

Reading #12 – From Charlemagne to Francis of Assisi

Einhard – *Life of Charlemagne*

Preface

SINCE I have taken upon myself to narrate the public and private life, and no small part of the deeds, of my lord and foster-father, the most lent and most justly renowned King Charles, I have condensed the matter into as brief a form as possible. I have been careful not to omit any facts that could come to my knowledge, but at the same time not to offend by a prolix style those minds that despise everything modern, if one can possibly avoid offending by a new work men who seem to despise also the masterpieces of antiquity, the works of most learned and luminous writers. Very many of them, I have no doubt, are men devoted to a life of literary leisure, who feel that the affairs of the present generation ought not to be passed by, and who do not consider everything done today as unworthy of mention and deserving to be given over to silence and oblivion, but are nevertheless seduced by lust of immortality to celebrate the glorious deeds of other times by some sort of composition rather than to deprive posterity of the mention of their own names by not writing at all.

Be this as it may, I see no reason why I should refrain from entering upon a task of this kind, since no man can write with more accuracy than I of events that took place about me, and of facts concerning which I had personal knowledge, ocular demonstration as the saying goes, and I have no means of ascertaining whether or not any one else has the subject in hand.

In any event, I would rather commit my story to writing, and hand it down to posterity in partnership with others, so to speak, than to suffer the most glorious life of this most excellent king, the greatest of all the princes of his day, and his illustrious deeds, hard for men of later times to imitate, to be wrapped in the darkness of oblivion.

But there are still other reasons, neither unwarrantable nor insufficient, in my opinion, that urge me to write on this subject, namely, the care that King Charles bestowed upon me in my childhood, and my constant friendship with himself and his children after I took up my abode at court. In this way he strongly endeared me to himself, and made me greatly his debtor as well in death as in life, so that were I unmindful of the benefits conferred upon me, to keep silence concerning the most glorious and illustrious deeds of a man who claims so much at my hands, and suffer his life to lack due eulogy and written memorial, as if he had never lived, I should deservedly appear ungrateful, and be so considered, albeit my

powers are feeble, scanty, next to nothing indeed, and not at all adapted to write and set forth a life that would tax the eloquence of a Tully [note: *Tully* is Marcus Tullius Cicero].

I submit the book. It contains the history of a very great and distinguished man; but there is nothing in it to wonder at besides his deeds, except the fact that I, who am a barbarian, and very little versed in the Roman language, seem to suppose myself capable of writing gracefully and respectably in Latin, and to carry my presumption so far as to disdain the sentiment that Cicero is said in the first book of the *Tusculan Disputations* to have expressed when speaking of the Latin authors. His words are: "It is an outrageous abuse both of time and literature for a man to commit his thoughts to writing without having the ability either to arrange them or elucidate them, or attract readers by some charm of style." This dictum of the famous orator might have deterred me from writing if I had not made up my mind that it was better to risk the opinions of the world, and put my little talents for composition to the test, than to slight the memory of so great a man for the sake of sparing myself.

#22. [Charles' Appearance.] Charles was large and strong, and of lofty stature, though not disproportionately tall (his height is well known to have been seven times the length of his foot); the upper part of his head was round, his eyes very large and animated, nose a little long, hair fair, and face laughing and merry. Thus his appearance was always stately and dignified, whether he was standing or sitting; although his neck was thick and somewhat short, and his belly rather prominent; but the symmetry of the rest of his body concealed these defects. His gait was firm, his whole carriage manly, and his voice clear, but not so strong as his size led one to expect. His health was excellent, except during the four years preceding his death, when he was subject to frequent fevers; at the last he even limped a little with one foot. Even in those years he consulted rather his own inclinations than the advice of physicians, who were almost hateful to him, because they wanted him to give up roasts, to which he was accustomed, and to eat boiled meat instead. In accordance with the national custom, he took frequent exercise on horseback and in the chase, accomplishments in which scarcely any people in the world can equal the Franks. He enjoyed the exhalations from natural warm springs, and often practised swimming, in which he was such an adept that none could surpass him; and hence it was that he built his palace at Aix-la-Chapelle, and lived there constantly during his latter years until his death. He used not only to invite his sons to his bath, but his nobles and friends, and now and then a troop of his retinue or body guard, so that a hundred or more persons sometimes bathed with him.

#23. [Charles' Clothing] He used to wear the national, that is to say, the Frank, dress-next his skin a linen shirt and linen breeches, and above these a tunic fringed with silk; while

hose fastened by bands covered his lower limbs, and shoes his feet, and he protected his shoulders and chest in winter by a close-fitting coat of otter or marten skins. Over all he flung a blue cloak, and he always had a sword girt about him, usually one with a gold or silver hilt and belt; he sometimes carried a jewelled sword, but only on great feast-days or at the reception of ambassadors from foreign nations. He despised foreign costumes, however handsome, and never allowed himself to be robed in them, except twice in Rome, when he donned the Roman tunic, chlamys, and shoes; the first time at the request of Pope Hadrian, the second to gratify Leo, Hadrian's successor. On great feast-days he made use of embroidered clothes, and shoes bedecked with precious stones; his cloak was fastened by a golden buckle, and he appeared crowned with a diadem of gold and gems: but on other days his dress varied little from the common dress of the people.

#24. [Charles's Manner] Charles was temperate in eating, and particularly so in drinking, for he abominated drunkenness in anybody, much more in himself and those of his household; but he could not easily abstain from food, and often complained that fasts injured his health. He very rarely gave entertainments, only on great feast-days, and then to large numbers of people. His meals ordinarily consisted of four courses, not counting the roast, which his huntsmen used to bring in on the spit; he was more fond of this than of any other dish. While at table, he listened to reading or music. The subjects of the readings were the stories and deeds of olden time: he was fond, too, of St. Augustine's books, and especially of the one entitled "The City of God."

He was so moderate in the use of wine and all sorts of drink that he rarely allowed himself more than three cups in the course of a meal. In summer after the midday meal, he would eat some fruit, drain a single cup, put off his clothes and shoes, just as he did for the night, and rest for two or three hours. He was in the habit of awaking and rising from bed four or five times during the night. While he was dressing and putting on his shoes, he not only gave audience to his friends, but if the Count of the Palace told him of any suit in which his judgment was necessary, he had the parties brought before him forthwith, took cognizance of the case, and gave his decision, just as if he were sitting on the Judgment-seat. This was not the only business that he transacted at this time, but he performed any duty of the day whatever, whether he had to attend to the matter himself, or to give commands concerning it to his officers.

#25 [Charles' Education] Charles had the gift of ready and fluent speech, and could express whatever he had to say with the utmost clearness. He was not satisfied with command of his native language merely, but gave attention to the study of foreign ones, and in particular was such a master of Latin that he could speak it as well as his native tongue; but he could understand Greek better than he could speak it. He was so eloquent, indeed, that

he might have passed for a teacher of eloquence. He most zealously cultivated the liberal arts, held those who taught them in great esteem, and conferred great honours upon them. He took lessons in grammar of the deacon Peter of Pisa, at that time an aged man. Another deacon, Albin of Britain, surnamed Alcuin, a man of Saxon extraction, who was the greatest scholar of the day, was his teacher in other branches of learning. The King spent much time and labour with him studying rhetoric, dialectics, and especially astronomy; he learned to reckon, and used to investigate the motions of the heavenly bodies most curiously, with an intelligent scrutiny. He also tried to write, and used to keep tablets and blanks in bed under his pillow, that at leisure hours he might accustom his hand to form the letters; however, as he did not begin his efforts in due season, but late in life, they met with ill success.

#19 [Charles and the Education of His Children] The plan that he adopted for his children's education was, first of all, to have both boys and girls instructed in the liberal arts, to which he also turned his own attention. As soon as their years admitted, in accordance with the custom of the Franks, the boys had to learn horsemanship, and to practise war and the chase, and the girls to familiarize themselves with cloth-making, and to handle distaff and spindle, that they might not grow indolent through idleness, and he fostered in them every virtuous sentiment. He only lost three of all his children before his death, two sons and one daughter, Charles, who was the eldest, Pepin, whom he had made King of Italy, and Hruodrud, his oldest daughter....

He was so careful of the training of his sons and daughters that he never took his meals without them when he was at home, and never made a journey without them; his sons would ride at his side, and his daughters follow him, while a number of his body-guard, detailed for their protection, brought up the rear. Strange to say, although they were very handsome women, and he loved them very dearly, he was never willing to marry any of them to a man of their own nation or to a foreigner, but kept them all at home until his death, saying that he could not dispense with their society. Hence, though other-wise happy, he experienced the malignity of fortune as far as they were concerned; yet he concealed his knowledge of the rumours current in regard to them, and of the suspicions entertained of their honour.

#27[Charles and the Roman Church] ... He cherished the Church of St. Peter the Apostle at Rome above all other holy and sacred places, and heaped its treasury with a vast wealth of gold, silver, and precious stones. He sent great and countless gifts to the popes; and throughout his whole reign the wish that he had nearest at heart was to re-establish the ancient authority of the city of Rome under his care and by his influence, and to defend and protect the Church of St. Peter, and to beautify and enrich it out of his own store above all

other churches. Although he held it in such veneration, he only repaired to Rome to pay his vows and make his supplications four times during the whole forty-seven years that he reigned.

#28 [Charles' Coronation] The Romans had inflicted many injuries upon the Pontiff Leo, tearing out his eyes and cutting out his tongue, so that he had been compelled to call upon the King for help. Charles accordingly went to Rome, to set in order the affairs of the Church, which were in great confusion, and passed the whole winter there. It was then that he received the titles of Emperor and Augustus, to which he at first had such an aversion that he declared that he would not have set foot in the Church the day that they were conferred, although it was a great feast-day, if he could have foreseen the design of the Pope. He bore very patiently with the jealousy which the Roman emperors showed upon his assuming these titles, for they took this step very ill; and by dint of frequent embassies and letters, in which he addressed them as brothers, he made their haughtiness yield to his magnanimity, a quality in which he was unquestionably much their superior.

Foundation Charter of Cluny (910)

From the tenth century there were successive waves of monastic reform - Cluniac, Cistercian, Mendicant and so forth. The founding of the abbey of Cluny in 910 marked the onset of this period. As well as providing some basis for Cluny's later power and independence, the charter is an example of why donations were made to the Church. It ends with some truly magnificent curses.

