special papal legation more than once before.<sup>26</sup> He was also an experienced preacher and had at one time been engaged in combating the Albigensian heresy in Languedoc,<sup>27</sup> as well as in preaching the crusade.<sup>28</sup> Contemporary chroniclers have nothing but praise for him, describing him variously as a man wise, discrete, honest, and venerable.<sup>29</sup> Now he had set the tone of ecclesiastical reaction to Christian defeat in the Holy Land by his refusal of the papacy. Henry's example must have had much to do with the onslaught against luxury and avarice immediately undertaken by Pope Gregory and the cardinals. The pontiff

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26. He has been called "la figure par excellence du légat cistercien" (Fliche & Martin, IX, pt. 2, 301). The same writer continues: "Les cisterciens sont alors les ambassadeurs habituels - sinon exclusifs - de la papauté dans les grandes missions internationales." For example in 1182, Henry of Albano negotiated a peace between the kings of England, France, and the Count of Flanders. (See Annales Aquicinctenses, HGF, XVIII 535D.)

27. See W. Janssen, Die Päpstlichen Legaten in Frankreich, Cologne, 1961, pp. 110-119.

28. See Chapter One, Part IV.

29. Ansbert, Historia de Expeditione Friderici Imperatoris, ed. A. Chroust, MGH SRG NS, V, 10; Giselbert of Mons, Chronico Hannonae, HGF, XVIII, 387A; MGH SS, XXI, 555; Rainier of St. Jacob, Chronico Leodiensi, HGF, XVIII, 611D.

saw, Robert of Auxerre tells us, that the vineyard of the Lord was being devastated by ambition and avarice, by luxury and heresy, and he was more anxious by spiritual means to restore all things in Christ than by contentious methods to strive for the temporal rights of the Holy See.<sup>30</sup> All agreed that Jerusalem had fallen because of an "overwhelming weight" of human sin.<sup>31</sup> The new pope made a strenuous effort at reform,<sup>32</sup> and his effort was equaled by that of his cardinals. Henry de Marcy and his fellow cardinals agreed to think no more of wealth and luxury but rather give themselves entirely to the Cross; they would not receive gifts from litigants, nor mount a horse "so long as the land on which the Lord's foot had trod should be under the feet of the enemy."<sup>33</sup> Also they pledged "to

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30. Robert of Auxerre, Chronica, MGH SS, XXVI, 252; Annales Romani, LP, II, 349; Mann, X, 334.

31. See, for example, William of Newburgh, loc.cit. "Huius autem miserabilis et famosi exterminii causam fuisse peccata plus solito inundantia nemo debet ambigere."

32. William of Newburgh (ibid., lib. III, c. xxi, p. 266) writes that "a quibusdam minus descretis putatus est turbato per nimiam abstinenciam cerebro delirare." Gregory actually published (Oct. 29) his crusading bull Audita tremendi severitate iudicii before the fall of Jerusalem was known for certain (PL, CCII, 1539). The weighty influence of Henry of Albano is revealed in the fact that from the 31 Oct. to 11 Nov., he countersigned the bulls of the new pope. See Y. Congar, "Henry de Marcy, Abbé de Clairvaux, Cardinal-évêque d'Albano et Légat Pontifical, "Studia Anselmiana, XLIII, 1958, p. 44.

33. See the letter of Peter of Blois to Henry II of England (no. 219 in PL, CCVII) quoted in Hovedon, II, 322-3.

preach the cross of Christ not only in words but by deed and example, and to be the first, assuming the cross, to go begging for aid, and to precede the rest to the land of Jerusalem." A universal peace of seven years was declared and violators were to be excommunicated.<sup>34</sup> All Christians were enjoined for the next five years to fast on Fridays and abstain from meat on Wednesdays and Saturdays. Special prayers were to be recited everywhere.<sup>35</sup> All these efforts seemed to be a good start at the restoration of the Christian name.

## II

In late November or early December 1187, accompanied by Josius the Archbishop of Tyre,<sup>36</sup> Henry of Albano left the papal court at Ferrara and hurrying northward,

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34. Roger of Hovedon, loc.cit.

35. See the two letters of Gregory quoted in ibid., II, 326ff.; also William of Andres, Chronica, MGH SS, XXIV, 719; Roger of Hovedon (II, 359) gives a detailed liturgical outline of prayers ordained for the crusade.

36. Apparently Josius travelled as a kind of aid to Henry and did not himself hold any papal legation. Janssen, p. 13, writes: "Als Begleiter hatte ihm Gregor VIII den Erzbischof Josius von Tyrus mitgegeben, der aus eigener Anschauung über die Verhältnisse im Heiligen Land zu berichten wusste: den eines selbständigen päpstlichen Legaten scheint er freilich nicht bekleidet zu haben."

crossed the Alps in the middle of winter.<sup>37</sup> His first object seems to have been to persuade the supreme protector of Christendom, the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa, to take the cross. Frederick had called an assembly to meet at Strassburg in December but only two lesser nuncii from the papal curia arrived,<sup>38</sup> as Henry, despite his haste, could not yet reach the Emperor. The messengers told the assembly the lamentable news from the Holy Land. When this seemed to have little effect on the crowd, Bishop Henry of Strassburg stood forward to challenge the knights gathered there to take the cross and avenge the insults incurred by Christ. He told them that he was positive that none of them would permit their own feudal lords to be insulted without vengeance. How could they permit their heavenly Lord to ask for help and not go to his rescue? After listening in silence, first one knight stepped forward to ask for a cross, then enthusiasm swept through the crowd so that the bishop and several other clergymen were hard put to provide the crosses required. The Emperor himself was moved to

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37. Gestorum Treverorum Continuatio III, loc.cit. "Igitur vir venerabilis Henricus episcopus Albansensis, de nocte consurgens, transiit montana cum festinatione, et venit in terram quam monstraverat sibi papa...." On the date of his departure see I. Friedländer, Die Päpstlichen Legaten in Deutschland und Italien am Ende des 12 Jahrhunderts (1181-1198), Berlin, 1928, p. 38, n. 16. This is the best account of Henry's itinerary.

38. Ansbert, Historia de Expeditione, 13; Congar, p. 46, n. 158.



tears, though he did not yet openly take the cross.<sup>39</sup>

The Cistercian Cardinal seems to have finally caught up with Frederick in the border country between France and the Empire. There Philip Augustus of France and the Emperor were meeting to settle some differences, and Henry and his companion the archbishop of Tyre are reported to have arrived about this time.<sup>40</sup> After making some arrangements with Frederick about crusade preparations in Germany,<sup>41</sup> the Cardinal entered the Kingdom of France.

In January, 1188, Philip Augustus and Henry II of

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39. See the vivid description in the Annales Marbacenses, MGH SS, XVII, 163-4. On Henry of Strassburg's speech see Wentzlaff-Eggebert, Kreuzzugsdichtung, pp. 144-146, and the summary in P. Munz, Frederick Barbarossa: A Study in Medieval Politics, London, 1969, pp. 385-6. The idea of a crusade had been forming in Frederick's mind for some years. As early as 1165, Henry II of England and Frederick had promised each other, in the event of peace in Europe, to launch a crusade (*idem*, p. 371). And again in 1184 at the congress of Verona, moved by the appeal of the Cistercian Archbishop, Gerard of Ravenna, the Emperor agreed to discuss the matter with his nobility. On this see E. Pfeiffer, "Die Cistercienser und der Dritte Kreuzzug," Cistercienser Chronik, XLVIII, 1936, p. 149.

40. Chronicon Clarevallense, 1251: "Venit autem dictus legatus post colloquium regis et imperatoris quod fuit apud Yvodium." Alberic of Trois Fontaines amends these words to have the legate arrive at the meeting (861): "Venit autem idem legatus cum archiepiscopo de Tyro, id est de Sur, apud Yvodium ad colloquium regis et imperatoris..."

41. See below, p. 63.

England met on the borders of Normandy near Gisors in an effort at reconciliation. Henry of Albano may have been present at this meeting<sup>42</sup> but it was his travelling companion, Josius of Tyre, who most impressed the great host gathered there. "On that day, after many plans had been proposed, and much spoken on either side,"<sup>43</sup> the Archbishop of Tyre stood up before the multitude of closely packed barons and knights, and made a moving appeal on behalf of the Eastern Church, urging the knights to forget their differences. The two kings overcame their initial reluctance, exchanged the kiss of peace, and assumed the cross with the blessing of the archbishop; and with them so did an immense number of both nations "...and so great was the multitude that took the cross on that day, that people nearly fainted from the crush and intolerable heat."<sup>44</sup> Many clerics as well as barons and counts received the cross on that day: Gautier, the archbishop of Rouen, and Baldwin, a former monk and abbot of the Cistercian monastery of Ford, now archbishop of Canterbury, both took the cross.<sup>45</sup> Meanwhile, the Sign of the Cross miraculously appeared in the sky above

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42. See longer notes.

43. Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi, ed. Wm. Stubbs, RS, XXXVIII, pt. I, 140.

44. Ibid., 141: "... Tantus itaque factus est eadem die crucem accipientium concursus, ut turba sese comprimens, prae intolerabili aestus fervore pene deficeret; aestus quippe erat." The crush must have been great indeed to create such a heat in the middle of winter.

45. Rigord, De Gestis, 25BC.

them.<sup>46</sup> Then the kings had a large cross of wood erected, and ordered a church to be built at that spot; the place was thereafter called the Holy Field.<sup>47</sup>

In January, the papal legate took advantage of the emotional excitement which was then blazing across the countryside; he followed the road north, toward Flanders, on his way to Mainz where he was to meet the Emperor, preaching the cross along the way. An atmosphere of repentance and moral reform seems characteristic of his presence. The alarming news of the death of the recently elected Pope Gregory VIII may have had something to do with the strengthening of this tendency.<sup>48</sup> At Mons on February 21, Sexagesima Sunday, Henry celebrated mass in the church of Saint Waldrude. The congregation sang Exurge, quare obdormis Domine and the Cistercian legate preached the cross; many knights and men of other ranks came forward.<sup>49</sup> Then, accompanied by the count of Hainault, Baldwin IV, he went to Nivelles "where he converted many to the cross."<sup>50</sup>

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46. Roger of Hovedon, II, 335: "in eadem hora apparuit supra eos signum crucis in coelo."

47. Rigord, loc.cit.

48. This news reached the Cistercian Cardinal in Flanders at his arrival in Hainault. See Congar, p. 48, n. 166.

49. Gislebert of Mons, Chronicon Hanoniense, MGH SS, XXI, 555. This is the most detailed source for this part of Henry's journey.

50. Ibid. "...ubi multos ad crucem convertit."

Thence they proceeded to Louvain where more people took the cross, and finally to Liège where a great assembly of churchmen was called together.<sup>51</sup>

The clerics, already disturbed by the news of the fall of Jerusalem and the death of Urban III, were probably even more aroused by the death of now another pope. In this atmosphere of apprehension Henry addressed the throng, speaking out strongly against what he thought were the greatest sins of his time. He called those assembled before him back to true ecclesiastical modesty, to simplicity, and to Christian poverty;<sup>52</sup> especially he spoke out against simony. Penitence was his major theme. The response was immediate and overwhelming. Large numbers of priests, abbots, deacons, and archdeacons rushed forward to confess their sin; laity as well as clerics took the cross. The Cardinal imposed upon them a penance, reconciling the simoniacs to the Church. The crusade was greatly strengthened

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51. The Chronicon Clarevallense, loc.cit. 1251B, reports that Henry held this meeting after his return from Germany, but Gislebert's account seems more accurate. Friedländer, pp. 41-42, and Congar, p. 48, both follow Gislebert.

52. These ideas are the major themes of Henry's circular letter Publicani et peccatores written about this time. (Epistolae, PL, CCIV, 247-9; Mansi, XXII, 540-544)

that day.<sup>53</sup>

Continuing his journey, Henry finally entered the lands of the Emperor Frederick, coming to the great Rhineland city of Cologne. There he preached the cross in the church of Saint Peter. Caesarius of Heisterbach later remembered that he saw him there giving the cross to many; "he was a just and holy man, one who shook his hand from the holding of bribes (Isa. xxxiii, 15), and who edified many both in word and in example."<sup>54</sup> Taking with him some Cistercian monks from the Cologne area,<sup>55</sup> Henry left for Mainz where he arrived about the middle of March, 1188.

### III

The idea of the crusade seemed to have been growing

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53. Gislebert of Mons, loc.cit. "...clerici tam maiores quam minores circiter 400, bona sua, scilicet archidiaconatus, abbatias, preposituras, prebendas ecclesiasticas, parrochias, et alia quam plura beneficia in manum cardinalis libere resignaverunt... Dominus autem cardinalis illos a peccato isto absolvens et eis penitentiam iniungens, mutans personatus et alia bona ecclesiastica, quod unus possederat alii conferebat; sicque cuique in alterius bonis iustam recompensationem faciebat, aliquibus ipsa bona, que resignaverant, reddebat..." Lamberti Parvi Annales, 649: "Henricus suscipitur honorifice a clero et populo Leodiensi, et ... multi tam clerici quam laici ab eo crucizantur." Also see Aegid of Orval, 192-3.

54. Dialogue on Miracles, dist. IV, c. lxxix, (tr. Scott, I, 282).

55. Ibid.

foremost in Frederick Barbarossa's mind since at least December, 1187. At that time after meeting with Philip Augustus, the old Emperor had called all the magnates and clergy of the Empire to meet at Mainz to discuss the business of the crusade and to effect a reconciliation between himself and the strong minded archbishop of Cologne.<sup>56</sup> The Reichstag at Mainz was meant to be a great one. Mainz was the seat of one of the most powerful archbishops in Germany; The Imperial Court was often held there and already for over one hundred years it had played an important role in German history. Not only the place but the date of the assembly was significant. March 27 was the fourth Sunday in lent, the day of Laetare Jerusalem.<sup>57</sup> And so it was that Henry of Albano, feeling the uniqueness of the occasion, seconded the command of the Emperor with his own appeal. He dispatched a circular letter to all the noble men, dukes, counts, and princes per regnum Teutonicum requesting them to note the importance of the occasion;

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56. Friedländer, p. 43; Congar, p. 47.

57. The tremendous importance in the twelfth century of the day of Laetare Jerusalem is attested by the events arranged to then occur: Alexander III re-entered Rome on that day in 1178; Barbarossa was consecrated at Aix upon that day (1152); Philip Augustus and Richard the Lion Heart were to set out to liberate Jerusalem, and Henry of Albano would abruptly end his De peregrinante civitate Dei involving the liturgy of this same Sunday. See Rupert of Deutz, De div. Officiis, IV, xvii, (PL, CLXX, 102-3) for an evocative commentary on the liturgical texts for Laetare Jerusalem, and the special importance of the Church of the Holy Cross of Jerusalem.

for they are now called not only to an Imperial court, but ad curiam Jesu Christi. His words tremble with the grief of the Eastern Church. "Who does not groan over so great a defeat of the Christian people? Who does not grieve," he asks, "at the exposure to the filth of the pagans of that Holy Land which the feet of the Lord himself consecrated to our redemption? Who does not deplore the cross of salvation captured and trampled under foot by the pagans, and the sanctuary of the Lord profaned?..." But how could such evil be permitted to happen?

Behold we see repeated the mystery of our redemption... Truly, the hand of the Lord is not short (Isaias, 1, 2) nor his arm weakened so that he is unable to save; but rather the height of God's wisdom works its mercy inscrutably, with the result that it so arouses the sluggish devotion of the world... Behold, now is the acceptable time; behold, now is the day of salvation (2 Cor., xi, 2) in which the soldiers of Christ throwing away the works of darkness (Rom. xiii, 12), and recruited to rectify the injury of the cross, may not postpone assuming the arms of light, the breastplate of the faith and the helmet of salvation (1 Thess. v, 8). It was evil not order, that the vigorous ones among the Christians up to now deserved inextinguishable fire and the torment of immortal worms by their killings, their rapine, and damnable tournaments. Happy is the militia present in these times in which to conquer means glory, and, to die

is of all the more profit (Philipp. i, 21).  
To this he invites you today...<sup>58</sup>

Thus, by his authority as representative of the spiritual leader of Christendom - auctoritate legationis - the Cistercian Cardinal reinforced, and perhaps even changed the accent of the Emperor's command. There was no doubt, it was to be a curia Christi which was to meet on the Sunday of Laetare Jerusalem at Mainz.<sup>59</sup>

In its immenseness and its intensity of feeling the curia Christi would be unique; yet it had antecedents. Saint Bernard had referred to the Second Crusade as the negotium Christi,<sup>60</sup> and, indeed, the whole logic of Henry's argument, the setback in the East, the inscrutable but all powerful will of God, the uniqueness of the opportunity at hand, all can be found in Bernard's circular letter of forty years before. The very vocabulary used by Henry even to the unmistakable play on words malitia fuit non militia is derived directly from the Saint. This borrowing is so extensive, that it seems almost certain that the Cistercian Cardinal diligently re-read Bernard's works on the crusade

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58. See longer notes.

59. Henry's letter (ibid.) concludes: "We think that all of you, after all idleness, all curiosity, and temporal glory have been put aside, should be enjoined to try to be present at the court of Jesus Christ with becoming seriousness and modesty....."

60. Bern.ep. no. 363, 358, PL, CLXXXII, 564C, 652C.



before sending out his own circular letter.<sup>61</sup> At the time of the Second Crusade the saintly abbot of Clairvaux had gone to Germany to win the heir of the Empire for the cross; now Henry de Marcy, himself a former abbot of Clairvaux, followed the footsteps of his predecessor.

As the clergy and people of the Empire assembled in the great cathedral of Mainz, they probably beheld those same strangely powerful features which greeted visitors right through to modern times. There were rows of huge pillars, and great altars made from tombs, all in marble and sandstone, with plates and pictures "worth more than the gold plate of the Temple of Solomon." As the visitor entered, the varied adornment of the tombstones - weapons, helmets, mitres, crowns, scepters, swords, and bishops' staffs - instantly caught his eye; and amidst them all there was a great carved half-head, with a crown and three ivy blossoms. It was at once both a gentle and a forceful countenance.<sup>62</sup>

At the head of the assembly the high seat stood

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61. So suggests Congar, p. 85. It may also be that Henry's secretary, a monk of Clairvaux, could have supplied much of the Bernardine wording (loc.cit., n. 35, p. 70, n. 44).

