

Juan Manuel Rubio Arévalo

**EXPLAINING DIVINE PROVIDENCE:
VIRTUES, VICES, AND THE BIBLE
IN THE NARRATIVES OF THE SECOND CRUSADE**

MA Thesis in Medieval Studies

Central European University

Budapest

May 2018

**EXPLAINING DIVINE PROVIDENCE:
VIRTUES, VICES AND THE BIBLE IN THE NARRATIVES OF THE SECOND
CRUSADE**

by

Juan Manuel Rubio Arévalo

(Colombia)

Thesis submitted to the Department of Medieval Studies,
Central European University, Budapest, in partial fulfillment of the requirements
of the Master of Arts degree in Medieval Studies.

Accepted in conformance with the standards of the CEU.

Chair, Examination Committee

Thesis Supervisor

Examiner

Examiner

Budapest
May 2018

**EXPLAINING DIVINE PROVIDENCE:
VIRTUES, VICES AND THE BIBLE IN THE NARRATIVES OF THE SECOND
CRUSADE**

by

Juan Manuel Rubio Arévalo

(Colombia)

Thesis submitted to the Department of Medieval Studies,
Central European University, Budapest, in partial fulfillment of the requirements
of the Master of Arts degree in Medieval Studies.

Accepted in conformance with the standards of the CEU.

External Reader

Budapest
May 2018

**EXPLAINING DIVINE PROVIDENCE:
VIRTUES, VICES AND THE BIBLE IN THE NARRATIVES OF THE SECOND
CRUSADE**

by

Juan Manuel Rubio Arévalo

(Colombia)

Thesis submitted to the Department of Medieval Studies,
Central European University, Budapest, in partial fulfillment of the requirements
of the Master of Arts degree in Medieval Studies.

Accepted in conformance with the standards of the CEU.

External Supervisor

Budapest
May 2018

I, the undersigned, **JUAN MANUEL RUBIO ARÉVALO**, candidate for the MA degree in Medieval Studies, declare herewith that the present thesis is exclusively my own work, based on my research and only such external information as properly credited in notes and bibliography. I declare that no unidentified and illegitimate use was made of the work of others, and no part of the thesis infringes on any person's or institution's copyright. I also declare that no part of the thesis has been submitted in this form to any other institution of higher education for an academic degree.

Budapest, 17 May 2018

Signature

Abstract

Medieval historiography aimed at communicating moral lessons and proving the hand of God behind human events. Crusader narratives, as any other piece of medieval history writing, have the same goal. The analysis of the crusades have mostly focused on explaining the different dynamics that gave origin to these expeditions and its transformations, while a historiographical analysis of the narratives have attracted relatively little attention from scholars; most studies concerned with the characteristics of the narratives of the crusades have focused on the First Crusade (1095-1099).

This study offers a historiographical insight into the two contemporary accounts of the Second Crusade (1146-1148): Odo of Deuil's *De profectione Ludovici VII in orientem* and the *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi*. The goal of the thesis is to analyse the explanatory tools of these narratives in order to explain the failure of the crusade to the Holy Land and the success of the siege of Lisbon. I focus on three elements of medieval historiography: the representation of virtues and vices, the uses of the Bible and the role attributed to God in the events. The study is based in a dialectical approach between the sources and the context that produced them, keeping into account the transformation of the crusader movement from 1099 to 1148, the nature of history writing in the Middle Ages and the theological framework developed to justify the crusades during this period.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank first and foremost my mother and siblings. Without their undying support, I would not have been able to come to CEU where I have been able to develop my potential as an academic. Secondly, I would like to thank my two supervisors, professors Marianne Saghy and Matthias Riedl. Their constant support, feedback and patient have proved invaluable in the successful completion of this research and my studies here in Budapest. Finally, I would like to dedicate this thesis to my friends back in Colombia and all the wonderful new friendships that I have acquired in Hungary. I will always hold dear all the moments, experiences and memories that I have gathered during this academic year. *Gracias totales!*

Table of Contents

Introduction.....	1
Chapter 1: The Second Crusade as a Moral Tale.....	11
<i>1.1 A just war: The portrayal of enemies</i>	<i>11</i>
<i>1.1.1 The cruel Muslim.....</i>	<i>11</i>
<i>1.1.2 The perfidious Greek</i>	<i>17</i>
<i>1.2 The fault within</i>	<i>22</i>
<i>1.2.1 Greed</i>	<i>22</i>
<i>1.2.2 When the Christians overcome sin</i>	<i>25</i>
Chapter 2: The Bible and the Second Crusade.....	28
<i>2.1 The Bible and medieval historiography.....</i>	<i>28</i>
<i>2.2 Scripture and the Second Crusade</i>	<i>30</i>
<i>2.3 Crusader narratives through the prism of the Bible</i>	<i>36</i>
<i>2.3.1 Allegory and the portrayal of virtues and vices</i>	<i>36</i>
<i>2.3.2 Typology and the interpretation of the narrative</i>	<i>40</i>
Chapter 3: The Second Crusade and Divine Intervention.....	45
<i>3.1 History, the Bible and the crusades</i>	<i>45</i>
<i>3.2 God's presence in the Second Crusade</i>	<i>47</i>
<i>3.2.1 Miracles as approval of the crusade</i>	<i>47</i>
<i>3.2.2 Miracles and help</i>	<i>51</i>

3.2.3 <i>Divine punishment</i>	53
3.2.4 <i>God and victory: The case of Lisbon</i>	55
3.3 <i>What just happened? The theological explanation of failure</i>	57
3.3.1 <i>Theology and the preaching of the Second Crusade</i>	57
3.3.2 <i>The explanations in the narratives</i>	60
Conclusion	65
Bibliography	68
Appendices	77
<i>Appendix A: Scriptural references in the narratives</i>	77
<i>Appendix B: Supernatural interventions in the narratives</i>	84

Introduction

A. The Research Question

This thesis offers a comparative analysis the two narratives that were produced in the years of the Second Crusade (1145-1149): Odo of Deuil's *De profectione Ludovici VII in orientem* and Raol's *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi*. William Purkis has compared the development of the crusader movement in the Holy Land and Iberia from 1095 to 1187. However, his study focusses mainly in the religious dynamics behind these crusades without comparing the narratives directly¹. I will address the question about the explanatory strategies of these two accounts about two campaigns against the Muslims in Asia Minor and Lisbon. My focus is on the theological explanation of the expeditions, the use of the Bible, and the "virtues and vices" criteria of medieval historiography. The thesis adopts the predominant viewpoint in crusader scholarship by taking seriously the religious motivations that fueled the enthusiasm and the energy of thousands of Christians to participate in the Crusades, instead of treating these as a cover for material reasons and sheer greed².

The Second Crusade did not generate much historical output among twelfth-century eyewitnesses and chroniclers. In a famous passage, Otto of Freising, one of the commanders of the German forces wrote in 1160: "Since the outcome of the expedition, because of our sins, is known to all, we, who have purposed this time to write not a tragedy but a joyous

¹William J. Purkis, *Crusading Spirituality in the Holy Land and Iberia c. 1095-c. 1187* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2008).

²For new approaches of the motivations behind the Crusades see: Jonathan Riley-Smith: "Crusading as an act of love", in *The Crusades: The Essential Readings* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2002), 31-50, and Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading* (London: Continuum, 2001; Marcus Bull, "The Roots of Lay Enthusiasm for the First Crusade", in *The Crusades: The Essential Readings* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2002), 172-193; Christopher Tyerman, *God's War: A New History of the Crusades* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006), and *How to Plan a Crusade* (London: Penguin Publishing) Peter Partner, *God of Battles: Holy Wars of Christianity and Islam* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997); John France, *The Crusades and the Expansion of Catholic Christendom, 1000-1714* (London: Routledge, 2005); Rodney Stark, *God's Battalions: The Case for the Crusades* (New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 2009); Philippe Buc, *Holy War, Martyrdom and Terror: Christianity, Violence and the West* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015), etc.

history, leave this to be related by others everywhere”³. This expedition has had a similar fate with scholars. In comparison to other crusades like the successful First Crusade and the romanticized Third Crusade, the expedition of 1146-1149 has attracted relative little attention⁴. With the exception of Giles Constable’s 1953 paper, where he analyzes the way in which contemporaries saw the summons and failure of the Second Crusade⁵, scholars started focusing on the second armed pilgrimage to the Holy Land only about thirty years ago. The only complete study in English of the Second Crusade to date is Jonathan Phillips’ 2006 book, a general account and analysis of the events in the Middle East, Iberia and Northern Europe⁶. Other studies have explored different characteristics of this crusade, such as the role that Saint Bernard of Clairvaux and the Cistercians played in its recruitment⁷, its causes and consequences, its relation to the papacy and the Holy Roman Empire, its military aspects, the way it affected various regions in Europe, etc⁸. Philippe Buc, in the footsteps of Giles Constable, argued that twelfth-century writers came with different reasons to explain the failure of 1149, such as the sins of the crusaders, disapproval by God of the expedition or that it had been a plot by Satan⁹.