To all right thinkers it is clear that the providence of God has so provided for certain rich men that, by means of their transitory possessions, if they use them well, they may be able to merit everlasting rewards. As to which thing, indeed, the divine word, showing it to be possible and altogether advising it, says: "The riches of a man are the redemption of his soul." (Prov. xiii.) I, William, count and duke by the grace of God, diligently pondering this, and desiring to provide for my own safety while I am still able, have considered it advisable - nay, most necessary, that from the temporal goods which have been conferred upon me I should give some little portion for the gain of my soul. I do this indeed in order that I who have thus increased in wealth may not, per chance, at the last be accused of have having spent all in caring for my body, but rather may rejoice, when fate at last shall snatch all things away, in having reserved something for myself. Which end, indeed, seems attainable by no more suitable means than that, following the precept of Christ "I will make his poor my friends" (Luke xvi. 9), and making the act not a temporary but a lasting one, I should support at my own expense a congregation of monks. And this is my trust, this is my hope, indeed, that although I myself am unable to despise all things, nevertheless by receiving

despisers of this world, whom I believe to be righteous, I may receive the reward of the righteous. Therefore be it known to all who live in the unity of the faith and who await the mercy of Christ, and to those who shall succeed them and who shall continue to exist until the end of the world, that, for the love of God and of our Saviour Jesus Christ, I hand over from my own rule to the holy apostles, Peter, namely, and Paul, the possessions over which I hold sway, the town of Cluny, namely, with the court and demesne manor, and the church in honour of St. Mary the mother of God and of St. Peter the prince of the apostles, together with all the things pertaining to it, the vills, indeed, the chapels, the serfs of both sexes, the vines, the fields, the meadows, the woods, the waters and their outlets, the mills, the incomes and revenues, what is cultivated and what is not, all in their entirety. Which things are situated in or about the country of Macon, each one surrounded by its own bounds.. I give, moreover, all these things to the aforesaid apostles - I William and my wife Ingelberga - first for the love of God; then for the soul. Of my lord king Odo, or my father and mother; for myself and my wife - for the salvation, namely, of our souls and bodies;- and not least for that of Ava who left me these things in her will; for the souls of our brothers and sisters and nephews, and of all our relatives of both sexes; for our faithful ones who adhere to our service; for the advancement, also, and integrity of the catholic religion. Finally, since all of us Christians are held together by one bond of love and faith, let this donation be for all, - for the orthodox namely, of past, present or future times. I give these things, moreover, with this understanding, that in Cluny a regular monastery shall be constructed in honour of the holy apostles Peter and Paul, and that there the monks shall congregate and live according to the rule of St. Benedict, and that they shall possess, hold, have and order these same things unto all time. In such wise, however, that the venerable house of prayer which is there shall be faithfully frequented with vows and supplications, and the celestial converse shall be sought and striven after with all desire and with the deepest ardour; and also that there shall be sedulously directed to God prayers, beseechings and exhortations as well for me as for all, according to the order in which mention has been made of them above. And let the monks themselves, together with all the aforesaid possessions, be under the power and dominion of the abbot Berno, who, as long as he shall live, shall preside over them regularly according to his knowledge and ability. But after his death, those same monks shall have power and permission to elect any one of their order whom they please as abbot and rector, following the will of God and the rule promulgated by St. Benedict-in such wise that neither by the intervention of our own or of any other power may they be impeded from making a purely canonical election. Every five years, moreover, the aforesaid monks shall pay to the church of the apostles at Rome ten shillings to supply them with lights; and they shall have the protection of those same apostles and the defence of the Roman pontiff; and those monks may, with their whole heart and soul, according to their ability and knowledge, build up the aforesaid place. We

will, further, that in our times and in those of our successors, according as the opportunities and possibilities of that place shall allow, there shall daily, with the greatest zeal be performed there works of mercy towards the poor, the needy, strangers and pilgrims. It has pleased us also to insert in this document that, from this day, those same monks there congregated shall be subject neither to our yoke, nor to that of our relatives, nor to the sway of the royal might, nor to that of any earthly power. And, through God and all his saints, and by the awful day of judgment, I warn and abjure that no one of the secular princes, no count, no bishop whatever, not the pontiff of the aforesaid Roman see, shall invade the property of these servants of God, or alienate it, or diminish it, or exchange it, or give it as a benefice to any one, or constitute any prelate over them against their will. And that such an unhallowed act be more strictly prohibited to all rash and wicked men, I do adjure ye, oh holy apostles and glorious princes of the world, Peter and Paul, and thee, oh supreme pontiff, that, through the canonical and apostolical authority which ye received from God, ye do remove from participation in the holy Church an in eternal life, the robbers and invaders and alienators of these possessions which I do give to thee with joyful heart and ready will; and be ye protectors and defenders of the aforementioned place of Cluny and of the servants of God abiding there, and of all these possession - on account of the clemency and mercy of the most holy Redeemer. If anyone - which Heaven forbid, and which through the mercy of God and the protection of the holy apostles I do not think will happen - whether he be a neighbour or a stranger, no matter what his condition or power, should, though any kind of wile, attempt to do any act of violence contrary to this deed of gift which we have ordered to be drawn up for the love of almighty God and for reverence of the chief apostles Peter and Paul; first indeed let him incur the wrath of almighty God; and let God remove him from the land of the living and wipe out his name from the book of life, and let his portion be with those who said to the Lord God: Depart from us; and with Dathan and Abiron whom the earth opening its jaws swallowed up, and hell absorbed whill still alive, let him incur everlasting damnation. And being made a companion of Judas, let him be kept thrust down their with eternal tortures, and, let it seem to human eyes that he pass through the present world with impunity, let him experience in his own body, indeed, the torments of future damnation, sharing the double disaster with Heliodorus and Antiochus, of whom one being coerced with a sharp blow scarcely escaped alive; and the other, struck down by the divine will, his members putrefying and swarming with vermin, perished most miserably. And let him be a partaker in with other sacrilegious persons who presume to plunder the treasure house of God; and let him, unless he come to his senses, have as an enemy and as one who will refuse him entrance in the blessed paradise, the key-keeper of the whole hierarchy of the Church, and joined with the latter, St. Paul; both of whom, if he had wished, he might have had as holy mediators for him. But as far as the worldly law is concerned, he shall be required, the judicial power

compelling him to pay a hundred pounds of gold to those he has harmed; and his attempted attack, being frustrated, shall have no effect at all. But the validity of this deed of gift, endowed with all authority, shall always remain inviolate and unshaken, together with the stipulation subjoined. Done publicly in the city of Bourges. I William, commanded this to made and drawn up and confirmed it with my own hand.

(Signed by Ingelberga and a number of bishops and nobles)

CAMALDOLESE, CARTHUSIANS, CISTERCIANS

CAMALDOLESE

A joint order of hermits and cenobites, founded by St. Romuald at the beginning of the eleventh century. About 1012, after having founded or reformed nearly a hundred unconnected monasteries and hermitages, St. Romuald arrived in the Diocese of Arezzo seeking place for a new hermitage. It was here, according to the legend, that he was met by a certain count called Maldolus. This man, after describing his vision of monks in white habits ascending a ladder to heaven (while he had slept in one of his fields in the mountains), offered this spot to the saint. The field, which was held by Maldolus in fief of the Bishop of Arezzo, was readily accepted by St. Romuald, who built there the famous hermitage afterwards known as *Campus Maldoli* or *Camaldoli*. In the same year he received from the count a villa at the foot of the mountains, about two miles below Camaldoli, of which he made the monastery of Fonte Buono. This latter house was intended to serve as infirmary, guest-house, and bursary to the hermitage, in order that the hermits might not be distracted by any worldly business.

Camaldoli and Fonte Buono may be considered as the beginning of the Camaldolese Order; the former foreshadowing the eremitical, the latter the cenobitical, branches. It is true that this opinion has been gravely contested. The Camaldolese writers are naturally inclined to place the date of the foundation of their order as early as possible, and their judgment is further influenced by their views on the birth-date of St. Romuald. But they differ considerably among themselves, their estimates varying from the year 940, chosen by Blessed Paolo Giustiniani, to the year 974, that commends itself to Hasted. They point out that St. Romuald founded many monasteries and hermitages, and was many times surrounded by disciples before he came to Camaldoli; and they argue that in founding Camaldoli he did not intend to begin the order, but merely a new hermitage; that the order was called the *Romualdine* until the later years of the eleventh century, and then received the name *Camaldolese*, not from its origin at Camaldoli, but from the fact that

the Holy Hermitage had always retained its first fervour and had been an exemplar to all other houses. It seems probable, however, that St. Romuald before 1012 was rather a reformer of Benedictine houses and a founder of isolated monasteries and hermitages, than the originator of a new order. Indeed it is doubtful if he had ever any intention of founding an order, in the modern sense, at all. But at Camaldoli the Rule, which later appeared in modified form as the "Constitutions of the Blessed Rudolph", is first heard of; at Camaldoli the distinctive white habit first appears; at Camaldoli are first found in combination the two cenobite and hermit branches that are afterwards so marked a feature of the order. Strictly, perhaps, the order did not come into existence till the Bull "Nulli fidelium", of Alexander II, in 1072. But, as all its distinctive features are first found together at Camaldoli in 1012, it may not be unwarranted to assign the foundation of the Camaldolese Order to that date.

Butler, Richard Urban, and Leslie

Toke. "Camaldolese." The

Catholic Encyclopedia. Vol. 3. New York:

Robert Appleton Company, 1908. 2 Jul.

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2010 <<http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/03204d.htm>>.

CARTHUSIANS

We have two accounts of the manner of life of the first Carthusians, the earliest, written by Guibert, Abbot of Nogent, the second by Peter the Venerable, Abbot of Cluny. The former runs as follows: "The church stands upon a ridge . . . thirteen monks dwell there, who have a sufficiently convenient cloister, in accordance with the cenobitic custom, but do not live together *claustraliter* like other monks. Each has his own cell round the cloister, and in these they work, sleep, and eat. On Sundays they receive the necessary bread and vegetables (for the week) which is their only kind of food and is cooked by each one in his own cell; water for drinking and for other purposes is supplied by a conduit . . . There are no gold or silver ornaments in their church, except a silver chalice. They do not go to the church as we do [Guibert was a Benedictine], but only for certain of them. They hear Mass, unless I am mistaken, on Sundays and solemnities. They hardly ever speak, and,

if they want anything, ask for it by a sign. If they ever drink wine, it is so watered down as to be scarcely better than plain water. They wear a hair shirt next the skin, and their other garments are thin and scanty. They live under a prior, and the Bishop of Grenoble acts as their abbot and *provisor* . . . Lower down the mountain there is a building containing over twenty most faithful lay brothers [*laicos*], who work for them. . . . Although they observe the utmost poverty, they are getting together a very rich library. (P.L., CLVI, 853 sqq.).

Peter the Venerable adds certain details, lays stress on the poorness of their garments, and mentions that they restricted their possessions both in land and cattle, and fixed their own number at thirteen monks, eighteen lay brothers, and a few servants. Of their diet he says, "They always abstain from the eating of meat, whether in health or ill. They never buy fish, but accept them if given in charity. Cheese and eggs are allowed on Sundays and Thursdays. On Tuesdays and Saturdays, they eat cooked vegetables, but on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays, they take only bread and water. They eat once a day only, save at Christmas, Easter, Pentecost, Epiphany, and on certain other festivals On feast days they go to the refectory, eat twice, and sing the whole office in the church." (P.L., (CLXXXIX, 944 D.)

