

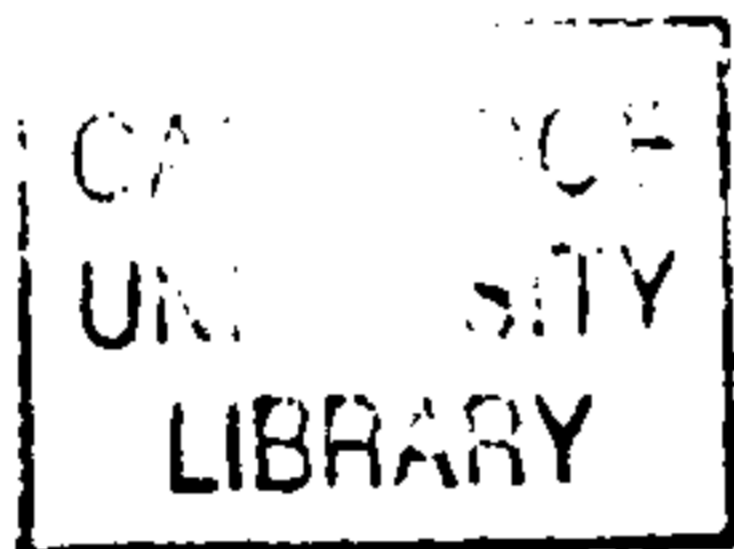
PhD. 29326

**VENGEANCE AND THE CRUSADES
1095-1216**

Susanna A. Throop

Trinity Hall

1 September 2005



This dissertation is submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

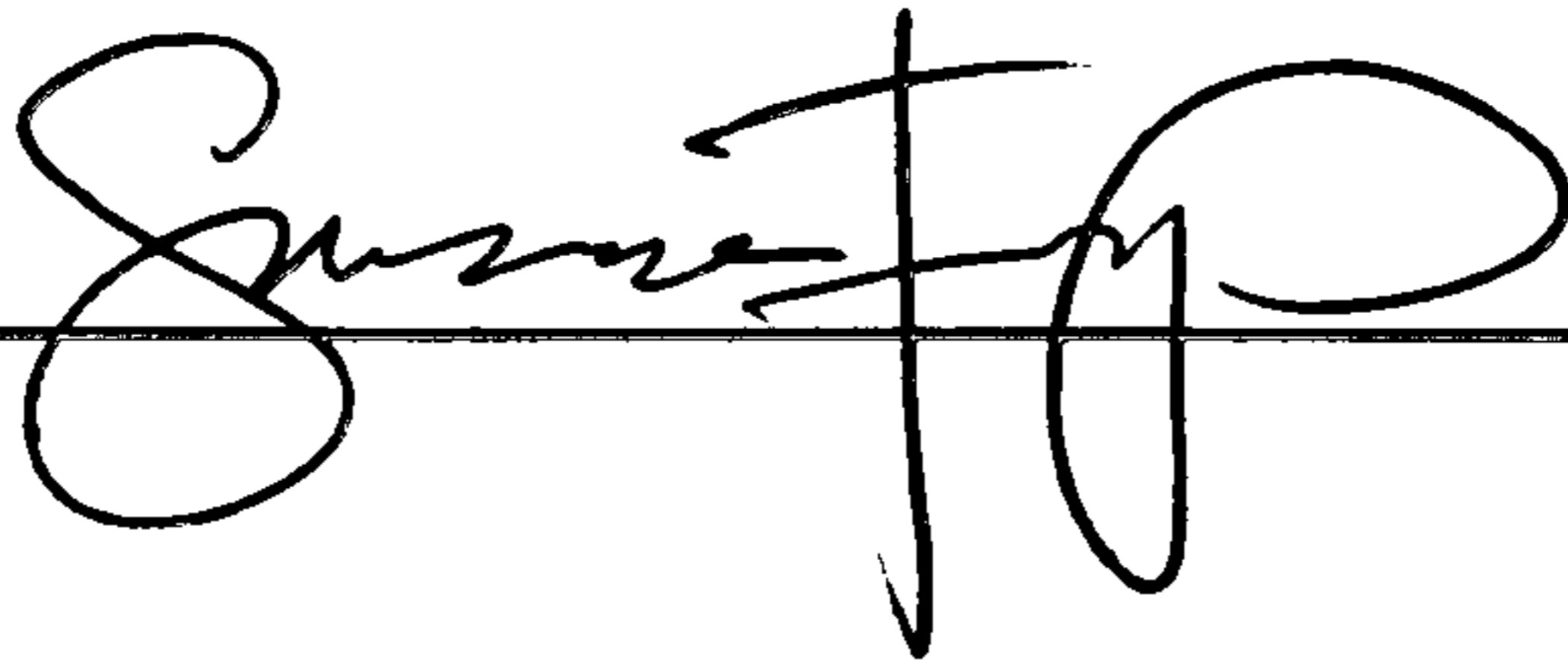
Declaration of length and originality	iii
Abstract	iv
Abbreviations	v
Introduction	1
Part I	6
Chapter 1: Sources and methodology	6
Vengeance in other relevant disciplines	6
Vengeance in the Middle Ages	19
The idea of crusading as vengeance	22
Methodology	27
Primary sources	29
1095-1137	29
1138-1197	32
1198-1216	39
Chapter 2: The meaning of <i>vindicta</i> , <i>ultio</i> and <i>venjance</i>	43
Vengeance and justice	44
Vengeance, power and emotion	50
Vengeance and religion	61
Ethnicity, gender and vengeance	68
Summary	70
Chapter 3: Zeal, vengeance and the crusades	72
Evidence	72
Analysis and argument	78
<i>Christian love and righteous anger</i>	78
<i>Emotion and action</i>	83
Summary	95

Part II	98
Chapter 4: The idea of crusading as vengeance, 1095-1137	98
Evidence	98
Analysis and argument	105
<i>God's vengeance on the unfaithful</i>	106
<i>Military obligation and social relationships</i>	111
<i>Anti-Jewish sentiment</i>	117
Summary	123
Chapter 5: The idea of crusading as vengeance, 1138-1197	125
Evidence	125
Analysis and argument	136
<i>God's vengeance, papal power and the nature of Islamic injuries</i>	138
<i>Crucifixion and crusade</i>	147
<i>Identity and hierarchy</i>	156
Summary	163
Chapter 6: The idea of crusading as vengeance, 1198-1216	165
Evidence	165
Analysis and argument	175
<i>Christian unity</i>	175
<i>Judaism, Islam, heresy and the crucifixion</i>	181
<i>Friendship and vengeance</i>	185
Summary	188
Conclusion	189
Appendix: Crusading ideology and literature	194
Bibliography	197
Sources	197
Secondary literature	202

DECLARATION OF LENGTH AND ORIGINALITY

. This dissertation does not exceed 80,000 words in length, including appendices and excluding footnotes.

This dissertation is the result of my own work and includes nothing that is the outcome of work done in collaboration except where indicated in the text.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Susanna A. Throop', is written over a horizontal line. The signature is stylized and cursive.

Susanna A. Throop

ABSTRACT

Through textual analysis of specific medieval vocabulary it has been possible to clarify the course of the concept of vengeance in general as well as the more specific idea of crusading as an act of vengeance. The concept of vengeance was intimately connected with the ideas of justice and punishment. It was perceived as an expression of power, embedded in a series of commonly understood emotional responses, and also as a value system compatible with Christianity. There was furthermore a strong link between religious zeal, righteous anger, and the vocabulary of vengeance.

The idea of crusading as an act of vengeance largely originated in the aftermath of the First Crusade, as contemporaries struggled to assign interpretation and meaning to its success. Three themes in early twelfth-century sources promoted the idea of crusading as vengeance: divine vengeance on the unfaithful, a connection between crusading and anti-Jewish sentiment, and the social obligation to provide vengeance for kith and kin indicated by the key vocabulary of *auxilium* and *caritas*.

The idea of crusading as an act of vengeance expanded noticeably through the later twelfth century. This corresponded substantially with increasing papal power, theories of material coercion, and a broad definition of the injuries committed by Muslims. The social obligation to provide vengeance was still expressed in familial terms but also was linked increasingly with lordship relations. The texts strongly downplayed the distinction between Jews and Muslims in a number of ways centring around the crucifixion of Christ, and in so doing contributed to the ideology of crusading as vengeance.

In sources from the early thirteenth century, particularly papal correspondence, the idea of crusading as an act of vengeance was applied to a variety of crusading expeditions. Analysis of the idea demonstrates a strong emphasis on Christian unity and also the continued contribution of notions of social obligation. The sources continued to blur the distinctions between Jews, Muslims and heretics, again using as a binding event the crucifixion of Christ. By the early thirteenth century, the vocabulary of vengeance was an established part of crusading rhetoric.

ABBREVIATIONS

<i>AQDGM</i>	Ausgewählte Quellen zur Deutschen Geschichte des Mittelalters
<i>CCCM</i>	Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis
<i>CHF</i>	Les classiques de l'histoire de France au moyen âge
<i>CFM</i>	Les classiques français du moyen âge
<i>DHC</i>	Documents relatifs à l'histoire des croisades
<i>MGHSS</i>	Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Series Scriptorum
<i>OFCC</i>	The Old French Crusade Cycle
<i>PL</i>	Patrologia Latina
<i>RS</i>	Rerum Britannicarum medii aevi scriptores
<i>RHCOc.</i>	Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Historiens Occidentaux
<i>RHGF</i>	Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France
<i>SBO</i>	S. Bernardi Opera Omnia
<i>TLF</i>	Textes Littéraires Français

INTRODUCTION

Why did people in the twelfth century go on crusade? How did they justify the crusading movement to themselves? The late twelfth-century Old French epic *La Chanson d'Antioche* suggests the answer is vengeance. Even within the first forty laisses of the poem, attention was drawn to the First Crusade as vengeance:

but the noble barons who loved God and held him dear,
went to *outramer* in order to avenge his body.¹

Vengeance was required by the seizure of 'Christian' lands, the desecration of the holy places, the abuse of pilgrims and eastern Christians, and even by the crucifixion of Christ. Not only did the narrator of the *chanson* draw his audience's attention to the motif of vengeance, but also characters within the poem, from Pope Urban II to the knight Rainald Porcet, were depicted envisioning the First Crusade as vengeance.² Vengeance drove the ideology of the *Chanson d'Antioche*, and also provided its internal narrative momentum, as crusaders in the text sought engagement after engagement with Muslims to avenge their fallen comrades.

Here, then, was an epic poem devoted to the concept of the First Crusade as an act of vengeance, a strain of ideology little commented on in crusade historiography. Yet a cursory examination of other texts revealed that the construction of crusade as vengeance was hardly an anomaly. Another *chanson de geste*, *La Venjance de Nostre Seigneur*, portrayed the Roman destruction of Jerusalem as revenge for the crucifixion. Even the accepted and widely used history by Baldric of Bourgueil, written in the early twelfth century, depicted the crusaders driven by the obligation to avenge Christ as a fallen kinsman. Moreover, it could be argued that the failure to distinguish between Jews and Muslims evident in the *Chanson d'Antioche* was equally apparent in the slaughter of Jews by crusaders on their way to the East in 1096.

It would be possible to dismiss one piece of evidence like the *Chanson d'Antioche* as singular and largely irrelevant, as C. Erdmann did when he described the emphasis on crusading as vengeance as 'an obvious improvisation suggestive of how immature the idea of crusade still

¹*La chanson d'Antioche*, ed. J. Nelson, *OFCC* 4 (Tuscaloosa 2003), p. 49.

²*La chanson d'Antioche* 50 and 182.

was.’³ But although this was clearly not an instance of a singular, anomalous text, most historians of the crusades have not investigated the presence of this theme of vengeance, or even acknowledged it as worth investigating. Two notable exceptions are P. Rousset and J. Riley-Smith, who have touched upon it briefly in their careers, concentrating primarily on the secular values of military service and ‘blood feud’.⁴

The topic merits a fuller discussion. Although there can be no doubt that military obligation and notions of family honour contributed to the concept of crusading vengeance, no one has yet taken into full account the frequent references to the Biblical God of vengeance in crusade narratives. Moreover, despite a lack of evidence, the general assumption remains that perceptions of the crusade as vengeance only flourished among the laity at the very beginning of the First Crusade, a vivid example of their limited comprehension of theological subtlety and the general emotional excitement that accompanied the expeditions of 1096. But there has been no extensive study of the origin and evolution of the ideology to prove this point.

In this dissertation I examine the idea of crusading as vengeance in crusading texts written between 1095 and 1216 and the relationship between these expressions of vengeance and the broader social context of the twelfth-century crusades. Did the concept of crusading as vengeance decrease in popularity as the twelfth century progressed, as is generally assumed? What constructs were used to promote the idea of crusading as vengeance in the textual sources, and how did those constructs relate to the history of the twelfth century as a whole?

To be sure, these questions do not deny the relative importance of the ideas of holy war, pilgrimage and the other primary ideological themes of crusading. The theme of crusade as vengeance is for the most part a theme written between the lines, a theme taken for granted, perhaps both by medieval contemporaries of the crusades and by present-day historians.⁵ The

³Erdmann, C., *The origin of the idea of crusading*, trans. M. W. Baldwin and W. Goffart (Princeton 1977), p. 116.

⁴Rousset, P., *Les origines et les caractères de la première croisade* (Neuchâtel 1945); Riley-Smith, J., *The first crusade and the idea of crusading* (London 1986) and Riley-Smith, J., ‘Christian violence and the crusades,’ ed. A. S. Abulafia, *Religious violence between Christians and Jews: medieval roots, modern perspectives* (Basingstoke 2002), pp. 3-20.

⁵As opposed to the ‘consciously present and largely unproblematic’ categories usually investigated. For this phrase and further discussion see Bull, M., ‘Views of Muslims and of Jerusalem in miracle stories, c. 1000 - c. 1200: reflections on the study of first crusaders’ motivations,’ ed. M. Bull and N. Housley, *The experience of*

almost subconscious nature of the idea of crusade as vengeance is what makes it worth investigating. It is in truth very difficult to study the history of an ambiguous and value-laden concept such as vengeance, but that does not mean it should not be attempted. The medieval concept of vengeance was used to some extent to motivate and justify the crusades, and that ideology of crusading as vengeance deserves scholars' attention.

I set the scene for the evaluation of the idea of crusading as vengeance in Part I. Examining first the secondary literature available on the phenomenon of vengeance in a variety of academic disciplines, vengeance in the Middle Ages, and the specific idea of crusading as an act of vengeance, in Chapter One I establish the academic context of my research. I explain and argue for the methodology I have used, concentrating on the issues of terminology, translation and the difficult task of researching historical emotion before offering a brief prospectus of the primary sources I have used, roughly arranged according to chronology.

In Chapter Two I add to our historical understanding of the concept of vengeance in the Middle Ages through an analysis of how vengeance (as designated by the terminology) functioned between human beings in the primary sources. Discussing the sources in thematic sections, I reveal a complex network of relationships between medieval terms for justice, punishment and vengeance, as well as a distinct Christian affinity for vengeance and its terminology within both ecclesiastical and secular documents. Exploring the connections between the idea of vengeance and power within the texts fleshes out the dynamics of vengeance within medieval societies.

Chapter Three turns to the thorny issue of the emotional component of the medieval concept of crusading as vengeance. This chapter originated in the observation of recurrent vocabulary: the word frequently and increasingly associated with vengeance and vengeful crusading through the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries in crusading texts was *zelus*. I delineate the terminology in question and lay out the textual evidence for the conceptual relationship between *zelus*, vengeance and the crusades. Then I argue for an understanding of *zelus* as a complex emotional and conceptual structure founded on the experience of righteous anger as a motivation to take action.

I next investigate the concept of crusading as vengeance within relatively discrete chronological periods in Part II, first laying out and then examining the textual evidence. In Chapter Four, by comparing the eyewitness accounts and the narratives of non-participants written between 1095-1137, I demonstrate that the concept of crusading as an act of vengeance was emphasized most by later writers who did not themselves go on the First Crusade. In other words, the general assumption that the desire for vengeance, or the perception of crusading as an act of vengeance, peaked among the laity before the First Crusaders reached the East is inaccurate. On the contrary, the narratives of non-participants are the source of an early application of the vocabulary of vengeance to crusading.

Although the idea of crusading as vengeance was relatively unobtrusive in these early non-participant texts compared to later twelfth-century sources, what evidence was available for the period pointed towards three major themes that contributed to the conceptual relationship between vengeance and crusading. These themes are first, a concentration on the justice and punishment of God, perceived in Biblical terminology as the *ultio Dei*; second, vengeance as a component of the social obligation to provide *auxilium* and *caritas*, hinging on the social importance of memory and the application of family relationships to crusading; and third, an ambiguous tie between anti-Jewish sentiment, vengeance and crusading.

In Chapter Five I address textual sources dating from approximately 1138-1197. The ideology blossomed in the period, hinging on the need to avenge a variety of specific Muslim crimes (particularly the 1187 conquest of Jerusalem). A continued perception of the immediacy of divine vengeance and evolving theories of papal power supported the idea as well. Imprecise distinctions between Jews and Muslims centred around the crucifixion's role as a timeless event representing the sin of wilful disbelief, and calling for vengeance, also contributed to the idea of crusading as an act of vengeance. As well as using terms for family relationships to describe crusading and to explain the need for Christians to seek vengeance, language associated with lordship and non-familial relations also played an important role in the ideology, illustrating the changing society of the late twelfth century.

As I demonstrate in Chapter Six, in the early thirteenth-century sources many used the ideology of crusading as vengeance, but some did not. However, the desire for a unified Catholic

society created through internal reform and external expansion was unambiguous in the sources, and may have been related to an emphasis on vengeful crusade and conversion as means to the same end. The crucifixion continued to be a potent embodiment of the threat posed by the *infideles*, an injury that deserved to be avenged, and images of the crucifixion frequently appeared in the texts alongside blurred distinctions between Jews, Muslims and heretics. Ongoing references to the need to take vengeance for injuries to God and Christianity, couched in the terminology of family and lordship, confirmed the relationship between social obligation and the idea of crusading as vengeance.

What relationship existed between the concepts of crusading and vengeance, and what accounted for that relationship? Drawing upon not only narrative histories of the twelfth-century crusades, but also upon the letters, legends, *chansons* and theology of the period, I have mapped the course of the ideology of crusading as vengeance from the First Crusade until the end of Pope Innocent III's papacy in 1216. My research demonstrates that the general assumption previously advocated regarding the idea of crusading as vengeance must be revised. The concept of crusading as vengeance was no anomaly, and crusading was conceived as an act of vengeance not only through the application of the values of the 'blood feud,' but through values inherent in Old and New Testament Christianity. Ultimately, the myriad ways in which vengeance related to crusading illustrate the changing social patterns and values of the twelfth century.

PART I

Chapter 1:

Sources and Methodology

The first step in undertaking research on the idea of crusading as vengeance is to look at the history of vengeance in general, particularly during the medieval period. F. Nietzsche remarked in 1879 that ‘the word “revenge” is said so quickly it almost seems as if it could contain no more than one conceptual and perceptual root,’ and for the most part this observation could be easily applied to past scholarship on crusading as vengeance, in which *revenge* and *vengeance* figure almost as first principles, inexplicable and yet understood by all.¹ Nevertheless, it is well worth tracing the course of the existing literature to establish the context of this dissertation and set the scene for future research.

Vengeance in other relevant disciplines

The concept of vengeance is not limited to the West, Christianity, or the past, and therefore one must consider how vengeance has been analysed by a long tradition of thinkers across the humanities and social sciences. It is vital to discuss these scholars who have delved into the topic, in order to consider how best to approach the question as a medieval historian interested in crusading ideology.

Nietzsche’s extensive and groundbreaking meditation on the nature and function of vengeance in human affairs provides a good starting point for this discussion.² Nietzsche conceived of two types of men, distinguishing between the ‘noble’ man, who struck in immediate retribution whenever he desired, and the lesser man of *ressentiment* who nursed his hatred in the dark and brooded over future revenge. Nietzsche associated *ressentiment* with ‘the priestly class,’ specifically within Judaism. This ‘priestly class’ interpreted revenge as justice, love, and

¹Nietzsche, F., *Human, all too human*, ed. K. Ansell-Pearson, trans. C. Diethe, *On the genealogy of morality* (Cambridge 1994), pp. 131-41.

²Nietzsche, F., *On the genealogy of morality*, ed. K. Ansell-Pearson, trans. C. Diethe (Cambridge 1994).

the ultimate victory of God over the evildoer. He saw Christianity as the culmination of this *ressentiment* within a religion and a culture that celebrated submission and obedience and called for everlasting vengeance on evildoers at the end of time.

Nietzsche also asked why men desire violent retribution. He claimed that justice was 'requittal and exchange under the presupposition of an approximately equal power position,' and thus drew the conclusion that originally revenge belongs within the realm of justice, as a kind of exchange aimed at the restoration of social equilibrium.³ Nietzsche distinguished between self-defence, a quasi-autonomous and instantaneous attempt to protect oneself taken by 'noble' individuals, and revenge, a thought-out and deliberate act of retaliation taken at a later point in time by individuals driven by *ressentiment*.

Nietzsche considered why a violent act should function to restore social equilibrium, especially since physical injuries are not thereby healed, nor are damaged items thus restored. Looking at the history of blood sacrifice and violent ritual Nietzsche deduced that cruelty is a component of many human festivals and celebrations. He concluded that 'to make someone suffer is pleasure in its highest form,' and that humanity has projected its own sadistic pleasure on to its gods, constructing gods who value sacrifice and the punishment of wrongdoers.⁴ Nietzsche suggested that not only did this blend of the desire for revenge and religion result in group actions such as the crusades and the inquisition, but also that many Christians turn their sadistic impulses on themselves through various ascetic practices and the religious concept of virtuous self-sacrifice.

At the very end of the nineteenth century, sociologists such as E. Durkheim turned away from Nietzsche's bleak analysis of humanity and concentrated instead on the human desire to conserve group solidarity. When Durkheim and others did pay attention to vengeance, they distinguished it from punishment, since while acts of vengeance tended to give rise to negotiation between individuals, punishment was instead the action of a group against one of its members.⁵

The question of vengeance was taken up in the twentieth century by other sociologists. G.

³Nietzsche, *Human, all too human*, p. 132.

⁴Nietzsche, *On the genealogy*, p. 45.

⁵Durkheim, E., 'Review of E. Kulischer "Untersuchungen über das primitive strafrecht",' ed. A. Giddens, trans. W. D. Halls, *Durkheim on politics and the state* (Stanford 1986), pp. 167-70.

H. Mead contended that in the mind of the public both revenge and punishment lay behind the need for a criminal justice system.⁶ Like Durkheim before him, Mead connected this with community consensus, noting that hostility towards the criminal has the positive effect of uniting society in emotional, aggressive solidarity. H. Turney-High, in an analysis of 'primitive war,' concluded that since revenge was so often cited as a cause of war, it should be analysed in detail.⁷ Turney-High then proceeded to categorize revenge as 'tension-relief' before dropping altogether the analysis he claimed was so sorely needed. For him, as for many, vengeance was not as significant in Eurasian history and cultures as it was in the Americas and Africa; it was a component of 'primitive' war, and in his mind 'primitive' had definite geographical boundaries.⁸

In 1972 R. Girard published the controversial *Violence and the Sacred*, sparking debate within a range of fields including history, anthropology, sociology, religious studies, philosophy and literature.⁹ His work hinged upon his conception of mimetic desire, a triangular relation between subject, object, and mediator. The subject desires the object purely because the mediator desires it, and thus the subject seeks to first imitate and then eliminate the mediator, who has become an obstacle to the subject's own fulfilment.¹⁰ Based upon his belief in the universality of this network of desire within humanity, Girard postulated that a now-hidden act of community violence, the sacrifice of a surrogate victim in order to disrupt an endless cycle of mimetic desire, lay behind all human religious ritual.¹¹ Constant repetition and imitation through religious ritual of that early act of violence, along with moral prohibitions and religious mythology, imposed structure on the community and its innate mimetic violence.¹² For Girard, vengeance was an 'intolerable menace,' because it functioned as an 'interminable, infinitely repetitive process'; hence the need for a stabilizing religious ritual to release the vengeful appetite within human society,

⁶Mead, G. H., 'The psychology of punitive justice,' *The American Journal of Sociology* 23 (1918), pp. 577-602.

⁷Turney-High, H. H., *Primitive war: its practice and concepts* (Columbia South Carolina 1949).

⁸Turney-High 151.

⁹Girard, R., *Violence and the sacred*, trans. P. Gregory (Baltimore 1979).

¹⁰Hamerton-Kelly, R. G., *Sacred violence: Paul's hermeneutic of the cross* (Minneapolis 1992), pp. 16-22.

¹¹Girard, R., *Deceit, desire, and the novel: self and other in literary structure* (cited by Hamerton-Kelly 15).

¹²Girard, *Violence*, p. 309.

and, eventually, for law to emerge as 'rationalized vengeance.'¹³

In 1978 Girard discussed Christianity within the context of his theory of mimesis and surrogate victimization, and subsequently tackled the question of human persecution and how it fitted into his model.¹⁴ He argued that a sacrificial reading of the Passion, stemming from St. Paul's Epistle to the Hebrews, led directly to the prosecutory nature of historical Christianity.¹⁵ He further claimed that all human persecution coincides with periods of great social instability and change, and that thus scholars could identify four universal stereotypes that allow persecutors to blame their victims regardless of specific historical context.¹⁶ For Girard, persecution is driven above all by the perception of similarity; for example, a group may persecute outsiders who are too much like themselves for comfort, but nevertheless too different to be indistinguishable. Girard asserted that the very words used to persecute in most western languages can be traced back to a common root word, *krino*, meaning both to judge and to accuse in ancient Greek.¹⁷ From this Girard deduced that there is a yet unexamined relationship between collective persecution and its surrounding culture and language.

There are problems with Girard's theories, problems that have been highlighted by the following thirty years of scholarship. Most apparent is his own belief in the New Testament as the ultimate source of human enlightenment, capable of releasing humanity from the throes of endless mimetic desire and conflict.¹⁸ Furthermore, a number of anthropologists and historians since 1972 have demonstrated that vengeance can serve as a highly rational and structured system of secular peace-keeping within human communities.¹⁹ Girard's conception of vengeance as an endless bloody cycle in some unspecified prehistory was inaccurate. But regardless of the validity of Girard's arguments, his work has served to stimulate the humanities ever since. He rekindled

¹³Girard, *Violence*, pp. 14 and 22.

¹⁴Girard, R., *Things hidden since the foundation of the world*, trans. S. Bann and M. Metteer (London 1987). Girard, R., *The scapegoat*, trans. Y. Freccero (London 1986).

¹⁵Girard, *Things hidden*, pp. 224-5.

¹⁶Girard, *The scapegoat*, p. 21.

¹⁷Girard, *The scapegoat*, p. 22-3.

¹⁸Girard, *Things hidden*, p. 138.

¹⁹Most of these social scientists, like Evans-Pritchard (*The Nuer*), concentrated on feud, a formal hostility between groups that uses vengeance as its tool. For an alternative, see Glasse, R. M., 'Revenge and redress among the Huli: a preliminary account,' *Mankind* 5:7 (1959), pp. 273-89.

enthusiasm for the study of vengeance and religious violence, and by serving as a clear focal point for arguments for and against his theories he inspired new research.

One project to emerge to counterpoint Girard was R. Verdier's monumental two-volume collection of work titled *La vengeance: études d'ethnologie, d'histoire et de philosophie*. Rather than proposing a single grand theory, Verdier collected specific, detailed work by scholars in a wide range of disciplines in order to propose an alternative picture to the one of vengeance defined 'en termes purement négatifs' put forward by Girard.²⁰ For Verdier and his colleagues, vengeance was more than simply the passion for revenge, and it demonstrably functioned as a system of the exchange and control of violence within human societies characterized by group solidarity.²¹ Verdier suggested that the terminology and concepts that define human modes of violence depend upon our view of 'the other': if seen as an equal who commits a wrong, punishment ensues; if as an adversary, vengeance follows; and if as a completely alien enemy, war is the result.²² This theory emphasizes the importance of language, especially the words with which humans categorize acts of violence and the recipients of that violence. Especially important was Verdier's attention to the fact that humanity has created more than one ritual action by which to limit vengeance; Girard's theory of the nature of sacrifice and ritual as a means to limit violent vengeance may be true, but it is not exclusively so in the entire history of human cultures.

Some of the articles edited by Verdier are of particular interest in relation to my dissertation. A. Lemaire approached the distinction between vengeance and justice in ancient Israel.²³ He demonstrated that the *ius talionis*, the rule of an eye for an eye, was in fact based upon a principle of equal and rational compensation, rather than an immoderate emotional response.²⁴ Moreover, he showed that in ancient Israel there were two kinds of vengeance, signified by two different words. *Nâqam* was the reaction to a wrong committed by a known enemy, while *gâ'al* was the reaction to a wrong committed by a member of the Israelite

²⁰Verdier, R., 'Le système vindicatoire,' *La vengeance: études d'ethnologie, d'histoire et de philosophie* (4 vols. Paris 1980-84), vol. 1 pp. 13-42.

²¹Verdier 16.

²²Verdier 34.

²³Lemaire, A., 'Vengeance et justice dans l'ancien Israël,' ed. R. Verdier, *La vengeance: études d'ethnologie, d'histoire et de philosophie* (4 vols. Paris 1980-84), vol. 3 pp. 13-33.

²⁴Lemaire 13.

community.²⁵ It would seem that to some extent Verdier's argument that the linguistic distinction between vengeance and other forms of violence is based upon how we view the wrongdoer was accurate, in ancient Israel at least; there, one word described a violent reaction to one outside the group, another a violent reaction to one within the community. *Nâqam* and *gâ'al* did not describe different actions per se, but rather different targets.

Y. Thomas' discussion of vengeance clarified the word *ulcisci*, at least in so far as it was used in ancient Rome.²⁶ *Ulcisci* stemmed from the root word *ulcus*, 'wound,' and could be used in an active or a passive form; *ulciscor te*, 'I take vengeance upon you,' and *ulcisci a te*, 'I am avenged by you.'²⁷ Notably, the duty to avenge family, *officium pietatis*, was used as a judicial defense in Roman courts.²⁸

G. Courtois continued Verdier's theoretical musings on vengeance as a social system.²⁹ For Courtois, to consider vengeance purely as a psychological state ignores the practical function of vengeance within human societies, and to think of vengeance merely as a primitive precursor of modern state-dispensed justice overlooks the fact that the concepts and terminology of justice and vengeance frequently coexist.³⁰ Context determines whether an individual act of vengeance is judged licit or illicit, and unlike punishment, which depends upon hierarchy, vengeance presupposes approximate equality between actors.³¹

Verdier was not the only one concerned with the general concept of revenge in the early 1980s. In 1983 S. Jacoby published her attempt to trace the evolution of the concept and its usage in the West.³² Of primary significance was her deliberation on the paradoxical relationship between western religions and vengeance; western religions reject human vengeance, but at the same time elevate and extol vengeance on behalf of the religion as a whole, or of God.³³ Jacoby's

²⁵Lemaire 14-15.

²⁶Thomas, Y., 'Se venger au Forum: solidarité familiale et procès criminel à Rome,' ed. R. Verdier, *La vengeance: études d'ethnologie, d'histoire et de philosophie* (4 vols. Paris 1980-84), vol. 3 pp. 65-100.

²⁷Thomas 68.

²⁸Thomas 74-5.

²⁹Courtois, G., 'La vengeance, du désir aux institutions,' ed. R. Verdier, *La vengeance: études d'ethnologie, d'histoire et de philosophie* (4 vols. Paris 1980-84), vol. 4 pp. 7-45.

³⁰Courtois 15 and 32.

³¹Courtois 15-16.

³²Jacoby, S., *Wild justice: the evolution of revenge* (New York 1983).

³³Jacoby 68.

book is highly interesting and informative, but because she aimed to cover such a huge chronological and geographical period within a few hundred pages, she was necessarily limited to a certain number of sources that in her mind were representative.

From the 1970s onwards, a number of Biblical scholars have concentrated on the relative meanings of words generally translated as *vengeance* in both the Old and New Testaments. In 1973 G. Mendenhall published *The tenth generation*, in which he questioned whether Old Testament 'vengeance' did in fact correspond to the more modern anthropological idea of the 'blood feud.'³⁴ Mendenhall argued that the vengeance of Yahweh in the Old Testament most closely resembled the Roman notion of *imperium*, 'the exercise of sovereignty.'³⁵ Looking at the Roman official known as a *vindex*, who was empowered to settle disputes, Mendenhall noted the original origins of *vindicare* in the phrase *vim dicare*, 'to say with force.'³⁶ He concluded that in the Old Testament 'vengeance' signified the exercise of power against those who threatened that power, whether internal or external to society.³⁷

Ten years later A. Collins examined in depth the role of vengeance in apocalyptic Christianity.³⁸ She asked whether apocalypticism arises in times of crisis or alienation, and concluded that it does, but that the crisis need only be in the imagination of an individual or a small group; the question is one of perceived crisis, rather than objective reality.³⁹ Examining the imagined crisis in John's mind that was transmitted within the Book of Revelation through the terminology of vengeance, she concluded that 'Revelation's call for vengeance and the possibility of the book's function as an outlet for envy give the book a tremendous potential for real psychological and social evil.'⁴⁰

More recently, H. G. Peels devoted his doctoral dissertation to work on the meaning and

³⁴Mendenhall, G. E., *The tenth generation: the origins of the Biblical tradition* (Baltimore 1973).

³⁵Mendenhall 70.

³⁶Mendenhall 75-6.

³⁷Mendenhall 83.

³⁸Collins, A. Y., 'Persecution and vengeance in the Book of Revelation,' ed. D. Hellholm, *Apocalypticism in the mediterranean world and the Near East* (Tübingen 1983), pp. 729-49.

³⁹Collins 729.

⁴⁰Collins 747.

function of the Old Testament root NQM (*nôqam*).⁴¹ He drew attention to many uses of the term in the Old Testament, including the concept of vengeance as 'enactment of justice' and 'warfare.'⁴² In a brief examination of the term in the New Testament, Peels concluded that there exists in the New Testament a 'direct connection' between the perceived oppression of God's people, perceived opposition of the godless to the Gospels, and the approaching vengeance of God, with the result that in the New Testament texts the oppression of the Christian faithful deserved vengeance because it was interpreted as direct hostility towards God himself and his justice.⁴³

In the 1990s some philosophers returned to the problematic relationship between vengeance and judicial punishment. Many agreed that the *ius talionis*, which was sanctioned vengeance, demanded suffering in return for suffering, but disagreed as to why suffering was adequate compensation, the question that had intrigued Nietzsche a hundred years earlier. M. Falls paid attention to the need for proportion, suggesting that if suffering had been caused, only equal pain could restore balance.⁴⁴ J. Cottingham promoted the satisfaction theory, that vengeance eliminates vendettas by providing the victim with moral satisfaction at the thought of his adversary's pain.⁴⁵ Meanwhile, I. Primoratz declared that punishment, the 'vindication of the law,' must be a physical sanction of one kind or another if it is to be effective; because criminals refuse to heed verbal communication, as embodied in the law, the 'language of self-interest' (i.e. physical punishment) must be used to communicate the sentiments of the community to the criminal.⁴⁶

In 1995 the political philosopher R. C. Solomon argued for a return to a more personal understanding of justice within everyday life, and to a recognition of the role that emotions, particularly the desire for vengeance, play in the human understanding and experience of justice.⁴⁷

⁴¹Peels, H. G. L., *The vengeance of God: the meaning of the root NQM and the function of the NQM-texts in the context of divine revelation in the Old Testament* (Leiden 1995).

⁴²Peels 78 and 102.

⁴³Peels 308-12.

⁴⁴Falls, M. M., 'Retribution, reciprocity, and respect for persons,' ed. A. Duff, *Punishment* (Aldershot 1993), pp. 27-54.

⁴⁵Cottingham, J., 'Varieties of retribution,' ed. A. Duff, *Punishment* (Aldershot 1993), pp. 75-84.

⁴⁶Primoratz, I., 'Punishment as language,' ed. A. Duff, *Punishment* (Aldershot 1993), pp. 57-74.

⁴⁷Solomon, R. C., *A passion for justice: emotions and the origin of the social contract* (London 1995).

For Solomon, the idea of vengeance ‘presupposes personal, emotional intensity,’ not only an intellectual understanding of rational retribution, and he proposed that humans can only create a truly just world by acknowledging the role that emotions and the desire for vengeance play in conflict resolution.⁴⁸

Scholars of war in the 1990s discussed the function of vengeance in warfare, implicitly questioning Verdier’s conceptual distinctions between punishment, vengeance and war. C. McCauley distinguished between the successful (and rational) strategy of ‘tit for tat,’ as proven through game theory, and the ‘impulsive aggression’ of revenge.⁴⁹ R. B. Ferguson argued that although the desire for vengeance could motivate warriors as a ‘culturally patterned goal,’ it could not function as a universal explanation for warfare ‘because [of] the existence of tremendous variation in the situations calling for revenge...because revenge-seeking often cannot possible operate in [an] automatic form...and because revenge requirements are frequently and obviously manipulated by decision-makers.’⁵⁰ In effect, Ferguson called attention to the important fact that a certain presentation of events is necessary to motivate a group of people to take vengeance.

Through the 1980s and 1990s the sociologist T. Scheff refined his theories regarding emotions and violence. He began in 1984 by noting that modern scholars for the most part avoid studying the ‘coarse emotions,’ which had been originally identified as taboos by Freud.⁵¹ In 1988 Scheff outlined what he termed ‘the deference-emotion system.’⁵² In this model Scheff postulated that deference and the associated emotions of pride and shame together form an intricate and universal system of social sanctions within human cultures. ‘When there is a real and/or imagined rejection on one or both sides the deference emotion system may show a malign form, a *chain reaction* of shame and anger between and within the interactants...not only between individuals,

⁴⁸Solomon, R. C., p. 41.

⁴⁹McCauley, C., ‘Conference overview,’ ed. J. Haas, *The anthropology of war* (Cambridge 1990), p. 19. For more on the classic evaluation of the strategy of the *ius talionis* through game theory, see Axelrod, R., *The evolution of cooperation* (New York 1984).

⁵⁰Ferguson, R. B., ‘Explaining war,’ ed. J. Haas, *The anthropology of war* (Cambridge 1990), p. 45.

⁵¹Scheff, T., ‘The taboo on coarse emotions,’ ed. P. Shaver, *Review of personality and social psychology* 5 (Beverly Hills 1984), pp. 146-69. The ‘coarse’ emotions Scheff identified specifically are fear, grief, shame, and anger.

⁵²Scheff, T., ‘Shame and conformity: the deference-emotion system,’ *American Sociological Review* 53 (1988), pp. 395-406.

but also between groups, or even nations.⁵³ For Scheff, drawing upon both biology and sociology, shame is the primary social emotion, since it arises from how one imagines other people feel about oneself; shame results when we imagine (truly or falsely) that others see us in a negative way.⁵⁴

By 1994 Scheff had begun to apply his theory to the study of interethnic conflict.⁵⁵ Scheff argued that ethnic conflict is the result of a sense of alienation and injustice within one or both ethnic groups, although it is not entirely clear what he meant by 'ethnic.' He proposed that the social emotion of shame can lead to a sense of alienation and anger at an imagined injury, which is perceived as the source of the shame.⁵⁶ By directing angry aggression outside the group, an individual or a group seeks to remedy the shame of alienation by consolidating their own group identity.⁵⁷

There are difficulties with Scheff's arguments. First, like Girard he conceived of revenge as an 'infernal machine...that can run forever,' which is contradicted by a variety of evidence.⁵⁸ From this it would seem that his theory cannot account for the true complexity of the relationship between human emotion and human behaviour. Second, following T. Shibusani he argued against the significance of both ideology and material interest in influencing human aggression, preferring to focus on the importance of interpersonal relationships.⁵⁹ This stance could be criticized for ignoring the relationship between ideology and human relations. Nevertheless, the connection he posited between shame, anger, vengeance and the role of identity issues in facilitating conflict is of great value.

In 1996 the Christian philosopher T. Gorringer published a meticulous examination of the concept of divine vengeance in historical and contemporary Christianity.⁶⁰ Gorringer was primarily

⁵³Scheff, 'Shame and conformity,' p. 397.

⁵⁴Scheff, 'Shame and conformity,' p. 400.

⁵⁵Scheff, T., 'Emotions and identity: a theory of ethnic nationalism,' ed. C. Calhoun, *Social theory and the politics of identity* (Oxford 1994), pp. 277-303. Scheff, T., *Bloody revenge: emotions, nationalism and war* (Boulder 1994).

⁵⁶Scheff, 'Emotions and identity,' pp. 288-98. Scheff, *Bloody revenge*, p. 4.

⁵⁷Scheff, 'Emotions and identity,' p. 299.

⁵⁸Scheff, 'Emotions and identity,' p. 288.

⁵⁹Scheff, 'Emotions and identity,' p. 284. See also Scheff, T., *Microsociology: discourse, emotion, and social structure* (Chicago 1990).

⁶⁰Gorringer, T., *God's just vengeance: crime, violence and the rhetoric of salvation* (Cambridge 1996).

concerned with explaining the tendency of American Christian fundamentalist groups to support capital punishment, but he explored the history of Christian vengeance carefully before discussing the contemporary situation. Gorringer argued from a perspective of personal religious belief that Christian retribution is, as were the crusades, not 'the intrusion of an "alien element" but...a deformation of Biblical faith.'⁶¹ For him, as for Girard, the interpretation of the crucifixion as a statement that it was necessary to punish sin legitimized centuries of violence that was termed punishment.⁶²

In the following year, M. Desjardins published a short work discussing the question of whether the New Testament texts themselves promote peace or violence.⁶³ Stemming from years of classroom discussion and careful reading of the sources, Desjardins' research was scrupulously well-balanced, with half of his book arguing for the predominance of peace and half for that of violence. His section dealing with violence in the New Testament highlighted the existence of a vengeful God in the New Testament as well as the Old, and not merely in the Book of Revelation.⁶⁴ Desjardins concluded that in fact the concepts of peace and violence were intertwined in the New Testament, since 'God's violence is considered necessary to make people better, to give them more direct access to the divine, to reward them fairly after they die, and to rid the world of evil.'⁶⁵ But Desjardins also noted that the boundary line between 'peace' and 'violence' was not always clear in the sources, and that what many have deemed doctrinal inconsistency was in fact the result of personal perspective.⁶⁶

There are a number of key points to be taken from the work of the scholars outlined above. First, many have been careful to draw distinctions between the meaning of different terms, and the different meanings contained within the same term. The question whether vengeance is the action of an individual or a hierarchical group has continued to be addressed. Nietzsche drew a line between quasi-automatic acts of self-defence and meditated acts of retribution, both

⁶¹Gorringer 82.

⁶²Gorringer 7.

⁶³Desjardins, M., *Peace, violence and the New Testament* (Sheffield 1997).

⁶⁴Desjardins 84-7. Among other verses he cites Hebrew 10:31, 2 Thessalonians 1:6-10 and Romans 12:19.

⁶⁵Desjardins 72.

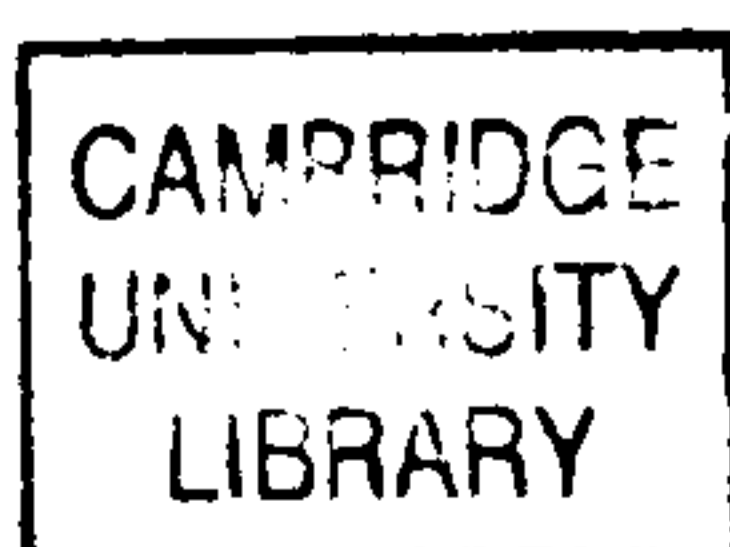
⁶⁶Desjardins 111-22 and 116.

undertaken by individuals but only the latter deemed to be vengeance. Durkheim, in turn, drew a line between acts of correction administered by a community and individual acts of retribution, deeming the former punishment and the latter vengeance. Thomas highlighted the fact that *ulcisci* derives from *ulcus*, 'wound,' suggesting that some aspect of physical violence was inherent in the concept associated with that term, and maintaining the emphasis on vengeance as an ad hoc pursuit. Verdier emphasized the dynamics of inclusion and exclusion rather than hierarchy, arguing that one corrects an associate, takes vengeance on an adversary, and makes war against an enemy.

But others underscored the fact that both the terminology and concept of vengeance were associated in many cultures with group actions from a position of authority, not just actions of aggrieved individuals of roughly equal status. Looking at vengeance in the Old Testament, Mendenhall stressed that *vindicare* was long associated with the exercise of power against those who threatened that power within the Roman tradition, and that a highly similar concept seems to have existed in the Hebrew cultures of the Old Testament. Furthermore, Peels noted a similar trend in the New Testament texts, which suggested that actions against God's people were seen as acts against God himself, and thus deserved vengeance exacted by the group.

The research suggests that it is difficult, if not impossible, to draw a solid line between the actions of a group with an internal power structure and the actions of an aggrieved individual, and that the sometimes confusing use of vocabulary to describe one or both of these actions as vengeance reflects humanity's uncertainty about what moral boundary lies between the two, or rather, which concept is most appropriate for which action. The same can be said about the question of whether vengeance is an action taken inside, or outside, the group. While Lemaire's arguments for the differing meanings of *nāqam* and *gā'al* do suggest a subtle distinction between actions within the group and those against outsiders, nevertheless the two Hebrew terms used were very closely related to each other. And while there are those who would argue for a strong distinction between the concepts of justice and vengeance, and war and vengeance, there are nevertheless multiple examples of how those concepts have been connected throughout human history, and not always according to a simplistic model of human progress.

A similar picture emerges from the study of vengeance and religion, particularly



Christianity. While many scholars have noted the apparent discrepancy between the Christian doctrine of love and forgiveness and acts of violence perpetrated by Christians on behalf of their faith, and many theologians have pondered the matter, the works of scholars like Peels, Collins, Desjardins and Gorrige have provided insight.⁶⁷ By examining the fundamental religious texts, these scholars have moved away from arguments about 'correct' interpretations of divine will and the view that the Old Testament alone encourages vengeful thinking to a realization that the complicated and subtle views of vengeance have always existed, both within the sacred texts themselves (Old and New Testaments alike) and within longstanding traditions of interpretation dating back to the first centuries of Christian thought and still thriving in some Christian groups today.

More than a hundred years ago Nietzsche recognized an emotional component of vengeance, namely jealousy, envy and hatred, and in the last few decades modern scholars have picked up on that theme again, attempting to tease out the emotional character of vengeance and its relationship with human behaviour. The emotions that researchers and philosophers have time and again associated with vengeance are shame, jealousy, envy, anger and hatred, although (with some notable exceptions) this list has been compiled on the bases of intuition and interpretation rather than observation and remains fluid. R. C. Solomon and Scheff have both argued for recognition of the important role played by the emotional desire for vengeance in human cultures. But while Solomon suggested that by embracing our innate desire for vengeance we might create a more just society, Scheff has concentrated on the chain reaction between shame at perceived injury, anger, and subsequent violent acts deemed vengeance, suggesting that if we could understand that emotional sequence and forestall it, much violence, both interpersonal and international, might be limited. They agree that the emotional components of vengeance must be acknowledged and understood, but disagree as to whether understanding should accompany greater expression or greater containment of the vengeful emotions.

⁶⁷For theological discussions of the relationship between religion and violence, see Beuken, W. and K.-J. Kuschel, eds., *Religion as a source of violence* (London 1997), particularly Houtart, F., 'The cult of violence in the name of religion: a panorama,' pp. 1-10 and Häring, H., 'Working hard to overcome violence in the name of religion,' pp. 93-109.

Vengeance in the Middle Ages

Medieval historians have begun to examine the concept of vengeance in the Middle Ages in the last twenty years, and their work provides an important intermediary step between more general discussions of the phenomenon of vengeance and the specific investigation of the ideology of crusading as vengeance. In 1966, before Mendenhall and Thomas had published on Roman concepts of vengeance, A. Blaise noted that the recurrent theme of *vindicta* and *ultio* in medieval liturgy recalled Roman juridical language.⁶⁸

In 1984, M.-M. Davy published a short piece entitled 'Le thème de la vengeance au moyen âge.'⁶⁹ Davy proposed two ways of understanding medieval Christian vengeance. First, it sprung from the idea of Christianity as a 'totalitariness.' Second, vengeance was the result of the Church's position between 'two worlds' of religion and secular society.⁷⁰ Regrettably, Davy did not go into the subject in depth and although she noted that the idea of vengeance was associated with the anti-Jewish persecutions surrounding the First Crusade, she argued (incorrectly, as Desjardins has demonstrated) that a positive view of vengeance could not be found in any New Testament text.⁷¹

W. I. Miller discussed the relationship between vengeance and feud in medieval Icelandic sagas in 1990. Drawing upon anthropological work on feud, he emphasized the difference between feud, a formal, ritual relationship, and vengeance, the primary tool whereby feuds were conducted.⁷² Importantly, he noted that vengeance did not necessarily imply homicide and that Christianity was completely compatible with the notion of 'vengeance in a just cause.'⁷³

In his 1996 publication on Christian vengeance, Gorrings drew attention to the standard construction of sin as a debt, an infringement of honour that demanded retribution, in the works

⁶⁸Blaise, A., *Le vocabulaire Latin des principaux thèmes liturgiques* (Turnholt 1966), p. 272. He then refers to Psalms 57:11, Psalms 93:1, Luke 18:8, Romans 12:19 and 1 Thessalonians 4:6.

⁶⁹Davy, M.-M., 'Le thème de la vengeance au moyen âge,' ed. R. Verdier, *La vengeance: études d'ethnologie, d'histoire et de philosophie* (4 vols. Paris 1980-84), vol. 4 pp. 125-35.

⁷⁰Davy 126.

⁷¹Davy 134. Desjardins 84-7.

⁷²Miller, W. I., *Bloodtaking and peacemaking: feud, law and society in saga Iceland* (Chicago 1990), pp. 180-1.

⁷³Miller, *Bloodtaking and peacemaking*, p. 190.

of medieval thinkers like Anselm of Canterbury.⁷⁴ Gorringer linked the emphasis on debt and satisfaction within the medieval theology of sin with the intense concentration on the crucifixion that developed in the twelfth century.⁷⁵ I will show that this point significantly relates to the ideology of crusading as vengeance in Part II below.

In 1998 a group of medieval historians published a collection of essays on the emotion of anger in the Middle Ages. S. White argued that anger signified that an injury had been endured by a high-status individual, and that revenge was forthcoming.⁷⁶ He proposed a standard 'script' for lordly anger and the resulting vengeance. Anger and vengeance were not unrestrained and irrational, but rather were fundamental components of conflict resolution within medieval society.⁷⁷ R. Barton took White's arguments a step further, showing a connection between lordly anger, vengeance and the theological concept of zealous anger.⁷⁸

In 2001, D. Smail built upon the work of White and Barton, demonstrating that hatred was a social institution in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Marseilles.⁷⁹ Relevant to this dissertation is the distinction Smail made between hatred (*inimicitias* or *odio*), which was an ongoing public relationship, and anger (*ira* or *furor*), which was an immediate emotional response. Using as his source the fourteenth-century preacher's handbook *Fasciculus morum*, Smail elaborated on the script of anger and vengeance posited by White: anger drove the subject to pursue immediate vengeance, but if the angry desire for vengeance was not fulfilled, then hatred would result.⁸⁰ Medieval preachers were encouraged to promote the dissolution of anger by preaching patience, before anger had a chance to condense into the more durable and bitter phenomenon of hatred. Hatred itself also carried an innate yet formal right to seek vengeance.⁸¹

Most recently, in 2003 P. Hyams re-examined English legal history of the thirteenth

⁷⁴Gorringer 93-102.

⁷⁵Gorringer 106.

⁷⁶White, S. D., 'The politics of anger,' ed. B. H. Rosenwein, *Anger's past: the social uses of an emotion in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca New York 1998), pp. 127-52.

⁷⁷White 142.

⁷⁸Barton, R. E., "'Zealous anger" and the renegotiation of aristocratic relationships in eleventh- and twelfth-century France,' ed. B. H. Rosenwein, *Anger's past: the social uses of an emotion in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca New York 1998), pp. 153-70.

⁷⁹Smail, D. L., 'Hatred as a social institution in late-medieval society,' *Speculum* 76 (2001), pp. 90-126.

⁸⁰Smail 91.

⁸¹Smail 100.

century, questioning the commonly held assumption that feuding had disappeared from English culture by that point in time due to increasing legal centralization.⁸² Like White and Miller, Hyams argued that feud in the Middle Ages was not 'just vengeance,' but rather a dynamic, ongoing process of conflict resolution.⁸³ For Hyams, *vengeance* was an action that required justification, and *feud* was the ritual process by which participants legitimized acts of vengeance.⁸⁴

Working from the Norman *Summa de legibus*, Hyams defined *iniuria* as 'unwarranted harm caused to anyone.'⁸⁵ He identified *vindicta* and *ultio* as the two key terms for vengeance in the medieval period, and proposed that the usage of *vindicta* in the *Glossa ordinaria* may have led to a general medieval 'conceptual ambiguity of vengeance and punishment.'⁸⁶ Hyams strongly differentiated between 'the ethos of the Church' and 'secular models of accepted behavior,' attempting to outline two distinct and different perspectives on vengeance in the medieval period, with the Church disapproving of what secular society acclaimed.⁸⁷ This portion of his argument, relying primarily on a selective reading of the *Glossa ordinaria* and Thomas of Chobham's *Summa confessorum*, is not convincing to one who has read the primary sources in question and seems to have stemmed from an assumption that the Church and the secular world contrasted with each other more starkly than perhaps they did.⁸⁸

Hyams highlighted the medieval concept of family outlined previously by D. Herlihy, in which kinship, a 'dynamic cultural construction,' was not limited to blood relations; lords, vassals, kinsmen and other friends all formed part of a crucial support network that one turned to for help avenging one's injuries.⁸⁹ Furthermore, Hyams demonstrated that the terms *ira* and *contumelia* (shame) were repeatedly linked with the terms for vengeance and thus employed to justify acts of violence in his sources.⁹⁰ He noted that the terms for vengeance were used flexibly in the Middle

⁸²Hyams, P. R., *Rancor and reconciliation in medieval England* (Ithaca New York 2003).

⁸³Hyams xii.

⁸⁴Hyams 6-9.

⁸⁵Hyams 145.

⁸⁶Hyams xvii.

⁸⁷Hyams xiv-xv and 43.

⁸⁸For relevant passages, see Thomas of Chobham, *Summa confessorum*, ed. F. Broomfield (Paris 1968), pp. 414-45. Also of interest are Causa 23 of Gratian, *Corpus iuris canonici*, ed. A. E. Richter (2nd ed. 2 vols. Lipsiae 1879) and Du Cange, C., *Glossarium mediae et infimae Latinitatis* (7 vols. Paris 1840-50).

⁸⁹Herlihy, D., 'Family,' *American Historical Review* 96 (1991), pp. 1-16. Hyams 23-7 and 212-13.

⁹⁰Hyams, throughout.

Ages, were not limited to a specific social class and were applied to wars as often as to individual acts of retribution, pointing to the crusading movement as a fundamental example.⁹¹ But Hyams' greatest contribution in this monograph was to show that in thirteenth-century England *justice* and *vengeance* were not perceived as being diametrically opposed to each other.

The work done by medieval historians on the concept of vengeance has illuminated many facets of it. Primarily, it has clarified the link between anger, hatred, and vengeance, and the prominence of shame as a drive to take vengeance. And despite Hyams' insistence that the Church and the secular world were distinct, his work and that of Gorringer has demonstrated that the concept of vengeance was embedded in medieval Christian concepts of sin and justice.

The idea of crusading as vengeance

Although no one has yet comprehensively explored the ideology of crusading as vengeance, in the last sixty years many scholars have noted its existence. In 1945 P. Rousset published his monograph on the ideology of crusading, *Les origines et les caractères de la première croisade*. His goal was to explain the First Crusade from the dual perspective of psychology and religious thought. Perhaps due to this focus on *mentalité*, he was among the first to write about the fact that the idea of vengeance was used to explain the First Crusade to medieval contemporaries. However, his observations were limited to noting the use of the idea of vengeance, specifically the idea of collective vengeance for God, and he did not take that aspect of his research any further.

In 1970 E. O. Blake noted that in crusading texts the Knight Templar was portrayed as a *minister Dei*, but he did not comment on the idea, or connect it with the relevant passage discussing vengeance in the New Testament Book of Romans: *minister enim Dei est, vindex in iram ei qui malum agit*.⁹² In 1983 Jacoby published her fascinating, if overambitious, study of the evolution of the idea of revenge within Western culture. She drew attention to the fact that violent revenge for the death of Jesus was used to justify anti-Jewish violence, and nominally

⁹¹Hyams 67, 74 and 119.

⁹²Blake, E. O., "The formation of the "crusade idea,"" *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 21 (1970), p. 27. Romans 13:4.

connected that idea to the aftermath of the First Crusade.⁹³ This connection was further reinforced by Riley-Smith's treatment of the subject in the following year.⁹⁴

In 1986 Riley-Smith dealt with the idea of crusading as vengeance more than anyone else before him in *The first crusade and the idea of crusading* and later in a subsequent publication.⁹⁵ He argued that the crusaders viewed the events of the crusade within the pre-existing cultural framework of their world: 'summoned to help their oppressed brothers and to liberate the patrimony of their father and lord, they thought, as there was always the danger that they would, in family and feudal terms and embarked upon a blood feud in which they found it hard to distinguish between peoples they identified as "enemies of Christ."'⁹⁶ The fact that preachers of the crusade drew attention to the occupation of Jerusalem and the East by Muslims more than 400 years previous only exacerbated the potential confusion: 'if they were to make good and avenge injuries to Christ which included the occupation of his land four and a half centuries before, why should they not also avenge the crucifixion, an injury to Christ's person?'⁹⁷ But although there can be no doubt that military obligation and an honour culture contributed to the theme of crusading as vengeance, Riley-Smith did not take into account the role of Christian vengeance in the crusades, and he distinguished too neatly between the enthusiasm for vengeance among the laity and the opinions of 'responsible churchmen.'⁹⁸

In 1993, J. Gilchrist tackled the crusading ideology of Pope Innocent III and its promotion of violence.⁹⁹ Gilchrist argued from the beginning that warfare in the western tradition is at heart a 'theology of war' in which true war is the war against the non-Christian.¹⁰⁰ Gilchrist noticed that Innocent relied heavily upon the idea of crusading as vengeance, but commented that this idea

⁹³Jacoby 103.

⁹⁴Riley-Smith, J., 'The first crusade and the persecution of the Jews,' ed. W. J. Sheils, *Persecution and tolerance* (Oxford 1984), pp. 57-72.

⁹⁵Riley-Smith, *The first crusade and the idea of crusading*. Riley-Smith, J., *The first crusaders, 1095-1131* (Cambridge 1997).