The two narratives that this thesis analyzes has tangentially attracted the attention of scholars. In most cases, they are contextualized within a larger discussion about the Second

³Otto of Freising, *The Deeds of Frederick Barbarossa*, trans. Charles Mierow (New York: Columbia University Press, 1953), 79.

⁴Jonathan Phillips, *The Second Crusade: Extending the Frontiers of Christendom* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), xxiv.

⁵Giles Constable, “The Second Crusade as seen by Contemporaries”, *Traditio* 9 (1953): 213-279.

⁶Phillips, *The Second Crusade*.

⁷Michael Gervers ed., *The Second Crusade and the Cistercians* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 1992); John Sommerfeldt, “The Bernardine Reform and the Crusading Spirit”, *The Catholic Historical Review* 86, no. 4 (October 2000): 567-578; Maria Ruby Wagner, “The Impact of the Second Crusade on the Angelology and Eschatology of Saint Bernard of Clairvaux”, in *Journal of Religious Studies* 37, no. 1 (September 2013): 322-340.

⁸Jonathan Phillips and Martin Hoch eds. *The Second Crusade: Scope and Consequences* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001); Marcus Bull and Norman Housley eds., *The Experience of Crusading Vol.1: Western Approaches* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003); Alan Murray ed., *Outremer: Studies in the Crusades and the Latin East Vol. 2. The Second Crusade* (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2015).

⁹Philippe Buc, “Crusade and Eschatology: Holy War fostered and inhibited”, in *MIOG*, Vol. 125, No. 1, 2017, p. 304-339.

Crusade. However, there have been some specialized papers about them. Jonathan Phillips explores the context in which Odo of Deuil's account was produced, its characteristics and potential uses as a source for the Second Crusade¹⁰. Rudi Paul Linder analyzes the way that Odo understood the Second Crusade and he concludes that *De profectione* offers an undetailed account of the characters and events, which means that Odo struggled to offer a clear explanation of the expedition to the Middle East¹¹. An extreme interpretation is offered by Beate Schuster, for whom the inconsistency between Odo's criticism and the events makes it impossible to date the *De profectione* to the 1140's as an eyewitness report¹². Finally, Tuomas Lehtonen characterizes the *De profectione Ludovici* as a descriptive narrative with no interest in giving any ideological or theological interpretation of the Second Crusade¹³. Valuable as these studies are about Odo of Deuil's narrative, they do not discuss the questions posed by this research.

Most studies about the *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi* focus on deciphering the identity of the author and on finding out whether the siege of Lisbon was planned before the Second Crusade or not. Harold Livermore identifies the author an Anglo-Norman priest called Raol and argues that the siege of Lisbon was planned beforehand, based on Bernard of Clairvaux's's 308 letter¹⁴. Alan Forey, in contrast, discards letter 308 as a hoax and convincingly argues that the siege of Lisbon was not part of a larger plan to attack the

¹⁰Jonathan Phillips, "Odo of Deuil's *De profectione Ludovici VII in orientem* as a Source for the Second Crusade", in *The Experience of Crusading Vol.1: Western Approaches*, ed. Marcus Bull and Norman Housley, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 80-95.

¹¹Rudi Paul Linder, "Odo of Deuil *The Journey of Louis VII to the East: Between The Song of Roland and Joinville's Life of Saint Louis*", in *The Middle Ages in Texts and Texture: Reflections on Medieval Sources*, ed. Jason Glenn (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2011), 165-176.

¹²Beate Schuster, "The Strange Pilgrimage of Odo of Deuil", in *Medieval Concepts of the Past*, ed. Gerd Althoff et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 253-278.

¹³Tuomas Lehtonen, "By the Help of God, Because of Our Sins, and by Chance: William of Tyre Explains the Crusades", in *Medieval History Writing and Crusading Ideology*, ed. Tuomas Lehtonen et al. (Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society, 2005), 71-84.

¹⁴Harold Livermore, "The 'Conquest of Lisbon' and its Author, in *Portuguese Studies* 6 (1990): 1-16.

enemies of Christianity in Iberia¹⁵. Giles Constable shows how in the years that followed the conquest of Lisbon, Iberian sources continued to see this expedition as an intrinsic part of the Second Crusade¹⁶. Stephen Lay sustains that at the time of the siege of Lisbon there were reservations about equating the *reconquest* in Iberia to the Crusades to the Levant and that the siege of Lisbon answered mostly to the local dynamics of the struggle against the Moors¹⁷. Jonathan Wilson has challenged the idea that Raol was the author of the chronicle, proposing instead that it might have been a dean from the new see at Lisbon called Robert, or if it was initially Raol, then the text suffered further interpolation by Portuguese writers¹⁸.

The uses of the Bible in crusader sources have only been discussed tangentially in scholarship,¹⁹ mostly with regard to the narratives of the First Crusade.²⁰ For the Second Crusade, only two papers discuss the impact of Scripture on the mentality of the crusaders, but they are not concerned with the narrative sources. Miriam Rita Tessera discusses how *Quantum praedecessores*, the papal bull that launched the Second Crusade in 1145, references Revelations and the Maccabees²¹. Kristin Skottki analyses the use of the Bible in Bernard of Clairvaux's exhortations for the crusade. She offers an exhaustive survey of the saint's letters, *De laude novae militiae* and *De consideratione*, and concludes that Bernard

¹⁵ Alan Forey, "The Siege of Lisbon and the Second Crusade", in *Portuguese Studies* 20 (2004): 1-13.

¹⁶ Giles Constable, "A further note on the conquest of Lisbon in 1147", in *The Experience of Crusading Vol.1: Western Approaches*, ed. Marcus Bull and Norman Housley, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 39-44.

¹⁷ Stephen Lay, "The Reconquest as Crusade in the Anonymous *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi*", in *Al-Masaq: Islam and the Medieval Mediterranean* 14, no. 2 (2002): 123-130.

¹⁸ Jonathan Wilson, "Enigma of the *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi*", in *Journal of Medieval Iberian Studies* 9, no. 1 (2017): 99-129.

¹⁹ Katherine Allen Smith, "The Crusader Conquest of Jerusalem and Christ's Cleansing of the Temple", in *The Uses of the Bible in Crusader Sources*, ed. Elizabeth Lapina & Nicholas Morton (Leiden, Brill, 2017), 20.

²⁰ *The Uses of the Bible in Crusader Sources* (Lapina & Morton eds, 2017) consecrates a section to the chronicles of the First Crusade and 6 articles of the 19 that can be found in this volume deal with the events that led to the conquest of Jerusalem of 1099.

²¹ Miriam Rita Tessera, "The Use of the Bible in Twelfth-Century Papal Letters to Outremer", in *The Uses of the Bible in Crusader Sources*, ed. Elizabeth Lapina & Nicholas Morton (Leiden, Brill, 2017), 179-205.

thought that the Second Crusade was to play a key eschatological role in bringing the end-days²².

My work aims to fill certain lacunae in the scholarship of the Second Crusade. The Second Crusade has attracted less scholarly attention than other expeditions, and the uses of the Bible in crusading narratives remains unexplored. No study exists about the role of biblical allegory and typology in the narrative sources of the Second Crusade²³. The thesis uses a comparative approach to the two contemporary narratives of the events. In contrast with the work of Constable and Buc, I aim to unravel the medieval explanation of the Second Crusade from the narrative sources.

B. The Second Crusade

After the resounding success of the First Crusade, the situation changed in the Levant by the mid-twelfth century. Between 24-26 December 1144, Imad al-Din Zengi, the atabegh of Mosul, took the city of Edessa. The capture of the city brought to an end the Christian dominance that had been in place since 1098. The rise of Muslim power posed a serious threat to the survival of the Latin states. If the disunity and the internal fighting among the forces of Islam had played a central role to the success of the 1095-1099 expedition²⁴, the growing power of a single ruler that could unify the surrounding region was a bleak omen of the future of the Kingdom of Jerusalem and its vassals.