Webster, Douglas Raymond. "The Carthusian Order." The Catholic Encyclopedia. Vol. 3. New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1908. 2 Jul. 2013 28 May 2010 <<http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/03388a.htm>>.

CISTERCIANS

The formation (1098-1134)

St. Robert, son of the noble Thierry and Ermengarde of Champagne, was Abbot of Molesme, a monastery dependent on Cluny. Appalled by the laxity into which the Order of Cluny had fallen, he endeavoured to effect reforms in the monasteries of Saint-Pierre-de-la-Celle, Saint-Michel of Tonnerre, and finally in that of Molesme. His attempts at reform in these monasteries meeting with very little success, he, with six of his religious, among whom were Alberic and Stephen, had recourse to Hugh, Legate of the Holy See, and Archbishop of Lyons. Authorized by Archbishop Hugh to institute a reform, Robert and his companions returned to Molesme and there chose from among the religious those whom they considered most fitted to participate in their undertaking. To the number of twenty-one the company retired to the solitude of Cîteaux (in the Diocese of Châlons), which Raynald, Viscount of Beaune, had ceded to them. (See Cîteaux, Abbey of.) On the feast of St. Benedict (21 March), 1098, which fell that year on Palm Sunday, they commenced to build the "New Monastery", as it is called in the

"Exordium sacri Ordinis Cisterciensis". This, therefore, was the birthday of the Order of Cîteaux. By order of the Apostoliclegate, Robert received the pastoral staff from the bishop of the diocese, Gauthier, and was charged with the government of his brethren, who immediately made their vow of stability. Thus was the "New Monastery" canonically erected into an abbey.

At this news, the monks who had remained at Molesme sent a deputation to Pope Urban II, asking that Robert might be sent back to his first monastery. The pope yielded to their petition, and Robert returned to Molesme, after having governed Cîteaux for one year. There the prior, Alberic, was elected to replace him, and, in his turn, sent the two monks, John and Ilbode, as delegates to Pascal II (who had just succeeded Urban II) to beg him to take the church of Cîteaux under the protection of the Apostolic See. By Apostolic Letters, dated at Troja in Campania, 18 April, 1100, Pascal II declared that he took under his immediate protection the abbey and the religious, of Cîteaux, saving their allegiance to the Church of Châlons. Dating from this day, Alberic and his religious established at Cîteaux the exact observance of the Rule of St. Benedict, substituted the white habit for the black which the Benedictines wore, and, the better to observe the rule in regard to the Divine Office day and night, associated with themselves lay brothers, to be chiefly occupied with the manual labours and material affairs of the order. These lay brothers, or conversi, though they were not monks, were to be treated during life and after death just like the monks themselves. St. Alberic died in 1109.

His successor was Stephen Harding, an Englishman by birth, well versed in sacred and profane science, who had been one of the first promoters of the project to leave Molesme. St. Robert, his two immediate successors, and their companions had but one object in view: a reaction against the laxity of Cluny and of other monasteries — to resume manual labour, to adopt a more severe regimen, and to restore in monastic churches and church ceremonies the gravity and simplicity proper to the monastic profession. They never thought of founding a new order, and yet from Cîteaux were to go forth, in course of time, colonies of monks who should found other monasteries destined to become other Cîteaux, and thus create an order distinct from that of Cluny.

St. Bernard's entrance into the Order of Cîteaux (1112) was the signal of this extraordinary development. Thirty young noblemen of Burgundy followed him, among them four of his brothers. Others came after them, and in such numbers that in the following year (1113) Cîteaux was able to send forth its first colony and found its first filiation, La Ferté, in the Diocese of Châlons. In 1114 another colony was established at Pontigny, in the Diocese of Auxerre. In 1115 the young Bernard founded Clairvaux in the Diocese of Langres. In the

same year Morimond was founded in the same Diocese of Langres. These were the first four offshoots of Cîteaux; but of these monasteries Clairvaux attained the highest development, becoming mother of sixty-eight monasteries even in the lifetime of St. Bernard. (See Clairvaux).

After this St. Stephen Harding was to complete the legislation for the new institute. Cluny had introduced into the monastic order the confederation of the members among themselves. St. Stephen added thereto the institution of general chapters and regular visits. Thus mutual supervision, rendering account of the administration, rigid examination of discipline, immediate correction of abuses, were so many sure means of maintaining the observance in all its purity. The collection of statutes which St. Stephen drafted, and in which are contained wise provisions for the government of the order, was called the Charter of Charity (*La Chartre de Charité*). It and the "US", the book of usages and customs, together with some of the definitions of the first general chapters, received the approbation of Pope Callistus II. At the death of St. Stephen (1134), the order, after thirty-six years of existence, counted 70 monasteries, of which 55 were in France.

Gildas, Marie. "Cistercians." *The Catholic Encyclopedia*. Vol. 3. New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1908. 2 Jul. 2013. 28 May 2010 <<http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/03780c.htm>>.

Stephen Harding, *Charta Caritatis*

Preface

Already before the Cistercian abbeys had begun to spread Father Stephen and his brethren, with a view to avoid all difficulties between the bishop and the monks, ordained that no abbey should by any means be founded in any diocese before the bishop should approve and confirm the decree passed between the abbey of Cîteaux and its filiations. In this decree the aforesaid brethren, in the intention of obviating rupture of mutual concord explained and ordered and transmitted to those to come after, the bond and manner, or rather the charity whereby their monks divided in the body in abbeys in different parts of the world, should be indissolubly banded together in spirit. They also considered this decree should be called Charter of Charity because putting aside the burden of any money contribution it pursued only charity and the utility of souls in things human and divine.

Chapter 1

Because we are all servants unprofitable indeed, of the one true King, Lord and Master, therefore we demand no exaction of temporal profit or earthly goods from the abbots and brethren whom the goodness of God has been pleased through our unworthy instrumentality, to bring together in divers places, in the observance of regular discipline. For, desiring only to be of service to them and to the children of Holy Church, we will do nothing toward them that can be either a burden to them or a subtraction of their temporal substance, lest striving to be made wealthy from their poverty, we may incur the guilt of vice and avarice, which the Apostle terms the "serving of idols". It is, however, our intention, for the sake of charity, to watch with care over their souls; so that if they should at any time decline from their good resolution and the observance of their holy rule, which misfortune may God in his mercy avert, we may be able by our constant solicitude to bring them back to the religious life.

Chapter 2

We wish henceforward and command them to observe the rule of St. Benedict in everything as it is observed in the New Monastery, and to understand it in no other sense than that which our pious forefathers of Citeaux have given to it and maintained, and which we ourselves now understand and hold after their example. And because we receive all monks coming from other monasteries into ours, and they in like manner receive ours; it seems proper to us, that all our monasteries should have the same usage in chanting, and the same books for divine office day and night and the celebration of the holy sacrifice of the Mass, as we have in the New Monastery; that there may be no discord in our daily actions, but that we may all live together in the bond of charity under one rule, and in the practice of the same observances. *Let no monastery or person of our Order dare to ask for any privilege from anyone, or if already obtained, to make use of such privilege which is opposed to the established constitutions of the Order, in whatsoever way it may have been obtained.*

Chapter 3

When the abbot of the New Monastery shall go to any other monastery for the purpose of visitation, the abbot of the monastery so visited shall acknowledge the abbot of the New Monastery and the monastery of Citeaux to be the mother-house, and shall yield precedency to its abbot in every part of his monastery; so that the abbot of the New Monastery shall take and hold the place of this abbot as long as he remains in that monastery. However, he shall not eat in the guest apartments, but in the refectory with the community to maintain discipline, unless there should be no proper abbot at that time in the monastery. The same rule shall be observed, when several abbots shall come to any monastery. If the abbot of the monastery at the time is absent then the one who is oldest shall eat at the stranger's table. The abbot, however in his

own monastery will always, even in the presence of an abbot of superior dignity, profess his own novices at the end of their year noviceship. Let the abbot of the New Monastery be careful not to touch anything, to ordain anything, or to dispose of anything, with reference to the possessions of the monastery which he visits, without the consent of the abbot and his brethren. If he shall perceive that any of the precepts of the rule or the institutions of the Order are violated in the monastery which he is visiting, let him, with the advice and in the presence of the abbot, charitably endeavor to correct the brethren. But if the abbot of the monastery be not present, he shall, nevertheless, correct what he finds amiss.

Chapter 4

The abbot of a mother-house shall visit annually, *either in person or by one of his co-abbots*, all the filiations of his own monastery. And if he should visit the brethren more frequently than this, let it be to them a subject of joy. *The four abbots of La Ferté, Pontigny, Clairvaux and Morimond, shall visit in person unless prevented by sickness, once in the year, and on the day which they shall appoint, the monastery of Citeaux, besides their attendance at the General Chapter, unless one of them is prevented by grave illness.*

William of St. Thierry – “A Description of Clairvaux (c. 1143)”

At the first glance as you entered Clairvaux by descending the hill you could see that it was a temple of God; and the still, silent valley bespoke, in the modest simplicity of its buildings, the unfeigned humility of Christ's poor. Moreover, in this valley full of men, where no one was permitted to be idle, where one and all were occupied with their allotted tasks, a silence deep as that of night prevailed. The sounds of labor, or the chants of the brethren in the choral service, were the only exceptions. The orderliness of this silence, and the report that went forth concerning it struck such a reverence even into secular persons that they dreaded breaking it--I will not say by idle or wicked conversation, but even by proper remarks. The solitude, also, of the place---between dense forests in a narrow gorge of neighboring hills---in a certain sense recalled the cave of our father St. Benedict, so that while they strove to imitate his life, they also had some similarity to him in their habitation and loneliness....

Although the monastery is situated in a valley, it has its foundations on the holy hills, whose gates the Lord loves more than all the dwellings of Jacob. Glorious things are spoken of it, because the glorious and wonderful God therein works great marvels. There the insane recover their reason, and although their outward man is worn away, inwardly they are born again. There the proud are humbled, the rich are made poor, and the poor have the Gospel preached to them, and the darkness of sinners is changed into light. A large

multitude of blessed poor from the ends of the earth have there assembled, yet have they one heart and one mind; justly, therefore, do all who dwell there rejoice with no empty joy. They have the certain hope of perennial joy, of their ascension heavenward already commenced. In Clairvaux, they have found Jacob's ladder, with angels upon it; some descending, who so provide for their bodies that they faint not on the way; others ascending, who so rule their souls that their bodies hereafter may be glorified with them.