⁹⁶Riley-Smith, *The first crusade and the idea of crusading*, p. 154.

⁹⁷Riley-Smith, *The first crusade and the idea of crusading*, p. 55.

⁹⁸Riley-Smith, *The first crusade*, p. 49.

⁹⁹Gilchrist, J., 'The Lord's war as the proving ground of faith: Pope Innocent III and the propagation of violence (1198-1216),' ed. M. Shatzmiller, *Crusaders and Muslims in twelfth-century Syria* (Leiden 1993), pp. 65-83.

¹⁰⁰Gilchrist 66.

of divine vengeance stemmed from the Old Testament alone, making the same mistake as Davy. Moreover Gilchrist hesitated to comment directly on the aggregate idea of crusading as vengeance upon unbelievers, keeping separate the ideas of crusading as vengeance and crusading as war against non-Christians.

The following year, in 1997, P. Partner published a comparative study of holy wars in Christianity and Islam.¹⁰¹ Partner devoted two pages to the idea of crusading as vengeance in the Middle Ages, noting that it was a theme in both popular and learned literature of the period, and that vengeance for Christ's death was a key theme. He followed Riley-Smith in linking this ideology to the secular 'blood feud.'¹⁰² 1997 also saw another comparative monograph on holy war in Islam and Christianity, this time by J. Johnson.¹⁰³ Johnson described how the medieval Christian ruler served as the *minister Dei* in holy war, finally identifying in print the crucial New Testament passage.¹⁰⁴

J. Flori published a collection of works titled *Croisade and chevalerie* in 1998, and in doing so provided the most in-depth examination of the idea of crusading as vengeance since Riley-Smith's 1986 publication.¹⁰⁵ He remarked that the long-running tradition of just war and the punishment of criminals were probably interpreted by knights accustomed to lordship relations as vengeance.¹⁰⁶ He suggested that the idea of crusading as vengeance developed in the later Middle Ages, but also made the important point that the idea of war as vengeance for God predated the First Crusade.¹⁰⁷ Flori also mentioned the role of vengeance in the persecution of the Jews, describing the phenomenon as 'natural,' and concluded like others before him that the popularity of the idea of vengeance was the result of the values of a 'feudal,' warrior society superimposed upon medieval Christianity. The consequence of this imposition, in Flori's opinion, was the theme of Christ's vengeance against all his enemies, Jews, Muslims and heretics alike.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰¹Partner, P., *God of battles: holy wars of Christianity and Islam* (London 1997).

¹⁰²Partner 81-2.

¹⁰³Johnson, J. T., *The holy war idea in western and Islamic traditions* (University Park Pennsylvania 1997).

¹⁰⁴Johnson 54. Romans 13:4. Full text given above page 21.

¹⁰⁵Flori, J., *Croisade et chevalerie* (Brussels 1998).

¹⁰⁶Flori 188.

¹⁰⁷Flori 189.

¹⁰⁸Flori 234.

In 2002 T. Mastnak published a monograph on how the desire for peace within Christendom led to the crusades and, ultimately, to western political structures.¹⁰⁹ In the course of his book Mastnak made several key points about the idea of crusading as vengeance, but, as it was not his primary topic, he presented these points as self-explanatory asides. He noted that Anselm of Lucca claimed the right to persecute for the Church, and distinguished between *persecutio* and *vindicta*. Mastnak defined *vindicta* as 'material coercion in general,...punishment.'¹¹⁰ He recognized the role of vengeance in anti-Jewish violence surrounding the crusades, but only in passing.¹¹¹ Like Flori and Riley-Smith in part, Mastnak argued that crusading as vengeance was popular because it was interpreted as a familial 'blood feud' and as Christian vassals doing their duty for God.¹¹²

In 2003 H. E. J. Cowdrey noted the important fact that Augustine of Hippo himself, although he lacked a cohesive and systematic definition of what constituted a just war, on one occasion defined *iusta bella* as 'those that avenged injuries, that is, unlawful acts.'¹¹³ Cowdrey then noted that Gratian referred to this Augustinian vision of just war in the mid-twelfth century.¹¹⁴ William of Tyre's reliance on the idea of crusading as vengeance caught Cowdrey's eye, and he concluded that the archbishop of Tyre must have got the idea from a close reading of Gratian.¹¹⁵ While it would be hard to say that this was not true, Cowdrey was apparently unaware of the corpus of twelfth-century crusading sources that also expressed the idea of crusading as vengeance, some before Gratian was writing.

Most recently, P. Buc has looked at the idea of crusading as vengeance from an exegetical perspective, and has suggested links between the medieval theology of vengeance and the First

¹⁰⁹Mastnak, T., *Crusading peace: Christendom, the Muslim world, and western political order* (Berkeley 2002). M. Gluckman in *Swazi Nation* demonstrated that conflict on one level of society can foster cohesion and stability at other levels, suggesting that a desire for peace and social cohesion leading to violent conflict is not limited to the history of western societies. For reference and further discussion see Lincoln, B., *Discourse and the construction of society: comparative studies of myth, ritual and classification* (Oxford 1989), p. 71.

¹¹⁰Mastnak 30.

¹¹¹Mastnak 39 and 60.

¹¹²Flori 188-9. Riley-Smith, *The first crusaders*, p. 41. Mastnak 122.

¹¹³Augustine of Hippo, *Quaestionum in Heptateuchum liber 6.10* (cited and translated by Cowdrey, H. E. J., 'Christianity and the morality of warfare during the first century of crusading,' ed. M. Bull and N. Housley, *The experience of crusading 1: western approaches* (Cambridge 2003), p. 177).

¹¹⁴Cowdrey, 'Christianity and the morality of warfare,' p. 186.

¹¹⁵Cowdrey, 'Christianity and the morality of warfare,' pp. 187-8.

Crusade.¹¹⁶ Buc connects apocalyptic Christianity, with its focus on the Last Judgement, with the eschatology of the First Crusade. Moreover, he examines the legendary antecedents of vengeful crusading, Titus and Vespasian's destruction of Jerusalem and the struggles of the Maccabees. Many of Buc's arguments are accurate and insightful, and his work provides a long overdue and much needed clarification of the relationship between Christian sacred texts and the concept of vengeance. Nevertheless, it is a stretch to claim as he does that his study covers 800 years of medieval vengeance, since he limits himself to a small selection of source material, primarily of a theological nature. In addition, he seems to have begun his research with ideas on how vengeance connected with crusading, and then researched those preconceived links, rather than looking broadly and in depth within a large collection of sources. His work is a significant addition to crusade historiography, but the field still lacks a broad, detailed, and comprehensive examination of the idea of crusading as an act of vengeance.

To date the historiography of the idea of crusading as vengeance has primarily concentrated on non-ecclesiastical phenomena such as the 'blood feud,' purportedly a component only of secular culture and the obligations inherent in feudalism. Cowdrey and Buc have begun to elaborate the ways in which Christian theology contributed to the ideology, and many historians have noted the apparent relationship between ideas of vengeance on the Jews for the crucifixion and the crusading movement. But to date no one has tackled these topics directly in a comprehensive study. It is this gap in the literature that my research aims to address.

Methodology

There are several methodological issues facing research such as this. Of primary importance are language, meaning and translation. Which medieval terms should be examined, and, if more than one term is considered, is it appropriate to group them together and at the same time exclude other terms? At the beginning I decided to limit the field of research as much as possible, and so chose to focus on the root-words *vindicta*, *ultio* and *venjance*, and for the purpose of discussion I

¹¹⁶Buc, P., 'La vengeance, 400-1200,' to be published in the *Collection de l'École Française de Rome* 2004.

have translated these terms into the modern English *vengeance*. There is reason to believe that *vindicta*, *ultio* and *venjance* were understood as roughly equivalent in the Middle Ages: Hebrew words such as *nâqam* were translated into both *vindicta* and *ultio* in the Latin Vulgate, and *vindicta* was translated into the Old French *venjance*, as in the case of the Latin poem *Vindicta Salvatoris* and its vernacular equivalent, *La Venjance de Nostre Seigneur*. It is also reasonable to translate the medieval terms as the modern English *vengeance* for similar reasons, although my choice of the specific term *vengeance* is based on linguistic similarity, and by no means implies perfect conceptual equivalence. *Vengeance* is a modern English word with its own accompanying baggage of meaning, emotional significance and moral value, and there is no way to verify that without exception it corresponds exactly to concepts designated by words in historical languages such as Latin, Old French and Occitan.

For the sake of clarity I have restricted my research to the words discussed above, despite the abundance of similar nouns like *retributio*. Medieval writers gave *retributio* both positive (in the sense of reward) and negative (in the sense of punishment) connotations, making it semantically distinct, though undoubtedly related to, *vindicta* and *ultio*.¹¹⁷ The topic is difficult enough without complicating the question with a large number of terms that share a roughly similar meaning or by using modern ideas of vengeance to frame medieval events. If I use the word *vengeance* to discuss a certain passage or group of passages, it is because *vindicta*, *ultio* or *venjance* were used by the medieval authors concerned. I have not myself interpreted events as being 'vengeful' or 'acts of vengeance.'¹¹⁸

My final chapter on vengeance and emotions requires an additional methodological explanation, since, of course, there is no way to reconstruct internal emotional feelings from the past and a reliance on text, images and artefacts raises the question whether it is reasonable to analyse physical sensation through such mediums. Fortunately, the last fifty years have seen an explosion of research on the emotions in the biological and social sciences, and this has provided a new basis for the analysis of emotion within specific historical contexts. One of the most

¹¹⁷For example, Gratian vol. 1 col. 896. (Causa 23 Q. 3 C. 1 *Quot sint differentiae retributionis*)

¹¹⁸See the discussion of the difficulties of researching words and concepts outlined in Reynolds, S., *Fiefs and vassals: the medieval evidence reinterpreted* (Oxford 1994), pp. 12-13.

significant insights to emerge from this scholarship is the recognition that emotion is more than just a physical sensation divorced from thought and reason. W. Reddy, in an excellent guide to the study of emotions in the natural and social sciences, has noted that since 1989 research has emphasized the definition of emotion as an 'overlearned cognitive habit.'¹¹⁹ Although emotion involves a quasi-autonomous physiological reaction, the intellectual interpretation of that reaction is learned through culture. In essence, an 'emotion' could be defined as the application of intellectual judgment to a sensation or series of events.¹²⁰

If emotion is not just physical sensation, it may be possible to evaluate some part of it through textual analysis. Emotional experiences seem to be frequently shaped by the 'emotional lexicon' of a given language and the behaviour that stems from that lexicon.¹²¹ Language, the way in which a culture describes, discusses and relates emotions to each other, may prove significant since the interpretation of emotions is embedded in cultural discourse. This is given further weight by the fact that the words used to describe emotions impact on the emotions themselves.¹²² How people think about their feelings may be visible in the words they use to acknowledge or repress those feelings, and in the values they attribute to them.

In attempting to evaluate the emotions associated with the idea of crusading as vengeance in the Middle Ages, I have paid attention from the beginning to other words, phrases and images frequently invoked alongside the vocabulary of vengeance. This attention has revealed the significance of the word *zelus*. I have no doubt that *zelus* is one of a number of clues to the emotions of vengeful crusading, but it is the only one commonly enough used to be studied here.

Primary sources

I use the term 'crusading texts' to refer to texts of any genre written in the appropriate time frame that were associated with Western Europe's understanding of the crusading movement, including

¹¹⁹Reddy, W. M., *The navigation of feeling: a framework for the history of emotions* (Cambridge 2001), p. 17.

¹²⁰Hyams 36.

¹²¹Rosaldo, M. S., *Knowledge and passion: Ilongot notions of self and social life* (cited by Reddy 36).

¹²²Reddy 104.

narratives, chronicles and entertainment literature as well as letters and other documents written by key figures in the twelfth-century crusades. The reason for this is that I am trying not only to determine whether the idea of vengeance played a role in 'official' crusading documents but additionally what the terms *vindicta* and *ultio* may have meant in general to medieval contemporaries who wrote about the crusades.

Histories and chronicles, the core sources that embody medieval attempts to give meaning to the crusades, have formed the backbone of my research.¹²³ I have distinguished the sources by date of composition, rather than by the date of the events described within the texts. For the most part sources written about a particular crusade will still be discussed within the same chapter, but there are exceptions. For example, Caffaro of Caschifelone wrote about the First Crusade in circa 1155, and thus I will discuss his account in Chapter Five, which deals with sources dating from approximately 1138 until 1197.¹²⁴ In a few cases the date of composition has been difficult to establish, and I discuss those texts in the appropriate subsection below.

1095-1137

For the period from 1095 until 1137 I have utilized eleven Latin histories of the First Crusade, as well as H. Hagenmeyer's edition of First Crusade letters, the so-called 'encyclical of Sergius IV' and one Hebrew account in translation. The eleven Latin histories divide into the five eyewitness accounts of Peter Tudebode, Fulcher of Chartres, Raymond of Aguilers, Ekkehard of Aura and the anonymous *Gesta Francorum*, and the six histories of Albert of Aachen, Baldric of Bourgueil, Guibert of Nogent, Robert of Rheims, Ralph of Caen and Orderic Vitalis.

The *Gesta Francorum* was composed by an unknown author before 1104, and the compositions of Peter Tudebode and Raymond of Aguilers both drew upon the *Gesta Francorum* and were completed between 1104 and 1111. As chaplain of Raymond of St. Gilles, a prominent first crusader, Raymond of Aguilers was closely tied to the expedition, and it is thought that Peter

¹²³Bull 21.

¹²⁴Also known as Caffaro 'of Genoa,' c.f. Face, R. D., 'Secular history in twelfth-century Italy: Caffaro of Genoa,' *Journal of Medieval History* 6 (1980), pp. 169-84.

Tudebode was also an eyewitness. Fulcher of Chartres, a cleric present at the Council of Clermont in 1095, eventually joined the party of Baldwin of Boulougne in the East and thus did not go to Antioch and Jerusalem himself. He also composed the first part of his account of the crusade between 1104 and 1111, and a later section before 1128. The First Crusade letters, written by the leaders of the First Crusade, Pope Urban II, and Pope Paschal II, date from 1095 to 1101. As I will demonstrate in Chapter Four, there was only a limited amount of material promoting the idea of crusading as vengeance in the letters and eyewitness accounts.

The three monastic accounts of Robert of Rheims, Guibert of Nogent and Baldric of Bourgueil were composed between 1107 and 1108. Albert of Aachen's history is now believed to have been written in two parts, the first section (which dealt with the First Crusade) sometime between 1100 and 1102 and the second section after 1119.¹²⁵ Ralph of Caen composed his tribute to his lord Tancred's actions on the First Crusade between 1108 and 1118, possibly in Antioch after Ralph himself participated in the crusade of 1108. Ekkehard of Aura, who was briefly in the East in 1101, composed his account between 1102 and 1106. Orderic Vitalis may have begun writing his ecclesiastical history as early as 1114, but the bulk of his history (including the section on the First Crusade) was composed between 1123 and 1137.¹²⁶ Ekkehard of Aura and Ralph of Caen emphasized the idea of crusading as vengeance only slightly more than the eyewitness accounts, but the idea was clearly set forth in the accounts of Robert of Rheims, Guibert of Nogent, Baldric of Bourgueil and Albert of Aachen, though still relatively less than in later twelfth-century texts.

The Hebrew *Mainz Anonymous* was probably written by a single author contemporaneously with the First Crusade.¹²⁷ Translations are always problematic, especially

¹²⁵Edgington, S., 'Albert of Aachen and the *chansons de geste*,' ed. J. France and W. G. Zajac, *The crusades and their sources* (Aldershot 1998), pp. 23-38.

¹²⁶Chibnall, M., ed., *The Historia ecclesiastica of Orderic Vitalis* (6 vols. Oxford 1969-80), vol. 1 p. 32.

¹²⁷Abulafia, A. S., 'The interrelationship between the Hebrew chronicles on the first crusade,' *Christians and Jews in dispute* (Aldershot 1998), p. 238. Chazan concurs on the dating of the *Mainz Anonymous* (Chazan, R., *God, humanity, and history: the Hebrew first crusade narratives* (London 2000)). Chazan also posits that part of the *Solomon bar Simson Chronicle*, which he deems the 'Trier unit,' was also written contemporaneously with the First Crusade. I have relied on Abulafia's datings, which largely correspond to the earlier work of Sonne and were based on greater manuscript analysis as well as interpretation of content than other dating attempts. In any case, the section Chazan calls the 'Trier unit' contains no references to vengeance. A new edition of the Hebrew accounts, including a persuasive redating of the texts, is to be published shortly by E. Haverkamp.

when the topic of research has been so limited to specific vocabulary, but Hebrew texts do not form the backbone of my argument. The Hebrew terms that were translated by Eidelberg as 'vengeance' in all of the Hebrew sources seem to be closely related to the root *nāqam*, traditionally translated from the Hebrew as 'vengeance.'¹²⁸ Like the crusading histories written by non-participants, the *Mainz Anonymous* contained the idea of crusading as vengeance to a certain degree; again, relatively less so than in later twelfth-century Hebrew texts.

The so-called 'encyclical of Sergius IV' has been the object of scrutiny and debate for more than a century now. Some historians have argued for the authenticity of the document, whilst others have argued for a dating in the late eleventh or early twelfth centuries.¹²⁹ One scholar has even declared that the 'encyclical' must date from the late twelfth century due to its apparent ideological link with the papal propaganda of Pope Innocent III.¹³⁰ In my opinion, H. M. Schaller's argument relied overmuch on incorporating the 'encyclical' within an earlier tradition of pious pilgrimage and underplaying links between the 'encyclical' and the ideology of Pope Urban II.¹³¹ To date, A. Gieysztor's arguments remain the most in-depth and convincing, drawing upon a wealth of material and textual evidence to conclude that the 'encyclical' most likely dates from the late eleventh or early twelfth centuries. His argument for tracing the document to Pope Urban II's visit to the Abbey of Moissac in 1095 is much less convincing, but that does not alter the validity of his core argument. The 'encyclical' strongly emphasized the idea of crusading as vengeance, contrasting with the remainder of the sources for the period and suggesting that further research on the 'encyclical' is needed. Strictly speaking, according to my own criteria the 'encyclical' was a non-participant text since presumably its monastic author did not go on the

¹²⁸I am very grateful to Miri Rubin for her help comparing the English translations of the Hebrew sources with the edited Hebrew texts. For the translations, see Eidelberg, S., *The Jews and the crusaders* (Madison Wisconsin 1977). For the edited Hebrew texts, see *Hebräische Berichte über die Judenverfolgungen während der Kreuzzüge*, ed. A. Neubauer and M. Stern, *Quellen der Geschichte der Juden in Deutschland 2* (Berlin 1892).

¹²⁹The former position argued by Schaller, H. M., 'Zur Kreuzzugszyklika Papst Sergius' IV,' ed. H. Mordek, *Papsttum, Kirche und Recht im Mittelalter* (Tübingen 1991), pp. 135-53. Argued earlier by C. Erdmann and P. Kehr. The latter position most recently by Gieysztor, A., 'The genesis of the crusades: the encyclical of Sergius IV (1009-1012),' *Medievalia et humanistica* 5 (1948), pp. 3-23 and 6 (1948), pp. 3-34. Argued earlier by J. Pflugk-Harttung and P. Riant.

¹³⁰Schwerin, U., *Die Aufrufe der Päpste zur Befreiung des Heiligen Landes von den Anfängen bis zum Ausgang Innocenz III* (cited by Gieysztor vol. 5 p. 8).

¹³¹Schaller 148-9.

First Crusade. However, it was composed before the expedition, suggesting it would be most appropriately grouped alongside the letters and eyewitness accounts.

While in the other chapters the sources for a given period are discussed together, for the period from 1095-1137 they are discussed in terms of the participation of the authors in the First Crusade. The eyewitness accounts were for the most part not written earlier than the non-participant accounts, but they were written by people who (as far as we can tell) witnessed the events that they describe. These authors were not merely reporting the opinions or ideas of others, they were reporting their own ideas and actions as part of a larger group. And their distinctiveness is supported by features in the evidence they provide.

1138-1197

For the period from 1138-1197 I have looked at fifteen Latin narrative accounts, a variety of other Latin sources including letters, theological tracts, the correspondence of Popes Eugenius III, Hadrian IV, Alexander III, Gregory VIII and Celestine III, three Hebrew accounts in translation, and a number of vernacular crusading songs and epics.

As the major preacher of the Second Crusade, the works of Bernard of Clairvaux were exceptionally pertinent to this section of the dissertation, and I have examined all of his letters, his advice to Pope Eugenius III in *De consideratione* and his well-known epistle to the Knights Templar, the *Liber ad milites templi de laude novae militiae*. Bernard was a contemporary of Peter the Venerable, abbot of Cluny from 1122 to his death in 1156. Peter corresponded with Bernard, which alone might make his letters of interest, but he also travelled to Spain in 1142 and subsequently wrote his *Summa totius haeresis Saracenorum* and *Liber contra sectam sive haeresim Sarracenos*, and corresponded with King Louis VII about the treatment of Jews in France during the preparations for the Second Crusade. Both Bernard of Clairvaux and Peter the Venerable promoted the idea of crusading as vengeance. The Byzantine emperor Manuel I also referred to the idea of crusading as vengeance in one letter to Pope Eugenius III in 1146.¹³²

¹³²Manuel I, 'Epistola,' *RHGF* 15 (Paris 1878), p. 440. Manuel wrote in Greek of course but his letter was promptly translated into Latin by the papal curia.

Several narrative accounts written during the period also strongly emphasized the idea of crusading as vengeance, in particular the *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi*, written by a Frankish priest named Raol who accompanied the Anglo-Norman contingent and composed his account shortly thereafter in 1147, and the *Gesta Stephani Regis Anglorum*, believed to have been written in two stages beginning in 1148 by a secular cleric.¹³³

As Cowdrey has already noted, William of Tyre relied on the idea of crusading as vengeance in his *Chronicon*, which was composed between 1170 and 1184 when he wrote the preface to the entire work.¹³⁴ Having been born in Jerusalem and studied in Europe, William was archbishop of Tyre from 1175 and was close to King Amaury of Jerusalem until his death in 1174 and subsequently his heir, Baldwin IV of Jerusalem.¹³⁵ This put him in a unique position to record and comment on events almost up to the disastrous battle of Hattin in 1187. William of Tyre's sources for the period around the First Crusade included the accounts of Albert of Aachen, Raymond of Aguilers, Fulcher of Chartres, Baldric of Bourgueil and the *Gesta Francorum*, making his history interesting from a comparative point of view. The smaller anonymous *De expugnatione civitatis Acconensis*, which included the ideology of crusading as vengeance to a lesser degree, was authored later.

Additional narratives indirectly linked to the crusading movement also relied upon the idea of vengeance. Gervase of Canterbury, a monk of Christ Church, Canterbury from 1163-1210, included the idea in his *Chronica*, which was written from approximately 1185 onwards.¹³⁶ Similarly, Gerald of Wales, archdeacon of Brecknock from 1175 and a favourite of King Henry II of England, accompanied Archbishop Baldwin of Canterbury while he preached the Third Crusade in Wales and wrote his *Itinerarium Kambriae* between 1188 and 1192.¹³⁷ Peter of Blois, a man strongly committed to religious reform and twelfth-century spirituality, wrote the *Passio Raginaldi*, a hagiographical account of the death of Reynald of Châtillon, in 1187 while at the

¹³³Livermore, H., 'The "Conquest of Lisbon" and its author,' *Portuguese Studies* 6 (1990), p. 6; Gransden, A., *Historical writing in England c. 550 to c. 1307* (London 1974), p. 186.

¹³⁴For Cowdrey reference see above page 24 f.n. 113. Edbury, P. W. and J. G. Rowe, *William of Tyre: historian of the Latin East* (Cambridge 1988), p. 26.

¹³⁵Edbury and Rowe 15-22.

¹³⁶Gransden 253 and 247.

¹³⁷Gransden 242-5.

papal court in Rome.¹³⁸ He composed a second work related to the crusades, the *Conquestio de dilatione vie Ierosolimitane*, between 1188-99 and revised the text between 1190-91.¹³⁹ Both of these works employed the concept of vengeance to explain crusading.

Chronicles of the deeds of kings were also a fertile group of sources for the idea of crusading as an act of vengeance at the end of the twelfth century. Richard of Devizes, a monk of St. Swithon's at Winchester, wrote his highly satirical *Cronicon de tempore regis Richardi Primi* between roughly 1192 and 1198.¹⁴⁰ The first edition of Rigord's well-known *Gesta Philippi Augusti* appeared in 1196.¹⁴¹ Roger of Howden, clerk to King Henry II of England, wrote his *Chronica* between 1148 and 1201. He then used the *Chronica* to rewrite the crusading portions of the earlier *Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi* (previously attributed to Benedict of Peterborough) in or shortly after 1190.¹⁴²

Equally inclusive of the idea of crusading as vengeance were the Old French crusading songs *Chevalier, mult estes guariz* and *Pour lou peuple rescon forteir* and the Occitan poems dating from 1130 to 1149 by the author known as Marcabru.¹⁴³ I have also looked at five vernacular crusading narratives. The first two have been used frequently by crusade historians in the past. The late twelfth- and early thirteenth-century text published in 1871 as the *Chronique d'Ernoul et de Bernard le Trésorier*, commonly known as 'Ernoul,' is in fact a collection of sources, rather than one source.¹⁴⁴ *L'estoire de la guerre sainte* was written by the Norman 'Ambroise' between 1194-99, after the return of King Richard I's Third Crusade army.¹⁴⁵ Both texts make some reference to the idea of crusading as vengeance.

There is less of a precedent for my use of the remaining four vernacular texts as historical

¹³⁸Markowski, M., 'Peter of Blois and the conception of the third crusade,' ed. B. Z. Kedar, *The horns of Hattin* (Jerusalem 1992), p. 263.

¹³⁹Markowski 265.

¹⁴⁰Gransden 247.

¹⁴¹Delaborde, H. F., *Notice sur Rigord et sur Guillaume le Breton* (Paris 1885), pp. xi-xxx.

¹⁴²Corner, D., 'The *Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi* and *Chronica* of Roger, parson of Howden,' *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* 56 (1983), pp. 126-44. Gransden 222.

¹⁴³Bédier, J., ed., *Les chansons de croisade* (Paris 1909), pp. 5 and 78-9. Gaunt, S., Harvey, R. and L. Paterson, eds., *Marcabru: a critical edition* (Cambridge 2000), pp. 2-5.

¹⁴⁴Morgan, M. R., *The chronicle of Ernoul and the continuations of William of Tyre* (Oxford 1973).

¹⁴⁵Ailes, M. and M. Barber, eds., *The history of the holy war: Ambroise's Estoire de la guerre sainte* (2 vols. Woodbridge 2003), vol. 2 pp. 2-3.

sources. Although historians have recognized the validity of two out of the three founding epics of the *Old French Crusade Cycle*, the *Chanson de Jérusalem* has traditionally been accorded less worth as a historical source and has been deemed more appropriate for literary studies than for historical analysis. But given that this dissertation is concerned with investigating ideology and culture, these sources are all very appropriate, since they express ideas about the crusades that were current in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

The original trilogy of the *Old French Crusade Cycle* was *La Chanson d'Antioche*, *La Chanson de Jérusalem* and *Les Chétifs*. Although the poems were probably composed orally independent of each other, they first appeared together in manuscript form circa 1180, having been purportedly redacted by an author known only as 'Graindor of Douai.' Like the 'encyclical of Sergius IV,' they have been the subject of debate for many years, as scholars have tried to pinpoint dates of origin and authorship for various poems and parts of poems. In 1962 and 1976 S. Duparc-Quioc argued that the material contained within the *Chanson d'Antioche* could be divided into 'original' material from 'Richard the Pilgrim' that dated from the beginning of the twelfth century and material added by 'Graindor of Douai' in 1180.¹⁴⁶

In 1980 R. Cook intelligently challenged this view, arguing that there was no evidence for the existence of 'Richard the Pilgrim,' and that 'Graindor of Douai' was likewise a name commonly used in the period to lend credibility to *chansons*.¹⁴⁷ For Cook, the search for 'Richard' and 'Graindor' and the attempt to distinguish between 'original' and 'secondary' material was a wild goose chase that could never be proved and in fact added little to the historical value of the account. S. Edgington has pointed out more recently that Cook failed to address the relationship between the account of Albert of Aachen and the *Chanson*, and supported Duparc-Quioc's arguments on the basis that since Albert of Aachen's account contained more detail than the *Chanson*, the *Chanson* must have served as its source, rather than vice-versa. She also noted that *Les Chétifs* and the *Chanson de Jérusalem* do not contain material from Albert of Aachen's account, a surprising fact in her mind if Graindor of Douai was

¹⁴⁶Duparc-Quioc, S., 'La composition de la Chanson d'Antioche,' *Romania* 83 (1962), pp. 1-29 and 210-47 and Duparc-Quioc, S., ed., *La chanson d'Antioche: étude critique*, in *DHC* 11 (2 vols. Paris 1976-78).

¹⁴⁷Cook, R. F., "*Chanson d'Antioche*," *chanson de geste: le cycle de la croisade est-il épique?* (Amsterdam 1980).

drawing upon it for inspiration.¹⁴⁸ These arguments of course are only valid if one accepts that a more detailed text must have been composed later than one with less detail and believes in the existence of an actual historical person who reworked all three epics.

Following Cook, I accept that speculation on earlier origins of the poems is simply that: speculation. The earliest extant texts of these works date from the very late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, and as such are creatures of that era, despite the correct assumption that related oral compositions predated the written epics.¹⁴⁹ But while Cook discounted the Crusade Cycle as historical sources because they were not reliably factual and were written *post factum*, the very fact that these epics 'reflètent des préoccupations, manifestent des tendances qui sont celles de la vie de saint, de la chanson de geste, du roman, en somme, de la littérature narrative à la date de leur élaboration' makes them invaluable sources for the historian of culture.¹⁵⁰ The *Chanson d'Antioche* and the *Chanson de Jérusalem* heavily relied on the idea of crusading as vengeance, although *Les Chétifs* did not.

Three Hebrew sources (read in translation) also strongly emphasized the idea of crusading as vengeance. The *Eliezer bar Nathan Chronicle* included not only historical material but also four poetic lamentations over the Jewish deaths, and dates to between 1140 and 1146.¹⁵¹ The *Solomon bar Simson Chronicle* was a compilation of many different reports of Jewish persecution before the First Crusade, including the *Mainz Anonymous* and the *Eliezer bar Nathan Chronicle*, and has been dated between 1140 and 1146, necessarily later than the *Eliezer bar Nathan Chronicle*.¹⁵² The *Sefir Zekhirah*, or Book of Remembrance, of Rabbi Ephraim of Bonn recounted the persecution of the Jews on the eve of the Second Crusade. It is unclear whether this account was written before or after the mid 1170s, but since Rabbi Ephraim was alive and present during one of the Second Crusade persecutions, his account was that of a limited eyewitness; he may have personally witnessed one episode of violence, but it is physically

¹⁴⁸Edgington, 'Albert of Aachen and the *chansons de geste*.'

¹⁴⁹For a different viewpoint, arguing against Cook's dismissal of hypothetical (and now non-existent) textual antecedents, see Edgington, S., 'The first crusade: reviewing the evidence,' ed. J. Phillips, *The first crusade: origins and impact* (Manchester 1997), pp. 55-77.

¹⁵⁰Cook 9 and 11-12.

¹⁵¹Abulafia, 'The interrelationship,' p. 238.

¹⁵²Abulafia, 'The interrelationship,' p. 238.

impossible for him to have witnessed all of them.¹⁵³

A few crusading texts from the period did not explicitly refer to the ideology of crusading as vengeance. Henry archdeacon of Huntingdon composed the very popular *Historia Anglorum* between roughly 1133-1154 at the request of Alexander of Blois; this included a description of the First and Second Crusades.¹⁵⁴ Around the same time Helmold deacon of Bosau began the *Chronica Slavorum*, covering the period from the conversion of the Saxons through the mid-twelfth century; this work was later used by Arnold of Lübeck.¹⁵⁵ These two texts did not highlight the idea of crusading as vengeance. Likewise, Caffaro of Caschifelone, a patrician who not only was involved in the military and politics of Genoa, but who was also in the Latin East for some period of time, did not refer to crusading as vengeance in his account of the First Crusade, *De liberatione civitatum Orientis*, written in the mid-1150s, probably circa 1155.¹⁵⁶ Neither did portions of the *Gesta Abbatum Lobbiensium*, the *Annales* of Vincent of Prague and the *Annales Herbipolenses*.

The accounts of the Second Crusade written by Odo of Deuil and Otto of Freising also did not emphasize the ideology. Odo of Deuil, a monk of St. Denis who went on to become abbot in 1152, accompanied King Louis VII of France on the Second Crusade as his chaplain. Sometime before his death in 1162, almost certainly while on the march between 1145 and 1148, Odo recorded the first portion of the Second Crusade in the form of a letter to Suger of St. Denis, *De profectione Ludovici VII in orientem*.¹⁵⁷ Otto bishop of Freising accompanied his nephew Frederick Hohenstaufen on the Second Crusade and included the disastrous events of that expedition in his *Gesta Frederici seu rectius Cronica* before his death in 1158. Otto of Freising also wrote a monumental history of the world *Chronica sive Historia de Duabus Civitatibus*. Following in the tradition of Augustine and Orosius, and written before 1152, the *Chronica sive*

¹⁵³Eidelberg 117-18.

¹⁵⁴Gransden 187. Gransden 194.

¹⁵⁵Stoob, H., ed., *AQDGM* 19 (Berlin 1963), p. 17. More on Arnold of Lübeck in the following section.

¹⁵⁶Face 172.

¹⁵⁷Berry, V. G., ed., *De profectione Ludovici VII in orientem* (New York 1948), pp. xiv-xvi. Phillips, J., 'Odo of Deuil's *De profectione Ludovici VII in orientem* as a source for the second crusade,' ed. M. Bull and N. Housley, *The experience of crusading 1: western approaches* (Cambridge 2003), p. 80.

Historia interpreted human existence from a Christian perspective.¹⁵⁸ Both Otto of Freising and Odo of Deuil were most concerned with explaining the outcome of the Second Crusade, and both emphasized that its failure was God's vengeance upon the Christians *peccatis exigentibus hominum*.

Moreover, although the correspondence of Bernard of Clairvaux, Peter the Venerable and Emperor Manuel I referred to the idea, other correspondence from the period did not. Suger of St. Denis, abbot from 1122-1151 and regent of France during the Second Crusade from 1147-1149, who corresponded with King Louis VII while Louis was on the crusade, did not focus on the idea of crusading as vengeance, nor on crusading ideology in general, but rather on the affairs of the realm.¹⁵⁹ Likewise, although Pope Eugenius III was Bernard of Clairvaux's former pupil, he did not discuss crusading as vengeance, even in his Second Crusade bull, *Quantum praedecessores*. Neither did three of the four popes who followed him, Hadrian IV, Alexander III and Gregory VIII.¹⁶⁰ In addition to *Les Chétifs*, another vernacular text, the classic *Chanson de Roland*, also did not refer explicitly to the ideology.

1198-1216

Pope Innocent III's papacy saw the taking of Constantinople by the fourth crusaders, crusades against the Cathars in Languedoc and the early preaching of the Fifth Crusade. It was a tumultuous period to say the least, and therefore rich with sources for the historian available both in Latin and the vernacular. Above all, the letters of Innocent himself (or, at least, the letters issued by his curia) promoted the idea of crusading as vengeance. These letters described the Fourth Crusade, the crusades against the Cathars and the proposed Fifth Crusade as acts of vengeance.

Some texts from the period used the idea of crusading as vengeance to describe crusades

¹⁵⁸Mierow, C. C. and R. Emery, eds., *The deeds of Frederick Barbarossa* (New York 1953), p. 5.

¹⁵⁹Grant, L., *Abbot Suger of St-Denis: church and state in early twelfth-century France* (Harlow 1998), pp. 156-78.

¹⁶⁰Eugenius III, *Epistolae*, in *RHGF* 15 (Paris 1878). Eugenius III, *Epistolae*, ed. J.-P. Migne, *PL* 180 (Paris 1855). Hadrian IV, *Epistolae*, ed. J.-P. Migne, *PL* 188 (Paris 1890). Alexander III, *Epistolae*, ed. J.-P. Migne, *PL* 200 (Paris 1858). Gregory VIII, *Epistolae*, ed. J.-P. Migne, *PL* 202 (Paris 1855).

from earlier in the twelfth century. I employed the Occitan *Canso d'Antiocha*, believed to have been reworked in the late twelfth century and appearing in manuscript form in the early thirteenth century, as a counterpoint to the Old French *Chanson d'Antioche*.¹⁶¹ The *Canso d'Antiocha* did refer to the First Crusade as vengeance, but nowhere nearly as frequently as did the *Chanson d'Antioche*. Many writers of historical narratives described the Third Crusade as vengeance, including Arnold, abbot of St. John's of Lübeck, who drew upon Helmold of Bosau when composing his *Chronica* before his death in 1212.¹⁶² Similarly, the *Itinerarium peregrinorum et gesta regis Ricardi*, apparently a Latin reworking of the vernacular *Estoire de la guerre sainte*, was compiled by Richard, an Augustinian canon in London, between 1216 and 1222.¹⁶³ Also in this group of sources that emphasized the ideology were the texts ascribed to Robert of Auxerre (d. 1212); Otto of St. Blasien (d. 1223), who followed in the footsteps of Otto of Freising until 1209 in the *Chronici ab Ottone Frisingensi episcopo*; Ralph, abbot of the Cistercian abbey of Coggeshall from 1207-18, who left us his original copy of his *Chronicon Anglicanum*; and the anonymous English writer of the Third Crusade account *De expugnatione terrae sanctae per Saladinum*.¹⁶⁴

When it came to the Fourth Crusade, some writers, such as Gunther of Pairis, a Cistercian monk who wrote circa 1205 based on the reminiscences of his abbot who was on the crusade, ascribed to the fourth crusaders the initial desire to take vengeance and also described the eventual sack of Constantinople as vengeance.¹⁶⁵ Robert of Clari, a poor Picard knight, likewise applied the idea of vengeance to both the initial motivations of the fourth crusaders and the sack of Constantinople. Geoffrey of Villehardouin, marshal of Champagne, distinguished between the initial motivation of crusaders and the events of 1204, deeming that the former included the desire to avenge God and that the latter reflected the desire to avenge Christian allies and themselves.

Conon of Béthune, a man associated with the longtime crusading family of Artois that

¹⁶¹Sweetenham, C. and L. M. Paterson, eds., *The Canso d'Antiocha: an Occitan epic chronicle of the first crusade* (Aldershot 2003), pp. 48-9.

¹⁶²Schilling, J., ed., *Arnold von Lübek: Gesta Gregorii Peccatoris* (Göttingen 1986).

¹⁶³Gransden 240.

¹⁶⁴Gransden 323. Ailes and Barber vol. 2 p. 17.

¹⁶⁵Andrea, A. J., 'Essay on primary sources,' ed. D. E. Queller and T. F. Madden, *The fourth crusade: the conquest of Constantinople* (2nd ed. Philadelphia 1997), p. 304.

participated in both the Third and Fourth Crusades, used the idea of crusading as vengeance in two of his songs. But Raimbaut of Vaqueiras, who was in the household of the crusader Boniface I of Montferrat, did not refer to the idea of crusading as vengeance in his poetry. Robert of Auxerre, who confidently described the Third Crusade as vengeance, visibly declined to do so for the Fourth Crusade. And three other accounts of the Fourth Crusade did not refer to the Fourth Crusade as vengeance: the *Gesta* written by the so-called Anonymous of Halberstadt based on the experiences of Bishop Conrad of Halberstadt; the *Devastatio Constantinopolitana*, an anonymous source probably written by a low-ranking cleric from the German Rhineland; and the text known as the 'Anonymous of Soissons,' most likely the work of a canon of Soissons cathedral based on the experiences of Nevelon of Chérisy, bishop of Soissons and chief prelate in the army.¹⁶⁶

Many accounts of the crusades against the Cathars date to much later in the thirteenth century, and thus have not been used for this project. But two accounts that were contemporary show, again, differing uses of the ideology of crusading as vengeance. Peter of Les Vaux-de-Cernay's *Hystoria Albigensis*, an account written in early 1213 for Pope Innocent III, was awash with references to crusading as vengeance for both human deaths (like that of the papal legate Peter Castelnau) and injuries done to Christ. On the other hand, although the early portion of the *Chanson de la Croisade Albigeoise*, written between 1210-1213, implied that the death of the papal legate was followed up by violent retribution from the Church, it did not state this explicitly with the vocabulary of vengeance.

James of Vitry, bishop of Acre from 1216, enthusiastically preached for both the crusades against the Cathars and the Fifth Crusade, and many of the letters and *exempla* from his early career are readily available.¹⁶⁷ But although on many occasions he described humans taking vengeance (both authorized and therefore just, and the opposite), and although he depicted divine vengeance unleashed on the sinful, he only once and briefly described crusading as an act of vengeance. Thus the sources for the early thirteenth century are polarized between the rhetoric of

¹⁶⁶Andrea 306, 303 and 307.

¹⁶⁷James of Vitry, *Lettres de Jacques de Vitry*, ed. R. B. C. Huygens (Leiden 1960). James of Vitry, *The exempla*, ed. T. F. Crane (London 1890). I also examined some of his edited sermons, to see if perhaps the ideology surfaced in his writings from later in life, but with very limited success; see below page 159. (James of Vitry, *Sermones*, ed. C. T. Maier, *Crusade propaganda and ideology* (Cambridge 2000)).

Pope Innocent III, Peter of Les Vaux-de-Cernay, and some Latin historians on the one hand, and the works of others like James of Vitry and the Anonymous of Soissons on the other.

Two vernacular epics related to crusading were also useful sources for early thirteenth-century crusading ideology, and both incorporated the idea of crusading as vengeance. The origins of the popular Christian legend that the Roman destruction of Jerusalem in 70 C.E. was vengeance for the crucifixion lay in the fourth-century translation of Josephus, the *De excidio urbis Hierosolymitanæ* of Hegesippus.¹⁶⁸ The legend continued to grow from then on, used in the preaching tradition of popes such as Gregory the Great and evolving into legendary narratives, often titled the *Vindicta Salvatoris*, as early as 700.¹⁶⁹ By the end of the twelfth century these narratives were appearing in a variety of written forms, even including a Germanic two-part romance entitled ‘Veronica and Vespasian.’ In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the legend was popularized in a number of medieval plays that survive in at least six different languages — only the dramatization of the Passion of Christ was performed more frequently.¹⁷⁰

The Roman destruction of Jerusalem, and the notion that Christ prophesied the city’s destruction on the cross, featured in crusading texts from the very beginning of the twelfth century onwards.¹⁷¹ Often parallels were drawn in these sources between various crusades and the actions of the Romans, and I have found evidence of almost identical plot points and phrases in the oldest version of the *Vengeance de Notre Seigneur* and the *Chanson d’Antioche*.¹⁷² The evolving legendary tradition of the *Vengeance* was closely linked in medieval minds with the crusading movement, and as such the earliest textual version, dated to roughly 1200, has proved a

¹⁶⁸Wright, S. K., *The vengeance of our Lord: medieval dramatizations of the destruction of Jerusalem* (Toronto 1989), p. 21.

¹⁶⁹Wright 23-9.

¹⁷⁰Wright 1.

¹⁷¹Albert of Aachen, *Liber Christianae expeditionis*, in *RHCOC*. 4 (Paris 1879), p. 480. Baldric of Bourgueil, *Historia Jerosolimitana*, in *RHCOC*. 4 (Paris 1879), p. 11. Saewulf, ‘A reliable account of the situation of Jerusalem,’ ed. and trans. J. Wilkinson, *Jerusalem pilgrimage 1099-1185* (London 1988), p. 101. Otto of Freising, *Chronica sive historia de duabus civitatibus*, ed. A. Schmidt, *AQDGM* 16 (Darmstadt 1961), pp. 248-50. *La chanson d’Antioche* 53-5. Arnold of Lübeck, *Chronica*, in *MGHSS* 21 (Hanover 1869), p. 164.

¹⁷²Compare lines 138 and 1231 of *La vengeance de notre seigneur*, ed. L. A. T. Gryting, *The oldest version of the twelfth-century poem La Vengeance Notre Seigneur* (Ann Arbor 1952) and lines 4422 and 37 of *La chanson d’Antioche*. Both poems deal with vengeance being taken for the death of Christ and the seizure of Jerusalem; in both cases the city in question is besieged, there is widespread starvation, and the city is betrayed by a traitor inside the gates.

highly useful source.¹⁷³

Equally useful was the text commonly known as the ‘Pseudo-Turpin,’ the *Historia Karoli Magni et Rotholandi*. Although it is believed that this narrative, written as though from the perspective of Archbishop Turpin, was originally composed in the first half of the twelfth century, it was first written down circa 1200, placing it within this period.¹⁷⁴ It was a text concerned with influencing lay morality, and with its frequent emphasis on taking vengeance and converting the Muslims it is highly relevant for this dissertation.¹⁷⁵

Ideally, for this period I would also have read the *Rolandslied*, the *Millstätter Exodus* and a number of additional *chansons de geste* such as *La Chanson d’Aspremont*. Time and, in the case of the Old German texts, ignorance of the language and a lack of modern English translations, prevented me.

¹⁷³There are many later versions readily available, but due to the chronological limits of this project I have not incorporated that textual evidence. C.f. Ford, A. E., ed., *La Venjance Nostre-Seigneur: the Old and Middle French prose versions* (2 vols. Toronto 1984-93).

¹⁷⁴Schmidt, P. G., ed., *Karollemus atque pseudo-turpini historia karoli magni et rotholandi* (Stuttgart 1996), pp. v-vi.

¹⁷⁵For example of the moralizing tendencies of the text, see *Historia Karoli Magni et Rotholandi*, ed. P. G. Schmidt, *Karollemus atque pseudo-turpini historia karoli magni et rotholandi* (Stuttgart 1996), p. 34.

Chapter 2: The meaning of *vindicta*, *ultio* and *venjance*

What did the medieval terms mean? I have translated the terms *vindicta*, *ultio* and *venjance* as ‘vengeance,’ but the use of the modern word is a convenience and an approximation, and does not really clarify the medieval concept (or concepts) lying behind the Latin and vernacular vocabulary. Turning to medieval dictionaries like those of C. Du Cange, J. F. Niermeyer and A. J. Greimas is only moderately helpful. Du Cange did not include *ultio* in his dictionary as an entry, and only noted that *ultatus* meant ‘wounded.’¹ Niermeyer went further, giving two potential meanings of *ultio*: ‘punishment, penalty’ and ‘punishment inflicted by God.’² For Du Cange, *vindicta* was ‘to give in vengeance...that is, to give to justice, so that a worthy penalty may be exacted.’³ He subdivided this into *vindicta sanguinis*, ‘high, or supreme, justice,’ and *vindicta* ‘as, it would seem, a beating.’⁴ *Vindicatio* was ‘*jus*...through which someone can avenge for himself something stolen or lost.’⁵ *Vindicare* was simply ‘to have the use of something (*usum habere*).’⁶ Niermeyer defined *vindicalis* as ‘vengeful.’⁷ *Vindicare* was ‘to acknowledge as true, to affirm...to attest...to hold a plea,’ while *vindicta* was a noun with multiple meanings including ‘feud,’ ‘*wergeld*,’ ‘the right of hearing and trying a criminal cause,’ and ‘infliction of capital punishment.’⁸ Greimas, meanwhile, simply defined the Old French verb *vengier* as ‘to avenge.’⁹

Du Cange and Niermeyer suggested connections between vengeance and justice, punishment and ownership, but their definitions hardly have laid the matter bare. Therefore in this chapter I clarify how *vindicta*, *ultio* and *venjance* were used by writers to represent individual and group interactions in my sources. These examples of ‘ordinary’ vengeance highlight the social conventions (or lack thereof) that governed the idea of vengeance in action, illustrate how the

¹Du Cange vol. 6 p. 863.

²Niermeyer, J. F., *Mediae Latinitatis lexicon minus* (Leiden 1997), p. 1050.

³Du Cange vol. 6 p. 838.

⁴Du Cange vol. 6 p. 838.

⁵Du Cange vol. 6 p. 838.

⁶Du Cange vol. 6 p. 838.

⁷Niermeyer 1108.

⁸Niermeyer 1109.

⁹Greimas, A. J., *Dictionnaire de l'ancien français* (Paris 1999), p. 613.

vocabulary of vengeance was used at the time, and enable one to evaluate modern theories about vengeance in human societies within the specific context of medieval western Europe.

In the end, what seems to me the best working definition of the underlying medieval concept is *violence (both physical and nonphysical) driven by a sense of moral authority, and in certain cases divine approbation, against those who are believed to question that authority and approbation*. This working definition is compatible with the associations I will show in this dissertation between *vindicta/ultio/venjance* and *iustitia, caritas, auxilium* and *zelus*. Above all, this working definition is compatible with the strong link that I will demonstrate existed between Christianity and *vindicta/ultio/venjance* evident in the twelfth century texts, and it owes much to the insights of Mendenhall and Peels.¹⁰

Vengeance and justice

To begin with, it is clear that the vocabulary of vengeance was very much a part of everyday life for the crusaders and those who wrote about them. Some authors used the vocabulary of vengeance without any further comment or elaboration, implying that the meaning was self-explanatory. Other authors surrounded the vocabulary of vengeance with commentary on the meaning or moral value of events. Regardless of their internal treatment of vengeance, in all of the texts vengeance was provoked by an *injuria*. This injury was at times a personal betrayal, a broken agreement, a physical injury or killing; it was done directly to the one seeking vengeance or indirectly to a family member or other closely allied associate of the avenger — a friend (*amicus*) rather than an enemy (*inimicus*).¹¹ The evidence in the crusading texts supports Hyams' representation of *injuria* based on the Norman *Summa de legibus*, in which injury was simply 'unwarranted harm.'¹²

Vengeance was not viewed as opposed to justice (*iustitia*). Instead, the two Latin terms seem to have been closely related. Towards the beginning of his account of the First Crusade,

¹⁰Mendenhall, *The tenth generation*. Peels, *The vengeance of God*.

¹¹Medieval terms highlighted by Hyams 203-13 and previously Smal.

¹²Hyams 145-50.

Baldric of Bourgueil described the virtues of the crusading army. Among their praiseworthy attributes was their ability to discipline each other: ‘for if anyone was convicted of any dishonour, either having been censured he was upbraided to his face, or vengeance was gravely taken upon him, in order that fear might be excited in others.’¹³ In a melodramatic scene in the *Gesta Tancredi*, a dispute between Tancred and Arnulf of Chocques was heard before the *proceres* who were responsible for Arnulf’s election as patriarch of Jerusalem. Arnulf felt that he had been slighted by Tancred. Since Arnulf was the ‘minister of God’s house’ and since the Holy Land could be said to be the *domus Dei*, Tancred had sinned against the minister of the Lord. Thus, Arnulf argued, Tancred was ultimately injuring both God and the *proceres* by wronging their minister. Arnulf, reminding the *proceres* of his own loyalty, exhorted them to seek vengeance: ‘therefore we uphold your law, o noblest princes; we avenge your injury, [now] punish the unjust.’¹⁴ Otherwise, they would be ignoring the personal injury committed by Tancred to themselves and the law of God: ‘how could you not spurn he who spurns God?’¹⁵ The passage’s clever play on the words *injuria* and *injurius* suggests that vengeance and justice were analogous, in the rhetoric at least; both terms centred on the sense that a wrong had been committed and the right state of affairs (*ius*) had been breached. The synonymity between the vocabulary of vengeance and judicial punishment was also evident in Odo of Deuil’s criticism of Constantinople: ‘[there] a criminal has neither fear nor shame, and a crime is not avenged by law, nor does it come openly to light.’¹⁶ From Odo’s perspective, the lack of justice in Constantinople was evident in the fact that crimes were not avenged; the vocabulary of vengeance was applied to crime, an injury to society. Crime was both sin and offense against public order, leading to overlapping vocabulary and behaviour by those in authority. For example, in the thirteenth-century English *Assize of Clarendon* public enemies were burned and expelled ‘as if they were heretics or convicted felons.’¹⁷ Both types of offenders deserved just vengeance. These examples suggest that governed vengeance was conceptually linked with justice, and that the vocabulary of

¹³Baldric of Bourgueil 28.

¹⁴Ralph of Caen, *Gesta Tancredi in expeditione Hierosolymitana*, in *RHCOC*, 3 (Paris 1866), p. 699.

¹⁵Ralph of Caen 700.

¹⁶Odo of Deuil, *De profectione Ludovici VII in orientem*, ed. V. G. Berry (New York 1965), p. 64.

¹⁷Hyams 211.

vengeance was used in much the same way as we might use the term *punishment*, based upon Durkheim's conception of punishment as violence visited on an individual by the authority of the group.¹⁸

The vocabulary of vengeance and the concept of judicial punishment were contrasted with the concept of war by Ralph of Caen, who rhetorically questioned whether the First Crusade was vengeance (punishment) or war. In one battle with the Muslims on the First Crusade, many Christians were slaughtered or deserted. Nevertheless, despite all odds Tancred and his brother William fought on. Describing their determination to see the battle through, Ralph of Caen wrote 'this was certainly not judged a battle by them, but punishment: nor [did it seem] a conflict against enemies, but as if [it was] vengeance taken up concerning those condemned for capital offences.'¹⁹ In this passage, a 'conflict against enemies' (external conflict) was contrasted with 'vengeance...concerning those condemned for capital offences' (internal punishment). Modern theorists such as Verdier have suggested that the difference between punishment, vengeance, and war lies in our perception of our opponent (ally, adversary, or enemy). The passage from Ralph of Caen I have quoted above suggests that while medieval contemporaries of the First Crusade also saw a distinction in this context between war against an enemy and punishment for wrongdoing within one's jurisdiction, to some degree the First Crusade was perceived as an action more similar to vengeance (punishment) than to war. This conceptual overlap may not have been specific to the context of the First Crusade. General writers on sin and penance such as Thomas of Chobham drew explicit parallels between punishment and war: 'it should be noted that just as it is necessary for princes to kill evildoers through just judgment, thus it is necessary to kill through just war.'²⁰

Many thinkers, following Augustine of Hippo, agreed that one factor that made a war just was the avenging of injuries: 'just wars ought to be defined as those which avenge injuries.'²¹ Justice itself, in the abstract, was perceived as retributive: as William of Tyre reported himself

¹⁸For more on Durkheim see above page 7.

¹⁹Ralph of Caen 623.

²⁰Thomas of Chobham 430.

²¹Augustine of Hippo, *Quaestionum in Heptateuchum liber 6.10* (cited by Cowdrey, 'Christianity and the morality of warfare,' p. 177).

saying, 'justice is to pay back good for good, and evil for evil.'²² Anecdotes from the crusading texts reveal this principle expressed in action with great attention to detail. In Robert of Clari's account of the Fourth Crusade, when Baldwin IV of Flanders, now Latin emperor of Constantinople, was faced with his captured adversary, formerly Emperor Alexius V, there was debate as to what fate suited his crimes.²³ The doge of Venice, Henry Dandolo, said 'for a 'high' [*haute*] man...I would advise you to take high justice.'²⁴ Consequently Alexius was taken to the top of a high column and thrown down to his death: 'vengeance was taken on Mourtzouphlos the traitor.'²⁵ Even the means of taking justice were symbolically retributive, evidenced by the doge's speech and the subsequent execution of Alexius.²⁶

Similarly, in one of James of Vitry's *exempla*, a traveling entertainer sought hospitality from a wealthy, but miserly, monastery, only to be given nothing but black bread, beans without salt, water, and a hard bed.²⁷ On his way the next morning, the entertainer was wondering how he could take vengeance on the stingy procurator who had treated him so badly when he fortuitously met the abbot returning to the monastery. The entertainer told the abbot (who was equally as stingy as his procurator) that he had enjoyed extravagant hospitality at the abbey, and 'hearing this the abbot, very angry, fiercely reprimanded [the procurator] for this grave crime and took away his office [as procurator]...and thus the entertainer avenged himself on that vilest dog.'²⁸ Again, the punishment fits the crime: the sin of miserliness was repaid with accusations of generosity.

The moral argument connecting vengeance and justice was not that all acts of vengeance were just, but that vengeance could be, and sometimes (in the case of war or other common injury), necessarily was just. Thomas of Chobham summarized the complicated position taken by

²²William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, ed. R. B. C. Huygens, *CCCM* 63 (Turnholt 1986), p. 868.

²³Alexius V, formerly Alexius Dukas Mourtzouphlos, had overthrown Alexius IV (placed on the throne by the crusaders) and demanded that the crusading armies leave Constantinople, resulting in the crusader assault on the city in 1204 and the subsequent crowning of Baldwin IV of Flanders as emperor.

²⁴Robert of Clari, *La conquête de Constantinople*, ed. P. Lauer, *CFM* 40 (Paris 1924), p. 104.

²⁵Robert of Clari 104.

²⁶It is hard to avoid seeing in this execution a nod to the Christian idea that God will exalt the humble and cast down the proud.

²⁷James of Vitry, *The exempla*, p. 28.

²⁸James of Vitry, *The exempla*, pp. 28-9.

the Church on vengeance, noting that ‘it is permitted for the laity to seek to regain their belongings from criminals through judgment and to demand the death penalty if they are evildoers and murderers, as long as they do this with a zeal for justice and not a vengeful desire (*libido*).’²⁹ Here Thomas did not distinguish between actions per se, but rather between the emotional motivations behind those acts, approving of a ‘zeal for justice’ and condemning ‘vengeful desire.’³⁰ But a few pages on, Thomas qualified his earlier statement, implying that in some cases even ‘vengeful desire’ was appropriate: ‘for it is one thing to avenge one’s own injury, and another to avenge a common injury.’³¹ Both passages demonstrate that for Thomas of Chobham there was licit and illicit vengeance by the laity, although the ways in which the moral value of retributive actions was to be judged was complicated and hinged upon internal motivations and whether the injury was considered to be personal or communal.

Another factor that served to confirm or deny the justice of vengeful actions was implicit divine sanction. Gratian integrated the views of Augustine and Isidore of Seville into his corpus of canon law, arguing that just wars were those that avenged injuries and, moreover, those which God had commanded, ‘in which war the leader of the army or the people itself should not be judged so much the author of the war as the minister.’³² Christ himself was depicted as judge and avenger, so it is little surprise that wars of vengeance authorized by God were considered doubly just.³³ Since justice was by its nature retributive, vengeance (injury for injury) as an expression of justice was at times just, and since there was canonical agreement (again following Augustine) that a war of vengeance was just, and that a war commanded by God (the ultimate judge and avenger) was undoubtedly just, it is not surprising that the crusading texts reveal this integration of justice, vengeance, war, and divine authority. Bernard of Clairvaux used this concept of a just war as one taking vengeance but also, crucially, authorized by God, to help to explain the failure

²⁹Thomas of Chobham 436.

³⁰Chapter Three will demonstrate that other writers of the period within the Church seem to have depicted the two motivations as synonymous, referring to a ‘zeal for vengeance’ as well as a ‘zeal for justice.’

³¹Thomas of Chobham 440.

³²Gratian vol. I col. 894-95.