62. This description is that of Victor Hugo who visited the cathedral of Mainz during his Rhineland journey of 1839 when all the signs of the bombardment of 1793 were still clear. See his Le Rhin, Paris, 1842, and the lengthy passages quoted in the detailed essay of F.W. Wentzlaff-Eggbert, Der Hoftag Jesu Christi 1188 in Mainz, Wiesbaden, 1962, pp. 3-4.

empty in symbolic recognition of the supreme royalty of Christ.<sup>63</sup> Under pressure from the papal legate the archbishop of Cologne was reconciled to the Emperor.<sup>64</sup> Then as representative of the Roman pontiff, Henry of Albano spoke. He described the plight of the Holy City and lamented the loss of the True Cross; he spoke of the scattering of the Christian people, the decapitation of the knights of the Temple and of the Hospital by the enemies of Christ, and reiterated the themes of his letter, pointing out former moral laxness and the present opportunity for salvation.<sup>65</sup> Lastly he urged husbands to leave their wives, sons their mothers, to take up the cross of

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63. Continuatio Zwetlensis Altera, MGH SS, IX, 543: "Celebrata est curia generalis ab universis christiane fidei cultoribus Moguntie in media quadragesima dominica Letare Ierusalem; ubi loco imperantis, sed ad subveniendum christianitati exhortantis, affuit non prefuit, imperator Fridericus cum filiis suis,..." According to Wentzlaff-Eggebert, Hoftag, p. 16: "Barbarossa bestimmt ausdrücklich, dass nicht er als Kaiser den Vorsitz führen werde, sondern, dass der oberste Sessel für Christus freibleiben soll." I have not been able to verify this. Nevertheless, express declaration or not, the spirit was a throwback to the time of the First Crusade when Godfrey of Bouillon had refused to wear a crown of gold in the land where Christ had worn a crown of thorns and took the title of Advocatus sancti sepulchri instead of King .
64. See Congar, pp. 49-50. Possibly Henry travelled together with the archbishop from Cologne to Mainz.
65. Cronica Reinhardsbrunnensis, MGH SS, XXX, pt. i, 543: "Heinricus Albanensis episcopus, apostolice sedis legatus, peragratis pluribus Germanie civitatibus, et tandem Mogunciam ingressus est...legacionem

Christ.<sup>66</sup> And, "in truth, when he had finished these words, amidst all, the Emperor himself was reduced to tears."<sup>67</sup> However, the reaction of the German chivalry might have been less immediate. Bishop Godfrey of Wurzburg spoke next. God, he explained, wanted to give the knights a personal opportunity of redeeming themselves by military service; he appealed to the feudal concept of service in a way parallel to that of Bishop Henry of Strassburg some months before.<sup>68</sup> Once again the call of the preachers was a great

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promulgavit. Primo igitur dominus papa flebiliter conqueritur captivitatem crucis et regis christianorum, trucidacionem episcoporum, occisionem populorum, decollacionem Templariorum et Hospitaliorum. Postea hortatur eos et monet, ut propter Deum et propter peccatorum suorum indulgenciam et propter eterne retribucionis et vite eterne adipiscendam gloriam ad liberacionem Terre Sancte unusquisque festinet." Chronicon Magni Presbiteri, MGH SS, XVII, 509: "Imperator etiam curiam habuit valde celebrem eodem anno apud Mogunciacum...Legatus domni pape, Albanensis videlicet episcopus cardinalis, curiae interfuit. Recitata ibi in publico miserabili tragedia de vastatione et direptione populi christiani, quae facta fuit in orientali ecclesia, hoc est apud Ierosolimam, superiori anno..."

66. Continuatio Sanblasiana, MGH SS, 319: "Cardinales autem his patratis a curia digressi, verbo predicationis per diversas imperli partes instabant, multisque relinquere patrem et matrem, uxorem et filios et agros propter nomen Christi, et crucem tollere, ipsum sequi in expeditionem transmarinam persuaserunt, et innumerabilem exercitum contraxerunt." These words should be compared with the story of how at the approach of Saint Bernard, wives hid their husbands, and girls their lovers to keep them from his dangerous eloquence.

67. Cronica Reinhardsbrunnensis, loc.cit. "Hiis vero verbis finitis imperator coram omnibus lacrimatus est..."

68. See longer notes.

success. The Emperor himself took the cross in a ceremony in which Henry of Albano and the bishop of Wurzburg both had a part;<sup>69</sup> the Emperor's son, Duke Frederick of Swabia, Ludwig of Thuringia, many bishops and princes - sixty-eight greater magnates, probably including the Cistercian bishop, Henry of Basil - all took the cross.<sup>70</sup> These, together with countless knights and barons, perhaps as many as 13,000 men,

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69. The Historia Peregrinorum, in Chroust, loc.cit., 126, and the Annales Patherbrunn., (cited in Congar, p. 50, n. 173) say that Barbarossa took the cross from Godfrey. The Annales Lamberti Parvi, MGH SS, XVI, 649; Annales Egmondani, MGH SS, XVI, 470; Chron. S. Petri Erf.; Roger of Hovedon, II, 356, and others state he received it from Henry. But the ceremony for taking the cross had by this time begun to develop into quite a ritual. Firstly, there were special prayers, then the blessing of the pilgrims staff and bag with the actual bestowing of the cross, then more prayers. There were numerous slight variations in this pattern. (For examples with lists of prayers etc. see J.A. Brundage, "Cruce Signari: The Rite for Taking the Cross in England," Traditio, XXII, 1966, 289-310.) The careful phrasing of some of the better informed sources seem to indicate that such a ritual was followed when the Emperor Frederick took the cross. For example the Annales Magdeburgenses, MGH SS, XVI, 195, read: "Imperator... in presentia Albanensis legati...in remissionem omnium peccatorum crucem accepit." This is even more clear in the Chron. Reg. Col., MGH SS, XVI, 139: "...presente Henrico cardine crucem ab Herbipolensi episcopo Godefriedo suscepit." Thus both churchmen had a part.

70. Chronicon Clarevallense, loc.cit., "[apud Moguntiam] cruce signatus est imperator, cum LXVIII magnis principibus." Pfeiffer, "Dritte," p. 275, suggests that Henry of Basil took the cross at Mainz.

Leaf blank to correct numbering.

jointed the cross bearing militia that day.<sup>71</sup> At mass the laetare Jerusalem was sung with special meaning.

There is no doubt that the curia Christi was the high point of Henry de Marcy's career.<sup>72</sup> In conscious imitation of Saint Bernard, he had preached the crusade throughout the Rheinland, and completed his achievement by getting the Emperor to assume the cross. The example of Bernard, together with Henry's Cistercian background,<sup>73</sup> gave him clear precedents to follow, and an established tradition to fall back upon.

The ancient monastic and especially Cistercian idea of the poor soldier of Christ was once again, just as clearly as in the time of Bernard - and in almost exactly the same words - extended outward into the physical world.

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71. A long list of greater names may be found in Cronica Reinhardtsbrunnensis, loc.cit. Also see Gislebert's Chronicle, loc.cit. and those others already cited, S.O. Riezler in his Der Kreuzzug Kaiser Friedrichs I, 1870, p. 17 (cited in Munz, p. 386) estimates that at Mainz 13,000 men took the cross, 4,000 of whom were knights.

72. See Manrique, III, sub anno 1188, c. i; Steffen, "Heinrich, Kardinal-bischof von Albano. Ein Kirchenfürst des zwolften Jahrhunderts," Cistercienser Chronik, XXI, 1909, p. 339; Friedländer, p. 43; Pfeiffer, "Dritte," p. 181; Janssen, p. 132.

73. The Cardinal's was not the only Cistercian white to appear at the curia Christi. Doubtless the monks of his own immediate entourage, supplemented by those monks and lay brothers he had taken with him from the Cologne area, were also present. Perhaps Henry's translator was one of those abbots whose attendance Manrique (III, 203) reports.

It did not lose its spiritual significance, but was nevertheless greatly widened. The unity of direction integral to this idea, supplemented by the clear precedents of Bernard, made for an orderly and disciplined call to the cross. The appeal to the Emperor as the supreme protector of Christendom, and the only one capable of ensuring this order, is a reflection of this basic concern with preventing "unruliness". But even while extending the concept of the miles Christi to the world of physical struggles, the primitive Cistercian accent upon sacrifice and submission before the Rule was never lost.

#### IV

Frederick Barbarossa did his best to ensure strict discipline and orderly conduct within the crusading host. But the problem of organization was vast, as the enthusiasm created by the preachers was widespread and intense. It is recorded that "no one in all Germany ... was considered of any manly steadfastness at all, who was seen without the saving sign, and who would not join the comradeship of the crusaders."<sup>74</sup> To reduce the situation

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74. Ansbert, p. 15, quoted in PHC, II 90. Cp. the words attributed to Henry of Albano by the Gestorum Treverorum Continuatic III, loc.cit. "Henricus...predicavit in ea predicationem, dicens: 'Qui non baiulat crucem suam et sequitur Christum, non est eo dignus.'" Rumors of strange happenings, in Germany, as in France and England, increased popular excitement by announcing the will of heaven. Particularly mentioned is the miraculous vision of a virgin of Lewenstein. She had learned the conquest of Jerusalem on the very day that

to some kind of order and exclude hangers on from the army, the Emperor declared that every crusader must possess at least three marks before setting out; all non-participants were to contribute a penny.<sup>75</sup> While Frederick set about organizing his crusade, Henry of Albano took his leave of the Germans, returning to Flanders via Cologne.<sup>76</sup> On April 28, at the monastery of Saint Trond in Flanders he celebrated mass, preached to the people, and confirmed the privileges of the monks.<sup>77</sup>

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the infidels had entered the Holy City, and rejoiced at this lamentable event, saying that it would furnish a means of salvation for the warriors of the West. After Cantipratensis apud Surium, die Junii, cap. 20; Besoldo, De regibus Hyerosolimitanorum, p. 274 (cited in J.F. Michaud, History of the Crusades, tr. W. Robson, 3 vols., N.Y., n.d., pp. 444-5).

75. Continuatio Sanblasiana, loc.cit. "Quibus omnibus imperator sequentis anni Maio tempus profectionis constituit, pauperioribus ad minus trium marcarum expensam, ditioribus pro possee expensis preparari, indicens; egentibus autem pondo trium marcarum sub anathemate profectionem fecit interdici, nolens exercitum vulgo minus indoneo pregravari." For further references see Pfeiffer, "Dritte," p. 271, who notes that it is not definitely known whether the Cistercian Order was exempt from this exaction. It is recorded, however, that when the abbot of the imperial monastery (Benedictine) of Murbach hesitated in his support of the crusade, Frederick demanded as compensation that the abbot cede him one of the monastery's manors which was able to supply 250 men. A. Waas, Geschichte der Kreuzzug, Freiburg, 1956, I, 188, (cited in Munz, p. 387, n. 2) considers this not to have been an isolated instance.
76. Congar, p. 51.
77. Gestorum Abbatum Trudonensium Continuatio III, MGH SS, X, 389; Friedländer, p. 45.



The zeal for the cross aroused by the Cistercian legate in Germany and Flanders was paralleled by a similar enthusiasm in France and England. As at the time of the Second Crusade, this excitement, amplified by peculiar celestial phenomena, came to produce strange prophecies concerning the king of the French.<sup>78</sup> A disturbing prophecy was also circulated about Henry II of England. Roger of Hovedon records how "a certain monk of the Cistercian Order, a religious man and one who feared God," beheld a vision in which a great and noble apparition, clothed in white garments, said to him: "Observe and read these things about King (Henry): 'I have set my seal upon him; the womb of his wife shall swell against him, and in torments he shall suffer torments, and among the veiled women he shall be as one wearing the veil.'"<sup>79</sup> These unusual words were soon explained by events.

The departure of the Archbishop of Tyre, and the

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78. See Rigord, De Gestis, where an eclipse of the moon lasting some three hours is described. He also records the report of some monks of Argenteuil who claimed to have seen the moon fall from the heavens down to earth, where, apparently, it gathered strength, and then ascended back to its proper place in the sky. Immediately following this, he gives the text of the prophetic poem concerning Philip Augustus. For a modern language translation of these difficult lines see Guizot, XI, 81.

79. Roger of Hovedon, II, 356, who also reports prophecies dealing with the capture of Constantinople by the Latins, and the destruction of the Turks. The vision of the Cistercian monk should be compared with the dream vision concerning the ill fated king which the occasionally trustworthy Giraldus Cambrensis attributes to his friend, the Cistercian archbishop of Canterbury (De Principis Instructione, dist. III, c.xxix).

absence of the papal legate in Germany removed some of the pressure upon the great princes to maintain the internal peace of Christendom and prepare for war against the infidel. Crusade enthusiasm melted as underlying tensions among Philip Augustus and his vassals again broke into the open. Richard the Lion Heart became embroiled in the war with the count of Toulouse; soon both Henry II and Philip were involved. Europe looked on horrified as soldiers of the cross, the greatest princes of Christendom, ignored their pilgrim's vows and took up arms, not against the infidel, but against each other. The king of England did not wish war, and, for once, seemed to be genuinely devoted to the crusade. He sent first Baldwin, the Cistercian archbishop of Canterbury, then his son John to discuss matters with King Philip.<sup>80</sup> These efforts having failed, he went himself to see the French King at the old meeting place, under a large elm tree near Gisors. The conference was unsuccessful and ended with Philip cutting down the historic elm, vowing that no more meetings should be held there.<sup>81</sup> Meanwhile, the papal legate used all his diplomatic skill to re-establish the peace. It was probably due to his influence that the

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80. Benedict of Peterborough, Gesta Regis, II, 40; Giraldus Cambrensis, De Principis Instructione, dist. III, cxiii; De Rebus a se Gestis, lib. II, c.xxxi. (ed. J.S. Brewer, RS, XXI, pt.1)

81. Roger of Hovedon, II, 345; William the Breton, Philippidos, HGF, XVII, 148-149; Guizot, XII, 69-72.

powerful count of Flanders and many other vassals of the kings refused to take up arms against other men, like themselves, wearing the cross of Christ.<sup>82</sup> The Cistercian cardinal managed to arrange another conference between the kings at Bonmoulins,<sup>83</sup> but this too was a failure. Shortly afterwards, Richard, anxious to secure his rights to the English throne, united with Philip against his father. From the vantage point of Henry of Albano in Flanders, it seemed that Richard was the major instigator of this war, and, having failed to establish peace by all other means, he solemnly declared him excommunicate. But before long, without seeing an end to the conflict, the Cistercian cardinal died.<sup>84</sup> Philip and Richard soon gained the upper hand. They isolated and tracked the old English King from castle to castle on his flight towards Normandy. Henry II looked on tired and sickly as his vassals deserted him one by one.

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82. From April, 1188, to December, little is known of Henry of Albano's activity, but he was probably still in Flanders which was to remain neutral territory. See Janssen, pp. 132-3.

83.. Benedict of Peterborough, Gesta Regis, II, 51: "Sed ipse ad neutrum illorum ante diem colloquii declinare voluit, ne suspectus hinc vel inde haberetur, sed in Flandriam perrexit ad comitem; et ibi moram fecit usque dies colloquii appropinquasset." Congar, p. 52.

84. Roger of Hovedon, II, 355: "Henricus vero Albanensis episcopus cardinalis, quem dominus papa miserat ad litem derimendam inter praefatos reges anathematizavit comitem Richardum, eo quod ipse pacem illam disturbaverat, et reversus est in Flandriam, et obiit apud Araz."

One day a list of those, the allegiance of whom he could no longer rely was read to him. The first name was that of the count of Mortain, his beloved son John, for whom he had struggled so long against Richard. It was incredible and the name had to be repeated; Henry turned on his couch with a groan, "Now," he gasped, "let all things go as they will, I care no more for myself, nor for anything in the world."<sup>85</sup> He died shortly afterward and was carried to the abbey of Fontevraud, and there buried in the choir of the nuns, and "thus it was that he was 'among the veiled women as one wearing the veil.'" The prophecy of the Cistercian monk was fulfilled.<sup>86</sup>

The conflict of the princes aroused disappointment and lamentation on all sides. It was during these

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85. Ibid., II, 336; Giraldus Cambrensis, De Principis Instructione, dist. III, c. 25.

86. Roger of Hovedon, II, 367. The peculiar accuracy of this prophecy casts some doubt upon Hovedon's chronology; for, after the fact divination was a commonplace in medieval literature. Nevertheless, the tense atmosphere of the late 1180's, and the history of Henry's disagreements with his son made such predictions upon the king's fate a likelihood. Afterwards, Hovedon or his source probably filled in the details. According to Giraldus Cambrensis, Cistercian prophecies on the king date back as far as when Saint Bernard, confronted by the young Angevin, heartily declared that "from the devil he comes and to the devil he will go." (De Principis Instructione, dist. II, c. xxviii) On the history of Henry's last struggle, the war between the men of the cross, see J.H. Ramsy, The Angevin Empire, London, 1903, pp. 238-245; K. Norgate, Richard the Lion Heart, London, 1924, pp. 74-90.

months of tension that Henry of Albano wrote the thirteenth tract of his De peregrinante civitate Dei, in which he deplored the dissensions of the princes, and noted the importance of peace and order as a prerequisite for the crusade.<sup>87</sup> Similarly Peter of Blois drew up his angry De Jerosolymitana peregrinatione acceleranda, especially condemning the taxes levied for the crusade - the collecta damnabilis<sup>88</sup> - which only produced delays. To ensure an orderly collection of this tax Henry of Albano resorted to threats of excommunication against those who appropriated the money for themselves.<sup>89</sup>

Another problem confronted the troubled Cistercian legate when count Philip of Flanders quarreled with Peter the bishop of Arras, also a former Cistercian monk and abbot. The tired Henry of Albano went to arbitrate the dispute but fell mortally ill shortly after his arrival. He was carried to the Benedictine Monastery of Maroeil, and there, on New Year's day, 1189, he died.<sup>90</sup> The last words

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87. PL, CCIV, 550f. This preoccupation with peace and order, as a Cistercian tradition, was already stressed by Otto of Freising in his early praises of Frederick Barbarossa's achievements in the organization of the Empire (see Gesta, lib. II, passim; Munz, p. 384, n.2).
88. Peter of Blois, De Jerosolymitana peregrinatione acceleranda, PL, CCVII, 1057-1070, esp. 1064, 1068A.
89. Steffen, p. 341; Congar, p. 53, n. 157.
90. Chronicon Claravallense, 1251-2: "Interhaec autem, et episcopus domnus cardinalis Henricus, quemdam tractatum ad suos Claravallenses edidit. Laborabat autem pro

of his treatise on the City of God were an invocation of the Laetare Jerusalem.