The news of the fall of Edessa did not take long to reach the West. In December 1145, the papal Curia published the bull *Quantum praedecessores*, a call to King Louis VII of France to mobilize his forces in order to support the Latin states and help them recover

²²Kristin Skottki, “‘Until the Full Number of the Gentiles has come in’: Exegesis and Prophecy in St. Bernard’s Crusade-Related Writings”, in *The Uses of the Bible in Crusader Sources*, ed. Elizabeth Lapina & Nicholas Morton (Leiden, Brill, 2017), 236-272.

²³Beryl Smalley (1974) and Jonathan Phillips (2007) have discussed the issue but only tangentially. .

²⁴Christopher Tyerman, *Las Guerras de Dios: Una nueva historia de las cruzadas*, trans. Cecilia Belza et al. (Barcelona, Crítica, 2007), 205-209.

Edessa. An intense preaching campaign of Bernard of Clairvaux followed the publication of *Quantum praedecessores*. Bernard was successful in mobilizing for the expedition the two leaders of the Catholic world: King Louis VII of France and King Conrad III of Germany. The popular response was massive and Christian armies fought not only in the Holy Land. Some of the soldiers bound to Jerusalem fought in Spain in between 1147 and 1148, and in April 13 1147, a second papal bull, *Divina dispensatione*, granted German crusaders the same material and spiritual benefits in order to fight the pagan Slavs of Northern Europe.

The Second Crusade produced little result in the East and in Northern Europe. The expedition to the Holy Land ended tragically. The forces of Conrad and Louis were defeated in Asia Minor and what was left of both armies arrived in Palestine in March of 1148 on boats. There the plan to recapture Edessa was abandoned and the crusader army, with that of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, decided to attack the city of Damascus. After a series of skirmishes, the Christian forces were forced to withdraw when two relief armies appeared. It was a catastrophe in comparison with the success of 1099²⁵. By 1149, both monarchs returned to Europe. In northern Europe, the Wendish Crusade led to a series of conflicts with the local pagans that resulted in a series of temporary conversions in the region, with little else of note²⁶. Only the Iberian expedition achieved tangible and long-lasting victory against the Muslims with the conquest of Lisbon in October of 1147 and of Tortosa in December 1148²⁷.

The Second Crusade had a negative impact in the immediate future of the Crusader movement. Several writers blamed the failure on the crusaders, the pope, Bernard of Clairvaux, the crusader movement in general and even Satan²⁸. The zeal for the Crusades

²⁵Phillips, *The Second Crusade*, ch. 9, 10, 11.

²⁶Phillips, *The Second Crusade*, 239-243.

²⁷O'Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade in Medieval Spain*, ch. 2.

²⁸Buc, "Crusade and Eschatology: Holy War fostered and inhibited".

remained dormant for forty years. In the following decades, papal bulls and letters called for new expeditions to help the Latin states in the Levant, but met little excitement²⁹. Only the defeat at Hattin and the fall of Jerusalem in 1187 triggered a new Christian expedition to the Holy Land.

C. The Narrative Sources

There are only two contemporary narratives of the Second Crusade. The first one is Odo of Deuil's *De profectione Ludovici VII in Orientem*. Chaplain of King Louis VII of France, Odo witnessed the events that he narrated. *De profectione* is dedicated to Abbot Suger of St. Denis, the regent of the Kingdom of France, in order to keep him informed of the events of the Crusade. Odo's narrative is straightforward in the portrayal of the events, with little dialogue between the interlocutors and few deviances from the French journey, but it is incomplete. The narrative abruptly ends with the French king taking a boat to Antioch in early March 1148 after being defeat by the Seljuk Turks in the battle of Mount Cadmus near Adalia³⁰.

The other narrative of the Second Crusade is Raol's *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi*, an account of the siege of Lisbon, conquered by the crusaders in October of 1147. We do not know much about the author of the text beyond his name and that he was part of the Anglo-Norman host. He seems to have been a cleric, well-educated and familiar with the writings of Bernard of Clairvaux, Guibert of Nogent, and Saint Augustine. Raol seems to have been associated with Henry de Glanville, one of the leaders of the Crusade, whom he portrays

²⁹Phillips, *The Second Crusade*, 277.

³⁰Virginia Berry, "Introduction", in *De profectione Ludovici VII in orientem*, trans. Virginia Berry (New York: Columbia University Press, 1948), xiii-xliv.

favorably³¹. The rich details seem to indicate that the account was written soon after the capture of Lisbon³².

These two texts constitute the main source for the present research. There are three reasons to focus only on these texts. First, they are the only narratives that are contemporary to the events. Other sources that narrate what happened in the 1146 expedition were written decades later³³. Second, both Odo and Raol are writing within the same crusader framework since the soldiers who fought at Lisbon were originally bound to Jerusalem. Finally, since the expedition to the Middle East failed while the siege of Lisbon succeeded, they provide a good comparison of how the Second Crusade was understood both by victors and defeated.

I use other sources when necessary in order to illustrate how relevant individuals understood the Second Crusade. Otto of Freising's *The Deeds of Frederick Barbarossa* is important since he records a copy of *Quantum praedecessores* (the 1145 bull that launched the Crusade) and offers an explanation for the failure of the expedition; the letters of Bernard of Clairvaux, the star preacher of the Crusade; and the Magdeburg charter in c. 1110. In addition, narratives from other Crusades, such as William of Tyre's *A History of the Deeds done beyond the Sea* and Hemold of Bosau's *Cronica Slavorum*, among others, will be used to serve as a comparative point in order to highlight the particularities of Odo's and Raol's narratives of the Second Crusade.

D. Methodology and Structure

History was understood differently in the Middle Ages than it is today. In order to grasp the message of the narrative sources of the Second Crusade, an anthropological

³¹Charles Wendell David, "Introduction", in *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi*, trans. Charles Wendell David (New York: Columbia University Press, 1936), 40-46.

³²Phillips, *The Second Crusade*, 136.

³³Hemold of Bosau's *Cronica Slavorum*, the main source for the Wendish Crusade, was written c. 1170. William of Tyre's *A History of the Deeds done Beyond the Sea*, which tell the story of the Second Crusade once Conrad and Louis arrived in the Levant, was produced c. 1180.

approach is necessary. I mean to examine the external conditions, the expectations, and the mentality of the Crusade and the narratives that it produced.³⁴ To analyze the way the narratives of the Crusades were written it is necessary to inquire about the conditions, the social relations that lay behind them, and the implicit meanings to be found in the text³⁵.

This approach involves the question of how language and mentality relates to the historical setting in which they appear. Gabrielle Spiegel argues that although the “linguistic turn” is correct in asserting that language is a key factor in the shaping of reality, it is different from the historical setting that produces it. The language that is used in a source can tell us a lot about its society, but only by analyzing the context as an independent entity we can see how linguistic practices came into place. An example of this is the use of genealogy stories and their relation with the institutionalization of primogeniture³⁶.

This thesis follows Spiegel methodological approach by proposing a dialectical examination of the sources and their context. I will rely on three disciplines for this research. The first one is a historical-chronological approach. I argue that the way in which the Odo and Raol wrote their accounts were influenced by the development of the crusader movement from its initial success in 1099 to the moment in which these sources were produced. Second, I use historical anthropology to set the cultural framework around the production of history, the use of the Bible, the understanding of miracles, sin and God’s role in human life; this framework will be set using secondary literature. Finally, I exploit literary criticism by

³⁴Aaron Gurevich, *Historical Anthropology of the Middle-Ages*, Oxford: Polity Press, 1992, 12.

³⁵Gurevich, *Historical Anthropology of the Middle Ages*, 29-30, 47-48.

³⁶Gabrielle Spiegel, “History, Historicism and the Social Logic of the Text in the Middle-Ages”, in *Speculum*, Vol 65, No. 1 (Jan 1990), 59-86.

examining and testing of potentially different interpretations of the sources against the historical background that produced them³⁷.