³³For example see Orderic Vitalis, *Historia ecclesiastica*, ed. M. Chibnall (6 vols. Oxford 1969-80), vol. 5 pp. 284-6, where in a vision the Church (a ‘shining virgin’) begs Christ for vengeance to be taken on William Rufus for the many injuries she has endured.

of the Second Crusade to Pope Eugenius III. Going back to the Old Testament for an example of vengeance without divine command, Bernard used Judges 20 to prove his point: 'Benjamin sinned: the remnants of the tribes girded on their swords for vengeance, but without the nod of God...But how terrible is God in his counsels upon the sons of men!'³⁴ To fight for vengeance was all well and good as long as with divine consent.

The construction of Christian justice as fundamentally retributive may seem to contradict the Christian Gospels and their emphasis on mercy and forgiveness.³⁵ But mercy, *misericordia*, was not necessarily seen as a component of justice: justice and mercy were two distinct, though complementary, concepts. Some Christian writers placed *iustitia* in a complex conceptual pairing with *misericordia*, implying that the term 'justice' implied the punitive side of law alone: 'for justice alone condemns. But he is made worthy by mercy who seeks grace through spiritual labour.'³⁶ Justice was not necessarily merciful, and mercy was not always just, as Bernard of Clairvaux went out of his way to explain to Pope Eugenius III.³⁷ Thus when the first crusaders were attacked by Greek mercenaries on the way to Constantinople and Bohemond of Taranto ostentatiously declined to take vengeance when they were captured (as would have been just), Robert of Rheims described Bohemond as 'moved by the spirit of mercy.'³⁸

The decision to be just or merciful in a given context was a decision to be made by the proper authority: God or his minister. Thus, as several scholars have noted, these concepts of justice and mercy were perceived as personal prerogatives, full of 'the uneasy ambiguity of will.'³⁹ *Iustitia* was the action of one in power, and *misericordia* was likewise the decision made by one in power to change his own rules and suspend vengeance. This placed great pressure on the one making the decision: 'you will not be innocent, whether you punish him who by chance should be

³⁴Bernard of Clairvaux, *De consideratione ad Eugenium Papam*, ed. J. Leclercq and H. M. Rochais. *SBO* 3 (Rome 1963), p. 412.

³⁵The concept of retributive justice, which is completely compatible with a society based on vengeance as a means of social control, dates back at least to the classical period in the West (Solomon. R. C., p. 9 and Jacoby 27).

³⁶Pseudo-Augustine, *De vera et falsa poenitentia*, ed. J.-P. Migne, *PL* 40 (Paris 1845), col. 1122.

³⁷Bernard of Clairvaux, *De consideratione*, p. 428.

³⁸Robert of Rheims, *Historia Iherosolimitana*, in *RHCOC*. 3 (Paris 1866), p. 746.

³⁹Bisson, T., 'Medieval lordship,' *Speculum* 70 (1995), p. 759. See also Solomon. R. C., p. 273.

spared, or spare him who should be punished.⁴⁰ This may relate in part to the fact already noted that the ultimate test of the justness of acts of vengeance was divine sanction: in one sense, the personal prerogative of the ultimate moral authority.

One more point should be made here about justice and vengeance in western medieval society. By the early thirteenth century, a specific phrase highlighting the connection between justice and vengeance appeared in the writings of Robert of Auxerre: *vindicat ius*. At least twice, both times when discussing a dispute over inheritance, Robert of Auxerre wrote that not an individual human agent but *ius* avenged the injured party.⁴¹ Was this a sign of the growing role of an impersonal concept of justice? Perhaps, but it depends on the translation of *ius*, since these passages also might be reinforcing the conceptual link between the general idea of moral right and vengeance, with *ius* signifying above all justice as characteristic of the divine.

Vengeance, power and emotion

Vengeance was closely associated with those individuals capable of wielding power and moral authority. Ruling individuals needed to be seen taking vengeance if they wished to remain in power; at least, writers took care that they were presented in this way.⁴² For example, Caffaro of Caschifelone praised Godfrey of Bouillon for his desire for vengeance. When Godfrey went to the door of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, he was denied entrance by a door porter, who demanded one besant for entry. Godfrey initially refused to pay this fee, supposedly because he did not have the cash on him; then, while he called for his money, one of the door porters struck him on the neck. 'This the duke patiently tolerated; nevertheless he beseeched God, that God would allow him to take vengeance for such shame before his death.'⁴³ Godfrey did not simply turn the other cheek; he was well-mannered at the time, but inside he was praying to God for an opportunity to take vengeance. This behaviour was held up by Caffaro as worthy of imitation.

⁴⁰Bernard of Clairvaux, *De consideratione*, p. 428.

⁴¹Robert of Auxerre, *Chronicon*, in *MGHSS* 26 (Hanover 1882), pp. 259 and 269.

⁴²White 137.

⁴³Caffaro, *De liberatione civitatum Orientis*, ed. L. T. Belgrano, *Annali Genovesi di Caffaro e de'suoi continuatori* 1 (Genoa 1890), pp. 99-100.

Similarly, William of Tyre attributed Raymond of St. Gilles's reluctant alliance with Emperor Alexius I on the First Crusade to his attitude towards vengeance: 'for it is said that he was a bold man, and perpetually mindful of the many injuries that, in his view, abounded.'⁴⁴ Again, William of Tyre noted that Godfrey of Bouillon urged his men to take vengeance 'as he was an active man, most prompt to take up arms.'⁴⁵ Richard of Devizes likewise described King Richard I of England as one who 'judges every man his own, no remnant of injuries are left unavenged. Whence...he has the name of a lion.'⁴⁶ Robert of Auxerre described King Henry I of England as 'a fighter for equity among princes and a singular avenger of crimes.'⁴⁷ The public character of those in power included the pursuit of vengeance.

It was not only secular leaders who needed to display their ability to take vengeance. In Bernard of Clairvaux's advice to Pope Eugenius III, he repeatedly advised him to display his authority by taking vengeance. The four virtues Bernard suggested for papal meditation were justice, prudence, fortitude, and temperance: 'justice inquires, prudence discovers, fortitude takes vengeance, and temperance holds fast.'⁴⁸ The pope was urged to be like the prophets and apostles: 'they were strong in war, not effeminate in silks. And you are the son of the Apostles and Prophets, and do the same.'⁴⁹

It was crucial that those with power be seen to take vengeance because doing so maintained their power. As the prior of Hereford said to King Richard I of England in April 1192, 'unless like a mature man you listen to counsel and return to your homeland and take vengeance for your injuries...these false lies will increase, and you will be unable to revive your rule in any way without the contest of war.'⁵⁰ This episode in the *Itinerarium peregrinorum* originated in the Old French account of Ambroise, who wrote

'Good sire, for this reason it is required of you,'
said the prior, 'that you return
to your land and avenge yourself'

⁴⁴William of Tyre 188.

⁴⁵William of Tyre 276.

⁴⁶Richard of Devizes, *Cronicon de tempore regis Richardi Primi*, ed. J. T. Appleby (London 1963), p. 17.

⁴⁷Robert of Auxerre 233.

⁴⁸Bernard of Clairvaux, *De consideratione*, p. 407.

⁴⁹Bernard of Clairvaux, *De consideratione*, 420.

⁵⁰*Itinerarium peregrinorum et gesta regis Ricardi*, ed. W. Stubbs, *RS* 38:1 (London 1864), p. 334.

on those who have deserved this from you;
 when these men increase, then they will offend even more:
 in this land where they have taken this tax,
 you will not enter again without a battle.⁵¹

Gervase of Canterbury explained that the neglect of the duty to take vengeance could open the floodgates to further weakness and lack of control within the ecclesiastical domain as well:

...for this abuse could become greater within the Church of God, because the archbishop is not strong enough to bring any vengeance to bear upon any criminals, and he will see priests and clerics flogged by monks or the laity, churches polluted with homicide or flagrant injury and murderers enraged, and adulterers and all criminals will multiply, since he cannot avenge the injuries of God in his city.⁵²

Vengeance maintained power for both Church and state. To take it was the duty as well as the prerogative of those in power.

The need for rulers to visibly pursue vengeance was surely intimately related to the virtuous *ira regis* of the earlier Middle Ages, and the lordly anger of the central Middle Ages, which were in turn connected with the duty to provide justice. Medieval writers described leaders as quick to become angry and take vengeance and needing to display openly this kind of personality in order to convince their subordinates to follow their lead. This was what White has deemed a 'script' for lordly anger: injury provoked shame and anger, anger led to vengeance, and the successful act of vengeance caused joy.⁵³ Examples of this 'script' in action appeared in the sources. When Emperor Henry IV was threatened by the anti-king Rudolf of Rheinfelden, one source claimed he had to rally his men to his cause:

The emperor, moved by these injuries, acted to call together all the imperial princes to himself. To whom gathered before him he disclosed the injury, though it was known to all, and invited them to vengeance, but all of them, fervently indignant for the glory of the empire and considering no less grievous the enormous crime of the Swabians, placed themselves beside him with certainty, promising him men, asserting that such a deceit against the Roman empire could not be, and decreeing that the crime should be taken up by the

⁵¹ Ambrose, *The history of the holy war: Ambrose's Estoire de la guerre sainte*, ed. M. Ailes and M. Barber (2 vols. Woodbridge 2003), vol. 1 p. 138.

⁵² Gervase of Canterbury, *Chronica*, in *RS* 73:1 (London 1879), p. 78.

⁵³ White 142-5.

deadly avenging sword of his majesty.⁵⁴

Far from rushing to take vengeance alone in an emotional state, the emperor was described coolly calling his men together and ‘revealing’ the horrible crime that had been committed. Then his men, apparently emotionally inflamed in an instant despite the fact that they had already known about the offense, ‘demanded’ that he take vengeance. A similar scenario reportedly took place in the camp of Muslim leader Nur ad-Din when a military ally had been captured:

Nur ad-Din however, upset at such a sinister event, was inflamed with anger, and having assumed the garb of confusion and fear, seeking to abolish the infamy by avenging the injury done to him and his, he solicited his friends and associates, all the princes of the east, now with a curse, now as a begging supplicant. He invited them, he revived his men, and collected military pledges.⁵⁵

The scripted language of emotion and injury was used, but the reality was one of careful political planning and strategy.

It is possible that these two scenarios described by William of Tyre illustrate a ritual associated with vengeance, expected behaviour on behalf of both those in power and those beneath them before violence ensued. Further corroboration can be found in the classic crusading example of a great man convincing the less powerful to help him take vengeance, namely when Henry Dandolo, the doge of Venice, sought help from the fourth crusaders to attack the Hungarian city of Zara in 1201: ‘it is now winter, we cannot now go overseas....But we can do a good thing!....There is a city near here, Zara is its name. Those of that city have done wrong to me, and I and my men would like to avenge ourselves, if we can....And the city of Zara is very fine and very full of all good things!’⁵⁶ Sometimes, the opportunity to take vengeance was even a bargaining tool for gaining new allies in order to pursue one’s own vengeance. Geoffrey of Villehardouin described how between March and July 1207 there were many ‘battles in Europe and Asia.’ In one such conflict, Theodore Lascaris (the son-in-law of Isaac II Angelus) sought an alliance with the Bulgarian emperor Johannitsa who had been attacked by the emperor Henry of Flanders. Theodore sent messengers to Johannitsa, explaining the reasons why he should join Theodore: ‘all the emperor’s [Henry’s] men were far from him...and the emperor [Henry] was in

⁵⁴William of Tyre 429.

⁵⁵William of Tyre 874.

⁵⁶Robert of Clari 12.

Constantinople with few men; and now he [John] could avenge himself.’⁵⁷

Sometimes, though, even rational argument and the ritual action of seeking counsel and aid were not enough to convince either subordinates or peers, and harsher methods were used. According to one author, when Godfrey of Bouillon sought to rouse his army to ‘avenge the blood of their brothers’ attacked at Port St. Symeon during the First Crusade, he had to threaten his men ‘with penalty of death, lest anyone should dare to subtract himself at such a necessary time.’⁵⁸ This example of recourse to threats of violence underlines a difficulty with tit for tat social systems, often labelled ‘reciprocal altruism’ in the natural sciences: there will always be those who seek to cheat the system by giving less support in conflicts than they themselves receive from others.⁵⁹

In addition to anger, the other emotion prominently connected with the concept of vengeance in the twelfth-century crusading texts was shame.⁶⁰ To fail to take vengeance when one was shamed by an injury was to be doubly shamed, because one was impotent. Vengeance that was clearly demanded by a certain situation but failed to materialize deserved the scorn and contempt of all.⁶¹ Baldric of Bourgueil described the crusaders who fled from battle without avenging their comrades as ‘most shameful men,’ ‘betrayers of their own,’ ‘unmindful of the state of their brothers.’⁶² He went on to wreak his own vengeance upon them by listing their names for all to see: ‘for they who fled from the battle, abandoning their companions, are known as the protectors of their companions, and for the most part...vengeance should be taken on them.’⁶³

Albert of Aachen even tried to preempt criticism of the crusaders by offering explanations for occasions when vengeance was not immediately sought. For example, after the death of Roger of Barneville outside the walls of Antioch, ‘no one among the pilgrims dared to go forth

⁵⁷Geoffrey of Villehardouin, *La conquête de Constantinople*, ed. E. Faral (2 vols. Paris 1938), vol. 2 p. 274.

⁵⁸William of Tyre 276.

⁵⁹De Waal, F., *Good natured: the origins of right and wrong in humans and other animals* (Cambridge Massachusetts 1996), p. 159.

⁶⁰Of course shame as a spur to vengeance has been noted outside crusading literature as well, for example in the *Romance of Horn* (Hyams 65 f.n. 158).

⁶¹One notable exception was, of course, when the injury was chastisement from God.

⁶²Baldric of Bourgueil 64.

⁶³Baldric of Bourgueil 64.

from the city to the aid of Roger, who was killed and decapitated.’⁶⁴ Faced with this embarrassment, Albert was quick to explain that Roger’s unavenged demise was not due to cowardice, but to a very reasonable lack of transportation: ‘this should not seem amazing to anyone, nor should anyone think that the shocked Gauls had become soft through a weakness of mind, or through fear of the oncoming multitude, and therefore were slow to aid and avenge their *confrère*....for scarcely a hundred and fifty horses remained to the Gauls.’⁶⁵ Fortunately the crusaders were given another opportunity for vengeance at a later date and Tancred was able to return to the city ‘in great glory and happiness,’ carrying the heads of the Muslims killed to avenge Roger.⁶⁶

To fail to take vengeance was used as a great insult, one that Raimbaut of Vaqueiras directed at his adversary, the Marquis Albert Malaspina:

you are not as valiant as Roland, it seems to me,
because Piacenza does not leave you Castagnero:
she destroys all that land and yet you do not take vengeance.⁶⁷

Failure to take vengeance placed one outside the pale, outside the boundaries of civilized behaviour. When some crusaders retreated from battle on St. James’s Day 1190, they were ‘inhuman and impious, who watched their brothers cut to the heart, but did not devote themselves to the task with those most skilled.’⁶⁸

Moreover, to show mercy or even mere indifference to one enemy was, in some contexts, to earn the contempt of all the rest. King Richard I of England exhorted his men in Cyprus:

We aim to fight Turks and Arabs, we aim to be a cause of alarm for the most unconquered nations, we want our right hand to make a way for us even to the ends of the earth following the cross of Christ, we would restore the kingdom of Israel, but are we going to show our backs to the vile and effeminate Griffons? I beg you for your honour, I say to you, I again say, if you will now go away unavenged, the vile story of your flight will precede you.⁶⁹

⁶⁴Albert of Aachen 408.

⁶⁵Albert of Aachen 408.

⁶⁶Albert of Aachen 411.

⁶⁷Raimbaut of Vaqueiras, *The poems of the troubadour Raimbaut de Vaqueiras*, ed. J. Linsskill (The Hague 1964), p. 110.

⁶⁸*Itinerarium peregrinorum* 91.

⁶⁹Richard of Devizes 21.

Those in power, or who wished to be so, had to take vengeance, because to do otherwise was to open the floodgates to further injury and further shame. Social scientists have noted that the phrase ‘painful injury’ is sometimes used even today as a euphemistic label for the traumatic emotional experience of shame, especially in situations involving personal betrayal or public humiliation.⁷⁰

It should be noted that the responsibility and prerogative of great men to take vengeance was also evident in one voice from the early thirteenth century who strove to display kings and emperors displaying different virtues. Several times Arnold of Lübeck described situations in which powerful men considered vengeance but ultimately rejected it and still apparently retained their honour. Arnold even went to the trouble of recording speeches for these powerful men, explaining why they did not choose to take vengeance, perhaps to clarify that their actions were not cowardly and thus shameful. For example, when in 1181 Emperor Frederick I had besieged Lübeck, the bishop of Lübeck was sent out by the townspeople to speak with the emperor and endeavour to end the siege. The bishop was successful, and eventually Frederick remarked to him:

...since it is more necessary for us, through the censure of justice, to exhibit patience rather than vengeance to all [people], behold we consent to them even in this matter, so that, just as they have proposed, they may go to their lord and confer with him about his position, knowing one thing: if when returning they do not open the city to us, they will be sentenced to the gravest vengeance for this delay.⁷¹

Again, when in 1190 Emperor Henry VI sought greater power in the Holy Roman Empire, ‘nevertheless he released [some adversaries he had] besieged, whom he had held, according to this: *vengeance is mine, I will take retribution, says the Lord.*’⁷² Arnold of Lübeck attempted, at least some of the time, to depict secular powers leaving vengeance to God. Nevertheless, Arnold of Lübeck’s account seems to have been singular among its peers in its emphasis on imperial patience. Moreover, the account only did so in certain passages; elsewhere in the account, as I will show in Chapter Six, Arnold presented the taking of vengeance in a morally neutral, or even

⁷⁰Scheff, *Bloody revenge*.

⁷¹Arnold of Lübeck, *Chronica*, in *MGHSS* 21 (Hanover 1869), p. 140.

⁷²Arnold of Lübeck 174. Reference to Romans 12:19.

positive, light.

It has been shown that both secular and ecclesiastical powers were perceived as a source of vengeance. This basic political truth was further justified and enforced by the idea that the powerful were dispensing vengeance not (only) for themselves, but for God. This justification was especially important since Gratian had stressed that it was right to avenge injuries to God and one's neighbours, but wrong to avenge injuries to the self.⁷³ Thus, even unauthorized vengeance between human beings could be intimately associated with Christian values.

This encouraged the tendency to interpret actions against individuals as actions against God, particularly within the Church. Gervase of Canterbury described Thomas Becket speaking confidently before his murder in 1170, saying 'I am right, and the lord pope will avenge my injuries and those of the Church of God.'⁷⁴ Secular leaders also chose this approach to reinforce their right to vengeance. The sanction to avenge injuries in the name of God was surely connected to the traditional duty of kings to protect the property of the Church within their realms. King Philip II of France saw it as his duty to protect the Burgundian Church in 1186, issuing the ultimatum that 'if the duke did not wish to restore the money to the churches, he would most gravely take vengeance upon him.'⁷⁵ William of Tyre made Daimbert, the first Latin patriarch of Jerusalem, say that 'it is sacrilege to violate the commands of the highest princes, and either you will comply with this injunction, or it will be necessary for you to succumb to their avenging swords.'⁷⁶

Lesser magnates also used this theme to justify violence. Orderic Vitalis related that when Count Helias of Maine faced the ambitions of King William II of England he claimed:

I wished to fight against the pagans in the name of the Lord, but now behold, I find a battle closer to home against the enemies of Christ. For any who resists truth and justice proves himself an enemy of God, who is truth itself and the sun of justice. He [God] has condescended to commend to me the stewardship of Maine,

⁷³Chodorow, S., *Christian political theory and church politics in the mid-twelfth century: the ecclesiology of Gratian's Decretum* (Los Angeles 1972), p. 233. See also Thomas of Chobham 440, discussed above on pages 46-7.

⁷⁴Gervase of Canterbury 225.

⁷⁵Rigord, *Gesta Philippi Augusti*, ed. H. F. Delaborde, *Oeuvres de Rigord et de Guillaume le Breton* 1 (Paris 1882), p. 51.

⁷⁶William of Tyre 443.

which I ought not to relinquish foolishly for any light cause, lest the people of God should be given over to predators, like sheep without a shepherd given over to wolves.⁷⁷

On the battlefield with Stephen of Blois, the earl of Gloucester was reported telling his men to ‘take hold of your spirits, and with all your strength, confident in justice from God, know that vengeance is being delivered by God [through us] on these villains.’⁷⁸

Vengeance was sanctified by the role of the powerful as agents of God, and thus served as a highly effective form of social control within both the Church and the rest of society. The role of vengeance as social control was explicitly noted when Gervase of Canterbury noted that there were three weapons against crime: prohibition, precept, and example.⁷⁹ Example was the most effective because ‘when [people] read or hear of someone’s penalty for contempt, they will flee evil in terrified fear, lest they undergo a similar vengeance.’⁸⁰

Where did this leave the less powerful who had suffered an injury? It is difficult to say conclusively due to the nature of the sources, especially since technically personal vengeance was forbidden for all regardless of status, but those without power and authority seem particularly to have been discouraged from seeking personal vengeance. For example, Guibert of Nogent presented his readers with the story of a ‘certain knight’ who made a pact with the devil in order to take vengeance on his brother’s murderer, who was his social superior. The knight could find no spiritual peace until he confessed (on crusade) that he had sinned in making a deal with the devil. The sin that demanded confession was his deal with the devil, not his desire for vengeance, but nevertheless the tale could be read as a warning against the dangers of seeking vengeance against superiors.⁸¹ It was not for such men as this ‘certain knight’ to seek vengeance on those with power, and to persist in doing so could lead to devilish bargains that threatened eternal punishment.

In reality, less powerful individuals often attempted to conceal their injuries and their

⁷⁷Orderic Vitalis vol. 5 p. 230.

⁷⁸Gervase of Canterbury 114-15.

⁷⁹Gervase of Canterbury 85.

⁸⁰Gervase of Canterbury 86.

⁸¹Guibert of Nogent, *Dei gesta per Francos*, ed. R. B. C. Huygens, *CCCM* 127A (Turnholt 1996), pp. 323-4.

desire for vengeance due to political expediency. Richard of Devizes described the duke of Austria insulted at Acre by the trampling of his banner: ‘savagely raging against the king...he failed to dissemble the injury’ as he should have done.⁸² William of Tyre described the leaders of the First Crusade at Constantinople, ‘coming together at [the emperor’s] summons, although what had happened displeased many of them, nevertheless, seeing that it was not the opportunity for vengeance, they admonished [Raymond of St. Gilles] concerning his interests and exhorted him with frank arguments that he should wish to dissemble the injury that they held in common.’⁸³

Often the desire for vengeance was only repressed until the balance of power had shifted and action could be taken. Gervase of Canterbury wrote concerning the 1136 war between the Welsh and the English that ‘the Welsh, remembering the evils which King Henry [I of England] had done to them, desiring to avenge their injuries, made a great slaughter of men, destroying churches, towns and the suburbs.’⁸⁴ Similarly, Otto of St. Blasien wrote that when the Germans under Emperor Henry VI were at a disadvantage in Sicily in 1197, they found themselves facing an angry populace ‘mindful of the injuries which they had sustained from the emperor Henry, they were most inflamed with hatred towards the German people and avenged themselves for their injury as much as they could.’⁸⁵

Alternatively, some individuals could use the script of lordly anger and vengeance to promote their own causes. When imperial legates encountered difficulties at Milan in 1158, they ‘returned to the emperor, told him about the Milan rebellion and the injury done to himself, and incited him to take vengeance immediately.’⁸⁶ Similarly, one could take part in a larger conflict in order to satisfy a personal desire for vengeance. In the *Chanson de la Croisade Albigeoise* one knight explained that he fought for Toulouse’s cause only to avenge the death of his lord, Peter II of Aragon: ‘I have come from my land to take vengeance for my lord.’⁸⁷ Moreover, there was always the chance that a powerful man might court popularity by turning public enemies over to

⁸²Richard of Devizes 47.

⁸³William of Tyre 188-9.

⁸⁴Gervase of Canterbury 95-6.

⁸⁵Otto of St. Blasien, *Chronici ab Ottone Frisingensi episcopo conscripti continuatio auctore...Ottone Sancti Blasii monacho*, in *MGHSS* 20 (Hanover 1868), p. 328.

⁸⁶Otto of St. Blasien 309.

⁸⁷*La chanson de la croisade Albigeoise*, ed. M. Zink (Paris 1989), p. 402.

his people for vengeance, as when in 1191 Emperor Henry VI gave a town in Tuscany to its Roman enemies who subsequently destroyed it 'in vengeance.'⁸⁸ Robert of Clari described with greater dramatic detail the death of the former emperor of Constantinople Andronicus I Comnenus at the hands of the people in 1185. Andronicus was put on a camel with his hands tied and sent from village to village; the people, as expected, seized the opportunity:

'You hung my father, and you took my wife from me by force!' And the women whose daughters he had taken by force seized him by his moustache, and did to him such a thing of pure shame that when he arrived at the next village, there was not one bit of flesh left on his body, so they took his bones, and threw them on a midden heap. In such manner vengeance was taken on that traitor.⁸⁹

Subjects could also take a risk and embark on acts of vengeance that were more likely to be universally approved, or at least tolerated. Arnold of Lübeck described the men of Horneburg fighting to free their lord, the bishop of Horneburg, who had been imprisoned: 'the men of the bishop of Horneburg were zealous concerning the injuries of their lord, and frequently made attacks on the duke's men and running through his land laid waste the surrounding villages with fire.'⁹⁰ Likewise, when Duke Welf was hanged by Hugh of Tübingen in 1164, his son, the younger Welf 'was moved, he got on his horse with greatest indignation, and with fire and sword he avenged the injury he had received.'⁹¹

In any event, subordinates were keenly aware of the dangers to themselves of ongoing vengeance amongst the powerful, and although at times they incited the great men to action, when they stood to suffer from such action they sought to quell the desire for vengeance. When King Henry II of England and Thomas Becket were at odds, the earls of Leicester and Cornwall mediated between them, 'fearing for themselves lest because of this uproar more bitter vengeance would rage against them.'⁹² The powerful also pressured their peers to limit their acts of personal vengeance. In 1204, Henry Dandolo and others sought to effect peace between Baldwin of Flanders and Boniface of Montferrat, pleading with Baldwin 'that they would not destroy

⁸⁸Otto of St. Blasien 320.

⁸⁹Robert of Clari 28.

⁹⁰Arnold of Lübeck 136.

⁹¹Otto of St. Blasien 311.

⁹²Gervase of Canterbury 177.

Christianity...you know that it commands you to not engage in war without end.’⁹³

Because of the terrible threat of vengeance from those in power, sometimes the known ability to take vengeance was vengeance enough. When Emperor Manuel I Comnenus visited Raymond of Antioch he (Raymond) ‘fearing his coming, lest by chance [the emperor], having been excited by the querulous voices of the aforesaid clamour, was descending [upon him] to avenge their injuries, anxiously sought to deliberate...how he could be reconciled with the imperial family for such an offense.’⁹⁴ The writer of the *Itinerarium peregrinorum* remarked that King Richard I of England forgave his brother John, ‘judging it sufficient that he was able to take vengeance.’⁹⁵ In a political sense it must have been so. There is even today little more humiliating than being considered beneath contempt and fear, and the shame of humiliation is still recognized by moral philosophers as a key component of punishment.⁹⁶

Vengeance and religion

Arnold of Lübeck’s attempts to provide the powerful with alternatives to vengeance raises a fundamental question: was there always a sharp ideological contrast between the ethos and behaviour of churchmen and that of the laity, as Hyams and others have posited?⁹⁷ Did the crusading texts from the twelfth-century demonstrate a fundamental conflict between Christianity and the concept of vengeance? How did the factor of religion affect the habits of vengeance?

Text after text suggests that it would be inaccurate to envision a heavy ideological dividing line separating the pro-vengeance laity from the anti-vengeance Church. Vengeance and Christianity were ideologically compatible; *ultio* and *vindicta* were depicted as the actions of a Christian, actions worthy of emulation, even the actions of a pope. To a great degree this has already been demonstrated above in the multitude of examples discussing vengeance and justice, and vengeance and power, but there are a few passages worth examining in detail.

⁹³Geoffrey of Villehardouin vol. 2 p. 102.

⁹⁴William of Tyre 845.

⁹⁵*Itinerarium peregrinorum* 449.

⁹⁶Solomon, R. C., p. 258.

⁹⁷Hyams 43.

In Albert of Aachen's *Historia*, the Muslim Prince of Apamea was killed by his associate, Botherus. The two sons of the dead prince fled to Damascus, and Tancred besieged Apamea. Hearing of Tancred's siege, '[the sons] sent messengers to Tancred, [saying] that they would come to him in order to help and take vengeance for the blood of their father, if it would seem useful and acceptable to him and his men.'⁹⁸ Tancred formed an alliance with them, which the three men affirmed in person, *dextris datis*. Eventually the city surrendered to Tancred, and in return he allowed the murderer Botherus to go free. The sons of the murdered prince protested, but Tancred ruled that it would be unchristian to break the agreement he had already made with Botherus (which had resulted in the surrender of the city). However, Tancred told his two allies that '[Botherus'] accomplices, to whom we did not grant [anything], may be taken in your hand either to be killed or allowed to live, in vengeance for the blood of your father.'⁹⁹ The reason why it was immoral to kill Botherus was not that vengeance was unchristian, but rather that it was unchristian to break a specific agreement made for the surrender of the city. Vengeance could be lawfully (and, it is implied, piously) taken on others with whom no such agreement had been made. In this passage, Tancred made a rational, informed moral judgment based on what he considered to be Christian values. Not all members of the Church may have agreed with him, but to label this decision ignorant or unchristian for that reason alone would be mistaken.¹⁰⁰

A similar scenario took place before the fourth crusaders stormed Constantinople. The crusaders were concerned about the moral value of the assault, and asked the bishops of the crusading army whether it would be a sin to attack the city. According to Robert of Clari, the bishops replied 'that it would not be at all a sin, moreover it would be a great good deed, for they who had been disinherited [the Latin inhabitants of Constantinople] would have the right to inherit, and they [the crusaders] could well help them [the Latin inhabitants] to conquer their right and avenge themselves on their enemies.'¹⁰¹ In this case, the laity expressed moral concern, and were reassured by members of the Church hierarchy that it would be right to attack

⁹⁸Albert of Aachen 641.

⁹⁹Albert of Aachen 642.

¹⁰⁰This closely parallels the argument made by Schmandt about the Fourth Crusade. (Schmandt, R. H., 'The fourth crusade and the just-war theory,' *Catholic Historical Review* 61 (1975), pp. 191-221.)

¹⁰¹Robert of Clari 40.

Constantinople, not despite the connotations of vengeance, but in fact partly because they could help take vengeance and thus participate in a just war. Some Latin Christians gave an alternative justification to the Byzantine populace: 'see here [in Alexius IV] your natural lord, and know that we have not come to harm you, but to protect you and defend you if you do as you ought. For those whom you have obeyed have held your lord from you wrongly and have sinned against God and against reason.'¹⁰² Christian values mattered to the crusaders, and vengeance was compatible with those values.

This is further confirmed by the fact that powerful men within the Church used the vocabulary of vengeance repeatedly in their letters and books in reference to domestic Church matters. Bernard of Clairvaux used the vocabulary of vengeance when dealing with a variety of affairs, and did so in correspondence intended for a number of different individuals. For example, in 1142 he wrote to Pope Innocent II concerning Raoul count of Vermandois who had repudiated his wife and taken another against the counsel of the bishops: 'many cry out to you from their whole heart, that you might avenge the injury of your sons and the oppression of the Church with worthy punishment.'¹⁰³ In 1143 Bernard wrote to the bishop of Soissons: 'greater zeal for avenging the injuries of Christ and the Church is required.'¹⁰⁴

Suger of St. Denis' letters revealed the same trend. Suger warned Raoul of Vermandois: 'those who burn with zeal will most shamefully punish those who are found to side with you...therefore those living with you have fled from vengeance.'¹⁰⁵ Circa 1148-49 Suger wrote to Pope Eugenius III against the canons of St. Genève: 'therefore on these men, who disregard apostolic reverence with these kinds of injuries to God and his saints, for contempt, for disobedience, for sacrilege, they have decided on ecclesiastical vengeance, which retribution they deserve to receive according to the rigor of justice.'¹⁰⁶

Peter the Venerable also used the vocabulary of vengeance in his correspondence about European matters that concerned him. In 1134 he wrote to Matthew cardinal-bishop of Albano

¹⁰²Geoffrey of Villehardouin vol. 1 pp. 146-7.

¹⁰³Bernard of Clairvaux, *Epistolae*, ed. J. Leclercq and H. M. Rochais. *SBO* 7-8 (Rome 1974-77), vol. 8 p. 77.

¹⁰⁴Bernard of Clairvaux, *Epistolae*, vol. 8 p. 89.

¹⁰⁵Suger of St. Denis, *Epistolae*, in *RHGF* 15 (Paris 1878), p. 528.

¹⁰⁶Suger of St. Denis 506.

about a number of monks who had been wrongfully expelled from the monastery of St. Paul's in Vermandois: 'if such an injury remains unavenged, it will allow the laughter of the enemies of the monastic order.'¹⁰⁷ Later, Peter the Venerable wrote to a number of his contemporaries about the threat posed by the heretic Peter of Bruys: 'through the grave of Peter of Bruys at St. Gilles the zeal of the faithful of the lord's cross avenged [God]...afterwards clearly that impious man made the the eternal journey from fire to fire.'¹⁰⁸

Vengeance was presented by many as a Christian activity, at times almost a Christian virtue. On the battlefield, churchmen were depicted urging the laity to take violent vengeance. William of Tyre noted that on the First Crusade members of the clergy 'exhorted princes to...avenge the blood of the dead.'¹⁰⁹ But Church thinkers and leaders used the vocabulary of vengeance amongst themselves also; they did not simply resort to the concept of vengeance when communicating with the laity. As has been shown, justice, the power to judge and dispense punishment, was very closely affiliated with the vocabulary of vengeance in the period. The pope, and every member of the Church hierarchy below him, had a power and responsibility to maintain justice; they had the ability to bind and loose souls, thereby judging men's actions and calling them to account.¹¹⁰ Not all within the Church agreed as to what powers exactly this granted to the Church, but some (including Pope Innocent III) judged that the pope had moral authority to dispense justice for all crimes, since all crimes were sins.¹¹¹ The Church's political responsibility and right to uphold justice linked Church doctrine with the vocabulary of vengeance, because the concepts of vengeance and justice were so co-dependent.¹¹²

Perhaps both because of its political nature and its relationship with contemporary perceptions of Christian values, the vengeance of the powerful was a flexible system of response that need not always take the form of bloodshed. When ecclesiastical authorities needed to take

¹⁰⁷Peter the Venerable, *The letters of Peter the Venerable*, ed. G. Constable (2 vols. Cambridge Massachusetts 1967), vol. 1 p. 145.

¹⁰⁸Peter the Venerable, 'Epistola ad archiepiscopos Arelatensem et Ebredunensem. Diensem et Wapincensem episcopos,' in *RHGF* 15 (Paris 1878), p. 640.

¹⁰⁹William of Tyre 216.

¹¹⁰Watt, J. A., *The theory of papal monarchy in the thirteenth century* (London 1965), p. 15.

¹¹¹Watt 52-3.

¹¹²I discuss this at greater length below in Chapter Five.

direct vengeance themselves, they sometimes did so without resorting to violence, relying instead on the shame caused by actions including but not limited to traditional excommunication and deposition. For example, at Christmas 1186 Archbishop Baldwin ‘withdrew his presence from Canterbury as though in vengeance, and celebrated the Lord’s Birth in a little town in Otteford.’¹¹³ The archbishop’s pointed absence from the festivities in Canterbury was interpreted by his contemporaries as punishment, hence vengeance. The archbishop of Rouen took vengeance on William Longchamp (bishop of Ely, then chancellor) for his excommunication of the English exchequer officials: ‘in vengeance for that presumptuous excommunication on the treasurers, he order[ed] it [the interdict] to be announced throughout Normandy.’¹¹⁴ The *Chronique d’Ernoul* also described excommunication as vengeance in the case of Emperor Otto IV in 1210: ‘when the pope knew that [Otto’s armies] had taken his castles and had fought against him...he was very upset. And he could do no other thing than take vengeance by excommunicating Otto.’¹¹⁵ The vocabulary of vengeance did not automatically signify physical violence, and it could be personally exacted by secular and ecclesiastical authorities alike. Tactics differed, but the common element of social shame as punishment ensured that a variety of different actions were all recognized as acts of Christian vengeance.

That said, there were those who counselled caution when seeking vengeance. In several of his *exempla* James of Vitry illustrated the dangers of taking vengeance hastily or carelessly. In his fable of the body and the stomach, James described all the members of the body ganging up against the stomach because of its apparent sloth: ‘for whatever the hands acquired through work, and the feet through walking, and the other members through working, that greedy collector (that is, the stomach) consumed, and because of his eating...they were fatigued with various labours.’¹¹⁶ The rest of the body decided to punish the stomach by not giving it anything to eat, but ‘when they had gone hungry for one day, in order to avenge themselves on the stomach, they began to grow a little weak.’¹¹⁷ One moral of the story was that vengeance on another could come back

¹¹³Gervase of Canterbury 345-6.

¹¹⁴Richard of Devizes 54.

¹¹⁵*Chronique d’Ernoul et de Bernard le trésorier*, ed. M. L. de Las Matric (Paris 1871), pp. 397-8.

¹¹⁶James of Vitry, *The exempla*, p. 33.

¹¹⁷James of Vitry, *The exempla*, p. 33.

and harm the perpetrators.

Similarly, in another *exempla* James told of a young man who was living on his own as a hermit. One day his father set out to visit the young hermit. A demon, seeing the father on his way, appeared to the hermit looking like an angel and ‘warned’ him: ‘protect yourself from the devil for he himself seeks subtly to deceive you. Right now he is coming to you in the guise of your father, but take vengeance on him: have a hatchet ready so that when he comes, you may strongly strike him so that he does not presume to come near you.’¹¹⁸ Predictably, the gullible hermit did as advised, only to discover too late that the man truly was his father, and that the true demon was the ‘angel’ who had incited him to violence. It would seem that the main moral of this story was to be wary of those who incite vengeance: ‘behold how wretchedly that one was deceived who ought to have questioned the spirit and not easily acquiesced.’¹¹⁹ James of Vitry and his contemporaries rarely condemned vengeance outright and often used the vocabulary of vengeance themselves, but they did advise caution and reliance on the proper moral authority.

In some cultures, one of them ancient Israel, a distinction was made between actions taken against those outside the social group and actions against group members.¹²⁰ No linguistic distinction appears to have been made in the crusading texts between actions against or by Christians and actions against or by Muslims; *vindicta* and *ultio* were used to describe both types of situation. Indeed, writers frequently used the same vocabulary to depict Muslims pursuing the same types of vengeance as Christians, suggesting that for these medieval authors, the social rules governing vengeance were not perceived as specifically ‘Christian’; or, rather, that they did not imagine any other people having different conventions for vengeance. For example, Baldric of Bourgueil characterized the crusaders as ‘most avid avengers of the blood shed of their own,’ and similarly characterized the Muslims who besieged Antioch after its fall to the Christians: ‘[the Muslims] said that they [themselves] were inglorious...unless they avenged the blood of their own shed at the hands of their enemies.’¹²¹ According to Robert of Rheims, Peter the Hermit barely escaped violent retribution for his failure to show due respect to Kerbogha: ‘when the Turks saw

¹¹⁸James of Vitry, *The exempla*, p. 34.

¹¹⁹James of Vitry, *The exempla*, p. 35.

¹²⁰Lemaire 14-15.

¹²¹Baldric of Bourgueil 50 and 59.

this [injury], they endured it with difficulty; and if [Peter and others] had not been messengers, [the Muslims] would have avenged the dishonour of [such] proud indifference.¹²²

Moreover, the conventions governing vengeance sometimes called for Christians to take vengeance on other Christians for wrongs done to Muslims that contradicted the laws of war. Following the capture of Jerusalem, Tancred granted quarter to a group of Muslims within the city. In his absence, they were all killed by the other crusaders. Tancred was furious, and only the leaders of the crusade were able to persuade him that the slaughter was right: 'but Tancred, the glorious knight, was incensed with violent anger concerning this underhanded injury to him; nor could his fury be quieted without discord and great vengeance, until the counsel and judgment of the great and prudent men had tempered his mind with words.'¹²³ What is most intriguing about this passage is that a Christian crusader was prepared to take vengeance upon other Christian crusaders for the death of Muslims whom he felt should not have been killed, because he had personally granted them quarter. The injury had been done to Tancred's honour, and so Tancred was avenging himself not the Muslims, but the fact that the parties who had been killed were Muslim in no way alleviated that injury in his mind.

This mentality was echoed during the reign of King Baldwin I of Jerusalem, when men from Pisa 'unjustly' killed Muslims with whom an agreement had been made. The slaughter of these Muslims awoke the anger of the king:

When this unjust treachery had completely ceased, the king was vehemently indignant concerning this injury done to himself by the Pisans and the Genoese on account of his oath. And therefore, lest in sorrow it should be believed that his faith and pact were false with his consent, having admonished his companions and his household, he wished to avenge this crime gravely.¹²⁴

Both Tancred and Baldwin I perceived the killing of Muslims with whom they had entered into an agreement, in accordance with the laws of war, as an injury to themselves and desired to avenge that injury just as they would have done if their associates had been Christian; the religious identity of the allied party did not seem to affect their reaction. The behaviour of the crusaders towards the Muslims followed the same social rules of conduct that moderated their behaviour

¹²²Robert of Rheims 825.

¹²³Albert of Aachen 483.

¹²⁴Albert of Aachen 607-8.

among themselves. What dictated their behaviour was not the identity of the other party, but their own identity and the conventions of vengeance associated with that identity.

Ethnicity, gender and vengeance

As shown, many writers used the same vocabulary to describe similar conventions of vengeance among Christians and Muslims, as if there were no other possible way of behaving. James of Vitry even made the desire for vengeance for dead kin a characteristic of the animal world, describing a monkey mourning its dead child that ‘began to think how it could avenge itself’ on the bear that had killed the infant.¹²⁵ On the other hand, some sources (often exactly the same ones) suggested that the desire to take vengeance varied due to religion, ethnicity or gender.

Richard of Devizes characterized the desire for vengeance in Muslim society as a function of religion: ‘[my fellow Muslims] fear this more than dying...that they should die unavenged. They do this not from obstinacy, but from the religion of our faith. For we believe that the shades of the unavenged wander forever.’¹²⁶ Sometimes, writers portrayed the propensity for vengeance as a national characteristic, one which even extended to a nation’s saints: ‘just as the Spanish nation and the Welsh nation, before other peoples more precipitate in anger, are known to be prone in life towards vengeance, so in living death the saints of these lands seem to be more vengeful in spirit than others.’¹²⁷

The desire to take vengeance was attributed to women as well as men, and some suggested that women were more vengeful than their male counterparts. Gerald of Wales related the story of Bernard of Newmarch and his wife Nesta, who, according to Gerald, injured her husband by committing adultery. Bernard sought to take vengeance by poisoning her, but she in turn ‘vomited forth the poison in vengeance. Therefore going to Henry first king of the English, [Bernard] asserted [his son’s illegitimacy], more as a vengeful assertion than as a true one.’¹²⁸ Nesta, Gerald concluded, ‘in order that her vengeful anger could be satisfied...with one and the

¹²⁵James of Vitry, *The exempla*, p. 64.

¹²⁶Richard of Devizes 77-8.

¹²⁷Gerald of Wales, *Itinerarium Cambriae*, ed. J. F. Dimock, *RS* 21.6 (London 1868), p. 130.

¹²⁸Gerald of Wales 29.

same crime [i.e. vomiting and thus failing to die from the poison] had deprived her son of his patrimony, and herself of her honour.¹²⁹ Gerald concluded that Juvenal was right: 'no one rejoices in vengeance more than a woman.'¹³⁰ According to the *Chanson de Jérusalem*, at Antioch

the women cried out, they who had gone there with the host of God
to conquer the city where God was resurrected --
he who well avenged [God] would have their love all his days.¹³¹

The *Chronique d'Ernouf* likewise described vengeful women in Constantinople tearing the body of Emperor Andronicus I to pieces and eating the pieces: 'and they said that all those who had eaten of him would be saved, because they had helped to avenge the evil that he had done.'¹³² Whether enacting violent vengeance themselves or inciting men to take vengeance, the women in these passages avidly desired vengeance and went to great lengths to procure it.

A slightly different example of female vengeance was put forth in one of the *exempla* of James of Vitry. A woman whose husband was committing adultery 'frequently prayed to the image of the blessed Mary, the blessed Virgin, [saying] that she was overcome by the whore who had carried off her husband.'¹³³ One night Mary appeared to the wife in a dream and said 'I cannot avenge you on that woman, for that sinner bends her knees a hundred times every day before me saying: Hail Mary.'¹³⁴ Overcome with frustration, the wife visited the mistress in person, saying to her rival:

O vilest whore, because you have seduced my man and taken him away from me, I was even defeated by you when I invoked the blessed Virgin. Because you salute her with your filthy mouth a hundred times each day, she does not wish to give me justice concerning you, but told me that she cannot avenge me, because you bend your knees a hundred times a day. But I will complain about you to the son of him who justly ought to be mine, and he will take vengeance on you.¹³⁵

The mistress, feeling pangs of guilt that the Virgin was unable to take right vengeance because of

¹²⁹Gerald of Wales 30.

¹³⁰Gerald of Wales 30.

¹³¹*La chanson de Jérusalem*, ed. N. R. Thorp, *OFCC* 6 (Tuscaloosa 1992), p. 115.

¹³²*Chronique d'Ernouf* 94.

¹³³James of Vitry, *The exempla*, pp. 92-3.

¹³⁴James of Vitry, *The exempla*, p. 93.

¹³⁵James of Vitry, *The exempla*, p. 93.

her prayers, fell at the wife's feet and promised that she would not sin with her husband any more. And thus 'the blessed Virgin made peace between those women and was satisfied with the best kind of female vengeance.'¹³⁶ This example of 'vengeance' between women was approved by James of Vitry, as opposed to examples of women taking vengeance on men which he most definitely censured.¹³⁷ It would seem that for women, as for men, there were both appropriate and inappropriate forms of vengeance and times to seek vengeance.

Summary

Although crusading texts are a selective group of sources for twelfth-century Europe, they provide evidence on how vengeance in general functioned in society. Any *injuria*, a physical injury, betrayal, broken agreement, or other act that engendered shame in the recipient, demanded vengeance. The social emotion of shame was a critical component of medieval vengeance, as many would argue it still is today. Not only did the shame of an injury demand vengeance, but failure to take vengeance when expected only increased the shame of the injured party.

During this period vengeance was a concept closely related to justice. A crime, as an injury against God, those in power and the victim, was as much an *injuria* as a brawl that we might consider to be 'private.' In the twelfth-century crusading texts there was limited sign of a Christian distaste for vengeance; on the contrary, vengeful behaviour was generally held up as that of a model Christian who possessed the right authority. The vocabulary of vengeance was used forcefully by members of the Church in reference to internal affairs, and was an acceptable component of religious rhetoric on topics including, but not limited to, the crusades. The mores of vengeance did not alter when Christians interacted with Muslims.

Some medieval contemporaries assumed that a predisposition for vengeance varied from group to group — women, certain nationalities, and figures of authority were especially discussed — while at the same time they presented vengeance as a universally experienced and understood phenomenon. The representation of authorities as vengeful corresponded with the idea of the

¹³⁶James of Vitry, *The exempla*, p. 93.

¹³⁷James of Vitry, *The exempla*, p. 99 — the story made famous by Molière in 'Le médecin malgré hi.'

virtuous anger of the king and other powerful men. Both Church and secular leaders further justified their entitlement to take vengeance by claiming to take vengeance for God himself.

The prerogative to take vengeance was used to consolidate power and exercise social control. One study of another culture has suggested that a system based solely on immediate personal vengeance within a society of true equals cannot evolve into factional power politics, but in later twelfth-century crusading texts the vocabulary of vengeance *was* merging with a new political hierarchy, most likely because twelfth-century Europe decidedly was not an egalitarian society.¹³⁸ As elsewhere, in the medieval West it seems that the personal vengeance of powerful individuals and factions transformed over time into vengeance as 'a means of enforcing state power.'¹³⁹

¹³⁸Glasse 289.

¹³⁹Cohen, R., 'Warfare and state formation: wars make states and states make wars,' ed. R. B. Ferguson, *Warfare, culture, and environment* (London 1984), p. 340.

Chapter 3:

Zeal, vengeance and the crusades

Extensive research in the social and natural sciences has led to the theory that emotional change within any given culture is the product of humanity's emotional capacities within a specific historical context.¹ Working from the hypothesis that emotion is subject to the influence of culture and history, it may be inaccurate to assume that the emotional component of medieval vengeance is self-explanatory and universal. Just as *vindicta* and *ultio* did not signify the same concept in the twelfth century as the modern English term *vengeance* does today, the emotions associated with *vindicta* and *ultio* may well have differed from those the modern individual ascribes to vengeance. The question needs to be asked, what emotions did twelfth-century contemporaries relate to vengeance, and how did those emotions further relate to the idea of crusading as vengeance in particular?

Evidence

The term increasingly associated with vengeance and vengeful crusading through the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries in Latin crusading texts was *zelus*, as the following primary source evidence, arranged roughly according to chronology, demonstrates.²

In crusading texts from the early twelfth century, *zelus* was associated with crusading by only two writers. Orderic Vitalis wrote of Raymond of St. Gilles that on the way to Jerusalem from Antioch 'in no way giving way to laziness or indolence, rather he was continuously hostile to the gentiles owing to zeal.'³ Describing the violent persecution of the Jews by First Crusaders on their way to the East, Ekkehard of Aura wrote that 'they had enough to do, either to eliminate the execrable Jewish people they discovered, or even to compel them into the lap of the church,

¹Reddy 45. For more on the methodology for this section see Chapter One.

²For convenience I will translate *zelus* as *zeal*, but the specific meaning of the term will be investigated in depth later in this chapter.

³Orderic Vitalis vol. 5 p. 134.

serving with the zeal of Christianity even in this thing.’⁴ Later in the same work he noted that those who persecuted the Jews ‘[had] the zeal of God, but not according to the knowledge of God.’ In other words, the crusaders were motivated by the right sentiment, but nevertheless acted against God’s plan.⁵ Their fault lay in their action, not in the emotion that moved them.

Crusading texts in the mid-twelfth century revealed more frequent connections between zeal, crusading and vengeance. King Louis VII of France supposedly went on crusade because ‘zeal for the faith burned in the king.’⁶ After the Second Crusade, Peter the Venerable asked King Roger II of Sicily to attack the Greeks for their alleged role in the expedition’s failure: ‘therefore rise up, good prince...rise up to aid the people of God, just as the Maccabees were zealous for the law of God; avenge such shames, such injuries, so many deaths, such great and impious shedding of blood of the army of God.’⁷ Similarly, Bernard of Clairvaux wrote to those preparing for the Second Crusade that ‘the zeal of God burns in you.’⁸ Peter, bishop of Oporto, was depicted exhorting the second crusaders before the siege of Lisbon with the vocabulary of vengeance, justice and zeal: ‘good men with good minds, implement legitimate deeds of vengeance here and now. *Cruelty for God is not cruelty but piety.* With the zeal of justice, not the bile of anger, wage just war.’⁹

In late twelfth-century crusading texts references to zeal and vengeance with regard to crusading substantially increased in number. At Damascus the army of King Baldwin II of Jerusalem was described as ‘having zeal for the faith, immediately they all strove to avenge their injuries.’¹⁰ Similarly, when Edessa was besieged, Baldwin III’s ‘zeal seized arms to take vengeance on the iniquitous.’¹¹ William of Tyre depicted Pope Urban II speaking at Clermont: ‘therefore, let us be armed with the zeal of God, let us as one gird on our powerful sword, let us go forth and be powerful sons...anyone who has zeal for the law of God, he will help us.’¹²

⁴Ekkehard of Aura, *Hierosolymita*, in *RHCOc.* 5 (Paris 1895), p. 20.

⁵Ekkehard of Aura 21.

⁶Odo of Deuil 6.

⁷Peter the Venerable, *The letters of Peter the Venerable*, vol. 1 p. 395.

⁸Bernard of Clairvaux, *Epistolae*, vol. 8 p. 314.

⁹*De expugnatione Lyxbonensi*, ed. C. W. David (New York 1936), p. 80.

¹⁰William of Tyre 609.

¹¹William of Tyre 719.

¹²William of Tyre 134.

William also described the first crusaders before Jerusalem was taken: 'there was in that group not one man who was old or sick or from a small estate whom zeal did not move and whom the fervour of devotion did not incite to the battle.'¹³

People in western Europe purportedly responded with enthusiasm to calls for the Third Crusade: 'zeal incited [the men] to greater fervour to embrace the journey without delay...[the pope] ran forward to the cross held by the priests with speedy zeal and pious passion, so that now it is not a question of who will be signed with the cross, but rather who will not take on such pious work.'¹⁴ Kings Philip II of France and Henry II of England took the cross 'incensed with zeal for God.'¹⁵ When King Richard I's men captured a Muslim vessel in June 1191, the Muslims killed a few Christians in the fighting. In response, according to the *Itinerarium peregrinorum*, the crusaders 'pregnant with fervent anger and zeal for vengeance...raged courageously at the bitter insult.'¹⁶

In 1199 Pope Innocent III wrote to the Armenians 'may the house of the Lord employ your zeal so that [you may] take vengeance for the injury done to the Crucified One and to his Temple and his inheritance.'¹⁷ Zeal was invoked to describe actions against Jews and heretics as well as Muslims. When preachers spoke convincingly against heretics in southern France, purportedly the crowd were 'moved with vehement admiration and inflamed with zeal for the Christian faith.'¹⁸ Kings Henry II of England and Louis VII of France had supposedly taken action against the heretics 'filled with zeal for the Christian faith...they decided that they would eliminate the aforesaid heretics from their borders.'¹⁹ Rigord reported that King Philip II of France felt likewise about the Jews in France: 'inflamed with zeal for God he commanded that...the Jews should be captured throughout France in their synagogues, despoiled of their gold and silver and garments, and sent forth, just as the Jews themselves despoiled the Egyptians when

¹³William of Tyre 970.

¹⁴*Itinerarium peregrinorum* 139.

¹⁵Rigord 84.

¹⁶*Itinerarium peregrinorum* 208.

¹⁷Innocent III, *Die Register Innocenz' III*, ed. O Hageneder and A. Haidacher (8 vols. to date. Graz 1964-2001), vol. 2 p. 468. (*Etsi modernis temporibus*)

¹⁸*Gesta regis Henrici Secundi*, ed. W. Stubbs, *RS* 49 (2 vols. London 1867), vol. 1 p. 201.

¹⁹Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, ed. W. Stubbs, *RS* 51 (4 vols. London 1868-71), vol. 2 p. 150.

they left Egypt.'²⁰

Some of Philip's actions against Christian enemies were also attributed to zeal for the Christian faith. Often Philip was described acting 'filled with the zeal of God for the defence of the churches and the freedom of clerics.'²¹ Similarly, 'filled with the zeal of God [Philip II] sent his army in aid' into Bordeaux.²² When he moved against Hugh of Burgundy in 1185, Philip, 'inflamed with zeal for the Christian faith....told [Hugh] that...he must restore things stolen to the aforesaid churches and must not do such things again, and, if he did not want to restore that money to the churches, [Philip] would take serious vengeance upon him.'²³

Some writers in the late twelfth century connected zeal with crusading through self-sacrifice rather than aggression. In 1181 Pope Alexander III described the crusaders in 1096 as 'zealous for the law of God, they were able to tolerate the slaughter of the faithful with patient mind.'²⁴ In 1187, Pope Gregory VIII wrote in his crusading bull *Audita tremendi* that the Christians should 'pay attention to how the Maccabees were zealous for divine law, experiencing great dangers to free their brothers, and they learned to relinquish not only their belongings, but even their persons for their brothers.'²⁵ Zeal was associated with self-sacrifice on the field of battle as well. When Reynald of Châtillon died, the *Itinerarium peregrinorum* lauded his martyrdom: 'O zeal of faith! O fervour of the soul!'²⁶ Similarly, when a woman died of exhaustion after carrying stones at Jerusalem, the *Itinerarium peregrinorum* noted that 'without a break the tireless women went back and forth, exhorting others more diligently, driven by zeal to find the end of her life along with the end of her labours.....O admirable faith of the weak sex! O inimitable zeal of the woman!'²⁷

Early thirteenth-century crusading texts also revealed textual connections between zeal, vengeance, and crusading. According to Arnold of Lübeck, in 1187 Pope Clement III 'incit[ed]

²⁰Rigord 16.

²¹Rigord 16.

²²Rigord 37.

²³Rigord 51.

²⁴Alexander III 1294. (*Cor nostrum*)

²⁵Gregory VIII 1542.

²⁶*Itinerarium peregrinorum* 16.

²⁷*Itinerarium peregrinorum* 101-2.

all to zeal against the impious and to vengeance for the holy blood.'²⁸ Arnold of Lübeck also noted that Emperor Frederick I was moved 'to the vengeance of the zeal of God and the vengeance of the holy land.'²⁹ This was confirmed by Robert of Auxerre, who wrote that 'Frederick Augustus was happy when he heard the news...a discrete man and one zealous for justice.'³⁰ The Third Crusade was undertaken 'by many, inflamed with zeal, as many great men as knights'; 'with fervent zeal of Christian devotion, all as one, rich and poor, drove themselves to pilgrimage.'³¹ Each man who took the cross, 'zealous to take vengeance for the house of God went forth to avenge the just blood.'³² Ralph of Coggeshall also described the Third Crusaders as 'inflamed with zeal for God.'³³ Even the Byzantines in 1189 reportedly 'marvelled that...[the Third Crusaders] did this with one agreement or promise, by which they swore, to take vengeance for a zealous God and the holy land and the effusion of just blood of the servants of God.'³⁴

Peter of Les Vaux-de-Cernay described crusaders in southern France in 1209 as 'on fire with zeal for the orthodox faith.'³⁵ Robert of Auxerre noted that those who fought the Cathars were 'armed with zeal for the faith against the deserters of the faith.'³⁶ According to Robert, in 1210, 'the pilgrimage [to Languedoc] was celebrated...because of the zeal for the faith inflamed in the minds of the faithful against those who corrupt the faith.'³⁷

James of Vitry made it clear that he admired zealous Christians, or, at least, that he chose to depict individuals worthy of praise as zealous. Robert of Courçon, a papal legate, was 'a man literate and devout, affable, generous and benign, having zeal for God and ardently desiring the liberation of the holy land.'³⁸ Reiner, the prior of Saint Michael, 'inflamed with zeal of the faith he did not fear to go to the enemies' army [and preach].'³⁹

²⁸ Arnold of Lübeck 169.

²⁹ Arnold of Lübeck 172.

³⁰ Robert of Auxerre 252.

³¹ Arnold of Lübeck 203.

³² Arnold of Lübeck 170.

³³ Ralph of Coggeshall, *Chronicon Anglicanum*, ed. J. Stevenson, RS 66 (London 1875), p. 24.

³⁴ Arnold of Lübeck 172-3.

³⁵ Peter of Les Vaux-de-Cernay, *Hystoria Albigensis*, ed. P. Guébin et E. Lyon (3 vols. Paris 1926-39), vol. 1 p. 74.

³⁶ Robert of Auxerre 272.

³⁷ Robert of Auxerre 275.

³⁸ James of Vitry, *Lettres*, p. 100.

³⁹ James of Vitry, *Lettres*, pp. 132-3.