For my part, the more attentively I watch them day by day, the more do I believe that they are perfect followers of Christ in all things. When they pray and speak to God in spirit and in truth, by their friendly and quiet speech to Him, as well as by their humbleness of demeanor, they are plainly seen to be God's companions and friends. When, on the other hand, they openly praise God with psalms, how pure and fervent are their minds, is shown by their posture of body in holy fear and reverence, while by their careful pronunciation and modulation of the psalms, is shown how sweet to their lips are the words of God--- sweeter than honey to their mouths. As I watch them, therefore, singing without fatigue from before midnight to the dawn of day, with only a brief interval, they appear a little less than the angels, but much more than men....

As regards their manual labor, so patiently and placidly, with such quiet countenances, in such sweet and holy order, do they perform all things, that although they exercise themselves at many works, they never seem moved or burdened in anything, whatever the labor may be. Whence it is manifest that that Holy Spirit works in them who disposes of all things with sweetness, in whom they are refreshed, so that they rest even in their toil. Many of them, I hear, are bishops and earls, and many illustrious through their birth or knowledge; but now, by God's grace, all distinction of persons being dead among them, the greater anyone thought himself in the world, the more in this flock does he regard himself as less than the least. I see them in the garden with hoes, in the meadows with forks or rakes, in the fields with scythes, in the forest with axes. To judge from their outward appearance, their tools, their bad and disordered clothes, they appear a race of fools, without speech or sense. But a true thought in my mind tells me that their life in Christ is hidden in the heavens. Among them I see Godfrey of Peronne, Raynald of Picardy, William of St. Omer, Walter de Lisle, all of whom I knew formerly in the old man, whereof I now see no trace, by God's favor. I knew them proud and puffed up; I see them walking humbly under the merciful hand of God.

An Account of the Early Career of St. Bernard (c. 1150)

From William of St. Thierry, *Life of St. Bernard*, c. 1140

Saint Bernard was born at Fontaines in Burgundy [near Dijon], at the castle of his father. His parents were famed among the famous of that age, most of all because of their piety. His father, Tescelin, was a member of an ancient and knightly family, fearing God and scrupulously just. Even when engaged in holy war he plundered and destroyed no one; he contented himself with his worldly possessions, of which he had an abundance, and used them in all manner of good works. With both his counsel and his arms he served temporal lords, but so as never to neglect to render to the sovereign Lord that which was due him. Bernard's mother, Alith, of the castle Montbar, mindful of holy law, was submissive to her husband and, with him, governed the household in the fear of God, devoting herself to deeds of mercy and rearing her children in strict discipline. She bore seven children, six boys and one girl, not so much for the glory of her husband as for that of God; for all the sons became monks and the daughter a nun.

As soon as Bernard was of sufficient age his mother intrusted his education to the teachers in the church at Châtillon and did everything in her power to enable him to make rapid progress. The young boy, abounding in pleasing qualities and endowed with natural genius, fulfilled his mother's every expectation; for he advanced in his study of letters at a speed beyond his age and that of other children of the same age. But in secular matters he began already, and very naturally, to humble himself in the interest of his future perfection, for he exhibited the greatest simplicity, loved to be in solitude, fled from people, was extraordinarily thoughtful, submitted himself implicitly to his parents, had little desire to converse, was devoted to God, and applied himself to his studies as the means by which he should be able to learn of God through the Scriptures....

Determined that it would be best for him to abandon the world, he began to inquire where his soul, under the yoke of Christ, would be able to find the most complete and sure repose. The recent establishment of the order of Cîteaux [in 1098] suggested itself to his thought. The harvest was abundant, but the laborers were few, for hardly anyone had sought happiness by taking up residence there, because of the excessive austerity of life and the poverty which there prevailed, but which had no terrors for the soul truly seeking God. Without hesitation or misgivings, he turned his steps to that place, thinking that there he would be able to find seclusion and, in the secret of the presence of God, escape the importunities of men; wishing particularly there to gain a refuge from the vainglory of the noble's life, and to win purity of soul, and perhaps the name of saint.

When his brothers, who loved him according to the flesh, discovered that he intended to become a monk, they employed every means to turn him to the pursuit of letters and to attach him to the secular life by the love of worldly knowledge. Without doubt, as he has himself declared, he was not a little moved by their arguments. But the memory of his

devout mother urged him importunately to take the step. It often seemed to him that she appeared before him, reproaching him and reminding him that she had not reared him for frivolous things of that sort, and that she had brought him up in quite another hope. Finally, one day when he was returning from the siege of a château called Grancey, and was coming to his brothers, who were with the duke of Burgundy, he began to be violently tormented by these thoughts. Finding by the roadside a church, he went in and there prayed, with flooded eyes, lifting his hands toward Heaven and pouring out his heart like water before the Lord. That day fixed his resolution irrevocably. From that hour, even as the fire consumes the forests and the flame ravages the mountains, seizing everything, devouring first that which is nearest but advancing to objects farther removed, so did the fire which God had kindled in the heart of his servant, desiring that it should consume it, lay hold first of his brothers (of whom only the youngest, incapable yet of becoming a monk, was left to console his old father), then his parents, his companions, and his friends, from whom no one had ever expected such a step.....

The number of those who decided to take upon themselves monastic vows increased and, as one reads of the earliest sons of the Church, "all the multitude of those who believed were of one mind and one heart" [Acts 32]. They lived together and no one else dared mingle with them. They had at Châtillon a house which they possessed in common and in which they held meetings, dwelt together, and held converse with one another. No one was so bold as to enter it, unless he were a member of the congregation. If anyone entered there, seeing and hearing what was done and said (as the Apostle declared of the Christians of Corinth), he was convinced by their prophecies and, adoring the Lord and perceiving that God was truly among them, he either joined himself to the brotherhood or, going away, wept at his own plight and their happy state....

At that time, the young and feeble establishment at Cîteaux, under the venerable abbot Stephen, began to be seriously weakened by its paucity of numbers and to lose all hope of having successors to perpetuate the heritage of holy poverty, for everybody revered the life of these monks for its sanctity but held aloof from it because of its austerity. But the monastery was suddenly visited and made glad by the Lord in a happy and unhoped-for manner. In 1113, fifteen years after the foundation of the monastery, the servant of God, Bernard, then about twenty-three years of age, entered the establishment under the abbot Stephen, with his companions to the number of more than thirty, and submitted himself to the blessed yoke of Christ. From that day God prospered the house, and that vine of the Lord bore fruit, putting forth its branches from sea to sea.

Such were the holy beginnings of the monastic life of that man of God. It is impossible to anyone who has not been imbued as he with the spirit of God to recount the illustrious

deeds of his career, and his angelic conduct, during his life on earth. He entered the monastery poor in spirit, still obscure and of no fame, with the intention of there perishing in the heart and memory of men, and hoping to be forgotten and ignored like a lost vessel. But God ordered it otherwise, and prepared him as a chosen vessel, not only to strengthen and extend the monastic order, but also to bear His name before kings and peoples to the ends of the earth....

At the time of harvest the brothers were occupied, with the fervor and joy of the Holy Spirit, in reaping the grain. Since he [Bernard] was not able to have part in the labor, they bade him sit by them and take his ease. Greatly troubled, he had recourse to prayer and, with much weeping, implored the Lord to grant him the strength to become a reaper. The simplicity of his faith did not deceive him, for that which he asked he obtained. Indeed from that day he prided himself in being more skillful than the others at that task; and he was the more given over to devotion during that labor because he realized that the ability to perform it was a direct gift from God. Refreshed by his employments of this kind, he prayed, read, or meditated continuously. If an opportunity for prayer in solitude offered itself, he seized it; but in any case, whether by himself or with companions, he preserved a solitude in his heart, and thus was everywhere alone. He read gladly, and always with faith and thoughtfulness, the Holy Scriptures, saying that they never seemed to him so clear as when read in the text alone, and he declared his ability to discern their truth and divine virtue much more readily in the source itself than in the commentaries which were derived from it. Nevertheless, he read humbly the saints and orthodox commentators and made no pretense of rivaling their knowledge; but, submitting his to theirs, and tracing it faithfully to its sources, he drank often at the fountain whence they had drawn. It is thus that, full of the spirit which has divinely inspired all Holy Scripture, he has served God to this day, as the Apostle says, with so great confidence, and such ability to instruct, convert, and sway. And when he preaches the word of God, he renders so clear and agreeable that which he takes from Scripture to insert in his discourse, and he has such power to move men, that everybody, both those clever in worldly matters and those who possess spiritual knowledge, marvel at the eloquent words which fall from his lips.

William of Malmesbury (d. 1143?) – “The Battle of Hastings (1066)”

The courageous leaders mutually prepared for battle, each according to his national custom. The English, as we have heard, passed the night without sleep, in drinking and singing, and in the morning proceeded without delay against the enemy. All on foot, armed

with battle-axes, and covering themselves in front by the juncture of their shields, they formed an impenetrable body which would assuredly have secured their safety that day had not the Normans, by a feigned flight, induced them to open their ranks, which till that time, according to their custom, had been closely compacted. King Harold himself, on foot, stood with his brothers near the standard in order that, so long as all shared equal danger, none could think of retreating. This same standard William sent, after his victory, to the pope; it was sumptuously embroidered with gold and precious stones, and represented the figure of a man fighting.

On the other hand, the Normans passed the whole night in confessing their sins, and received the communion of the Lord's body in the morning. Their infantry, with bows and arrows, formed the vanguard, while their cavalry, divided into wings, was placed in the rear. The duke, with serene countenance, declaring aloud that God would favor his as being the righteous side, called for his arms; and when, through the haste of his attendants, he had put on his hauberk the hind part before, he corrected the mistake with a laugh, saying "The power of my dukedom shall be turned into a kingdom." Then starting the Song of Roland, in order that the warlike example of that hero might stimulate the soldiers, and calling on God for assistance, the battle commenced on both sides, and was fought with great ardor, neither side giving ground during the greater part of the day.

Observing this, William gave a signal to his troops, that, feigning flight, they should withdraw from the field. By means of this device the solid phalanx of the English opened for the purpose of cutting down the fleeing enemy and thus brought upon itself swift destruction; for the Normans, facing about, attacked them, thus disordered, and compelled them to fly. In this manner, deceived by a stratagem, they met an honorable death in avenging their enemy; nor indeed were they at all without their own revenge, for, by frequently making a stand, they slaughtered their pursuers in heaps. Getting possession of an eminence, they drove back the Normans, who in the heat of pursuit were struggling up the slope, into the valley beneath, where, by hurling their javelins and rolling down stones on them as they stood below, the English easily destroyed them to a man. Besides, by a short passage with which they were acquainted, they avoided a deep ditch and trod underfoot such a multitude of their enemies in that place that the heaps of bodies made the hollow level with the plain. This alternating victory, first of one side and then of the other, continued so long as Harold lived to check the retreat; but when he fell, his brain pierced by an arrow, the flight of the English ceased not until night.