The thesis is divided in three chapters, each one addressing one element of medieval historiography. Chapter One will discuss how vices and virtues are represented in Odo's and Raol's accounts from a double perspective: the construction of the enemies of the crusade in order to justify the Second Crusade as a just war, and the way in which the crusaders are represented. Having established the vice/virtues model, Chapter Two will analyze how the Bible was used to provide both allegorical comparisons to the behavior of the characters and to offer a typological framework to interpret the Second Crusade. Chapter Three will ask for the theological explanations behind the narratives of the Second Crusade by examining the role of miracles in the sources and how the authors saw their respective expeditions in the broader scenario of salvation history. The thesis concludes that the expectations created around the Second Crusade, most importantly regarding the memory of the First Crusade, explain the stark differences found between *De profectione Ludovici* and *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi*.

³⁷Robert Marsh, "Historical Interpretation and the History of Criticism", in *Literary Criticism and Historical Understanding: Selected Papers from the English Institute*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1967, 1-24.

Chapter 1: The Second Crusade as a Moral Tale

Moralizing and edifying lessons through the exaltation of virtues and the condemnation of vices were a key characteristic of medieval historiography. This was a legacy from both Classical authors, such as Sallust and Josephus, concerned with the political developments of their peoples, and the early Christian writers, such as Eusebius, Orosius and Augustine.³⁸ The result of this mixture of traditions was the incorporation of the virtues and vices model within the larger frame of Salvation History, from Creation to the Final Judgement.³⁹ In this system, sin played a central role in the portrayal of events, since it was no longer condemnable as a lack of moral character, but it was a manifest disobedience to God. Hence, the model of political history, central to classical writers, was conditioned in the Middle Ages by the Christian theology of sin. For a medieval chronicler, historical events could be understood by the moral behavior of the characters in the narrative, since it was central on how God judged the unraveling of human events.⁴⁰

As a first step of unveiling the message that the narratives of the Second Crusade seek to convey, this chapter analyzes the way these sources interpret the expedition through a prism of virtues and vices. This chapter will be divided in two parts. First, I will explain how the enemies of the crusade were described in the sources in order to justify the expedition as a just war. Second, I will turn to the crusaders' behavior in the unfolding of the narrative.

1.1. A just war: The portrayal of enemies

³⁸Matthew Kempshall, *Rhetoric and the Writing of History* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011), ch. 1.

³⁹Michael I. Allen, "Universal History 300-1000: Origins and Western Developments", in *Historiography in the Middle Ages*, ed. Mauskopf Deliyannis (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 18.

⁴⁰Allen, "Universal History 300-1000, 30.

1.1.1. *The cruel Muslim*

Beginning with the summons at Clermont in 1095, crusade preaching used various rhetorical tools to call the faithful to fight in the Middle East. Apocalyptic expectations, biblical allegories and typologies, the defense of Eastern Christian brothers and the pollution of the holy places by the infidels are some of the images that the different sources highlight⁴¹. Two constant ideas found among the sources of the authors that recorded the speech given by Urban II at Clermont, like Guibert of Nogent and Baldric of Dol, are the cruelty of the Turks and the oppression of the Christians in the East⁴². These two accusations rested on two premises of crusading ideology. The first one was that the Eastern Christians, as sons of the same Church as those in the west, were brethren to the Catholics and needed to be rescued⁴³. The second one was that the Crusade was a defensive war, since hostilities had been launched by the soldiers of Islam both through the killing of the followers of Christ and the desecration of Churches in the Middle East⁴⁴.

Quantum praedecessores, the papal bull of 1 December 1145 that called for action after the capture of Edessa, relied on these two premises. The bull said that “the archbishop of the city (Edessa), with his clergy and many other Christians, has been slain there, and the relics of the saints have been given over to the infidels to be trampled upon and scattered”. These actions required punishment, hence Pope Eugenius III was calling all the faithful to

⁴¹Cole argues that the over abundance of evidence has made it difficult to establish what was said at Clermont, since the various authors emphasize different points. The reason for these differences depend on the origin of the writer of the narrative and whether he participated or not in the council and crusade. Authors such as Guibert of Nogent and Raymond of Aguilers belonged to the regular clergy and their narratives portray their monastic upbringing, while others as the anonymous writer of the *Gesta Francorum* and Fulcher of Chartres give less theologically driven accounts: Jenny P. Cole, *The Preaching to the Crusade and the Holy Land, 1095-1270* (Cambridge, MA: The Medieval Academy of America, 1991), ch. 1.

⁴²Diana Carleton, “The Western Attitude towards Islam during the Period of the Crusades”, *Speculum* 6, no. 3 (July 1931): 329-343.

⁴³Jonathan Riley-Smith shows how Crusading was seen as an example of Christian *charitas*, since it was also understood as the willingness of the faithful to lay down their lives for their Eastern brethren, thus fulfilling the maxim in John 15:13: “No one has greater love than this: to lay down one’s life for one’s friends”: Jonathan Riley Smith, “Crusading as an act of love”, in *The Crusades: The Essential Readings* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2002), 31-50.

⁴⁴Cole, *The Preaching to the Crusade and the Holy Land*, p. 17.

“oppose the multitude of the infidels which is rejoicing at having secured a period of victory over us.”⁴⁵ Augustine had argued in the fifth-century that war could be waged in order to avenge injuries and unlawful acts, and other theologians, like Anselm of Canterbury, further systematized this argument in the eleventh century.⁴⁶ The *Decretum Gratiani* (c. 1140) stressed that the knight who killed a man in obedience to an appropriate power was not guilty of homicide. Even more, the defense on one’s country from barbarians by means of war could be understood as a righteous action⁴⁷.

The First Crusade redefined the role of the noble laity in the Church as a *militia Christi*, under the direct command of Christ who, due to the influence of the Peace of God movement, were responsible for the defense of all Christians, not only Catholics⁴⁸. Since the Reform Papacy emphasized its universal authority over all the faithful, the attacks on the communities in the Levant were seen as an aggression against the entire Christian *patria*⁴⁹. With this in mind, the bull’s message fulfilled the criteria for a just war: it was retaliation against previous aggression and the papacy, as an appropriate authority, was calling for it. The fact that *Quantum praedecessores* offered the indulgences and privileges granted by Urban II fifty years before shows the institutionalization of this justification for war by the time of the Second Crusade.

⁴⁵Otto of Freising, *The Deeds of Frederick Barbarossa*, 71-73.

⁴⁶Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading* (London: Continuum, 2001), 4-5.

⁴⁷H. E. J. Cowdrey, “Christianity and the morality of warfare during the first century of crusading”, in *The Experience of Crusading Vol. 1: Western Approaches* (Bull & Housley eds), Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003, 177, 186.

⁴⁸In his paper, Katzir argues that the success of the First Crusade gave the laity a more active role in the history of the Church in comparison to the clergy. From this perspective, the pope had the ability and responsibility to call it to participate in the defense of the Church at a universal scale. The evidence for this was the universality that the call to the crusade implied, which extended papal influence beyond the borders of Western Christianity: Yael Katzir, “The Second Crusade and the Redefinition of *Ecclesia*, *Christianitas* and Papal Coercive Power”, in *The Second Crusade and the Cistercians*, ed. Michael Gervers (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 1992), 5.

⁴⁹Whalen argues that the universal claims of the Gregorian papacy defined the relations of Christians with pagan peoples, leading to a more aggressive agenda aimed to recover the lands lost to the infidels and expanding the Gospel at a universal level, based on the symbolic idea of the two sword found in Luke 22:38: Brett Edward Whalen, *Dominion of God: Christendom and Apocalypse in the Middle-Ages* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009), ch. 1.

The description of Muslim cruelty aimed to create the scandal that would lead to military action. Both narratives support this premise, although to different extents. Odo of Deuil makes little reference to the Muslims in his narrative, since by the time that the chronicle ends most of the interactions of the crusaders had been with the Greeks and not with the Turks. However, at the beginning of the account Odo states that:

the pious bishop of Langres spoke... [of] the devastation of Rohes, whose ancient name is Edessa, and the oppression of Christians and the arrogance of the heathen and by this doleful theme he arose great lamentation while at the same time he admonished all that, together with their king, they should fight for the King of all... There burned and shone in the king (Louis VII) the zeal of faith, the scorn of pleasure and earthly glory...⁵⁰

Despite the fact that the Muslims play little role in the *De profectione*, they are the agents that unleash the crusade, for it was their cruelty what led King Louis to take the cross at Vézelay at Easter in 1146. The importance of Muslim violence is also highlighted by other sources like William of Tyre and Hemold of Bosau for the case of the Northern Slavs⁵¹.