The death of Henry de Marcy was a great blow to the crusading effort. From the time he had first given up the papacy in order to preach the cross, all of his energy was directed toward promotion of the war to liberate Jerusalem. This ultimate end gave the last years of his life their special meaning. Henry was well suited for such a mission, for he knew well both the need of the Eastern Church and the mind of the Roman pontiff and curia. He was a cardinal, a man of the hierarchy; he was, as one modern historian accurately characterized him, a great twelfth century "prince of the Church".<sup>91</sup> And as such, his pre-occupation with the good organization of the crusade under the proper authorities is explicable. He moved among the great rulers of his time using diplomacy as a major tool (in contrast to Bernard who appealed directly to the heart); he was a "man of order".<sup>92</sup> A Cistercian background reinforced this concern for peace and order but at the same time introduced a new emphasis.

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pace inter regem Franciae et regem Angliae, inter comitem Philippum Flandrensem et ecclesiam Atrebatensem. Et ista lucerna talis extinguitur apud Atrebatum Kalendis Januarii..." His body was transported to Clairvaux where it was buried between the tombs of Saint Malachy and Saint Bernard. The fullest account of his last days is that of Congar, p. 53ff.

91. Steffen titled his study: "Heinrich, Kardinalbischof von Albano. Ein Kirchenfürst des zwolften Jahrhunderts."

92. Alphandéry, II, 5.

It was never the cold negotiations of clerical diplomats or secular rulers, but the aura of holiness and the fiery eloquence of ragged hermits and stern ascetics, that aroused people to rush forth for the pilgrim's cross. Peter the Hermit and the Prophet Ralph stood clearly in this tradition, as did Saint Bernard to a large extent. It was not the command of Rome with its administrators and lawyers, but the appeal of the holy ascetic which captured the imagination of the people, especially the poor. The Order of Cîteaux, still new, severe, and devoted to poverty, inherited some of the popular admiration given the hermits and reforming monks of the late eleventh century.<sup>93</sup> Henry of Albano, by virtue of his Cistercian white, gained a degree of this kind of respect. In his emphasis upon penitence and moral reform - the conversio of monastic tradition extended to the sacrifice of the crusade<sup>94</sup> - he stood as heir to Saint Bernard in the Second Crusade, and Robert d'Arbrissel, Saint Vital, Peter the Hermit, and the other great preachers of the time of the First Crusade. Thus the idea of the ragged hermit newly emerged from the wild to preach the cross, though tainted by the disorders associated with the names of Peter the Hermit and the Prophet Ralph, still found a reflection in

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93. See, for example, chapter one, part VI, p.44.

94. Henry of Albano, Epistolae, PL, CCIV, Publicani et peccatores, 247B, speaks of those who have taken the cross "ex laicorum conversione."

the appearance and preaching of Henry of Albano. The Cistercian cardinal drew on the tradition of devotion to poverty and severity of life-style derived from the hermits, yet also represented the dignity and power of the Roman hierarchy. Two seemingly contradictory elements, the undisciplined enthusiasm of the poor hermit, and the order, organization, and greatness of the hierarchy were held in tension in his person. This tension is revealed most obviously in the fact that he was a "Cistercian" cardinal. This was very clear to his fellows of the White Monks, as is related by Caesarius of Heisterbach; he tells us the story of how when Henry was travelling with some monks of the Order on the business of the Crusade, the Cardinal asked one of the lay brothers to tell a story for the edification of the company. "At first he excused himself, saying that a lay brother ought to hold his peace in the presence of learned men; but at length he began... 'When we shall be dead and carried to paradise,' he said, 'our holy father Benedict will come to meet us. When he sees that we are all monks wearing the cowl, he will bring us in joyfully;"

but when he sees Henry the Cardinal Bishop he will be astonished at his mitre, and will say, 'But who are you?' and he will reply: 'Father, I am a Cistercian monk. The Saint will answer: 'Certainly not; no monk ever wore a mitre.' And when Henry shall protest loudly on his own behalf,



the holy Benedict, having at length passed his decision will say to the doorkeepers: 'Put him on his back and cut open his stomach. If you find in it simply vegetables, beans, peas, lentils, pulse and the regular food of monks, let him come in with the others; but if not, if you find fish, and worldly and delicate dainties, why then, let him stop outside.' The Cardinal smiled...and commended this discourse.<sup>95</sup>

Thus Henry's Cistercian heritage was consciously known, not only to himself, but also to the people who heard him preach the crusade.

Throughout his preaching, Henry reiterated those ideas propounded so eloquently by Saint Bernard. He could (like Henry of Strassburg or Godfrey of Wurzburg) have derived his ideal of the miles Christi from feudal and knightly concepts of honor and service to the king. But he did not. Instead, he fell back upon the monastic, Cistercian, and Bernardine tradition of the miles Christi with its emphasis upon moral reform. He spoke most often, not of Christ the King to whom we owe service, but of Bernard's gentle Jesus and of the special opportunity which He bestows. Also like Bernard, he clearly distinguished among the relative roles of the laity, clergy, and

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95. Caesarius of Heisterbach, Dialogue on Miracles, I, 281-2.

monks. They were allied but distinct. It was for the laity alone to serve God by feats of armed might; the clergy were to renounce the vanity of the world, and monks were to devote themselves to the purity of the spiritual Jerusalem.<sup>96</sup> Henry of Albano was a man of the hierarchy, a man of order, but he remained to the end a Cistercian monk.

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96. See respectively his epistle to Louis VII for the laity (PL, CCIV, 234BC); for the clergy idem, 247ff. and De peregrin, X, 329ff.; for monks idem, IV, 289CD, XIII 25Lff. Also see Congar, pp. 88-9.

CHAPTER III  
PRAYERS AND PILGRIMS

I

Henry of Albano, though the most outstanding, was not the only Cistercian bishop to preach the Third Crusade. Baldwin of Ford, archbishop of Canterbury, led the movement in England, while Archbishop Gerard of Ravenna, received a papal commission to preach the cross "in Tuscany and other places" in Italy.<sup>1</sup> Little is known of Gerard's preaching save that on February 2, 1188, in cooperation with the bishops of Florence, Fiesole, Imola, and the Florentine chapter, he used the consecration of the church of Saint Donato in Florence as an opportunity to make a plea for the crusade. A Fifty Day's Indulgence was promised for all who should attend both three days before, and three days after the consecration, and large crowds flocked to the church. Gerard's preaching induced many folk of both high and low rank to take the cross while the prior of the church gave the new crusaders a large banner to carry before them.<sup>2</sup>

The career of the archbishop of Canterbury is much

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1. There is a lengthy note on him in Ughelli, Italia Sacra, 10 vols., Venice, 1717, II, 373.
  2. See J.A. Amadesius, Chronotaxis Antistitum Ravennatum, reprinted as an appendix in Pfeiffer, "Dritte", pp. 341-2, who has collected all available material (pp. 149-50). Alternatively see Friedländer, pp. 47-48.

more fully recorded than that of Gerard. Baldwin had had a good education and rose quickly to become a teacher of note and the archdeacon of the bishop of Exeter. But the laxness of the secular clergy appealed to him less than the disciplined life of a Cistercian monk, and he gave up a promising career to enter the abbey of Ford in Devonshire.<sup>3</sup> There he was soon (c. 1175) elected abbot. By 1180 he found himself once again amongst the secular clergy as the bishop of Worcester and in 1184 he was elected archbishop of Canterbury, though the monks of the cathedral chapter disputed the election.<sup>4</sup> Baldwin's swift rise may have been responsible for some of his mistakes in the primatial office of England; his continuing and sometimes violent dispute with the monks of the Canterbury Chapter points to faults of temperment and administrative tact but he had great virtues as well, for his impulsiveness and brashness were matched by personal courage and honesty.<sup>5</sup>

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3. Janaushek, pp. 40-41.

4. All that is known of Baldwin's early career is collected by D. Knowles, The Monastic Order in England, Cambridge, 1950, pp. 316-317.

5. For example in 1184 a certain Gilbert of Plumpton was tried for forcibly carrying off an heiress and was condemned to death. It was generally believed that many of the charges brought against Gilbert were false and were included in his indictment to secure his condemnation. Baldwin was strongly urged to save him; he determined to do so but was only just in time. The rope was actually around Gilbert's neck when the bishop galloped up and called the executioners to loose him, saying that their work might not be done on that day,

When the former abbot of Ford was elected archbishop in 1184 the excitement caused by the circulation of astrological predictions, especially the Letter of Toledo, was just beginning to reach a climax. On March 10, 1185, a council was held in London to consider the request of Patriarch Heraclius of Jerusalem (1180-1191) who had come to the West to ask assistance for the Palestinian barons. At this assembly less than a year after his election, Baldwin and other prelates and barons assumed the cross.<sup>6</sup> A special tax for the relief of the Holy Land was imposed upon the kingdom.<sup>7</sup> Shortly thereafter Baldwin wrote to his suffragans asking that they preach the cross with zeal and see that the tax was collected with efficiency as the need was great.<sup>8</sup>

Discouraging news from the Orient combined with unusual events in England to produce a heightened excitement.

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For it was Sunday and a festival. A pardon was afterwards obtained and the man ultimately spared due to Baldwin's quick reaction. DNB, III, 32.

6. Gesta Regis, I, 337; Roger of Hovedon, II, 302. A letter in the Epistolae Cantuarienses, no. 105, suggests that Baldwin took the cross as a result of his struggle with the Canterbury monks; but this could be little more than a contributing factor considering the fervor which he showed in preaching the cross and organizing the expedition.
7. See F.A. Cazel, "The Tax of 1185 in aid of the Holy Land," Speculum, XXX, 1955, 385-392.
8. Baldwin of Ford, Epistolae, PL, CCVII, 306ff. Discussed by Cazel, 389, 391.

Roger of Hovedon informs us that on Palm Sunday, 1184, a mighty earthquake struck nearly all of England and less than three weeks later an eclipse of the sun occurred. The eclipse was followed by thunder and lightning and a mighty tempest "from the effects of which men and animals perished, and many houses set on fire were burned to the ground". Henry II and Philip Augustus were moved to provide both men and money for the relief of the Holy Land; but neither assumed the cross in person and the Patriarch Heraclius returned to his own country "in sorrow and confusion".<sup>9</sup> Though the kings seemed to be little moved by the events of 1185, the archbishop of Canterbury was more concerned. Deeply worried by the frightening prophecies and disheartening Eastern news, he declared a special Three Days Fast throughout his province.<sup>10</sup> His concern was well

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9. Roger of Hovedon, II, 303-304: "...terraemotus magnus auditus est fere per totam Angliam, qualis ab initio mundi in terra illa non erat auditus. Petrae enim scissae sunt; domus lapidae ceciderunt ...visa est eclipsis solis totalis; quam secuta sunt tonitrua cum fulgura et tempestate magna. Ex quorum ictu homines et animalia interierunt, et domus multae incensae combustae sunt. Deinde Philippus rex Franciae et Henricus rex Angliae, habito colloquio de subventionem faciendam terrae Jerosolimitanae, promiserunt se bonum auxilium illi facturos tam in hominibus quam in pecunia..." Also see Gesta Regis, I, 337-38; Roger of Wendover, Flores Historiarum, ed. H. Hewlett, RS, LXXXVI, pt. 1, 136. Gervase of Canterbury, Chronica, ed. Wm. Stubbs, RS, LXXIII, pt. 1, 326, confirms the eclipse.
10. Gervase of Canterbury, I, 334-35; "Contigit hoc anno eclipsis lunae totalis quinto die mensis Aprolis prima hora noctis. Subsecuta est eclipsis solis particularis ignei coloris prima die mensis Maii et

founded for on October 7, 1187, Jerusalem fell to Saladin. Henry had already conferred with him after the fall of Acre.<sup>11</sup> At Gisors when the kings of England and France finally took the cross, Baldwin probably renewed his earlier vow.<sup>12</sup> He then travelled with Henry to Lemans where all the king's continental vassals were called together in a great assembly. A tax of one-tenth was levied on all who should not take the cross, and those who might unlawfully try to escape the exaction were excommunicated in advance.<sup>13</sup> In the presence of Baldwin, and in the spirit of Henry of Albano and the cardinals, the king framed strict rules of behavior. Games of chance and profane language were no longer to be tolerated; after the ensuing Easter no one was to wear beaver, fur, or scarlet; and it was decreed that

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et prima hora diei. Praedicatae sunt et praescriptae per astrologos civitatis Toleti tempestates hoc anno futurae, unde Baldwinus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus in provincia sua triduanum instituit jejunium." The chronicler, who is hostile to Baldwin, is more anxious to show the prophecies false than the archbishop's action successful. He continues: "Sed abundantia frugum et opulentia rerum, sed et serenitas aeris eorum infatuavit prophetiam. Nam aliae tempestates vel aeris passiones in Anglia visae non sunt nisi quas ipse domnus Baldwinus in sua scilicet Cantuariensi tonuit ecclesia, ut in sequentibus patibit."

11. Pfeiffer, "Dritte", p. 240.

12. Rigord, De Gestis Philippi, 25BC, lists him as one of those who took the Cross at Gisors.

13. Roger of Hovedon, II, 334ff.

"no one may take any woman with him on the pilgrimage, unless, perhaps, some laundress to accompany him on foot, about whom no suspicion could be entertained".<sup>14</sup> The scandals of the Second Crusade do not seem to have been entirely forgotten.

In February, 1188, the archbishop and the king were again in England. At Geddington near Northampton, a synod was convoked to promulgate the decisions of Le Mans throughout Henry's English kingdom. Arrangements were made for the collection of the Saladin Tenth<sup>15</sup> but the immunity of the Cistercian Order was honored and it was exempted from this obligation.<sup>16</sup> Baldwin "preached and displayed the Sign of the Cross, and Gilbert, Bishop of Rochester (1185-1215), also delivered a sermon and with the king laboring to the same end, the magnates of England, both

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14. William of Newburgh, lib. III, c. xxiii; Gesta Regis, II, 30-32; Roger of Hovedon, II, 335-7.

15. Roger of Hovedon, loc.cit.; Hefele-Leclercq, V, 1142. According to Gervase of Canterbury, I, 422-3, this levy was exacted at Baldwin's suggestion.

16. Annales de Waverleia, ed. Luard, RS, XXXVI, pt. 2, 245: "Per huius signationis occasionem sub auctoritate Romani Pontificis exhorta est quedam decimatio ob omni Europa ... Ab hac decimatione liber fuit ordo Cisterciensis." These words are confirmed by a later statement of William of Newburgh who, at the time that money was being collected for the ransom of King Richard, was to note that only then were the privileges of the Order suspended. (lib. IV, c. xxxviii.) "Cisterciensis quoque ordinis monachi, qui ab omni exactione regia hactenus immunes extiterant, tanto magis tunc onerati sunt, quanto minus antea publici oneris senserant."



clergy and laity, there took the cross upon their shoulders."<sup>17</sup> Of the content of Baldwin's teaching little is known; Roger of Hovedon merely records that the prelates delivered "wonderful sermons...on the subject of the Word of the Lord and the mysteries of salvation gained by the cross."<sup>18</sup> Yet even this brief condensation reveals nothing outside the monastic and Bernardine tradition of crusade preaching. Indeed, the opportunity for salvation was always the main theme of the Cistercian idea of the crusade. Moral reform was to be the most important notion in Baldwin's later preaching of the cross.

At the king's request,<sup>19</sup> the primate left at the beginning of Lent to preach the crusade in Wales. Accompanied by the Justicar, Ranulph Glanville, and the historian, Giraldus Cambrensis, he met with Rhys ap Gruffydd and other Welsh princes near the castle of Radnor. A sermon was delivered by the Archbishop "concerning this adventure for the sake of Christ Crucified," and Giraldus, Bishop Peter

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17. Giraldus Cambrensis, De Rebus a se Gestis, lib. II, c. xvii, (ed. J.S. Brewer, p. 73): "... apud Garcedune quasi consilio, praedicanti Balwino Cantuariensi archiepiscopo et crucis signum praeferente, necnon et Gilleberto Roffensi episcopo sermonem ad huius faciente ipso quoque rege operam ad hoc praebente, majores Angliae tam de clero quam de populo crucem ibidem in humeris assumpserunt." Also see Roger of Hovedon, II, Gesta Regis, II, 33-34.

18. Roger of Hovedon, loc.cit. "mirifice praedicaverunt... vebum Domini et salutiferae crucis mysterium..."

19. Giraldus Cambrensis, loc.cit. "Rex...Baldwinum ad Walliae fines transmisit."

of Mynyw, and many others, persuaded by the exhortation of such great men - tantorum virorum exhortatione - assumed the cross.<sup>20</sup> Afterward the Justicar returned to England, leaving Baldwin and Giraldus to enter the heart of Wales on their own.<sup>21</sup>

Perhaps it was Baldwin's humble origin<sup>22</sup> that enabled him to understand the fierce primitivism of the Welsh countryside.<sup>23</sup> There is little doubt that he knew well the most successful methods for awakening the sleepy devotion of the Celtic tribes. It was no worldly diplomat, no clerical mediator, no cold politician which came to the people of Wales. Rather, it was the stern ascetic of Cîteaux, fully in the moving tradition of Saint Bernard. In Wales, Baldwin became a worker of miracles, a saintly thurmaturge.

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20. Ibid.

21. The major source for this journey is Giraldus Cambrensis, Itinerarium Kambriae, (ed. J. Dimrock, RS, XXI, pt. 6).

22. Knowles, p. 317.

23. The roughness of both country and people is evident on every page of Girald's account. Hostility of the chieftans, and the indifference of the clergy were matched by tough mountain roads, and perilous rivers with dangerous quicksands. One anecdote may serve to illustrate the point. When the company was passing through the province of Goer (Western Glamorganshire), one night, two monks of the archbishop's entourage discussed the occurrences of their journey and the dangers of the road. "One of them said (alluding to the wildness of the country), 'Tis a hard province;' the other (alluding to the quicksands), wittily replied, 'Yet yesterday it was found too soft!'" (Iter Kam, lib. I, c. viii.)