In the battle both leaders distinguished themselves by their bravery. Harold, not content with the functions of a general and with exhorting others, eagerly assumed himself the duties of a common soldier. He was constantly striking down the enemy at close quarters,

so that no one could approach him with impunity, for straightway both horse and rider would be felled by a single blow. So it was at long range, as I have said, that the enemy's deadly arrow brought him to his death. One of the Norman soldiers gashed his thigh with a sword, as he lay prostrate; for which shameful and cowardly action he was branded with ignominy by William and expelled from the army.

William, too, was equally ready to encourage his soldiers by his voice and by his presence, and to be the first to rush forward to attack the thickest of the foe. He was everywhere fierce and furious; he lost three choice horses, which were that day killed under him. The dauntless spirit and vigor of the intrepid general, however, still held out. Though often called back by the kind remonstrance of his bodyguard, he still persisted until approaching night crowned him with complete victory. And no doubt the hand of God so protected him that the enemy should draw no blood from his person, though they aimed so many javelins at him.

This was a fatal day to England, and melancholy havoc was wrought in our dear country during the change of its lords. For it had long adopted the manners of the Angles, which had indeed altered with the times; for in the first years of their arrival they were barbarians in their look and manner, warlike in their usages, heathens in their rights. After embracing the faith of Christ, by degrees and, in process of time, in consequence of the peace which they enjoyed, they relegated arms to a secondary place and gave their whole attention to religion. I am not speaking of the poor, the meanness of whose fortune often restrains them from overstepping the bound of justice; I omit, too, men of ecclesiastical rank, whom sometimes respect for their profession and sometimes the fear of shame suffers not to deviate from the true path; I speak of princes, who from the greatness of their power might have full liberty to indulge in pleasure. Some of these in their own country, and others at Rome, changing their habit, obtained a heavenly kingdom and a saintly intercourse. Many others during their whole lives devoted themselves in outward appearance to worldly affairs, but in order that they might exhaust their treasures on the poor or divide them amongst monasteries.

What shall I say of the multitudes of bishops, hermits, and abbots? Does not the whole island blaze with such numerous relics of its own people that you can scarcely pass a village of any consequence but you hear the name of some new saint? And of how many more has all remembrance perished through the want of records?

Nevertheless, the attention to literature and religion had gradually decreased for several years before the arrival of the Normans. The clergy, contented with a little confused learning, could scarcely stammer out the words of the sacraments; and a person who understood grammar was an object of wonder and astonishment. The monks mocked the

rule of their order by fine vestments and the use of every kind of food. The nobility, given up to luxury and wantonness, went not to church in the morning after the manner of Christians, but merely, in a careless manner, heard matins and masses from a hurrying priest in their chambers, amid the blandishments of their wives. The commonalty, left unprotected, became a prey to the most powerful, who amassed fortunes, either by seizing on their property or by selling their persons into foreign countries; although it is characteristic of this people to be more inclined to reveling than to the accumulation of wealth. . .

Drinking in parties was a universal practice, in which occupation they passed entire nights as well as days. They consumed their whole substance in mean and despicable houses, unlike the Normans and French, who live frugally in noble and splendid mansions. The vices attendant on drunkenness, which enervate the human mind, followed; hence it came about that when they engaged William, with more rashness and precipitate fury than military skill, they doomed themselves and their country to slavery by a single, and that an easy, victory. For nothing is less effective than rashness; and what begins with violence quickly ceases or is repelled.

The English at that time wore short garments, reaching to the mid-knee; they had their hair cropped, their beards shaven, their arms laden with gold bracelets, their skin adorned with tattooed designs. They were accustomed to eat till they became surfeited, and to drink till they were sick. These latter qualities they imparted to their conquerors; as to the rest, they adopted their manners. I would not, however, had these bad propensities ascribed to the English universally; I know that many of the clergy at that day trod the path of sanctity by a blameless life; I know that many of the laity, of all ranks and conditions, in this nation were well-pleasing to God. Be injustice far from this account; the accusation does not involve the whole, indiscriminately; but as in peace the mercy of God often cherishes the bad and the good together, so, equally, does his severity sometimes include them both in captivity.

The Normans---that I may speak of them also---were at that time, and are even now, exceedingly particular in their dress and delicate in their food, but not so to excess. They are a race inured to war, and can hardly live without it; fierce in rushing against the enemy, and, where force fails of success, ready to use stratagem or to corrupt by bribery. As I have said, they live in spacious houses with economy, envy their superiors, wish to excel their equals, and plunder their subjects, though they defend them from others; they are faithful to their lords, though a slight offense alienates them. They weigh treachery by its chance of success, and change their sentiments for money. The most hospitable, however, of all nations, they esteem strangers worthy of equal honor with themselves; they also intermarry with their vassals. They revived, by their arrival, the rule of religion which had

everywhere grown lifeless in England. You might see churches rise in every village, and monasteries in the towns and cities, built after a style unknown before; you might behold the country flourishing with renovated rites; so that each wealthy man accounted that day lost to him which he had neglected to signalize by some munificent action.

THE FIRST CRUSADE

Ekkehard of Aurach – “On the Opening of the First Crusade”

*Ekkehard, a well-known German historian had completed a history of the world in the year 1101 when he determined to make a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. On his return he entirely rewrote the particulars of his history relating to the First Crusade, and finally issued it as a little separate volume called **Hierosolymita**. His work is regarded by historical scholars as remarkably painstaking and temperate.*

After mentioning the capture of Jerusalem by Godfrey of Bouillon and his fellow-crusaders in 1099, Ekkehard continues:

[Some declare the crusade inexpedient] Here I am very anxious to add certain details concerning these military undertakings, which are due to divine rather than human inspiration. This I do for the especial purpose of refuting those imprudent - or, better, impudent - critics. who, bound by prejudice, take it upon themselves with insolent lips to blame this novel enterprise, so necessary to a world that is growing old and nearing its end. They, like the Epicureans, prefer the broad way of pleasure to the narrow way of God's service. To them love of the world wisdom and those who despise it are fools....I, however, since I trust in the Lord and strive not for present but for future things, would, although only as an idle spectator yet a kindly well-wisher, exalt the glorious men of our time who have overcome the kingdoms of this world and who, for the sake of the blessed Shepherd who sought the hundredth sheep that was lost, have left wife and child, principalities and riches, and have taken their lives in their hands...

The many peoples who took part in the First Crusade.

[After Urban had aroused the spirits of all by the promise of forgiveness to those who undertook the expedition with single-hearted devotion,] toward one hundred thousand men were appointed to the immediate service of God from Aquitaine and Normandy, England, Scotland, Ireland, Brittany, Galicia, Gascony, France, Flanders, Lorraine, and from other Christian peoples, whose names I no longer retain. It was truly an army of "crusaders," for they bore the sign of the cross on their garments as a reminder that they

should mortify the flesh, and in the hope that they would in this way triumph over the enemies of the cross of Christ, as it had once come to pass in the case of the great Constantine. Thus, through the +marvelous and unexampled working of divine dispensation, all these members of Christ, so different in speech, origin, and nationality, were suddenly brought together as one body through their love of Christ.

While they were all under one king, Christ, the several peoples nevertheless were led by their several leaders, namely Godfrey of Lorraine and his brothers Baldwin and Eustace, Robert of Flanders, Robert of Normandy, Count Regimund of St. Gilles, Hugh, brother of King Philip of France, and other warriors of similar energy, rank, and bravery. Over all of these the above-mentioned pope placed Bishop Hademar a man of venerable holiness and wisdom. To him the pope granted the right to exercise in his stead the power transmitted by St. Peter to the Roman see of binding and loosing....

The West Franks were easily induced to leave their fields, since France had, during several years, been terribly visited now by civil war, now by famine, and again by sickness....Among the other nations, the common people, as well as those of higher rank, related that, aside from the apostolic summons, they had in some- instances been called to the land of promise by certain prophets who had appeared among them, or through heavenly signs and revelations. Others confessed that they had been induced to pledge themselves by some misfortune. A great part of them started forth with wife and child and laden with their entire household equipment.

The Germans at first regard the crusaders as madmen.

The summons, however, failed altogether to reach the East Franks, Saxons, Thuringians, Bavarians, and Alemannians. This was due especially to the division between the civil government and the priesthood, which from the time of Pope Alexander [II] to the present day has, alas, made us as hated and offensive to the Romans as the Romans are to us. So it came about that almost the whole German people were, at the beginning of the expedition, quite unacquainted with the reasons for it. Consequently the many legions of horsemen who passed through their land, the hosts of people on foot, the crowds of country people, women and children, were viewed by them with contempt as persons who had altogether lost their wits.

Those bound for the Holy Land seemed to them to be leaving the land of their birth and sacrificing what they already had for a vain hope. The promised land offered no certainty but danger, yet they deserted their own possessions in a greedy struggle for those of others. Nevertheless, although our people are far more arrogant than others, the fury of

the Teutons finally gave way in view of the divine mercy, and after they had thoroughly discussed the matter with the multitude of pilgrims, they too inclined their hearts.

Prodigies announce the coming crusade

Moreover the signs in the sun and the wonders which appealed, both in the air and on the earth, aroused many who had previously been indifferent. It seems to us useful to interweave an account of a few of these signs, although it would carry us too far to enumerate them all. For example we beheld a comet on the 7th of October to the south, its brilliancy slanting down seemed like a sword...A few years ago a priest of honorable reputation, by the name of Suigger, about the ninth hour of the day beheld two knights, who met one another in the air and fought long, until one, who carried a great cross with which he struck the other, finally overcame his enemy....Some were watching horses in the fields reported that they had seen the image of a city in the air and had observed various how troops from different directions, both on horseback and on foot, were hastening thither.

Many, moreover, displayed, either on their clothing, or upon their forehead, or elsewhere on their body, the sign of the cross, which had been divinely imprinted, and they believed themselves on this account to have been destined to the service of God. Others likewise were induced, through some sudden change of spirit or some nocturnal vision, to sell all their property and possessions and to sew the sign of mortification on their mantles. Among all these people who pressed into the churches in incredible numbers, swords were distributed with the priestly benediction, according to new usage, along with the pilgrim's staff and wallet.

I may also report that at this time a woman after two years gestation finally gave birth to a boy who was able to talk,; and that a child with a double set of limbs, another with two heads, and some lambs with two heads were also born; and that colts came into the world with great teeth, which we ordinarily call horses' teeth and which nature only grants to three-year old horses.

Bad men and women join the crusaders

While through these and similar signs the whole creation seemed to offer its services to the Creator, the watchful enemy, who takes occasion when others sleep to sow his tares amongst the good seed, raised up also false prophets and mixed false brethren and degraded women among the Lord's host under the appearance of religion. In this way the armies of Christ were defiled not only through hypocrisy and lies but through shameless uncleanness, so that the prophecy of the Good Shepherd might be fulfilled, that even the elect may be led astray.