Pope Innocent III continued to use the word *zelus* often. In 1206 he wrote to Peter II of Aragon that good men, who 'are zealous about divine law,' should take as their own what formerly belonged to heretics in southern France: 'while you endeavour to exterminate them with zeal for the orthodox faith, you may retain [their goods] freely for your own use.'⁴⁰ In 1208 he wrote 'the Lord of vengeance descends to earth with those who are on fire with zeal for the orthodox faith, to avenge the just blood.....may pious zeal inflame you to so avenge the injury of your God.'⁴¹ He also wrote to King Philip II of France using practically identical words, 'may pious zeal set you on fire to avenge this injury of God.'⁴² The phrase was again repeated in a letter to the Frankish nobility in 1208.⁴³ In that year Innocent also wrote to all clerics that 'on fire with zeal for the orthodox faith, you have decided to fight heretical depravity.'⁴⁴ Those crusaders who fought the Cathars were 'on fire with zeal for the orthodox faith,' 'on fire with zeal for the orthodox faith to avenge just blood,' and 'the zeal of the Lord had armed [them] in a holy army against the subverters of the faith.'⁴⁵ And as Innocent began preparations for the Fifth Crusade, he wrote that he hoped that 'those inflamed with zeal for the Christian faith...[would] avenge the injury of the Crucified One.'⁴⁶

As in the late twelfth-century crusading texts, there was one example of zeal inspiring self-sacrifice in the early thirteenth-century sources. In one of James of Vitry's *exempla*, a pilgrim was captured by the Muslims in the holy land. He faced death because the Muslims believed him to be a Templar and they (so the story went) killed all Templars. At first the pilgrim truthfully denied he was a Templar, but finally, 'inflamed with zeal for the faith he said, with his neck stretched forth, "in the name of the Lord I am a Templar."' He was killed immediately and 'went to the Lord, happily crowned in martyrdom.'⁴⁷

⁴⁰Innocent III, *Epistolae*, ed. J.-P. Migne, *PL* 214-16 (Paris 1890-91), vol. 215 col. 915-16. (*Cum secundum evangelicam*)

⁴¹Peter of Les Vaux-de-Cernay vol. 1 pp. 60 and 63 (see also 74).

⁴²Innocent III, *Epistolae*, vol. 215 col. 1358. (*Si tua regalis*)

⁴³Innocent III, *Epistolae*, vol. 215 col. 1359. (*Rem crudelem audivimus*)

⁴⁴Innocent III, *Epistolae*, vol. 215 col. 1469. (*Cum orthodoxae fidei*)

⁴⁵Innocent III, *Epistolae*, vol. 216 col. 152 (*Nuntios et apices*), vol. 215 col. 1356 (*Ne nos ejus*), and vol. 216 col. 151 (*Habuisse bajulos Dominici*).

⁴⁶Innocent III, *Epistolae*, vol. 216 col. 822. (*Pium et sanctum*)

⁴⁷James of Vitry, *The exempla*, p. 39.

Analysis and argument

I have demonstrated that the term *zelus* was increasingly used in crusading texts in the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, often alongside the vocabulary of vengeance, and for convenience I have translated the term as the modern English *zeal*. But what did the medieval Latin word mean? What concepts underpinned its usage?

Christian love and righteous anger

On closer examination, the context of the evidence itself provides some information about the meaning of the term. First, the Biblical verse Ekkehard of Aura cited when referring to those who had killed Jews on their way to the East in 1096 was Romans 10:2-3. In this passage Paul expressed his doubt that the Jews could or would come to know Christ: *testimonium enim perhibeo illis quod aemulationem Dei habent sed non secundum scientiam ignorantes enim Dei iustitiam et suam quarentes statuere iustitiae Dei non sunt subiecti*.⁴⁸

Romans 10:2-3 was frequently cited to signify right intention but incorrect action. For example, Bernard of Clairvaux wrote to a young monk that he should desist from his desire to live a eremitical life: 'acquiesce to the counsel of your seniors, since although by chance you may have the zeal of God, [it is] nevertheless not according to the knowledge [of God].'⁴⁹ The idea that zeal was blameless, even if the action it motivated was not, was also evident in a letter from Bernard of Clairvaux to a professed religious: 'for you may have the zeal of God in this matter, and thus your intention should be excused; but I do not see that in any way your will has been enacted according to the knowledge [of God].'⁵⁰ Similarly, in one of James of Vitry's *exempla*, a group of Dominicans heard the confession of a community of nuns. Shocked by the sins some of the nuns had committed, the Dominicans concluded that all were 'evil' and publicly proclaimed

⁴⁸Romans 10:2-3.

⁴⁹Bernard of Clairvaux, *Epistolae*, vol. 8 p. 508.

⁵⁰Bernard of Clairvaux, *Epistolae*, vol. 7 p. 294.

this, causing great scandal. James disapproved of the public disclosure, and commented 'I have known some of those preachers who are called truly religious and are seen to have zeal, but not according to the knowledge [of God].'⁵¹

In addition, there was already a historical precedent for using the verse to evaluate the guilt or innocence of those who committed violence for religious reasons. Departing from the Augustinian tradition, Bede had used the verse to question the Jews' ignorance of their crime in killing Christ in reference to Christ's request on the cross that God forgive his murderers.⁵² Those possessing zeal but doing the wrong thing should be forgiven, since they acted out of ignorance and right intention. Some of the Jews, on the other hand, acted with wrong intention, and should not be forgiven. Bede's judgment that some of the Jews had wrongly intended to kill Christ did not resurface in textual sources until the twelfth-century *Glossa Ordinaria*.⁵³

It seems reasonable to conclude that within a religious context zeal was used to signal the partial mitigation of guilt — it was the right sentiment, even if it motivated the wrong action. Some even suggested that because zeal was the right sentiment, the possession of zeal should generally lead to success. For example, Joachim of Fiore wrote of the Second Crusade that '[all were] zealous for the injury of their King and desiring to take vengeance on the unfaithful people.... There were many such zealous ones and they were moved, not only in spirit but in body. Wherefore then did they fail? I think that [it was because] in being zealous they did not maintain the proper order (*rectum ordinem*).'⁵⁴ Joachim was clearly very surprised that the zeal of the Christians had not guaranteed their victory, and concluded that although they rightly possessed zeal, their actions were not governed by the proper discipline.

Second, zeal was intimately connected to the concepts and terminology of justice and love.⁵⁵ In 1133 Peter the Venerable wrote to Pope Innocent II about the sentence handed down

⁵¹James of Vitry, *The exempla*, p. 36.

⁵²Cohen, J., 'The Jews as killers of Christ in the Latin tradition, from Augustine to the friars,' *Traditio* 39 (1983), p. 11. He cites Bede, *Lucae Evangelium expositio*.

⁵³Cohen, 'The Jews as killers of Christ,' p. 11.

⁵⁴Joachim of Fiore, *Expositio in Apocalypsim* 6.1 (cited by Kedar, B. Z., *Crusade and mission: European approaches toward the Muslims* (Princeton 1984), p. 222).

⁵⁵Sometimes *caritas*, but also *amor* and others -- see below page 79. For the way in which Thomas of Chobham distinguished and yet correlated zeal, justice and vengeance, see above pages 46-7.

on the murderer of Thomas, prior of St. Victor:

...since therefore the king's sword was withheld in this [matter], we seek, and all who are zealous for the law of God pray you with us, that the episcopal, that is, the spiritual sword [in this case excommunication], which is the word of God, according to the Apostle, should not be hidden...so that the impious may be punished with deserved vengeance and others may be deterred.⁵⁶

Those who were 'zealous for the law of God' prayed that the 'impious may be punished with deserved vengeance.' Arnold of Lübeck was fond of the appellation 'a man zealous for justice,' and used it to praise Bertold archbishop of Bremen, Pope Urban II, and Henry of Glinden.⁵⁷

Bernard of Clairvaux urged Pope Eugenius III to be more zealous and actively avenge injuries to the papacy and God: 'your zeal, your clemency, and the discretion [which serves] to moderate between these virtues should be known; as often as you tolerate injuries, you should avenge them, having prudently observed the means, the place, and the time for each.'⁵⁸ Bernard also urged Eugenius to love justice, according to Proverbs 1:1: 'it is of little account to possess justice, unless you love it. They who possess it, possess it; those who love [it], are zealous. One who loves justice seeks justice and prosecutes it.'⁵⁹

The connection between justice, vengeance, love and zeal dates back at least as far as Anselm of Lucca, who wrote that 'just as Moses the lawgiver by divine inspiration allowed to the people of God an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth, and so forth to repress the ungodliness of the peoples, so we will and applaud that princes should exercise vengeance against the enemies of the truth according to zeal, to a purpose of divine love and to the duty of godliness.'⁶⁰ Zeal was a sentiment that drove the actor to pursue just vengeance on wrongdoers — because it was compatible with the 'purpose of divine love.'

The relationship between zeal and love was emphasized by other writers as well. The Anonymous of Halberstadt noted that when Arnulf was made bishop of Halberstadt he was

⁵⁶Peter the Venerable, *The letters of Peter the Venerable*, vol. 1 p. 25.

⁵⁷Arnold of Lübeck 131, 158 and 231.

⁵⁸Bernard of Clairvaux, *De consideratione*, p. 428.

⁵⁹Bernard of Clairvaux, *De consideratione*, p. 437.

⁶⁰Anselm of Lucca, *De caritate* (cited and translated by Cowdrey, 'Christianity and the morality of warfare,' p. 179).

'aroused by the zeal of love and devotion.'⁶¹ Suger of St. Denis also made it clear that one who has 'zeal according to the knowledge [of God]' would act 'out of love for the Church.'⁶²

Moreover, at least sometimes zeal was an emotion tied to the desire to force non-conforming members of society to convert to orthodox Christianity. Bernard of Clairvaux wrote of the use of force to convert heretics that 'we approve the zeal, but we do not recommend the deed, since faith should be suggested not enforced. Although it is beyond doubt better that they be coerced by the sword, namely [the sword] of those who do not carry the sword without cause, than that they be allowed to drag others into their error. For that man is the minister of God, he takes vengeance in anger on he who does wrong.'⁶³ In this sense zeal was again completely compatible with the notion of Christian love as correction that motivated crusaders. And, again, as with Ekkehard, there was partial approval for the zeal of those who converted others by force. The action was wrong, but the driving emotion was right.

It would seem from the evidence that because those who were zealous acted out of a love for God and justice, their zeal could limit their culpability. Vengeance, also, was conceptually tied to a love of God and the desire to pursue justice.⁶⁴ But what was the sentiment of zeal behind the terminology that was understood in this way?

Du Cange gave an in-depth analysis of the vocabulary associated with *zelus* and the great variety of meanings the terms could signify, and the primary sources I have looked at bear out his conclusions. I have already shown that 'zeal' was linked with love, and Du Cange also linked *zelus* with passionate love. *Zelus* could signify passion or love (*studium* and *amor*), and similarly, the verb *zelare* could mean to favour (*favere*), to be passionate (*studere*), to desire (*expetere*), and to very much wish (*peroptare*).⁶⁵

Appropriately then, *zelare* was to burn or be fervent (*fervere*). Indeed, images of fire surrounded *zelus* in the primary source passages. Crusaders were *zelo accensi*, *zelo succensi*, *zelo inflammati*, and *zelo incensi*. Zeal was often burning, *zelo fervente*, and it was eager, *alacri*

⁶¹Anonymous of Halberstadt, *Gesta*, in *MGHSS* 23 (Hanover 1874), p. 92.

⁶²Suger of St. Denis 529.

⁶³Bernard of Clairvaux, *Sermones super cantica canticorum*, ed. J. Leclercq and H. M. Rochais, *SBO* 1-2 (Rome 1957-58), vol. 2 pp. 186-7. Reference to Romans 13:4.

⁶⁴See Chapter Two.

⁶⁵Du Cange vol. 6 p. 933.

zelo. As Bernard of Clairvaux urged Pope Eugenius III, ‘if you are a disciple of Christ, ignite your zeal.’⁶⁶ The connection between fiery images, *zelus* and love for God may have been related to the way in which the Holy Spirit manifested as pentecostal flame upon the heads of the disciples in the Acts of the Apostles.⁶⁷ Also appropriately for such committed love, *zelare* could mean to protect unthinkingly (*impense protegere*).⁶⁸ A *zelator* was both desirous (*cupidus*) and a guardian (*fautor*).⁶⁹ The loving, protective aspect of zeal goes some way towards explaining the connection between zeal and vengeance, since I have already discussed how Christian love was used by some to encourage vengeance for God and other Christians.

But there was another aspect of *zelus*. The verb *zelare* could mean to love jealously, and the adjective *zelosus* meant one ‘burning...full with love, to us *Jaloux*,’ while *zelotes* signified a rival (*aemulator*).⁷⁰ A *zelator* was a rival and enemy (*aemulator, inimicus*).⁷¹ William of Tyre noted that when Hugh II of Jaffa was suspected of dallying with his cousin’s wife, King Fulk I of Jerusalem ‘inflamed with the zeal of a spouse was said to conceive inexorable hatred against him.’⁷² Pope Innocent III elsewhere discussed the example of the spouse faced with a rival: ‘who can endure a rival with equanimity? Suspicion alone fiercely afflicts the zealous, for it is written, *they will be two in one flesh*, but a zealous man cannot suffer two men in one flesh.’⁷³ Jealousy could be an emotional component of zeal.

As well as signifying passion and longing, *zelare* could mean to mock (*irridere*), and *zelus* sometimes meant anger (*iracundia*) and hatred (*odium*).⁷⁴ Niermeyer also defined *zelus* as ‘hatred, envy, [and] jealousy.’⁷⁵ Of course, the images of flames and burning emotion associated with zeal in the sources are as appropriate for depicting anger and hatred as love and devotion.

⁶⁶Bernard of Clairvaux, *De consideratione*, p. 409.

⁶⁷I am very grateful to Gary Dickson for bringing this point to my attention.

⁶⁸Du Cange vol. 6 p. 932.

⁶⁹Du Cange vol. 6 p. 932.

⁷⁰Du Cange vol. 6 p. 932 and vol. 6 p. 933 (Du Cange here called attention to Exodus 20:5, a verse with significance for this chapter and discussed below accordingly. The term *aemulatio* will also be further analyzed below).

⁷¹Du Cange vol. 6 p. 932.

⁷²William of Tyre 652.

⁷³Innocent III, *De miseria condicionis humane*, ed. R. E. Lewis (London 1980), p. 123. Reference to Genesis 2:24.

⁷⁴Du Cange vol. 6 p. 932 and vol. 6 p. 933.

⁷⁵Niermeyer 1138.

The textual evidence given above has in part elucidated what the term *zelus* meant. As a general term, it was an emotional composite of the modern concepts of love, passion, jealousy, protectiveness and angry hostility. In a Christian context, because it was directly associated with the desire to pursue God's purpose, on the one hand it was a virtuous loving passion and on the other one apparently centred on hatred, anger and jealousy. When this sentiment led a Christian to incorrect action, it nevertheless served to mitigate the offense.

Emotion and action

The actions zeal inspired crusaders to take were both acts of violent persecution (often labelled acts of vengeance) and acts of self-sacrifice. As the twelfth century progressed, and the popularity of the idea of crusading as vengeance increased, the term *zelus* appeared more frequently in crusading texts. Why was *zelus* especially associated with crusading, both as vengeance and as self-sacrifice?

The concept of zeal as Christian love desirous of doing God's purpose was obviously linked to crusading, as Riley-Smith's previous work on the matter has shown, and also to the ideology of crusading as vengeance, as earlier portions of this dissertation have shown.⁷⁶ But the concept of zeal as a sentiment involving hatred, anger and jealousy has been less analysed in relation to crusading ideology.

The very existence of a connection between zeal and anger and hatred hints at why zeal was associated with the terminology of vengeance. As already discussed, Hyams has noted the ways in which the terminology of anger and vengeance were associated and used together to justify acts of violence.⁷⁷ For example, in 1281 Archbishop Pecham stated at the Council of Lambeth that *ira* was 'a passion for vengeance.'⁷⁸ Fortunately, it is possible to take analysis beyond this hint. Anger is one emotion that other medieval historians have recently examined, and these studies, together with medieval Christian perceptions of anger, are extremely helpful in

⁷⁶Riley-Smith, J., 'Crusading as an act of love,' *History* 65 (1980), pp. 177-92. See below pages 106-12, 143-4 and 177-80.

⁷⁷See above page 21.

⁷⁸Hyams 50.

defining the aspect of zeal as anger and hatred and its relationship with crusading.

In the ninth century Hincmar of Rheims differentiated between virtuous anger, directed inwards against the sinful self, and vicious anger, directed outwards at others. According to Hincmar, only anger against the self was acceptable in a Christian.⁷⁹ But by the time Thomas of Chobham wrote his *Summa Confessorum* in the late eleventh or early twelfth century, anger against the self was no longer the only acceptable anger: Thomas of Chobham also condoned anger against 'wrongdoers.' He called this anger against the wrongdoer *ira per zelum*.⁸⁰

For Thomas, *ira per vitium*, anger stemming from vice, was shown when 'someone moves to kill or injure another, and if reason does not immediately proceed to refrain that motion to injure.'⁸¹ It was least sinful when the anger led only to hatred, moderately sinful when anger 'burst forth in general disorder,' and most sinful when 'from anger proceeds assault and homicide.'⁸²

Ira per zelum was a different matter:

Anger through zeal is when we are angry against vice and against the vicious, and we can hope that this anger increases, because it is a virtue. Nevertheless we ought to resist it as much as we can lest it become fastened [to us], that is lest the outward agitation increase....However that which is called anger through zeal is a virtue, especially when someone moves through hatred of the vicious, and is impassioned to eliminate them....The Lord was moved by such anger when he threw out the sinners and merchants from the temple.⁸³

Anger through zeal (as opposed to vicious anger) was characterized by how rational (i.e. justifiable) the sentiment of anger was in the circumstances. Of course, anger against sin was always eminently justifiable.⁸⁴ So in part zeal was a component of the emotion of righteous anger against the wrongdoer. This association with righteous anger corresponds to the way in which it was portrayed as a virtue that mitigated guilt. E. Muir and N. Zemon-Davis have noted that anger was sometimes used to mitigate guilt in courts of law in the later Middle Ages, though not

⁷⁹Hincmar of Rheims, *De cavendis vitiis et virtutibus exercendis* (cited by Barton 157).

⁸⁰Barton 157.

⁸¹Thomas of Chobham 414-15.

⁸²Thomas of Chobham 415 and 420.

⁸³Thomas of Chobham 414. Reference to Matthew 21:12-13.

⁸⁴Smail 115.

(apparently) in ecclesiastical courts.⁸⁵ Perhaps *ira per zelum* was one form of anger that could be used in ecclesiastical courts in that way, since many clearly felt it mitigated guilt because it indicated right intention. Zealous righteous anger also complements the idea of zeal as love, since from Augustine onwards Christians were urged to undertake chastisement and punishment of sin in a spirit of love.

If *ira* signified the emotional arousal of anger, and *ira per zelum* signified 'righteous anger' as apart from other forms of anger, then it would seem that *zelus* could signify the desire to eliminate what was wrong, just as when Christ threw people out of the temple in Jerusalem. This was confirmed by Pope Innocent III, who described the three natural powers of man: 'the potential for reason, so that he may discern between good and evil, the potential for anger, that he may reject evil, and the potential for desire, that he may long for good.'⁸⁶ Zeal was in some ways both the anger that led one to reject evil and the love that led one to desire good, both according to the purposes of God.

The role of zeal as loving anger that rejected what was evil and promoted what was good (according to divine will) is confirmed by an examination of the Hebrew tradition of zealotry. This tradition stemmed from the exemplary Old Testament story of Phineas who took violent action to stop the Israelites from mixing with other races and thus ended a plague and restored God's favour.⁸⁷ Jewish zeal involved both nonphysical and violent coercion, and was, at least for some modern scholars, concentrated 'on the internal affairs of the Jewish community...obsessed with sin and sinners.'⁸⁸ For Paul, writing in Galatians, Judaism was the old way of 'zeal for the Law,' whereby religious faith equalled action.⁸⁹ To possess zeal was to act on God's behalf in the Jewish tradition, and intriguingly this seems to have continued to be true of the term *zelus* in the twelfth century.

The working definition of zeal as a desire to eliminate actively what was wrong and promote what was good on God's behalf is perfectly compatible with the demonstrated

⁸⁵Smail 101.

⁸⁶Innocent III, *De miseria*, p. 99.

⁸⁷Numbers 25:11.

⁸⁸Rhoads, D. M., *Israel in revolution, 6-74 C.E.* (cited by Hamerton-Kelly 73 f.n. 24). Horsley, R., *Jesus and the spiral of violence* (cited by Hamerton-Kelly 73 f.n. 24).

⁸⁹Hamerton-Kelly 74. He refers to Galatians 3:6 and cites M. Hengel, *Die Zeloten*.

connections between zeal, anger and Christian love. It may seem incongruous to connect anger and Christian love, but the link was not only evident in contextual evidence, but also in direct statements by those who promoted crusading.⁹⁰ Fervent love for God and the godly necessitated fervent hatred for the ungodly, and *zelus* seems to have reflected the need to act that was required by both love and hatred. The zealous individual loved God and fellow believers, was angry at those who did not, and took action.

One such action was vengeance, for at least two possible reasons. White has connected anger and vengeance in medieval social relationships. In his outline of how anger functioned as a political tool in medieval France, White outlined a basic pattern of emotional transformations, a script for the quasi-ritual enactment of lordly anger. If a lord was injured, he would feel shame. That shame would lead to zealous anger, and the anger to acts of vengeance. Barton demonstrated that this anger was specifically known as ‘zealous anger.’⁹¹ In a sense, a display of anger could also serve to indicate to others that a prior action was indeed an injury in cases where there was uncertainty about the action.⁹² Eventually, vengeance led to reconciliation and resumed peace.⁹³ Smail has further shown that if vengeance was not taken, the anger did not fade but rather was deemed hatred, a long-standing and publicly recognized hostile relationship between those involved.⁹⁴

The reason why White called the pattern he identified a ‘script,’ and why Smail and now I have followed his lead, is because the patterns seem to have been almost universally recognized, understood and manipulated within western medieval discourse. To make reference to part of the script was to bring to mind the rest of the pattern; hence, to display lordly anger was to firmly state that an injury had been committed and that due vengeance would follow.

The ‘scripts’ of White and Smail correspond almost perfectly to the evidence found in crusading texts in the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. Christ, or the Church, or Christianity, was ‘injured’ in some way, either by the taking of territory or the killing of Christians. Upon

⁹⁰Bernard of Clairvaux, *Sermones super cantica canticorum*, vol. 2 p. 82. Full text given below page 143.

⁹¹Barton, “Zealous anger” and the renegotiation of aristocratic relationships.’

⁹²White 140.

⁹³White 142-4.

⁹⁴Smail 90-2.

hearing of this shameful injury, Christians were moved by anger to avenge the injury. Both Latin and vernacular texts marked the importance of shame and anger as emotions that motivated crusaders. A good vernacular example is found in one of the interpolations of the *Chanson d'Antioche*, where Peter the Hermit recounted his experiences in the Holy Land:

I am Peter the Hermit who made this voyage
to avenge God for this grievous shame
that they have done against him...
I went to Rome, full of grief and rage,
the pope heard my grief and my pain;
he sends letters to you and your barons.⁹⁵

The correspondence between the ideology of crusading as vengeance and the 'script' is at first glance imperfect because it would seem that in the context of crusading Christian anger and desire for vengeance did not fade once vengeance had been taken. The understanding that Jerusalem had already been destroyed as vengeance for the crucifixion in 70 C. E. did not stop some in the twelfth century calling for further vengeance for the crucifixion, and the success of the First Crusade did not stop the movement of Christians to the East to fight Muslims from the early twelfth century onward. But the extraordinary twelfth-century failures of the Christians in the East, especially the fall of Edessa and loss of Jerusalem, in a sense created new injuries to be avenged, and of course the Latin Christians in the East were under military pressure from their Muslim neighbours constantly, pressure easily interpreted as injury.

Nevertheless, one would imagine that when a specific injury had been avenged, at the least the angry desire for vengeance would be attributed to a different injury. Instead, the same themes in the rhetoric of crusading as vengeance for the same injuries only escalated, if anything, as time went on. So the correlation between the 'script' outlined by White and Smail and crusading depends greatly on what was deemed to have been the primary injury deserving vengeance, whether it was thought that vengeance had successfully been achieved and (perhaps) whether a particular injury was judged likely to motivate sufficient numbers of Christians. In any event, Smail's conclusion that unfulfilled vengeance led to hatred, a formalized antagonistic relationship, would seem compatible with Christian attitudes towards Islam as the crusading movement

⁹⁵*La chanson d'Antioche* 352.

continued.

The virtuous *ira per zelum* also led humans to take vengeance because divine anger at sin led God himself to take divine vengeance. God's vengeance was to come in this life and the next; in the words of Pope Innocent III, 'if a just man is barely saved, how can the impious man and the sinner be spared?'⁹⁶ For 'God is eternally angry at the reprobate, because it is just that since the impious delayed in [the time available to him], God should take vengeance in his [eternity].'⁹⁷ Or, as Bernard of Clairvaux wrote in 1138, when confronted with sin 'God sees and grieves, he is wretched and he girds on his sword to take vengeance on the malefactors, but also to praise the good.'⁹⁸ In essence, zeal as righteous anger rooted in love for what was good and the desire to eliminate what was evil was a 'script' established and followed by God himself.

God enacted this emotional pattern in part through crusading. Baldric of Bourgueil made that clear when he wrote at the beginning of his account of the First Crusade '*[God] changes kings and times: he corrects the pious, that he might advance them; he punishes the impious, that he might set them straight.*'⁹⁹ That God was following a traditional sequence of divine zeal and vengeance through crusading was also communicated by one of Innocent III's letters. In 1206 he wrote '*[God] said I the Lord am zealous, avenging the sins of the father, even to the third and fourth generations, on those who hate me, that is, on those who imitate their fathers' hatred against me.*'¹⁰⁰ In this passage he quoted Exodus 20:5-6, but with significant changes. The text of Exodus 20:5-6 in the Latin Vulgate reads: *ego sum Dominus Deus tuus fortis zelotes visitans iniquitatem patrum in filiis in tertiam et quartam generationem eorum qui oderunt me et faciens misericordiam in milia his qui diligunt me et custodiunt praecepta mea.* Innocent accurately remembered that the Old Testament text described God as *zelotes*. However, he turned *visitans iniquitatem* into *vindicans peccata*, linking the punishment of sin with divine vengeance.

To a certain degree, Exodus 20:5-6 was a 'script' of divine zeal leading to divine vengeance spoken in God's own words. James of Vitry confirmed that script in a letter written in

⁹⁶Innocent III, *De miseria*, p. 227. Reference to 1 Peter 4:18.

⁹⁷Innocent III, *De miseria*, p. 217.

⁹⁸Bernard of Clairvaux, *Epistolae*, vol 7 p. 381.

⁹⁹Baldric of Bourgueil 9.

¹⁰⁰Innocent III, *Epistolae*, vol. 215 col. 805. (*Nisi cum pridem*)

1221 from Egypt, relating that Damietta was in Christian hands but that ‘many of our men, unmindful and ungrateful of such blessings, *provoked the Lord to anger* with various crimes...for which the Lord, angry, permitted them to perish in the sea and on the land in manifest vengeance, with some held captive by the Saracens, some drowned in the sea, and others [killed] by their own.’¹⁰¹

This vision of a zealous God who sought angry retribution on the wrongdoer and lovingly praised the good was directly related to the idea of crusading as vengeance, not only because the Muslims had committed the singular crimes of killing Christians and taking land in the East but also because the targets of crusader violence were all repeatedly described as those who maliciously turned away from God by rejecting Christianity again and again, *qui oderunt [Deum] in tertiam et quartam generationem*, so to speak. The Jews were certainly often described wilfully perpetuating the sins of their fathers. As Arnold of Lübeck wrote, ‘those [Jews] were satisfying the standards of their fathers, calling down on themselves and their own as they said: *his blood be on us and on our sons*.’¹⁰² The heretics in Toulouse supposedly passed their unfaithfulness from generation to generation: ‘from father to sons with successive poison the superstition of infidelity was spread.’¹⁰³ The Muslims surely also were ‘those who imitate their fathers’ hatred’: to Christian eyes, Muslims were ‘the enemies of the cross of Christ, who ought to be his sons.’¹⁰⁴ More specifically, Muslims were ‘the offspring of adultery,’ the sons of Ishmael; truly their sins were in the family, so to speak.¹⁰⁵

If one of the main reasons why vengeance was sought through the crusades was the crime of wilful disbelief, it is no surprise that Pope Innocent III applied Exodus 20:5-6 to the crusades, directly suggesting that *zelus* was the angry desire for vengeance on the malicious unfaithful who had injured God. God, as a zealous God, grew angry at sin and took vengeance, and the crusaders in effect enacted this divine characteristic by also taking vengeance on Muslims, heretics

¹⁰¹James of Vitry, *Lettres*, pp. 134-5. Reference to Deuteronomy 4:25 and 9:18.

¹⁰²Arnold of Lübeck 190.

¹⁰³Peter of Les Vaux-de-Cernay vol. 1 pp. 7-8 (see also 2).

¹⁰⁴Peter the Venerable, *Summa totius haeresis Saracenorum*, ed. J. Kritzeck, *Peter the Venerable and Islam* (Princeton 1964), p. 206. Peter of Blois, *Conquestio de dilatione vie Ierosolimitane*, ed. R. B. C. Huygens, *CCCM* 194 (Turnholt 2002), p. 84.

¹⁰⁵Albert of Aachen 469.

and sometimes Jews. Or rather, more specifically, the pope, who authorized the crusades, enacted that divine characteristic as God's representative. As Bernard of Clairvaux advised Pope Eugenius III, 'let him fear the spirit of your anger, who does not fear men or the sword. Let him fear your words, who is contemptuous of admonitions. He at whom you are angry will think that God is angry, not a man.'¹⁰⁶ It is debatable to what degree the crusaders themselves also perceived themselves as God's agents.

I have discussed how twelfth-century crusading texts upheld the traditional Jewish concept of true faith as zealous action on God's behalf. There was another factor in the increasing depiction of zeal as a crusading virtue, particularly in the context of Romans 10:2, the verse that was used to indicate correct intention but incorrect action. Ekkehard of Aura, Bernard of Clairvaux and Bede all used the term *zelus* to indicate that correct intention. But the word in the Latin Vulgate is not *zelus*, but *aemulatio: enim perhibeo illis quod aemulationem Dei habent sed non secundum scientiam*. The sources just mentioned substituted *zelus* for *aemulatio*, but Guibert of Nogent did not. He wrote of the First Crusaders that 'they seemed to have the *aemulatio* of God, but not according to his knowledge, nevertheless God who bends many deeds begun in vain to a pious end...brought success out of their good intention.'¹⁰⁷ For some at least, it would seem that *zelus* and *aemulatio* were interchangeable terms, and were used in the same way to signify good intention.

This is surprising: *aemulatio* is not a term one would normally expect to be used in a positive way within a Christian context. The classical term signified 'rivalry, emulation, competition,' and the verb *aemulor* 'to rival, vie with, emulate, envy, be jealous of.'¹⁰⁸ Du Cange rather unhelpfully noted that *aemulamen* often meant *aemulatio*, and also simply an example (*exemplum*), without signalling what kind of example he meant (positive or negative).¹⁰⁹ He (or his editor) further stated that the verb *aemulare* meant 'to excite jealousy, *Donner de la jalousie*, or rather to act like a spouse.'¹¹⁰ Niermeyer, meanwhile, defined *aemulatio* as 'ardent zeal,

¹⁰⁶Bernard of Clairvaux, *De consideratione*, p. 466.

¹⁰⁷Guibert of Nogent, *Dei Gesta per Francos*, p. 120.

¹⁰⁸Lewis, C. T., *An elementary Latin dictionary* (Oxford 1977), p. 34.

¹⁰⁹Du Cange vol. 1 p. 117.

¹¹⁰Du Cange vol. 1 p. 117.

indignation, hostility,' and the verb *aemulari* as 'to be zealous, to be angry.'¹¹¹

The context of Romans 10:2 confirms that the term connoted some sort of rivalrous mimicry: *for I allow that they [the Jews] have the aemulatio of God but not according to knowledge of Him.* The verse also upholds the negative connotations of jealousy and rivalry, since the term was applied to the Jews' unsuccessful and ultimately wrong religious beliefs and practices; they were trying to be godly, but because they ignored true knowledge of God through Christ, Paul felt they would always fail to see the truth. *Aemulatio* therefore did not mean the same as *imitatio*. G. Constable argues that the term *imitare* implies conforming to and identifying with an ideal.¹¹² *Aemulatio* seems to have contained a sense of aroused emotion and hostile, obstinate perseverance rather than passive, respectful conformity. What is striking then is that this term and its frequent substitute, *zelus*, with a negative connotation of hostility and rivalry were used to depict a Christian crusading virtue, one linked with a virtuous love for God, in the late twelfth- and early thirteenth-century texts.¹¹³

I have already noted that zeal led to two actions, the first vengeance and the second self-sacrifice. Having discussed zeal and vengeance, what about the connection between zeal and self-sacrifice? Crusading texts in the later twelfth and early thirteenth century more than once portrayed individuals giving up their lives selflessly because they were moved by zeal. I propose two potential reasons for this association: zealous self-sacrifice through crusading as an act of love and zealous self-sacrifice through crusading as emulation of God.

First, part of the classic understanding of crusading as an act of love hinged upon the willingness of the crusaders to sacrifice themselves for their Christian brothers in the East.¹¹⁴ With the term *zelus* so closely tied to the notion of love, particularly Christian love, it is not surprising therefore that some texts described those who possessed zeal willing to sacrifice their lives through crusading. This basic explanation accounts for most of the passages expressing zeal as self-sacrifice noted in this chapter.

¹¹¹Niermeyer 374.

¹¹²Constable 146.

¹¹³This usage, along with the apparent medieval continuation of a Jewish sense of true faith as zealous action on behalf of God, deserves further independent research.

¹¹⁴Riley-Smith, 'Crusading as an act of love,' p. 182.

However, it does not account for the striking *exempla* of James of Vitry in which a Christian who was not a Templar was captured by Muslims. He faced death only if he was a Templar, but 'inflamed with zeal for the faith' he falsely claimed to be a Templar, thus choosing to die for an untrue statement.¹¹⁵ He was not a crusader, killed in battle; he was a Christian pilgrim, captured alone, choosing to lie and thereby to seal his fate rather than speak the truth and be spared, because he was 'inflamed with zeal.' What was this zeal that so drove him to self-sacrifice? I proposed above that crusaders saw zeal as a characteristic of God the Father, a divine attribute the pope imitated and they enacted through love for God and their fellow Christians. Christians, especially Christian leaders, were to act as God's ministers, possessing zeal and taking vengeance, as evidenced by the popular Biblical verse applied to crusading, *minister enim Dei est, vindex in iram ei qui malum agit*.¹¹⁶ Crusaders were also encouraged to be like the second person of God; the *imitatio Christi* was another, albeit limited, strain of crusading rhetoric.¹¹⁷ In the early Church, martyrs were the most perfect imitators of Christ, and the imitation of Christ was seen as a 'process of divinization or deification.'¹¹⁸ Crusaders who imitated Christ bore their sufferings in silence and relinquished their lives when necessary, thereby coming closer to the divine.

The *aemulatio Christi*, zeal as emulation, based on what we know of the term *aemulatio*, surely involved attempting to accord to an ideal, but in an envious, perhaps competitive way. The Jews aimed at the emulation of God but failed; this was negative imitation in the way that Satan had tried to be like God and fallen from divine grace. Nevertheless, some in the Church attempted to harness this impulse for good ends. Bernard of Clairvaux wrote to Pope Eugenius III that he must act as a good example for the people around him and below him in the Church hierarchy. The people of Rome were 'impious in God, rash in holy things, always seditious, rivals (*aemuli*) with their neighbours, inhuman to outsiders.'¹¹⁹ Eugenius should counter that by

¹¹⁵James of Vitry, *The exempla*, p. 39.

¹¹⁶Romans 13:4.

¹¹⁷Purkis, 'Elite and popular perceptions of *imitatio Christi* in twelfth-century crusade spirituality,' ed. K. Cooper and J. Gregory, *Elite and popular religion* -- to be published by Woodbridge in 2006.

¹¹⁸Constable, G., *Three studies in medieval religious and social thought* (Cambridge 1995), pp. 149 and 150.

¹¹⁹Bernard of Clairvaux, *De consideratione*, p. 452.

encouraging them to attempt to rival each other in virtue, as Bernard himself did with the pope: 'I envy you with good envy (*aemulatione bona*).'¹²⁰ This corresponds with what Miller has already noted, using very similar vocabulary, about the contrast between envy as admiration ('understood as emulation') and negative envy.¹²¹ The almost competitive desire to emulate could be directed towards virtuous behaviour, suggesting that just as crusaders were described imitating Christ through martyrdom in battle, some, like James of Vitry's knight, were described emulating Christ through zeal: not passively accepting unavoidable death in battle, but actively seeking it out of defiant, almost angry love for God and, perhaps, a competitive desire for virtue. Crusading texts presented the imitation and emulation of the second person of the Trinity as goals to be aimed at, culminating in the action of self-sacrifice, although imitation and emulation differed with regard to the emotional state of mind leading to that self-sacrifice.

One of the main components of the medieval concept of zeal was to take action on God's behalf based on an angry desire to eliminate evil and on love for the good. Given this, it is not surprising that individuals described as possessing zeal might try to take action in two ways compatible with two related, but distinct, emotional states. Predominantly those who were zealous were depicted seeking to enact the vengeance of God through righteous anger, but at times the desire to emulate God led some to express zeal through self-sacrifice.

I have demonstrated in this section that zeal was linked to the ideology of crusading as vengeance through both Christian love and righteous anger. There was the 'script' proposed by White and Smail, in which injury led to lordly anger, which in turn led to vengeance.¹²² If the desire for vengeance was unfulfilled, anger grew to hatred, another emotion that was used as a narrative strategy to justify actions and mitigate guilt in medieval society.¹²³ Moreover, there was a longstanding Biblical 'script' of God's anger at sin and love for the good leading him to seek divine vengeance upon wrongdoers.

It must be noted that the models that I and others have described are broad and simplistic. Human psychology is never as simple as these models may suggest, but, as Kedar has rightly

¹²⁰Bernard of Clairvaux, *De consideratione*, p. 453.

¹²¹Miller, W. I., *Humiliation* (Ithaca New York 1993), p. 129.

¹²²White 142-4.

¹²³Smail 95, 101 and 109.

noted, individual preconceptions 'dictated the extent to which the data [of rhetoric] were absorbed.¹²⁴ The scripts were effective because they were simple and broad: they were templates that could be loosely applied to a variety of circumstances with great effect, and thus they were compatible with whatever other factors influenced individuals within their own minds as they considered and wrote about crusading.

The fact that the ideology of crusading as vengeance grew during the period in question and became more and more associated with the emotional terminology of zeal may have been due to the fact that there were already these established patterns of thought tying together love of God, anger at sin, a passion for justice, and the vocabulary of vengeance. It is crucial that there was more than one such pattern of thought, since the rhetoric was aimed at specific audiences. Multiple patterns ensured more people were likely to find a reason in their own minds to link zeal, crusading and vengeance.¹²⁵ These patterns of thought linking emotion, religion and violence were powerful motivating tools at the disposal of those who encouraged the crusading movement and sought a united Christendom, internally reformed and externally expanding.¹²⁶

There may have been a further dimension to the way in which these scripts worked. In his work on reports of religious visions collected in the Spanish Inquisition, W. Christian has come to some startling conclusions about the way emotion was interpreted in the later Middle Ages. Apparently the emotional reaction of the subject of the vision was an important criterion in deciding whether it was a vision from God or from the Devil. The reasoning for this went back to Thomas Aquinas, who in turn relied on the *Vita* of St. Anthony by Athanasius: 'if fear is followed by joy, we know that the help of God has come to us....If, on the contrary, the fear remains, then the enemy is present.'¹²⁷ After extensive research Christian concluded that 'certain emotions seem to have been moral indicators, or signifiers....a form of obscure communication from God. Like dreams, they were messages to be deciphered.'¹²⁸ No work has been done to support this

¹²⁴Kedar 87.

¹²⁵Kedar 101.

¹²⁶Those who sought both internal reform and conversion of the Muslims were usually described as zealous. For example, St. Dominic (*Acta canonizationis S. Dominici*, Kedar 121), Ramon of Penyafortc (Kedar 138), and St. Francis (James of Vitry, *Lettres*, pp. 132-3).

¹²⁷Christian, W. A., *Apparitions in late medieval and renaissance Spain* (Princeton 1981), p. 193.

¹²⁸Christian 201.

conclusion outside the Spanish Inquisition, but if it were true that in the medieval period the right emotion could serve as an indicator of moral rectitude, then scripts would be understood not only intellectually, but also emotionally: *feeling* the emotion of zeal confirmed for the individual that her actions were godly, apart from any intellectual understanding of the situation.

Cowdrey has noted that at the time of the First Crusade martyrdom was not a crucial component of crusading ideology, but rather a 'catalyst,' a concept that enabled the crusaders to understand 'how they could at one and the same time' kill and be martyred.¹²⁹ I suggest that the emotional rhetoric of zeal functioned in a similar way as a discourse that suited both anger and love, imitation and emulation, vengeance and self-sacrifice, and that because it was such a flexible tool, the emotional rhetoric of zeal was utilized more through the twelfth century to promote and explain the actions that resulted from crusading ideology.

Summary

Throughout the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries the term *zelus* appeared alongside references to crusading with greater frequency. It was linked to two actions: first, and predominantly, vengeance, and second, self-sacrifice. Conceptually, the term was associated with love of God and justice, and therefore twelfth-century writers, drawing upon Paul's Epistles, used the term to mitigate the offense. Zeal signified correct intention, even if the subsequent action was wrong. Because of its association with love of God and the pursuit of justice, zeal led individuals to seek vengeance on those deemed evildoers, and this corresponded to the ideology of crusading as vengeance.

Analysis further revealed that the sentiment behind the medieval term was a composite of passionate love, jealous protectiveness, and angry hostility. These emotions tied zeal to crusading as an act of vengeance in a variety of ways. First, because love for God and fellow Christians was conceptually linked with vengeance. Second, the sentiment of jealous protectiveness corresponded with the idea of crusading as just war, in other words a war of defence. Third, zeal

¹²⁹Cowdrey, H. E. J., 'Martyrdom and the first crusade,' *The crusades and Latin monasticism, 11th- 12th centuries* (Aldershot 1999), p. 53.

was tied to anger through the concept of virtuous anger at sin, *ira per zelum*. Anger was associated with vengeance in medieval texts in two ways. White and Smail demonstrated that there was a 'script' of lordly anger and vengeance in place during the Middle Ages, a prescribed sequence of events that understood that a shameful injury to a lord would anger him, and that anger would drive him to seek vengeance. Barton showed that this anger was known as zealous anger. Once vengeance was enacted, anger faded away; if not, it coalesced into the more durable public sentiment of hatred. This 'script' corresponds to the evidence for the idea of crusading as vengeance.

Second, there was a Biblical tradition, encapsulated in Exodus 20:5-6, which understood that sin angered God, who then sought divine vengeance. God's propensity for anger at sin was ascribed to his characteristic as a 'zealous' god. The crusaders, through papal authority, were often described in the texts enacting God's vengeance, possessing his divine zeal.

The study of zeal in crusading texts revealed two further trends. First, the medieval concept of zeal as vengeance seems to have corresponded to the traditional Jewish idea of faith as action. Second, writers of crusading texts used *zelus* and *aemulatio* interchangeably and both in a positive manner, although *aemulatio* was a term with negative connotations of rivalry and hostility and thus (one would think) ill-suited to be virtuous.

The emotion of zeal also led to the action of self-sacrifice. Zeal was love, and Riley-Smith has shown that through love crusaders were willing to die for their fellow Christians, in imitation of Christ. Drawing upon the link between zeal and emulation, there was evidence that some, like Bernard of Clairvaux, sought to harness the negative, rivalrous desire of *aemulatio* to encourage people to be more virtuous, and one example described a Christian seeking to emulate Christ's death. This was in effect the same action as that of crusaders seeking the *imitatio Christi* and dying for their fellows, but the sentiment behind the action was subtly different: righteous, angry striving as opposed to passive, humble conformity.

In this chapter I have outlined several models that may have contributed to the ideology of crusading as vengeance through the emotion of zeal. Because they were patterns of thought and feeling, even minimal, partial reference may have evoked the entire, commonly understood patterns in individual minds. And perhaps, as Christian has suggested, the emotion of zeal

worked as a moral signifier, confirming that one who felt zeal was doing God's will. Thus the ideology of crusading as vengeance may have been understood both intellectually and emotionally. Rather than a root cause, the rhetoric of zeal seems to have been primarily an emotional catalyst for the crusading movement, and particularly for the ideology of crusading as vengeance.

PART II

Chapter 4:

The idea of crusading as vengeance, 1095-1137

How did the idea of crusading as an act of vengeance develop? What texts promoted the idea, and what patterns of thought led individuals to link crusading with vengeance? This chapter examines these questions in the crucial period surrounding the First Crusade from 1095 through 1137, assessing the assertion made by Riley-Smith and others that the idea of crusading as vengeance was predominant among the laity and faded after the taking of Jerusalem in 1099.

Evidence

First to be examined are the earliest documented sources used in this study, the letters of the First Crusade collected by Hagenmeyer and another source widely considered contemporary with the events of 1095 and 1096, the 'encyclical of Sergius IV.'¹ Only two letters of the First Crusade contained a reference to vengeance. In one letter written by the lay leaders of the crusade to Pope Urban II from Antioch in September 1098, the crusaders claimed 'we the *Hierosolymitani* of Jesus Christ have avenged the injury [done to] the highest God.'² The second letter, from Pope Paschal II in 1100 to the Pisan consuls, stated that 'the Christian people...most strenuously avenged [Jerusalem] for the tyranny and yoke of the barbarians and, with God helping, restored those regions, sanctified by the blood and presence of Jesus Christ, to their former refinement and majesty with adornment and veneration.'³ While the letter from the lay leaders of the First Crusade simply stated that they had avenged an unspecified injury done to God, the letter from Paschal II made it clear that it was the seizure of Jerusalem by the Muslims that had been avenged. These two letters show the presence of the idea of crusading as vengeance at the cusp between the eleventh and twelfth centuries, but to a limited degree, since the vast majority of the

¹For a discussion of the historiography of the 'encyclical' see above pages 30-1. As previously discussed, in the absence of better arguments I follow Gieszytor, who argued that the 'encyclical of Sergius IV' can be dated to the very late eleventh century.

²*Epistulae et chartae ad historiam primi belli sacri spectantes*, ed. H. Hagenmeyer (New York 1973), p. 164.

³*Epistulae et chartae* 180.

letters made no connection between the First Crusade and vengeance.

The purpose of the 'encyclical of Sergius IV,' in its own words, was 'to make known to all Christians that the Holy Sepulchre of our Lord Redeemer Jesus Christ has been destroyed by the impious hands of pagans.'⁴ The document further stated that 'certainly it is our burden however, to avenge this for the Lord at this time...thus let us fight against the enemies of God, so that we may be worthy to rejoice in heaven with him. It seems right...that we should avenge the Redeemer and his tomb.'⁵ Moreover, the text drew parallels between the legend of the Roman destruction of Jerusalem and the proposed medieval expedition to Jerusalem: 'just as it was in the days of Titus and Vespasian, who avenged the death of God's Son...and for their sins received forgiveness (*indulgentia*). And if we do similarly, without doubt we will abide in eternal life. We make known to you...[that there are many who] are greatly concerned with avenging the Holy Sepulchre.'⁶

This 'encyclical' is mitigated evidence for the idea of the First Crusade as an act of vengeance in the late eleventh century. Although the text offered vengeance as a motivating factor, it primarily stressed the motivating desire for eternal life: 'he who loses his present life for Christ...will find a future [life].'⁷ The audience was exhorted to 'recollect the day of judgment, when you will possess all joys from Christ, if you do well. Come, sons, defend God and acquire an eternal kingdom.'⁸ The author also wished to 'make known to you...[that there are many who] just as the Evangelist tells, desire to take up [their cross].'⁹ The encyclical was an amalgam of different motivating factors (as were most crusading accounts), and it was not in fact widely disseminated.¹⁰

Nevertheless, the 'encyclical of Sergius IV,' taken together with the two First Crusade letters discussed above, demonstrates that the idea of crusading as vengeance was in existence in the late eleventh century. It also signals the existence of the legend of the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 C. E. that would inform the text known as the *Venjançe de Nostre Seigneur* by

⁴*Encyclical of Sergius IV*, ed. H. M. Schaller, 'Zur Kreuzzugszenzyklika Papst Sergius' IV,' ed. H. Mordek, *Papsttum, Kirche und Recht im Mittelalter* (Tübingen 1991), pp. 150-1.

⁵*Encyclical of Sergius IV* 151.

⁶*Encyclical of Sergius IV* 151-2.

⁷*Encyclical of Sergius IV* 151.

⁸*Encyclical of Sergius IV* 151.

⁹*Encyclical of Sergius IV* 152.

¹⁰Gieyzstor vol. 6 p. 30.

the end of the twelfth century. But these three documents alone are not overwhelming evidence for a desire for vengeance that supposedly thrived in the armies of the First Crusade as they left Europe, and then subsequently faded.

The eyewitness accounts of the First Crusade itself are of course the traditional starting point for the study of the First Crusade. Next to the letters, they represent the most directly available evidence concerning the opinions and actions of the crusaders themselves while on crusade; there is no certainty that they reflect the reality of the First Crusade experience with complete accuracy, but compared with the accounts of non-participants, they are more likely to do so. I have looked at five such Latin eyewitness accounts: the anonymous *Gesta Francorum*, Fulcher of Chartres' *Historia Hierosolymitana*, Peter Tudebode's *Historia de Hierosolymitano Itinere*, Ekkehard of Aura's *Hierosolymita*, and Raymond of Aguiler's *Liber*.

In the first four texts listed above, there were almost no references to vengeance of any kind, and absolutely no references to the idea of crusading as vengeance; even examples of human vengeance were uncommon. Ekkehard of Aura did not refer to any actual deeds of vengeance in his text. In the accounts of Fulcher of Chartres, Peter Tudebode and the *Gesta Francorum*, there were only five references altogether to vengeance of any kind. In the *Gesta Francorum* God himself took vengeance. The crusaders killed at Kibitos were described ascending to heaven crying out 'avenge our blood Lord, which was shed for you.'¹¹ Kerbogha's mother depicted a personally vengeful God when she warned Kerbogha that 'when God wishes he punishes with manifest vengeance.'¹² Peter Tudebode, who used the *Gesta Francorum* as a source, repeated this maternal warning verbatim and also remarked that Raymond of St. Gilles was so incensed by Emperor Alexius I that 'he meditated on how he could take vengeance on the army of the emperor.'¹³ Fulcher of Chartres included in his account the letter written in 1098 from the crusaders to Pope Urban II discussed above and confided that in relation to the anti-pope Wibert, the followers of Urban 'longed for nothing to happen except vengeance from the Lord.'¹⁴ These were quite literally the only references to vengeance in these three accounts.

In the fifth account, that of Raymond of Aguilers, the idea of crusading as vengeance

¹¹*Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum*, ed. R. Hill (Oxford 1962), p. 17.

¹²*Gesta Francorum* 54.

¹³Peter Tudebode, *Historia de Hierosolymitano itinere*, ed. J. H. Hill and L. L. Hill, *DHC* 12 (Paris 1977), pp. 95 and 47.

¹⁴Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, ed. H. Hagenmeyer (Heidelberg 1913), pp. 261 and 166.

surfaced twice. The English went forth because they 'heard the name of the Lord of vengeance (*audito nomine ulcionis Domini*) on those who unworthily occupied the land of Jesus Christ's birth and of his apostles.'¹⁵ The taking of Jerusalem was summarily described: 'the sons of apostles avenged the city and the fatherland for God and the fathers.'¹⁶ Like Pope Paschal II in his letter of 1100 cited above, Raymond of Aguilers suggested that vengeance was owed for the Islamic occupation of Jerusalem.¹⁷

The idea of crusading as vengeance was, therefore, in circulation at the time of the First Crusade. The idea of holy war as vengeance for God in fact dates back before the crusade, making it likely that the understanding of the First Crusade as vengeance was an adaptation of a previous trend, and not an entirely new ideology specific to the crusades.¹⁸ But the main point is that the understanding of crusading as vengeance at the time of the First Crusade does not seem to have been as widespread as previous historians have thought. Although one eyewitness, Raymond of Aguilers, definitely described the crusade as vengeance, he also ostentatiously noted two occasions when restraint was shown by the crusaders, claiming specifically that the crusaders' minds were fixed on the journey ahead of them rather than on the desire for vengeance. When the crusaders led by Raymond of St. Gilles journeyed to the East, they were twice attacked at Scutari and Durazzo, and some of their number were killed. On both occasions some sort of peaceful agreement had been made and was betrayed by the other party, but the crusaders declined to take vengeance. In the first instance Raymond of Aguilers reported 'we sought an opportunity for flight not for vengeance,' and after the second attack he again explained that 'when an opportunity for vengeance was offered to us, the journey pleased [us], not the avenging of injuries.'¹⁹

I have already shown that in the other four eyewitness accounts there were few references to vengeance of any kind. Instead, they favoured the concepts of the crusade as pilgrimage and of the crusaders as pious, quasi-monastic martyrs. According to the anonymous *Gesta Francorum*, the crusaders were instructed by Pope Urban II at Clermont concerning their future ordeals. 'Brothers, it is necessary for you to suffer many things for Christ's name, namely wretchedness,

¹⁵Raymond of Aguilers, *Liber*, ed. J. H. Hill and L. L. Hill, *DHC* 9 (Paris 1969), p. 134.

¹⁶Raymond of Aguilers 151.

¹⁷*Epistulae et chartae* 180. Full text given above page 94.

¹⁸Flori 189.

¹⁹Raymond of Aguilers 38.

poverty, nakedness, persecution, want, sickness, hunger, thirst and other things of this kind, just as the Lord said to his disciples: *it is necessary that you suffer many things for my name.*²⁰ The example of the virtuous crusader *par excellence* for Peter Tudebode and the author of the *Gesta Francorum* was Bohemond, who mercifully ‘allowed [the Byzantine agents] to leave without any punishment.’²¹

The eyewitness accounts emphasized the glory of martyrdom, not the glory of vengeance. Raymond of Aguilers described one of Peter Bartholomew’s visions, in which Christ divided the Christians into five graded orders. The first and most important group of men were crusaders who had been killed on crusade. ‘They die for me, and I died for them. And I am in them, and they are in me. Truly when such as these perish, they are gathered by the right hand of God, where, ascending into heaven after the Resurrection, I sat.’²² Peter Tudebode described the captured knight Rainald Porcet peacefully refusing to convert to Islam and choosing his own death instead, ‘humbly beseeching God that he might come to him, and might take up his soul honourably into Abraham’s bosom.’²³ This characterization of Rainald markedly contrasts with that of the late twelfth-century *Chanson d’Antioche*, in which Rainald insults his Muslim captors and insists that Christians will avenge his death.²⁴

Although the references to crusading as vengeance by Raymond of Aguilers, the letters and the ‘encyclical’ are surely indicative of some notions of vengeance being current, the earliest documents as a whole do not provide overwhelming evidence for the dominance of the idea of crusading as vengeance in the late eleventh and very early twelfth century. Some might argue that this was because the idea circulated among the lower laity who of course were illiterate, but while the highest lay leaders of the Crusade touched upon the idea in their letter to Pope Urban II, as did Raymond of Aguilers (who was only ordained during the crusade), other members of the Church such as Ekkehard of Aura and ‘lay’ texts such as the *Gesta Francorum* ignored it. So far, the evidence simply does not allow for the ideological separation of the laity and the religious, or of those of low and high rank.

A question remains relating to the contended decline of the significance of vengeance by

²⁰*Gesta Francorum* 1-2. Reference to Acts 9:16.

²¹Peter Tudebode 42.

²²Raymond of Aguilers 113-14.

²³Peter Tudebode 80.

²⁴*La chanson d’Antioche* 197.

the end of the First Crusade. According to this hypothesis, the laity seized upon the idea of crusading as vengeance during the course of the First Crusade, but subsequently discarded it in the early twelfth century as their fervour died down and monastic revisionists addressed themselves to the task of shaping crusade ideology. Is there a visible de-emphasis of the idea of crusade as vengeance in the second-generation Church histories, as opposed to the accounts of the eyewitnesses?

Quite simply, the opposite is true. It is in the twelfth-century histories of the First Crusade written by non-participants, both monastic and otherwise, that the idea of crusade as vengeance is discernable, although the idea of crusading as vengeance was not the only theme, or even the predominant one, presented in them. On the whole, the position that monastic historians viewed the crusaders as though they were members of a vast, itinerant monastery is accurate. The non-participant writers did not confine themselves to one theme, and certainly not to the one theme of vengeance. Much of the rhetoric concerning martyrdom, pilgrimage, and the imitation of Christ was alive and well in these accounts. It is probable that some if not all of the authors were unconscious of what emphasis they did place on vengeance, but the important point is that they emphasized vengeance more than the eyewitnesses did, however limited their treatment of vengeance was. The idea of crusade as vengeance was rooted not simply in the immediate emotional appeal of violence against an enemy in lay minds, but also in the intellectual, religious, and social frameworks of thought that members of the Church used to glorify and justify the First Crusade.

In general, these writers called for Christians to enact divine vengeance for the Islamic occupation of Jerusalem and the purported sufferings of Christians at the hands of the Muslims. For Albert of Aachen, when Peter the Hermit saw the conditions in Jerusalem that drove him to return to Rome to beg the pope for an armed expedition, 'he called on God himself to be the avenger of the injuries he had seen.'²⁵ Orderic Vitalis summarized the events surrounding the First Crusade as follows: 'the detestable Saracens, permitted by divine justice, had crossed the borders of the Christians and invaded the holy places; they murdered the Christian inhabitants, and polluted the holy objects abominably with their filth, but after many years they rightly endured the

²⁵Albert of Aachen 272.

vengeance they deserved from the arms of the northern peoples.²⁶ Robert of Rheims depicted Pope Urban II saying at Clermont ‘by whom therefore will these things be avenged, to whom does the labour of recapture fall, unless to you, to whom before other peoples God has given the worthy sign of his love?’²⁷ In this example, the crusaders were acting out the will of God by taking vengeance for an unspecified injury on the Muslims, although the Islamic occupation of Jerusalem was highlighted. According to Orderic Vitalis, in response to Urban’s speech ‘arms were bought, with which divine vengeance would be exercised on the lovers of dirt (*allophilos*).’²⁸

For Orderic, even the Muslims themselves understood that the crusaders had come to avenge the deaths of Christians in the East.²⁹ Both Robert of Rheims and Guibert of Nogent also made it seem as though some among the Muslims were aware that the crusaders were seeking vengeance, expanding upon the dialogue between Kerbogha and his mother already seen in the eyewitness accounts. Robert of Rheims attributed the following speech to Kerbogha’s mother:

...of their invincible God the prophets say: *I kill, and I give life; I strike, and I heal; and there is no one who can escape my hand. Thus I will sharpen my sword as lightning, and my hand will snatch justice, I will return vengeance on my enemies, and retribution on those who hate me....* This God is angry at our people, because we do not hear his voice, nor do we do his will.³⁰

In Guibert of Nogent’s account, his mother warned Kerbogha that ‘their [the Christians’] God does not avenge the crime on the perpetrator right away, but even while he allows that crime the penalty on the criminals is deferred,’ suggesting that the Christian attack on the East had been a long time coming.³¹ Guibert of Nogent also applied the words in Zechariah 12:6 to the First Crusade, explaining that ‘therefore *they devoured all the people to the right and to the left in a circle* [means that] while over here the elect, whom the right hand signifies, are incorporated into the piety of Christianity, over there the reprobate, who are known to pertain to the left, are devastated with deserved vengeance of slaughter.’³² For Guibert, vengeance was deserved by the Muslims not for one specific action but rather because they were ‘reprobate,’ while Robert of

²⁶Orderic Vitalis vol. 5 p. 4.