Raol, the author of the *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi*, offers a larger description of the Muslims in comparison to Odo. In his text, the Moors are charged with three crimes: cruelty against the Church of God, the stealing of Christian land and moral degeneracy. When the crusaders arrived in Porto, the bishop of the city offered a sermon where he sought to convince the armed pilgrims to join King Alfonso at Lisbon. Alan Forey has rightfully pointed out that it is not possible to argue that crusader activity in Iberia had been planned beforehand, as Harold Livermore had stated⁵², and the sermon is a good evidence of this.

⁵⁰Odo of Deuil, *De profectione Ludovici VII in orientem*, 7.

⁵¹William of Tyre and Otto of Freising describes how after the fall of Edessa the Muslims killed the women, children and clerics, once more emphasizing their unnecessary violence and cruelty: William of Tyre, *A History of the Deeds done beyond the Sea Vol. 2*, 143; Otto of Friesing, *The Two Cities*, 440. Hemold of Bosau charges the Slavs with sacrificing Christians to their gods, which in turn leads the Crusaders to bring retribution against them: Hemold of Bosau, *Cronica Slavorum*, 159-160.

⁵²Livermore argues that St. Bernard's 308 letter shows that communication with the King of Portugal had taken place before 1147. However, Forey dismisses the letter as a hoax due to its late appearance and inconsistencies, like the fact that Bernard calls Alfonso Henriques "King" although that title was recognized by the papacy only in 1179. Furthermore, the wording of the letter is ambiguous and does not point to the Second Crusade necessarily. Forey also raises doubts about the mentioning of a supposed brother to the King who does not

There the bishop paints a tragic image of the church of Christ by claiming, “to you the Mother Church, as it were with her arms cut off and her face disfigured, appeals for help; she seeks vengeance at your hands for the blood of her sons”⁵³. This message is complemented by mentioning the sacking and destruction of churches by the Moors in other passages: “the church [of port San Salvador] had recently been destroyed by the Moors –a very famous monastery... Indeed, what does the coast of Spain offer to your view but a kind of memorial of its desolation and the marks of ruin? How many cities and churches have you discovered to be in ruins...?”⁵⁴ Jonathan Phillips has argued that the description of the Church as a mutilated maiden was a powerful image designed to trigger the crusaders’ sense of religious and moral outrage in Lisbon so they would stay in Iberia instead of continuing to Jerusalem.⁵⁵ If the attack of Lisbon had been planned beforehand, Bishop Peter’s speech and the promise for material reward in exchange for the crusaders’ aid⁵⁶ would not have been necessary.

As the Church was identified as a “mother,” the description offered by *De expugnatione* reveals Christian chroniclers’ indignation regarding the murder of women, children and members of the clergy. The Peace of God stated that these three groups were unlawful targets of war.⁵⁷ This point did not go unnoticed by Odo of Deuil and Raol –both were members of the clergy. The accusation of violence and cruelty against the innocent was also meant to establish a moral standard for the Crusaders. In none of the two narratives are Christians explicitly portrayed as killing women and children even when they had the opportunity to do so: once Lisbon fell, the non-combatants were left unharmed as part of the negotiations with the Muslims.

appear in sources contemporary with the Second Crusade. For this debate see: Harold Livermore, “The ‘Conquest of Lisbon’ and its Author, in *Portuguese Studies* 6 (1990): 1-16; Alan Forey, “The Siege of Lisbon and the Second Crusade”, in *Portuguese Studies* 20 (2004): 1-13.

⁵³*De expugnatione Lyxbonensi*, p. 79.

⁵⁴*De expugnatione Lyxbonensi*, pp. 61, 79.

⁵⁵Phillips, *The Second Crusade*, 147.

⁵⁶*De expugnatione Lyxbonensi*, 85.

⁵⁷ H.E.J. Cowdrey, “The Peace and Truce of God in the Eleventh Century”, *Past and Present* 46 (Feb. 1970): 42-67.

The accusation of stolen Christian land is exposed in the negotiations that took place before the siege of Lisbon began. Once the crusaders arrive at the city, a delegation headed by Archbishop Joao of Braga is sent to parlay with the defenders. The attempt of negotiation helps to build the just war against the Muslims, since they are first offered peace while leaving violence as the last option⁵⁸. The archbishop opens his speech by saying: “May the God of peace and love remove the veil of error from your hearts and convert you to himself. And therefore have we come to you to speak of peace”⁵⁹. In the speech by the archbishop, there is no direct accusation against the Muslims’ religiosity or attempt to convert them by force. When the Christians make their accusation, they say that:

You Moors and Moabites fraudulently seized the realm of Lusitania from your king and ours. From then until now there has been desolation of cities, villages and churches without number... You are holding our cities and landed possessions unjustly –and for three hundred and fifty-eight years you have so held them—which before were held by Christians. Christians whom not the sword of oppressor compelled to their religion, but whom the preaching of the word caused to be adopted among the sons of God, under our apostle James...⁶⁰

The comparison between the Porto sermon and the negotiations at Lisbon have led Jonathan Wilson and Stephen Lay to claim that the logic behind the siege was more related to the internal dynamics of the *Reconquista* than the Crusade. Their main argument is that while the sermon at Porto uses some crusader rhetoric, as in the way in which the Church is described, most of the language in both scenarios is legally driven. In other words, both speeches are talking about a *just war*, not a *holy/religious war*⁶¹. Although there is some

⁵⁸Wilson, “Enigma of the *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi*”, 114.

⁵⁹*De expugnatione Lyxbonensi*, 115.

⁶⁰*De expugnatione Lyxbonensi*, 117.

⁶¹Both authors make the point that a war like the crusades was not in the interest of the rulers of Portugal. Crusades placed the confrontation with the Muslims in absolute terms, which had led to mass massacres such as the one carried out at Jerusalem in 1099. The Iberian rulers were more interested in a pragmatic approach, which allowed for the survival of the infrastructure and the population that they would later rule. See: Stephen Lay, “The Reconquest as Crusade in the Anonymous *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi*”, in *Al-Masaq: Islam and the Medieval Mediterranean* 14, no. 2 (2002): 123-130; Jonathan Wilson, “Enigma of the *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi*”, in *Journal of Medieval Iberian Studies* 9, no. 1 (2017): 99-129.

merit to their position⁶², it is necessary to keep in mind that in the twelfth-century there was not a clear distinction between pilgrimage and crusade or just war and holy war, as Tyerman has shown⁶³. Besides, the legal arguments of stolen Christian land were also used to call the First Crusade and were common in other crusader sermons⁶⁴. In addition, the unlawful acquisition of Lisbon needs to be understood as linked to its moral decay. Raol claims that as long as the city had been Christian, there was a cult to the three martyrs of the city [Verissimus, Maxima and Julia the Virgin], but now it was a lawless place, where “the most depraved elements from all parts of the world had flowed together as it were into a cesspool and had formed a breeding ground of every lust and abomination.”⁶⁵ This juxtaposition of the previous condition of the city and its current state is a further reason for the restoration of Christian domination on a triple stance: violence, moral degeneracy and the recovery of previous Christian property, all themes popular in crusader rhetoric.

1.1.2. The perfidious Greek

By the time that the King of France embarked on the route to Antioch in March of 1148 the Franks had had little contact with the Turks, therefore the enemies in Odo’s account are the Greeks. Anti-Greek prejudice was nothing new in 1146. The accounts of the First Crusade, which Odo was familiar with⁶⁶, accused the Greeks of abandoning the army during

⁶²It is possible to argue that the sermon at Porto does reflect a more politically/practical driven attitude against the Muslims, not really directed to their extermination and conversion. This position would go in tune with what R.A. Fletcher and Joseph O’Callaghan have argued about the frequent cooperation and mixed alliances between Muslims and Christians. Political relations, most often than not, were driven by political expediency, not religious warfare, although this attitude started to change towards the beginning of the twelfth-century: R.A. Fletcher, “Reconquest and Crusade in Spain c. 1050-1150”, in *Transactions of the Royal History Society* 37 (1987): 31-47; Joseph O’Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade in Spain* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003).

⁶³Christopher Tyerman, “Were there any Crusades in the Twelfth Century?”, in *The Crusades: The Essential readings*, ed. Thomas Madden (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2002), 100-125.

⁶⁴Joseph O’Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade in Medieval Spain* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press), ch. 8.