Albert of Aix – “The Slaughter of the Rhineland Jews”

At the beginning of summer in the same year in which Peter, and Gottschalk, after collecting an army, had set out, there assembled in like fashion a large and innumerable host of Christians from diverse kingdoms and lands; namely, from the realms of France, England, Flanders, and Lorraine. . . . I know not whether by a judgment of the Lord, or by some error of mind; they rose in a spirit of cruelty against the Jewish people scattered throughout these cities and slaughtered them without mercy, especially in the Kingdom of Lorraine, asserting it to be the beginning of their expedition and their duty against the enemies of the Christian faith. This slaughter of Jews was done first by citizens of Cologne. These suddenly fell upon a small band of Jews and severely wounded and killed many; they destroyed the houses and synagogues of the Jews and divided among themselves a very large, amount of money. When the Jews saw this cruelty, about two hundred in the silence of the night began flight by boat to Neuss. The pilgrims and crusaders discovered them, and after taking away all their possessions, inflicted on them similar slaughter, leaving not even one alive.

Not long after this, they started upon their journey, as they had vowed, and arrived in a great multitude at the city of Mainz. There Count Emico, a nobleman, a very mighty man in this region, was awaiting, with a large band of Teutons, the arrival of the pilgrims who were coming thither from diverse lands by the King's highway.

The Jews of this city, knowing of the slaughter of their brethren, and that they themselves could not escape the hands of so many, fled in hope of safety to Bishop Rothard. They put an infinite treasure in his guard and trust, having much faith in his protection, because he was Bishop of the city. Then that excellent Bishop of the city cautiously set aside the incredible amount of money received from them. He placed the Jews in the very spacious hall of his own house, away from the sight of Count Emico and his followers, that they might remain safe and sound in a very secure and strong place.

But Emico and the rest of his band held a council and, after sunrise, attacked the Jews in the hall with arrows and lances. Breaking the bolts and doors, they killed the Jews, about seven hundred in number, who in vain resisted the force and attack of so many thousands. They killed the women, also, and with their swords pierced tender children of whatever age and sex. The Jews, seeing that their Christian enemies were attacking them and their children, and that they were sparing no age, likewise fell upon one another, brother, children, wives, and sisters, and thus they perished at each other's hands. Horrible to say, mothers cut the

throats of nursing children with knives and stabbed others, preferring them to perish thus by their own hands rather than to be killed by the weapons of the uncircumcised.

From this cruel slaughter of the Jews a few escaped; and a few because of fear, rather than because of love of the Christian faith, were baptized. With very great spoils taken from these people, Count Emico, Clarebold, Thomas, and all that intolerable company of men and women then continued on their way to Jerusalem, directing their course towards the Kingdom of Hungary, where passage along the royal highway was usually not denied the pilgrims. But on arriving at *Wieselburg*, the fortress of the King, which the rivers Danube and Leytha protect with marshes, the bridge and gate of the fortress were found closed by command of the King of Hungary, for great fear had entered all the Hungarians because of the slaughter which had happened to their brethren. . . .

But while almost everything had turned out favorably for the Christians, and while they had penetrated the walls with great openings, by some chance or misfortune, I know not what, such great fear entered the whole army that they turned in flight, just as sheep are scattered and alarmed when wolves rush upon them. And seeking a refuge here and there, they forgot their companions. . . .

Emico and some of his followers continued in their flight along the way by which they had come. Thomas, Clarebold, and several of their men escaped in flight toward Carinthia and Italy. So the hand of the Lord is believed to have been against the pilgrim who had sinned by excessive impurity and fornication, and who had slaughtered the exiled Jews through greed of money, rather than for the sake of God's justice, although the Jews were opposed to Christ. The Lord is a just judge and orders no one unwillingly, or under compulsion, to come under the yoke of the Catholic faith.

There was another detestable crime in this assemblage of wayfaring people, who were foolish and insanely fickle. That the crime was hateful to the Lord and incredible to the faithful is not to be doubted. They asserted that a certain goose was inspired by the Holy Spirit, and that a she goat was not less filled by the same Spirit. These they made their guides on this holy journey to Jerusalem; these they worshipped excessively; and most of the people following them, like beasts, believed with their whole minds that this was the true course. May the hearts of the faithful be free from the thought that the Lord Jesus wished the Sepulchre of His most sacred body to be visited by brutish and insensate animals, or that He wished these to become the guides of Christian souls, which by the price of His own blood He deigned to redeem from the filth of idols! . . .

Fulcher of Chartres – “The Latins in the East” (Chronicle, Bk III)

Consider, I pray, and reflect how in our time God has transferred the West into the East. For we who were Occidentals now have been made Orientals. He who was a Roman or a Frank is now a Galilaeian, or an inhabitant of Palestine. One who was a citizen of Rheims or of Chartres now has been made a citizen of Tyre or of Antioch. We have already forgotten the places of our birth; already they have become unknown to many of us, or, at least, are unmentioned. Some already possess here homes and servants which they have received through inheritance. Some have taken wives not merely of their own people, but Syrians, or Armenians, or even Saracens who have received the grace of baptism. Some have with them father-in-law, or daughter-in-law, or son-in-law, or stepson, or step-father. There are here, too, grandchildren and great-grandchildren. One cultivates vines, another the fields. The one and the other use mutually the speech and the idioms of the different languages. Different languages, now made common, become known to both races, and faith unites those whose forefathers were strangers. As it is written, "The lion and the ox shall eat straw together." Those who were strangers are now natives; and he who was a sojourner now has become a resident. Our parents and relatives from day to day come to join us, abandoning, even though reluctantly, all that they possess. For those who were poor there, here God makes rich. Those who had few coins, here possess countless peasants; and those who had not had a villa, here, by the gift of God, already possess a city. Therefore why should one who has found the East so favorable return to the West? God does not wish those to suffer want who, carrying their crosses, have vowed to follow Him, nay even unto the end. You see, therefore, that this is a great miracle, and one which must greatly astonish the whole world. Who has ever heard anything like it? Therefore, God wishes to enrich us all and to draw us to Himself as His most dear friends. And because He wishes it, we also freely desire the same; and what is pleasing to Him we do with a loving and submissive heart, that with Him we may reign happily throughout eternity.

THE SECOND CRUSADE

Odo of Deuil – "The Crusade of Louis VII"

1. St. Bernard Preaches at Vezelay

[Adapted from Brundage] *Following the call of Pope Eugene III for a crusade, at Christmas time 1145, the French king, Louis VII, revealed to his courtiers his designs to go to the aid of the Latins in the East. The King met, however, with considerable opposition from his advisors, who believed that the welfare of the kingdom required that the King remain at home. It was agreed, therefore, to defer any action on the project until the following Easter. In the meantime, the King sought the advice of*

the powerful and renowned Bernard of Clairvaux, who agreed to preach on behalf of the Crusade to the King's court during Easter time at Vezelay:

In the year of the Incarnation of the Word one thousand one hundred forty-six, Louis, the glorious king of the Franks and duke of Aquitaine, the son of King Louis, came to Vezelay at Easter so that he might be worthy of Christ by bearing his cross after him. Louis was twenty-five years old.

When the same pious King held his court at Bourges on the preceding Christmas, he had first revealed the secret in his heart to the bishops and barons of the kingdom, whom he had purposefully summoned for his coronation in greater numbers than usual. The devout Bishop of Langres, had at that time preached in his capacity as a bishop about the slaughter and oppression of the Christians and the great insolence of the pagans in Rohais, known in antiquity as Edessa. He had roused many to tears by this lamentable tale and he had admonished them all that they should fight together with their king for the King of all in order to help the Christians. Zeal for the faith burned and glowed in King Louis. He held luxury and temporal glory in contempt and set an example which was better than any sermon. The King, however, could not immediately harvest by his example what the Bishop had sown by his words. Another day was appointed, therefore, namely Easter at Vezelay, when all were to assemble on Passion Sunday. Those who had received the heavenly inspiration were to take on the glory of the cross on the feast of the Resurrection.

The King, meanwhile, continued to press the undertaking and sent emissaries on this matter to Pope Eugene at Rome. They were joyfully received and were sent back with gladness: they brought back a letter sweeter than any honeycomb. The letter enjoined the King to be obedient and prescribed moderation in weapons and clothing. It also contained a promise of the remission of sins for those who took the sweet yoke of Christ as well as a promise of protection for their wives and children and instructions on certain other matters which seemed useful to the holy wisdom and prudence of the Supreme Pontiff. The Pope hoped that he could be present in person so as to be the first to lay his hands on such a holy enterprise, but he could not, since he was hindered by the tyranny of the Romans." He therefore delegated this task to Bernard, the holy Abbot of Clairvaux.

At last the day which the King hoped for arrived. The Abbot, armed with the apostolic authority and with his own sanctity was there at the time and place appointed, together with the very great multitude which had been summoned. Then the King received the insignia of the cross which the Supreme Pontiff had sent to him and so also did many of his nobles. Since there was no place in the fortress which could hold such a multitude, a wooden platform was built for the Abbot in a field outside of Vezelay, so that he could speak from a high place to the audience standing around him. Bernard mounted the

platform together with the King, who wore the cross. When the heavenly instrument had, according to his custom, poured out the dew of the Divine Word, the people on all sides began to clamor and to demand crosses. When he had sowed, rather than passed out, the parcel of crosses which had been prepared, he was forced to tear his clothing into crosses and to sow them too. He labored at this task as long as he was in the town. I shall not attempt to write about the miracles which occurred there at that time and by which it appeared that the Lord was pleased, since if I write about a few of them, it will not be believed that there were more, while if I write about many of them, it may seem that I am overlooking my subject. Finally it was decided that they would start out in a year and everyone returned home rejoicing.

The Abbot indeed covered his robust spirit with a frail and almost moribund body. He flew everywhere to preach and in a short time the number of those who wore the cross had multiplied many fold. The King took an almost childlike joy in spreading the faith and sent ambassadors to King Roger in Apulia concerning the large army which he hoped to raise. Roger wrote back willingly on all these matters. He also sent back noblemen who pledged his Kingdom as security for the food, shipping, and all other necessities. They further promised that either Roger or his son would go along on the journey. Louis sent other messengers to the Emperor at Constantinople - I do not know his name, for it is not written in the book of life. The Emperor replied with a long and wordy scroll filled with flattery and in which he called our King his holy friend and brother and promised many things which he did not in fact carry out. But these things belong elsewhere! Louis also asked the Hungarian and German kings for market rights and the right of passage and he received letters and messengers from them granting what he desired. Many of the dukes and counts of those areas were inspired by his example and wrote asking to take part in his expedition. Thus everything went along favorably. Meanwhile the news flew. It crossed over to England and reached the remote parts of the other islands. The people of the maritime areas prepared ships so as to accompany the King by sea.