²⁷Robert of Rheims 728.

²⁸Orderic Vitalis vol. 5 p. 16.

²⁹Orderic Vitalis vol. 5 p. 40.

³⁰Robert of Rheims 812. Reference to Deuteronomy 32:39-42.

³¹Guibert of Nogent, *Dei gesta per Francos*, pp. 213-14.

³²Guibert of Nogent, *Dei gesta per Francos*, p. 304.

Rheims emphasized that vengeance was deserved by the Muslims' lack of faith in Christ.

Descriptions of specific key battles often evoked references to the idea of crusading as vengeance. Robert of Rheims commemorated the fall of Antioch to the Christians with a succinct verse on the matter:

Divine vengeance thus wished to be avenged
on the dog-like people, and thus it was pleased.³³

In Baldric of Bourgueil's account, before the crusaders assaulted Jerusalem an inspiring sermon was preached on the theme of vengeance:

I say to fathers and sons and brothers and nephews: for if some stranger struck one of your own, would you not avenge your blood [relation]? How much more should you avenge your God, your father, your brother, whom you see blamed, proscribed, crucified; whom you hear crying out and forsaken and begging for aid: *alone I am downtrodden in the winepress...*³⁴

In this example, the crusaders were to avenge Christ himself, their father and brother, who, it was suggested, was suffering the Passion at that very moment in time. Orderic Vitalis imagined a similarly encouraging speech delivered by King Baldwin I of Jerusalem at Jaffa: 'brave men, take up arms, and go forth with distinction against the enemies of all good men. Let us take arms to avenge God manfully.'³⁵

Analysis and argument

In terms of quantity there were more references to the idea of crusading as vengeance, or indeed to vengeance of any kind, in the non-participant accounts than there were in the letters and eyewitness accounts. However, the question is not simply one of a sheer number of references. What was truly noteworthy about the connections drawn between vengeance and crusading in the accounts of non-participants? The letters of Popes Urban and Paschal and the 'encyclical' provided limited explanations for the concept of crusading as vengeance. Were there discernible patterns of thought in the later accounts that led the non-participant writers to connect the concept of vengeance with the First Crusade?

³³Robert of Rheims 805.

³⁴Baldric of Bourgueil 101. Reference to Isaiah 63:3.

³⁵Orderic Vitalis vol. 5 p. 348.

God's vengeance on the unfaithful

Throughout the non-participant histories of the First Crusade, a certain preoccupation with sin and its due is evident. This is hardly surprising; the Church's views on sin, guilt and punishment were shifting. The simpler model of confession, satisfaction and reconciliation was gradually expanding to include the conviction that acts of penance could not satisfactorily repay the debt owed to God for any specific sin. Certainly eternal punishment might be avoided, but it became harder to be certain of fully remitted temporal punishment at the end of the eleventh century; even the theology explaining the crusade indulgence in detail only truly emerged in the twelfth century after the First Crusade. Despite, or perhaps because of this uncertainty, the desire for the remission of sins was a powerful motivating factor. For one scholar, it was the motivation for the First Crusade that 'put all the others in the shade.'³⁶

Whether Mayer is right or not, it is easy to see how issues of sin and the remission of sins concerned people in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries. Time and again, crusading texts referred to the judgments of God upon the Christians, often drawing upon the formulaic medieval explanation *peccatis exigentibus hominum*.³⁷ Examples of this explanation for military failure abounded in the sources of the period. To give one example, in a battle following the capture of Jerusalem, the Christians suffered heavy losses. Albert of Aachen explained this as the judgment of God against the Christians: 'for [the Muslims] had lost three thousand of their fighting men, in that same battle in which the Christian knights, impeded by the weight of their sins, were given over by divine judgment to unbelieving and impious men for punishment.'³⁸ Likewise, according to Baldric of Bourgueil the army of Peter the Hermit bewailed the sins that had brought divine wrath upon the Christians: 'we remember that we gravely offend him and irritate [him], we who have inexplicably rioted in greed for the goods of [our] brothers and in destruction of churches.'³⁹

The First Crusade letters showed a Christian preoccupation with God's punishment as well. There are two surviving letters from crusaders in which they remarked upon God's chastisement of the Christians at Antioch. One noted that '*God, who scourges all his sons, in*

³⁶Mayer, H. E., *The crusades*, trans. J. Gillingham (2nd ed. Oxford 1988), p. 23.

³⁷For more on the subject and its relation to crusading see Siberry, E., *Criticism of crusading, 1095-1274* (Oxford 1985), p. 72.

³⁸Albert of Aachen 570.

³⁹Baldric of Bourgueil 19.

whom he delights, thus far chastised us, with the result that scarcely 700 horses could be found in our army.⁴⁰ The other stated ‘God...detained us there for nine months and humiliated us in a siege outside, while our swollen pride quickly gave way to humility.’⁴¹ The fact that the First Crusade was a war supposedly authorized by God would have served only to intensify an already present anxiety about God’s judgment.⁴² If the First Crusade were to fail, the sins of the crusaders had surely made them unworthy.

In Baldric of Bourgueil’s version of the speech addressed to Kerbogha by his mother, she noted that ‘the Franks’ God is omnipotent, [and] unless they were to previously offend him seriously, he always grants them victory.’⁴³ God was not always and unequivocally on the side of the Christians; there was the potential for them to lose his favour by offending him. If they did so, they could expect his judgment to be severe. Orderic Vitalis recorded one of Stephen of Valence’s visions in the following terms:

The Lord Jesus Christ appeared with his company of saints to a certain priest, while he spent the night in the basilica of the Holy Mary, and prayed for the afflicted people of God; and [Christ] complained about certain fornications committed by the Christian troops with both foreign and Christian whores, proclaiming stern threats against the rabble who frequented brothels...Then the blessed Mary, Mother of mercy, and St. Peter, chief of the apostles, fell at the feet of the redeeming Lord and with their pious supplications for the sufferings of the Christians they softened the wrath of him [Christ] who was admonishing [the priest]; and they lamented the pagans who were shamefully defiling the holy house of God with their filth. [Christ] gave way to the concluded supplications of his Mother and the apostle...and with a happier expression he ordered the priest to castigate all the people publicly and invite them to repent all [their sins].⁴⁴

This evocation of a stern divinity harshly judging his followers, let alone those who did not adhere to his will, corresponded to the Christian concept of punishment as correction. As Baldric of Bourgueil explained at the beginning of his text, ‘[God] corrects the pious, that he might advance them; he punishes the impious, that he might set them straight.’⁴⁵ Both those who heeded God and those who did not could expect to feel his judgment upon them, either as a function of his love or of his anger.

⁴⁰*Epistulae et chartae* 157.

⁴¹*Epistulae et chartae* 169.

⁴²Siberry 72.

⁴³Baldric of Bourgueil 63.

⁴⁴Orderic Vitalis vol. 5 pp. 98 and 100.

⁴⁵Baldric of Bourgueil 9.

Just as vengeance was a function of human justice in the histories of the First Crusade, it was the primary expression of God's judgmental punishment. Albert of Aachen recounted an episode in the prophetic dream of a certain knight Hezelus, following the capture of Antioch. It concerned the further progress of the crusade: 'all hardships were changed into prosperity; nor was there anything that could impede the way, or any things which adversity could harm, except when iniquity was found in crimes and transgressions; but when iniquity was found, out of the true justice of God followed vengeance, which is sanctified law.'⁴⁶ In this text, God's vengeance was *the* expression of 'true justice,' 'sanctified law.' This equation of divine vengeance and divine justice reinforced the connection between human vengeance and justice, which was often represented as being divinely inspired or supervised.⁴⁷ It is not surprising that the perception of God as a holy and just avenger punishing the wrongdoer was echoed in the way the non-participant historians characterized leaders of the crusade such as Raymond of St. Gilles. Ralph of Caen described the count as 'a cultivator of fairness, an avenger of iniquity...a lamb towards the timid, a lion towards the proud.'⁴⁸

This imagery was reminiscent of the zealous God of the Old Testament, a loving father to those who obeyed his precepts justly and a wrathful persecutor of those who did not. Robert of Rheims stated that Godfrey of Bouillon 'did not lust after chests, or pots, or gold, or silver, or any other spoils...he desired to avenge the mockery and wounds the [Christian] pilgrims had endured.'⁴⁹ Robert contrasted the sinful lust for wealth with a commendable desire for vengeance for injuries done to the common good, bringing to mind the admonitions of Thomas of Chobham earlier discussed.⁵⁰ Raymond of St. Gilles and Godfrey of Bouillon did not simply avenge personal injuries, they avenged sin, especially sin committed against other Christians.

In the medieval model divine vengeance was expressed through human agents, aside from lightning bolts and earthquakes. Thus, divine vengeance was by its definition exacted by the pious and elect of God upon the wrongdoers in their midst, and this ideology of divine vengeance was applied to the First Crusade. Towards the end of his account, Guibert of Nogent embarked upon

⁴⁶Albert of Aachen 487.

⁴⁷See above pages 47 and 55-6.

⁴⁸Ralph of Caen 617.

⁴⁹Robert of Rheims 868.

⁵⁰See above pages 46-7.

a lengthy explication and gloss of the Old Testament Book of Zechariah.⁵¹ Guibert was specifically referring to the First Crusade. When events were interpreted in light of Zechariah 12:6, the crusaders had embodied the elect in the West, and ‘laid waste with proper vengeance of slaughter the reprobate’ in the East.

Like Guibert of Nogent, Baldric of Bourgueil referred to the correction of the pious and the punishment of the impious near the beginning of his account, when he was still expounding upon the significance and meaning of the First Crusade. In effect he gave a description of the very nature of the Crusade: ‘[God] changes kings and times: he corrects the pious, that he might advance them; he punishes the impious, that he might set them straight.’⁵² Three pages later Baldric made it even more clear that in his mind the Muslims deservedly experienced the punishment of God executed by the crusaders: ‘and thus [the Muslims] provoked God against themselves, they who abominably dishonoured God...therefore [God] decreed a divine counsel to chastise them.’⁵³ God’s chastisement and punishments were to be felt by all and Biblical verses traditionally applied within the community to distinguish between the righteous and the criminal were extended and applied to Christians and Muslims respectively.

All of these passages point to a mindset that classified the Christians and the Muslims as subordinate to the same divinity, and subject to his discipline, whether for their instruction or their punishment. The two religious groups were presented as though part of one large community, both subject to punishment if they offended God. From a broad perspective, in the crusading texts of this period the Muslims were not *the others*, but rather *those of us who are doing wrong*. It was not so much that they were alien in the sense of unknown and unknowable; rather, they were portrayed as deviant and criminal, and legitimately subject to punishment.⁵⁴ This was no new trend, although crusading itself was a new kind of enterprise. When Christians had faced for the first time an emerging Islam centuries before, a verse from the New Testament that had previously been used to discuss heresy was used to discuss Islam: *every spirit that confesses that*

⁵¹Full text given above page 100.

⁵²Baldric of Bourgueil 9.

⁵³Baldric of Bourgueil 12.

⁵⁴Tolan, J. V., *Saracens: Islam in the medieval European imagination* (New York 2002), p. 165. Also made for a later period by Riley-Smith, J., ‘The military orders and the Orient, 1150-1291,’ unpublished, p. 4. To a certain degree there is evidence for a similar mindset in the eyewitness accounts. Fulcher of Chartres in particular applied the vocabulary of chastisement to Muslim defeat. However, he did not connect the language of chastisement with the vocabulary of vengeance.

*Jesus Christ has come in the flesh is of God, and every spirit that does not confess Jesus is not of God. This is the spirit of antichrist, of which you heard that it was coming, and now it is in the world already.*⁵⁵

This punishment, this judgment of God, was also known as the vengeance of God, *ultio Dei*, largely thanks to Biblical terminology. In a very direct sense what the Muslims experienced during the First Crusade was vengeance, and it should come as no surprise that medieval writers used the terms *vindicta* and *ultio*. Like Orderic Vitalis, Baldric of Bourgueil, Guibert of Nogent and others, Ralph of Caen suggested that those who were killed in Jerusalem had brought this retribution upon themselves:

[Each crusader was a] shedder of unclean blood, pouring out guilty blood:
you who tore Christ to pieces in all his limbs,
accept in [your own] members the recompense of Christ they now give you.⁵⁶

In a nice combination of the image of the crucifixion with the understanding that Christians were the body of Christ, the non-Christians had ‘torn Christ to pieces in all his limbs,’ and they had to accept what was done to their own bodies in return.⁵⁷ The First Crusade was divine vengeance and the *ius talionis* in action.

The non-participant histories of the First Crusade evinced a preoccupation with sin and the ever-present judgment and punishment of God. God was perceived as the chastiser and punisher of his people, which included both the Christians and the Muslims. Due to the presence and usage of Biblical terminology of vengeance as divine justice, God’s punishment was described with the vocabulary of vengeance. The incorporation of both Christians and Muslims into this picture, the subjection in Christian minds of both groups to the same religious standards, allowed for the application of Biblical passages concerning divine vengeance on the erring sinner to the First Crusade. The Book of Zechariah did not say explicitly that God would wreak *digna ultio* on the Muslims, but it did say that he would do so on the *reprobi*, and given this mindset, ‘Muslim’ and ‘*reprobi*’ were read equivalently. This is not evidence that all and sundry viewed the First Crusade as vengeance, but it is evidence for a Christian perspective that would have permitted contemporaries to insert the Muslims into a Biblical framework of punishment that was frequently

⁵⁵1 John 4:2-3. Goddard, H., *A history of Christian-Muslim relations* (Edinburgh 2000), p. 10.

⁵⁶Ralph of Caen 697.

⁵⁷Of course, from this perspective the Jews had injured not only the metaphysical body of Christ but also his physical body through the crucifixion.

described with the vocabulary of vengeance.

Military obligation and social relationships

The second pattern of thought that led to the idea of crusading as vengeance was rooted in the social obligations owed both to the living and the dead. In the early twelfth-century crusading texts, *vindicta* and *ultio* often appeared in the texts side by side with *auxilium*, the term signifying the military support owed to lords, family members and others perceived as part of one's social group (*amici*).⁵⁸ In a Christian society, this notion of vengeance as *auxilium* was also linguistically connected with *caritas*, Christian love for one's neighbour. The double obligation to provide *auxilium* and express *caritas* for friends meant that in certain situations vengeance was required two times over.

How did a social demand for vengeance translate to the idea of crusading as vengeance? The key is the way in which crusaders and their historians categorized themselves. Writers in the period strongly stressed group solidarity; participants in the First Crusade were *amici* and *fratres*. The crusaders were brothers, and their father was God; they were to be 'powerful sons,' according to Baldric of Bourgueil.⁵⁹ In another common metaphor, the crusaders were sons of Jerusalem: 'the holy city was besieged, our mother Jerusalem, whom the offspring of adultery had invaded and denied to her legitimate sons.'⁶⁰ But God was not only their father, he was also their lord, their 'strong warrior, duke and protector.'⁶¹ Direct parallels were drawn between the crusaders' relationship with God, and their relationship with their human lords. Robert of Rheims depicted Bohemond saying to his men 'if anyone is the Lord's [man], let him be joined to me; O knights, now mine, be the Lord's.'⁶²

Verbal labels must have meant little without the emotional consent of those involved. In the sources, what bound the crusaders together were not words or metaphors, but rather their recognition and acknowledgment that there *was* a bond between them. It was their own awareness of belonging to a group that gave the group existence. This awareness was described

⁵⁸For more on the term *amici*, family and vengeance see Herlihy and Hyams.

⁵⁹Baldric of Bourgueil 15.

⁶⁰Albert of Aachen 469.

⁶¹Robert of Rheims 763.

⁶²Robert of Rheims 741.

in the crusading texts with many similar verbs (and their related adjectives and participles): *cognoscere*, *reminiscor*, *memorare*. The crusaders acknowledged and remembered who they were, what they were doing, and why they were doing so.

Memory was invoked as a motivation for the crusade. In one account Pope Urban II exhorted the Franks: 'remember, I pray you, the thousands of those who detestably perished, and go forth for the sake of the holy places.'⁶³ Throughout the histories of the First Crusade, those written by eyewitnesses and otherwise, crusaders were valued according to their ability to remember their relationships, and to take appropriate action based on those remembered relationships. For example, Robert of Rheims praised a certain young honest knight for being 'unmindful (*immemor*) of himself, but mindful of his fellows.'⁶⁴

It was vital that crusaders remembered their social obligations on the battlefield, and in the texts they were described repeatedly remembering and fighting at the same time. As noted above, Robert of Rheims paid tribute to the actions of that honest young knight during battle. Guibert of Nogent described the crusaders fighting 'driven by sorrow for their killed brothers.'⁶⁵

Moreover, in battle crusaders did not simply remember their fellow crusaders, they also remembered Christ. According to Guibert of Nogent, the crusaders charged into battle outside Antioch 'the son of God hanging crucified for them before their eyes.'⁶⁶ Stephen of Blois reported a similar phenomenon to his wife, writing that at Antioch the crusaders 'incensed with anger at the sacrilegious Turks, ran together to die, for Christ and for sorrow for their brothers.'⁶⁷ For Orderic Vitalis, the assault on Jerusalem took place 'in the third hour when the Jews damned the Lord before Pilate, the Christians remembering his Passion...began to fight.'⁶⁸

Memory was valued because those who remembered their social obligations took action. This violence on behalf of remembered social obligation was deemed vengeance on numerous occasions. A good example that many writers touched on was the ambush of the Christians led by Bohemond at Port St. Symeon. According to Baldric of Bourgueil, the other crusaders rushed to help: 'in no way unmindful of the injuries of their brothers, the avengers were most eager to shed

⁶³Guibert of Nogent, *Dei gesta per Francos*, p. 116.

⁶⁴Robert of Rheims 847.

⁶⁵Guibert of Nogent, *Dei gesta per Francos*, p. 191.

⁶⁶Guibert of Nogent, *Dei gesta per Francos*, p. 240.

⁶⁷*Epistulae et chartae* 151.

⁶⁸Orderic Vitalis vol. 5 p. 168.

their own blood.⁶⁹ In Albert of Aachen's account, the same expedition to rescue the men at Port St. Symeon was described thus: 'none hoped to see companion or brother [alive], but anyone who could do so quickly, insisted on going to aid and avenge the Christians.'⁷⁰ Orderic Vitalis noted that 'the Franks thirsted to destroy the cruel beasts to avenge their brothers and secure victory.'⁷¹ The crusader who remembered his obligations sought vengeance.

Or, as Riley-Smith has written, 'the vengeful do not forget.'⁷² It seems that this statement could be applied to the broader biological family of which humanity is a member. F. de Waal has drawn attention to the practical link between memory and the desire for revenge within the family of primates as a whole: 'both reconciliation and its counterpart, revenge, require that the participants remember with whom they have had a fight.'⁷³ It is probable that the link between memory and vengeance in these accounts of the First Crusade was not merely a literary device employed to increase tension, but rather a fundamental component of human behaviour.

Because of the ways in which crusaders saw their relationships with each other, and with God, this socially obligatory vengeance fed the idea of crusading as vengeance. The most outstanding example of this was contained in a speech delivered to the crusaders outside the walls of Jerusalem, just prior to the assault on the city. According to Baldric of Bourgueil, the crusaders were exhorted to pay attention to Christ, 'who until now today has been persecuted and crucified in this city.'⁷⁴ The current occupants of Jerusalem were compared to the principal actors in the crucifixion: 'just as much as these evil judges, accomplices of Herod and Pilate, mocked and tormented your brothers, they crucified Christ; just as much as they tortured and killed these people, they struck the side of Christ with a lance alongside Longinus.'⁷⁵ The crusaders were encouraged to think upon Christ as a member of their family, and to consider their probable actions if that were the case.⁷⁶ They were not supposed to think about Christ in order to imitate his patient suffering, as in some of the eyewitness accounts; they were meant to consider the crucifixion of Christ in order to become angry enough to slaughter those within Jerusalem's walls

⁶⁹Baldric of Bourgueil 50.

⁷⁰Albert of Aachen 331.

⁷¹Orderic Vitalis vol. 5 p. 84.

⁷²Riley-Smith, *The first crusade and the idea of crusading*, p. 57.

⁷³De Waal, F., *Peacemaking among primates* (Cambridge Massachusetts 1989), p. 38.

⁷⁴Baldric of Bourgueil 101.

⁷⁵Baldric of Bourgueil 101.

⁷⁶Baldric of Bourgueil 101. Full text above page 75.

in vengeance for his death.

The crucifixion of Christ was written about in the present tense, as though it were just then happening, reminding historians of the emphasis on the actual presence of the body of Christ in the eucharist in orthodox thought. In the eleventh century Lanfranc of Bec and Berengar of Tours had debated whether the eucharist was a literal piece of Christ's body, and the crusading texts in the early twelfth century were not entirely clear about whether the crucifixion was simply remembered by the crusaders, or was literally happening before their eyes. In any event, vengeance resulted from the conjunction of remembered group identity and remembered (as though they were current) injuries: 'in the hour in which the Lord suffered because of the will of the Jews, the Christians, not unmindful of his Passion,' attacked Jerusalem.⁷⁷

The emotional and theological immediacy of the crucifixion, combined with the extremely strong emphasis on the parallels between family and lordship relationships and Christian relationships with God, brings us to the critical word *auxilium*. The sermon itself called for vengeance, but Christ himself was not portrayed in this passage directly asking for vengeance. Rather, he was '*auxilium poscentem*,' 'begging for aid.' The military support sometimes embodied in the term *auxilium* was connected to the social obligation to take vengeance, as we have seen.⁷⁸ In a sense, vengeance may have functioned as an extension of military obligation beyond the barrier of life and death. Reynolds has demonstrated that there was no fixed, universal system of military service for all of western Europe.⁷⁹ Nevertheless, there seems to have been a general relationship between the medieval concepts of vengeance and *auxilium*, and that relationship was invoked to describe the First Crusade.

But there was another reason for the connection between the remembrance of social identities and the ideology of crusading as vengeance. Since vengeance was a function of both divine and human justice, and had its place within the Christian world of the twelfth century, it was also an expression of Christian *caritas*.

As Riley-Smith has already demonstrated, crusading was in many ways viewed as an act of love, since love would lead Christians to sacrifice themselves and defend their fellow Christians.⁸⁰

⁷⁷Baldric of Bourgueil 102.

⁷⁸Albert of Aachen 408 and 641. Full text given above pages 53 and 60.

⁷⁹Reynolds 482.

⁸⁰Riley-Smith, 'Crusading as an act of love,' p. 191. See also Riley-Smith, *The first crusaders*, p. 41.

For example, Baldric of Bourgueil recorded Pope Urban II stating at Clermont that although it was wrong to kill a Christian, it was a lesser evil to kill a Muslim, since in that situation one risked one's own life: 'it is a horrible thing, brothers, it is a horrible thing, that you extend a rapacious hand towards Christians; it is a lesser evil to brandish your swords against Saracens; indeed, it is a good thing, since it is charity to lay down your lives for your brothers.'⁸¹ In 1096 Urban wrote of the crusaders 'that they have committed their property and their persons out of love for God and their neighbour.'⁸² In 1100 Pope Paschal II wrote to the crusaders that 'we remember how many things you gave up for love of God, how many dangers you underwent for the well-being and salvation of your brothers.'⁸³ *Caritas* led to self-sacrifice for the sake of others and thus was a key component of crusading ideology.

But *caritas* did not only lead to self-sacrifice. At least occasionally it carried with it the attendant obligation to take vengeance. In Albert of Aachen's account, in the fight for the city of Arsuf, a knight named Gerard was crucified by the Muslims and set up as bait for the Christians. The Muslims expected that the crusaders would swarm to the aid of their suffering comrade and thus forfeit the battle. Not surprisingly, Gerard begged Godfrey of Bouillon to be released from his martyrdom. Godfrey replied with a speech that was, in fact, basically theologically sound:

Gerard, fiercest knight, by no means can I have mercy on you and avert all men of this city for the sake of avenging your injury. And therefore, [even] if you were my birth brother, as Eustace, you would not be liberated [if it meant] that the city would remain untaken. Certainly if you have to die, it is more useful that you alone should die than that our decree and oath should be violated and this city should always be held unsafe for pilgrims. For if you will die to the present life, you will have life with Christ in heaven.⁸⁴

Albert remarked that then the Christians assailed the city, 'forgetful of all piety and mercy.'⁸⁵

Meanwhile, Gerard was struck with a spear in a manner reminiscent of Christ's death, and the Christians were taunted by the Muslims: 'impious and cruel people, you who will have no regard for sparing your brother and fellow Christian, but, having seen him and his torment, you will fight

⁸¹Baldric of Bourgueil 15.

⁸²*Epistulae et chartae* 137.

⁸³*Epistulae et chartae* 178-9.

⁸⁴Albert of Aachen 508.

⁸⁵Albert of Aachen 508.

the city and citizens more bitterly!⁸⁶

The battle was a complete failure, and many of the Christians were killed, wounded, or scattered. Arnulf of Chocques, patriarch of Jerusalem, roundly condemned Godfrey and the other Christians for first abandoning Gerard and another named Lambert to their fate and then failing to avenge their deaths. From his perspective, this abandonment and subsequent failure to take vengeance was a betrayal of the precepts of the Christian religion as well as a betrayal of personal honour: '[Arnulf] began to argue with the duke and all men, great and small, concerning the treachery and hardheartedness with which they had sinned towards their brothers, Gerard and Lambert....he admonished all of them concerning this impiety and this base filth of all crimes.'⁸⁷ Granted, Arnulf did not specifically say that their crime was the abandonment of Gerard *without vengeance*. However, it is clear from the text that Godfrey and everyone else involved (including the Muslims who set up the executions as bait) considered the choice to be between continued battle or the pursuit of vengeance for the injuries committed to Gerard and Lambert. In this case, the narrative made it known that vengeance should have been sought because it would have been an act of pious charity towards their brothers to rescue them from torment and avenge their injuries.

These circumstances were unusual, but the one example of this perspective on vengeance is striking, and suggests that the ideology of crusading as vengeance was compatible with the well-documented ideology of crusading as an act of love. Riley-Smith has shown that to sacrifice one's own life for a fellow Christian on crusade was perceived as an act of love, leading some to view the desire to display Christian love as a motivating factor that drove people to go on crusade. Perhaps for some to take vengeance for an unjust death was also perceived as an act of love in the right context, and thereby led some to view the desire to take vengeance as another aspect of the desire to display Christian love. Both vengeance and self-sacrifice could coexist under the broader banner of Christian love. At least for some, to take vengeance and to display Christian love were not necessarily mutually exclusive or contradictory principles, and both contributed to the ideology of the crusading movement.

⁸⁶ Albert of Aachen 508.

⁸⁷ Albert of Aachen 510.

Anti-Jewish sentiment

There was one more pattern of thought connecting vengeance to the First Crusade in the non-participant histories of the early twelfth century: the relationship between the First Crusade and anti-Jewish sentiment. On their way through France and Germany towards the East, a few crusader armies attacked (and sometimes decimated) Jewish communities in Cologne, Trier, Speyer, Worms, Mainz, Metz, Prague and perhaps Regensburg. Anti-Jewish violence also sometimes erupted when Christians took the cross, as in Rouen. These persecutions were attested to by Christian writers, including Ekkehard of Aura, Guibert of Nogent, Albert of Aachen and (much later) Otto of Freising, but they were narrated in the most detail in three Hebrew accounts: the so-called *Mainz Anonymous* and the *Chronicles* of Solomon bar Simson and Eliezer bar Nathan. The *Mainz Anonymous* was the only Hebrew account written within the time frame of this chapter, but in the past historians have linked all three of these accounts with other texts, such as the *Chanson d'Antioche* and the *Venjançe de Nostre Seigneur*, as evidence for a very significant desire for vengeance at the beginning of the First Crusade.

Before any other texts are considered, the picture of the crusaders' motivations in attacking both the Jews and the Muslims in the *Mainz Anonymous* must be examined. Near the very beginning of the account, purportedly the Christians 'said to each other: look now, we are going to a distant country to make war against mighty kings and are endangering our lives to conquer the kingdoms which do not believe in the crucified one, when actually it is the Jews who murdered and crucified him.'⁸⁸ This is a key passage used by historians to argue for the importance of vengeance at the beginning of the First Crusade. Significantly, the word for vengeance was not used in this passage, as it would be in the parallel passages in the two later Hebrew narratives that utilized the *Mainz Anonymous* as a source. Also, the crusaders were not described going east in order to take vengeance on the Muslims, as they were in the later Hebrew narratives. There is after all a moral distinction between killing Jews or Muslims because you perceive them as enemies and killing them because you desire to avenge an injury they have already committed. The attention paid to the crucifixion of Christ probably aroused anger and a desire for vengeance in the First Crusaders, but the vocabulary of vengeance was not chosen for

⁸⁸*Mainz Anonymous*, tr. S. Eidelberg, *The Jews and the crusaders* (Madison Wisconsin 1977), p. 99.

this passage in this earliest Hebrew account.

As the *Mainz Anonymous* continued, the Jews wrote to warn each other of the oncoming crusader armies, and there was a rumour that 'whosoever kills a Jew will receive pardon for all his sins.'⁸⁹ The first violence occurred in Speyer, and was relatively mild. Eleven Jewish men were killed, Bishop John of Speyer protected the other Jews, and no more violence occurred in that city. It was in Worms that violence really erupted. A rumour arose that the Jews had poisoned the water with the boiled corpse of a Christian. After reporting this rumour the report made its first reference to vengeance: 'when the errant ones and the burghers heard this, they cried out. They all assembled...and declared: behold, the time has come to avenge him who was nailed to the wood, whom their forefathers slew.'⁹⁰ Some members of the Jewish community were hiding at that time in the bishop's chambers. Eventually the Christians decided that their vengeance should encompass the hidden Jews as well: 'let us also take vengeance against those who have remained in the courtyard and chambers of the bishop.'⁹¹ In describing events at Mainz, the vocabulary of vengeance was again used. The townspeople opened the doors to the crusading army under Emicho, which the crusaders interpreted as divine intercession: 'look, the gate has opened by itself; this the crucified one has done for us in order that we may avenge his blood on the Jews.'⁹²

The *Mainz Anonymous* suggests that the idea of vengeance for the crucifixion of Christ served to motivate some of those who attacked the Jews prior to the First Crusade. At the same time, the evidence deserves a close examination. First of all, the references to vengeance in this account were nowhere near as frequent or as detailed as those contained in the other two Hebrew narratives that were composed later in the mid-twelfth century. And in the *Mainz Anonymous*, the cry for vengeance for the crucifixion arose only after the Jews were accused of attempting to poison the city of Worms. Despite the rhetoric of vengeance for the crucifixion, the lone cry for vengeance was in fact a response to an immediate injury: the poisoning of the well. Above all, the *Mainz Anonymous* did not claim that the crusaders were heading east to take vengeance on the Muslims.

Moreover, the desire to convert the Jews to Christianity frequently took precedence over

⁸⁹*Mainz Anonymous* 100.

⁹⁰*Mainz Anonymous* 102.

⁹¹*Mainz Anonymous* 103.

⁹²*Mainz Anonymous* 108.

the desire to take vengeance in the Hebrew narrative. The *Mainz Anonymous* recounted numerous examples of Jews who were accosted, asked and even begged to convert, and then killed only when they refused to do so. In the case of David ben Netanel in Mainz, a priest begged him to convert ‘so that you may be saved — you, your money, and your entire household — from the errant ones.’ David feigned a willingness to convert, but when the Christians came ‘rejoic[ing] greatly,’ he condemned their beliefs. ‘Upon hearing the words of the pious man, [the Christians] flew into a rage. They raised their banners and encamped around the house and began to cry out and shout in the name of the crucified one. They advanced toward him and slew him...and his entire household and kin.’⁹³ David and his family were killed at least partly in retaliation for his vocal rejection of Christianity.

So what can be concluded from the *Mainz Anonymous*, keeping in mind its singularity as a source? First, in the minds of the Christian aggressors there was some connection between violence against Muslims and violence against Jews, but the account did not offer a clear explanation for the link. Second, the violence against the Jews was at times depicted as vengeance for the crucifixion of Christ. Third, the desire for vengeance for the crucifixion seems to have blended with a number of other desires: a desire for vengeance for present injuries, a general desire to fight God’s enemies, the desire to convert, and greed. Moreover, these elements conjoined to spark significant violence only in certain crusading armies.⁹⁴ Did the crusaders take vengeance upon the Jews because of the crucifixion, their refusal to convert, or rumours of well-poisoning? And is the fact that the concept of vengeance was used to motivate anti-Jewish violence evidence for the idea of crusading as vengeance, let alone evidence for an overriding concern with vengeance within the armies of the First Crusade at the end of the eleventh century?

There are no immediate answers within the *Mainz Anonymous*, and regrettably only three Latin historians of the First Crusade referred to these persecutions. Ekkehard of Aura’s description of the events was brief: ‘[Emicho and his men] fully undertook an accursed slaughter of Jews, [seeking] wherever their people were found, either to completely eliminate them, or even to compel them into the fold of the Church, being devoted to the zeal of Christianity even in this

⁹³*Mainz Anonymous* 114.

⁹⁴Chazan, *God, humanity, and history*, p. 134. For which armies were involved, see Riley-Smith, ‘The first crusade and the persecution of the Jews.’

matter.⁹⁵ Ekkehard clearly did not approve of these activities, and likewise condemned the killing of Christians in Hungary. To some degree he equated the two actions: 'thus the men of our people have the zeal of God, but not according to the knowledge of God...[they] soon began to persecute other Christians, repressing divine mercy with fraternal blood.'⁹⁶ Ekkehard shed no light onto the motivations of the crusaders, beyond noting that they were driven by religious zeal and tried to convert the Jews.

Albert of Aachen most definitely did not approve of the massacres or of the forced conversions, and referred to them as 'the cruelest slaughter.' He gave two explanations for the crusaders' behaviour. First of all, he wrote that the crusaders asserted 'that the aim of their expedition and obedience was against the enemies of the Christian faith.'⁹⁷ From that perspective, the Jews counted equally as enemies of the Christian faith alongside the Muslims. Second, after the Christians suffered death themselves, Albert explained that

This is believed to be the hand of the Lord against the pilgrims, who with great dirtiness and in fornicating beds sinned in his sight, and destroyed the exiled Jews with grave slaughter, more with greed for money than for the justice of God, since although they were contrary to Christ, God is a just judge, and he would not order that anyone should come to the yoke of the Catholic faith unwilling or forced.⁹⁸

In other words, the Jews were killed for their refusal to convert to Christianity, and God then punished the Christians for so doing. Nowhere did Albert state that the Jews were killed in vengeance for the crucifixion. This is an important point, since Albert constantly described the crusaders taking vengeance upon not only Muslims, but also other Christians, in the East. But, like the initial passage in the *Mainz Anonymous*, he simply stated that the Jews were perceived as enemies. Perhaps he had a personal reason for not connecting the anti-Jewish violence with anti-Muslim violence, but it is more probable that he, like Ekkehard, had not heard (or did not believe) that the anti-Jewish violence was motivated by the desire for vengeance.

Guibert of Nogent did not refer to the massacres of the Jews in his *Dei Gesta per Francos*, but he did do so in his *De Vita Sua*. There he reported crusaders in Rouen saying 'we desire to attack the enemies of God in the East, after having crossed vast tracks of land. The

⁹⁵Ekkehard of Aura 20. Later in the century Otto of Freising used similar language to describe events ('vel delere vel ecclesiae incorporare' — *Chronica* 502).

⁹⁶Ekkehard of Aura 21.

⁹⁷Albert of Aachen 293.

⁹⁸Albert of Aachen 295.

undertaking is preposterous, when before our eyes are the Jews, [compared] to whom no people more unfriendly to God exist.⁹⁹ Again, Guibert's version was very similar to that given by Albert of Aachen and the *Mainz Anonymous*, and did not report any references to vengeance *per se*.

According to the Latin and Hebrew accounts of the Jewish massacres, the crusaders attacked the Jews because they were seen as enemies of God, as were the Muslims. This view was also advanced by Orderic Vitalis, who claimed that 'these pilgrims held all Jews, heretics, and Saracens equally detestable, whom they all called enemies of God.'¹⁰⁰ The accounts also hinted at various other motivations including revenge for the crucifixion, anger at the Jews' refusal to convert, and rumours of Jewish attempts to sabotage the Christian community. Nowhere was the idea of crusading as an act of vengeance referred to explicitly, and it is of interest that the Latin historians who did acknowledge the massacres steered clear of the terminology of vengeance in relation to the destruction of the Jews, but not that of the Muslims. Historians have viewed the *Mainz Anonymous* and the Jewish persecutions in general as evidence for a preoccupation with vengeance in the late eleventh century that later evaporated due to the existence of several other texts that provide a link between anti-Jewish violence as vengeance for the crucifixion upon the Jews and crusading as an act of vengeance against the Muslims. These texts are the *Chanson d'Antioche*, the *Vengeance de Notre Seigneur*, and the 'encyclical of Sergius IV.' But is it reasonable to use these texts to bolster the argument for the dominance of the idea of crusading as vengeance at the time of the First Crusade?

The *Chanson d'Antioche* was compiled and partially composed in 1180 by one 'Graindor of Douai.' There may or may not have been a certain 'Richard the Pilgrim' whose eyewitness account was supposedly the foundation of the *chanson*. As I have already stated, in my opinion Cook has offered the most logical and straightforward approach to the dating of the first three poems of the Crusade Cycle.¹⁰¹ Cook argued that hypotheses of more ancient versions of the poems of the Cycle should not logically affect the discussion and analysis of the actual extant texts

⁹⁹Guibert of Nogent, *De vita sua*, ed. E.-R. Labande (Paris 1981), pp. 246 and 248.

¹⁰⁰Orderic Vitalis vol. 5 p. 44.

¹⁰¹Cook "Chanson d'Antioche," *chanson de geste*. Likewise, see Claassens, G. H. M., 'The cycle de la croisade: vernacular historiography,' ed. B. Besamusca, W. P. Gerritsen, C. Hogtoorn and O. S. H. Lic. *Cyclification: the development of narrative cycles in the chansons de geste and the Arthurian romances* (Amsterdam 1994), pp. 184-8.

available to modern scholars.¹⁰² To date, no one has been able to prove the actual existence of Richard and Graindor.¹⁰³ Moreover, even if (as Edgington argued) Albert of Aachen had been drawing upon an early *Chanson d'Antioche*, he nevertheless incorporated none of its prominent insistence upon the crusade as an act of vengeance for the crucifixion; this alone strongly suggests that at least those passages were composed in the later twelfth century. In the past it was convenient to group these vengeful passages with similar references in the *Solomon bar Simson Chronicle*, but since the relevant passages in the *Chanson d'Antioche* would seem to have originated circa 1180, and since the applicable parts of the *Solomon bar Simson Chronicle* have for the moment been dated to the mid-twelfth century, such a comparison appears useless for any discussion of the time of the First Crusade and directly thereafter.¹⁰⁴

La Venjance de Nostre Seigneur first appeared as a written epic poem right around the year 1200; among other evidence for that dating, it contained references to the cities of Barletta and Acre in a manner indicative of Third Crusade accounts such as that of Ambroise, written in 1196.¹⁰⁵ The broader legend of the *Vindicta Salvatoris* had been gathering momentum from the time of Josephus, but there is no way to determine accurately what parts of the circa 1200 textual version date to the earlier Middle Ages, and which had their origins in the later twelfth century. Because of the late appearance of the written version of this legend and the difficulties in attempting to subdivide the text chronologically, it is inadvisable to use it to support arguments about the late eleventh century.

That leaves the 'encyclical of Sergius IV,' a text that also referred to the legend of the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans as vengeance on the Jews for the crucifixion.¹⁰⁶ If Gieyzstor's dating is in fact correct, then the legend of the *Vindicta Salvatoris* was used to promote the idea of crusading as vengeance in the late eleventh century, and the 'encyclical of Sergius IV' can be used alongside the *Mainz Anonymous*.¹⁰⁷

In effect, we are faced with ambiguous evidence for the connection between anti-Jewish

¹⁰²Cook 10.

¹⁰³For more on why I concur with Cook see above pages 34-5.

¹⁰⁴*Solomon bar Simson Chronicle*, tr. S. Eidelberg, *The Jews and the crusaders* (Madison Wisconsin 1977), pp. 22 and 25-7.

¹⁰⁵Gryting, L. A. T., 'Introduction,' *The oldest version of the twelfth-century poem La Venjance de Nostre Seigneur* (Ann Arbor 1952), p. 31.

¹⁰⁶See above pp. 53-4.

¹⁰⁷For more on the dating of the 'encyclical' see above pages 31-2.

sentiment and the idea of crusading as vengeance at the end of the eleventh century and the beginning of the twelfth. The certain knowledge that crusading armies on their way east were motivated to attack Jewish communities in Europe suggests some connection between crusading ideology and anti-Jewish sentiment. The *Mainz Anonymous* offered as explanations for the crusaders' attacks on the Jews their belief in the Jews as enemies of Christ, the desire to take vengeance on the Jews for the crucifixion, anger at Jewish refusal to convert, and rumours of Jewish crimes. The Latin accounts of the First Crusade attacks on European Jews likewise suggested that the crusaders believed themselves to be attacking the enemies of Christ and were angry at Jewish refusals to convert. The 'encyclical of Sergius IV' suggested that the First Crusade was promoted as vengeance for God, just as the Roman destruction of Jerusalem and the Jewish diaspora was vengeance for Christ. Again and again the sources suggest a link between crusading and anti-Jewish violence, and again and again the ideas of vengeance and the crucifixion crop up, but based upon the sources for this period it is nevertheless impossible to state concretely that the Jews were attacked in 1096 because the First Crusaders saw the overall crusade as an act of vengeance.

So what can be concluded? First, in the minds of the Christian aggressors there was some connection between violence against Muslims and violence against Jews. Second, the violence against the Jews was at times depicted as vengeance for the crucifixion of Christ. Third, some at the time saw the First Crusade against Muslims as vengeance, and some compared it to the vengeful destruction of Jerusalem in 70 C. E. Fourth, the texts of the *Chanson d'Antioche* and the *Vengeance de Notre Seigneur* should not be used as evidence for the late eleventh century. There was a relationship between anti-Jewish sentiment, vengeance, and the First Crusade at that time, but the texts for the period do not make that relationship explicit.

Summary

The idea of crusading as vengeance was in limited existence at the end of the eleventh century, as evidenced by the 'encyclical of Sergius IV' and two crusading letters written in 1098 and 1100. However, the vast majority of evidence for this connection comes from documents written almost exclusively in Latin by non-participants in the early twelfth century. Three major patterns of thought contributed to the ideological relationship between vengeance and crusading: a

concentration on the justice and punishment of God, perceived in Biblical terminology as the *ultio Dei*; vengeance as a component of the social obligation to provide *auxilium* and *caritas*, hinging on the social importance of memory and the identification of crusaders as friends and brothers, Jerusalem as mother and God as both father and lord; and thirdly, a tie between anti-Jewish sentiment, vengeance, and crusading.

Based on the evidence given in this chapter, although there was some emphasis on vengeance from 1096 through 1130, the previous model advanced by Riley-Smith and others that described a peak in the emphasis on vengeance at the beginning of the First Crusade and a subsequent drop in attention to the idea should be discarded. On the contrary, I will suggest in the following chapters that the connections between vengeance and crusading increased through the twelfth century, culminating in later texts such as the *Chanson d'Antioche* and the *Venjançe de Nostre Seigneur*.

Chapter 5:

The idea of crusading as vengeance, 1138-1197

I have established that although there was some evidence for a relationship between crusading and vengeance during the period from 1095-1137, it was limited in scope. Significantly, the idea of crusading as vengeance was emphasized more in the early twelfth-century histories of the First Crusade written by non-participants than it was in the eyewitness accounts. This evidence leads me to suggest that the ideology of crusading as vengeance became more important throughout the twelfth century. Implicit in this hypothesis, of course, is the notion that the patterns of thought identified for the period from 1095-1137 continued to evolve.

In this chapter there are two questions to be addressed. Did crusading texts composed between 1138 and 1197 promote the idea of crusading as vengeance more, less, or to the same degree as texts from earlier in the century? And was the relationship between crusading and vengeance in later twelfth-century texts based on the same themes as before?

Evidence

For the period from 1138 to 1197 I have read a large number of crusading sources in Latin, Hebrew (translated into English) and Old French.¹ In addition to these sources, I have also examined another narrative from the period tangentially related to crusading, the *Chanson de Roland*. In most of the texts the vocabulary of vengeance was applied to crusading. Moreover, the moral value of vengeance in general was presented in a more unambiguously positive fashion. The high proportion of texts referring to the ideology demonstrates convincingly that the idea of crusading as an act of vengeance was presented much more frequently in later twelfth-century crusading texts than in texts from the early twelfth century. It should be noted, however, that the ideology did not appear in a number of sources from the period.

In all of the sources the idea of crusading as an act of vengeance was discussed with less ambiguity. Many of the crusading texts written in the early twelfth-century had explicitly referred to occasions when the crusaders did *not* seek out vengeance, implying that the pursuit of

¹For details on these sources see above pages 31-7.

vengeance was inappropriate.² There were no references to such self-conscious abstinence and mercy in the texts from the period from 1138-1197. To give one example, in Odo of Deuil's *De profectone Ludovici VII in orientem*, he repeatedly described the crusaders taking individual vengeance upon those attacking them (Greeks and Muslims). Unlike Raymond of Aguiler's first crusaders, the Frankish leaders of the Second Crusade were depicted leaving battle 'mourning that they were not able to avenge their injuries.'³ They had however been able to take further action during a previous ambush: 'all [the crusaders] unanimously ran against them, and those whom they could, they killed, because of their own who had died and to avenge their own injuries.'⁴ The crusading texts from the mid-to-late twelfth century simply did not endorse the righteous affirmation of pacific behaviour as had the earlier texts.

Of course, most of the time the vocabulary of vengeance was presented as an understood social commonplace, with little commentary of any sort offered by the authors. But when vengeance was commented on, it was always discussed as a good thing. As Bernard of Clairvaux wrote to the Knights Templar, 'a Christian glories in the death of a pagan, since Christ is glorified; in the death of a Christian, the generosity of the King is revealed, since the knight is led forth to be rewarded. Moreover a just man rejoices over [the former], since he sees vengeance [done].'⁵

Not only was the idea of vengeance presented in a more consistently positive light, but the specific idea of crusading as vengeance appeared with much greater frequency in the sources for this period, necessitating a breakdown of the four main reasons for crusading as vengeance given in the texts. It should be noted that I have made the distinctions between the different strains of ideology for analytical purposes, not because they were always separated in the sources themselves. Indeed, in most of the texts different reasons for vengeance were presented side by side. For example, the anonymous author of the *Gesta Stephani* wrote regarding the Second Crusade:

Therefore when the disgraceful news of such an intolerable expulsion had been made known to the pious ears of the mother Church, the lands were agitated, kingdoms were disrupted, the powers of the world were shaken, and the whole world joined together manfully to avenge the shame of this universal injury. And

²Raymond of Aguilers 38. Peter Tudebode 42. Full text given above page 97.

³Odo of Deuil 138.

⁴Odo of Deuil 126.

⁵Bernard of Clairvaux, *Liber ad milites templi de laude novae militiae*, ed. J. Leclercq and H. M. Rochais, *SBO* 3 (Rome 1963), p. 217.

especially the strong youths of all England, all marked with the strength of a manly heart and a constant mind, came together for this most particular [act of] vengeance.⁶

The injuries that demanded vengeance were listed: the Muslims were 'hostile to [the Christian] religion,' they had seized Christian cities (including Edessa), killed some Christians and taken others hostage, and 'what is a crime to say, they sought to abolish the temple, destroy the holy places, and delete the name of Christ.'⁷ The very fact that the reasons for vengeance were related in this way is significant and will also be discussed below. The first of the four main reasons for vengeance was the seizure of Christian lands in the East. This is to be found especially after Saladin had captured Jerusalem in 1187, although writers used this theme to discuss earlier expeditions as well. Peter the Venerable stressed that the first crusaders had taken vengeance for the Islamic occupation. In a letter to King Louis VII of France in 1146, Peter wrote that during the First Crusade 'by the command of God [the crusaders] exterminated the profane people with warlike strength, and avenged the land for God and themselves.'⁸ Emperor Manuel I, writing to Pope Eugenius III in 1146 about the Second Crusade, stated that he knew that the Franks were coming 'in order to avenge the holy churches, and because Edessa [was] held by the impious enemies of God.'⁹ Manuel emphasized both the general need to take vengeance for injuries done to the Church in the East and also the more specific need to take vengeance for the fall of Edessa. The account of Ambroise of the Third Crusade claimed that the land itself had been injured:

The host of God...
turned all their wanderings towards Arsuf
in order to seize the injured land
where they went most chivalrously
and avenged the great shame of God.¹⁰

The third stanza of the Old French crusading song *Pour lou peuple rescon forteir* stated:

It is a very great sorrow when one loses
the true sepulchre where God was placed
and when the holy places are deserted.
Do you know why God endures it?
He wants to prove his friends,

⁶*Gesta Stephani regis Anglorum*, ed. K. R. Potter (Oxford 1976), p. 127.

⁷*Gesta Stephani* 127.

⁸Peter the Venerable, *The letters*, vol. 1 p. 327.

⁹Manuel I 440.

¹⁰Ambroise vol. 1 p. 112.

who have offered their service to him
to take vengeance on his enemies.¹¹

In the *Chanson de Jérusalem* Arnulf of Chocques (on the First Crusade) commented that

we came into Syria to take vengeance
on those who held and governed it vilely.¹²

The *Chanson d'Antioche* described the first crusaders as those who went 'to avenge the condition [of the Holy Sepulchre].'¹³ In these passages the entire region of the Holy Land mattered, but particularly the Holy Sepulchre.

Vengeance for the Holy Land was related to vengeance on behalf of the person of Christ. The *Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi* recorded a letter from King Henry II of England to Aimery the patriarch of Antioch in 1188, in which Henry wrote 'anyone who is of the Lord now girds on his sword, and everyone judges himself blessed and faithful who leaves his father and mother and all people, in order that he may avenge the injuries [done to] Christ and the Holy Land.'¹⁴ Similarly, after the fall of Jerusalem the *Chanson de Jérusalem* noted that

they had fought a great tourney to avenge God,
they had taken and conquered a very rich land.¹⁵

Sometimes writers elaborated that connection between injuries to Christ and injuries to the land by describing the East as Christ's inheritance. A link with Christ also related to the heavy emphasis on the Holy Sepulchre noted in the previous paragraph.

Second, alongside the need to avenge land, a few writers emphasized the need to avenge the physical injuries and deaths of Christians in the East. William of Tyre wrote that the preaching of the Second Crusade involved this cry for vengeance:

There were those who spread their words at this time far and wide among the people and the nations and solicited the provinces, slack from a long peace, to avenge such injuries. Lord Eugenius III...directed the men most powerful in deed and sermon to diverse western regions, and they denounced the intolerable pressures on the princes, people, and tribes of their eastern brothers, and sought to animate them to go to avenge the injuries of fraternal blood.¹⁶

Roger of Howden recorded a song purportedly sung on the journey to Jerusalem in 1190:

¹¹*Les chansons de croisade*, ed. J. Bédier and P. Aubry (Paris 1909), p. 79.

¹²*La chanson de Jérusalem* 149.

¹³*La chanson d'Antioche* 50.

¹⁴*Gesta regis Henrici Secundi* vol. 2 p. 39. See also Roger of Howden vol. 2 p. 343.

¹⁵*La chanson de Jérusalem* 146.

¹⁶William of Tyre 739-40.

Therefore the God of the Hebrews took up
the Christian princes, and their best men,
namely to avenge the blood of the saints,
to rescue them from the sons of the dead.¹⁷

The meaning of this song is open to interpretation, but it seems related to the theme of vengeance for Christians killed and conquered in the East.

Third, injuries to the cross required vengeance, perhaps due to the loss of the relic of the True Cross in the battle of Hattin. *Pour lou peuple rescon forteir* continued in stanza five with:

What do the kings think?
Would it not be a great wrong
if they, the kings of France and of England,
do not go to avenge the Lord and
deliver his holy cross?¹⁸

The lament of Berter of Orleans in 1187 was cited in the *Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi* and the chronicle of Roger of Howden:

Against which the prophet writes,
that the Law will come forth from Zion,
will the Law perish there?
Will it not have vengeance?
There where Christ drank
the chalice of the Passion....

The one who despises the Cross burdens the cross
from which faith mourns, oppressed;
who does not howl for vengeance?
As many as value their faith
will redeem the cross,
for certainly the cross redeems [them].¹⁹

Pope Celestine III wrote to the archbishop of Canterbury in 1195 that '...[the people of God] will gird on the material sword to strike against the persecutors of the faith, so that they may swiftly avenge with vengeance the injury of the cross.'²⁰

Fourth, the vast majority of references to crusading as vengeance called for vengeance for injuries done to Christ alone, without reference to any other factors. This hardly comes as a surprise after the way in which the other injuries calling for vengeance (the Islamic occupation of

¹⁷Roger of Howden vol. 3 pp. 37-8.

¹⁸*Les chansons de croisade* 80.

¹⁹*Gesta regis Henrici Secundi* vol. 2 pp. 27-8. See also Roger of Howden vol. 2 pp. 330-1.

²⁰Celestine III, *Epistolae*, ed. J.-P. Migne, *PL* 206 (Paris 1855), col. 1108. (*Misericors et miserator*)

the Holy Land, the death of Christians in the East and injuries to the cross) were in some way or another linked to the person of Christ. The theme was evident in many of the examples above, and is even more clearly demonstrated by the following body of evidence.

Gerald of Wales, using the standard image of Christ as father to the crusaders, noted that Peter bishop of St. David's took the cross saying 'I hasten to avenge the injury of the highest Father.'²¹ According to Roger of Howden, in October 1191 King Richard I of England wrote to Garnier of Rochefort, abbot of Clairvaux, that 'the friends of the cross of Christ are flying forth...to avenge the injuries of the Holy Christ.'²² Richard of Devizes ironically noted that Richard 'left the English realm in the first year of his reign for Christ as though he would not return...the devotion of this man was great, so quickly, so swiftly and fast he ran forth, no indeed flew forth, to avenge the injuries of Christ.'²³ Similarly, Roger of Howden reported that in 1191 the pope wrote that Richard 'had gone forth to avenge the injuries of our Redeemer.'²⁴

Similar language was used to explain violence associated with the crusades against people other than the Muslims. According to the *Sefir Zekhirah* of Rabbi Ephraim of Bonn, Ralph the Cistercian incited anti-Jewish violence in 1146: 'wherever he went, he spoke evil of the Jews of the land and incited the snake and the dogs against us, saying "Avenge the crucified one upon his enemies who stand before you; then go to war against the Ishmaelites."²⁵ The *Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi* described attacks against southern French heretics that preceded the official declaration of crusade as acts of vengeance in three separate passages, noting that 'it is clear to the Christian princes that they are avenging the injuries of Christ.'²⁶

The vernacular song *Chevalier, mult estes guariz*, composed between December 1145 and June 1147, remarked that the Christian knights 'went to serve [God] in his need...in order to provide God with vengeance.'²⁷ By interpreting the need for vengeance in terms of men fulfilling their lord's need to take vengeance, in effect the song eliminated the need for more specific justification. Similarly, the Occitan troubadour Marcabru wrote circa 1146-47 that 'since the son

²¹Gerald of Wales 14-15.

²²Roger of Howden vol. 3 p. 130.

²³Richard of Devizes 5.

²⁴Roger of Howden vol. 3 p. 151.

²⁵*Sefir Zekhirah*, tr. S. Eidelberg, *The Jews and the crusaders* (Madison Wisconsin 1977), p. 122.

²⁶*Gesta regis Henrici Secundi* vol. 1 p. 220 (see also vol. 1 pp. 199 and 228).

²⁷*Les chansons de croisade* 10.

of God summons you to avenge him on the lineage of Pharaoh, you indeed ought to be joyful.²⁸ In another poem Marcabru wrote that vengeance was owed for injuries done to God throughout the world: 'the Lord who knows all that is, and all that will be, and [all] that was, has promised us crowns and the name of emperor...as long as we take vengeance for the wrongs they do to God, both here and there towards Damascus.'²⁹

The Old French epics of the First Crusade also emphasized the wrongs done to the person of Christ. The *Chanson de Jérusalem* described the first crusaders as 'those who had come to avenge God,' 'to avenge the Lord,' 'who crossed the sea to avenge...Lord Jesus,' and those who asked God to 'allow us to take vengeance on all [His] enemies.'³⁰ The *Chanson d'Antioche* stated that the first crusaders were:

they who came to avenge God on the servile slaves
who wounded him and his holy name.³¹

They had gone to 'avenge [Christ] on the lineage of the Antichrist' and 'avenge God on his enemies.'³²

Moreover, a number of passages, primarily from the Old French epics, referred to the body of Christ and the crucifixion in a way that suggested that vengeance was owed specifically for the Passion. Peter of Blois, in his text *Conquestio de dilatione vie Ierosolimitane*, wrote that 'the blood of Naboth cried out, the blood of Abel cried out from the ground for vengeance, and found vengeance. The blood of Christ clamours for aid, and does not find anyone to help.'³³ The *Chanson de Jérusalem* claimed that the crusaders 'had passed over the sea to avenge [Christ's] body.'³⁴ The *Chanson d'Antioche* described the crusaders as

the noble barons who love God and hold him dear,
[who] went over the sea to avenge his body.³⁵

Further passages confirm that the references were meant literally: the first crusaders were there to avenge the crucifixion. When the crusaders despaired inside the besieged Antioch,

²⁸Marcabru, *Marcabru: a critical edition*, ed. S. Gaunt, R. Harvey, and L. Paterson (Cambridge 2000), p. 310.

²⁹Marcabru 438.

³⁰*La chanson de Jérusalem* pp. 39, 65, 125 and 58.

³¹*La chanson d'Antioche* 72.

³²*La chanson d'Antioche* 51 and 59.

³³Peter of Blois, *Conquestio de dilatione vie Ierosolimitane*, p. 83.

³⁴*La chanson de Jérusalem* 90.

³⁵*La chanson d'Antioche* 49.