⁶⁵*De expugnatione Lyxbonensis*, 95.

⁶⁶Jonathan Phillips, “Odo of Deuil’s *De profectione* as a source for the Second Crusade”, in *The Experience of Crusading Vol. 1: Western Approaches* (Bull &Housleyeds), Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003, p. 83-84.

the battle of Antioch.⁶⁷ The prejudice was there, and when the crusaders meet the Byzantines for the first time Odo accuses them of hiding their treachery behind flattery and then quotes the *Aeneid* by saying that “I fear the Greeks, even when they bear gifts”⁶⁸.

There are several passages that illustrate Odo’s anger against the Byzantines. In order to weaken the crusaders, the Greeks forced the Germans to cross to into Asia Minor by “withdrawing market privileges... they [the Greeks] sent to dislodge them a huge band of the Patzinaks and Cumans, who had already killed a great many of our men by ambush in the uninhabited parts of Bulgaria”⁶⁹. Access to markets was a big obstacle in crusader-Byzantine relationships, it was often denied and the exchange rate was manipulated to hurt the crusaders⁷⁰. When the Franks tried to access a market in Adalia, in Asia Minor, on 2 February 1148 it happened that:

“We obtained an abundance of food, though at a higher price than usual, but for the horses which had survived we could not obtain grain at any price, because, as many of our men said, the Greeks betrayed us in this respect; pointing out the barrenness of the soil, they said they had no grain”⁷¹.

Whether it was true that the Greeks had or had not possessed grain, is not as important as the fact that, for Odo, it was part of a greater Greek plot to destroy the Latin crusaders’ cavalry. This larger plot also included cooperating with the Turks to destroy the crusaders. The *De profectione* states that Byzantine guides led the crusaders through perilous passages and into Turkish ambushes. When the Franks asked the Germans why they had be defeated, Odo explains that:

“..the idol of Constantinople (meaning Emperor Manuel), who, by giving them a treacherous guide, had done as much as he could to prostrate the Christian faith... the Germans were ordered to supply themselves with provisions for eight days... When the days and the food had come to an end, they though that the road must end too; but, hemmed in by mountain peaks,

⁶⁷Jonathan Harris, *Byzantium and the Crusades* (London: Bloomsbury, 2014), 69-73.

⁶⁸Odo of Deuil, *De profectione Ludovici VII in orientem*, 27.

⁶⁹Odo of Deuil, *De profectione Ludovici VII in orientem*, 51, 53.

⁷⁰Odo of Deuil, *De profectione Ludovici VII in orientem*, 73, 77, 97, 105, 133, etc.

⁷¹Odo of Deuil, *De profectione Ludovici VII in orientem*, 129.

they could only hazard guesses as to where the route would stop... Finally, believing that the army had been buried alive, the traitor fled at night by certain shortcuts, which he knew, and he summoned a huge crowd of the Turks to the prey⁷².

Accusations of cooperation between the Greeks and the Turks are constant once the French army was in Asia Minor⁷³. Odo's judgement is clear, the Greeks in general and Emperor Manuel in particular had played a big part in the crusader's misfortunes: "but how will a just judge, either God or man, spare the Greek emperor, who by cunning cruelty killed so many Christians in both German and Frankish armies?"⁷⁴

The way in which Odo represents the Greeks, among other reasons, has led Beate Schulster to claim that *De profectione* could not have been written by an eyewitness from the abbey of Saint Denis⁷⁵. However, she does not keep into account the reasons for Greek-crusader rivalry, which had originated in the First Crusade. The cause for the crusaders' resentment against the Greeks was that for the Westerners Byzantine policy could be seen as contradictory. For the Catholics there could be no more noble cause than the crusade, since it was fought for the sake of God. From this perspective, all Christians were to be expected to help in the struggle against the infidel. Yet for the Emperor the main goal of his policy was to guarantee the safety of Constantinople, even above the recovery or defense of Jerusalem. This attitude more often than not caused shock and outrage among the Crusaders⁷⁶. This is visible in Odo's narrative since he claims that the Greeks have the opinion that "anything which is done for the holy empire cannot be considered perjury"⁷⁷. Although Phillips seems

⁷²Odo of Deuil, *De profectione Ludovici VII in orientem*, 91.

⁷³Odo of Deuil, *De profectione Ludovici VII in orientem*, 107, 111, 127, 129, 131, 135,

⁷⁴Odo of Deuil, *De profectione Ludovici VII in orientem*, 137.

⁷⁵Among Schulsters arguments are that Odo had no reason to oppose Greek religiosity since the founder of St. Denis had been Greek, the fact that the Turks helped the Franks at the end of the tale, the unpracticality of looting the Greek countryside, the "persecution complex" reflected in Turkish-Greek relations, or that the apparent positive portrayal of the Turks is used to criticize the Crusaders as a whole. See: Beate Schulster, "The Strange Pilgrimage of Odo of Deuil", in *Medieval Concepts of the Past*, ed. Gerd Althoff et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 253-278.

⁷⁶Jonathan Harris, *Byzantium and the Crusades* (London: Bloomsbury, 2014), 65.

⁷⁷Odo of Deuil, *De profectione Ludovici VII in orientem*, 57.

to argue that for Odo this reasoning offered a justification for their actions⁷⁸, it is more likely that it implies as criticism, for “anything” could include betraying their fellow Christians.

The root of the problem was ideological. The Byzantine imperial ideology, which stressed that the emperor was the head of the entire Christian world, and the Gregorian papacy, which claimed that the pope was the leader of the faithful, were irreconcilable. For the Byzantines, the recognition of the supremacy of the Emperor and the safety of the empire were two foreign policy goals that could not be separated. Hence, any practice carried out by the Greek policy-makers were justified in the defense of Constantinople, which at the same time guaranteed the recognition of imperial rule⁷⁹. The Crusaders were acting under their own ideological framework that stressed the universality of papal authority. Since the pope had called the Crusade, they were expecting the Christian Greeks to act accordingly by helping them, even when for many at the top of the Byzantine administration the Crusaders represented a menace to Greek interests in the region⁸⁰.

The Great Schism was the result of this ideological clash. Both branches of Christianity had continuously grown apart in ritual and theological issues, most notably the use of azymes and the *filioque* controversy⁸¹. Since the Roman pontiff insisted in the superiority of his authority, he claimed that the Roman unleavened bread and interpretation of the Nicene Creed were the correct ones while the Byzantine patriarch and emperor claimed that the theological debates were to be resolved through an ecumenical council⁸². The impossibility of reconciling these two positions led to the mutual excommunication of 1054. In the same way that the Byzantines considered these Latin innovations as heresies, for

⁷⁸Phillips, “Odo of Deuil’s *De profectione* as a source”, 89.

⁷⁹Harris, *Byzantium and the Crusades*, 28.

⁸⁰Harris, *Byzantium and the Crusades*, 58.

⁸¹The use of azymes refers to the type of bread to be consumed during the Eucharist (leavened or unleavened), and the *filioque* controversy was refers to the part in the Nicene Creed that states that the Holy Spirit was emanated from both the Father and the Son, which the Byzantines considered heretical.

⁸²Harris, *Byzantium and the Crusades*, 49-51.

Rome, the rejection of the papal interpretation of Christianity placed the Eastern Christians “at best as inferior and at worst as heretical.”⁸³

The *De profectione*’s depiction of the Greeks reflect these concerns. Odo describes Constantinople as “arrogant in her wealth, treacherous in her practices, corrupt in her faith; just as she fears everyone on account of her wealth, she is dreaded by everyone because of her treachery and faithlessness”⁸⁴. He is outraged by an episode in which he claims that every time the Catholics used an Orthodox altar or shrine, the Greeks would purify them “as if they had been defiled”, and if a Frank wanted to marry a Greek they would force him to re-baptize, since they would not consider the Catholic one as valid⁸⁵. Although he does not expand in the details, it seems clear that for Odo these the religious beliefs could not be separated from the treacherous behavior of the Greeks; and to some extent he was right, since imperial political theology was linked to the Byzantine foreign policy. Odo’s condemnation of the Greeks goes to the point of claiming that the Turks were more merciful than the Eastern Christians, since after the defeat at Mount Cadmus on January 6, 1148, it happened that

the Turks returned to see the survivors and then gave generous alms to the sick and the poor, but the Greeks forced the stronger Franks into their service and beat them by way of payment. Some Turks bought our coins from their allies (the Greeks) and distributed them among the poor with a liberal hand; but the Greeks robbed those who had anything left. Therefore, avoiding the fellow-believers who were so cruel to them, the Franks went safely among the unbelievers, who had compassion on them; and we have heard, more than three thousand young men went with the Turks when they departed. O, pity more cruel than betrayal, since in giving bread they took away faith (although it is certain that the Turks, content with the service they gained, did not force anyone to deny his faith)!⁸⁶

This moral representation of the Greeks, as in the case of the Muslims, justifies violent retribution against them. Odo tells us that the crusaders considered attacking

⁸³Whalen, *Dominion of God* (Kindle edition), pos. 318-361.