At almost every point Baldwin's enterprise in Wales reflects Bernard's experience in the Rheinland. The opposition or indifference of the princes and people is overcome through sheer force of personality and reputation for sanctity. As in the 1140's, sinners of the worst description and from the lowest strata of society join the expedition. So "at the castle of Usk," writes Giraldus, "a multitude of persons influenced by the archbishop's sermon...were signed with the cross; ...many of the most notorious murderers, thieves, and robbers of the neighborhood were here converted, to the astonishment of the spectators."<sup>24</sup> The example of Bernard is repeated even to the extent of drawing men away from reluctant wives. A case in point is the woman of Aberteivi who "held her husband fast by his cloak and girdle, and publicly and audaciously prevented him from going to the archbishop to take the cross." However, strange dreams and the peculiar death of her son, so Giraldus informs us, soon induced her to sew the crusader's cross on her husband's arm.<sup>25</sup> The presence of the renowned Cistercian prelate drew together people from all across the sparsely populated Welsh countryside, seeming to act as a catalyst for extraordinary happenings. An old blind woman of the Haverford area obtained a piece of earth on which Baldwin had stood and

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24. Iter Kam, lib. I, c. v.

25. Ibid., c. iii; also see lib. I, c. iv.

"through the merits of the holy man, and her own faith and devotion, recovered the blessing of sight."<sup>26</sup> In another place a church and altar were built on the spot where Baldwin had stood while addressing the multitude and, it was said, many miracles were performed on the crowds of sick people who gathered there.<sup>27</sup> But the most familiar miracle, the one so reminiscent of Saint Bernard's preaching in the Rhëinland, was also noted: not only Baldwin but even the archdeacon Giraldus could display exceptional powers. He proudly tells how "many were amazed because, though the archdeacon spoke only in French and Latin, the common people who knew neither tongue wept in untold numbers no less than the rest and more than 200 ran all together to receive the Sign of the Cross."<sup>28</sup> The parallel with Saint Bernard is obvious not only to the modern observer; it was also well known to the participants. Giraldus explicitly recounts Bernard's experience in order to remind the reader whose memory might be faulty.<sup>29</sup>

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26. Ibid., see the beginning of c. xi.

27. Ibid., lib. II, end of c. ii; De rebus a se Gestis, lib. II, c. xix.

28. De rebus a se Gestis, lib. II, c. xviii; Itin Kam, lib. I, the beginning of c. xi.

29. De rebus a se Gestis, loc.cit. "The like also befell in Germany in the case of the blessed Bernard, who speaking to Germans in the French tongue of which they were wholly ignorant, filled them with such devotion and compunction, that he called forth floods of tears from their eyes and with the greatest ease softened the hardness of their hearts so that they did and

Baldwin's status as a Cistercian ensured a certain amount of respect from the common people, for in Wales, as on the continent, the Order was known for its generosity to the poor.<sup>30</sup> In addition, he was aided both by various bishops, and also by Cistercian abbots who preached the cross to the people of their districts.<sup>31</sup> Their efforts were well rewarded for it has been estimated that 3000 men joined the expedition in Wales,<sup>32</sup> and Welsh bowmen were later noted for their valor before Acre.<sup>33</sup>

Upon his return to England Baldwin continued to work for the crusade. The war which had broken out between Henry II and Phillip Augustus was wasting valuable time and money. On two occasions Baldwin tried to mediate the dispute,<sup>34</sup> during the second of which he served on a commission with another Cistercian, Henry de Sully, the

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believed all that he told them; and yet when an interpreter faithfully set forth to them in their own tongue everything that he said, they were not at all moved thereat."

30. Itin Kam, lib. I, c. vii, tells how the Abbey of Margam received divine assistance in its agricultural endeavors because of its hospitality to the poor; also see lib. I, c. iii, passim.
31. Ibid., lib. II, c. iv, for the abbots John of Albadomus (Whitland), and Sisillus of Stratflur; and lib. II, c. vii, for the latter as interpreter and preacher.
32. Pfeiffer, "Dritte," p. 243.
33. Itin Ric, lib. I, c. lviii.
34. See p.75 above where Henry sends Baldwin to negotiate with Philip.

archbishop of Bourges. The clerical inquiry was held under the presidency of Cardinal John of Anagni who had come to carry on Henry of Albano's mission.<sup>35</sup>

In England, rumors of the unholy war between the crusaders amplified an already tense atmosphere. It seems to have been not without reason that English chroniclers recorded more fully than their continental colleagues the prophecies of Toledo, and that because of them Baldwin had declared a special Three Day's Fast. Strange events continued to stir the imagination of the people. At Dunstable a marvelous portent, attested to by many, was rumored to have appeared in the sky.<sup>36</sup> A great stir was also made when the bodies of King Arthur, his queen, and his magic sword Excalibur were discovered at Glastonbury.<sup>37</sup> About

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35. Gesta Regis, II, 61, 66; Roger of Hovedon, II, 362; Manrique, III, 219. Henry de Sully is listed in Willi, p. 18, no. 16. He was abbot of Loroy, then of Chalis; in 1183 he became archbishop of Bourges and in 1186 Urban III appointed him Cardinal (without title church). He died in 1199.

36. William of Newburgh, lib. IV, c. vi: "...ibi dum forte quidam hora postmeridiana in coelum suspicerent, viderunt in sublimitate sereni aeris formam vexilli Dominici lacteo candore conspicuam, et conjunctam ei formam hominis crucifixi... Denique late vulgatum est verbum istud, reique prodigiose rumor et stupor pariter cucurrerunt." Also see Roger of Hovedon, II, 354; Gesta Regis, II, 47, 60.

37. See Giraldus Cambrensis, De principis instructione, dist. I, c. xx; Speculum Ecclesiae, lib. II, c. (RS, XXI, pt. 4, 47-51), Ralph of Coggeshall (p. 36) is the first Cistercian historian to note the event. It is also recorded in the Annales de Margan, (ed. H. Luard, RS, XXXVI, pt. 1, 21-22.)

this time, as well, Baldwin received a letter from the savior of Tyre, Conrad of Montferrat. It contained all the latest tidings from the Orient couched in terms intended to further arouse the archbishop's concern. "The elements are disturbed," he informed Baldwin, "and it is derogatory to the Catholic Faith that the see of Jerusalem should be separated from the apostolic see."

Jerusalem has become extinct, and the inactivity of the Christians is most contemptibly spoken of by the Saracens; they are polluting the Lord's sepulchre; they are destroying Calvary, they despise the birthplace of Christ, and are utterly destroying the sepulchre of the blessed virgin Mary.<sup>38</sup>

Perhaps this reference to the Virgin has something to do with Baldwin's status as a Cistercian; for the Order's special dedication to the Mother of God was one of its best known characteristics. In any case, the letter ends with a depressing outline of recent reverses including the dissensions among the Christians and the rumor of a Byzantine alliance with Saladin. The final words are an urgent appeal that Baldwin exhort the kings and people to immediately come to the aid of the Holy City.<sup>39</sup>

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38. In Roger of Wendover, Flores Historiarum, I, 153-4; and Ralph of Diceto, II, 60-62. This translation of Roger is by J.A. Giles (2 vols., London, 1849, II, 71).

39. Fullest text is in Ralph of Diceto, loc.cit.

The death of Henry II cleared the way to a quicker departure for the expedition. The war immediately ended and Richard the Lion Heart claimed the crown of England as his inheritance. Richard had been the first of the great princes to take the cross<sup>40</sup> and was now eager to set out, but first he must be crowned. On July 20, 1189, at Sées, Archbishop Baldwin granted him absolution and lifted the excommunication which Henry of Albano had laid upon the rebellious son as a breaker of the Seven Year's Peace.<sup>41</sup> Sending Baldwin and other English clergymen ahead of him,<sup>42</sup> Richard sailed for England.

Upon his arrival Richard sent messengers throughout the realm to order the release of condemned criminals,<sup>43</sup> and on Sunday, September 3, he was crowned at Westminster in the presence of nearly all the barons, bishops, and abbots of England.<sup>44</sup> - Cistercian abbots specifically named include

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40. Itin Ric, lib. I, c. xvii.

41. Ralph of Diceto, 67: "Ricardus...intravit Normanniam et apud Sagium Cantuariensem, Rothomagensen, invenit archiepiscopos. Sed quia post crucem susceptam arma moverat contra patrem, a praedictis archiepiscopis beneficium absolutionis promeruit." Pfeiffer, "Dritte," p.245.

42. Gesta Regis, II, 75: "Deinde dedit Baldewino Cantuariensi archiepiscopo et (aliis)...licentiam redeundi in Angliam." Also see Roger of Hovedon, II, 5; Pfeiffer, loc.cit.

43. William of Newburgh, lib. IV, c.i; Itin Ric, lib. II, c.v; Norgate, pp. 95-6.

44. Roger of Hovedon, III, 8: "omnibus fere abbatibus et prioribus..."



Arnald of Rievaulx, Eberhard of Holm-Cultram, and William of Mortemer.<sup>45</sup> After an elaborate procession to Westminster Richard swore to exercise true justice, enact only good laws, and respect the Holy Church. Thereupon he was stripped to the waist; Baldwin, the archbishop of Canterbury, pouring holy oil upon his head, anointed him king in three places, as the chronicler explains, "on his head, breast, and arms, which signified glory, valor, and knowledge." The archbishop then placed a consecrated linen cloth on his head "and delivered to him the sword of rule, with which to crush evil-doers against the Church." Finally Richard took the crown from the altar and gave it to Baldwin who placed it upon the new king's head.<sup>46</sup> After Mass and a procession to the king's palace, a large feast was held in which the greater prelates and baronage participated. Yet there lay upon the proceedings a certain shadow; for "many made conjectures then, because that day was marked with evil in the calendar."<sup>47</sup> Taking no chances the king decreed, reports Roger of Wendover, "that no Jews or women should attend, on account of the magical incantations which sometimes take

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45. Gesta Regis, II, 79ff.; Pfeiffer, "Dritte," p. 245.

46. Roger of Hovedon, III, 9-11. Also see Roger of Wendover, I, 164-66; Ralph of Diceto, II, 68; Norgate, p. 97.

47. Itin Ric, lib. II, c.v: "Multi multa tunc conjecturabant, eo quod dies mala super eandem diem in Kalendario annotata est;" William of Newburgh, lib. IV, c.i: "qui dies ex prisca gentili superstitione malus vel Aegyptiacus dicitur."

place at royal coronations."<sup>48</sup> It happened, however, that a delegation of Jews either ignored the king's command<sup>49</sup> or were caught in the crowd pushing in through the palace doors<sup>50</sup> and so gained access to the proceedings. In the ensuing riot many Jews were killed, houses were burnt, and disorders spread throughout the city. Some Jews were forcibly converted to Christianity; one of these was the wealthy financier Benedict of York. The next day Richard held an inquiry into the disturbance and the convert was brought before him. When Benedict maintained that he was still a Jew, Richard turned to those about him and asked, "Did you not tell me that he is a Christian? ... What are we to do with him?" The archbishop of Canterbury immediately replied: "If he does not choose to be a Christian, let him be a man of the devil."<sup>51</sup> In this manner Benedict

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48. Roger of Wendover, I, 66. "...ne Juaei aut mulieres interessent propter magicas incantationes, quae fieri solent in coronationibus regum..." S.W. Baron, Social and Religious History of the Jews, Philadelphia, 1957, IV, 124.

49. Roger of Hovedon, III, 12; Gesta Regis, II, 83-4; Roger of Wendover, Loc.cit. Curiously enough this is the explanation accepted by the Jewish historian Baron, Loc.cit.

50. William of Newburgh, lib. IV, c. i.

51. Roger of Hovedon, III, 11ff.; Gesta Regis, II, 84, both blame Baldwin for being "minus discrete quam deberet." The former adds that the archbishop should have answered: "We demand that he shall be brought to a Christian trial, as he has become a Christian, and now contradicts that fact." Since relapse from the True Faith was a much more serious offense, the outcome of such a trial for Benedict would be disastrous. Baron, loc.cit., p. 125, calls Baldwin

was permitted to return to his coreligionists in York. Baldwin's harshly worded but prompt and appropriate action had spared the life of the Jew. The precedent of Saint Bernard's protection of the Jewish community established at the time of the Second Crusade was renewed.

Baldwin's tolerance of the Jews was not shared by all segments of English society. After both the king and the archbishop had left for Jerusalem, uprisings against the Jews broke out in various places. At York a certain white robed hermit - possibly a Premonstratensian - "urged on the fatal work more than anyone else," often crying out "Down with the enemies of Christ!"<sup>52</sup> The reaction of the monastic communities, judging by their chroniclers, was a mixture of disgust with Jewish religion, and condemnation of the outrages of the persecutors. Most chroniclers were free enough from the excess of crusading fervor to agree with Saint Bernard that the Jewish nation was a useful, constant, and living reminder of the events of the New Testament. They repeated the Biblical prescription

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"intolerant"; yet there is little doubt that the archbishop's action saved the Jew from immediate destruction. Hovedon attacked the Cistercian for his clemency, not his religious zeal.

52. These events are discussed most fully by William of Newburgh, lib. IV, c. i, vii, viii, ix, x; also see Roger of Hovedon, III, 33-34; Gesta Regis, II, 107; Ralph of Diceto, II, 75-76. Only William (c. ix, x) informs us of the activity of the white hermit: "...ille ex canonico Praemonstratensi heremita...in veste alba..." For a modern account see Baron, pp. 126-9.

"Slay them not, lest my people forget" (Ps. lix, 2).<sup>53</sup>

Agitation against the Jews did not seem a major concern when on the 15 September, "the day before the Exaltation of the Holy Cross"<sup>54</sup> a great assembly was convened at the Cistercian abbey of Pipewell.<sup>55</sup> In the presence of Archbishop Baldwin, and almost all the bishops, abbots, and priors of the kingdom,<sup>56</sup> Richard made appointments to many empty bishoprics and government posts. By the sale of offices he collected much money for the crusade.<sup>57</sup> At Pipewell between September 15 and 17 Richard was engaged in putting in order the ecclesiastical affairs

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53. William of Newburgh, lib. IV, c. ix, Ralph of Diceto, II, 76, and Roger of Wendover, I, 176, all quote this injunction. The Cistercian chronicler, Ralph of Coggeshall seems to be exceptional in his hesitancy to condemn the persecutors. Like the other monastic chroniclers he described (p. 28) how proud the Jews waxed under Henry II, claiming "...in tantam prorupit audaciam, immo vesaniam, ut Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum sacrilego ore non solum in secretis suis conventiculis, sed etiam publica voce impie blasphemaret." But then he adds "unde non immerito tam crudelis persecutio a Christianis eis illata est."

54. Gesta Regis, II, 85, "...in crastino Exaltationis Sanctae Crucis."

55. Janauschek, pp. 76-77.

56. Gesta Regis, loc. cit. "et congregatis ibi Baldwino... et omnibus episcopis, abbatibus, prioribus regni." Also see Roger of Hovedon, II, 15.

57. Ramsay, p. 271, writes: "Glanville, who as Justicar, would have been ex officio Regent, was got rid of, being allowed to resign on the alleged ground of age, and a desire to fulfil his crusading vows. For this kind permission he was fined the bulk of his available fortune."

of the kingdom in preparation for the crusade; among other things he granted charters to the Cistercian houses of Le Valasse, Stratford, Ford, Croxden, Rievaulx and Fountains.<sup>58</sup> Before leaving Normandy in December 1189, the busy king issued similar charters to other houses of the Order including Buildwas, Savigny, Stanley, Bordesley, Holm-Cultram, Boxley, and Cîteaux itself.<sup>59</sup>

In the following February (1190), Baldwin called together his clergy in a synod at Westminster. Bidding them farewell, he asked for their prayers and named Bishop Richard of London (1189-1198) to take charge while he was away.<sup>60</sup> He then returned to Canterbury where he formally

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58. See the register compiled by E. Pfeiffer in "König Richard Löwenherz von England als Wöhlthäter des Cistercienserordens," Cistercienser Chronik, XLIX, 1939, p. 329.

59. Ibid., pp. 329-330. Richard's generosity to the Order was well known and remarked upon by the chroniclers. Roger of Wendover, I, 167, writes: "Rex Richardus monachis Cisterciensibus, ad capitulum generale de diveris terrarum locis convenientibus, singulis annis centum marcas argenti contulit et charta sua confirmavit." Also see Ralph of Diceto, II, 69; Florence of Worcester, Chronicle with two Continuations, tr. Th. Forester, London, 1854, p. 305 (sub anno 1189). Pfeiffer (idem, p. 333) says the donation made to Cîteaux on September 22 was actually to the entire Order. It consisted of the Church of Scarborough with its yearly income of 120 marks and was meant to finance the meetings of the General Chapter.

60. Gervase of Canterbury, I, 484; Ralph of Diceto, II, 75; Pfeiffer, "Dritte," p. 306.

took the pilgrim's staff and bag (Feb. 24).<sup>61</sup> A few days later in the company of Queen Eleanor, and Alice, sister of Philip Augustus, he crossed from Dover to Normandy.<sup>62</sup>

## II

In contrast to England where preaching of the crusade was centered around a single great Cistercian archbishop, France was the focal point for a variety of ways in which the Order helped in the sacred cause. Perhaps the contribution which most effected the everyday life of the monks was prayer. Both the King of England and Philip Augustus of France approached the Abbot of Cîteaux, commending to him their great enterprise. In response the General Chapter declared that in all churches of the Order the Seven Penitential Psalms and accompanying prayers would be said every Friday.<sup>63</sup> Each week on behalf of the crusaders every monk who was an ordained priest was to celebrate the Mass of the Holy Ghost.<sup>54</sup> In addition

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61. Gervase of Canterbury, I, 484-5. "Inde rediit Cantuariam, et...ab altari Christi accepit baculum et peram..."

62. Ibid.; Gesta Regis, II, 105-6; Roger of Hovedon, III, 32.

63. Manrique, III, 231, 244ff.; Le Nain, Essai, VII, 283; VIII, 2; Pfeiffer, "Dritte," p. 146, citing G. Muller, "Die Busspsalmen," Cistercienser Chronik, VI, 1894, 20. These prayers continued to be said until 1192.