Adhémar bishop of Le Puy reminded them that

you have all well heard the commandments from God,
and we have the [holy] lance, that we know truly,
by which he [Christ] suffered for us death and torment,
when the criminal Jews cruelly killed him.
We are all his sons, and we will take vengeance.³⁶

This characterization of the crusade as vengeance for the crucifixion was validated by Christ himself, who told Anselm of Ribémont in a vision what Anselm later related to Godfrey of Bouillon:

the time has come that God named...
and his sons will avenge him for his redeeming death.³⁷

In fact, the *Chanson d'Antioche* directly linked the crucifixion, the prophecy of the destruction of Jerusalem, the subsequent actions of Titus and Vespasian, and the First Crusade. In laisse 8 Jesus and the two robbers spoke during the crucifixion. The robber on Christ's right said:

now it would be well if it happened that you are avenged
on these slavish Jews by whom you have been wounded.³⁸

Jesus then prophesied vengeance and the destruction of Jerusalem:

Friend...the people are not yet born
who will come to avenge me with sharp lances,
and will come to kill the faithless pagans
who have always refused my commandments.³⁹

The robber on Christ's left then mocked the believing robber, who retorted:

over the sea a new people will come
to take vengeance for the death of their father...
the Franks will have all the land through deliverance.⁴⁰

The narrative of the *Chanson d'Antioche* went on to describe the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus and Vespasian as vengeance for Christ.⁴¹

In addition to these four main themes of vengeance for land, Christian deaths, injuries to the cross, and injuries to God, a few passages in the period expressed the need to take vengeance

³⁶*La chanson d'Antioche* 289.

³⁷*La chanson d'Antioche* 387.

³⁸*La chanson d'Antioche* 53.

³⁹*La chanson d'Antioche* 53.

⁴⁰*La chanson d'Antioche* 54.

⁴¹*La chanson d'Antioche* 54-5.

but did not clarify the nature of the injury requiring retribution. Bernard of Clairvaux, writing to 'the universal faithful' about the Second Crusade in March 1147, reminded his audience that during the First Crusade 'God elevated the spirit of kings and princes to take vengeance on the nations and eradicate the enemies of the Christian name from the land.'⁴² Another annalist claimed that Bernard of Clairvaux invited people to go 'make a pilgrimage and avenge Christianity.'⁴³ When it came to describing the arm of the Second Crusade that attacked Lisbon, the generality of appeals for vengeance was marked. There was a sermon put into the mouth of Peter, bishop of Oporto, by the author of the *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi* in which crusading was referred to as 'divine vengeance,' 'vengeance for the blood of [the Church's] sons,' 'vengeance taken upon the nations,' and 'deeds of vengeance.'⁴⁴ By the end of the narrative, the author stated that the taking of Lisbon was 'divine justice...vengeance upon the evildoers.'⁴⁵

However, even these passages related to aspects of the ideology. The passage from the *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi* quoted above hinted at the need to avenge the Christian dead and suggested that vengeance was divine justice on those who had done evil. Rigord attributed the following speech to King Philip II of France in 1190 upon taking the cross: 'we, through the counsel of God, will take vengeance concerning this thing.'⁴⁶ Rigord portrayed the king noting that it was vengeance with explicit divine consent, thus compatible with contemporary ideas of just war. Gervase of Canterbury recorded that in a 1177 letter to the Cistercian chapter Raymond of Toulouse wrote '[I] will gird on my sword, and I declare that I will be an avenger of the anger of God and the minister of God in this matter [heresy in Languedoc].'⁴⁷ Although it is unclear what the injury was, the passage explicitly referred to Romans 13:4, linking the idea of crusading as vengeance with the concept of divine punishment of wrongdoers.

The Hebrew accounts were the same. They did not clearly state what injury was to be avenged through crusading, but the language used hinted at possible reasons for vengeance. At the beginning of the late eleventh-century *Mainz Anonymous* the crusaders were depicted saying: 'look now, we are going to a distant country to make war against mighty kings and are

⁴²Bernard of Clairvaux, *Epistolae*, vol. 8 p. 432.

⁴³*Gesta abbatum Lobbiensium*, in *MGHSS* 21 (Hanover 1869), p. 329.

⁴⁴*De expugnatione Lyxbonensi* 76, 78 and 80.

⁴⁵*De expugnatione Lyxbonensi* 182.

⁴⁶Rigord 102.

⁴⁷Gervase of Canterbury 270. Reference to Romans 13:4.

endangering our lives to conquer the kingdoms which do not believe in the crucified one.’⁴⁸ The account of Eliezer bar Nathan, written after 1140 and before 1146, changed that passage to ‘look now, we are going to seek out our profanity and take vengeance on the Ishmaelites for our messiah, when here are the Jews who murdered and crucified him. Let us first avenge ourselves on them and exterminate them from among the nations so that the name of Israel will no longer be remembered, or let them adopt our faith and acknowledge the offspring of promiscuity.’⁴⁹ The compilation known as the *Solomon bar Simson Chronicle*, also dating to the 1140s, repeated a very similar version of the passage, again emphasizing the idea of crusading as vengeance.⁵⁰ The references to the ‘profane shrine’ suggest, perhaps, vengeance for the Islamic occupation of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem.

At first glance it would seem that the most famous *chanson de geste* about Charlemagne and Roland, the *Chanson de Roland*, also contained some elements of the ideology of crusading as vengeance. Certainly acts of vengeance and the desire for vengeance played key roles in the plot throughout the poem. At the beginning of the poem, Roland advised Charlemagne to reject the proposed Muslim surrender:

set your banner in Sarragossa...
and avenge those whom the criminals have killed!⁵¹

Later, when the Muslims attacked Roland and the rearguard, the beleaguered Franks reassured themselves that Charlemagne would seek vengeance for their deaths, and indeed that was the case when Charlemagne returned too late to prevent their slaughter:

there was not one knight or baron
who did not feel great pity and weep:
they wept for their sons, their brothers, their nephews,
their friends and their liege lords...
[Charlemagne said] ‘Now ride forth! Avenge your sorrow!’⁵²

And when Charlemagne returned victorious to Aachen to try Ganelon for treason, Ganelon argued in his defence that he had not betrayed Charlemagne and the Franks, but rather had sought

⁴⁸Mainz Anonymous 99.

⁴⁹Eliezer bar Nathan *Chronicle*, tr. S. Eidelberg, *The Jews and the crusaders* (Madison Wisconsin 1977), p. 80.

⁵⁰*Solomon bar Simson Chronicle* 22.

⁵¹*La chanson de Roland*, ed. C. Segre, *TLF* 968 (Geneva 2003), p. 104.

⁵²*La chanson de Roland* 214.

personal vengeance against Roland.⁵³

Nevertheless, these were all examples of personal vengeance. There was no implication that the entire expedition against the Muslims in the first place was an act of vengeance. Certainly Roland was prone to clear-cut statements about Christianity and Islam: 'the pagans are wrong and the Christians are right.'⁵⁴ But the context of these statements makes them difficult to interpret. Since in the circumstances the Muslims were wrong to have betrayed their agreement with Charlemagne by attacking the rearguard, it is unclear whether Roland was discussing this particular wrong, a more general sense of error, or both.

There were also a relatively small number of traditional sources for crusading during the period that did not incorporate the idea of crusading as vengeance. Pope Eugenius III, even in the well-known papal bull *Quantum praedecessores*, Pope Hadrian IV, Pope Alexander III and Suger abbot of St. Denis did not refer to the ideology.⁵⁵ Caffaro of Caschifelone did not utilize the idea of crusading as vengeance at all, though he did discuss the desire for personal vengeance.⁵⁶ Henry of Huntingdon did not employ the specific vocabulary of vengeance to describe the First or Second Crusades.⁵⁷ Henry noted that the capture of Edessa led to the Second Crusade, but did not use the vocabulary of vengeance; the Christians simply went 'to fight the pagans who had taken the city of Edessa.'⁵⁸ Vincent of Prague was likewise succinct about the Second Crusade: 'no small [number] of Christians were moved to defend Jerusalem against the king of Babylon.'⁵⁹

The *Annales Herbipolenses* described the beginning of the Second Crusade in 1147 with vitriolic language aimed at those who promoted the crusade rather than at its target: 'for some pseudo-prophets, sons of Belial, witnesses (*testes*) to the Antichrist, who seduced Christians with inane words, compelled all kinds of men to go against the Saracens to liberate Jerusalem with vane sayings.'⁶⁰ The fierce disapproval in the text may have been the result of the notorious

⁵³*La chanson de Roland* 283.

⁵⁴*La chanson de Roland* 144.

⁵⁵See above page 37 f.n. 160. It should be noted that Eugenius III did use the term *retributio*, though only to describe the rewards of crusading for those who took the cross.

⁵⁶See above page 49 f.n. 43.

⁵⁷Henry of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum*, ed. T. Arnold, RS 74 (London 1879), pp. 219-30 and 279.

⁵⁸Henry of Huntingdon 279.

⁵⁹Vincent of Prague, *Annales*, in MGHSS 17 (Hanover 1861), p. 662.

⁶⁰*Annales Herbipolenses*, in MGHSS 16 (Hanover 1859), p. 3.

failure of the Second Crusade, and certainly many writers of historical accounts of the Second Crusade concentrated on its disastrous outcome rather than the motivations that drove people on the Second Crusade.⁶¹ Otto of Freising talked of vengeance taken on the Christians themselves rather than through their actions.⁶²

Even when these writers did devote a line or two to the reasons for the crusading, they did not use the vocabulary of vengeance. Helmold of Bosau recorded that Bernard of Clairvaux 'exhorted princes and certain people of the faithful to march to Jerusalem to seize the barbarous nations of the east and subject them to Christian laws.'⁶³ Odo of Deuil depicted the bishop of Langres exciting people at Bourges at Christmas 1145, 'warning all of the depopulation and oppression of the Christians and the insolence of the pagans, so that with their king they would fight with Christian reverence for the King of all.'⁶⁴ Otto of Freising even described the first crusaders without the vocabulary of vengeance: 'confident in the strength of the cross, with Godfrey as their leader, a journey to fight against the enemies of the cross in the East was announced.'⁶⁵ These writers hit upon familiar themes: the centrality of Jerusalem, the need to conquer Islamic territory, the ill-treatment of Christians by the Muslims, the desire to fight against the enemies of the cross. But they did not use the vocabulary of vengeance.

Analysis and argument

In most of the sources for the period from 1138-1197 the idea of crusading as vengeance flourished. Before analysing the ideology, however, it is worthwhile to spend a little more time addressing the fact that seven historical narratives, one Hebrew account and an assortment of ecclesiastical correspondence did not contain the idea of crusading as vengeance. The divide in the evidence for the period from 1095 to 1137 was apparently due to whether the writers of the texts were eyewitnesses or not. This distinction does not suit the evidence from the texts in the period from 1138 to 1197, especially since some were discussing the First Crusade, some the

⁶¹For more on this see Siberry, *Criticism of crusading*.

⁶²Otto of Freising, *Gesta Frederici seu rectius cronica*, ed. F.-J. Schmale, *AQDGM* 17 (Darmstadt 1965), p. 220.

⁶³Helmold of Bosau, *Chronica Slavorum*, ed. H. Stoob, *AQDGM* 19 (Berlin 1963), p. 216.

⁶⁴Odo of Deuil 6.

⁶⁵Otto of Freising, *Chronica*, p. 502.

Second Crusade, some the Third Crusade, and others all three expeditions. Nor does the divide in evidence correspond strictly to membership in the ecclesiastical hierarchy, genre, or language of composition.

The same themes appeared in almost all of the texts from the period, regardless of whether the vocabulary of vengeance was used: the fall of Edessa, the loss of Jerusalem, the renewed Islamic presence in the East, the need to defend Christendom against its enemies. Similar causes for Christian action were given in the sources, but while some specifically used the vocabulary of vengeance, others did not choose it with respect to crusading, even when (like Otto of Freising in his *Chronica*) they did not hesitate to employ the vocabulary to describe many other events, including those with religious significance.⁶⁶ This suggests that these writers did not disapprove of the terminology and concept of vengeance *per se*, but that they did not apply them to crusading.

Is it possible to infer why? The vocabulary of vengeance was used in texts written before the Second Crusade's failure became known, texts that dealt with the success in Lisbon rather than the failure in the East, and texts dating to much later in the twelfth century. It is possible that the failure of the Second Crusade in the East, understood as God's punishment *peccatis exigentibus hominum*, led some to avoid the language, at least those writing in the immediate aftermath of the crusade. Since vengeance was strongly tied to the concept of justice, the failure of the crusade could have been said to have demonstrated that it was not just, because it was not in agreement with God's will.

However, this argument cannot completely account for the evidence, since Pope Eugenius III, writing before the Second Crusade, nevertheless did not use the idea, and some who did, like the author of the *Gesta Stephani*, wrote after the Christian failure. Moreover, by the time Jerusalem fell to Saladin in 1187 the vast majority of writers were again using the idea of crusading as an act of vengeance unreservedly. There must have been other factors at work, though at the moment they are unclear. The fact that the evidence is inconclusive may suggest that twelfth-century writers consciously chose to use the idea of crusading as an act of vengeance and that their choice involved deliberation and analysis of the situation. Reflecting their culture,

⁶⁶So these sources differ from the eyewitness accounts of the First Crusade, which barely used the terminology at all, even to describe day to day human behaviour.

they could have chosen to employ the idea of crusading as vengeance because for whatever assortment of reasons, they thought it was right and appropriate.

That said, what does the evidence for the idea of crusading as vengeance demonstrate? Some of the texts that did use the vocabulary of vengeance emphasized certain, specific circumstances that demanded it. Peter the Venerable claimed that the first crusaders were avenging the Islamic occupation of the Holy Land, and the *Gesta Stephani* listed the destruction wrought by the Muslims in the East and their disruption of Latin kingdoms there. These themes were echoed, though not with the vocabulary of vengeance, by Henry of Huntingdon and Odo of Deuil. At the same time, other texts used the vocabulary of vengeance obscurely, employing phrases that suggested general religious hostility towards what they perceived as a blasphemous religion that threatened Christianity: 'enemies of the Christian name,' 'injury done to the Christian religion,' 'vengeance upon the evildoers,' 'vengeance for the wrongs they do to God.'⁶⁷ The specific need to avenge Edessa and Jerusalem is easily understandable in the context of Augustine's definition of a just war as one that avenges injuries. But that does not address the indefinite references to vengeance that hinged on an amorphous sense of religious hostility, nor those that called for vengeance for injuries done to Christ.

God's vengeance, papal power and the nature of Islamic injuries

The evidence available for 1095-1137 pointed towards three major patterns of thought linking vengeance and crusading: the conceptual association of vengeance, justice, and divine judgment on non-believers; connections between vengeance and the social demand for *auxilium* and *caritas*; and a link between crusading and anti-Jewish sentiment. It is well worth investigating these themes in the period 1138 to 1197, asking what the sources, taken altogether, reveal about the ideology of crusading as vengeance.

I argued in Chapter Three that one of the major patterns of thought responsible for the construction of crusading as vengeance was belief in God's vengeance on the wrongdoer, and the *Deus ultionis* continued to figure prominently in crusading texts from this period. Using both Old

⁶⁷Bernard of Clairvaux, *Epistolae*, vol. 8 p. 432. *Gesta Abbatum Lobbiensium* 329. *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi* 182. Marcabru 438.

and New Testament references and language, writers depicted God (and his minister) as a wrathful avenger of wrongs, and portrayed the circumstances around crusading as worthy of vengeance for God. Peter of Blois drew explicit parallels between crusading and Biblical events, comparing, as we have seen, the avenged deaths of Naboth and Abel with the as yet unavenged death of Christ.⁶⁸ Roger of Howden, like many of his contemporaries, pictured the crusading armies following in the footsteps of the Israelites and thus taking vengeance.⁶⁹ Gervase of Canterbury recorded a letter to a Cistercian chapter which employed a key verse from the New Testament Epistle to the Romans to epitomize the role of the crusader as the avenging minister of God.⁷⁰

God was perceived as seeking vengeance for human sin. The *Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi* noted that in 1184 a lay brother at Worcester went into a trance and recited the following prophetic poem, which aptly illustrated the nature of the *Deus ultionis* in contemporary Christian minds:

For with the sword of death the proper vengeance of God
will expiate the sins of the people; miserable me! What can I do?
Behold! The sword shines, that will contort the whole world.
Behold! The hand of the Lord! Where can a wretched man escape it?
Behold the fury of the Lord; where can I flee or hide?⁷¹

As William of Tyre reminded his readers, God was believed to have said '*I will not give my glory to the proud, but my vengeance, I will take retribution, I will strike and I will heal and I will give life and there is no one who can escape my hand.*'⁷² This conception of God had seemed so well-known to earlier writers of crusading texts that they placed the same verse from Deuteronomy that William of Tyre used in the mouth of an Islamic noblewoman.⁷³

From this perspective, which also underpinned the familiar phrase *peccatis exigentibus hominum*, God struck out with vengeance when faced with sin and impiety. Christians approved of this vengeance, despite their awareness of their own vulnerability. Addressing God Peter of Blois wrote 'to me as a sinner it seems best that you should eliminate all sinners from the face of

⁶⁸Peter of Blois, *Conquestio de dilatione vie Ierosolimitane*, p. 84.

⁶⁹Roger of Howden vol. 3 pp. 37-8.

⁷⁰Gervase of Canterbury 270. Reference to Romans 13:4.

⁷¹*Gesta regis Henrici Secundi* vol. 1 p. 326.

⁷²William of Tyre 622. References to Romans 12:19 and Deuteronomy 32:39-42.

⁷³See above page 100.

the earth, rather than allow the sons of perdition among us who proudly and audaciously inflict shame upon your name.⁷⁴ But at the same time, Peter's approval was tempered by anxiety that God's vengeance might be directed at the Christian community: 'a local proverb says *a wrong is badly avenged by he who cuts off his own nose*. Do not thus punish your impious servant Lord... We have sinned, but with a contrite and humble heart we beg for mercy after your anger: *vengeance for the blood of your servants that was shed enters your face*.'⁷⁵

This anxiety may well have resulted from the impossibility of completely comprehending God's judgments. It was not always clear why some received justice (vengeance) and others mercy. In the *Passio Raginaldi* Peter of Blois used the Old Testament to emphasize his despair and uncertainty after the battle of Hattin:

O God of inexhaustible and ineffable mercy, why do you humiliate and confound the heart of your people, and why do you permit injuries to your name and shame to the Christian faith to be proclaimed with the horns of your enemies? The cry of Jeremiah is *wherefore do the ways of the impious prosper?* Even Job complains and says *why do the impious live?*⁷⁶

Living with this anxiety, it was in the Christians' own best interest to punish the wrongdoers in their midst before God punished them all collectively. All humanity bore responsibility to God and should obey his law. It would seem therefore that contemporaries were still permitted to insert the Muslims into a Biblical framework of divine punishment that was frequently described with the vocabulary of vengeance.

For some, this meant that Christians who did not wish to take vengeance for God on the Muslims would suffer divine vengeance themselves. Gerald of Wales noted two occasions when men who did not immediately respond to the call to crusade were struck by God's wrath. On one occasion the young members of a certain family in Wales failed to respond to a crusading sermon, but 'divine vengeance followed, since the youths insisted on pursuing plunderers of their land with many others; they were immediately killed by the robbers and set to flight, with one and another of them lethally wounded, the cross that before they had spurned they now affixed on their own

⁷⁴Peter of Blois, *Conquestio de dilatione vie Ierosolimitane*, p. 78.

⁷⁵Peter of Blois, *Conquestio de dilatione vie Ierosolimitane*, p. 78. Reference to Psalms 78:10-11.

⁷⁶Peter of Blois, *Passio Raginaldi principis Antiochie*, ed. R. B. C. Huygens, *CCCM* 194 (Turnholt 2002), p. 35. References to Jeremiah 12:1 and Job 21:7.

flesh.⁷⁷ When the crusade was preached at St. Dogmael's, one woman did not want her husband to go. That night she heard a voice in her sleep saying 'you have taken my servant from me; on this account that which you love more will be taken away from you.' The next day 'a little son, whom she had with her in the maternal bed more from love than from carefulness, was crushed....And immediately the man, reporting the vision as well as the vengeance to the bishop, took up the cross.'⁷⁸

How do we get from a vengeful God to the idea of crusading as vengeance? We have seen that there was a close relationship between the concepts of vengeance and justice, and ecclesiastical as well as secular leaders needed to display their ability to take vengeance.⁷⁹ Theoretically this need to demonstrate power through vengeance hinged on the division of the powers in the Christian tradition. The general assumptions underlying this tradition were threefold and stemmed from divine mandate: first, the material and spiritual powers, or swords, were distinct (except with reference to the person of the pope); second, the material and spiritual powers must cooperate; and third, the spiritual power was superior.⁸⁰ As Otto of Freising wrote:

One [person of the Church]...should take in hand the sacraments of Christ and exercise ecclesiastical justice with the spiritual sword. The other carries the material sword against the enemies of the Church, and by defending the poor churches of God against the incursion of evildoers and by punishing the criminal, [the material sword] should be thrust forward in secular justice.⁸¹

Furthermore, a distinction was made between the possession of a power, the right to command a power, and the right to exercise a power. Both spiritual and secular powers were coercive, embodying the ability to judge and punish, but the means of punishment differed. Traditionally, the spiritual sword had at its disposal the coercive tools of conviction, admonition, excommunication and deposition.⁸² If these tools failed, the spiritual power could call on the secular power to take physical action.⁸³

But in the mid-twelfth century the balance between the two powers was shifting. The Concordat of Worms in 1122 had introduced a new kind of relationship between the Church and

⁷⁷Gerald of Wales 126.

⁷⁸Gerald of Wales 113.

⁷⁹See Chapter Two.

⁸⁰Watt 13. The New Testament passage frequently cited was Luke 22:38.

⁸¹Otto of Freising, *Chronica*, pp. 290 and 292.

⁸²Watt 17.

⁸³Watt 31.

western Europe, a relationship accompanied in the mid-twelfth century by new forms of monasticism, new spiritual emphases within the Church, and the impetus to consolidate and codify the vast theological tradition of the past. In 1139 Pope Innocent II summarized the Church's position concerning this new relationship when he reportedly said at the beginning of the Second Lateran Council that 'Rome is the head of the world...promotion to ecclesiastical dignity is requested from the Roman pontiff as if by the custom of feudal law and is not legally held without his permission.'⁸⁴

The concept of an 'independent power of material coercion' belonging to the Church had been growing since before the First Crusade, and in the mid-twelfth century new theories of papal power developed alongside the established tradition.⁸⁵ Gratian argued that although churchmen had a limited right to exercise the material sword, they possessed the *ius auctoritatis* to command it.⁸⁶ Bernard of Clairvaux argued that 'both [powers] therefore belong to the Church, the spiritual and material sword; but the one is to be used for the Church, the other by the Church.'⁸⁷ Gratian and Bernard agreed, at least, that the Church held the authority to command both swords.

That raised at least two further questions. Who specifically within the Church had that authority, and towards whom could physical force be directed? Recognizing the former, Gratian set himself the question 'whether to bishops or to any clerics this authority to move arms by command should be permitted, or to the pope, or to the emperor?'⁸⁸ Gratian confirmed that the authority belonged to the pope and (crucially) extended to the avenging of communal, though not individual or personal, injuries.⁸⁹ Further in the same *quaestio* Gratian affirmed that 'to punish crimes for God is not cruelty but piety,' working from the New Testament example of the deaths of Ananias and Saphira and the writings of St. Jerome as well as Deuteronomy 13:6: '*if your brother, or your friend, or your wife, who sleeps in your bed, wishes to pervert truth, your hand should be against them, and you should shed their blood.*'⁹⁰ As Chodorow has noted, this

⁸⁴*Chronicon Mauriacense* III (cited and translated by Morris, C., *The papal monarchy* (Oxford 1989), p. 187).

⁸⁵Chodorow 226-7.

⁸⁶Watt 57.

⁸⁷Bernard of Clairvaux, *De consideratione*, p. 454.

⁸⁸Gratian vol. 1 col. 889. This question is then dealt with in cols. 953-65.

⁸⁹Watt 233.

⁹⁰Gratian vol. 1 col. 956.

argument asserted that it was right to use force 'in the interests of the social body.'⁹¹

Gratian's justification of papal punishment of communal injuries was applied to crusading through the vocabulary of vengeance. The *Gesta Stephani* noted that the Second Crusade was sparked by the desire 'to avenge the universal injury.'⁹² The same verse Gratian used, Deuteronomy 13:6, appeared in the sermon put into the mouth of Peter bishop of Oporto in the *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi*, in which the need to take vengeance on the Muslims was emphasized.⁹³ In fact, the ideology of vengeance in that sermon was directly compatible with Gratian's *Decretum*. The sermon classified the Muslims as criminals, thereby making it right to take vengeance on them:

But now, with God inspiring you, you bear arms with which murderers and plunderers should be wounded, the devious controlled, the adulterers punished, the impious lost from the earth, the parricides not allowed to live, nor the sons of impiety to go forth. You, therefore, brothers, take up courage along with these arms...Deeds of this kind are the duty of vengeance which good men carry in good spirit...*It is not cruelty but piety for God*. With the zeal of justice, do not go forth with anger, [instead] wage just war.⁹⁴

Christian men had a duty to promote law and order and punish crime with just vengeance, and the Muslims were described here not simply as unfaithful, but as murderers, adulterers, and parricides, criminals who would have deserved vengeance even if they had been Christian.

Indeed, although the texts for the period gave examples of crusading as vengeance for specific sins (such as the Muslim seizures of Edessa and Jerusalem), some of the texts suggest that a more fundamental characteristic of the Muslims was an injury that deserved punishment: their hostile and rebellious lack of Christian faith. The Muslims were in and of themselves 'the enemies of the cross of Christ, who ought to be his sons.'⁹⁵ The *Chanson de Jérusalem* and the *Chanson d'Antioche* both emphasized that the Muslims were 'they who did not want to believe.'⁹⁶ William of Tyre referred to the Muslims as an 'impious people,' an 'unclean people' who adhered to the

⁹¹Chodorow 234.

⁹²*Gesta Stephani* 127.

⁹³For more on this sermon see Phillips, J., 'Ideas of crusade and holy war in *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi*,' *Studies in Church History* 36 (2000), pp. 123-41.

⁹⁴*De expugnatione Lyxbonensi* 80.

⁹⁵Peter of Blois, *Conquestio de dilatione vie Ierosolimitane*, p. 84.

⁹⁶*La chanson de Jérusalem* 42. *La chanson d'Antioche* 52.

'impiety of superstition.'⁹⁷ Even the Muslim individual who betrayed Antioch from the inside on the First Crusade was 'pious in deed, yet criminal at the same time.'⁹⁸ This imputation of wilful disbelief was echoed in the accusations of treachery levelled at the Muslims. The *Chanson de Jérusalem* depicted them as 'criminal (*felon*),' 'unfaithful (*desfaé*),' 'disloyal (*desloiaus*),' and 'misbelieving (*mescreans*).'⁹⁹ *Les Chétifs* also called the Turks 'that disloyal people.'¹⁰⁰ This was familiar ground for the *chansons de geste*; the *inimici Dei* in these texts were systematically portrayed as political enemies, unbelievers, traitors and the people of Satan.¹⁰¹ This type of characterization, and the vocabulary of faithlessness, continually suggested the treachery of the Muslims. In the texts, the Muslims had betrayed their Father and thus were faithless, both in terms of religious belief and in terms of personal character. Their crime of treachery deserved vengeance, in much the same way as did criminals and traitors within Christian society. Although Christian doctrine made it clear that pagan disbelief in Christ alone did not justify vengeance, the fact that the same language was used to describe both lack of Christian faith (which did not technically deserve vengeance) and treachery and betrayal (which certainly did deserve vengeance) may have contributed to the perception of crusading as an act of vengeance.

This language, as well as efforts as in the *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi* to paint the Muslims as the worst kind of criminals, enabled a clever if somewhat unconvincing manipulation of canon law to justify violence against Muslims and confirms our understanding of the fact that some Christian contemporaries viewed Christians and Muslims as subject to the same divine law. It highlights the missing connection between Gratian's argument for papal authority to punish criminals through vengeance and actions against those outside Christian society; despite the suggestive language of faithfulness used to describe both Muslims and traitors, there was as yet no formal connection. But in time one was supplied by other thinkers who took Gratian's argument and expanded it logically, building upon the tradition of using the material sword to deal with heretics.¹⁰²

Some blurred the line between Islam and heresy, since traditionally contemporaries

⁹⁷William of Tyre 339, 127 and 285.

⁹⁸William of Tyre 299.

⁹⁹*La chanson de Jérusalem* 35, 56, 73, and 117.

¹⁰⁰*Les chétifs*, ed. G. M. Myers, *OFCC* 5 (Tuscaloosa 1981), p. 92.

¹⁰¹Gildea, M., *Expressions of religious thought and feeling in the chansons de geste* (Washington D.C. 1943), pp. 24-7.

¹⁰²Watt 31.

confronted heresy with physical coercion when deemed necessary.¹⁰³ For example, Peter the Venerable described Muslims as both heretics and *pagani*: 'either call them heretics on account of their heresy, and since they understand some part [of truth] with the Church, or call them pagans because of their exceptional impiety.'¹⁰⁴ Peter may well have drawn upon the 1127 *Digest of Aimon*, in which William of Malmesbury asserted that Christians, Jews and Muslims were sects with different opinions about God the Son but who agreed in their worship of God the Father.¹⁰⁵ Whether the Muslims were heretics or pagans was in truth a crucial question in the context of canon law that affected the legality of physical coercion against Islam.

Others used Islamic aggression in the Holy Land to argue that Muslims, like heretics, were actively resisting the rules of Christian society. Circa 1160 the *Summa Parisiensis* stated that 'we ought to persecute [Muslims] because they struggle to invade us and our lands, but not the Jews, because they are prepared to serve....so generally we can say, that whether they are Saracens or Jews, as long as they are rebels, we ought to persecute them.'¹⁰⁶ Similarly, Henry of Huntingdon described the Muslims killed in Jerusalem in 1099 as rebels: 'therefore assaulting the city and climbing its walls with ladders, the sons of God took the city, and killed many rebels (*rebellantes*) in the temple of the Lord, and cleansed the holy city of the unclean peoples.'¹⁰⁷ The evidence suggests that some in the mid-twelfth century were extending the legality of vengeance authorized by the pope against those who had committed injuries to the communal good to the Muslims, because they were seen as heretics rebelling against Christian society.

Arguments from another direction used the reality of the crusading movement to promote the use of force against the unfaithful within Christian society. As well as arguing that the use of force against Christian criminals logically led to the use of force against non-Christians, Peter the Venerable noted that the use of force against Muslims could be used to justify the use of force against Christians. In 1150 he stated that those who argued for the application of physical coercion to non-Christians should argue as well for the application of physical coercion to Christians:

¹⁰³The idea that Islam was a heresy was forged in the Middle East and Spain much before its arrival in northern Europe (Tolan 277).

¹⁰⁴Peter the Venerable, *Liber contra sectam sive haeresim Saracenorum*, ed. J. Kritzcek, *Peter the Venerable and Islam* (Princeton 1964), p. 227.

¹⁰⁵Kedar 87-8.

¹⁰⁶Kedar 72-3 f.n. 88.

¹⁰⁷Henry of Huntingdon 229.

But perhaps you say: we take up arms against pagans, but not against Christians. But whom should you fight more, a pagan who does not know God, or a Christian confessing himself in words and deeds to be opposed to [God]? Who should be most persecuted, one who is ignorant and blaspheming, or refusing to acknowledge and fighting?...It is not true that a Christian suffering injustice from another Christian should be less defended with counsel, and indeed by your swords, than a Christian suffering the same from a pagan.¹⁰⁸

Apparently, not only did physical coercion of criminals lead some to apply physical coercion to Muslims, but vice versa; the persecution of Muslims led some to advocate internal sanctions. Here was great potential for circular reasoning in the future.¹⁰⁹

The key point for this dissertation is that this just punishment, this material coercion, was described as vengeance. As has already been pointed out, this was partly due to the contemporary understanding of an intimate connection between vengeance, justice and punishment, and it was also partly due to the Biblical language and metaphors with which ecclesiastical minds sought to express their arguments. To give yet another example, Gratian used Old Testament events and vocabulary to explain why sins should be 'avenged':

God is provoked to anger, when the punishment of sins is delayed.
And God is vehemently offended when we hesitate to attack and avenge the [sins] of some people; we provoke divine patience to anger. *Did not Achan son of Zerah break the mandate of God, and did not His anger consume the whole people of Israel?*¹¹⁰

But in fact, to draw a distinction between the 'secular' and 'ecclesiastical' sources for the terminology of vengeance may be anachronistic. Bernard of Clairvaux wrote that during the First Crusade 'God elevated the spirit of kings and princes to take vengeance on the nations and eradicate the enemies of the Christian name from the land,' and vernacular poets wrote that 'since the son of God summons you to avenge him on the lineage of Pharaoh, you indeed ought to be joyful.'¹¹¹ The two passages emphasized different aspects of vengeance and used slightly different language, but ultimately both promoted the basic ideology of crusading as an act of vengeance on the wrongdoer.

¹⁰⁸Peter the Venerable, *The letters of Peter the Venerable*, vol. 1 p. 409.

¹⁰⁹In fact, in 1275 Humbert of Romans wrote to Gregory X that this line of thought (if we kill Muslims, why not others who sin?) had been reincarnated yet again, this time to criticize the crusading movement. (Kedar 175)

¹¹⁰Gratian vol. 1 col. 926. Reference to Joshua 22:20.

¹¹¹Bernard of Clairvaux, *Epistolae*, vol. 8 p. 432. Marcabru 310.

Crucifixion and crusade

I was forced to conclude in the previous chapter that although there was a relationship between anti-Jewish sentiment, vengeance, and the First Crusade, it was impossible to make that relationship explicitly clear. In this chapter there are two questions to be answered: was there a continued relationship between anti-Jewish sentiment, vengeance and the First Crusade, and if so, what accounted for it?

In favour of a continued relationship are the events leading up to the Second and Third Crusades. On the eve of the Second Crusade, people stirred by crusade preaching attacked Jews in the Rhineland, leading Bernard of Clairvaux to write explicitly against anti-Jewish violence.¹¹² Jews were threatened with violence and forced conversion on the eve of the Third Crusade, and these threats were annulled only by the quick intervention of Emperor Frederick I.¹¹³ The crusading movement was still inspiring, albeit without official sanction, anti-Jewish sentiment and violence. There is evidence to suggest that this violence was again understood by its victims as the desire for vengeance for the crucifixion of Christ, as it had been in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries. The Hebrew *Sefir Zekhirah*, composed by Rabbi Ephraim of Bonn after the Second Crusade, described how some crusaders attacked a certain Master Rabbi Jacob.

They ripped up a Torah Scroll before his face and took him out to a field. There they argued with him about his religion and started assaulting him viciously. They inflicted five wounds upon his head, saying 'You are the leader of the Jews. So we shall take vengeance upon you for the crucified one and wound you the way you inflicted five wounds on our god.'¹¹⁴

Direct violent retaliation, five wounds for five wounds, was inflicted by crusaders in repayment for the suffering of Christ over a thousand years before.

However, on the other hand, it is fair to claim that by the later twelfth century the persecution of Jews was widespread and habitual, rather than merely tied to specific crusading expeditions, even though the call for the Third Crusade did inspire some to anti-Jewish violence. Anecdotes reporting various atrocities supposedly committed by Jews were circulated to inflame

¹¹²Bernard of Clairvaux, *Epistolae*, vol. 8 pp. 311-17.

¹¹³Chazan, R., 'Emperor Frederick I, the third crusade, and the Jews,' *Viator* 8 (1977), p. 88.

¹¹⁴*Sefir Zekhirah* 130.

Christian anger, and writers in the period took note of these stories.¹¹⁵ In 1180 near Boppard, Jews were accused of murdering a young girl, urged to be baptized, and eventually drowned; one corpse was dragged from town to town.¹¹⁶ In 1186 an apparently insane Jew publicly killed a Christian girl. That Jew was immediately killed along with six others, and a few days later his mother was buried alive and his uncle drawn and quartered.¹¹⁷ In 1181 Gervase of Canterbury noted that ‘a certain boy named Robert was martyred by the Jews’ and in 1191 King Philip II of France heard of a terrible episode involving a certain Christian ‘whom [the Jews] falsely charged with secret homicide, and whom the Jews, moved by ancient hatred, tortured....’¹¹⁸ Rigord, explaining Philip’s decision to expel the Jews in 1180, offered three reasons, two of which are anecdotal and necessarily vague; only one, ‘for giving money to the Christians uxoriously,’ seems likely to have been true in any factual sense.¹¹⁹ Rigord’s other explanations were that ‘in the chalices, in which the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ was collected, [the Jews] devoured [Christian] infants made into little bits covered in wine (*infantes eorum offas in vino factas comedebant*)’ and ‘a certain Jew...having the pledges of the Church...plac[ed] them most vilely in a bag in a deep pit where he was accustomed to empty his bowels.’¹²⁰ Episodes of anti-Jewish violence promoted further acts of anti-Jewish violence, due to an attitude best described as ‘there’s no smoke without fire.’¹²¹ Of course, as the Jews’ maltreatment increased, so too did the anxiety that they in turn might retaliate, thus propelling the cycle further along.¹²²

In a recent article, Chazan, using as evidence the growth of murder and well-poisoning accusations, has argued that in the period between the First and Second Crusades the hostility between Christians and Jews shifted from the ‘cosmic’ level to a more everyday, earthly animosity

¹¹⁵It will interest comparative historians that in nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Spain similar accusations of well poisoning, etc., were made against the Catholic Church. For further discussion see Lincoln 113.

¹¹⁶Chazan, R., ‘Ephraim ben Jacob’s compilation of twelfth-century persecutions,’ *Jewish Quarterly Review* 84:4 (1994), p. 401.

¹¹⁷Chazan, ‘Ephraim ben Jacob’s compilation,’ p. 403.

¹¹⁸Gervase of Canterbury 296 and Rigord 119.

¹¹⁹Rigord 24.

¹²⁰Rigord 25 and 27.

¹²¹Chazan, R., ‘The anti-Jewish violence of 1096: perpetrators and dynamics,’ ed. A. S. Abulafia, *Religious violence between Christians and Jews: medieval roots, modern perspectives* (Basingstoke 2002), p. 37.

¹²²Moore, R. I., *The formation of a persecuting society: power and deviance in western Europe, 950-1250* (Oxford 1987), p. 15.

and fear.¹²³ And, indeed, anti-Jewish violence in this period was predominantly justified case by case as vengeance for specific Jewish 'crimes' (if it was justified at all), rather than as vengeance for Jewish disbelief or the crucifixion; the mid-twelfth century saw the beginnings of accusations of murder, well-poisoning, and the like.

It is thus difficult to say based on events whether a relationship between anti-Jewish sentiment and the idea of crusading as vengeance thus continued in contemporary society as it had in the very early twelfth century. However, I will now show that in the texts, at least, writers continued to draw a link between anti-Jewish sentiment and the idea of crusading as an act of vengeance. The apparent foundation of this link was writers' frequent blurring of the distinction between Jews and Muslims and their treatment. What elements promoted this confusion?

One general mindset of the time encouraged grouping Jews and Muslims together. Many in the mid-twelfth century saw the world in black and white terms that grouped non-Christians together, emphasizing primarily the division between the faithful and the unfaithful, rather than the divisions between different types of non-Christians. Peter the Venerable asked whether the Muslims should be deemed pagans or heretics, and ultimately decided that it did not greatly matter, even though it was a critical distinction in terms of canon law.¹²⁴ It is well-documented that the Cistercians, particularly Bernard of Clairvaux, promoted the growing twelfth-century tendency to enforce a unified Christendom through physical coercion.¹²⁵ For Bernard, the love of God fed the hatred of those who did not love God:

...for from this it is certain that if [a man] should not return immediately to the love of God, it is necessary that he know, that not only is he now nothing, but nothing at all, or rather, he will be nothing for eternity. Therefore that man [should be] set aside; not only now should he not be loved, moreover he should be held in hatred, according to this: *will I not hate those who hate you, Lord, and will I not languish over your enemies?*¹²⁶

Bernard presented a definition of Christian love that effectively served to divide the world in two. Perhaps for similar reasons the Cistercians (and many others) did not distinguish between various

¹²³Chazan, R., 'From the first crusade to the second: evolving perceptions of the Christian-Jewish conflict,' ed. M. A. Signer and J. Van Engen, *Jews and Christians in twelfth-century Europe* (Notre Dame Indiana 2001), pp. 46-62.

¹²⁴Peter the Venerable, *Liber contra sectam*, p. 227.

¹²⁵Newman, M. G., *The boundaries of charity: Cistercian culture and ecclesiastical reform, 1098-1180* (Stanford 1996), p. 238.

¹²⁶Bernard of Clairvaux, *Sermones super cantica canticorum*, vol. 2 p. 82. Reference to Psalms 138:21.

types of heresy, choosing instead to present all heresies as 'part of an ongoing diabolical battle against the unity of the Church.'¹²⁷ As Peter of Blois wrote in his crusading narrative, 'it is Christ who says: *he who is not with me, is against me, and he who does not unite with me will be scattered.*'¹²⁸ These kinds of opinions at the least created an environment in which it was easier to blur the distinctions between Jews and Muslims.

Predominantly, however, the blurred distinctions between Jews and Muslims, and the relationship between those blurred distinctions and the idea of crusading as vengeance, centred around the crucifixion in four ways. First, there was an obvious and intrinsic link between Jerusalem, threatened by Muslims in the East, and Jerusalem, place of Christ's death at the hands of the Jews. So the city of Jerusalem itself served as a nexus for attitudes towards Jews and Muslims, reminding Christians of the crucifixion of Christ (blamed on the Jews) whilst encouraging violence against the Muslims to regain the holy city.

Second, the rhetorical emphasis writers placed upon avenging Christ's injuries (rather than injuries to the Church or to Christians in the East) drew attention to the crucifixion, making it a convenient ideological focal point. This was no doubt connected with the devotion to the suffering Christ that grew through the twelfth century. As Christians became more interested in the literal, physical details of Christ's life and painful death, they experienced 'new and more intense emotional reaction[s].'¹²⁹ In fact, that was the exact goal aimed at by members of the Church. As Ralph *Ardens* wrote in one of his twelfth-century homilies, 'also for this reason the image of the crucifix is now depicted in church so that we, seeing that our Redeemer voluntarily endured poverty, infirmity, taunts, spitting, beating [and] death for our salvation, may be more and more inflamed to love Him in our hearts.'¹³⁰ Rupert of Deutz stated the emotional effect of the crucifixion more succinctly: 'we ourselves are aroused internally to love of Him while imagining externally His death.'¹³¹ The cultural immediacy of the crucifixion, and the vivid emotional responses it evoked, are clearly evident in later medieval demands for Christians to avenge injuries purportedly done by the Jews on the Eucharist. In those cases, the wounded body

¹²⁷Newman 220.

¹²⁸Peter of Blois, *Conquestio de dilatione vie Ierosolimitane*, p. 83. References to Matthew 12:30 and Luke 11:23.

¹²⁹Langmuir, G. I., 'At the frontiers of faith,' ed. A. S. Abulafia, *Religious violence between Christians and Jews: medieval roots and modern perspectives* (Basingstoke 2000), p. 149.

¹³⁰Ralph *Ardens*, *Homiles* 55 (cited and translated by Constable 197).

¹³¹Rupert of Deutz, *De conversione sua* 3 (cited and translated by Constable 211).

of Christ was believed to be literally right there in the present moment.¹³² A rising emotional interest in the spectacle of the suffering Christ may have promoted Christian attention to the crucifixion, which in turn may have promoted Christian attention both to the purported Jewish deicide, leading to anti-Jewish violence, and to Jerusalem as the location of Christ's Passion, leading to aggression in the East.

Third, although Chazan is right that 'cosmic' reasons for anti-Jewish persecution were less influential than they had been in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries, in the crusading sources for the later twelfth century those same 'cosmic' reasons for violent persecution remained evident and contributed to the ideology of crusading as vengeance against the Muslims. These 'cosmic' reasons were fundamentally rooted in what I will refer to henceforth as Christian 'mytho-history,' the narrative framework underlying contemporary culture in the Catholic West that assigned meaning and order to historical events on the basis of religious belief.¹³³ This narrative took actual historical events and reshaped and interpreted them to fit into a presupposed sacred pattern. To give one example already touched on, in this mytho-history the Roman destruction of Jerusalem in 70 C. E. was not perceived primarily as punishment for political rebellion, but as prophesied vengeance for the crucifixion of Christ. The premise that the destruction of Jerusalem was the fulfilment of Christian prophecy led to assertions about events, like the baptism of Titus and Vespasian, that in contemporary minds 'must' have happened. Belief and interpretation largely determined what events were acknowledged, and the priority was maintaining a contiguous Christian worldview that used historical events, religious symbolism and orthodox doctrine to frame the present-day situation.

There is a good example of the key role played by the Jews in Christian mytho-history in Otto of Freising's *Chronica*, a work devoted to describing the entirety of Christian history from the creation to the forthcoming day of judgment. Otto devoted considerable space to the Roman destruction of Jerusalem in 70 C. E., describing it as divine vengeance:

Therefore when the Jews, forty years after the Passion of the Lord (which they had received as a time for penitence) did not wish to repent the crime they had committed on the Saviour...it was the time for divine vengeance, which had been predicted to them by the Lord, to consume that impious people. However through

¹³²Rubin, M., *Gentile tales: the narrative assault on late medieval Jews* (New Haven 1999), pp. 54-7.

¹³³The term 'mytho-history' is from Riley-Smith, 'The military orders,' p. 18. The definition here is my own.

divine intervention the citizens of Christ were forewarned, so that they could leave the sacrilegious city and the most impious people, just as Lot left Sodom.... This is believed to have been the just judgment of God, so that those who had sinned against God the father and son were punished by men who were father and son.¹³⁴

Not only did Otto of Freising deem the Roman destruction of Jerusalem divine vengeance, he described it in a ritualistic manner, allotting the Jews customary time to repent, forewarning the Christians in Jerusalem just as Lot had been warned in the Old Testament, and drawing a symbolic parallel between the crimes committed against two of the three persons of God and the two persons of Vespasian and Titus. In so doing Otto, like many of his contemporaries, transformed a historical fact into a rich, meaning-laden event that played a key role in Christian mytho-history.

But it was not only texts written by high-status bishops that noted the role of the Jews as mytho-historical enemies of Christianity in the mid-twelfth century. The vernacular poem *Chevalier, mult estes guariz* also did so.

God gave his body to the Jews,
in order to set us free from prison;
they wounded him in five places,
he who underwent death and suffering.
Now you are ordered against the [Muslims],
and the rebellious and bloody people
have done much with their shameful arms:
now return to them their recompense!¹³⁵

The passage suggests that the crusades, and the role the Muslims played as targets of crusading, were incorporated into the Christian mytho-history. Crucially, that incorporation placed the Muslims side by side with the Jews as villains. A chain of cause and effect was forged: the Jews killed Christ, and now vengeance must be taken on the Muslims. The crime of the Jews and the need to take vengeance on the Muslims were linked, both part of the mytho-history that informed medieval Christian actions. It seems likely that this mytho-history continued to aggravate both anti-Jewish and anti-Islamic sentiment and motivate violence, whether in Europe or on crusade in the East.

Fourth, the texts suggest that Jews and Muslims had committed the same injury. Not only the Muslims in the East actively threatened Christendom. Some writers in the late twelfth century imagined that Christendom was completely encompassed by its enemies: 'not only in the East

¹³⁴Otto of Freising, *Chronica*, pp. 248-50.

¹³⁵*Les chansons de croisade* 9.

were the faithful thus oppressed by the impious, but in the West and in all the lands of the earth, especially among those who were called faithful, belief deserted [us] and fear of the Lord was taken away right in the middle [of things], justice concerning things perished.¹³⁶

Most prominently, as is well-known, the Jews alongside the Muslims were called *infideles*, 'the unfaithful,' and were accused of wilful disbelief.¹³⁷ It is also well-known that Jews were perceived as the enemies of Christianity alongside the Muslims by some crusaders. Orderic Vitalis had hinted at an amalgamated target for Christian vengeance during the First Crusade: 'these pilgrims held all Jews, heretics, and Saracens equally detestable, whom they all called enemies of God.'¹³⁸ Even Peter the Venerable remarked to Peter of Poitiers that 'the three greatest enemies of holy Christianity [are those whom] I name the Jews and heretics and Saracens.'¹³⁹

Of course, the issue here is not whom the Christians deemed enemies of God, but at whom they directed violent acts of vengeance. I have already quoted the *Summa Parisiensis*, which very carefully distinguished between violence against Muslims and Jews.¹⁴⁰ As long as crusaders respected that moral distinction, hatred of the Jews should not have led to physical violence against them which would be deemed vengeance. But the historical record shows that not all crusaders did respect the moral difference between violence against Muslims and Jews. The evidence from the mid-twelfth century suggests that the concept of vengeance was invoked for acts of anti-Jewish violence as well as crusading violence against Muslims:

Look now, we are going a long way to seek out the profane shrine and to avenge ourselves on the Ishmaelites, when here, in our very midst, are the Jews — they whose forefathers murdered and crucified him for no reason. Let us first avenge ourselves on them and exterminate them from among the nations so that the name of Israel will no longer be remembered, or let them adopt our faith and acknowledge the offspring of promiscuity.¹⁴¹

But the quotation above also emphasizes the injury the Jews had committed according to Christian mytho-history. It was the singular crime of deicide, which surely could not be repeated literally by any other group, no matter how antagonistic toward Christianity. Why therefore

¹³⁶William of Tyre 117-18.

¹³⁷Rigord 29 and 30.

¹³⁸Orderic Vitalis vol. 5 p. 44.

¹³⁹Peter the Venerable, 'Epistola Petri Pictavensis,' *Peter the Venerable and Islam*, ed. J. Kritzeck (Princeton 1964), p. 216.

¹⁴⁰See above page 139.

¹⁴¹*Solomon bar Simson Chronicle* 22.

(apart from human frailty and incomprehension) was the moral distinction between crusading vengeance on Muslims and on Jews not universally respected?

Although vengeance for the crucifixion and vengeance for the occupation of the Holy Land were strong motivating factors for the persecution of Jews and Muslims respectively in the sources, other 'injuries' that the two groups supposedly perpetrated in common may also have encouraged the crusaders to seek vengeance. It has been well-documented by A. Abulafia and others that the Jews' continued refusal to accept the 'truth' of Christian doctrine was perceived to be an injury that brought guilt upon their heads.¹⁴² The Jews were not only those who crucified Christ, they were those 'who rebel and disbelieve in him,' who 'disrespect [the Christian god].'¹⁴³ As Otto of Freising wrote in his *Chronica*, 'the Jews were not ignorant...but, to their greater damnation, through prejudice, the circumcised ones did not wish to believe.'¹⁴⁴ The conviction that the Jews were guilty, not only for the specific crime of the crucifixion but moreover for their wilful rejection of Christ and Christianity, can be traced as far back as the Venerable Bede, although its popularity seems to have noticeably revived in the twelfth century.¹⁴⁵

In the mid-twelfth century some accused the Muslims of committing the same crime as Jews: wilful rejection of the true Christianity.¹⁴⁶ As the Pseudo-Anselm wrote in his *Dialogus inter gentilem et Christianum*, 'because you cannot see the effect of this [the Passion], whether you want to or not, from now on you are to blame.'¹⁴⁷ Henry of Huntingdon called the Muslims '*rebellantes*,' those who were rebelling.¹⁴⁸ And during the siege of Lisbon, the Muslims supposedly deliberately blasphemed Christian rites: 'Christ was actually blasphemed by the unbelievers, saluted with false bows, wet with the spit of the evil, afflicted with chains, crushed with cudgels, affixed to the cross with hate.'¹⁴⁹ In this passage the Muslims repeated two 'Jewish' crimes: the crucifixion (albeit symbolically) and the derogation of Christianity.

¹⁴²See in particular Abulafia, A. S., *Christians and Jews in the twelfth-century renaissance* (London 1995).

¹⁴³*Solomon bar Simson Chronicle* 25 and 26.

¹⁴⁴Otto of Freising, *Chronica*, p. 232.

¹⁴⁵Cohen, 'The Jews as killers of Christ,' p. 11.

¹⁴⁶Noted also by Strickland, D. H., *Saracens, demons and Jews* (Princeton 2003), p. 241, though she discusses 'destruction' in general rather than the more specific 'vengeance.'

¹⁴⁷Cited and translated by Abulafia, *Christians and Jews*, p. 86.

¹⁴⁸Henry of Huntingdon 229.

¹⁴⁹*De expugnatione Lyxbonensi* 132. For an earlier example of similar desecration see Albert of Aachen 471: 'in this place, in order to excite the anger of the Christians, they raised crosses in ridicule and hatred, upon which they spat...' See also Baldric of Bourgueil 101.

The idea that the Jews wilfully rejected Christianity surely drew a parallel in some minds between Jews and heretics. Heretics had also wilfully rejected true Christianity, and it had long been acceptable to take vengeance on them. Moreover, as shown above, for some there was a similar parallel between Muslims and heretics.¹⁵⁰ The comparison of Jews and heretics, and Muslims and heretics, suggested both that Jews and Muslims had committed similar injuries and that those injuries might be justifiably punished with vengeance, as heretics were punished.

Furthermore, the crucifixion was specifically connected with the view of the Jews as belligerent non-believers by some twelfth-century thinkers: 'the external evil [the Jews] did [when they crucified Christ] was a sign of the greater evil they conceived within, that is, to snuff out their spiritual understanding.'¹⁵¹ After all, if the Passion was seen as timeless and continual, then so was the role of the Jews as tormentors of Christ.¹⁵² Rupert of Deutz expressed this by claiming that through circumcision, a fundamental Jewish ritual, the Jews negated Christ and his suffering.¹⁵³ The Muslims also were accused of recreating the crucifixion. On some occasions, they were accused of killing crusaders by imitating the crucifixion literally. In the case of Rainald Porcet purportedly:

they [the Muslims] extended him freely in a cross on the table, laying out his arms and putting his feet near each other...¹⁵⁴

According to the mid-twelfth-century *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi*, during the siege of Lisbon the citizens taunted the crusaders: 'Christ was actually blasphemed by the unbelievers, saluted with false devotion, soaked with the spit of the malignant, afflicted with bonds, hampered by clubs, affixed to the cross with hatred.'¹⁵⁵

The belief that both Jews and Muslims were scornfully imitating the crucifixion may well have been connected with the accusations that both Jews and Muslims wilfully rejected Christian faith. The crucifixion of Christ may have served as a template, a standard by which to assess the

¹⁵⁰See above pages 139-40.

¹⁵¹Joachim of Fiore, *Expositio magni prophete Abbatis Joachim in Apocalypsum...* (cited by Abulafia, A. S., 'The intellectual and spiritual quest for Christ and central medieval persecution of the Jews,' *Religious violence between Christians and Jews: medieval roots and modern perspectives* (Basingstoke 2002), p. 78).

¹⁵²Rubin, M., 'Mary and the Jews,' paper given in Cambridge, 30 March 2004.

¹⁵³Rupert of Deutz, *Anulus sive dialogus inter Christianum et Iudaeum* (cited by Abulafia, *Christians and Jews in the twelfth-century renaissance*, p. 102).

¹⁵⁴*La chanson d'Antioche* 196.

¹⁵⁵*De expugnatione Lyxbonensi* 132.

malevolence of non-Christians.¹⁵⁶ If in some sense the crucifixion was the physical embodiment of the crime of disbelief, and thus the crucifixion symbolized the threat the unfaithful posed to Christian society, it is not so surprising that, for some at least, Jews were *infideles* to be attacked alongside the Muslims and Muslims were guilty of the crucifixion alongside the Jews.

Moreover, the influence of this sense of a crime committed by both Jews and Muslims may well have been bolstered by the trend in canon law to claim papal authority to dispense vengeance on Muslims.¹⁵⁷ When at least some of the canon lawyers had justified crusading as vengeance in terms of direct papal punishment of Muslims, the blurring of distinctions between non-believers, alongside the Christian mytho-history and an emphasis on both Jews and Muslims as the culpable unfaithful, may have encouraged the relationship between anti-Jewish sentiment, vengeance, and the crusading movement in the sources, despite the undisputed fact that in strict theological terms violence against the Jews simply because they were Jews remained unjustifiable.

Identity and hierarchy

Vengeance was also tied to crusading in this period, as in the early twelfth century, through the demand for vengeance as *auxilium* and *caritas*, a social obligation rooted in the conscious identity of the crusaders. To briefly recapitulate the argument of the previous chapter, in the period from 1095-1137 vengeance was perceived as a part of the duty to provide *auxilium* and to express *caritas* to friends. In this case the 'friends' were fellow crusaders, fellow Christians and God, as signalled by the terminology of family and lordship relationships. It was imperative that the crusaders perceived themselves as united, and the language used to convey that social unity carried with it certain expected behaviour.¹⁵⁸

It is still evident that in this period the crusaders saw themselves as part of a group characterized with the language of family and kin, and that membership in that group bound the crusaders to avenge what they perceived as the injuries of those within the group upon those who

¹⁵⁶One could almost argue that in the case of the crucifixion human history itself was seen as ritual, or, more specifically, as the ritualistic re-enactment of the founding myth of blood sacrifice according to the model of religious violence proposed by Girard.

¹⁵⁷Tolan has also noted that as Jews and Muslims were polemically linked, there was also 'an increasing judicial association' (278).

¹⁵⁸Daniel, N., 'Crusade propaganda,' ed. H. W. Hazard and N. P. Zacour, *A history of the crusades 6: the impact of the crusades on Europe* (Madison Wisconsin 1989), p. 77.

stood outside it. Much of the imagery in late twelfth-century accounts was identical to that used in the immediate aftermath of the First Crusade, and terms for close family relationships again figured prominently.

Jerusalem was 'our mother,' Christians were 'her sons' and 'brothers.' As Peter of Blois exclaimed,

If [Jerusalem] is your mother, where are her sons? Truly, whoever allows their mother to be deceived, despised, and prostituted are not sons, but stepsons, and what is more, they will become known for their shameful treachery, if they do not defend the patrimony of their mother, the inheritance of their Lord... The blood of Naboth cried out, the blood of Abel cried out from the ground for vengeance, and found vengeance. The blood of Christ clamours for aid, and does not find anyone to help.¹⁵⁹

In the *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi*, Peter the bishop of Oporto was said to have quoted Ambrose in his stirring sermon:

The mother church cries to you as though with limbs chopped off and face deformed, she seeks the blood and vengeance of her sons through your hands. She cries out, indeed she cries out!... *He who does not drive back injury from his brothers and associates, although he is able to, is as much to blame as the man who strikes the blow.* Therefore you, good sons of the mother church, drive back the hostile force and [thrust back] the injury.¹⁶⁰

The Church was represented as a wounded and bereaved mother clamouring for revenge; any 'sons' who resisted her pleas would be as culpable as those who had injured her in the first place. In this context, to take vengeance would be a sign of righteous innocence, and to deny vengeance a sign of guilt and complicity. Inaction would signify collusion: there were only two sides from which to choose. I speculated that in the earlier period to take vengeance was sometimes interpreted as an act of love. It is clear now that to *not* take vengeance was sometimes seen as a malicious act of rejection and a repudiation of the all-important group identity of the crusaders.

God was seen as a father, and in the texts those taking the cross sometimes remarked upon their duty to 'avenge the injury of the highest Father.'¹⁶¹ Henry of Huntingdon described the First Crusaders as 'sons of God' fighting against 'the sons of the devil.'¹⁶² The perception of God as a father was complemented by the idea of the East as God's hereditary estate to be reclaimed.

¹⁵⁹Peter of Blois, *Conquestio de dilatione vie Ierosolimitane*, p. 83.

¹⁶⁰*De expugnatione Lyxbonensi* 78. Reference to Ambrose, *De officiis* i.36.

¹⁶¹Gerald of Wales 14-15.