⁸⁴Odo of Deuil, *De profectione Ludovici in orientem*, 87.

⁸⁵Odo of Deuil, *De profectione Ludovici VII in orientem*, 55, 57, 87.

⁸⁶Odo of Deuil, *De profectione Ludovici VII in orientem*, 141.

Constantinople twice and Adalia once. The reason why these attacks did not take place was because of practicalities. In the case of Adalia, he says that: “we had no food and were besieged on the right and on the left by enemies within and without and that it was impossible to destroy the lofty towers or to undermine the double walls quickly without siege machinery”⁸⁷. Only the crusaders hardships saved the Greeks from their deserved punishment.

The justice for the expeditions that were part of the Second Crusade were never doubted by the writers of the narratives of these campaigns. The moral deficiencies, crimes and the vices that characterized the foes were more than enough reason to face them in battle, be it their cruelty, betrayal and perfidy, attacks on innocent population or theft of Christian lands.

1.2 The fault within

1.2.1 Greed

Both narratives aim to communicate a moral lesson from what happened to the Christians. The authors are not blind to the sinfulness of many members of the expedition, which justified the need for the indulgence in the first place. The lesson that the authors wanted to convey was about the ability of the pilgrims to overcome the vices that threatened the whole enterprise: greed, pride and betrayal.

Greed and pride are the most important sins that mar the just intentions behind the crusading effort. *Quantum praedecessores* emphasizes the need of having the correct intentions in order to go on a Crusade. Nobles “should by no means give attention to costly clothing or personal adornment, or dogs, or falcons, or other things which proclaim luxurious living”. Church protection from debt and legal procedures was for those who “have, with pure heart, undertaken so holy a journey...” indulgence was to be granted only to he who “has

⁸⁷Odo of Deuil, *De profectione Ludovici VII in orientem*, 135.

made confession with broken and contrite heart”.⁸⁸ Emphasis on the right intentions was due to the evolution of theology around sin and indulgence.

From the beginning of the eleventh century, the Church placed increasing emphasis in the mechanisms to atone for sin⁸⁹. Indulgences in this played an important role, since they were relief measures in order to make penance possible. However, they were only effective as long as the penitent showed true remorse. Since a sinful action put man at odds with God, only true remorse could reconcile a person with his Creator. This new approach to sin was fundamental to the way that indulgence related to the Crusade. First, indulgences, as an extraordinary mechanism, were used for causes that were believed to be beneficial for the Church as a community instead of pious works that affected individual sinners. Building of churches and participation in the war against the infidel fulfilled this requirement. Second, since indulgence offered relief for temporal punishment, confession and penitence were necessary for it to work. This is why *Quantum praedecessores* stressed the importance of honest motivations when engaging in pilgrimage. The emphasis was now placed on the contrition and inner conversion of the penitent instead of a mathematical exchange.⁹⁰ Sinful behavior during the crusade was particularly condemnable because it ruined the exceptional occasion that the indulgence represented, it was an obstacle on the benefice of the Church and it could serve as evidence that the crusader was not repentant of his previous sins. In fact, the sinner crusader could use the just cause of the expedition to further aggravate his sinfulness.

This idea is present in both the narratives. For Odo of Deuil, one of the key elements that doomed the expedition was the Germans’ uncontrolled avarice. Odo evokes the German

⁸⁸Otto of Freising, *The Deeds of Frederick Barbarossa*, 72-73.

⁸⁹Anne Bysted has exposed how in the early Middle Ages there were several categorizations for different types of sins regarding the individual, the intention and the impact, and each sin accounted for a particular penance, calculated almost in a mathematical fashion. The accumulation of penance could amount to such an extent that it could be impossible for a penitent to fulfill it in a lifetime: Anne Bysted, *The Crusade Indulgence* (Leiden: Brill, 2015) 75-77.

⁹⁰Bysted, *The Crusade Indulgence*, 79, 85-86.

soldiers' constant ravaging of the countryside, attacks on the cities, and their drunkenness to the point where they would kill their own intoxicated soldiers who could not keep up with the pace of the army. Not even Emperor Conrad is spared of this condemnation when he is described as ravaging a Constantinopolitan district: "the German emperor burst and, destroying practically everything, under the very eyes of the Greeks seized their delights for his own uses".⁹¹ Although the Greeks are the enemy in *De profectione* and Odo takes them for natural traitors, he hints that one of the reasons behind the Byzantines actions against the crusaders was their constant pillaging. Once in Constantinople he claims that: "it was not held against the Greeks that they closed the city gates to the throng, since it had burned many of their houses and olive trees, either for want of wood or by reason of arrogance and the drunkenness of fools"⁹².

Greed was a serious problem for the expeditionary force in Portugal and a particular concern for the author of *De expugnatione*. The passage that narrates the embassy sent to negotiate with the Moors before the siege began exemplifies it. When the Christians demanded that Lisbon be surrendered to them, the Muslims claimed that they would not do it for two reasons. First, they recalled that the Christians had tried to capture it before without success. Second, and most importantly, because:

labeling your [Christians'] ambition zeal for righteousness, you misrepresent vices as virtues. For your greed has already grown to such proportions that base deeds not only please you but delight you; and now the opportunity of effecting a cure has almost passed, for the consummate infelicity of your cupidity has almost exceeded the bounds of natural measure.⁹³

Considering that Raol did not have language skills to communicate with the Spanish Moors (he acknowledges this when translating a Moorish letter), the answer of the people of Lisbon must have come from someone who knew Arabic. It is even more likely that the words of the people of Lisbon are a reflection of the views of Raol about the intentions of the

⁹¹Odo of Deuil, *De profectione Ludovici VII in orientem*, 43-47, 49.

⁹²Odo of Deuil, *De profectione Ludovici VII in orientem*, 67.

⁹³*De expugnatione Lyxbonensis*, 121.

army and their obsession with material gain over the righteousness of the expedition. Raol does not condemn the Christians acquisition of material rewards. Religious conviction for the Crusade did not exist in a vacuum, it was also attached to concrete material conditions, mainly considering how expensive it was to finance a Crusade.⁹⁴

The problem arose when greed was so great that it endangered the ultimate goal of the expedition. For example, a group from the Anglo-Norman forces opposed the idea of staying in Iberia claiming that quicker and safer material gains were to be found by either attacking ships in the Mediterranean or sailing directly to Jerusalem. This was reprehensible not only because they would be abandoning the Christians in need in the Peninsula, but also because they would exchange a just endeavor for common piracy. During the siege many complained that they could have been better employed somewhere else, and once the city had been taken the Flemish and Rhinelanders sabotaged the common will of the army, and decided to go into Lisbon with more men than agreed so they could gain the most out of the looting.⁹⁵

1.2.2 When the Christians overcome sin

Despite greed and potential divisions, only *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi*, offers a positive moral lesson from the crusade. Raol's story is one of sin and redemption through determination and the embracing of the values of what the crusade was supposed to entail: poverty, sacrifice and repentance. At the sermon at Porto, in which the moral tone of the chronicle is set, the bishop praises the crusaders for having exchanged all their honors, family and properties for the sake of Christ. He warns them against envy, greed and hate. In an attempt to put the expedition at the same level as Jerusalem, he argues that they should not "be seduced by the desire to press on with the journey to which you have begun; for the praiseworthy thing is not to have been to Jerusalem, but to have lived a good life while on the

⁹⁴Christopher Tyerman, *Cómo organizar una Cruzada*, transl. Tomás Fernández & Beatriz Eguibar (Barcelona: Crítica, 2016), 216.

⁹⁵*De expugnatione Lyxbonensis*, 101-103, 137, 175-177.

way”⁹⁶. For Raol the message is clear: the crucial thing is to fight for the Church, whether it is in Jerusalem or in other parts. Indeed, when the bishop claims that real Christian merit was a life lived on the way to Jerusalem, it could easily be understood as the heavenly Jerusalem, which would give a larger emphasis on the virtues embodied by the crusaders instead of the scenario of operations.