64. Statuta, (1190: 16). "Adiecimus quoque, ut pro regibus et principibus, quibus multum Ordo tenetur, et cruce signatis super iam statutas orationes

to prayers shared by the entire Order, individual houses often made special invocations of their own. For this reason, in an act dated 1189, William II, count of Chalon, went to La Ferté where he announced his intention to go to the Holy Land, asked for the prayers of the monks, and confirmed their rights.<sup>65</sup> For the maintenance of a burning lamp before the altar of Saint Mary - una lampas jugiter ardens administrabitur in perpetuum ante altare sancte Marie in monasterio - Gautier de Mouy, before departing for the East, made a donation to the Cistercian abbey of Lannoy.<sup>66</sup> Abbot Ferdinand of Clairmarais established a perpetual anniversary for the soul of his monastery's generous benefactor, Philip of Alsace, who died during the siege of Acre (1191).<sup>67</sup> Such examples show that prayer was the most frequent service rendered by the monks on behalf of the crusaders. In France donations were made to

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unusquisque sacerdotum in hebdomada semel missam celebrabit de Spiritu Sancto, si poterit, alioquin pro magna negligentia eius conscientiae adscribetur. Qui vero in hac peregrinatione decesserunt sive decesserint, associantur missae quae in domibus nostris pro defunctis quotidie celebratur."

65. Bernard, "Bourgogne aux croisades," p. 28.

66. L.E. Deladreue, Histoire de l'Abbaye de Lannoy, Beauvais, 1881, p. 33. This lord left with Philip Augustus and Richard the Lion Heart in July, 1190, and while he was away his wife confirmed other donations to Lannoy with the stipulation that her husband would ratify these si de Jerosolima reierit.

67. H. De Laplane, Les Abbés de Clairmarais, Saint Omer, 1868, p. 105.

Pontigny<sup>68</sup> and Clairvaux,<sup>69</sup> to Savigny,<sup>70</sup> Cîteaux, Moureilles, Mortemer, La Boissière, Perseigne, Bellervaux, Bitaine, Lieu Croissant,<sup>71</sup> Ourscamp and Berdoues;<sup>72</sup> also to Tamie,<sup>73</sup> Champagne,<sup>74</sup> and Lannoy.<sup>75</sup> In Germany there were donations to Marienfeld, Loccum, Kamp, Altenburg, Walkenried, Eusserthal and Rein.<sup>76</sup>

Gifts to the monks probably outweighed contributions from them. Not only in England, but also in France they were exempted from the Saladin tithe. The Assembly of Paris which had levied the tax, had specifically listed the Order of Cîteaux together with that of Fontevraud, the

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68. Gallia Christiana, XII, 444; V.B. Henry, Histoire de l'Abbaye de Pontigny, Avallon, 1882, p. 77; King, p. 158.

69. Count Philip of Flanders made generous bequests to Clairvaux. He died before Acre and his bones were brought back to be interred with those of his wife in his own chapel in the monastery. See Chronicon Clarevallense, 1252; King, p. 258.

70. Auvry, Hist Sav, III, 290.

71. Gallia Christiana, IV, 989; II, 1403; XII, 725; XIV, 517; XV, 242, 267, 282; Pfeiffer, "Dritte," p. 273.

72. Pfeiffer, loc.cit.

73. Gallia Christiana, XIV, 724; Garin, p. 65.

74. Auvry, loc.cit.

75. Deladreue, 33-4, 35.

76. Pfeiffer, loc.cit.; "Deutsch. Cist." p. 306f.



Carthusians and the lepers as being excepted.<sup>77</sup> Nevertheless the monks did not feel themselves to be entirely without financial responsibility. On occasion they gave aid to poor pilgrims and penniless knights. The records of the Abbey of Bonnevaux reveal how Asterius of Primarette and his brother retired to the monastery and gave to it all their possessions; but when Asterius later expressed a wish to join the Jerusalem expedition, the monks freely provided him with money.<sup>78</sup> In a second case the abbot gave sixty solidi to the knight, Amadé de Miribel, to carry him through the great pilgrimage.<sup>79</sup> In all probability such cases were not rare; it was, however, in fields other than finance that the Cistercian role was most significant.

Preaching continued to be the Order's most distinctive contribution to the crusade. Prominent Cistercian

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77. Rigord, De Gistis Philippi, 26C: "...omnes illi crucem non habentes, quicumque sint, decimam ad minus dabunt hoc anno de omnibus mobilibus suis et de omnibus redditibus, exceptis illis qui sunt Cisterciensis, et ordinis Carthusiensis, et ordinis Fontis-Ebrardi, et exceptis leprosis, quantum ad suum pertinet proprium."

78. U. Chevalier, Cartulaire de l'Abbaye de N.D. de Bonnevaux, Grenoble, 1889, p. 138: "Asterius, cum perexit Jerusalem, habuit propter hoc a Bonevallensibus 20 solidos."

79. Ibid., p. 82: "...iterum solvit [Amadeus de Mirello] querimoniam apud Viennam, in domo Bonevallensium, in manu domni Hugonis abbatis Bonevallis, qui et dedit ei sponte sua, eo quod ita aggressus esset iter proficiscendi in Jerusalem in expeditionem magam, LX solidos." See Pfeiffer, "Dritte," p. 273.

prelates were present on every front: Henry of Albano in France and the Empire, Baldwin of Ford in England, and Gerard of Ravenna in Italy. But lesser abbots helped as well. In Germany the names of the abbots of Neuburg and of Salem are associated with crusade preaching,<sup>80</sup> in France the abbot of Clairvaux, Garnier de Rochefort (1186-1193) preached the cross.<sup>81</sup> When the kings of France and England met at Vezelay, a place made famous by the eloquence of Saint Bernard in 1146, it may have been Garnier who preached to the throng. As abbot of Clairvaux he was successor to both Bernard and Henry de Marcy. Perhaps his presence at Vezelay can already be thought of as an inherited duty of the abbots of Clairvaux.<sup>82</sup>

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80. Chroust, "Einleitung," p. lxxxv.

81. See below p. 132-3 n. 151. On Garnier see Gallia Christiana, IV, 592-3; Histoire littéraire de la France, XVI, 425-31. For his sermons in which Jerusalem and the Holy Places are recurring themes see PL, CCV, 555.

82. Manrique, III, 231, suggests that after the death of Henry of Albano either Pope Clement III commanded Garnier to preach the cross, or he took it up on his own initiative. De Visch, Auctarium ad Bibliothecam Scriptorum S.O. Cist., 1656, ed. Canivez in Cistercienser Chronik, XXXVIII, 1926, 193, (cited by Pfeiffer, "Dritte", p. 183) writes: "Garnerius...Henrico Cardinali Atrebatii defuncto et in Clarevaille sepulto in manere predicandi Crucem in Sarracenos sublegatus fuit." Pfeiffer, loc.cit., seems to accept this notion. J.C. Didier, "Une lettre inédite de Garnier de Rochefort," Collectanea, XVIII, 1956, p. 192, suggests that "il l'avait dû faire comme une tâche traditionnelle..." In a letter written sometime later Richard of England told Garnier that he should preach the cross sicut officio vestro congruit et honori (idem.).

III

As at the time of the Second Crusade, Cistercian participation did not end with the departure of the Christian armies. Once again important prelates from the Order played a significant role in the pilgrimage. The first of these to leave Europe was Archbishop Gerard of Ravenna. In the fall of 1188 he sailed from Venice with one of his suffragan bishops and a large group of crusaders. After a successful voyage the pilgrims landed in Tyre where they helped Conrad of Montferrat in his defense of the city and made a sortie against Sidon.<sup>83</sup> Gerard and the Archbishop of Pisa are noted as greeting further reinforcements from Europe.<sup>84</sup> In February, 1189, Gerard was still in the isolated Christian stronghold,<sup>85</sup> but during the summer Guy,

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83. Sigard of Cremona, Chronica, PL, CCXIII, 519D: "Advenerunt et alii multi quidem peregrini cum venerabili G. archipraesule Ravennatae, Romanae sedis legato. Cum his itaque marchio Sarracenorum Sidonis multitudinem forti manu prostravit." Salimbene, Chronica, MGH SS, XXXII, 7: "...similiter apostolice sedis legatus, et de omni fere occidentali provincia peregrini Tyrum applicuerunt." Also see Albert the Lawyer, Regini Chronica imperatorum, MGH SS, XXXI, 646; William of Nangis, Chronique, Guizot, XIII, 69; Ughelli, loc.cit.; Friedländer, p. 48; Pfeiffer, "Dritte," p. 273.

84. Chronicum Turonense, HGF, XII, passim: "Ravennensis et Pisanus archipraesules cum multo Italarum agmine transfretantes, et appulsi Tyrum, Tyrensibus fiunt non modicum adiumentum." Also see Robert of Auxerre, Chronica, MGH SS, XXVI, 253-4.

85. For a charter of Gerard dated at Tyre, February 2, 1189, see Amadesius, III, 138; Pfeiffer, "Dritte," p. 273.

King of Jerusalem, took the offensive by laying siege to Acre. In September Conrad of Montferrat, Gerard, and the bishop of Verona led a group of Italians together with a host of Germans to augment the forces of the besiegers.<sup>86</sup> On October 12, a mighty assault was launched against the formidable city. King Guy led the first wave; Conrad and the Cistercian archbishop led the second. Then two more groups followed. In one of the bloodiest battles fought before the walls of Acre a large number of crusaders lost their lives.<sup>87</sup> In the chronicles no further mention of the archbishop of Ravenna is made.<sup>88</sup> His death before Acre was

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86. Sigard of Cremona, 520B: "Propterea marchio, et archiepiscopis Ravennas, qui nec ad obsidionem venerant, nec ad veniendum approbaverant, ab obsessis suppliciter per Nenorensem episcopum, et Thuringiae Langravium, ut ad eorum succursum veniant, invitantur. Venerunt, sed invito marchione, qui Turcorum versutias cognoscebat..." This passage seems to show that Gerard had taken sides with Conrad in the dispute between Guy and the Marquis. This is confirmed by Ralph of Diceto, who preserves (II, 70) a letter to the Pope from Theobald of Blois. It reports that "Rex Jerusalem, Templarii, Hospitalarii, archiepiscopus Pisanorum et plures Pisani...contra voluntatem domini marchionis et archiepiscopi Ravennensis ecclesiae aliorumque Christianorum, Acre in obsidione devenerunt." Later in his letter Theobald reports his arrival at Acre with Gerard and Conrad. Also see Salimbene, 8; Albert the Lawyer, 646; Chron. S. Bert., loc.cit., III, 675.

87. Gesta Regis, II, 94. For date see Pfeiffer, loc.cit., p. 275, n. 130.

88. Sigard of Cremona, 529; Salimbene, 16: "Nam archiepiscopus Ravennas, Langravio Thuringiae, Fredericus dux Suevorum, et multi de imperio comites et barones in Domino mortui fuerunt." The Chronica Universali (MGH SS, XXVII, 339) of Ralph Niger reads: "Sed et viri religiose...mortui fuerunt...veluti vir literatus Girardus Ravennas archiepiscopus et Cisterciensis

a grave blow to the crusaders,<sup>89</sup> yet the weakened army, though severely shaken, still stood and awaited reinforcements. These eventually arrived, and in their ranks were found other pilgrims from the cloisters of Cîteaux.

In the army of Frederick Barbarossa marched Bishop Henry of Basel, a former monk of Lutzel.<sup>90</sup> This Cistercian prelate is noted among the German host during the crossing of the Balkans and the devastating march across Asia Minor.<sup>91</sup> After the death of the Emperor in the river Calycadnus, he continued the journey with the Duke of Swabia.<sup>92</sup> At Antioch the German army was even further weakened by sickness and epidemic - Henry of Basel was one of those struck down by the plague.<sup>93</sup> Severely weakened he started the return

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monachus..." He was killed in "hot battle" according to Amadii, III, 26, 29, as cited in Pfeiffer, loc.cit.

89. Monachus of Florence (sometimes referred to as Haymarus monachus), De Expugnatione Civitatis Acconensis, printed by Stubbs as an appendix to Roger of Hovedon's Chronica, III, p. cxxviii, line 645ff., De Morte Archiepiscopi Ravennatis et Episcopi Faventini.

Quisquis archipraesulem novit Ravennatem,  
Faventini praesulis atque probitatem,  
Ob illorum obitum Christianitatem  
Scit tulisse maximam incommoditatem.

90. Listed in Willi, p. 52, no. 249. He had held the church of Basel since 1180. Gallia Christiana, XV, 449: "Ex ipsius quoque Henrici verbis, in Lucellensem abbatiam."
91. Ansbert, Historia de expeditione, 34; Historia Peregrinorum, 132, 138.
92. Pfeiffer, "Dritte," p. 276.
93. Gallia Christiana, XV, 451; Willi, loc.cit.

journey by sea, but never reached his homeland.<sup>94</sup>

The Bishop of Basel was not the only contact between Frederick Barbarossa's crusade and the Cistercians.<sup>95</sup> Many pious veterans from the Emperor's expedition eventually retired to houses of the Order. Himmerod, Altenburg, and Heisterbach were all honored by the presence within their cloisters of former soldiers of the cross.<sup>96</sup> Yet the German monks themselves do not seem to have been deeply involved in the expeditions of 1187-92. Contact between the Cistercians and the crusade was greater in France than in the German lands; for France was not only the most important meeting place of the Order, but it was also the most intensive area of recruitment for the crusade.

When the French and English armies left Vezelay on the Sunday of Laetare Jerusalem, 1190, Cîteaux was well represented in both contingents. Not only prelates from the Order, but also abbots, choir monks, and lay brothers played a part. With the English were Archbishop Baldwin,

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94. Whether he died of the plague or in a shipwreck is uncertain. See Pfeiffer, loc.cit.

95. Monastic participation is mentioned as being extensive in Ansbert, Historia de expeditione, 15, but the Cistercian contribution is not known.

96. Pfeiffer, "Deutsch. Cist." pp. 307-8; "Dritte," p. 277.

Abbot Milo of Le Pin,<sup>97</sup> and the abbot of Ford.<sup>98</sup> Abbot Simon of Loos accompanied his patron Philip of Flanders to the siege of Acre.<sup>99</sup> Abbot Guy de Vaux-Cernay probably travelled with the army of Phillip Augustus.<sup>100</sup> Many

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97. Ralph of Coggeshall, Chronicon, 98: "Hic autem abbas [Milo de Pino] cum domino rege in expeditionem Hierosolymitanam profectus, milites instanter exhortabatur ut contra inimicos Crucis Christi viriliter decertarent, nec mortem pro Domino subire formidarent."
98. The abbot of Ford appears in the list of those who died during the siege of Acre. See Roger of Hovedon, III, 87; Gesta Regis, II, 147. Though Baldwin may have asked him to go, the abbot did not have the consent of the General Chapter. He is reprimanded for not attending the chapter of 1190. Statuta, I, 126, no. 42: "Abbates de Carreria de Stalleia et de Forda, qui ad capitulum generale non venerunt, sex diebus sint in levi culpa, uno eorum in pane et aqua." His death is also listed in the Annales of the Cistercian house of Margam (loc.cit., 20-21). "Ricardus rex... iter arripuit versus Jerusalem... pervenerunt autem Baldwinus Cantuariensis... et multi alii. Obiit... Baldwinus archiepiscopus, et Robertus abbas de Forda..."
99. Upon his return he was reprimanded for his long absence. Statuta, 1196, p. 200, no. 16, alternate reading: "Abbas de Laude, eo quod inconsulto patre abbate domum suam deseruit, seque deposuit ab abbatis officio, tribus diebus sit in levi culpa." Also see Gallia Christiana, III, 303; L. de Rosny, Histoire de l'Abbaye de N.D. de Loos, Paris, 1837, pp. 19-25.
100. In a letter written shortly after the Third Crusade Stephen of Torigny defends Guy from the attacks of false brethren: "Prodigiosum nobis videtur et ostentui proximum, quod filium vestrum abbatem de Sarneio de mortis faucibus ereptum et tam periculis in mari, quam periculis in falsis fratribus afflictum..." This is quoted in full and most thoroughly discussed in the Histoire littéraire de la France XVII, 237-238. Also see Gallia Christiana, IV, 989; Pfeiffer, "Dritte," 148, 307. The interpretation of the Hist lit has never been questioned. The wording of Stephen may be only rhetorical but the fleet of Philip Augustus did have a difficult crossing. See below p.134.

ordinary monks had been deeply affected by the first great wave of enthusiasm which had swept Christendom and at that time had joined the enterprise. "The renown of this expedition spread so extraordinarily," writes the chronicler, "that many migrated from the cloister to the camp, and exchanging the cowl for the cuirass, showed themselves truly soldiers of Christ, quitting their libraries for the study of arms."<sup>101</sup> As at the time of the Second Crusade the lay brothers of Cîteaux could not be isolated from this excitement. Increasing restlessness among the brethren had caused Pope Gregory to issue a bull (Nov. 7, 1187) granting the abbot of Savigny the right to excommunicate fugitive monks and lay brothers.<sup>102</sup> The General Chapter was opposed to extensive Cistercian participation in pilgrimage or crusade<sup>103</sup> and when the abbot of Savigny received back one of his fugitive monks, it reprimanded him with three days' penance, one on bread and water; the monk was not permitted to return to

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101. Itin Ric, lib. I, c. xviii, Claustales cum coeteris crucizantur. "...In tantum vero novae peregrinationis fervebat studium ut iam non esset quaestio quis crucem susciperet, sed quis nondum suscepisset."

102. Auvry, Hist Sav, III, 283.

103. Statuta, 1185, p. 102, no. 32: "Abscidentes et incidentes et peregrinantes non nisi per generale Capitulum in domo de qua exeunt, recipiantur." The English bishop, Ralph Niger who had doubts about the utility of the crusade was also firmly against monastic participation. See G.B. Flahiff, "Deus non Vult: A Critic of the Third Crusade," Medieval Studies, IX, 1947, 162-188.



Savigny but was exiled to another house of the Order.<sup>104</sup>

This was in line with the statutes of Cîteaux which looked upon monastic crusaders as no better than drunkards, or lovers of luxury, who pampered themselves with hot baths; abbots were strictly forbidden to overlook such conduct.<sup>105</sup>

Both the abbots of Morimond and La Crete were reprimanded for sending lay brothers on the Jerusalem expedition "without good reason".<sup>106</sup> For the same offense the abbot of Tully was exiled from his cell for a period of forty days, and given six days penance with one on bread and water.<sup>107</sup>

Rules forbidding involvement in the crusade were strictly enforced and reflect the strength of that sentiment within the Order. Yet the very number of violations points to a widespread Cistercian interest in the venture. More Cistercians accompanied the crusading armies than had ever

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104. Statuta, (1192: 32). "Abbas de Savigneio qui monachum peregre profectum et transfretaverat contra Ordinis instituta recepit, tribus diebus sit in levi culpa, uno eorum in pane et aqua, et eundem monachum in aliam domum remittat, de cetero nullatenus reversurum."