The first groups to depart on the Second Crusade were companies of Anglo-Norman and Flemish sailors and troops who sailed from Dartmouth on May 19, 1147, bound for Spain to take part in the Spanish phase of the Crusade. The principal objective of these Crusaders was the conquest of a number of strong positions on the western coast of the Iberian peninsula, among them the important city of Lisbon, in what is now Portugal.' Affonso I of Portugal with his army was already in the field there when the Anglo-Norman contingents landed on the beaches close by, late in June, 1147.

Source:

Odo of Deuil, *La Croisade de Louis VII, roi de France*, I, ed.

Henri Waquet, *Documents relatifs à l'histoire des croisades*, Vol 3 (Paris: Paul Guethner, 1949), 20-23, translated by James Brundage, *The Crusades: A Documentary History*, (Milwaukee, WI: Marquette University Press, 1962)

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2. The French Army in Central Europe

[Adapted from Brundage] *A German army under Conrad II set out through Hungary, but met a disastrous end at the hand of the Seljuqs in Anatolia. While the Germans were marching heedlessly toward defeat, the French army, led by King Louis VII, was following in their tracks, about a month behind. The story of their journey is related by the French King's chaplain, Odo of Deuil:*

In what we have written the description of outstanding actions is given as a good example; the names of the cities are given to show the route of the journey; the description of the character of the localities is given as a guide to show what types of provisions are needed. Since there will always be pilgrims to the Holy Sepulcher, it is hoped that they will be more cautious in view of our experiences.

The rich cities of Metz, Worms, Wiirzburg, Ratisbon, and Passau, then, lie a three-day journey from one another. From the last named city it is a five-day journey to Wiener-Neustadt and from there it takes one day to reach the Hungarian border. The country in between these towns is forested and provisions must be brought from the towns, since the countryside cannot provide enough for an army. There are plenty of rivers there and also springs and meadows. When I passed through that area the mountains seemed rugged to me. Now, however, compared to Romania [i.e. Anatolia], I would call it a plain. This side of Hungary is bordered by muddy water. On the other side it is separated from Bulgaria by a clear stream. The Drave River is in the middle of Hungary. One bank of the river is steep and the other has a gentle slope, so that it is shaped like a ball. The result of this is that when even a little rain falls and is added to the water of the nearby swamps, even rather distant places are flooded. We heard that many of the Germans who preceded us were suddenly flooded out there. When we came to the place where their camp had been, we could scarcely ford it. We had only a few small boats and it was therefore necessary to make the horses swim. They found it easy to get in but hard to get out; however, with some work and God's protection they came across without losses.

All the rest of this country is covered with lakes, swamps, and springs-if springs can be made by travellers, even in the summer, by scraping the earth a little bit-except for the Danube, which follows a straight enough course and carries the wealth of many areas by

ship to the noble city of Gran. This country is such a great food-producing area that Julius Caesar's commissariat is said to have been located there. The marketing and exchange facilities there were sufficient for our needs. We crossed Hungary in fifteen days.

From there, at the entrance to Bulgaria, the fortress called the Bulgarian Belgrade presented itself; it is so called to distinguish it from the Hungarian town of the same name. One day from Belgrade, with a river between them, lies the poor little town of Branicevo. Beyond these towns the country is, so to speak, forested meadow or crop-producing woods. It is bountiful in good things which grow by themselves and it would be good for other things if it had any farmers. It is not flat, nor is it rugged with mountains; rather it is watered by streams and very clear springs which flow between the hills, vines, and usable fields. It lacks any rivers, and between there and Constantinople we had no use for our boats. Five days from this place lies Nish, which, though small, is the first city of this section of Greece. The cities of Nish, Sofia, Philippopolis, and Adrianople are four days apart from each other and from the last of these it is five days to Constantinople. The countryside in between is flat. It is full of villages and forts and abounds in all kinds of good things. On the right and left there are mountains close enough to be seen. These are so long that they enclose a wide, rich, and pleasant plain. . . .

Thus far we had been at play, for we had neither suffered any damages from men's malice nor had we feared any dangers from the plots of cunning men. From the time when we entered Bulgaria and the land of the Greeks, however, both the strength and morale of the army were put to the test. In the impoverished town of Branicevo, as we were about to enter an uninhabited area, we loaded up with supplies, most of which came via the Danube from Hungary. There was such a number of boats there, brought by the Germans, that the populace's supplies of firewood and timber for building were assured for a long time. Our men took the smaller boats across the river and bought supplies from a certain Hungarian fortress which was not far away. Here we first encountered the *stamina*, a copper coin. We unhappily gave -or rather, lost-five *denarii* for one of them and a mark for twelve *solidi*. Thus the Greeks were tainted with perjury at the very entrance to their country. You may remember that, as has been said, their representatives had sworn, on the Emperor's behalf, that they would furnish us with a proper market and exchange. We crossed the rest of this desolate country and entered a most beautiful and wealthy land which stretches without interruption to Constantinople. Here we first began to receive injuries and to take notice of them. The other areas had sold us supplies properly and had found us peaceful. The Greeks, however, shut up their cities and fortresses and sent their merchandise down to us on ropes suspended from the walls. The supplies purveyed in this manner, however, were insufficient for our multitude. The pilgrims, therefore, secured the necessary supplies by plundering and looting, since they could not bear to suffer want in the midst of plenty.

It seemed to some that the Germans who had preceded us were at fault in this respect, since they had looted everything and we discovered that they had burned several settlements outside the walls of towns. The story must be told, although reluctantly. Outside of the walls of Philippopolis was a noble town inhabited by Latin peoples who sold a great many supplies to travellers for profit. When the Germans settled down in the taverns there, a joker was present, as bad luck would have it. Although he did not know their language, he sat down, made a sign, and got a drink. After guzzling for a long time, he took a charmed snake out of his pocket and placed it in his schooner, which he had deposited on the ground. He went on to play other joker's tricks among people of whose language and customs he was ignorant. The Germans rose up in horror, as if they had seen a monster, seized the entertainer, and tore him to pieces. They blamed everyone for the misdeeds of one man and declared that the Greeks had tried to murder them with poison. The town was aroused by the tumult in the suburb and the Duke came out beyond the walls with a group of his men to settle the disturbance. The Germans, whose eyes were bleary with wine and anger, saw, not unarmed men, but a posse. The angry Germans, therefore, rushed upon the men who had come to preserve peace in the belief that they were going to take revenge for the murder. The Germans snatched up their bows-for these are their weapons-and went out once more to turn to flight those from whom they had fled. They killed and wounded the Greeks and when all the Greeks had been expelled from the suburb, the Germans stopped. Many of the Germans were killed there, especially those who had gone into the inns, for, in order to get their money, the Greeks threw them into caves. When the Germans had plucked up their spirits and had taken up their weapons again, they returned and, in order to redress their shame and the slaughter of their men, they burned nearly everything outside of the walls.

The Germans were also unbearable to us. On one occasion some of our men wished to get away from the crowding of the multitude around the King. They therefore went on ahead and stayed near the Germans. Both they and the Germans went to market, but the Germans would not allow the Franks to buy anything until they got enough for themselves. From this arose a brawl, or rather a squabble, for when one man denounces another whom he does not understand in a loud voice, that is a squabble. The Franks struck them and the Germans struck back. The Franks then returned from the market with their supplies. The Germans, who were numerous, were scornful of the pride of a few Franks and took up arms against them. The Germans attacked them fiercely and the Franks, who were armed in a similar fashion, resisted spiritedly. God put an end to this wickedness, for night soon fell...

Thus, as the Germans went forward they disturbed everything and for this reason the Greeks fled from our peaceful Prince who followed the Germans. Nonetheless, the

congregation of the churches and all the clergy came out from the cities with their icons and other Greek paraphernalia and they always received our King with due honor and with fear....

Source:

Odo of Deuil, *La Croisade de Louis VII, roi de France*, II-III, ed.
Henri Waquet, *Documents relatifs à l'histoire des croisades*, Vol 3 (Paris: Paul Guethner, 1949), 30-32, 35-37, translated by James Brundage, *The Crusades: A Documentary History*, (Milwaukee, WI: Marquette University Press, 1962), 106-109

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3. The French Army in Constantinople

[Adapted from Brundage] *The French forces arrived at Constantinople on October 4, 1147. There they were both impressed by the splendor of the city and alarmed by the suspicious actions of the Greeks:*

Constantinople is the glory of the Greeks. Rich in fame, richer yet in wealth, the city is triangular in shape, like a ship's sail. In Its inner angle lies Santa Sophia and the Palace of Constantine, in which there is a chapel honored for its sacred relics. The city is hemmed in on two sides by the sea: approaching the city, we had on the right the Arm of St. George and on the left a certain estuary¹⁶ which branches off from it and flows on for almost four miles. There is set what is called the Palace of Blachernae which, although it is rather low, yet, rises to eminence because of its elegance and its skillful construction. On its three sides the palace offers to its inhabitants the triple pleasure of gazing alternately on the sea, the countryside, and the town. The exterior of the palace is of almost incomparable loveliness and its interior surpasses anything that I can say about it. It is decorated throughout with gold and various colors and the floor is paved with cleverly arranged marble. Indeed, I do not know whether the subtlety of the art or the preciousness of the materials gives it the greater beauty or value. On the third side of the city's triangle there are fields. This side is fortified by towers and a double wall which extends for nearly two miles, from the sea to the palace. This wall is not especially strong, and the towers are not very high, but the city trusts, I think, in its large population and in its ancient peace. Within the walls there is vacant land which is cultivated with hoes and plows. Here there are all kinds of gardens which furnish vegetables for the citizens. Subterranean conduits flow into the city under the walls to furnish the citizens with an abundance of fresh water. The city is rather squalid and smelly and many places are afflicted with perpetual darkness. The rich build their houses so as to overhang the streets and leave these dark and dirty places

for travellers and for the poor. There murder and robberies occur, as well as other sordid crimes which love the dark. Life in this city is lawless, since it has as many lords as it has rich men and almost as many thieves as poor men. Here the criminal feels neither fear nor shame, since crime is not punished by law nor does it ever fully come to light. Constantinople exceeds the average in everything-it surpasses other cities in wealth and also in vice. It has many churches which are unequal to Santa Sophia in size, though not in elegance. The churches are admirable for their beauty and equally so for their numerous venerable relics of the saints. Those who could enter them did so, some out of curiosity in order to see them, and some out of faithful devotion.