¹⁶²Henry of Huntingdon 225.

William of Tyre reported Pope Urban II at Clermont informing the crowd that the holy land 'was worthy to be called [God's] inheritance....he says through Isaiah *my inheritance is Israel* and again *the vineyard of the Lord of the Sabbath is the house of Israel*.'¹⁶³ Furthermore, as before, the crusaders went to avenge the injuries of their 'brothers' in the East. William of Tyre underscored that Pope Eugenius III sought 'to animate [diverse Western regions] to go to avenge the injuries of fraternal blood.'¹⁶⁴

Although the language of family relationships and the need to provide vengeance were stressed in the emotional appeals for crusade in these texts, it was not always the case in the narrative accounts of the battlefield. In the early twelfth century the crusaders were frequently described *en masse* remembering their group identity and avenging their injuries on the battlefield, but in the later twelfth century, William of Tyre alone described the crusaders as moved to seek vengeance as aid to their 'brothers' on the battle field, and he did so only twice.¹⁶⁵ Writers in the late twelfth century did not paint exactly the same pictures of battlefield emotion and vengeance as *auxilium* in the midst of battle.

Baldric of Bourgueil, Albert of Aachen, and Orderic Vitalis had written that when first crusaders were ambushed at Port St. Symeon, others longed to avenge their 'brothers.'¹⁶⁶ Regarding the same attack William of Tyre described Godfrey of Bouillon announcing that 'enemies of the name and faith of Christian have triumphed over our lords and brothers....let us either die with them or avenge the injury done to the Lord Jesus Christ.'¹⁶⁷ William inserted the term 'lords' alongside 'brothers' to describe those who deserved to be avenged. This is a subtle change, but significant when other episodes are also examined. In another late twelfth-century source, although Eustace of Bouillon did avenge the death of his fellow crusader Rainald of Beauvais on the plains of Ramla, the language of brotherhood was not used to explain his actions. The same went for the crusaders' reaction to the torture and death of Rainald Porcet at the hands of the Muslims, and the death of Eudo of Beauvais avenged by Hugh the Great.¹⁶⁸ Crusaders still sought vengeance on the battlefield, but these quests for vengeance were sometimes described

¹⁶³William of Tyre 131. References to Isaiah 19:25 and 5:7.

¹⁶⁴William of Tyre 739-40.

¹⁶⁵William of Tyre 276 and 800.

¹⁶⁶See above page 108.

¹⁶⁷William of Tyre 276.

¹⁶⁸*La chanson de Jérusalem* 224. *La chanson d'Antioche* 197 and 337.

with the language of family, and sometimes with that of lordship or simple 'friendship'. As the Old French crusading song *Pour lou peuple rescon forteir* stated about the desecration of the Holy Land:

Do you know why God endures it?
He wants to prove his friends,
who have offered their service to him
to take vengeance on his enemies.¹⁶⁹

In Chapter Two I discussed how in the late twelfth century the ability to take vengeance became more and more the responsibility and the privilege of those in power.¹⁷⁰ It is therefore not surprising that in the late twelfth-century sources the individuals who were portrayed seeking vengeance for personal injuries were almost exclusively high-ranking men: Tancred, Baldwin, Conrad, Fulk.¹⁷¹ These were the kind of men expected and allowed to take personal or familial vengeance as they wished. The one 'average' crusader who took vengeance on the battlefield and was singled out for exemplary narrative treatment was a 'certain Fulbert of Cannes,' who bravely avenged not a family member, but his lord. In the anecdote William of Tyre attributed Fulbert's good deed solely to the political aspect of the relationship: 'learning the injury that his lord had suffered, suffering equally with his whole heart he was concerned in his mind how such an injury could be avenged.'¹⁷² In another narrative of the period, when Hugh of St. Pol mourned for the death of his son Engelrand in the First Crusade he was advised by Hugh the Great to simply accept what had happened:

'Hey, Hugh of St. Pol, I wish to pray to God for you
that you might set aside your grief: you ought to be well pleased --
if your son is dead, it was in order to avenge God.
He is lodged there in the sky with the angels.'¹⁷³

The message was clear: among the Christian crusaders, those in power could and should avenge personal or familial injuries, whilst those in the ranks avenged their lords, and their desire for family vengeance was to be set aside when necessary.

Furthermore, texts like *Les Chétifs* emphasized that subordinates should seek their superior's permission to seek familial vengeance, and if they did not, dire consequences would

¹⁶⁹*Les chansons de croisade* 79.

¹⁷⁰See above Chapter Two, 'Vengeance, power and emotion.'

¹⁷¹William of Tyre 228, 461, 463-4, 636, 770 and 825-26.

¹⁷²William of Tyre 351-52.

¹⁷³*La chanson de Jérusalem* 253.

ensue. For example, when Baldwin of Beauvais wished to avenge the death of his brother Ernoul on the dragon Sathanas, he begged his lord for permission to do so:

‘...if [you and] God will allow me I will willingly kill it,
for my brother whose death has dismayed my heart.’¹⁷⁴

Only after his lord took counsel with his other men and approved the request did Baldwin set off in pursuit of the dragon. Ambroise similarly described the Muslims’ troops request to be allowed to take vengeance when they learned that Saladin had made peace with King Richard I of England after the Third Crusade:

And they called out to him: ‘Ha! Worthy Saladin
now it would be well right and timely
to avenge ourselves for the massacre
that happened to us before Acre.
Sire, allow us to avenge our fathers,
our parents, our sons and our brothers,
for there they are dead and buried;
now each one can be avenged.’¹⁷⁵

Soudans, a powerful Muslim leader, sought vengeance for the death of his son Brohadas in *Les Chétifs*, albeit through the relatively impersonal form of public judicial combat.¹⁷⁶ But when the families of the two Muslim combatants who died in the judicial combat subsequently sought their own family vengeance contrary to the wishes of their lord, they were markedly unsuccessful, and all were killed.¹⁷⁷ These humble requests to be allowed to seek vengeance for dead kin, and the striking morality tale of the downfall of those who did not seek approval, contrast somewhat with the earlier sources, in which one who failed to avenge his loved ones and peers was held in contempt even by the writers of the texts themselves.

The rhetoric of vengeance for the Christian ‘family’ was still used to promote the crusades, and the concept of aid was still a crucial link between crusading and vengeance, but the authority for vengeance resided more clearly with the powerful. This was surely due in large part to the environment in which the texts were written. The twelfth century was a time of political reconstruction, when both Church and secular political structures were becoming more institutionalized. In broad cultural terms, the wielders of power were changing and growing, and

¹⁷⁴*Les chétifs* 48.

¹⁷⁵Ambroise vol. 1 p. 193. A similar passage can be found in the later *Itinerarium peregrinorum* 434.

¹⁷⁶*Les chétifs* 6-9.

¹⁷⁷*Les chétifs* 30-1.

social relationships and the behaviour they engendered necessarily had to adapt.

The idea of crusading as vengeance in the later twelfth century echoes this time of change and its complex ideals. The language of family was still used heavily in rhetorical appeals to crusading in this period, and the importance of family history was a key element in chivalric crusading ideals as well. Time and again reference was made to the crusaders' ancestors, the first crusaders, as a link between past and present.¹⁷⁸ Crusaders were exhorted to remember their ancestors and maintain the family honour:

Remember France, full of such countryside,
may God make us powerful enough to return healthy and whole,
and see our lineage, that is our desire.¹⁷⁹

But at the same time, crusaders and knights in general were expected to set family relationships and family honour aside for the sake of political relationships, as we have already seen. This complicated set of ideals was epitomized in the argument between Oliver and Roland in the *Chanson de Roland*. Roland refused to blow the horn to summon aid because it would reflect badly on his family's honour; at the same time, he explained that

...for his lord a man ought to suffer great evils
and endure great heat and fierce cold,
for him a man ought to lose his blood and his body.¹⁸⁰

The texts recognized that men longed, and were expected, to avenge the death of their kin, but they were also supposed to respect and submit to the hierarchy of power around them. This corresponds to the trend to emphasize lordship rather than family bonds that would grow in the thirteenth century.

For some modern thinkers, including the philosopher F. Borkenau, this ideological conflict in the *Chanson de Roland* foreshadowed 'an essential characteristic of Western civilization...the compulsion to choose between mutually exclusive principles of conduct.'¹⁸¹ However, the evidence suggests that the principles of vengeance for family on the one hand, and vengeance in accord with the wishes of the powerful on the other, were not mutually exclusive. An individual need not choose one or the other set of values to determine all future actions, but rather was free

¹⁷⁸For example, see *La chanson de Jérusalem* 58.

¹⁷⁹*Les chétifs* 16.

¹⁸⁰*La chanson de Roland* 144.

¹⁸¹Borkenau, F., *End and beginning: on the generation of cultures and the origins of the west* (New York 1981), p. 430.

to lean one way or the other as circumstance dictated. There was room between the two sets of principles for a man to manoeuvre, and the texts show individuals doing that by accommodating the desire and expectation of family vengeance to the values of the political power structure that surrounded them.¹⁸²

Given the tendency by the few scholars who have looked previously at the idea of crusading as vengeance to suggest that the idea was linked solely to secular values, it is worth repeating here that the connection between social relationships and righteous vengeance was not simply a case of secular values 'outweighing' or 'infiltrating' Christianity. The authority quoted by the bishop of Oporto in the above passage was Ambrose; the values he was espousing had long been part of the Christian tradition, and were very close if not identical to the passage by Bernard of Clairvaux in which love for God begets hatred for the ungodly.¹⁸³ As Suger of St. Denis wrote to King Louis VII of France in 1149, 'will I not hate those who hate you, and languish over your enemies?'¹⁸⁴ Even the tendency to use family relationships to characterize the two group identities was not exclusively secular; one has only to glance through the Bible to see similar language employed to distinguish between the righteous and the unrepentant.¹⁸⁵

Summary

The ideology of crusading as vengeance manifested in most, but not all, of the crusading texts from the later twelfth century. Despite the fact that some texts referred to vengeance while others did not, the vast majority of the sources emphasized similar themes and reasons for crusading. Because of the thematic similarities, I have continued to investigate the three patterns of thought identified in the previous chapter as contributing to the idea of crusading as vengeance. This has led me to three general conclusions.

¹⁸²A similar point was made by Barthélemy, D., 'Chivalric feud in tenth-century France: a rereading of Flodoard and Richer of Rheims,' paper delivered 14 July 2005 at the International Medieval Congress, University of Leeds.

¹⁸³See above page 143.

¹⁸⁴Suger of St. Denis 509.

¹⁸⁵A few examples from the New Testament are Matthew 12:50 (*quicumque enim fecerit voluntatem patris mei qui in caelis est ipse meus et frater et soror et mater est*), Romans 8:14 (*quicumque enim spiritu Dei aguntur hii filii sunt Dei*), Hebrews 12:8 (*quod si extra disciplinam estis cuius participes facti sunt omnes ergo adulteri et non filii estis*) and 1 John 3:10 (*in hoc manifesti sunt filii Dei et filii diaboli omnis qui non est iustus non est de Deo et qui non diligit fratrem suum*). There are many more such passages.

The concept of an independent material power aimed at injuries done to the communal good and authorized by the pope strongly influenced the continually evolving ideology of crusading, just as the crusading movement itself championed the power of the papacy.¹⁸⁶ Some applied this legal theory to actions against the 'criminal' Muslims, or, by classifying the Muslims as heretics, incorporated anti-Islamic violence into the already established tradition of violence against heretics. This violence was described with the terminology of vengeance, thanks to both the application of Biblical terminology and also contemporary secular understandings of justice, vengeance, and punishment. Although surely the secular aspects of culture impacted on and promoted the ideology of crusading as vengeance, so too did canon law and Biblical tradition.

The sources demonstrated a continued textual link between anti-Jewish sentiment and the idea of crusading as vengeance. A number of factors in the texts contributed to the blurring of distinctions between Jews and Muslims, and thus suggested vengeance was owed on both groups. A basic belief that the world was divided into those who loved God and those who did not encouraged blurred distinctions. A strong triangular relationship between Jews, Muslims and the crucifixion further encouraged this trend. Muslims wrongly threatened Jerusalem, the city in which the Jews had purportedly killed Christ. A rhetorical emphasis on injuries to Christ and devotional trends of the twelfth century further promoted attention to the crucifixion, an event that linked the Jews and Muslims through the nexus of Jerusalem. In the sources, Muslims were incorporated into the Christian mytho-history alongside the Jews, tied to the crime of the crucifixion. Both groups were accused of denigrating and desecrating the crucifixion, at the same time as both groups were accused (by some at least) of the common injury of rebellious disbelief, suggesting that the crucifixion represented, or served as a template for, the crime of wilful infidelity.

Terms for family members continued to be used to characterize the relationships between crusaders, and between crusaders and God. Alongside the terms of family, however, there was also a noticeable emphasis on language associated with lordship and simple friendship, and the texts went to some length to show the importance of respecting the wishes of the powerful when desiring vengeance for kith and kin. This evidence illustrates changing twelfth-century society, its

¹⁸⁶Katzir, Y., 'The second crusade and the redefinition of *Ecclesia*, *Christianitas* and papal coercive power,' ed. M. Gervers, *The second crusade and the Cistercians* (New York 1992), pp. 6 and 8.

different, but not necessarily mutually exclusive, principles of conduct, and the way in which those principles affected the pursuit of vengeance.

Chapter 6:

The idea of crusading as vengeance, 1198-1216

Early thirteenth-century crusading texts were associated with a variety of crusades, from the First Crusade up through the Fourth, expeditions against the Cathars in southern France, and the first calls for what would become the Fifth Crusade. A correspondingly varied group of sources has been examined for the period: letters to and from Pope Innocent III and James of Vitry, general chronicles, crusading narratives in Latin and the vernacular, sermons, *exempla* and crusading songs. The idea of crusading as an act of vengeance appeared in two letters to and most letters from the pope, four chronicles, six narrative crusading accounts, two related epic poems and the poetry of Conon of Béthune. However, at the same time, three narrative accounts of the Fourth Crusade, a Provençal narrative of the events in Languedoc, the poems of Raimbaut of Vaqueiras, and the writings of James of Vitry in the period (with the exception of one brief passage from a sermon) did not refer to the idea of crusading at vengeance. What were the actual textual references, and what can be concluded from this body of evidence?

Evidence

There was only one passage referring to the First Crusade as vengeance from the early thirteenth century. The Provençal *Canso d'Antioca* briefly proclaimed the intention to wreak vengeance upon non-Christians during the First Crusade:

To the end of the world loss and suffering will be great,
and the Saracens and pagan peoples should know
that still vengeance will be taken!¹

Regrettably, the *Canso d'Antioca* did not make it clear why vengeance was sought. The one example of crusading as vengeance from the writings of James of Vitry in the period was similarly vague as to why vengeance was needed and simply made it clear that those who sought vengeance for God through crusading were worthy Christians: 'those who are not signed [with the cross] come from the devil and are against those who, worthy of their Lord, wish to take

¹*Canso d'Antioca*, ed. C. Sweetenham and L. M. Paterson, *The Canso d'Antioca: an Occitan epic chronicle of the first crusade* (Aldershot 2003), p. 228.

vengeance.²

Early thirteenth-century texts dealing with the Third, Fourth and Albigensian Crusades continued to call upon the reasons for crusading as vengeance earlier identified (loss of land, Christian deaths, and injuries to the cross and Christ). To begin with descriptions of the Third Crusade, sometimes the Christian loss of Jerusalem in 1187 was attributed through hindsight to a reluctance to take vengeance: '*therefore their sons became orphans, and their wives became widows in a foreign land, they who did not wish to avenge the heredity of the Crucified One and their own [land].*'³ Certainly Saladin's success had driven many to call for vengeance to retrieve the lost territory. Pope Clement III, according to Arnold of Lübeck, 'mourning the destruction of the church in Jerusalem sent letters to the whole Roman world, writing to all churches about the impious surrender and slaughter of the servants of God and about certain abominations perpetrated by the Saracens in the Holy Land, inciting all to zeal against the impious and to vengeance for the holy blood.'⁴ A participant in several crusades, Conon of Béthune wrote in *Ahi! Amors, con dure departie* that

Now it appears that those who would be known as honourable
will go to avenge the grievous shame
for which each man ought to be angry and ashamed;
for lost to us is the holy place
where God suffered for us a painful death.⁵

The death of Christians also deserved vengeance alongside the seizure of land in the East. Arnold of Lübeck described the response to papal appeals: 'therefore the husband went forth from his bed to take vengeance for the house of a zealous God and to avenge the just blood.'⁶ Emperor Frederick I had promised 'to take vengeance for a zealous God and to avenge the holy land and the effusion of blood of the servants of God.'⁷

Writers sometimes chose to focus on the need to avenge injuries to the cross, though these too were linked with the 1187 loss of the Holy Land. The *Itinerarium peregrinorum* remarked that Joscius archbishop of Tyre was partly responsible for getting news from the Latin East to the

²James of Vitry, *Sermones*, p. 92. (Sermo 1)

³*De expugnatione terrae sanctae per Saladinum*, ed. J. Stevenson, RS 66 (London 1875), p. 248.

Reference to Lamentations 5:3.

⁴Arnold of Lübeck 169.

⁵Conon of Béthune, *Les chansons de Conon de Béthune*, ed. A Wallensköld, CFM 24 (Paris 1921), p. 7.

⁶Arnold of Lübeck 170.

⁷Arnold of Lübeck 172-3.

West: 'announcing to all the faithful that Christ's inheritance was occupied by the gentiles, he reduced some to tears and fired others to vengeance.'⁸ The *Itinerarium peregrinorum* also described the crusaders as 'avengers of the injury of the cross' and noted that Richard count of Poitou took the cross 'on account of the injuries of the cross.'⁹ The *De expugnatione terrae sanctae per Saladinum* noted that the archbishop of Tyre 'bore forth the news...to the Christian world, bringing innumerable numbers to tears, and inciting many to vengeance. First among all the magnanimous Count Richard of Poitou was signed with a cross to avenge the injury of the Cross.'¹⁰ According to another account, Pope Clement III had sent messengers to Christians throughout western Europe, seeking that:

...they would aid the strength of their suffering mother, remembering her breasts, with whose milk the primitive church of Jerusalem was nourished...and that with the cross put on in remission of sins, proud of themselves as servants of the cross, they would avenge the shame of the cross, which was held by pagans, for the praise and glory of the Crucified One.¹¹

Otto of St. Blasien confirmed Emperor Frederick I's commitment to vengeance, but suggested that it was vengeance for 'the shame of the cross' rather than specifically the loss of Jerusalem and Christian deaths: 'he announced in public that he would avenge the shame of the cross.'¹²

Conon of Béthune suggested that continued failure to take vengeance for the cross would result in God's retribution in turn upon the Christians:

and when the cross cannot be protected,
with his crusaders God will be much aggrieved
if he is not avenged a little in the end.¹³

Arnold of Lübeck noted about the third crusaders in the year 1197 that 'now however the heirs of Christ and sons of God in hymns and confessions praised the Lord, speaking and praying that their devotion would be accepted and that worthy vengeance would fall upon the enemies of the cross.'¹⁴

Injury to Christ himself deserved vengeance as well. According to Robert of Auxerre, Kings Philip II of France and Richard I of England went on the Third Crusade 'to avenge the

⁸*Itinerarium peregrinorum* 32.

⁹*Itinerarium peregrinorum* 32 and 59.

¹⁰*De expugnatione terrae sanctae per Saladinum* 251.

¹¹Otto of St. Blasien 319.

¹²Otto of St. Blasien 319.

¹³Conon of Béthune 9.

¹⁴Arnold of Lübeck 205.

abuse of Christ.’¹⁵ Ralph of Coggeshall described Richard I at Jaffa encouraging his men: ‘he set forth to them that death should not at all be feared, [death] which was inflicted by the pagans for defending Christianity and avenging the injury of Christ; for it would be more magnificent to fall in honour for the laws of Christ, and to be prostrate before the enemies of Christ in death, than to give oneself like a coward to the enemies.’¹⁶

The Fourth Crusade was also described in the early thirteenth century as an act of vengeance for the loss of the Holy Land and injuries done to the cross and Christ. Geoffrey of Villehardouin noted that from the beginning the aim of the Fourth Crusade was to take vengeance and retake Jerusalem. According to Geoffrey, the Frankish crusaders in 1201 took the sign of the cross in order ‘to avenge the shame of Jesus Christ and conquer Jerusalem.’¹⁷ In the same year, according to the same text, Geoffrey of Joinville spoke to the Venetians: ‘lords, the highest and most powerful lords of France have sent us to you, and they ask you mercy, that they might pray you to take pity on Jerusalem which is in service of the Turks, in order that for God you would wish...to avenge the shame of Jesus Christ.’¹⁸ In 1205 Pope Innocent III urged the Venetians to be faithful to their crusading vows. Since they had taken vengeance on the Hungarian city of Zara with God’s help, Christ should be avenged in turn: ‘[something derogatory could be said about you] if now that you have avenged your injury, you did not avenge the insult [done to] Jesus Christ’¹⁹

Even once the Fourth Crusade had diverted to Constantinople, some still perceived the western objectives in Byzantium as vengeance on a large scale. Once the crusaders were considering an assault on Constantinople, according to Robert of Clari, Doge Henry Dandolo asked the bishops if it would be a sin to fight eastern Christians; ‘the bishops responded and said that it would not be at all a sin, moreover it would be a great mercy, for they...could well aid [Latin inhabitants who had been disinherited] to conquer their right and take vengeance on their enemies.’²⁰ Some suggested that even to take Constantinople was vengeance for Christ. According to Arnold of Lübeck, Baldwin IV of Flanders (then emperor of Constantinople) wrote

¹⁵Robert of Auxerre 253.

¹⁶Ralph of Coggeshall 44-5.

¹⁷Geoffrey of Villehardouin vol. 1 p. 20.

¹⁸Geoffrey of Villehardouin vol. 1 p. 28.

¹⁹Innocent III, *Die Register*, vol. 7 p. 365. (*Venientes ad apostolicam sedem*)

²⁰Robert of Clari 40.

to Pope Innocent III from Constantinople, reporting the actions of the Byzantines and concluding that when 'these and similar monstrosities, which a small letter cannot lay forth...provoked Lord Christ to disgust, divine justice through our ministration struck with worthy vengeance and, when the people who hated God were expelled, he [God] gave to us, those who love him, the land and all good things.'²¹ Gunther of Pairis viewed the taking of Constantinople as just vengeance:

Now run forth, run forward, revered knight of Christ,
run forward, to the city which Christ has given to the victor!
...you have fought the wars of Christ, vengeance for the just Christ
you have sought....²²

Otto of St. Blasien concluded:

...and thus God, the severe omnipotent judge, avenged the injuries of his pilgrims...God the lord of vengeance, returning retribution to the proud, nevertheless did not forget mercy in his anger, for he inflicted this lash on the sons of pestilence through the Christians, not through the pagans...²³

Some in the early thirteenth century depicted the crusades against the Cathars in Languedoc as vengeance for injuries done to God. One of the most articulate of these writers was Peter of Les Vaux-de-Cernay. According to Peter, the region of Toulouse was where 'from fathers to sons the successive and superstitious venom of unfaithfulness is diffused...for which reason the avenging hand is said to have justly sustained such a killing of the population in vengeance for such a crime.'²⁴ When the Franks marched against the Cathars in 1209, they were 'all of the faithful marked to avenge the injury of our God.'²⁵ When Béziers was destroyed, Peter considered that the city had 'received worthy vengeance for its crime.'²⁶ At Carcassonne, a cleric attempted to reason with the inhabitants and warned them of God's vengeance: 'you do not want to listen to me? Believe me...even you should know most certainly that even if the walls of this city were of iron and were most high, you could not defend yourselves, because for your disbelief and malice you will receive worthy vengeance from the Most Just Judge!'²⁷ Arnold Amaury, a papal legate, wrote to Rome to announce the victories at Béziers and Carcassonne as divine

²¹Arnold of Lübeck 230.

²²Gunther of Pairis, *Hystoria Constantinopolitana*, ed. P. Orth, *Spolia Berolinensia: Berliner Beiträge zur Mediävistik* 5 (Zurich 1994), p. 155.

²³Otto of St. Blasien 332.

²⁴Peter of Les Vaux-de-Cernay vol. 1 p. 7.

²⁵Peter of Les Vaux-de-Cernay vol. 1 p. 80.

²⁶Peter of Les Vaux-de-Cernay vol. 1 p. 93.

²⁷Peter of Les Vaux-de-Cernay vol. 1 p. 100.

vengeance: 'the city of Béziers is captured, and our men not sparing any order, sex or age, killed nearly twenty thousand people in the jaws of the sword; and when the greatest slaughter of the enemies was finished, the city was completely looted and burned, with divine vengeance raging miraculously throughout.'²⁸

Peter reported the pope expressing the same idea:

...the highest pope had sent general letters to all his prelates, counts, barons, and all people living in the kingdom of Francia, in order that he might move the faithful people to most promptly extirpate the pest of heresy, warning and exhorting them that they should hasten to avenge the injury of the Crucified One in the province of Narbonne.²⁹

Pope Innocent III's surviving letters support Peter's vision of a pope calling for vengeance for an injury done to Christ, not only on the Cathars but also in the period preceding the Fourth Crusade. Innocent made a connection between vengeance and traditional themes of pilgrimage when he expanded on Matthew 16:24 in his letter *Quanta sit circa*: 'he who wishes to come after me, must deny himself, and take up his cross, and follow me, putting on the sign of the cross you ought to seek to avenge the injury of Jesus Christ.'³⁰ In his 1198 letter *Si ad actus* Innocent III promised the count of Forcalquier indulgence for his sins 'if he would personally take up the journey to avenge the injury of the Crucified One, as is proper for such a prince, [if] he would be honourably persistent in the defence of the eastern land.'³¹ Innocent III's 1198 letter *Post miserabile* stated: 'but...may our tongue adhere in our mouths if we do not remember [Jerusalem], for this reason the apostolic seat clamours and raises its voice as though it were a trumpet, desiring to excite the Christian people to the battle of Christ and to avenge the injury of the Crucified One.'³² In *Post miserabile* he further wrote 'but now our princes...are absent in adulterous embraces, consumed with pleasures and crimes; and while they pursue each other with inexorable hatred, while one strives to avenge his injuries on another, there is not one who is so moved [to take vengeance] by the injuries of Christ.'³³ In *Plorans ploravit Ecclesia*, also written in 1198, Innocent III remarked that 'we have sent letters...so that sons may avenge the injuries of the Father, and brothers may

²⁸Innocent III, *Epistolae*, vol. 216 col. 139. (*Sanctissimo patri et*)

²⁹Peter of Les Vaux-de-Cernay vol. 1 p. 74.

³⁰Innocent III, *Die Register*, vol. 1 p. 22. (*Quanta sit circa*)

³¹Innocent III, *Die Register*, vol. 1 p. 611. (*Si ad actus*)

³²Innocent III, *Die Register*, vol. 1 p. 499. (*Post miserabile*)

³³Innocent III, *Die Register*, vol. 1 pp. 499-500. (*Post miserabile*)

arm to avenge their slain brothers.³⁴

Justus et misericors, written in 1201, noted that 'we, however, rejoice in the Lord, because he, who gave cause for penitence, has bestowed the state of penitence within many, and mercifully has inspired them, that, taking up the sign of the cross, they wish to avenge the injury of Jesus Christ.'³⁵ This example strikingly described vengeance for Christ as an act of penance, usually a component of the ideology of crusading as pilgrimage and penitential war. In 1203 Innocent further wrote 'we beget these [letters] with tears...advocating the word of the Lord, and exhorting friends of the Christian name to avenge the injury of Jesus Christ.'³⁶

In 1204 Innocent wrote about the Cathars to King Philip II of France: 'may...the secular sword of power, which is carried by the king and princes to avenge the evildoers...be unsheathed to avenge the injury of the Saviour.'³⁷ In 1207 he told Raymond VI of Toulouse that he should stop 'persecuting the Church of God': 'listen, wretch, and tremble because for the double offense of two-faced prevarication vengeance will be taken on you, even while you treacherously prepare warlike destruction and the pest of heresy injures the flocks of God.'³⁸ Writing again to Philip II in 1207, Innocent asked his 'most loved son...to avenge the injury of Jesus Christ and capture the little foxes which will not stop destroying the vineyard of the Lord of the Sabbath.'³⁹ In 1208 he wrote to archbishops throughout France and Languedoc:

...to those however who are inflamed with zeal for the orthodox faith to avenge just blood, which does not stop crying out from earth to the heavens, until the Lord of vengeance may descend to earth from heaven to confound the subverters and those subverted, [to those who] manfully join together against this pestilence, against those who fight against unity, peace, and truth, we promise the remission of their sins by God.⁴⁰

The pope then exhorted Philip II specifically:

Go forth therefore, knight of Christ, go forth most Christian prince, may the moans of the universal holy Church move your most religious heart, may pious zeal inflame you to avenge such an injury done to your God...The time has come for doing justice, and do not turn your ears from the cries of the Church saying to you: *go forth, and judge my cause*...most beloved son, take up the sword which is for

³⁴Innocent III, *Die Register*, vol. 1 p. 431. (*Plorans ploravit Ecclesia*)

³⁵Innocent III, *Die Register* vol. 4 p. 304. (*Justus ad misericors*)

³⁶Innocent III, *Die Register*, vol. 6 pp. 163-4. (*Cum in manu*)

³⁷Innocent III, *Die Register*, vol. 7. p. 373-4. (*Ne populus Israel*)

³⁸Innocent III, *Epistolae*, vol. 215 col. 1166. (*Si parietem cordis*)

³⁹Innocent III, *Epistolae*, vol. 215 col. 1247. (*Inveterata pravitatis haereticae*)

⁴⁰Innocent III, *Epistolae*, vol. 215 col. 1356. (*Ne nos ejus*)

vengeance on the evildoers, but for the praise of the good; gird on our sword, so that we may both be avenged on these criminal and inhuman evildoers.⁴¹

In the same year, 1208, Innocent wrote to the French nobility 'may the moans of the all-encompassing holy Church move you, may pious zeal inflame you to take vengeance for the injury to your God.'⁴² And when the pope turned his attention back to the East, he wrote to members of the Church 'we seek and pray the Lord...that you, fired with zeal for the Christian faith, will lead...the faithful to take vengeance for the injury of the Crucified One.'⁴³ Again and again Innocent III called for vengeance for injuries done to Christ and the Church by 'this pestilence,' 'these criminal and inhuman evildoers.'

The late twelfth-century *chanson de geste* known as the *Venjançe de Nostre Seigneur* also contained some elements of the ideology of vengeance for the crucifixion, although the historical expedition that formed the basis for the narrative had occurred almost a thousand years before the First Crusade, the avengers were not Christian until baptized at the end of the poem, and the targets were Jews, not Muslims. In the text, the Romans were surprisingly depicted as virtuous (and eventually baptized) Muslims, prone to exclaiming in conversation 'by Mohammed!' in a manner familiar to readers of the *chansons de geste*.⁴⁴ But imprecations to Mohammed did not cure Vespasian of leprosy, and eventually he was healed by Veronica and consequently heard of the death of Jesus. Outraged by the story of the Passion, he and his son Titus embarked on a military expedition to take 'vengeance for the royal Father whom the Jews tortured, those lying gluttons.'⁴⁵ They destroyed Jerusalem, and took vengeance for the betrayal of Jesus by selling thirty Jews for one denarius. Almost all of the Jews were killed, once the Romans realized they had swallowed their gold and silver and subsequently disembowelled them to get at the loot. The small number of Jews left alive were sold into slavery, Pontius Pilate was punished and the Romans were baptized.

The *Venjançe de Nostre Seigneur* emphasized the need for vengeance for the crucifixion of Christ. So too did one version of the exploits of Charlemagne and Roland in Spain, the *Historia Karoli Magni et Rotholandi*, which asserted that the entire expedition against the

⁴¹Innocent III, *Epistolae*, vol. 215 col. 1358. Reference to Psalms 73. (*Si tua regalis*)

⁴²Innocent III, *Epistolae*, vol. 215 col. 1359-60. (*Rem crudelem audivimus*)

⁴³Innocent III, *Epistolae*, vol. 216 col. 822. (*Pium et sanctum*)

⁴⁴*La venjançe de nostre seigneur* 34.

⁴⁵*La venjançe de nostre seigneur* 33.

Muslims had been driven by the desire to take vengeance and convert Muslims. The best evidence for this overall theme comes from the speeches attributed to Roland and Charlemagne. The *Historia Karoli Magni et Rotholandi* devoted considerable narrative time to the 'passion of Roland,' describing Roland soliloquizing to his sword:

O how greatly have I avenged the blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, how many enemies of Christ have I killed, how many Saracens have I killed through you [the sword], how many Jews and traitors have I destroyed for the exaltation of the Christian faith, through you the justice of God is increased....As many treacherous Jews and Muslims as I have killed, to such a degree, I think, I have avenged the blood of Christ.⁴⁶

When Roland finally died many pages later, his prayers to God assumed a similar tone: 'Lord, may the bowels of your mercy be moved for your faithful who have died today in war; from far away regions into these barbarous times they came to fight the treacherous people, exalt your holy name, avenge your precious blood, and declare your faith.'⁴⁷ Like so many other sources from the period, the *Historia Karoli Magni et Rotholandi* emphasized the need to take vengeance for Christ's blood, and notably did not greatly differentiate between killing Muslims and Jews.

So quite a few early thirteenth-century texts portrayed crusading as an act of vengeance. That said, three accounts of the Fourth Crusade did not characterize the sacking of Constantinople, or indeed the Fourth Crusaders' original intentions in the East, as vengeance: the *De terra Iherosolimitana* by the Anonymous of Soissons, the *Devastatio Constantinopolitana*, and the *Gesta* by the Anonymous of Halberstadt. Robert of Auxerre, who did not hesitate to describe the Third Crusade as vengeance, did not use the vocabulary of vengeance in reference to the Fourth Crusade. The writer of the early portion of *La Chanson de la Croisade Albigeoise* did not refer to the crusades against the Cathars as vengeance, even though he supported the expeditions. In addition, James of Vitry, who played a key role in preaching the crusades against the Cathars and the Fifth Crusade, did not refer to the ideology directly in his letters of the period or his *exempla*, and only mentioned it once in passing in one of his sermons. The divide in the evidence does not correspond to membership in the ecclesiastical hierarchy, nor does it correspond to participation in the events described or language of composition. So what does account for it?

⁴⁶*Historia Karoli Magni et Rotholandi* 136.

⁴⁷*Historia Karoli Magni et Rotholandi* 148.

First, it is possible that there was uncertainty about the application of vengeful rhetoric to Christian adversaries, particularly in the case of the Fourth Crusade. Perhaps some western Christians were uncomfortable characterizing the Byzantines alongside Muslims, Jews and heretics. Certainly early thirteenth-century western Christians had differing views about the ethics of fighting a crusade against eastern Christians, and the Fourth Crusade put these views to the test.

The crusading texts reflect the fact that there was no unanimous sentiment towards the Greeks. Some Fourth Crusaders spoke against attacking Constantinople in favour of moving on to Jerusalem, saying 'Ba! What would we do in Constantinople? We have our pilgrimage to make.'⁴⁸ In response to these arguments, Conon of Béthune reportedly replied that '[the Greeks] have held [Constantinople] wrongly and have sinned against God and against reason.'⁴⁹ Similarly, in the same text when Alexius IV was displayed to the Greeks, the Franks announced 'see your natural lord....for the one whom you have obeyed as lord you held wrongly, and as a sin against God and against reason; and you well know how he disloyally acted against his lord and his brother.'⁵⁰ The lack of vocabulary of vengeance in some accounts of the Fourth Crusade may correspond to the fact that not all writers at the time were entirely confident that they knew who was a proper target of crusading violence and who was not, what was just vengeance and what was a wrongful war of self-interest.

The evidence for the crusades against the Cathars weakens the argument that the silence of the sources stems from uncertainty about the justice of the crusades in question. The Cathars were most definitely heretics. Their violent persecution was compatible with canon law and the Christian tradition of just vengeance, but yet, not all who discussed the crusades against the Cathars in the early thirteenth-century used the terminology of vengeance. It seems reasonable to suppose that the writers who did not discuss vengeance did so because they felt it was inappropriate.

⁴⁸Robert of Clari 32.

⁴⁹Geoffrey of Villehardouin vol. 1 p. 144.

⁵⁰Geoffrey of Villehardouin vol. 1 pp. 146 and 148.

Analysis and argument

In Chapter Five I showed how the idea of crusading as vengeance proliferated at the end of the twelfth century, concentrating on the familiar theme of vengeance on the Muslims for their various crimes (eastern territorial conquest, Christian deaths and wilful lack of Christian faith) as well as proposing a relationship in the sources between blurred distinctions between Jews and Muslims and the idea of crusading as vengeance. Furthermore, vengeance was still part of a package of social obligation for one's nearest and dearest, but a growing interest in political hierarchy and shifting social structures had to be accommodated.

In the period from 1198-1216, one cannot overlook the potential impact of Pope Innocent III on crusading ideology. Morris has summarized Innocent's papacy as one devoted to 'crusade, reform, and the correction of heresy,' and Innocent's pursuit of political power for the Church is well known.⁵¹ It is striking that his letters were one of the richest sources of the idea of crusading as vengeance around and just after 1200. Perhaps the emphasis on the ideology within the period is due in part to papal enthusiasm.

A detailed investigation of the relationship between Innocent III and the ideology of crusading as vengeance is not within the scope of this dissertation. However, it is possible and necessary to continue to investigate the underlying patterns of thought contributing to the concept of crusading as vengeance. What links were drawn between crusading and vengeance in this period, and did they mirror those of earlier crusading texts, or was the idea of crusading as vengeance moving in a different direction?

Christian unity

As in the twelfth century, vengeful crusading was associated with divine justice in early thirteenth-century texts, and this justice was to be enacted through human agents. Geoffrey of Villehardouin noted that King Philip II of France told the Venetians 'you go for the sake of God and for right and for justice.'⁵² The taking of Constantinople by the Fourth Crusaders was described as when

⁵¹Morris 450.

⁵²Geoffrey of Villehardouin vol. 1 p. 92.

'divine justice through our ministration struck with worthy vengeance.'⁵³ Pope Innocent III urged Philip II concerning the Cathars to 'take this opportunity to do justice, and do not turn your ears from the cries of the Church saying to you: *go forth, and judge my cause.*'⁵⁴

Other passages suggested that just vengeance proceeded from God directly. The battle of Hattin called for the 'judgment of God, which certainly no-one can evade, which He like a father of mercies exercises more through defence than through hostility. Nevertheless...certainly he exercises just vengeance.'⁵⁵ The expeditions against the Cathars were attributed to God's own need 'to avenge just blood,' and at Carcassonne a cleric supposedly told the citizens that 'you will receive for your disbelief and malice worthy vengeance from the Most Just Judge.'⁵⁶ Otto of St. Blasien concluded about the Fourth Crusade that 'thus the stern judge, omnipotent God, avenged the injuries of his pilgrims.'⁵⁷

So, early thirteenth-century crusading texts upheld the idea of crusading as God's vengeance, God's justice. This was so even when God's vengeance was directed at the Christians. Arnold of Lübeck not only called for Christians to take vengeance on Saladin, but described Saladin's conquest of Jerusalem itself as divine vengeance upon the Christians: 'because of these [sins] the justice of God was imposed, which truly no one can evade, which [God], although like a father of mercies, exercises now more as a warning than a punishment....certainly he exercises just vengeance.'⁵⁸ Moreover, those who would not take vengeance for God risked receiving divine vengeance themselves.⁵⁹ That, after all, was seen by some as the reason God allowed the Fourth Crusaders to conquer Constantinople.⁶⁰

To a certain degree, early thirteenth-century texts emphasized the more down-to-earth reasons why the Muslims deserved retribution. The Muslims had taken back large areas of land in the East. Jerusalem itself fell to Saladin in 1187, and many Christians in the Latin Kingdoms had died trying to keep the Muslims at bay. These were very concrete injuries that justly deserved vengeance in contemporary minds, and many writers at the time of the Fourth Crusade dwelt

⁵³Arnold of Lübeck 230.

⁵⁴Innocent III, *Epistolae*, vol. 215 col. 1358. Reference to Psalms 73. (*Si tua regalis*)

⁵⁵Arnold of Lübeck 163.

⁵⁶Peter of Les Vaux-de-Cernay vol.1 pp. 60 and 100.

⁵⁷Otto of St. Blasien 332.

⁵⁸Arnold of Lübeck 163.

⁵⁹*De expugnatione terrae sanctae per Saladinum* 248. Canon of Béthune 9.

⁶⁰Otto of St. Blasien 332.

upon them. For some (and not only the laity) the conquests of Zara and Constantinople by the Fourth Crusade armies were also just endeavours precisely because they were acts of vengeance for those who had been wrongly injured; as acts of just vengeance, they corresponded with the concept of just war.⁶¹ The canonist and Fourth Crusade participant Sicard, Bishop of Cremona, wrote that a just war was determined by two factors, one of which was cause: 'just wars [are] for vengeance, for defence of the body, and [for defence] of the fatherland, the faith, and peace.'⁶²

Peter of Les Vaux-de-Cernay also suggested that the crusades against the Cathars were vengeance for a concrete injury, in this case the death of the papal legate, Abbot Peter of Castelnau. Peter of Les Vaux-de-Cernay wrote about the matter to the pope in 1208: 'he [the abbot] who, a pious man of Christ having a care for his impious attacker, following the example of his master and Saint Stephen, said to [the attacker]: God forgive you, since I forgive you....he does not stop crying out from the earth to heaven for vengeance for his just blood.'⁶³ Peter of Les Vaux-de-Cernay certainly played upon the need to avenge injuries to Christ and the Church, but alongside these claims lay the reality of one man's death. For the Third, Fourth and Albigensian Crusades, the reality of human death, injured honour, and lost territory were used to mobilize people to a vengeful crusade, and were acceptable within a Christian framework due to Gratian's judgment, following Augustine, that it was a duty to avenge the wrongful injuries of others and that a war of vengeance was one type of just war.⁶⁴

This is not to say that Muslims were not referred to in these texts with familiar epithets. Muslims were 'that nefarious people,' 'the enemies of Christ.'⁶⁵ They were 'misbelieving traitors,' or more simply, 'the unfaithful.'⁶⁶ The Cathar heretics were even more thoroughly painted with the rhetoric of vengeance for unfaithfulness. In early thirteenth-century texts they were those who particularly deserved vengeance because their 'disbelief and malice' had injured Christ and Christendom.⁶⁷ Pope Innocent III called for the French nobility to 'take vengeance for

⁶¹Schmandt 207 and 210. For more on just war and the ideology of crusading as vengeance see above Chapter Two, 'Vengeance and justice' and Chapter Five, 'God's vengeance, papal power and the nature of Islamic injuries.'

⁶²Sicard of Cremona, *Summa decretorum*, Causa 23 Quaestio 2 (cited by Schmandt 200 f.n. 24).

⁶³Peter of Les Vaux-de-Cernay vol. 1 pp. 56 and 60.

⁶⁴Chodorow 233.

⁶⁵Ralph of Coggeshall 37 and 48-9.

⁶⁶*Canso d'Antiocha* 218 and James of Vitry, *Lettres*, p. 130.

⁶⁷Peter of Les Vaux-de-Cernay vol. 1 p. 100.

the injury to your God,' 'avenge just blood...manfully join together against these pestilent [people], against those who fight against unity, peace, and truth.'⁶⁸

What is clearest from the early thirteenth-century evidence, taken together, is that Christian unity was of the utmost importance and was threatened not only by Muslims (and Jews), but also by some who claimed to possess Christian truth. James of Vitry for one was concerned about 'impious Christians...men of Belial...profane Christians.'⁶⁹ He noted that in the Holy Land there were as many 'heretics' to be 'converted' as there were Muslims.⁷⁰ As James explained in one of his *exempla*, 'Christians who blaspheme are worse than gentiles and Jews.'⁷¹ As Innocent III described the situation, '[the world] is overflowing with heretics, schismatics, traitors, tyrants, simoniacs, hypocrites, the ambitious, the greedy, thieves, robbers, the violent, blackmailers, usurers, liars, the impious, the sacrilegious....'⁷² St. Francis of Assisi linked preaching to Christians and preaching to Muslims, illustrating the importance of building a united Christendom through both internal reform and external expansion.⁷³ And external expansion through crusading, like internal reform, involved exercising just vengeance on those who erred.

In effect, as in sources dating from the twelfth century, for some the world was divided into black and white, the faithful and the unfaithful. As James of Vitry noted, 'nevertheless the Lord says: *he who is not with me, is against me*.'⁷⁴ This translated to the crusading context and amounted to a condemnation not only of those who deserved vengeance, but also those who did not want to seek vengeance for God, who were deemed to come 'from the devil.'⁷⁵

The sources emphasized the need for preaching and conversion alongside vengeance for Muslims and heretics alike. James of Vitry preached both crusade and conversion; crusading, the

⁶⁸Innocent III, *Epistolae*, vol. 215 col. 1358 (*Si tua regalis*) and vol. 215 col. 1354 (*Ne nos ejus*).

⁶⁹James of Vitry, *Lettres*, p. 136. References to Deuteronomy 13:13 and Judges 19:22.

⁷⁰James of Vitry, *Lettres*, pp. 96-7. The leaders of the First Crusade expressed similar concerns to Pope Urban II in a letter written 11 September 1098: 'for we have fought Turks and pagans, but heretics, Greeks and Armenians, Syrians and Jacobites we have not fought, therefore we ask and demand that you, our dearest father, as our father and head should come to the place of your fatherhood...and that you may eradicate and destroy with your authority and our strength all heresies.' (*Epistulae et chartae* 164).

⁷¹James of Vitry, *The exempla*, p. 124.

⁷²Innocent III, *De miseria*, p. 203.

⁷³Kedar 134.

⁷⁴James of Vitry, *Lettres*, p. 96. Reference to Matthew 12:30.

⁷⁵James of Vitry, *Sermones*, p. 92. (Sermo 1)

Christian conquest of land, was seen as the means for furthering conversion.⁷⁶ As James of Vitry wrote, there was 'one group who defend the faith with words, like *doctores* against heretics, and another who defend the faith with the sword, like knights of Christ, and a third group who [use] neither word nor sword, and these are of the devil.'⁷⁷ In the rhetoric a Christian had only the choice of which type of defensive tool to use, words or the sword, not the choice to abstain from the struggle altogether.

Crusade and conversion both aimed to redress the balance in favour of Christianity, and for some they were not antithetical but rather different tools for largely the same end. James of Vitry wrote to Pope Honorius III from the Holy Land:

...there appears to us a great host for the subjugation of the unfaithful and to increase the power (*imperium*) of Christ, so that...where the cursed name of the treacherous Mohammed is invoked by all...now the blessed name of Jesus Christ is invoked...so that the lords of Egypt understand and convert to him [Christ] and from the West to the East the light of truth returns.⁷⁸

Although 'the abominable law of the impious people would be exterminated with many cut down by the sword, others would convert to the faith of Christ.'⁷⁹ Ralph of Coggeshall, writing about the early Fifth Crusade, warned that Prester John (a legendary Christian king in the Far East) was rumoured to be coming with a large army to convert the Muslims: 'and all paganism would be destroyed, unless they converted themselves to the faith of Christ.'⁸⁰ For some, the Christian desire to convert the Muslims, i.e. to eliminate their religious identity through baptism, was mirrored by their perception of the Muslim desire to do the same to Christianity:

'[Saladin]...hopes to seize a great opportunity for his error, if the name of the Crucified One can be eliminated along with the inhabitants of the land.'⁸¹

The Cathars were also apparently given the choice to die or recant. In 1210 at one city:

...the abbot therefore ordered that the lord of the castle and all who were in the castle, even those believing in heresy, if they wished to be reconciled and to stand by the mandate of the Church, would escape to live, with the castle remaining to the count; and even the Perfects among the heretics would escape...if they wished

⁷⁶Kedar 117-18 and 128.

⁷⁷James of Vitry, *Sermones*, p. 90.

⁷⁸James of Vitry, *Lettres*, p. 123-24.

⁷⁹James of Vitry, *Lettres*, p. 152.

⁸⁰Ralph of Coggeshall 190.

⁸¹*De expugnatione terrae sanctae per Saladinum* 235-6.

to convert to the Catholic faith.⁸²

Those who refused were burned. At Cassés in 1211 a similar event occurred: 'the bishops who were in the army entered the castle and seized the heretics, willing them to turn back from error; but, since they could not convert even one, they left the castle; the pilgrims however, seizing the heretics...burned them with great joy.'⁸³ In the *Chanson de la Croisade Albigeoise*, the armed attacks against the Cathars had in fact been preceded by attempts to persuade them to 'convert': Arnold Amaury, 'that most holy man...preached to the heretics that he wished [them] to convert.'⁸⁴ The verb used by the medieval writers for the recantation of heretics was the same as that used for the outright conversion of Muslims and Jews, *convertere*. Writers did not make a semantic distinction between the recantation of heresy and religious conversion. The means allowed to convert the groups were different (force could not be used to convert *infideles*, in theory at least), but the outcome was perceived as the same and the vocabulary indicates this.

Indeed, it seems that underneath the need to avenge lost land and Christian deaths, another purpose of the vengeance to be unleashed on the unfaithful through the crusading movement was to further promote conversion, baptism and the general elimination of religious identities other than orthodox Catholicism. This desire caused, among other things, some confusion about how the Byzantine Church should be treated. Despite attempts by Innocent III to emphasize that the Christians stood united in opposition to the Muslims and Jews, one of the justifications for the conquest of Constantinople in medieval minds was that the Christian Church, divided by schism, would truly be united again through Rome.⁸⁵ Gunther of Pairis condemned the Byzantines as 'an impious people...a people untaught to rule, subdued by no law...sacrilegious citizens, impious people.'⁸⁶ It would be tempting to ascribe this confusion about the Byzantines to the laity, but Gunther of Pairis obviously was not a layman.

It does not seem that the goal of creating a uniform Catholic identity through vengeance was a conscious ideology, but the common theme of creating a world united by 'true' Christian faith through the means of just war and subsequent conversion lay behind one strand of the

⁸²Peter of Les Vaux-de-Cernay vol. 1 p. 159.

⁸³Peter of Les Vaux-de-Cernay vol. 1 pp. 232-3.

⁸⁴*La chanson de la croisade Albigeoise* 42.

⁸⁵Geoffrey of Villehardouin vol. 2 p. 24. Innocent III, *Die Register* vol. 7 p. 356. (*Evangelica docente scriptura*)

⁸⁶Gunther of Pairis 136.

ideology of crusading as vengeance, and was particularly evident in the early thirteenth-century sources.⁸⁷ At the same time, the concept of just vengeance for specific, concrete injuries also contributed to the ideology of crusading as vengeance, spurred on by the events of 1187, the later failure of the Third Crusade and the death of Peter abbot of Castelnau.

Judaism, Islam, heresy and the crucifixion

Heretics, Jews and Muslims were supposed to be treated in fundamentally different ways by Christians. Heretics, rebels who had rejected Christ and injured the Church, had long been legitimate targets of Christian vengeance, and it is not surprising therefore that early thirteenth-century crusading texts used extreme language to describe the Cathars in Languedoc. Heretics were 'members of antichrist, firstborn of Satan, wicked seed, criminal sons,' 'criminal and inhuman wrongdoers,' 'depraved in every way with heretical impiety,' 'deserters of the faith,' 'enemies of Christ.'⁸⁸

However, the sources continually reveal connections between vengeance against heretics and the need to seek vengeance on Jews and Muslims as well. The heretics of Béziers were not only heretics, but also 'plunderers, the unjust, adulterers and the worst criminals, full of all kinds of sins,' just as the Muslims in the sermon of the bishop of Oporto in the *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi* had featured as adulterers and parricides.⁸⁹ The conceptual overlap between Jews, Muslims and heretics was conveniently demonstrated by Ralph of Coggeshall, who called both Jews and Muslims 'that nefarious people' and 'enemies of Christ,' and referred to the Muslims as 'all those infected by the most impious sect of the heretic Mohammed.'⁹⁰ According to Ralph of Coggeshall, the Jews were the 'enemies of Christ,' 'that nefarious people' who 'blasphemed our Lord Jesus Christ with their sacrilegious mouths not only in their secret meetings, but even with an impious public voice, and offended by railing openly [against] our faith and the sacraments of

⁸⁷Tolan has suggested a similar argument, linking European 'denigration of the other' with Christian universalism (283).

⁸⁸Peter of Les Vaux-de-Cernay vol. 1 p. 12. Innocent III, *Epistolae*, vol. 215 col. 1358. (*Si tua regalis*) Robert of Auxerre 276. Robert of Auxerre 272. Peter of Les Vaux-de-Cernay vol. 1 pp. 158.

⁸⁹Peter of Les Vaux-de-Cernay vol. 1 pp. 86-7. For the passage from the *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi* see above page 137.

⁹⁰Ralph of Coggeshall 27, 28, 37, 48, 49 and 69.

the Church.⁹¹ They did not simply lack Christian faith, they wilfully refused to believe and expressed animosity towards God. In 1205 Pope Innocent III noted in a letter to the bishop of Paris that the Jews were treacherous, using the crucifixion as ultimate proof of their infidelity: 'although the Jews, whose crime submitted them to perpetual servitude, crucified the Lord...Christian piety receives and sustains their cohabitation, whom even the Saracens, who persecute the Catholic faith, do not tolerate, on account of their treachery.'⁹² Jews, Muslims and heretics were all accused of wilful infidelity.

Furthermore, Jews, Muslims and heretics were all portrayed as enemies seeking to injure Christianity through active animosity. This animosity for all three groups was illustrated through acts of aggression against the crucifixion, a highly useful focal point due to the reasons already discussed, namely current devotional trends, the crusading target of Jerusalem and the role of that city as the place of Christ's life and death.⁹³ The dualist denial of the eucharist also concentrated attention on the crucifixion of Christ in the crusading context.

For some, the Jews were literally reenacting the crucifixion in their times. Arnold of Lübeck reported that a 'certain Jew' miraculously converted to Christianity after he watched some fellow Jews crucifying a 'waxen image [of Christ],' which Arnold made clear the Jew understood as Christ himself, lest anyone lessen the crime by suggesting ignorance.⁹⁴ (Furthermore, Arnold's insistence that the Jew understood his actions reinforced the belief that the Jews knew what they had done when they had killed Christ.) Arnold commented that 'those [Jews] were satisfying the standards of their fathers, calling down [condemnation] on themselves and their own as they said: *his blood be on us and on our sons*. Crucifying the image struck with wounds, truly they did crucify [Christ]...through hatred, through curses, touching [Christ] with hands of malice.'⁹⁵ For Arnold, the Jews were maliciously re-crucifying Christ in the present as they had done in the past.

Peter of Les Vaux-de-Cernay attributed to Cathars the kinds of host desecration and crucifix defamation usually blamed on the Jews and on Muslims in the East. This related to the understanding that the Cathars denied the real presence of Christ in the eucharist. According to

⁹¹Ralph of Coggeshall 27 and 28.

⁹²Innocent III, *Die Register* vol. 8 p. 221. (*Etsi Judeos quos*)

⁹³See above pages 143-7.

⁹⁴Arnold of Lübeck 190.

⁹⁵Arnold of Lübeck 190. Reference to Matthew 27:25.

Peter, the citizens at Béziers attacked a priest and 'urinated in [the chalice] in contempt for the body and blood of Jesus Christ.'⁹⁶ Roger of Foix was accused of 'striking with arms and legs the image of the Crucified One...in contempt for the Lord's Passion.'⁹⁷ At Lavaur in 1211 when the crusaders set up a cross outside the city, the people of the city attacked the cross fiercely, 'but the Dedicator of the cross avenged that destruction miraculously and manifestly...the enemies of the cross, who exulted in the destruction of the cross...were captured on the feast of the Cross.'⁹⁸ These injuries centred on the crucifixion, all rooted in contempt for 'the body and blood of Jesus Christ,' 'the Lord's Passion,' and 'the cross.' These injuries deserved vengeance, as the crucifixion itself had done in the legendary past.

Like the late twelfth-century sources, some early thirteenth-century crusading texts connected the Jews, the crucifixion of Christ, and crusading against the Muslims through the narrative structure of Christian mytho-history. Raimbaut of Vaqueiras wrote that

God allowed himself to be sold to save us,
and he suffered death and accepted the passion,
and for us the criminal Jews outraged him,
and he was beaten and bound to a pillar,
and was lifted onto the beam which stood in the mire
and was scourged with scourges of knots
and crowned with thorns on the cross:
for which a man is hard of heart who does not grieve
that the Turks wish to retain
the land where God wished to exist, alive and dead,
so a great war and a great combat falls to us.⁹⁹

In this passage the crucifixion, blamed on the Jews, was tied to contemporary crusading against the Muslims: one necessitated the other, both bound by the status of Jerusalem as the site of Christ's death. The *Canso d'Antioca* implied a similar association between the crucifixion and the crusades:

Lords, Frankish knights, citizens and sergeants!
We have the belief and know it true
that God was born on earth for our salvation;
and the Jews then killed him through treachery;
and he rose on the third day from the true holy sepulchre;

⁹⁶Peter of Les Vaux-de-Cernay vol. 1 p. 87.

⁹⁷Peter of Les Vaux-de-Cernay vol. 1 p. 205.

⁹⁸Peter of Les Vaux-de-Cernay vol. 1 p. 223.

⁹⁹Raimbaut of Vaqueiras 218.

and he arose into the sky...
 And he will return to hold his judgment...
 these proud Turks, misbelieving traitors,
 think to contradict us...
 you must prove the truth to them through a judicial process
 so that they are defeated and vanquished in battle.¹⁰⁰

The Jews killed Christ wilfully 'through treachery,' and then the Muslims, also 'misbelieving traitors,' obstinately did not believe the truth of the matter, making it necessary for the Christians to defeat them in battle in order to prove the Christians right, almost as though the Christians faced the Jews and Muslims in a judicial duel. The Roman destruction of Jerusalem was interpreted as vengeance for the crucifixion on the Jews; directly linking the Roman destruction with the crusades against the Muslims may well have encouraged the perception of the crusades as vengeance for the crucifixion to a limited degree by the end of the twelfth century.¹⁰¹

Influence no doubt was circular: the crusading movement in turn promoted attention to the legends and traditions associated with Jerusalem. B. Stock has pointed out that social change viewed as unprecedented often provoked 'a series of imaginative attempts to fit contemporary experience into models from the distant past.'¹⁰² It seems likely that the *Vengeance de Notre Seigneur*, a narrative of almost unparalleled popularity in the Middle Ages, served just such a function, providing a historical parallel to the crusades that placed the Jews side by side with the Muslims. Moreover, as M. Rubin has noted, commonly held beliefs about the present generate in turn commonly held beliefs about the past.¹⁰³ This connection between past and present also may well have fed into the formulation of a united Christendom, since emotional attachment to a communal memory often leads to belief in a communal identity.¹⁰⁴

Once again the crucifixion served as a focal point, a litmus test of wilful infidelity and deliberate injustice.¹⁰⁵ Desecration of the cross and Christian ritual by Muslims, Jews and heretics symbolized the threat all three groups posed to Christian society, their wilful, malicious disbelief. The desecrations reminded Christians of the crucifixion, an event long associated with the concept

¹⁰⁰*Canso d'Antioca* 216-18.

¹⁰¹For example, as in *La chanson d'Antioche*.

¹⁰²Stock, B., *The implications of literacy: written language and models of interpretation in the eleventh and twelfth centuries* (Princeton 1983), p. 527.