105. Ibid., (1189: 17). "Qui domum propriam causa potionum fuerint egressi, ad eam de cetero non revertantur. Hoc idem dicimus de his qui in peregrinatione sanctorum vel pro calidis balneis exeunt. Nullus abbas de huius modi dare dispensationem praesumat."

106. Ibid., (1190: 52). "Abbates de Morimundo et de Christa qui, quadam occasione minus sufficiente, conversos suos, Jerosolymam miserunt tribus diebus sint in pane et aqua."

107. Ibid., no. 53: "Abbas vero Theoloci qui hoc ipsum contra formam Ordinis et contra consilium patris fecit, quadraginta dies extra stallum suum remaneat, et sex diebus sit in levi culpa, uno eorum in pane et aqua."

done so before.<sup>108</sup> In fact, just as in the Second Crusade, an important Cistercian prelate was entrusted with safely bringing to the Holy Land an entire company of pilgrims.

Philip Augustus and King Richard had agreed to meet again at Messina in Sicily. But while the English king

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108. According to Gallia Christiana, John de la Tour, abbot of Val-Honnête (N.D. de Ferriers, second daughter house of Aiguebelle), left for the Holy Land with the abbot of Cîteaux and twenty four priors of the Order. "Johannes de la Tour. Ad bellum sacrum profectus dicitur cum abbate Cistercii, alio abbate, et 24 prioribus, quando Philippus Augustus cum Angliae rege, etc. crucis vexillum explicavit." But see idem, IV, 989. The author of the Annales de l'Abbaye d'Aiguebelle, 2 vols., Valence, 1863, I, 136, accepts this testimony but states that the abbot of Cîteaux was not a part of the company. He explains that Guy de Paré was abbot at the time, but that it was Guy de Vaux-Cernay who took part (see n. 100 above). While it is true that the abbot of Vaux-Cernay took part, it is not true that Guy de Paré was abbot of Cîteaux in 1189-90. See Willi, p. 18, no. 12, who gives the career of the monk from Paré-le-Monial thus: 1189 abbot of N.D. du Val, 1193 of Cîteaux, 1199 Cardinal, d. 1206 of the plague. J. Marilier, "Catalogue des Abbés de Cîteaux pour le XIIe siècle. Addition et rectification à la Gallia Christiana," Cistercienser Chronik, LV, 1948, 1-11, gives the following:

William II de la Prée	1186-at least Aug. 1189
Thibault	1189-90
William III	1190-1194
Peter II	1194
Guy II de Paré	1194 (Apr.-May) - 1200

The statement of Gallia Christiana thus cannot be automatically rejected because of the confusing coincidence of the two abbots named Guy. Nevertheless, no first hand evidence has come down to us that the abbot of Cîteaux went to Palestine, and, if he had gone, it is almost certain that one of the major chroniclers would have mentioned him at least once. Pfeiffer does not discuss the problem of the abbot of Cîteaux's participation, nor mention the 24 priors.

tarried on the slow land route, Archbishop Baldwin of Canterbury and a group of crusaders left the port of Marseille (Aug. 5-6) to go directly to Syria. With the aid of a favorable wind, Baldwin and his company arrived at Tyre by September 16 "flying the banner of the Holy Martyr Thomas."<sup>109</sup> Disease at that port weakened the English contingent, but by October 12 the archbishop and those with the strength to follow him had reached Acre.<sup>110</sup> The English were deeply shocked at the terrible condition of the Christian army. There was dissension amongst the princes, hunger, sickness, and death. The modesty, loyalty, and sobriety befitting a pilgrim army was entirely

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109. Manrique, III, 235; Pfeiffer, "Dritte," p. 308. See note 115 below.

110. Roger of Hovedon, III, 42; Gesta Regis, II, 115: "Baldwinus Cantuariensis [et alii] qui venerant cum rege Angliae ad Mariliam, ibidem naves intraverunt. Et fecit illis Dominus prosperum iter, ita quod in brevi perduxit eos sine impedimento per magnum pelarus usque ad obsidionem Accon." In a letter to the English clergy written shortly after his arrival at Acre Baldwin recounted his journey and asked for their prayers (Epistolae Cantuarienses, ed. Wm. Stubbs, RS, XXXVIII, pt. 2, no. 345, p. 328); "Dominica proxima post Exhaltationem Sanctae Crucis, cum sociis nostris sani et incolumes per Dei gratiam apud Tyrum applicuimus, ubi fere per mensem moram fecimus, quia singuli pene sociorum nostrorum ibi infirmati fuerunt. Post quorum convalescentiam...ad expeditionem Christianorum Aconem venimus..." Also see the letter of one of Baldwin's clerics to the monks at Canterbury, idem, no. 346, pp. 328-9, and the closing remarks of Giraldus Cambrensis, Itin Kam; Ralph of Diceto, II, 284; Annales de Waverleia, ed. R. Luard, RS, XXXVI, pt. 2, 247; Sigard of Cremona, 527; Salimbene, 14.

lacking, replaced by vice and discord. "Our army is given over to disgraceful practices," wrote Baldwin's chaplain to the monks of Canterbury, "so that in grief and sighing, I say that it indulges in idleness and lust rather than in virtue. The Lord is not in our camp; there is no man who does a good thing."<sup>111</sup> Nine days after Baldwin's arrival a great battle was fought with disastrous results for the Christians.<sup>112</sup> Then Patriarch Heraclius took seriously ill and his duties fell upon the senior clergyman present - the Archbishop of Canterbury.<sup>113</sup> The English Cistercian found himself giving the benediction and granting general absolution before the offensive launched against Saladin on November 12.<sup>114</sup> In a period of general uncertainty Baldwin, the Duke of Swabia, and the count of Blois took charge of the camp. "Raising the standard on which was

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111. Epistolae Cantuarienses, loc.cit., no. 346: "Exercitus noster turpi exercitio deditus, quod lugens et gemebundus dico, otio potius et libidini quam virtuti indulget. Non est Dominus in castris; non est qui faciat bonum. Principes sibi mutuo invident; et de paritate contendunt. Minores indigent, nec inveniunt sublevantem. In castris non est castitas, sobrietas, fides, dilectio, caritas, quod, Deo teste, minime crederem, nisi vidissem."
112. Ibid., "...exercitus noster quotidie minuitur et deficit. Festo Sancti Jacobi plus quam quatuor millia peritum electorum a Turcis caesa fuerunt."
113. Itin Ric, lib. I, c. lxiii; Runciman, Crusades, III, 31.
114. Ambroise, L'Estoire de la Guerre Sainte, ed. & tr. M.J. Hubert & J.L. LaMonte under the title The Crusade of Richard the Lion Heart, N.Y., 1941, pp. 172-3; Itin Ric, lib. I, c. lxi.

inscribed the name of the glorious martyr Thomas," the archbishop directed the defense of the Christian positions. Many knights and armed men were numbered in his personal following.<sup>115</sup> The offensive, though not a great success, enabled the Christians to break away on a foraging expedition, and as a result the famine in their camp was somewhat reduced.<sup>116</sup> Yet dissension and disease continued to plague the army.

Particularly disturbing was the continuing dispute between Guy de Lusignan and Conrad of Montferrat over their respective claims to the Kingdom of Jerusalem. Guy had been disgraced by the defeat at Hattin, and held his title through marriage. The death of the queen rendered his position extremely uncomfortable. By contrast, Conrad stood as the savior of Tyre, and the anxious Palestinian baronage now arranged for him a marriage with Isabel of Jerusalem, the last representative of the royal line. Isabel's first husband, the weak Humphrey of Toron, was easily persuaded to consent to an annulment; a papal legate and several other prelates were won over to Conrad's cause. But it was

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115. Ralph of Coggeshall(?), Libellus de expugnatione Terrae Sanctae, ed. J. Stevenson, RS, LXVI, 255. "...archiepischo Baldwino Cantuariensi ducente, Salahadinus cum suis fugit ad montana." Itin Ric, loc.cit.

116. Ambroise, pp. 173-4; Itin Ric, loc.cit.; Runciman, Crusades, III, 29-30.

rumored that the marquis already had a wife in Italy and another in Constantinople. Guy's party agitated loudly against the union and the question was put before Baldwin of Canterbury, then performing the duties of Patriarch. Plantagenet connections with Guy's family happily coincided with the English Cistercian's rigid sense of propriety. The archbishop came out strongly against the marriage and threatened all connected with the plan with the ban of the Church.<sup>117</sup> Baldwin's prestige was such that, as long as he lived, the union could not take place. But the archbishop was old and tired. Five days after his death Conrad and Isabel were married.<sup>118</sup>

The dispute between Guy and Conrad was a heavy burden for the Cistercian. His fragile constitution had

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117. The attitude of the Palestinian baronage is reflected in the accounts of L'Estoire de Eracles Empereur, RHC Hist Oc, II, 151-154, and Bernard le Tresorier, Continuation de Guillaume de Tyr, Guizot, XIX, 172, neither of whom bother to mention the part of Baldwin; the latter simply concludes: "Quant Honfroi fu departi d'Isabel, le marchis l'epousa et l'emmena à Sur." However the English chroniclers, all hostile to Conrad, clearly state that the Cistercian archbishop "pronounced sentence of excommunication on those who had contracted and agreed to this unholy wedlock." Itin Ric, lib. I, c. lxiii; Ambroise, pp. 178-179; Gesta Regis, II, 141-142.

118. Unless Baldwin's sentence was pronounced in advance of the offence, his action must have been more of a threat than an actual excommunication. The bitterness of the English chroniclers towards Conrad probably induced them to see it as reality. See LaMonte's note in Ambroise, loc.cit. On the affair generally see PHC, II, 66; Runciman, Crusades, III, 30-32.

already been severely tried by exposure to disease in Tyre and the strain of spiritual and military leadership before Acre. Famine and epidemic added to his cares. The licentious behavior of the crusaders had shocked the archbishop and his companions from their arrival. This concern for the moral condition of the army tried Baldwin severely and his discomfort steadily grew. He saw, writes the chronicler, "that the army had become altogether dissolute, given to drinking, women, and dice, and it afflicted his spirit, unable to bear such excesses, even to the weariness of life."<sup>119</sup> His final reaction recalls Saint Bernard's weariness of soul after the defeat of the Second Crusade. "Oh Lord God!" he exclaimed, "now is there need of chastening and correcting with holy grace. If it please Thy mercy that I should be removed from the turmoil of this present life, I have remained long enough in this army."<sup>120</sup> Shortly afterward, on November 19, 1190, he died of fever.<sup>121</sup>

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119. Itin Ric, lib. I, c. lxxv. "Praeterea archiepiscopus Cantuariensis videns quod ante audiens exercitum omnino dissolutum, tabernis, scortis et ludis talorum insistere, animam tantorum excessum impatientem, usque ad taedium vitae afflixit." See the similar wording of Ralph of Coggeshall, De expugnatione, 256.

120. Ibid. "Domine Deus, nunc est opus pia corripientis et corrigentis gratia, quod si tuae miserationis beneplacitum esset, ut a vitae praesentis turbine sublatus migrarem, longam satis in hoc exercitu moram exegi."

121. Ibid. "Post hunc sermonem diebus quindecim...febrili fatiscens infra dies paucos in Domino obdormivit." Gervase of Canterbury, 488, gives the date. Several chroniclers mention his death at Acre. Roger of

Baldwin's demise was widely mourned, for to the end he had proved steadfast, energetic, and generous to the poor.<sup>122</sup> In his last testament he provided, for sentry duty in the camp, enough money for the maintenance of twenty knights and fifty of their attendants.<sup>123</sup> His dedication to the cross was shown in varied contributions to the effort. He preached the crusade in England and Wales, encouraged the princes in the undertaking, and organized and personally lead a contingent to the Holy Land; once there he took on additional spiritual duties and even directed military operations. By decisive action in England during the coronation festivities, and again in Palestine on the marriage question, Baldwin proved his devotion to Cistercian ideals of order and moral reform. His continuing concern for the

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Hovedon, III, 87; Gesta Regis, II, 142; Ralph Niger, Chronica Universalis, 339; Ralph of Coggeshall, Chron. Ang., 29; Annales de Waverleia, 247, and others.

122. Ralph of Diceto, 88: "...pauperum semper agens curam, erga destitutos auxilio reflectens oculos misericordiae; per omnia boni praesulis implens officium." Monachus Florentinus, De expugnatione Civitatis Acconensis, p. cxxvii, lines 657ff. De morte Archiepiscopi Cantuariensis:

Sanctus Archipontifex Cantuariensis,  
Populum consilio fovens et expensis,  
Militonum coetibus catervatus densis,  
Recreabat pauperes sumptibus immensis.

Quem sic postquam vineae mors intentum vidit,  
Tanti operarii fructibus invidit,  
Vitae filum profinus illius succidit;  
Clerus, plebs, cum milite quare vertes scidit.

123. Ralph of Diceto, loc.cit.; Roger of Wendover, I, 189.



moral condition of the crusading host, so closely linked with his death, reflected the emphasis always put by Cistercian crusade preachers upon the assumption of the cross as conversio. Saint Bernard, Henry of Albano, and Baldwin of Ford shared this notion as a basic tenet of the monastic tradition. Baldwin himself may have been far from perfect as an ecclesiastical lord, but his devotion to monastic ideals is unquestionable. "He made a better monk than abbot," wrote his admiror, Giraldus Cambrensis, "a better abbot than bishop, and a better bishop than archbishop."<sup>124</sup> The cloisters of Abbey Ford had left their mark both upon Baldwin, and his work in the crusade.

#### IV

While the archbishop of Canterbury led his followers to the siege of Acre, the kings of France and England proceeded to their last European meeting point at Messina in Sicily. Richard's journey across Italy was not pleasant. Difficulties with the peasantry, and disquieting news about Tancred of Sicily troubled him.<sup>125</sup> In addition he still had

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124. This sentiment is quoted in DNB, III, 32; Knowles, p. 316, n. 4, from the concluding remarks of Giraldus Cambrensis, Iter Kam: "melior monachus simplex quam abbas, melior abbas quam episcopus, melior episcopus quam archiepiscopus." Speculum Ecclesiae, IV, 76, "...moram lemitate nimia animique simplicitate praeditus immoderata...ob innatum omnino teporem nimium ac torporem... unde et eidem Urbanus papa quandoque scripsisse recolitur in hunc modum: 'monacho ferventissimo, abbato calido, episcopo tepido, archiepiscopo remisso.'"

125. Gesta Regis, II, 125; Runciman, Crusades, III, 38; Norgate, pp. 121-3.

administrative cares about his own far off lands; as late as April 3, 1191, at Messina he was still granting charters to Cistercian monasteries in his realm.<sup>126</sup> There were further troubles when he arrived in Sicily, but an agreement with King Philip on the equal division of future conquests and a treaty of peace with Tancred temporarily smoothed these over. As a gesture of good will Richard gave Tancred the great sword Excalibur, which had travelled from England with the holy expedition.<sup>127</sup> During this period the prospects of the English king were raised considerably by the encounter which he had with one of the most renowned Cistercian abbots of the Twelfth Century. Joachim, abbot of Corazzo, later known as Joachim of Flora, was called to an interview with the King during the winter

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126. Before arriving at Vezelay he had issued charters to Saint-André en Gouferrn, Mortemer, Chaloché, Savigny, Ourscamp, Abingdon, Lorrour, La Grâce-Dieu, Charon, Beaulieu and Bonport. After leaving Vezelay charters continued to be issued at various points along his route - at Lyons for Cîteaux, at Marseilles for La Boissière and Savigny, at Palermo for Beaumont, and at Messina for Stanley. See Pfeiffer, "Wöhlrtäter," pp. 330-31.

127. Roger of Hovedon, II, 194; Gesta Regis, II, 159; Peter of Langtoft, Chronicle, ed. Th. Wright, RS, XLVII, 49. Cistercian interest in the discovery of King Arthur's sepulchre began with the accounts in Ralph of Coggeshall and the Annals of Margam (see n. 37 above); it is probably Richard's gift to Tancred which gave rise to the legend recorded by Caesarius of Heisterbach that Arthur was alive in Sicily in 1190-93. See B. Broughton, The Legends of Richard I Coeur de Lion, The Hague, 1966, p. 98.

of 1190-91.<sup>128</sup>

Richard's interest in Joachim is easily understood for the abbot's controversial Biblical exegesis had already brought him fame in Southern Italy and inquisition before the Roman pontiff.<sup>129</sup> The internationality of the Cistercian Order probably accelerated the early dissemination of his name and teaching.<sup>130</sup> A major reason for Joachim's popularity lay in the fact that his writings tried to combine all the living forces of his time into a greater single system. He discussed the perplexing differences between the

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128. Gesta Regis, II, 151; Roger of Hovedon, III, 75: "Eodem anno Richardus rex Angliae, audiens per communem famam, et multorum relationem, quod quidam vir religiosus erat in Calabria, dictus Joachim, abbas de Curacio, de ordine Cistrensi, habens spiritum propheticum, et ventura populo praedicabat, misit pro eo, et libenter audiebat verba prophetiae illius, et sapientiam et doctinum." The most straightforward account of this interview is still E. Jamison, "The Sicilian Kingdom in the mind of Anglo-Norman Contemporaries," Proceedings of the British Academy, XXIV, 1938, p. 263ff.
129. In 1184 he probably expounded a prophecy to Pope Lucius III at Veroli and two years later he visited Pope Urban III in Verona. In 1188 Clement III ordered him to submit his writings for the approval of the curia. M. Bloomfield, "Joachim of Flora: A Critical Survey of his Canon, Teachings, Sources, Biography and Influence," Traditio, XIII, 1957, p. 292.
130. J. Leclercq, "Le témoignage de Geoffroy d'Auxerre sur la vie cistercienne," Analecta Monastica, 2e serie, Studia Anselmiana, XXXI, Rome, 1953, p. 200f., believes that the Cistercian, Geoffrey of Auxerre, refers to our abbot when he speaks of a prophet Joachim as of Jewish ancestry. (But see Bloomfield, p. 310.) On the spread of Joachimism after the abbot's death see M. Reeves, "The Abbot Joachim's Disciples and the Cistercian Order," Sophia, XIX, 1951, 355-371.

Old and New Testaments, the growth of a purified monastic movement, the renewed Moslem threat, and united them all into a general theory of world history.