The King also was guided on a visit to the holy places by the Emperor. As they returned, the King dined with the Emperor at the latter's insistence. The banquet was as glorious as the banqueters; the handsome service, the delicious food, and the witty conversation satisfied eyes, tongue, and ears alike. Many of the King's men feared for him there, but he had placed his trust in God and with faith and courage he feared nothing. Since he harbored no wicked designs himself, he was not quick to believe that others harbored wicked designs on him. Even though the Greeks gave no evidence of their treachery, however, I believe that they would not have shown such vigilant helpfulness if their intentions were honest. They were concealing the grievances for which they were going to take revenge after we crossed the Arm of St. George. It should not be held against them, however, that they kept the city gates closed against the commoners, since they had burned many of the Greeks' houses and olive trees, either because of a lack of wood or else because of the insolence and drunkenness of fools. The King frequently had the ears, hands, and feet of some of them cut off, but he was unable to restrain their madness in this way.

Source:

Odo of Deuil, *La Croisade de Louis VII, roi de France*, IV, ed.
Henri Waquet, *Documents relatifs à l'histoire des croisades*, Vol 3 (Paris: Paul Guethner, 1949), 44-46, translated by James Brundage, *The Crusades: A Documentary History*, (Milwaukee, WI: Marquette University Press, 1962), 109-111

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4. The French Army in Asia Minor

[Adapted from Brundage] *The French forces crossed the straits into Asia Minor about October 16, 1147, and then headed straightway into the hinterland of Anatolia or, as Odo calls it, Romania. Though they were more fortunate than the other forces which had preceded them into Anatolia, the French expedition's journey through the peninsula was difficult, slow, and painful. The rugged*

countryside, the continual harassment of the troops by the Turks, the persistent difficulties with supplies and communications, all combined to discourage the leaders and to make inroads upon the army's strength. As the French forces pushed further during the winter of 1147-1148, their despair deepened. Turkish raids took a mounting toll, while the weather impeded progress and did its own share in weakening the morale of the men. By the time the Crusaders reached Adalia, King Louis and his advisors had had their fill. Despairing of the prospect of continuing to fight their way toward Jerusalem, the King and his advisors decided to continue the rest of the way by sea. Unfortunately for these plans, however, the available Byzantine shipping was insufficient to transport the whole army and they could not wait indefinitely in Adalia for the arrival of further ships. As a result, King Louis with his household and a scattering of knights from the army were taken aboard the available ships and sailed to St. Simeon, the port city of Antioch, leaving the rest of the Crusading army to continue the journey as best it could. Many of the troops thus left behind at Adalia were killed in combat with the Turks in the vicinity of the town when they attempted to continue their journey by land. Those who managed to break through the Turkish cordon around the city were decimated by further Turkish and Arab attacks and only a handful remained alive to complete their journey to Jerusalem.:

Romania, furthermore, is a very wide land with rugged, stony mountains. It extends south to Antioch and is bounded by Turkey on the east. All of it was formerly under Greek rule, but the Turks now possess a great part of it and, after expelling the Greeks, have destroyed another part of it. In the places where the Greeks still hold fortresses, they do not pay taxes. Such are the servile conditions in which the Greeks hold the land which French strength liberated when the Franks conquered Jerusalem." This indolent people would have lost it all, save for the fact that they have brought in soldiers of other nations to defend themselves. They are always losing, but since they possess a great deal, they do not lose everything at once. The strength of other peoples, however, is not sufficient for a people which totally lacks strength of its own. Nicomedia first made this clear to us: located among briars and brambles, its towering ruins demonstrated its ancient glory and the slackness of its present masters. In vain does a certain estuary of the sea flow from the Arm and terminate after a three-day journey at Nicomedia to better the city's facilities.

From Nicomedia three routes of various lengths and quality lead to Antioch. The road which turns to the left is the shorter of them and, if there were no obstacles along it, it could be traversed in three weeks. After twelve days, however, it reaches Konya, the Sultan's capital, which is a very noble city. Five days beyond the Turkish territory this road reaches the land of the Franks. A strong army fortified by faith and numbers would make light of this obstacle if it were not frightened by the snow-covered mountains in the winter. The road running to the right is more peaceful and better supplied than the other, but the winding seacoast which it follows delays the traveller three times over and its rivers and

torrents in the winter are as frightful as the snow and the Turks on the other road. On the middle road the conveniences and difficulties of the other routes are tempered. It is longer but safer than the shorter road, shorter and safer than the long road, but poorer. The Germans who preceded us, therefore, had a disagreement. Many of them set out with the Emperor through Konya on the left hand road under sinister omens. The rest turned to the right under the Emperor's brother, a course which was unfortunate in every way. The middle road fell to our lot and so the misfortunes of the other two sides were tempered.

Conrad II – “Letters to the Abbot of Corvey on the Germans' Crusade (1148)”

[TR] *These letters were written as official bulletins, in order to set before the German people the disastrous events of the German part of the Second Crusade in the light most favorable to the German participants.*

1. CONRAD III. TO WIBALD, ABBOT OF CORVEY, 1148

Bouquet: *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*, xv p. 533, Latin.

Conrad, by the grace of God, king of the Romans, to venerable Wibald, abbot of Corvey and Stavelot his most kind greeting

Because we have very frequently realized your faithfulness, proven in many trials, to us and to our kingdom, we do not doubt that you will rejoice greatly, if you hear of the state of our prosperity. We, therefore, announce to your faithfulness that we had reached Nicaea with our army entire and strong, wishing to complete our journey quickly, we hastened to set out for Iconium under the guidance of men who knew the road. We carried with us as many necessities as possible. And behold when ten days journey were accomplished and the same amount remained to be traversed, food for the whole host had almost given out, but especially for the horses. At the same time the Turks did not cease to attack and slaughter the crowd of footsoldiers who were unable to follow the army. We pitied the fate of our suffering people, perishing by famine and by the arrows of the enemy; and, by the advice of our princes and barons, we led the army back from that desert land to the sea, in order that it might regain its strength. We preferred to preserve the army for greater achievements rather than to win so bloody a victory over archers.

When, indeed, we had reached the sea and had pitched on tents and did not expect quiet amid so great a storm, to our delight the king of France came to our tents, wholly unexpectedly He grieved, indeed, that our army was exhausted by hunger and toil, but he took great delight in our company. Moreover, he himself and all his princes offered their services faithfully and devoutly to us and furnished for our use their money especially, and

whatever else they had. They joined themselves, therefore, to our forces and princes. Some of the latter had remained with us, and others, either sick or lacking money, had not been able to follow and had accordingly withdrawn from the army.

We proceeded without any difficulty as far as St. John's, where his tomb with the manna springing from it is seen, in order that we might there celebrate the Nativity of our Lord. Having rested there some days to recover our health, inasmuch as sickness had seized on us and many of our men, we wanted to proceed; but weakened by our illness we were wholly unable to do so. The king, therefore, departed with his army, after having waited for us as long as possible; but a long sickness detained us.

When our brother, the emperor of Greece, heard of this, he was greatly grieved, and with our daughter, the most beloved empress, his wife, he hastened to come to us. And, liberally giving to us and our princes his money and the necessities for our journey, he led us back, as it were' by force, to his palace at Constantinople, in order that we might be the more speedily cured by his physicians. There he showed to us as much honor as, to our knowledge, was ever shown to any one of our predecessors.

Thence we hastened to set out for Jerusalem on Quadragesima Sunday, in order to collect there a new army and to proceed to Rohas.

Moreover, that God may deign to make our journey prosperous, we ask that you and your brethren will pray for us and will order all Christians to do the same. And we entrust our son to your fidelity.

2. CONRAD III TO WIBALD, ABBOT OF CORVXY, 1148.

Bouquet: *Recueil*, xv, p 534. Latin.

Conrad, by the grace of God, august king of the Romans, t venerable Wibald, abbot of Corvey, his most kind greeting.

Because we know that you especially desire to hear from us and to learn the state of our prosperity, we think it fitting first to tell you of this. By God's mercy we are in good health and we have embarked in our ships to return on the festival of the blessed Virgin in September, after having accomplished in these lands all that God willed and the people of the country permitted.

Let us now speak of our troops. When following the advice of the common council we had gone to Damascus and after a great deal of trouble had pitched our camps before the gate of the city, it was certainly near being taken. But certain ones, whom we least suspected, treasonably asserted that the city was impregnable on that side and hastily led us to another

position where no water could be supplied for the troops and where access was impossible to anyone. And thus all, equally indignant grieved, returned, leaving the undertaking uncompleted. Nevertheless, they all promised unanimously that they would make an expedition against Ascalon, and they set the place and time. Having arrived there according to agreement, we found scarcely anyone. In vain we waited eight days for the troops. Deceived a second time, we turned to our own affairs.

In brief therefore, God willing, we shall return to you. We render to you the gratitude which you deserve for your care of our son and for the very great fidelity which you have shown to us, And with the full intention of worthily rewarding your services, we ask you to continue the same.

Annales Herbipolenses, s.a. 1147 – “A Hostile View of the Crusade”

[From Brundage] *The fiasco at Damascus gave rise to great bitterness, as William of Tyre noted, both among the Crusaders themselves, who suspected that treachery was involved, and also in the West. After the withdrawal from Damascus, the grand alliance was irrevocably shattered. Conrad of Germany at once set out for home by way of Constantinople. King Louis of France lingered longer in Palestine, but finally left the Holy Land in the summer of 1149 without having attempted any further military action. The attitude of the West toward the Crusade and toward those who had played a prominent part in it was hostile and suspicious. The anonymous annalist of Würzburg reflects the current Western attitude in his account of the Crusade:*

God allowed the Western church, on account of its sins, to be cast down. There arose, indeed, certain pseudo prophets, sons of Belial, and witnesses of anti-Christ, who seduced the Christians with empty words. They constrained all sorts of men, by vain preaching, to set out against the Saracens in order to liberate Jerusalem. The preaching of these men was so enormously influential that the inhabitants of nearly every region, by common vows, offered themselves freely for common destruction. Not only the ordinary people, but kings, dukes, marquises, and other powerful men of this world as well, believed that they thus showed their allegiance to God. The bishops, archbishops, abbots, and other ministers and prelates of the church joined in this error, throwing themselves headlong into it to the great peril of bodies and souls.... The intentions of the various men were different. Some, indeed, lusted after novelties and went in order to learn about new lands. Others there were who were driven by poverty, who were in hard straits at home; these men went to fight, not only against the enemies of Christ's cross, but even against the friends of the Christian name, wherever opportunity appeared, in order to relieve their poverty. There were others who were oppressed by debts to other men or who sought to escape the service due to their

lords, or who were even awaiting the punishment merited by their shameful deeds. Such men simulated a zeal for God and hastened chiefly in order to escape from such troubles and anxieties. A few could, with difficulty, be found who had not bowed their knees to Baal, who were directed by a holy and wholesome purpose, and who were kindled by love of the divine majesty to fight earnestly and even to shed their blood for the holy of holies.