¹⁰³Rubin, *Gentile tales*, p. 2.

¹⁰⁴Lincoln 23.

¹⁰⁵See, for example, the *De legibus et consuetudinibus Angliae*, which warned all judges to be careful always to make the right judgments 'lest people say that Christ is crucified' (Hyams 244).

of religious vengeance on non-Christians in the tradition of the Roman destruction of Jerusalem, and also emphasized the difference between a united Christendom and those who threatened that unity. Moreover, the desecrations were injuries calling for vengeance: on Muslims, on Jews, and on heretics.

Friendship and vengeance

The need to avenge family members was still used alongside the language of lordship in crusading appeals in the early thirteenth century. When the Christians in the East were attacked by Muslims in May 1187, the master of the Templars reportedly addressed his men: 'most beloved brothers and my comrades in arms...you require vengeance on those whom you have always defeated. Therefore get ready, stand fast in the battle of the Lord, and be mindful of your fathers the Maccabees.'¹⁰⁶ When Jerusalem finally surrendered to Saladin later the same year, the same text stated about the Christians that '*their sons became orphans, and their wives are widows in an alien land*, they who did not want...to avenge the inheritance of the Crucified One'¹⁰⁷ Otto of St. Blasien described Pope Clement III's response to 1187 with the vocabulary of family:

[Clement sent messengers] to the sons of the mother Church, conquering confusion with paternal affection, [seeking] that they would aid the strength of their suffering mother, remembering her breasts, with whose milk the primitive church of Jerusalem was nourished...and that with the cross put on in remission of sins, proud of themselves as servants of the cross, they would avenge the shame of the cross.¹⁰⁸

As the *Itinerarium peregrinorum* succinctly stated, 'here equally and completely a common cause of the Christians and communal vengeance for fraternal injuries moved [the crusaders].'¹⁰⁹ In *Plorans ploravit Ecclesia* Pope Innocent III remarked that 'we have sent letters...so that sons may avenge the injuries of the father, and brothers may arm to avenge their murdered brothers.'¹¹⁰ Following the same metaphor, Innocent wrote in 1204 that heretics were 'sons against their mother.'¹¹¹ Family relationships still demanded vengeance, crusading was still described with the

¹⁰⁶*De expugnatione terrae sanctae per Saladinum* 211-12.

¹⁰⁷*De expugnatione terrae sanctae per Saladinum* 248.

¹⁰⁸Otto of St. Blasien 319.

¹⁰⁹*Itinerarium peregrinorum* 60.

¹¹⁰Innocent III, *Die Register*, vol. 1 p. 431. (*Plorans ploravit Ecclesia*)

¹¹¹Innocent III, *Epistolae*, vol. 215 col. 527. (*Ne populus Israel*)

language of family, and thereby writers contributed to the ideology of crusading as vengeance .

The political relationships of lordship also required vengeance, and thus the language of lordship continued to be applied to the crusades and to the ideology of crusading as vengeance. The crusaders were 'those who took the cross and did service for God,' who 'did service for God and Christianity.'¹¹² Conon of Béthune noted that '[my] body goes to serve Our Lord.'¹¹³ This 'service' was specifically related to the political relationships between men and their lords in contemporary society, a relationship applied to crusading. As James of Vitry explained on one occasion (and then subsequently downplayed), 'the Lord through the cross...invested his vassals in the heavenly kingdom.'¹¹⁴ Lordship required, specifically, service as vengeance, and this too was incorporated into the need to take vengeance for God. In one *exempla* a Parisian knight assaulted a burgher for swearing and was brought before the king for punishment. The knight spoke in his own defence:

Lord, you are my earthly king and liege lord, if I were to hear anyone saying anything to slander you or to say wrongly about you, I could not endure it but I would rightly wish to avenge your wrong. This man said such things about my heavenly king before I struck him, and he injured him by blaspheming so much, that just as I could not endure it said of you, I could not tolerate [it] about the highest Lord.¹¹⁵

Moreover, the crusaders were avenging not only their Lord, but also the other servants of their Lord. Arnold of Lübeck stated that Pope Clement III hastened to spread the news of 'the impious betrayal and slaughter of the servants of God.'¹¹⁶ In the same text, Emperor Frederick I was moved to take vengeance for 'the effusion of blood of the just servants of God.'¹¹⁷

The distinction between vengeance for family relations and vengeance for lordship relations was not as defined as one might think. The classical 'family' was defined by authority and hierarchy just as was the 'state,' and some of this seems to have survived into the Middle Ages. Knowledge of where one fit into the social hierarchy, both within the family and within the fief, informed one of where lay the obligation to defend (and take vengeance if defence proved

¹¹²Geoffrey of Villehardouin vol. 1 pp. 4 and 24.

¹¹³Conon of Béthune 6.

¹¹⁴James of Vitry, *The exempla*, p. 57.

¹¹⁵James of Vitry, *The exempla*, p. 91.

¹¹⁶Arnold of Lübeck 169.

¹¹⁷Arnold of Lübeck 173.

futile).¹¹⁸ Furthermore, alongside authority and hierarchy a tool used to reinforce social bonds in medieval thought was *caritas*.¹¹⁹ This concept has been already demonstrably linked to the need to take vengeance for injuries done to those within one's group. Whereas authority and hierarchy stipulated vengeance for vertical relationships — lords and vassals, fathers and sons— *caritas* may well have emphasized the need to avenge those horizontally related through Christian love —brothers and brothers, servants and fellow servants.

As before, crusading was linked with the concept of aid. Early thirteenth-century sources confirmed that crusading continued to be described by writers as an act of aid; *auxilium* in Latin, *secorre* or *aie* in Old French. Otto of St. Blasien referred to the expedition of 1197 as a Christian attempt to help in the East: 'they journeyed to aid the Church overseas.'¹²⁰ Geoffrey of Villehardouin stated that the purpose of the Fourth Crusade was to 'aid the land overseas.'¹²¹ Robert of Clari likewise noted that Boniface I of Montferrat 'took the cross, for love of God and to aid the land overseas.'¹²² Conon of Béthune stated that God 'had need of aid' and that the crusaders 'now prepared how they could aid him.'¹²³ This aid, or military obligation, was tied to vengeance: Pope Innocent III, asking King Philip II of France to rout the heretics in southern France in 1207, wrote that 'we invoke your aid, dearest son, to avenge the injury of Jesus Christ.'¹²⁴ Aid, again, was a concept linked with both political relationships between lords and vassals, but also linked with family relationships and networks of social obligation in general.

Who most deserved vengeance on his or her behalf? Father, mother, lord, vassal, brother or friend? James of Vitry argued persuasively that the relationship with God trumped all others.¹²⁵ In one of his *exempla*, he described the actions of a man condemned to death who visits three friends. The first offers him a shroud, the second offers to attend his execution, but the third, an old friend recently neglected, offers to die in his place: 'the third and old friend is Christ.'¹²⁶ In

¹¹⁸See, for example, Thomas of Chobham: 'ita meritorium est socio socium defendere, et servo dominum, et patrifamilias hospitem et familiam...' (444).

¹¹⁹Herlihy 5-9.

¹²⁰Otto of St. Blasien 327.

¹²¹Geoffrey of Villehardouin vol. 1 p. 74.

¹²²Robert of Clari 6.

¹²³Conon of Béthune 6.

¹²⁴Innocent III, *Epistolae*, vol. 215 col. 1247. (*Inveterata pravitatis haereticae*)

¹²⁵In doing so he followed a tradition dating back to Origen, who depicted an *ordo caritatis* that placed, in order of importance, God, parents, children, domestics, and neighbours. (Herlihy 7).

¹²⁶James of Vitry, *The exempla*, p. 55.

one of his sermons James argued that true friends help each other in difficult circumstances: the Lord had lost his patrimony, so his faithful vassals should offer him aid.¹²⁷ Family hierarchy, political authority, and Christian love all dictated that vengeance for God was paramount.

Summary

The early thirteenth-century crusading texts present very unambiguous evidence for a Christian desire to create a uniform Catholic society through both internal reform and external expansion, both necessitating just vengeance. This was demonstrated by blurred distinctions between the treatment of Christian heretics and those of other religions altogether, with both being urged to either convert or suffer the just vengeance of God. Furthermore, heretics, Jews and Muslims were all accused of crimes of malicious desecration centred around the crucifixion of Christ. The crucifixion, seen in the Christian mytho-history as a timeless event repeated by the unfaithful, continued to demand vengeance.

Crusading continued to be described with terms for family relationships, lordship relationships, and *caritas*. By using these terms, writers informed individuals of the obligation to pursue crusading as an act of vengeance. Whether as servants of their Lord, sons of their Father God and Mother Church, or friends of their best and truest friend Christ, Christians were duty bound to aid and avenge injuries committed to their God.

¹²⁷James of Vitry, *Sermones*, p. 98. (Sermo 1)

CONCLUSION

Working on the problem posed by the yawning gap between terminology and constructed concepts has highlighted the important difference between that which may be universal (chiefly a desire for retribution when injured) and that which seems to be more specifically cultural, namely, how that desire for retribution is channelled and restricted by a given society. Like many other societies, twelfth-century western Europe limited retributive violence by creating rules to contain it, rules that governed who was allowed to pursue retributive violence, and in what circumstances. And, again like other societies, twelfth-century western Europe tied the legitimate pursuit of retributive violence to religion, leading to acts of sacred violence.

The study of the specific idea of crusading as an act of vengeance has done more than to separate the culturally specific from the universal. I have shown that the idea of crusading as vengeance grew from an intricate network of associated values drawn from both Old and New Testaments, Christian theologians, legendary narratives, and changing forms of social organization. Over time, the idea of crusading as vengeance took its place in medieval culture as yet another 'associated value' that was drawn upon and invoked by future generations. And the chronology of the development of the idea of crusading as vengeance coincided with a historical period of great intellectual regeneration, religious reformation, increasing Church power, shifting political structures and increasing violent persecution. Twelfth-century crusaders saw the crusade as vengeance in some part thanks to a general human desire for violent retribution, but also due to the specific historical context that surrounded them and defined their actions.

The fact that the twelfth century saw the growth of the popularity of the idea of crusading as vengeance alongside increasing violent persecution within European communities means that this dissertation relates to the work of two other medievalists who have examined medieval persecution, Moore and D. Nirenberg. In the late 1980s Moore challenged the assumption 'that it was in some way natural or appropriate, or at any rate inevitable, that the medieval Church should seek to suppress religious dissent by force.'¹ Examining the persecution of lepers, Jews and heretics in particular, Moore argued that through the eleventh and twelfth centuries 'persecution became habitual....deliberate and socially sanctioned violence began to be directed, *through*

¹Moore 2.

established governmental, judicial and social institutions, against groups of people defined by general characteristics...and that membership of such groups in itself came to be regarded as justifying these attacks.² Moore felt that the ultimate roots of this rise in persecution lay in the 'decisions of princes and prelates,' because the minority groups that were persecuted represented the assertion of independent thought against 'the subordination of religion first to seigneurial and later to bureaucratic power.'³ Furthermore, Moore posited that religious persecution became a political weapon used by the powerful to consolidate power and impose a culture that further reinforced their authority.⁴

In the decade following the publication of Moore's monograph, Nirenberg analysed interfaith relations and violence, using fourteenth-century Aragon as a case study. Nirenberg was concerned to dissociate the study of violent persecution from the influence of scholars who, in Nirenberg's words, promoted the view that European people 'were increasingly governed by an irrational and paranoid "collective unconscious."' ⁵ Nirenberg asked that historians recognize the role of personal choice in historical contexts, emphasizing that negative discourse against minorities was only effective in the Middle Ages because individuals had chosen to find it so.⁶ Working from G. Simmel's argument that violence is in fact a form of stabilizing social association, Nirenberg argued that annual Holy Week riots in Aragon were 'simultaneously a gesture of inclusion and one of seclusion.'⁷ For Nirenberg, the riots that accompanied Passion plays and the Holy Week served to include the Jews in a ritual re-enactment of the history of Jewish-Christian relations, and 'argued for the continued existence of Jews in Christian society, while at the same time articulating the possibility of and conditions for their destruction.'⁸ Violence against Jews was in fact, he proposed, the expression of a competing, subordinate discourse about kingship and Christian society.⁹ Ultimately, Nirenberg claimed that Holy Week violence 'flirted with but ultimately avoided' more cataclysmic acts of retributive violence against

²Moore 5.

³Moore 123 and 133.

⁴Moore 146 and 151.

⁵Nirenberg, D., *Communities of violence: persecution of minorities in the middle ages* (Princeton 1996), p. 12.

⁶Nirenberg 6.

⁷Simmel, G., *Conflict and The web of group affiliations*, trans. K. H. Wolff and R. Bendix (London 1955), p. 14 (reference from Nirenberg 10 f.n. 22). Nirenberg 15.

⁸Nirenberg 201-2.

⁹Nirenberg 68.

Jews, and 'was not predictive of future intolerance.'¹⁰

Moore's general conclusion that persecution was justified through religious discourse in the twelfth century is supported by this dissertation. However, although he was right, given the previous tendency by historians to ascribe persecution and intolerance to lower orders of society, to emphasize that the powerful had their own interests at heart in promoting the discourse of persecution, Moore overlooked the fact that members of medieval society at all levels colluded to promote this discourse. The lowest orders may not have written rhetorical texts, but their support made legendary narratives like the *Venjançe de Nostre Seigneur* and the *Old French Crusade Cycle* extremely popular. Moreover, because one specific aspect of that discourse was founded on Biblical texts describing divine vengeance, the roots of persecution had long been in place within western religious culture before those in power chose to promote religious violence actively.

Nirenberg was right to emphasize that religious violence functioned as ritual in the Middle Ages, and that violence bound the aggressor and the victim together. However, the fact that religious violence can serve as ritual does not make it any less 'cataclysmic' for the victim than any other act of violence.¹¹ Ritual, as an 'authoritative mode of symbolic discourse,' will always promote social relationships that benefit some considerably more than others.¹² Moreover, there are obvious problems with using a very small geographical and chronological case study to draw broader conclusions; fourteenth-century Aragon was not the whole of western Europe during the Middle Ages. When the Holy Week riots are put into the context of the violence Moore described and the context of the crusading movement as well, it is harder to conclude that Holy Week violence was not 'predicative' of future violence.

In any event, the work of scholars like Moore and Nirenberg (as well as others like Mansfield) needs to be studied alongside crusading ideology, ideally in a broad, synthesizing work aimed at illuminating Christian violence in the Middle Ages.¹³ Scholars are necessarily limited by

¹⁰Nirenberg 218 and 228-9.

¹¹Nor does it prove that religious violence affects the aggressors any less. The study of modern genocide has revealed that even limited acts of violence change 'the perpetrators and prepares them for extreme destructiveness' (Staub, E., *The roots of evil: the origins of genocide and other group violence* (Cambridge 1989), p. xi).

¹²Lincoln 53 and 90.

¹³Mansfield, M. C., *The humiliation of sinners: public penance in thirteenth-century France* (Ithaca New York 1990) (continued...)

time, but to date medieval Christian violence has been analysed separately according to the victims — violence against Jews, violence against Muslims, violence against heretics, and so on. I suggest that medieval historians might now attempt a reconstruction of the discourse of Christian violence by an examination of the perpetrators instead, and to attempt to do so on the macro rather than the micro level.

That said, this dissertation suggests a number of smaller, micro-historical studies that are needed. First, the question what happened to the idea of crusading as vengeance after 1216 (and, indeed, the theme of war as vengeance for God before 1095) begs to be answered. Second, a full analysis of the medieval terminology of vengeance is needed, one that answers the question of whether there was in fact any semantic distinction between *vindicta* and *ultio*. Attentive reading revealed them to be roughly equivalent and interchangeable in medieval texts, but it seems probable that a semantic field of related but slightly different medieval Latin vocabulary will emerge, including *vindicta*, *ultio* and *retributio*, and paralleled by similar semantic fields in the medieval vernaculars. The task then will be to reconstruct the conceptual fields that underlay the semantic associations. Third, my brief discussion of *zelus* opens up the questions what emotions medieval contemporaries associated with crusading in general and how those emotions related to the different strains of crusading ideology.

Moving outside the realm of medieval history, this research potentially provides another case study for many theoretical schools concentrated on human behaviour, especially the schools of thought based upon the theory of mimetic desire and religious violence argued by Girard. In his theories, mimetic desire, the desire to possess the object desired by another (and ultimately the being of the other itself) is at the root of human nature, drives conflict, and leads to limitless violence unless restrained by religious prohibition, ritual, and myth. For Girard, the prosecutory nature of Christianity developed from an ‘inaccurate’ interpretation of the crucifixion as blood sacrifice, which embedded the need for sacred violence within Christian culture. From a Girardian perspective, the only way out of this cycle for humanity is to focus mimetic desire on God alone: ‘the real escape from violence is to renew the relationship of true transcendence and loving mimesis, which is the ultimate form of external mediation, of the creator who is external to all

¹³(...continued)

human systems and relationships, and beyond the possibility of rivalry.¹⁴ But the substitution of *zelus* and *aemulatio* and the way in which *zelus* was portrayed both as persecution of others and as self-sacrifice in twelfth-century crusading texts suggests that even the imperative to emulate the divine can become entrapped in the cycle of violent conflict as a means to social unity and peace. Theorists following Girard might find the study of the crusades valuable. The same could be said for social scientists who are attempting to formulate broad theories of social relations and their reliance on culture.¹⁵

The direct relationship between Christian texts and the promotion of violence against non-Christians demands theological exploration, particularly given the continued popularity of religious violence in the twenty-first century. Some Christian theologians, like Gorringer, have already showed their willingness to explore the historical propensity of Christianity for religious violence and have proposed ways to minimize that propensity, but so far Gorringer's work has not been widely disseminated or endorsed within Christian communities. Muslim and Jewish theologians share this responsibility. The idea of violence as vengeance ordered by divine authority was clearly a powerful and popular idea in the twelfth century, based as it was upon both religious and secular conceptions of justice, moral authority and love, and there seems little reason to think that it no longer feeds religious violence today.

¹⁴Hamerton-Kelly 22.

¹⁵Baumeister, R. F. and M. R. Leary, 'The need to belong: desire for interpersonal attachments as a fundamental human motivation,' *Psychological Bulletin* 17 (1995), pp. 497-529. Solomon, S., Greenberg, J. and T. Pyszczynski, 'A terror-management theory of social behavior: the psychological functions of self-esteem and cultural worldviews,' *Advances in experimental social psychology* 24 (1991), pp. 93-159.

APPENDIX

Crusading ideology and literature

Early thirteenth-century crusading texts also clarified the way in which other narratives, including the *chansons de geste*, contributed to contemporary understanding of the crusades. Time and again writers referred to contemporary literature and popular history. Arnold of Lübeck, like many before him, referred to the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus and Vespasian.¹ Raimbaut of Vaqueiras compared the Third Crusade to the expeditions of Alexander the Great, Charlemagne, Louis (presumably the Pious), and Roland:

whereby our faith is powerful;
for we have made emperors and dukes and kings
and have manned castles
near the Turks and the Arabs.²

Gunther of Pairis wrote at the beginning of his text that 'we have undertaken this with great astonishment, that through brutish men and poor fishmongers and idiots the world have accepted the faith of Christ though [it was] new and unknown [to them]...[without] the authority of Caesar Augustus or the knowledge of Plato and Demosthenes or the eloquence of Cicero.'³ The *Chanson de la Croisade Albigeoise* referred to the *Chanson d'Antioche* and to Raoul of Cambrai, a character from one of the main cycles of *chansons de geste*.⁴ James of Vitry drew a moral parallel between crusading and the actions of Roland: 'just as we read about a certain knight, that he went to Spain with Charles the emperor against the Saracens.'⁵ The *Canso d'Antiocha* likewise referred to the *Chanson de Roland* twice.⁶

These cross-references make it apparent that tangential literature, particularly the *chansons de geste*, should be considered when studying crusade ideology of the early thirteenth century. They were an important part of the context in which crusading was understood, and as I have already pointed out, some (like the *Venjançe de Nostre Seigneur* and the *Historia Karoli Magni et Rotholandi*) contributed to the ideology of crusading as vengeance. Even the *Chanson*

¹Arnold of Lübeck 164.

²Raimbaut of Vaqueiras 244.

³Gunther of Pairis 106.

⁴*La chanson de la croisade Albigeoise* 40 and 65.

⁵James of Vitry, *The exempla*, p. 52.

⁶*Canso d'Antiocha* 228 and 236.

de Roland, which I concluded did not substantially support the ideology of crusading as vengeance, contained elements that were familiar to readers of crusade histories and were employed by later writers. For example, the two alternatives of death and conversion offered to Muslims in crusading accounts were offered to Muslims by Charlemagne:

in the city not a pagan remained
who was not killed, or became Christian.⁷

Similar attitudes were manifest in the *Historia Karoli Magni et Rotholandi*, where 'the Saracens, who wished to be baptized, were spared to life, and those who did not, were struck down by the sword.'⁸ Moreover, the relationship between aid and vengeance was clear in the *Chanson de Roland* as well. In battle with Charlemagne (who sought vengeance for the slaughter of the Frankish rearguard) the Muslims cried out:

Aid (*aie*) us, Mohammed!
Our god, avenge us on Charles!⁹

In a passage from the *Historia Karoli Magni et Rotholandi*, Charlemagne said to his Muslim foe Aygolandus 'our Lord Jesus Christ, creator of heaven and earth, chose our people, namely the Gauls, above all other peoples and placed us in dominion over all peoples of the whole world, to convert your Saracen people to our law, as much as I can.'¹⁰ This was not that far removed from James of Vitry's letter of 1218 in which he wrote: '[we go] towards the East, even to the end of the world where there are Christians; whence, if through the mercy of God we are able to obtain that land, we will extend the Christian religion from the West even to the East.'¹¹ Tolan, like many others, is right to say that close examination of the texts themselves makes it difficult to maintain a firm distinction between the categories of 'elite' and 'popular.'¹²

There were parallels not only between the ideology of vengeance in crusading narratives and the *chansons de geste*. The genre of romance made an appearance in the account of Robert

⁷*La chanson de Roland* 98.

⁸*Historia Karoli Magni et Rotholandi* 16.

⁹*La chanson de Roland* 188.

¹⁰*Historia Karoli Magni et Rotholandi* 54. Aygolandus II signals his understanding of this, and states that the outcome of the battle will tell whose faith is more pleasing to God. If he is defeated, he will accept baptism. (*Historia Karoli Magni et Rotholandi* 56-8) A similar conversation takes place between Roland and a 'giant' pagan on p. 94.

¹¹James of Vitry, *Lettres*, pp. 102-3.

¹²Tolan 137. In this I disagree with Purkis's distinction between 'elite' and 'popular' ideology (Purkis, 'Elite and popular perceptions of *imitatio Christi*.')

of Clari:

...and the women and the demoiselles of the palace [at Constantinople] climbed to the windows, and other people of the city [too], and the women and demoiselles, having climbed onto the walls of the city, watched the battle...and they said among themselves that from the signs [the men] seemed to be angels, if they should prove handsome, for they were so beautifully armed and their horses were so beautifully decorated.¹³

This suggests a fluidity among the different medieval 'genres,' a point already made by Sarah Kay.¹⁴ In turn, this fluidity calls for greater study of the interplay between crusading ideology and contemporary literature in the future.

¹³Robert of Clari 49.

¹⁴Kay, S., *The chansons de geste in the age of romance* (Oxford 1995).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Sources

- Albert of Aachen, *Liber Christianae expeditionis*, in *RHCOc.* 4 (Paris 1879).
- Alexander III, *Epistolae*, ed. J.-P. Migne, *PL* 200 (Paris 1855).
- Ambroise, *The history of the holy war: Ambroise's Estoire de la guerre sainte*, ed. M. Ailes and M. Barber (2 vols. Woodbridge 2003).
- Annales Herbipolenses*, in *MGHSS* 16 (Hanover 1859).
- Anonymous of Halberstadt, *Gesta*, in *MGHSS* 23 (Hanover 1874).
- Anselm of Canterbury, *Cur deus homo*, ed. F. S. Schmitt, *S. Anselmi Opera Omnia* 2 (Edinburgh 1946).
- Arnold of Lübeck, *Chronica*, in *MGHSS* 21 (Hanover 1869).
- Baldric of Bourgueil, *Historia Jerosolimitana*, in *RHCOc.* 4 (Paris 1879).
- Bernard of Clairvaux, *De consideratione ad Eugenium Papam*, ed. J. Leclerq and H. M. Rochais, *SBO* 3 (Rome 1963).
- Bernard of Clairvaux, *Liber ad milites templi de laude novae militiae*, ed. J. Leclerq and H. M. Rochais, *SBO* 3 (Rome 1963).
- Bernard of Clairvaux, *Epistolae*, ed. J. Leclerq and H. M. Rochais, *SBO* 7-8 (Rome 1974-77).
- Bernard of Clairvaux, *Sermones super cantica canticorum*, ed. J. Leclerq and H. M. Rochais, *SBO* 1-2 (Rome 1957-58).
- Caffaro, *De liberatione civitatum Orientis*, ed. L. T. Belgrano, *Annali Genovesi di Caffaro e de'suoi continuatori* 1 (Genoa 1890).
- Canso d'Antiocha*, ed. C. Sweetenham and L. M. Paterson, *The Canso d'Antiocha: an Occitan epic chronicle of the first crusade* (Aldershot 2003).
- Celestine III, *Epistolae*, ed. J.-P. Migne, *PL* 206 (Paris 1855).
- Chronique d'Ernoul et de Bernard le trésorier*, ed. M. L. de Las Matrie (Paris 1871).
- Conon of Béthune, *Les chansons de Conon de Béthune*, ed. A. Wallensköld, *CFM* 24 (Paris 1921).

- De expugnatione civitatis Acconensis*, in *RS* 51.3 (London 1870).
- De expugnatione Lyxbonensi*, ed. C. W. David (New York 1936).
- De expugnatione terrae sanctae per Saladinum*, ed. J. Stevenson, *RS* 66 (London 1875).
- Ekkehard of Aura, *Hierosolymita*, in *RHCOc.* 5 (Paris 1895).
- Eliezer bar Nathan Chronicle*, tr. S. Eidelberg, *The Jews and the crusaders* (Madison Wisconsin 1977).
- Encyclical of Sergius IV*, ed. H. M. Schaller, 'Zur Kreuzzugszyklika Papst Sergius' IV,' ed. H. Mordek, *Papsttum, Kirche und Recht im Mittelalter* (Tübingen 1991), pp. 150-3.
- Epistulae et chartae ad historiam primi belli sacri spectantes*, ed. H. Hagenmeyer (New York 1973).
- Eugenius III, *Epistolae*, ed. J.-P. Migne, *PL* 180 (Paris 1855).
- Eugenius III, *Epistolae*, in *RHGF* 15 (Paris 1878).
- Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, ed. H. Hagenmeyer (Heidelberg 1913).
- Geoffrey of Villehardouin, *La conquête de Constantinople*, ed. E. Faral (2 vols. Paris 1938).
- Gerald of Wales, *Itinerarium Kambriae*, ed. J. F. Dimock, *RS* 21.6 (London 1868).
- Gervase of Canterbury, *Chronica*, in *RS* 73:1 (London 1879).
- Gesta abbatum Lobbiensium*, in *MGHSS* 21 (Hanover 1869).
- Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum*, ed. R. Hill (Oxford 1962).
- Gesta regis Henrici Secundi*, ed. W. Stubbs, *RS* 49 (2 vols. London 1867).
- Gesta Stephani Regis Anglorum*, ed. K. R. Potter (Oxford 1976).
- Gratian, *Corpus iuris canonici*, ed. A. E. Richter (2nd ed. 2 vols. Lipsiae 1879).
- Gregory VIII, *Epistolae*, ed. J.-P. Migne, *PL* 202 (Paris 1855).
- Guibert of Nogent, *De vita sua*, ed. E.-R. Labande (Paris 1981).
- Guibert of Nogent, *Dei gesta per Francos*, ed. R. B. C. Huygens, *CCCM* 127A (Turnholt 1996).

- Gunther of Pairis, *Hystoria Constantinopolitana*, ed. P. Orth, *Spolia Berolinensia: Berliner Beiträge zur Mediävistik* 5 (Zurich 1994).
- Hadrian IV, *Epistolae*, ed. J.-P. Migne, *PL* 188 (Paris 1890).
- Hebräische Berichte über die Judenverfolgungen während der Kreuzzüge*, ed. A. Neubauer and M. Stern, *Quellen der Geschichte der Juden in Deutschland* 2 (Berlin 1892).
- Helmold of Bosau, *Chronica Slavorum*, ed. H. Stoob, *AQDGM* 19 (Berlin 1963).
- Henry of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum*, ed. T. Arnold, *RS* 74 (London 1879).
- Historia Karoli Magni et Rotholandi*, ed. P. G. Schmidt, *Karollehus atque pseudo-turpini historia karoli magni et rotholandi* (Stuttgart 1996).
- Innocent III, *De miseria condicionis humane*, ed. R. E. Lewis (London 1980).
- Innocent III, *Die Register Innocenz' III*, ed. O. Hageneder and A. Haidacher (8 vols to date. Graz 1964-2001).
- Innocent III, *Epistolae*, ed. J.-P. Migne, *PL* 214-16 (Paris 1890-91).
- Itinerarium peregrinorum et gesta regis Ricardi*, ed. W. Stubbs, *RS* 38:1 (London 1864).
- James of Vitry, *The exempla*, ed. T. F. Crane (London 1890).
- James of Vitry, *Lettres de Jacques de Vitry*, ed. R. B. C. Huygens (Leiden 1960).
- James of Vitry, *Sermones*, ed. C. T. Maier, *Crusade propaganda and ideology* (Cambridge 2000).
- La chanson d'Antioche*, ed. J. Nelson, *OFCC* 4 (Tuscaloosa 2003).
- La chanson de la croisade Albigeoise*, ed. M. Zink (Paris 1989).
- La chanson de Jérusalem*, ed. N. R. Thorp, *OFCC* 6 (Tuscaloosa 1992).
- La chanson de Roland*, ed. C. Segre, *TLF* 968 (Geneva 2003).
- La vengeance de nostre seigneur*, ed. L. A. T. Gryting, *The oldest version of the twelfth-century poem La Vengeance Nostre Seigneur* (Ann Arbor 1952).
- Les chansons de croisade*, ed. J. Bédier and P. Aubry (Paris 1909).
- Les chétifs*, ed. G. M. Myers, *OFCC* 5 (Tuscaloosa 1981).

- Mainz Anonymous, tr. S. Eidelberg, *The Jews and the crusaders* (Madison Wisconsin 1977).
- Manuel I, 'Epistola,' *RHGF* 15 (Paris 1878).
- Marcabru, *Marcabru: a critical edition*, ed. S. Gaunt, R. Harvey, and L. Paterson (Cambridge 2000).
- Odo of Deuil, *De profectioe Ludovici VII in orientem*, ed. V. G. Berry (New York 1965).
- Orderic Vitalis, *Historia aecclesiastica*, ed. M. Chibnall (6 vols. Oxford 1969-80).
- Otto of Freising, *Chronica sive historia de duabus civitatibus*, ed. A. Schmidt, *AQDGM* 16 (Darmstadt 1961).
- Otto of Freising, *Gesta Frederici seu rectius cronica*, ed. F.-J. Schmale, *AQDGM* 17 (Darmstadt 1965).
- Otto of St. Blasien, *Chronici ab Ottone Frisingensi episcopo conscripti continuatio auctore... Ottone Sancti Blasii monacho*, in *MGHSS* 20 (Hanover 1868).
- Peter of Blois, *Conquestio de dilatione vie Ierosolimitane*, ed. R. B. C. Huygens, *CCCM* 194 (Turnholt 2002).
- Peter of Blois, *Passio Raginaldi principis Antiochie*, ed. R. B. C. Huygens, *CCCM* 194 (Turnholt 2002).
- Peter of Les Vaux-de-Cernay, *Hystoria Albigensis*, ed. P Guébin and E. Lyon (3 vols. Paris 1926-39).
- Peter the Venerable, 'Epistola Petri Pictavensis,' ed. J. Kritzeck, *Peter the Venerable and Islam* (Princeton 1964).
- Peter the Venerable, 'Epistola ad archiepiscopos Arelatensem et Ebredunensem, Diensem et Wapincensem episcopos,' in *RHGF* 15 (Paris 1878).
- Peter the Venerable, *Liber contra sectam sive haeresim Saracenorum*, ed. J. Kritzeck, *Peter the Venerable and Islam* (Princeton 1964).
- Peter the Venerable, *Summa totius haeresis Saracenorum*, ed. J. Kritzeck, *Peter the Venerable and Islam* (Princeton 1964).
- Peter the Venerable, *The letters of Peter the Venerable*, ed. G. Constable (2 vols. Cambridge Massachusetts 1967).
- Peter Tudebode, *Historia de Hierosolymitano itinere*, ed. J. H. Hill and L. L. Hill, *DHC* 12 (Paris 1977).

- Pseudo-Augustine, *De vera et falsa poenitentia*, ed. J.-P. Migne, *PL* 40 (Paris 1845).
- Raimbaut of Vaqueiras, *The poems of the troubadour Raimbaut de Vaqueiras*, ed. J. Linskill (The Hague 1964).
- Ralph of Caen, *Gesta Tancredi in expeditione Hierosolymitana*, in *RHCOc.* 3 (Paris 1866).
- Ralph of Coggeshall, *Chronicon Anglicanum*, ed. J. Stevenson, *RS* 66 (London 1875).
- Raymond of Aguilers, *Liber*, ed. J. H. Hill and L. L. Hill, *DHC* 9 (Paris 1969).
- Richard of Devizes, *Cronicon de tempore regis Richardi Primi*, ed. J. T. Appleby (London 1963).
- Rigord, *Gesta Philippi Augusti*, ed. H. F. Delaborde, *Oeuvres de Rigord et de Guillaume le Breton* 1 (Paris 1882).
- Robert of Auxerre, *Chronicon*, in *MGHSS* 26 (Hanover 1882).
- Robert of Clari, *La conquête de Constantinople*, ed. P. Lauer, *CFM* 40 (Paris 1924).
- Robert of Rheims, *Historia Iherosolimitana*, in *RHCOc.* 3 (Paris 1866).
- Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, ed. W. Stubbs, *RS* 51 (4 vols. London 1868-71).
- Saewulf, 'A reliable account of the situation of Jerusalem,' ed. and trans. J. Wilkinson, *Jerusalem pilgrimage 1099-1185* (London 1988).
- Sefir Zekhirah*, tr. S. Eidelberg, *The Jews and the crusaders* (Madison Wisconsin 1977).
- Solomon bar Simson Chronicle*, tr. S. Eidelberg, *The Jews and the crusaders* (Madison Wisconsin 1977).
- Suger of St. Denis, *Epistolae*, in *RHGF* 15 (Paris 1878).
- Thomas of Chobham, *Summa confessorum*, ed. F. Broomfield (Paris 1968).
- Vincent of Prague, *Annales*, in *MGHSS* 17 (Hanover 1861).
- William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, ed. R. B. C. Huygens, *CCCM* 63 (Turnholt 1986).

Secondary Literature

- Abulafia, A. S., *Christians and Jews in the twelfth-century renaissance* (London 1995).
- Abulafia, A. S., 'The interrelationship between the Hebrew chronicles of the first crusade,' *Christians and Jews in dispute* (Aldershot 1998), pp. 221-39.
- Abulafia, A. S., 'The intellectual and spiritual quest for Christ and central medieval persecution of the Jews,' *Religious violence between Christians and Jews: medieval roots and modern perspectives* (Basingstoke 2002), pp. 61-85.
- Ailes, M. and M. Barber, eds., *The history of the holy war: Ambroise's Estoire de la guerre sainte* (2 vols. Woodbridge 2003).
- Andrea, A. J., 'Essay on primary sources,' ed. D. E. Queller and T. F. Madden, *The fourth crusade: the conquest of Constantinople* (2nd ed. Philadelphia 1997), pp. 299-313.
- Anspach, M. R., 'Penser la vengeance,' *Esprit* 128 (July 1987), pp. 103-11.
- Axelrod, R., *The evolution of cooperation* (New York 1984).
- Barthélemy, D., 'Chivalric feud in tenth-century France: a rereading of Flodoard and Richer of Rheims,' paper delivered 14 July 2005 at the International Medieval Congress, University of Leeds.
- Barton, R. E., "'Zealous anger" and the renegotiation of aristocratic relationships in eleventh- and twelfth-century France,' ed. B. H. Rosenwein, *Anger's past: the social uses of an emotion in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca New York 1998), pp. 153-70.
- Baumeister, R. F. and M. R. Leary, 'The need to belong: desire for interpersonal attachments as a fundamental human motivation,' *Psychological Bulletin* 117 (1995), pp. 497-529.
- Bédier, J., ed., *Les chansons de croisade* (Paris 1909).
- Berry, V. G., ed., *De profectioe Ludovici VII in orientem* (New York 1948).
- Bisson, T., 'Medieval lordship,' *Speculum* 70 (1995), pp. 743-59.
- Blaise, A., *Le vocabulaire Latin des principaux thèmes liturgiques* (Turnholt 1966).
- Blake, E. O., 'The formation of the "crusade idea,"' *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 21 (1970), pp. 11-31.
- Borkenau, F., *End and beginning: on the generation of cultures and the origins of the west* (New York 1981).

- Bossy, J., *Christianity in the West 1400-1700* (Oxford 1985).
- Bower, G. H., 'How might emotions affect learning?,' ed. S.-A. Christianson, *The handbook of emotion and memory: research and theory* (Hillsdale New Jersey 1992), pp. 3-31.
- Buc, P., 'La vengeance, 400-1200' — to be published by the *Collection de l'École Française de Rome* in 2004.
- Bull, M., 'Views of Muslims and of Jerusalem in miracle stories, c. 1000 - c. 1200: reflections on the study of first crusaders' motivations,' ed. M. Bull and N. Housley, *The experience of crusading I: western approaches* (Cambridge 2003), pp. 13-38.
- Chadwick, H., 'Symbol and reality, Berengar and the appeal to the Fathers,' ed. P. Ganz, R. B. C. Huygens and F. Niewöhner, *Auctoritas und ratio* (Göttingen 1990), pp. 25-46.
- Chazan, R., 'Emperor Frederick I, the third crusade, and the Jews,' *Viator* 8 (1977), pp. 83-93.
- Chazan, R., 'Ephraim ben Jacob's compilation of twelfth-century persecutions,' *Jewish Quarterly Review* 84:4 (1994), pp. 397-416.
- Chazan, R., *God, humanity, and history: the Hebrew first crusade narratives* (London 2000).
- Chazan, R., 'From the first crusade to the second: evolving perceptions of the Christian-Jewish conflict,' ed. M. A. Signer and J. Van Engen, *Jews and Christians in twelfth-century Europe* (Notre Dame Indiana 2001), pp. 46-62.
- Chazan, R., 'The anti-Jewish violence of 1096: perpetrators and dynamics,' ed. A. S. Abulafia, *Religious violence between Christians and Jews: medieval roots, modern perspectives* (Basingstoke 2002), pp. 21-43.
- Chibnall, M., ed., *The Historia aecclesiastica of Orderic Vitalis* (6 vols. Oxford 1969-80).
- Chodorow, S., *Christian political theory and church politics in the mid-twelfth century: the ecclesiology of Gratian's Decretum* (Los Angeles 1972).
- Christian, W. A., *Apparitions in late medieval and renaissance Spain* (Princeton 1981).
- Claassens, G. H. M., 'The cycle de la croisade: vernacular historiography,' ed. B. Besamusca, W. P. Gerritsen, C. Hogetoorn, and O. S. H. Lie, *Cyclification: the development of narrative cycles in the chansons de geste and the Arthurian romances* (Amsterdam 1994), pp. 184-8.
- Cohen, J., 'The Jews as killers of Christ in the Latin tradition, from Augustine to the friars,' *Traditio* 39 (1983), pp. 1-28.

- Cohen, J., 'Christian theology and anti-Jewish violence in the Middle Ages: connections and disjunctions,' ed. A. S. Abulafia, *Religious violence between Christians and Jews: medieval roots and modern perspectives* (Basingstoke 2002), pp. 44-60.
- Cohen, R., 'Warfare and state formation: wars make states and states make wars,' ed. R. B. Ferguson, *Warfare, culture, and environment* (London 1984), pp. 329-58.
- Collins, A. Y., 'Persecution and vengeance in the Book of Revelation,' ed. D. Hellholm, *Apocalypticism in the mediterranean world and the Near East* (Tübingen 1983), pp. 729-49.
- Colson, E., 'Social control and vengeance in plateau Tonga society,' *Africa* 23 (1953), pp. 199-211.
- Constable, G., *Three studies in medieval religious and social thought* (Cambridge 1995).
- Cook, R. F., "*Chanson d'Antioche*," *chanson de geste: le cycle de la croisade est-il epique?* (Amsterdam 1980).
- Corner, D., 'The *Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi* and *Chronica* of Roger, parson of Howden,' *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* 56 (1983), pp. 126-44.
- Cottingham, J., 'Varieties of retribution,' ed. A. Duff, *Punishment* (Aldershot 1993), pp. 75-84.
- Courtois, G., 'La vengeance, du désir aux institutions,' ed. R. Verdier, *La vengeance: études d'ethnologie, d'histoire et de philosophie* (4 vols. Paris 1980-84), vol. 4 pp. 7-45.
- Cowdrey, H. E. J., 'Martyrdom and the first crusade,' *The crusades and Latin monasticism, 11th-12th centuries* (Aldershot 1999), pp. 46-56.
- Cowdrey, H. E. J., 'Christianity and the morality of warfare during the first century of crusading,' ed. M. Bull and N. Housley, *The experience of crusading 1: western approaches* (Cambridge 2003), pp. 175-92.
- Daniel, N., 'Crusade propaganda,' ed. H. W. Hazard and N. P. Zacour, *A history of the crusades 6: the impact of the crusades on Europe* (Madison Wisconsin 1989), pp. 39-97.
- Davy, M.-M., 'Le theme de la vengeance au moyen age,' ed. R. Verdier, *La vengeance: études d'ethnologie, d'histoire et de philosophie* (4 vols. Paris 1980-84), vol. 4 pp. 125-35.
- De Waal, F., *Peacemaking among primates* (Cambridge Massachusetts 1989).
- De Waal, F., *Good natured: the origins of right and wrong in humans and other animals* (Cambridge Massachusetts 1996).
- Delaborde, H. F., *Notice sur Rigord et sur Guillaume le Breton* (Paris 1885).

- Derbes, A., 'The frescoes of Schwarzheindorf, Arnold of Wied and the second crusade,' ed. M. Gervers, *The second crusade and the Cistercians* (New York 1992), pp. 141-54.
- Desjardins, M., *Peace, violence and the New Testament* (Sheffield 1997).
- Dobson, R. B., *The Jews of medieval York and the massacre of March 1190* (York 1974).
- Douglas, M., *Purity and danger* (London 1966).
- Du Cange, C., *Glossarium mediae et infimae Latinitatis* (7 vols. Paris 1840-50).
- Duparc-Quioc, S., 'La composition de la Chanson d'Antioche,' *Romania* 83 (1962), pp. 1-29 and 210-47.
- Duparc-Quioc, S., ed., *La Chanson d'Antioche: étude critique*, in *DHC* 11 (2 vols. Paris 1976-78).
- Durkheim, E., 'Review of E. Kulischer "Untersuchungen über das primitive strafrecht",' ed. A. Giddens, trans. W. D. Halls, *Durkheim on politics and the state* (Stanford 1986), pp. 167-70.
- Edbury, P. W. and J. G. Rowe, *William of Tyre: historian of the Latin East* (Cambridge 1988).
- Edgington, S., 'The first crusade: reviewing the evidence,' ed. J. Phillips, *The first crusade: origins and impact* (Manchester 1997), pp. 55-77.
- Edgington, S., 'Albert of Aachen and the *chansons de geste*,' ed. J. France and W. G. Zajac, *The crusades and their sources* (Aldershot 1998), pp. 23-38.
- Edwards, J. G., 'The *Itinerarium regis Ricardi* and the *Estoire de la guerre sainte*,' ed. J. G. Edwards, V. H. Galbraith, and E. F. Jacob, *Historical essays in honour of James Tait* (Manchester 1933), pp. 59-77.
- Eidelberg, S., *The Jews and the crusaders* (Madison Wisconsin 1977).
- Erdmann, C., *The origin of the idea of crusading*, trans. M. W. Baldwin and W. Goffart (Princeton 1977).
- Face, R. D., 'Secular history in twelfth-century Italy: Caffaro of Genoa,' *Journal of Medieval History* 6 (1980), pp. 169-84.
- Falls, M. M., 'Retribution, reciprocity, and respect for persons,' ed. A. Duff, *Punishment* (Aldershot 1993), pp. 27-54.
- Ferguson, R. B., 'Introduction: studying war,' *Warfare, culture, and environment* (London 1984), pp. 1-81.

- Ferguson, R. B., 'Explaining war,' ed. J. Haas, *The anthropology of war* (Cambridge 1990), pp. 26-55.
- Flori, J., *Croisade et chevalerie* (Brussels 1998).
- Ford, A. E., ed., *La Venjance Nostre-Seigneur: the Old and Middle French prose versions* (2 vols. Toronto 1984-1993).
- Funkenstein, A., 'Basic types of Christian anti-Jewish polemics in the later Middle Ages,' *Viator* 2 (1971), pp. 373-82.
- Gaunt, S., Harvey, R. and L. Paterson, eds., *Marcabru: a critical edition* (Cambridge 2000).
- Gieysztor, A., 'The genesis of the crusades: the encyclical of Sergius IV (1009-1012),' *Medievalia et humanistica* 5 (1948), pp. 3-23 and 6 (1948), pp. 3-34.
- Gilchrist, J., 'The Lord's war as the proving ground of faith: Pope Innocent III and the propagation of violence (1198-1216),' ed. M. Shatzmiller, *Crusaders and Muslims in twelfth-century Syria* (Leiden 1993), pp. 65-83.
- Gildea, M., *Expressions of religious thought and feeling in the chansons de geste* (Washington D.C. 1943).
- Gillingham, J., 'Conquering the barbarians: war and chivalry in twelfth-century Britain,' *The Haskins Society Journal* 4 (1992), pp. 67-84.
- Girard, R., *Violence and the sacred*, trans. P. Gregory (Baltimore 1979).
- Girard, R., *The scapegoat*, trans. Y. Freccero (London 1986).
- Girard, R., *Things hidden since the foundation of the world*, trans. S. Bann and M. Metteer (London 1987).
- Glasse, R. M., 'Revenge and redress among the Huli: a preliminary account,' *Mankind* 5 (April 1959), pp. 273-89.
- Goddard, H., *A history of Christian-Muslim relations* (Edinburgh 2000).
- Gorringe, T., *God's just vengeance: crime, violence and the rhetoric of salvation* (Cambridge 1996).
- Gransden, A., *Historical writing in England c. 550 to c. 1307* (London 1974).
- Grant, L., *Abbot Suger of St-Denis: church and state in early twelfth-century France* (Harlow 1998).

- Greenspan, P. S., *Emotions and reasons: an inquiry into emotional justification* (New York 1988).
- Greimas, A. J., *Dictionnaire de l'ancien français* (Paris 1999).
- Gryting, L. A. T., ed., *The oldest version of the twelfth-century poem La Venjance Nostre Seigneur* (Ann Arbor 1952).
- Hamerton-Kelly, R. G., *Sacred violence: Paul's hermeneutic of the cross* (Minneapolis 1992).
- Häring, H., 'Working hard to overcome violence in the name of religion,' ed. W. Beuken and K.-J. Kuschel, *Religion as a source of violence* (London 1997), pp. 93-109.
- Herlihy, D., 'Family,' *American Historical Review* 96 (1991), pp. 1-16.
- Horowitz, M. J., 'Self-righteous rage and the attribution of blame,' *Archives of general psychiatry* 38 (1981), pp. 1233-8.
- Houtart, F., 'The cult of violence in the name of religion: a panorama,' ed. W. Beuken and K.-J. Kuschel, *Religion as a source of violence* (London 1997), pp. 1-10.
- Hyams, P. R., *Rancor and reconciliation in medieval England* (Ithaca New York 2003).
- Jacoby, S., *Wild justice: the evolution of revenge* (New York 1983).
- Johnson, J. T., *The holy war idea in western and Islamic traditions* (University Park Pennsylvania 1997).
- Johnstone, R. L., *Religion and society in interaction: the sociology of religion* (Englewood Cliffs New Jersey 1975).
- Kaeuper, R. W., *Chivalry and violence in medieval Europe* (Oxford 1999).
- Kahl, H.-D., 'Crusade eschatology as seen by St. Bernard in the years 1146-1148,' ed. M. Gervers, *The second crusade and the Cistercians* (New York 1992), pp. 35-47.
- Katzir, Y., 'The second crusade and the redefinition of *Ecclesia*, *Christianitas* and papal coercive power,' ed. M. Gervers, *The second crusade and the Cistercians* (New York 1992), pp. 3-11.
- Kay, S., *The chansons de geste in the age of romance* (Oxford 1995).
- Kedar, B. Z., *Crusade and mission: European approaches toward the Muslims* (Princeton 1984).
- LaMonte, J. L., ed., *The crusade of Richard Lion-heart*, trans. M. J. Hubert (New York 1941).

- Langmuir, G. I., 'At the frontiers of faith,' ed. A. S. Abulafia, *Religious violence between Christians and Jews: medieval roots and modern perspectives* (Basingstoke 2002), pp. 138-56.
- Leach, E., *Culture and communication* (Cambridge 1976).
- Leary, M. R., 'Affect, cognition, and the social emotions,' ed. J. P. Forgas, *Feeling and thinking: the role of affect in social cognition* (Cambridge 2000), pp. 331-56.
- Lemaire, A., 'Vengeance et justice dans l'ancien Israel,' ed. R. Verdier, *La vengeance: études d'ethnologie, d'histoire et de philosophie* (4 vols. Paris 1980-84), vol. 3 pp. 13-33.
- Lewis, C. T., *An elementary Latin dictionary* (Oxford 1977).
- Lincoln, B., *Discourse and the construction of society: comparative studies of myth, ritual, and classification* (Oxford 1989).
- Livermore, H., 'The "Conquest of Lisbon" and its author,' *Portuguese Studies* 6 (1990), pp. 1-16.
- Macy, G., 'Berengar's legacy as heresiarch,' ed. P. Ganz, R. B. C. Huygens and F. Niewöhner, *Auctoritas und ratio* (Göttingen 1990), pp. 47-67.
- Manselli, R., 'De la "persuasio" a la "coercitio",' ed. E. Privat, *Le crédo, la morale et l'inquisition* (Ariège 1971), pp. 175-97.
- Mansfield, M. C., *The humiliation of sinners: public penance in thirteenth-century France* (Ithaca New York 1995).
- Markowski, M., 'Peter of Blois and the conception of the third crusade,' ed. B. Z. Kedar, *The horns of Hattin* (Jerusalem 1992), pp. 261-9.
- Mastnak, T., *Crusading peace: Christendom, the Muslim world, and western political order* (Berkeley 2002).
- Mayer, H. E., *The crusades*, trans. J. Gillingham (2nd ed. Oxford 1988).
- McCauley, C., 'Conference overview,' ed. J. Haas, *The anthropology of war* (Cambridge 1990), pp. 1-25.
- Mead, G. H., 'The psychology of punitive justice,' *The American Journal of Sociology* 23 (1918), pp. 577-602.
- Mendenhall, G. E., *The tenth generation: the origins of the Biblical tradition* (Baltimore 1973).
- Mierow, C. C. and R. Emery, eds., *The deeds of Frederick Barbarossa* (New York 1953).

- Miller, W. I., *Bloodtaking and peacemaking: feud, law and society in saga Iceland* (Chicago 1990).
- Miller, W. I., *Humiliation* (Ithaca New York 1993).
- Moore, R. I., *The formation of a persecuting society: power and deviance in western Europe, 950-1250* (Oxford 1987).
- Morgan, M. R., *The chronicle of Ernoul and the continuations of William of Tyre* (Oxford 1973).
- Morris, C., *The papal monarchy* (Oxford 1989).
- Muldoon, J., 'Tolerance and intolerance in the medieval canon lawyers,' ed. M. Gervers and J. M. Powell, *Tolerance and intolerance: social conflict in the age of the crusades* (Syracuse New York 2001), pp. 117-23.
- Mynors, R. A. B., Poole, A. L. and K. R. Potter, 'Introduction,' *Gesta Stephani*, ed. and trans. K. R. Potter (Oxford 1976).
- Newman, M. G., *The boundaries of charity: Cistercian culture and ecclesiastical reform, 1098-1180* (Stanford 1996).
- Niermeyer, J.F., *Mediae Latinitatis lexicon minus* (Leiden 1997).
- Nietzsche, F., *Human, all too human*, ed. K. Ansell-Pearson, trans. C. Diethe, *On the genealogy of morality* (Cambridge 1994), pp. 131-41.
- Nietzsche, F., *On the genealogy of morality*, ed. K. Ansell-Pearson, trans. C. Diethe (Cambridge 1994).
- Nirenberg, D., *Communities of violence: persecution of minorities in the Middle Ages* (Princeton 1996).
- Partner, P., *God of battles: holy wars of Christianity and Islam* (London 1997).
- Peels, H. G. L., *The vengeance of God: the meaning of the root NQM and the function of the NQM-texts in the context of divine revelation in the Old Testament* (Leiden 1995).
- Phillips, J., 'Ideas of crusade and holy war in *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi*,' *Studies in Church History* 36 (2000), pp. 123-41.
- Phillips, J., 'Odo of Deuil's *De profectioe Ludovici VII in orientem* as a source for the second crusade,' ed. M. Bull and N. Housley, *The experience of crusading 1: western approaches* (Cambridge 2003), pp. 80-95.

- Primoratz, I., 'Punishment as language,' ed. A. Duff, *Punishment* (Aldershot 1993), pp. 57-74.
- Purkis, W., 'Elite and popular perceptions of *imitatio Christi* in twelfth-century crusade spirituality,' ed. K. Cooper and J. Gregory, *Elite and popular religion* — to be published by Woodbridge in 2006.
- Reddy, W. M., *The navigation of feeling: a framework for the history of emotions* (Cambridge 2001).
- Reynolds, S., *Fiefs and vassals: the medieval evidence reinterpreted* (Oxford 1994).
- Riley-Smith, J., 'Crusading as an act of love,' *History* 65 (1980), pp. 177-92.
- Riley-Smith, J., 'The first crusade and the persecution of the Jews,' ed. W. J. Sheils, *Persecution and tolerance* (Oxford 1984), pp. 57-72.
- Riley-Smith, J., *The first crusade and the idea of crusading* (London 1986).
- Riley-Smith, J., 'The Latin clergy and the settlement in Palestine and Syria, 1098-1100,' *Catholic Historical Review* 74 (1988), pp. 539-57.
- Riley-Smith, J., *The first crusaders, 1095-1131* (Cambridge 1997).
- Riley-Smith, J., 'Christian violence and the crusades,' ed. A. S. Abulafia, *Religious violence between Christians and Jews: medieval roots, modern perspectives* (Basingstoke 2002), pp. 3-20.
- Riley-Smith, J., 'The military orders and the orient, 1150-1291,' unpublished.
- Rousset, P., *Les origines et les caractères de la première croisade* (Neuchâtel 1945).
- Rubin, M., *Gentile tales: the narrative assault on late medieval Jews* (New Haven 1999).
- Rubin, M., 'Mary and the Jews,' paper given in Cambridge, 30 March 2004.
- Ruether, R. B., *Faith and fratricide: the theological roots of anti-semitism* (New York 1979).
- Schaller, H. M., 'Zur Kreuzzugszyklika Papst Sergius' IV,' ed. H. Mordek, *Papsttum, Kirche und Recht im Mittelalter* (Tübingen 1991), pp. 135-53.
- Scheff, T., 'The taboo on coarse emotions,' ed. P. Shaver, *Review of personality and social psychology* 5 (Beverly Hills 1984), pp. 146-69.
- Scheff, T., 'Shame and conformity: the deference-emotion system,' *American Sociological Review* 53 (1988), pp. 395-406.

- Scheff, T., *Microsociology: discourse, emotion, and social structure* (Chicago 1990).
- Scheff, T., 'Emotions and identity: a theory of ethnic nationalism,' ed. C. Calhoun, *Social theory and the politics of identity* (Oxford 1994), pp. 277-303.
- Scheff, T., *Bloody revenge: emotions, nationalism and war* (Boulder 1994).
- Schilling, J., ed., *Arnold von Lübek: Gesta Gregorii Peccatoris* (Göttingen 1986).
- Schmandt, R. H., 'The fourth crusade and the just-war theory,' *Catholic Historical Review* 61 (1975), pp. 191-221.
- Schmidt, P. G., ed., *Karollehus atque pseudo-turpini historia karoli magni et rotholandi* (Stuttgart 1996).
- Schwinges, R. C., 'William of Tyre, the Muslim enemy, and the problem of tolerance,' ed. M. Gervers and J. M. Powell, *Tolerance and intolerance: social conflict in the age of the crusades* (Syracuse New York 2001), pp. 173-6.
- Siberry, E., *Criticism of crusading, 1095-1274* (Oxford 1985).
- Simmel, G., *Conflict and The web of group affiliations*, trans. K. H. Wolff and R. Bendix (London 1955).
- Smail, D. L., 'Hatred as a social institution in late-medieval society,' *Speculum* 76 (2001), pp. 90-126.
- Solomon, R. C., *A passion for justice: emotions and the origin of the social contract* (London 1995).
- Solomon, S., Greenberg, J. and T. Pyszczynski, 'A terror-management theory of social behavior: the psychological functions of self-esteem and cultural worldviews,' *Advances in experimental social psychology* 24 (1991), pp. 93-159.
- Staub, E., *The roots of evil: the origins of genocide and other group violence* (Cambridge 1989).
- Stock, B., *The implications of literacy: written language and models of interpretation in the eleventh and twelfth centuries* (Princeton 1983).
- Stoob, H., ed., *AQDGM* 19 (Berlin 1963).
- Strickland, D. H., *Saracens, demons and Jews* (Princeton 2003).
- Sweetenham, C. and L. M. Paterson, eds., *The Canso d'Antioca: an Occitan epic chronicle of the first crusade* (Aldershot 2003).

- Thomas, Y., 'Se venger au Forum: solidarité familiale et procès criminel à Rome,' ed. R. Verdier, *La vengeance: études d'ethnologie, d'histoire et de philosophie* (4 vols. Paris 1980-84), vol. 3 pp. 65-100.
- Tolan, J. V., *Saracens: Islam in the medieval European imagination* (New York 2002).
- Turney-High, H. H., *Primitive war: its practice and concepts* (Columbia South Carolina 1949).
- Verdier, R., 'Le système vindicatoire,' *La vengeance: études d'ethnologie, d'histoire et de philosophie* (4 vols. Paris 1980-84), vol. 1 pp. 13-42.
- Voegelin, E., *Anamnesis*, trans. G. Niemeyer (Notre Dame Indiana 1978).
- Watt, J. A., *The theory of papal monarchy in the thirteenth century* (London 1965).
- White, S. D., 'The politics of anger,' ed. B. H. Rosenwein, *Anger's past: the social uses of an emotion in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca New York 1998), pp. 127-52.
- Wright, S. K., *The vengeance of our lord: medieval dramatizations of the destruction of Jerusalem* (Toronto 1989).