Joachim's theory of history contained all the components reminiscent of the Last Days: Gog and Magog, the Antichrist, the Last World Emperor and the Angelic Pope all appear. On one hand he divided world history into three stages, the last of which has millennial characteristics and a special place for the monastic movement. But he also used a separate two-fold division of history: from Abraham to the birth of Christ, and from the incarnation to the End of the World. Joachim believed that the events of modern history are paralleled by the story of the Old Testament and current affairs are clarified by comparison with ancient history.<sup>131</sup>

The enthusiasm with which so many figures of the

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131. Joachim's basic works are Expositio in Apocalypsim, Venice, 1527, Concordia Novi ac Veteris Testamenti, Venice, 1519, and Psalterium decem Chordarum, Venice, 1527, all reprinted 1965. Selected passages from his various works may be read in French in E. Aegerter, ed., L'Évangile éternel, Les textes du Christianisme, III & IV, 2 vols. Paris, 1928, II. For English summaries of important parts of the Expositio see E.B. Elliott, Horae Apocalypticæ: or a commentary on the Apocalypse, 5th ed., London, 1862, 384-422. That the two-fold concordia was meant to be more historical, the three-fold more mystical, is the suggestion of M.J. Reeves, "The Liber Figurarum of Joachim of Fiore," Medieval and Renaissance Studies, II, 1950, 74-77. Recent surveys include G. LaPiana, "Joachim of Flora: A critical Survey," Speculum, VII, 1932, 257-82; J. Bignami-Odier, "Travaux récents sur Joachim de Flora," Moyen Âge, LVIII, 1952, 145-61.

twelfth century listened to and participated in theological speculation is clearly reflected in Richard's meeting with Joachim. The eye-witness account preserved in the Gesta Regis Ricardi reveals "the pleasure they took in listening to Joachim's exposition of the passage in the Apocalypse"<sup>132</sup> dealing with the woman clad with the Sun, with the Moon beneath her feet and twelve stars for a crown. The crusaders were especially interested in the great red dragon with seven heads and ten tails, and in the place in history of Saladin and the other persecutors of the Church. They pressed the abbot to make a clear prediction as to the outcome of their enterprise. The Woman, Joachim responded, was the Holy Church, the Dragon was the devil. The Seven Terrible Heads were the principales ecclesiae persecutores: Herod, Nero, Constantius, Mohammed, Melsemut (leader of the Almohades c. 1154), Saladin and Antichrist. Of these, five have already passed away, but "there is one, and one not yet come" - unus est et unus nondum venit.<sup>133</sup> The sixth head, continued the abbot, is Saladin who presently oppresses the Church and the Holy City; but shortly he shall lose Jerusalem with his people slaughtered and their cities destroyed. Then will the Christians return to their lost

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132. Jamison, p. 263.

133. Gesta Regis, II, 151-2.

pasturage.<sup>134</sup> Joachim thereupon turned to Richard and said: "All these things has the Lord reserved and will permit to be accomplished through you...if only you persevere in what you have begun."<sup>135</sup> While showing that the abbot believed the crusade could have some success, this last statement points to some basic doubt in his attitude toward the enterprise. This was brought out in Joachim's concluding remarks, for the best known of the oppressors of the Church, the Antichrist himself, had not yet acquired power; yet, it seems, he was already born and his advent was soon.<sup>136</sup>

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134. Ibid. "...et unus est, scilicet Saladinus, qui in praesenti opprimit ecclesiam Dei, et eam cum sepulcro Domini, et sancta civitate Jerusalem, et cum terra in qua steterunt pedes Domini...et ipse in proximo amittet regnum Jerosolimitanum et interficietur; et milvorum rapacitas peribit, et erit illorum strages maxima, qualis non fuit ab initio mundi; et fiet habitatio eorum deserta, et civitates illorum desolabuntur; et Christiani revertentur ad amissa pascua, et nidificabunt in eis."

135. Ibid., II, 153: "Et conversus ad regem Angliae ait, 'Haec omnia reservavit Dominus et per te fieri permittet...si in opere coepto perseveraveris!'" Both P. Fournier and J. Huck noted Joachim's later discouragement after the failure of the crusade of the kings. Huck believed that the abbot attributed the failure to the lack of a right order - penitence and self-conquest - among the crusaders. See respectively "Joachim de Flore, ses doctrines et son influence," Revue des questions historiques, LXVII, 1900, 469-70, and Joachim von Floris und die Joachimistische Literatur, Freiburg, 1938, 153.

136. Ibid. "'Et unus nondum venit,' id est Antichristus. De isto Antichristo dicit idem abbas de Curacio, sentire quod iam natus est, quindecim annos habens a nativitate: sed in potestate sua nondum venit." This was followed by Richard's questions concerning the place of birth and the seat of power of Antichrist,

Thus the temporal benefits of the crusade would be limited. The abbot's attitude toward Islam contained two opposing ideas held in tension. The Moslems were a continuously growing threat to the Church; but a major Christian victory, though it could not forever halt this trend, was still possible.<sup>137</sup>

In writings completed after the failure of Richard's expedition, Joachim continues to identify Saladin with the sixth head of the Dragon, but adds that Saladin or his successor is to humiliate three kings. This persecution, already begun, will be followed by a Christian victory; but a few years later the sixth king - Saladin if he should live that long or another - will assemble a much larger army than ever before and give the martyr's crown to many.<sup>138</sup> The allies of the devil, according to Joachim,

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and Joachim's relation of the belief that it was Rome and the Holy See "...in urbe Romana iam natus esse creditur, et in ea sedem apostolicam obtinebit." At this, Richard made his famous remark reflecting the respect in which he held the Roman court - "Scio quod ipse [Antichristus] est ille Clemens qui modo papa est."

137. E.R. Daniel, "Apocalyptic Conversion: The Joachite Alternative to the Crusades," Traditio, XXV, 1969, p. 135.

138. Joachim of Flora, Liber introductorius in Apocalypsim, published with Expositio in Apocalypsim, Venice, 1527, c. xiii, fol. 10r-v; Liber Figurarum, ed. L. Tondelli, M.J. Reeves, & B. Hirsch-Reich, Turin, 1953, tav. xiv; reprinted as an appendix in Daniel, pp. 148-9, who also gives a summary in English, p. 133. Later and less accurate accounts of Richard's audience with Joachim emphasize the pessimistic side of the sage's

are also instruments of God possessing an apocalyptic mission, and against them military action, further crusades, would be doomed to failure. Nevertheless out of such persecution would emerge the monastic viri spirituales, purified by the fire of the Infidels, who would be the final agents of Christian triumph.<sup>139</sup>

Joachim thought that the preaching of the new monks would succeed where force of arms could not. Through their efforts the world would eventually be united in a single faith. Monastic leadership would point the way to the conversion of the gentiles, salvation of the Jews, and the reunion of Greek and Latin Churches.<sup>140</sup> Like that other

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discourse. The revised Gesta Regis appearing in Roger of Hovedon's chronicle makes the abbot predict that victory will not come until seven years after the fall of Jerusalem (1195). Robert of Auxerre, Chronicon, MGH SS, XXVI, 255, writes: "Venit ad eos [reges Ricardum et Philippum] Joachim abbas, de suo evocatus monasterio in Calabria constituto, qui ab eis de futuris sciscitatus respondit, quod mare transituri forent, sed aut nichil aut parum proficerent, necdumque adesse tempora, quibus liberanda foret Jherusalem et regio transmarina."

139. Daniel, p. 136, writes: "Joachim not only thought that crusades could no longer be victorious, he believed that their implicit faith in military means to combat the Saracens was deceiving the Latin Christians... Patient faith and an understanding of the revealed word of God, not valor, were Joachim's prescription for his contemporaries. Against the apocalyptic strength of the persecutors, the divine word alone would prevail."
140. Concordia, II, ii, 5, fol. 21r-v; V, 50, fol. 85r; Expositio, pars 3, fol. 137r-v; Liber figurarum, tav. xiv, as cited by Daniel, p. 138.



Cistercian, Otto of Freising,<sup>141</sup> and the Premonstratensian, Anselm of Havelberg,<sup>142</sup> Joachim saw the meaning of monasticism largely in historical terms. He looked to Saint Benedict and to Saint Bernard as prototypes of the new age.<sup>143</sup>

The rapid spread of Joachim's fame seems to indicate that the Cistercian Order responded to the abbot's praise of its hero by aiding in the dissemination of his ideas throughout Europe. While his preference for missionary activity over armed might was an antecedent highly regarded in later years by the Franciscans,<sup>144</sup> the extent that his ideas affected Cistercian thought is less easily discerned. He was greatly admired by many of the Cistercians of Southern Italy<sup>145</sup> but when, dissatisfied with the current state of

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141. See ch. 1 & 2 above.

142. On Anselm see G. Schreiber, "Studien über Anselm von Havelberg," Analecta Praemonstratensia, XVIII, 1942, 5-90; F. Petit, La spiritualité de Prémontrés au xiie et xiiie siècles, Paris, 1947, p. 62ff.

143. Concordia, IV, xxxviii, fol. 59r; IV, xxxvi, -ix; Expositio, III, viii, fol. 87v; see the discussion of the Cistercians in Table 23 of the Liber figurarum, as cited in Bloomfield, 273, 281.

144. Alphandéry, II, 108-9.

145. Luke of Sambucina, Joachim's friend and secretary, and later the most important Cistercian to preach the crusade in Southern Italy wrote a Synopsis Virtutum B. Joachimi (AASS, May, VII, 93ff.) which served as a model for other accounts of the abbot's life. In 1346 a petition for his canonization was presented (in idem, III, 111B). Later Cistercian interest is shown in Gregorius de Lauro's book praising him (Naples, 1660), and the extensive treatment given him by Manrique, III, passim.

Cistercian piety, he retired from his convent with some of his disciples to found a new community and eventually a new Order, the General Chapter of 1192 ordered him to return immediately or be considered a fugitive.<sup>146</sup> Nevertheless, the extensive space devoted to Joachim by Cistercian chroniclers such as Ralph of Coggeshall<sup>147</sup> reveals that even in the northern houses of the Order knowledge of his writings and ideas was far from negligible. After death the influence of the prophet of Calabria would increase rather than decline.

V

Theological discussion with the abbot Joachim was only a memory when Philip Augustus landed at the camp before Acre on 20 April, 1191, and the arrival of King Richard seven weeks later.<sup>148</sup> Acre surrendered in July and the battle

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146. In Martène & Durand, Thesaurus novus anecdotorum, Paris, 1717, IV, 1274, no. 12; Bloomfield, p. 293.

147. Stevenson in his preface to Ralph's Chronicon writes (p. xi): "The history of Joachim, the enthusiast of Calabria, is recounted with a minuteness of detail which might seem inexplicable but from the fact of his being a Cistercian." With shrewd insight into Joachim's place in the Order Ralph writes (p. 67): "Hac tempestate exstitit quidam abbas...ordinis Cisterciensibus, sed Cisterciensibus minime subjectus..."

148. Runciman, Crusades, III, 47. Shortly after the English King's arrival, the abbot of Saint Elias "who fed on nothing more than roots and bread" brought to Richard a piece of True Cross which he had hidden from the Turks. (Ambroise, p. 376; Itin Ric, lib. I, RS, p. 377.) Saint Elias was a Cistercian monastery near Mount Carmel, but there were Syrian houses of the same

front moved further down the Syrian coast. By the end of the summer despite significant Christian victories Jerusalem still appeared to be a distant objective. Saladin was as strong as ever while the Christians were tiring and reinforcements were badly needed. On October 1, 1191, Richard wrote to Garnier, the abbot of Clairvaux. He described recent successes and the urgent need for aid. "I fall at the feet of your holiness and shed tears," concluded the English King, "most earnestly beseeching you... to induce the princes and noblemen throughout all Christendom and the rest of God's people, to give their services to the living God."<sup>149</sup> Garnier reacted immediately; furnishing the King's letter with a brief introduction, he forwarded it to the influential prelate, William of the white hands, archbishop of Reims (1176-1202).<sup>150</sup>

That Richard choose to write to Abbot Garnier rather than one of his archbishops or other prelates reflects the esteem in which the king held the abbot of Clairvaux and the Cistercian Order in general. It also underlines the close involvement of the monks in the propagation of the crusading ideal. Like Baldwin of Ford, Gerard of Ravenna, and Henry of Albano, Garnier had repeatedly urged the laity to take

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name. E.G. Rey, Les Colonies franques en Syrie, Paris, 1882, p. 382, as cited by LaMonte, loc.cit., n. 21, believes this abbot to be a Syrian.

149. Roger of Hovedon, III, 130-33.

150. Didier, "Une lettre inédite," p. 192f.

up the holy enterprise. When King Richard appealed for aid in 1191, he particularly noted the abbot's recent preaching.<sup>151</sup> The letter of the English monarch was more than a mere supplication; it was an expression of confidence in the sympathy between Cîteaux and the crusade.

The close alliance between the Cistercians and the crusaders found expression not only in preaching, but also prayer and actual participation by the monks. The brethren were fully conscious of this relationship throughout the period of the Third Crusade, for it was regularly brought to their minds in weekly and daily prayer. Crusaders were also aware of the alliance. The presence in the various armies of Baldwin, Gerard, and Henry of Basel must have acted as reminders, as did the presence before Acre of abbots, monks, and conversi from Ford, LePin, Loos, Vaux-Cernay, Morimond, LaChrist, and Chalons.<sup>152</sup> Crusader

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151. Roger of Hovedon, loc.cit. "...you encouraged us and the rest of the people of God to enter His service, and to restore His inheritance to Him, so now as well does the most urgent necessity call upon you with all earnestness to arouse the people of God..."

152. See above pp.111-12 . The Itin Ric (lib. I, c. xiii) mentions an abbot of Scalons and an abbot of Esterp as present at the siege in 1190. Pfeiffer, "Dritte," p. 308 n. 181 identifies the former as the abbot of Chalons. Cp. Janauschek, passim. Two Burgundian knights sent to the abbot of Cluny the head of Saint Clement of Rome. They had procured this relic from a church in Greece with the complicity of a priest and a monk of Cîteaux who were with them on the crusade. Bernard, "La Bourgogne aux croisades," p. 30.

awareness of Cistercian concern is manifested in anecdotes such as that told of the fleet of Philip Augustus on its way to Palestine. The ships of the French King were transporting their sovereign and his army through the Straights of Messina when suddenly a great storm arose. Thunder and lightening accompanied the tempest and the pilgrims feared for their lives. The storm raged through the night with its full violence, but King Philip gave good example to his followers. "Let your fears cease..." said he, "already the brethren of Clairvaux have arisen for matins; already the holy men who have not forgotten you offer their good prayers in honor of Christ. Their prayers reconcile us to Christ; their prayers are coming to deliver us from this great peril." Scarcely had he uttered these words when the skies cleared and the winds ceased.<sup>153</sup>

Prayer was a service to the crusade in which every Cistercian monk could participate. Yet it must be emphasized that the contribution of Cîteaux went far beyond simple prayer. Even before Jerusalem had fallen Henry of Albano had refused the papacy in order to preach the cross. He was an organizer and a man of the hierarchy who could understand the importance of recruiting princely and Imperial support for the enterprise. Henry brought commitment and discipline

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153. William the Breton, Philippidos, HGF, XVII, 161; Guizot XII, 98-99. Caesarius of Heisterbach tells the same story of the king of England. See his Dialogue on Miracles, II, 209.

to the effort while at the same time propagating the monastic ideal of the miles Christi in secular society. By contrast, in a much clearer manner Baldwin of Ford represented the tradition of the fiery but less disciplined preacher of the crusade. Like Peter the Hermit and the Prophet Ralph he especially appealed to the rustic and poor folk; to them he was the saintly thurmaturge. Yet like Saint Bernard, Baldwin was noted even amongst the nobles and prelates for his personal devotion and commitment to the holy cause. Other Cistercians such as Milo of LePin and Gerard of Ravenna shared this kind of zeal even to the extent of embarking for the Holy Land. Though their contributions were somewhat different, the experiences of the more important Cistercians such as Henry and Baldwin seemed to reveal a shared accent in their efforts. This was the omnipresent stress upon moral reform. Unlike some other preachers, who might emphasize Christ the King and the service due Him, the men from the cloisters of Cîteaux seemed to be primarily concerned with the extension of the monastic ideal of conversio to realms outside of its traditional limits. The milites Christi might now sew the redeeming cross onto their arms where once they could only wear it spiritually upon their hearts.

The General Chapter of the Order attempted to maintain the separation of the roles of monk and crusader so clearly elaborated by Saint Bernard. Even a man very much

involved in the crusade effort, such as Henry of Albano, could appreciate the significance of this tradition. Yet despite his great importance, Henry did not have the power and the influence of a Bernard. The General Chapter might legislate repeatedly, but violations of the statuta would continue to increase. Only Abbot Joachim expressed any kind of doubt as to the value of a crusade; but even his doubts were cloaked in a shroud of strange prophecy. It was not until after the failure of the expedition that he turned completely away from the idea. The vocation of the monk might be a higher one than that of the crusader but by 1190 the preaching of the cross had become another office in the ever widening circle of Cistercian interests.

## EPILOGUE

Cistercian monks performed a number of functions in the Third Crusade. It was preached in France, Flanders and Germany by Henry de Marcy, in England and Wales by Baldwin of Ford and in Italy by Gerard of Ravenna. The latter two organized and led contingents to the Holy Land and many abbots joined them. The entire Order lent its moral support to the project. However, in contrast to the Second Crusade which had been almost entirely the creation of Saint Bernard, the crusades of 1190-1192 were the work of many men, each reacting in his own way to the overwhelming disaster that was the Fall of Jerusalem. In the face of such an event men like Richard the Lion Heart did not need the eloquence of a Bernard to persuade them of the necessity of taking the cross. Thus, the prestige of the Order was not involved in the project as it had been in the 1140's. It was not a "Cistercian crusade," though Cistercians did play a part at almost every level. The venture marked the Order's growing involvement in the movement, for the sentiments of Bernard and the General Chapter were now brushed to the side as ordinary monks and abbots took the cross as they never could before. Preaching and prayer had been the main contributions in Bernard's time; to this was now added actual participation as physical pilgrims to the earthly Jerusalem. A few years later another crusade would be launched, and once again the monks would take part.



Cistercian participation in the Third Crusade provided a compelling precedent for these later times. In fact, some of the veterans of 1190-1192 again took the cross at the outset of the Fourth Crusade. Abbots Guy of Vaux-Cernay and Simon of Loos are both found in the army which eventually turned from its prime objective in the Holy Land to attack the Christian city of Constantinople. Abbot Simon is noted as one of those clerics who exhorted the crusaders before the final assault on the betrayed city.<sup>1</sup> Other Cistercians participated in the undertaking including Martin of Paris, noted as a collector of sacred booty, and Peter of Locedio who was one of the ecclesiastical electors of the first Latin Emperor of Constantinople.<sup>2</sup> In France the efforts of Henry de Marcy, who had at one time led the

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1. Robert of Clari, The Conquest of Constantinople, tr. E. H. McNeal, N.Y. 1969, p. 94; E. Brown, "The Cistercians in the Latin Empire of Constantinople and Greece, 1204-1276," Traditio, XIV, 1958, 63-78. For the period after the Fourth Crusade also see R. Clair, "Les filles d'Hautcombe dans l'Empire latin de Constantinople," Analecta, XVII, 1961, 261-277.
  2. The story of Abbot Martin is told by Gunther of Paris in his Historia Constantinopolitana, in P. Riant, Exuviae sacrae Constantinopolitanae, 3 vols., Geneva, 1877-1904, I, 104-108, 121-122. Gunther also composed a poem, now lost, on the First Crusade. In one of his other works he refers to a "Solymarius sive Poema de bello sacro." See the Histoire littéraire de la France, XVII, 295. For a modern account of Abbot Martin see Ch. Brand, Byzantium Confronts the West, Cambridge, Mass., 1968, pp. 264-266. On Abbot Peter see Brown, loc.cit., esp. p.77.

struggle against the Albigensiön heretics were followed up when the Abbot of Cîteaux and his brethren played a prominent role in a new crusade against the Cathars.<sup>3</sup>

Cistercians also became active in missionary endeavours in Spain and among the Baltic Slavs.<sup>4</sup> The white tunic of the monks of Cîteaux seemed to be present wherever the Church was on the offensive, and in the 12th century, the crusading movement stood in the center of this activity.

Through their propagation of the crusading ideal, the Cistercians made a significant contribution to the concept of the good Christian soldier. When Saint Bernard recognized the legitimacy of the New Militia, he opened exciting new vistas for Europe's feudal nobility. The notion of chivalry itself was strengthened and extended on a spiritual plane. It is no coincidence that the liturgy of knighthood fully came into being during the era of the crusades. The vigil of arms, the ritual bath and

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3. One of the best contemporary accounts of the Albigensian affair is the Historia Albigensium (HGF, XIX; Guizot, XIV) of the Cistercian, Pierre de Vaux-Cernay. For a modern account see S. Runciman, The Medieval Manichee, Cambridge, 1955, pp. 116-170.
4. See the brief remarks in Lekai, The White Monks, pp. 48-52, and J.W. Thompson, "The Cistercian Order and the Colonization of Medieval Germany," American Journal of Theology, XXIV, 1920, 67-93; T. Manteuffel, "La mission Balte de l'Ordre de Cîteaux au xiiie siècle" Congresso internazionale di Scienze Storiche, Rome, 1955, III, 107-133.

the blessing of the sword became common practices. While watching his arms repose upon the altar the knight contemplated the moral obligation granted him; the bath symbolized his purification and was likened to a second baptism, the blessing of the sword reminded him of his duties with regard to the defense of the church and the protection of the weak.<sup>5</sup> The spiritualized knighthood first elaborated by Bernard, and put into practice by the Templars, the Military Orders associated with Cîteaux, and by those crusaders who heeded the call of Henry of Albano, Baldwin of Ford and their fellow preachers, eventually filtered through to the most integral institutions of feudal society. Through prayers, preaching and actual pilgrimage Cistercians directly influenced the evolution of the crusading movement. Yet in almost every way their role was one of the extension of the old monastic notion of the miles Christi. Though severely limited by the needs and assumptions of the time, the result was a pure and more profound ideal for the Christian soldier.

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5. NCE, III, 618. The Cistercian influence upon epic literature is discussed in Vallery-Radot, "Les Sources d'un Roman Cistercian: La Queste del Saint Graal," Collectanea, XVII, 1955, 201-213; "La Queste del Saint Graal, Roman Cistercien," ibid., XVIII, 1956, 1-20, 199-213, 321-332; L. Grill, "Château du Graal: Clairvaux," Analecta XVII, 1961, 115-126.

## LONGER NOTES

Page 36 The new crusade seems to have been initiated by  
 Note 89 Suger of Saint Denis who responded to appeals for help from Syria. (William of Saint Denis, Vita Sugerii, HGF, XII, 110; R.Rohricht, (ed.), Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani, 2 vols., Innsbruck, 1893-1904, No. 261.) But the belief persisted that the Greeks were somehow responsible for the failure of the previous expedition (For example John of Salisbury, Historia Pontificalis, c. xxiv, p.54, refers to the "incomoda que dolo Constantinopolitani imperatoris et Turcorum viribus acciderant Christianis...") and their punishment was desired by some. Roger of Sicily was already at war with the Byzantines and Peter the Venerable attempted to arouse support for him. (Vacandard, Vie de Saint Bernard, II, 427, Berry loc.cit.) The aid of Conrad of Germany was solicited; but this king, unlike Louis of France, had friendly contacts with the Eastern Emperor considering the Sicilian Normans the greater foe. It was absolutely necessary to secure the German monarch's help, or at least neutrality, in the projected expedition. Bernard is reported to have written, urging him to make peace with Roger of Sicily in order that the Norman King might accomplish useful things for the church. (Wibald of Corbie, Epistolae, PL, CLXXXIX, 1311-12: "...dominus abbas Claravallensis misit domino regi litteras per episcopum Frisingensem, in quibus collaudabat dominum illum Siciliae, eo quod in multis utilis et necessarius fuisset Catholicae Ecclesiae, futurus utilior, si non prohiberetur virtute et potentia nostri principis...") Some historians have taken this to mean that the Abbot of Clairvaux supported the idea of a Holy war against the Greeks. The fact that Bernard admired Roger of Sicily (see L.White, Latin Monasticism in Norman Sicily, Cambridge, Mass., 1938, pp. 163-164; Bern. ep. 209, PL, 375; James, pp 348-350), and that his friend Geoffrey of Langres - that "rash priest" as one perceptive baron called him - was harshly anti-Greek, lends some credence to this notion. It has been accepted by Vacandard, op.cit., II, 425-428, and Runciman, The Eastern Schism, Oxford, 1955, pp.127-128; Crusades, II, 286-287, who refers to "the great betrayal of Christendom, urged by Saint Bernard," and concludes that "[he] greedily accepted Byzantium as the source of all [the crusade's] disasters, and flung his whole energy into the task of abetting divine vengeance on the guilty Empire." Hefele-Leclercq, V, 843-4, and Alphandéry, I, 210, are less specific in this regard. The latter refers only to "Saint Bernard lui-même, un moment engage dans l'intention d'une guerre contre Byzance." Byzantinists such as F. Chalandon, Domination normande en Italie et en Sicile, 2 vols., Paris, 1907, II, 148-149 and Bréhier, p.108, mention the threat of a Western coalition, with

Bernard's support, against the Eastern Empire. Most recently the notion has been accepted by Flood, p.132.

Despite the number of its learned supporters, the allegation that the Abbot of Clairvaux preached a Holy War against Byzantium is based upon the slimmest of evidence. The Abbot's lost letter to Conrad urged peace, not war. Moreover, it was sent via Otto of Freising, a Cistercian who seems to have been in no way anti-Greek. Before the Second Crusade there were probably good relations between the Cistercians and the Greeks. There is a story that in the year 1136 the Emperor of Constantinople even sent gifts and a note of congratulation when Ponce de Larazie put his new monastery of Syvanez under the Rule of Cîteaux. (See P. LeNain, Essai de l'histoire de l'Ordre de Cîteaux, 9 vols. Paris, 1697, VII, 488-489.) Bernard was a friend of the Counts of Champagne who were related by marriage to the Emperor Manuel's wife Irene (Bertha), and, during the preparations for the Second Crusade, the Abbot wrote to the Emperor in congenial terms using Henry of Champagne as courier (Bern. ep. 468, PL, 673). Manuel's emissaries, and Anselm of Havelburg (long involved in East-West imperial relations) were both present at Speyer during Bernard's exceptional visit (see Grill, "Ostkirche", pp.171-172, who suggests "Das Bedeutet kein zufälliges Zusammentreffen...") The destruction of the crusading armies aroused the Abbot not to anger at the Greeks but to disappointment in the crusaders themselves. He concluded that they must return to the task a second and third time (see n.87 above). Unless his letter to Conrad, an effort at the attainment of peace and order within Western Christendom; be considered anti-Greek, there is no concrete evidence whatsoever that Bernard desired punishment of the Byzantine Empire. Historians who doubt that he ever preached such a crusade include Williams, Saint Bernard of Clairvaux, p.285; J.G. Rowe, "The Papacy and the Greeks (1122-1153)", Church History, XXVIII, 1959, 310-327, esp.318; and Grill, loc.cit., esp. 183-184, who detects a Greek influence upon Bernardine spirituality (186-188). The Abbot was concerned primarily with the plight of the Holy Land.

- Page 59 The evidence in favor of Henry's participation includes the statement of the Annales Aquicinctenses, HGF, XVIII, 540:
- Note 42 "Anno 1188 post nativitatem Domini, Philippus rex Francorum et Henricus rex Anglorum, et Henricus episcopus Albanensis, legatus Romanus, et multi alii...in marchis utruisque regni convenerunt, ubi inter eos de diversis causis sunt tractata diversa, maxime de ecclesia transmarina. Ambo Reges...trans mare profecturi cruces accipiunt." The Historia Regum Francorum of Andrius Silvius of Marchiennes (MGH SS, XXVI, 211) reads: "Anno octavo Philippi regis, exhortatione

Henrici episcopi Albanensis, Romanae ecclesiae legati, idem Rex et Philippus comes Flandriarum et multi alii proceres post nativitatem Domini ad vindicandam iniuriam dominici sepulcri cruces assumunt". William of Andres in his Chronica (MGH SS, XXIV, 719) writes: "Philippus rex Francorum et Henricus rex Anglie et comes Flandrie Philippus exhortatione Henrici Albanensis episcopi, apostolici sedis legati, cruces assumunt post nativitatem Domini". This seems to be fairly strong testimony in support of the notion that the Cistercian cardinal did indeed play a part at Gisors. Nevertheless, a number of historians have found it unconvincing. Since Andrius Silvius and William of Andres both often use the Annales Aquicinctenses as a source, only the latter can be considered primary independent evidence as Janssen, pp. 131-2, n.7 (citing Cartellieri, Phillip II August König von Frankreich 4 vols., Paris, 1899-1910, I, 269, n.2) has maintained. There is a second independent testimony, that of the Historia Peregrinorum, in Chroust, loc.cit., 125. Since this account comes to us via the Cistercian monastery of Salem, and the writer apparently had some French origins (p.lxxxi) it might be considered a trustworthy source for comment upon a French Cistercian cardinal. It clearly states "Deinde [Henricus Albanensis] profectus est ad serenissimum Francorum regem Philippum et Henricum regem Anglie, qui tunc discordes erant, sed eius sermone persuasorio pacis revocati ad concordiam cum multis utruisque regni principibus crucis signaculum acceperunt". A few other German sources allude to Henry's presence at Gisors.

Countering these few independent mentions of Henry is a long list of well informed sources, all of which describe the assembly at Gisors and the part of the archbishop of Tyre, but make no mention of Henry of Albano. This is the case in the chronicles of Rigord, Roger of Hovedon, Ralph of Diceto, William the Breton, William of Newburg, Giraldus Cambrensis, and the Itinerary of Richard. Moreover, if Henry were present, as the senior ecclesiastic, and representative of the Pope, the kings would probably have taken the cross from him personally; yet both Ralph of Diceto, Ymages Historiarum, ed. Wm. Stubbs, RS, LXVIII, pt. 2, p.51, and Gesta regis Henrici secundi, ed. Wm. Stubbs, RS, XLIX, pt.2, p.30, explicitly state that they received it de manibus archiepiscoporum Tyrensis (and of Rouen according to Ralph). Historians who reject Henry's participation include Cartellieri, loc.cit., Friedländer, p.40, Janssen, loc.cit., and Congar, p.47. Nevertheless, several problems remain. Sources are available which describe the legate's journey in December, 1187; they are plentiful for his activity during February, 1188; but there exists only the statements of the Annales Aquicinctenses and the Historia Peregrinorum for January, the time of Gisors. If the Cistercian had been active elsewhere, surely some chronicler would have noted it. Even those rejecting Henry's presence at Gisors (eg. Congar, loc.cit.) admit that he was

in France at that time. It is not reasonable to suppose that the cardinal of Albano, the special preacher of the crusade, and the representative of the Pope, stood idly by while the kings of France and England hesitated upon taking the cross; especially when he was so close after his long journey from Italy. (Historians who maintain that the Cistercian was present include S. Steffen, "Henrich Kardinalbischof von Albano. Ein Kirchenfürst des zwolften Jahrhunderts", Cistercienser Chronik, XXI, 1909, 337, (who follows the Histoire littéraire de la France, XIV, 457), Künne, p.101ff., and Pfeiffer, "Dritte", p.179.) If the testimony of the Annales Aquicinctenses and Historia Peregrinorum is rejected, then only two alternatives are left: either Henry had more important business to attend to (as Congar, pp.47-8, speculates) or he was suddenly struck ill (for which there is no evidence whatsoever). In either case the Cistercian would have made certain that he had done everything in his power to convince Philip and Henry II to assume the cross, at least through letters or messengers. If he was not personally present at Gisors - which is by no means certain - then indubitably, he did his best through private persuasion and sending Josius of Tyre ahead to represent him. We can do little more than conclude vaguely with John of Saint Bertin, who, writing 200 years after the event in his Synthetic Chronicle, HGF, XVIII, 595, said that in those years, the lord Pope, hearing of the diaster in the Holy Land, "misit Henricum Albanensem cardinalem, archiepiscopumque Tyrensem, crucem Domini predicari: ad quorum predicationem Rex Franciae, Philippus Comes Flandriae, multique proceres et populus infinitus crucem Domini assumerunt".

- Page 65 Henry of Albano, Epistolae, PL, CCIV, 249-52; or alternatively Mansi, XXII, 539-540. The text here quoted is that preserved
- Note 58 by Ansbert in his Historia de expeditione Friderici, 11-13, "Quis ad tantam stragem non ingemiscat populi christiani? Quis terram illam sanctam, quam redemptioni nostre ipsi dedicarunt pedes Domini, spurcitiis paganorum non doleat exponi? Quis crucem salvificam captam non deploret et conculcatam ab ethnicis et sanctuarium Domini profanatum?...Ecce videmus iteratum redemptionis nostre mysterium...Non enim abbreviata est manus domini nec brachium eius infirmatum est, ut salvare non possit, sed operatur misericordiam suam inscrutabilis altitudo sapiente die, ut torpentem mundi devotionem sic excitet...Ecce nunc tempus acceptabile, ecce nunc dies salutis, in quibus utinam milites Christi abicientes opera tenebrarum et ad vindicandam crucis indui non different armalucis, loricae fidei et salutis galeae assumentes. Malitia fuit non militia, quod hactenus christianorum cedibus et rapinis et execrabilibus tormentis intenti ignem inextinguibilem et immortalium cruciatus vermium meruerunt, Felix eis adest militia, in qua et vincere gloria et multo magis mori lucrum. Ad hanc invitat vos hodie...

Inde est ...laboramus, sollemnis est curia constituta apud Moguntiam, ad quam dominica qua cantatur: Letare Ierusalem, diem festum agant domino, etc., conventum faciant omnes qui diligunt eum...."

- Page 68    Wentzlaff-Eggebert (Dichtung, pp. 142-148, passim; Hoftag, p.16ff.) followed by Munz (p.386) suggests that the German
- Note 68    knights responded more readily to Godfrey's speech than to the kind made by Henry. Wentzlaff-Eggebert points out that Henry's appeal was always to sacrifice, repentance, and moral reform. "Mysterium redemptionis nostrae liegt in der Überwindung zu dem Entschluss der Kreuznahme, erwachsen aus einer gleich grossen Liebe zu Gott, wie dieser sie als Mysterium einmal offenbarte, als er seinen Sohn opferte." (Hoftag, p.18) This, however, (according to Wentzlaff-Eggebert and Munz) seemed to have only a small place in the rough martial proclivities of the German knightly class. There is little doubt that the splendor and greatness of the Mainz Pfingstfest (Pentacost) of 1184 was still remembered by the knights. There Frederick Barbarossa knighted his sons amidst universal merrymaking and knightly tournament. Four years later, when Henry of Albano made his appeal for repentance, and then Godfrey of Wurzburg his call to feudal and knightly service, it was no wonder that "the most impressive speech" (Munz, p.386) was the latter. Had not the Cistercian cardinal, like Saint Bernard many years before, held the knights condemned by their rapinis et execrabilibus torneamentis (see note 58 above)? It seems reasonable that the knights, many of them actually present at Pfingstfest in 1184, should respond more readily to the kind of appeal made by Godfrey. Yet there is reason also to believe that the warning of the Cistercian was not entirely ignored. The Emperor and his knights, if they cared to remember, could clearly recall that, at the height of the celebrations and tournaments of 1184, a great storm suddenly arose and destroyed the wooden church and several other buildings erected by Frederick specially for the occasion. Fifteen people were killed outright, and the princes, abandoning further tournament, began to depart the next day. (See Munz, pp.359-60.) Confronted by the recent setbacks in the East, and now Henry's Bernadine condemnation of tournament, the destruction of the festival and the will of God now most certainly became clear to the knights. Moreover, Henry did not either ignore or condemn knighthood outright, but rather fell back upon the Cistercian and monastic tradition in his view of the matter. The True Knight was the Miles Christi. Those knights given over to sensual pleasure and senseless combat were false knights, undisciplined servants of disorder and evil - malitia fuit non militia - thus the Cistercian called them, not from knighthood, but to it. His, is an appeal to the emerging chivalric code; it is a direct appeal to the martial



spirit, to take up the Arma lucis loricam fidei et salutis galeam. Thus the call of the Cistercian was just as much a call to military service as that of Godfrey. If his words had a lesser impact upon the German nobility, there is little reason to point to the logic of his argument as the cause. Indeed, since Henry had little knowledge of the German language, and spoke through an interpreter, this would probably be the major reason for any hypothesised lesser impact upon the knights. Ansbert, Historia de expeditione, 10, writes: "...qui licet Francigena et Teutonicae linguae ignarus, per interpretem tamen suavi doctrina multorum strenuorum militum animos in Teutonia ad iter illud praeparavit."

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