Different from the expedition to the Middle East, the one to Lisbon lacked the leadership of a great lord. Although a few individuals serve as captains of the various troops, like Count Arnold of Aerschot and most prominently Hervey de Glanville; all decisions were taken by a council of the representatives of all the different contingents of the army.⁹⁷ The image is that of common and humble people who were bound by their vow of sacrifice, strict discipline, moral fortitude and material poverty for the sake of God⁹⁸. Assessing the Second Crusade, several authors agreed with this characterization. Helmold of Bosau claims that the siege of Lisbon was “of all the works which the crusading army did, this alone proved successful,”⁹⁹ and Henry of Huntingdon also reports that

In the same year, the armies of the emperor of Germany and the French king, which marched out with great pride under illustrious commanders, came to nothing because God despised them [...]. Meanwhile, a naval force that was made of ordinary, rather than powerful men, and was not supported by any great leader, except Almighty God, prospered a great deal better because they set out in humility.¹⁰⁰

Raol or Odo of Deuil never questioned the legitimacy of the Second Crusade. The enemy’s vices and their cruel treatment of the people of God was more than sufficient reason to carry out the Crusade. The moralizing message of these stories was placed within the sinful nature of the individuals who participated in the Crusade. None of the authors who wrote down these events were interested in portraying the crusaders as perfect examples of moral

⁹⁶*De expugnatione Lyxbonensis*, 71-85.

⁹⁷*De expugnatione Lyxbonensis*, 99.

⁹⁸ Phillips, *The Second Crusade*, 144.

⁹⁹Hemold of Bosau, *Cronicon Slavorum*, trans. Francis Joseph Tschan (New York: Octagon Books, 1966), 175.

¹⁰⁰Source quoted in Phillips, *The Second Crusade*, 158.

behavior. If that were the case, there would not have been a need for the spiritual rewards that the Second Crusade promised. The merit lied in the experience of the crusade as a way of achieving true conversion and repentance, which reflects the change of emphasis of both the notion of sin and forgiveness that was being implemented by the Church. From a moral point of view, the siege of Lisbon was successful because the Crusaders were able to overcome the worst tendencies that the Crusade could cause: greed, division and betrayal; sadly, the same could not be said about the expedition to the Holy Land. In those cases, what had been an exceptional opportunity for redemption was ruined by the sinful actions of those who embarked on it.

Chapter 2: The Bible and the Second Crusade

The use of the Bible was central in medieval historiography. It allowed chroniclers to expose virtues and vices within a known narrative framework and to explain the broader message. Crusader accounts used the Bible since the first stories of the fall of Jerusalem in 1099. The Bible was used in two ways: as allegory by portraying of moral characteristics by describing individuals in the fashion of biblical characters, and as typology by molding events and the narrative like an episode from Scripture. This chapter will analyze the role that the Bible plays in the narratives of the Second Crusade. First, it will expose what was the role of Scripture in medieval historiography. Second, how Biblical language was used by of Bernard of Clairvaux and *Quantum praedecessores*. Finally, the uses of biblical allegories and typology in the narratives of the Second Crusade.

2.1 The Bible and Medieval Historiography

The Bible was the most widely read book of the Middle Ages, and its study was considered the most prestigious of all disciplines¹⁰¹. The Word of God was the highest source of authority for all matters that affected the life of the medieval man. All other disciplines like grammar and rhetoric were auxiliaries in the understanding of the Bible and the study of theology, the queen of all sciences¹⁰². The medieval study of the Bible was driven by the goal of uncovering the various messages of Scripture. The patristic tradition heavily influenced medieval Biblical exegesis. For the early Christian writers, and those who followed onwards, there were two broad ways of understanding the Bible. The first one was the literal/historical sense, which was concerned with the identification of biblical individuals, making sense of the different stories, punctuation and grammar. The second one, the allegorical/spiritual

¹⁰¹Beryl Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1952), xi.

¹⁰²Smalley, *The Study of the Bible*, xv.

sense, was considered by almost all medieval theologians to be the most important, since it is the one that could be universalized beyond the historical framework in which the text had been produced¹⁰³. Hence, scripture could convey prophetic or moral lessons that had the weight of universal truth¹⁰⁴. Although during the Middle Ages the allegorical sense of Scripture was the most important for theologians, there was a renewed interest at the beginning of the twelfth century in the literal meaning¹⁰⁵.

Typology referred not to words, but to events. Its central idea was that the New Testament was prefigured in the Old Testament and that the latter was revealed in the former. Hence, events and institutions that were described in the Hebrew scripture had a deeper spiritual meaning that would only be fully revealed through the New Testament and the history of the Church. In this sense, the Old Testament was seen as an anticipation of the life of Jesus and of the Christian era. Judas's betrayal for 30 pieces of silver is pre-figured in Zechariah 11: 12-13 or how the resurrection is implied in Isaiah's suffering servant in chapter 53 exemplify this. Everything that happens in the Old Testament is a type which finds its fulfilment and true form in the New Testament¹⁰⁶. This approach to the Bible was helpful for the first Christians exegetes when they needed to make sense of the Old Testament, mainly in those passages that seemed to contradict Jesus' teachings about peace. By allegorizing the violent passages as a mystical type that was to be fulfilled in the New Testament, violence could be spiritualized within a Christian framework¹⁰⁷.

¹⁰³For medieval biblical exegesis, see: Henri de Lubac, *Medieval Exegesis: The Four Senses of Scripture I-III*, tr. Mark Sebanc and E.M. Macierowski (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998-2009).

¹⁰⁴Frans van Liere, "Biblical Exegesis through the Twelfth Century", in *The Practice of the Bible in the Middle Ages*, ed. Susan Boynton & Diane Reilly (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011), p.159. Smalley, *The Study of the Bible*, ch. 1.

¹⁰⁵van Liere, "Biblical Exegesis through the Twelfth Century", 169-170. Smalley, *The Study of the Bible*, ch. 3.

¹⁰⁶Northop Frye, *The Great Code: The Bible and Literature* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich Publishers, 1982), 78-79.

¹⁰⁷Philippe Buc, *Holy War, Martyrdom and Terror: Christianity, Violence and the West* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015), 72.

This approach to Scripture was not limited to theology, it was important for historiography as well. As the other disciplines, the study and record of the past was directed to help theologians identify the divine will behind the way in which history unraveled. Because God manifested himself through human history, all historiographical exercise and analysis was, in essence, a theological one. In this sense, medieval historiography inherited the interpretation and purpose of history from the biblical narrative¹⁰⁸. Typology superseded the relation between the Old and New Testaments, and biblical passages could serve as types for events that took place in history. The need for this approach came from the nature of the biblical narrative and the theological tradition that influenced medieval scholars. On the one hand, the totalizing nature of the Bible and its claim to universal truth implied that all history was included in it¹⁰⁹. On the other hand, humankind's limited understanding implied that historical events could not be understood by themselves, but had to find their significance in a source of authority. Here the Bible played a fundamental role, since historical events could be signs of universal spiritual truth, both regarding God's plan for humanity and moral teachings¹¹⁰. In this sense, history had an innate prophetic element.

2.2 Scripture and the Second Crusade

The successful First Crusade was an event beyond the expectations of both those who participated in the expedition and those who recorded it. According to Katherine Allen Smith, the sudden and unexpected success of 1099 “posed unique descriptive and interpretative challenges because it seemed to break the historical mold; the suffering of its participants, the brutality of its battles and sieges, and the glory of its victories, above all the conquest of

¹⁰⁸Jennifer A. Harris, “The Bible and the Meaning of History” in *The Practice of the Bible in the Middle Ages*, ed. Susan Boynton & Diane Reilly (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011), 84-85.

¹⁰⁹Erich Auerbach, *Mimesis: The Representation of Reality in Western Literature* (New Jersey, Princeton University Press, 2013), 14, 16, 21.

¹¹⁰Kempshall, *Rhetoric and the Writing of History*, 69, 104-107.

Jerusalem, sent many would-be historians scrambling for interpretative cover”¹¹¹. The fifty years that spanned the period before the First and Second Crusades saw the composition of several documents that linked the crusader movement to the Bible. The chronicles of the first expedition are the most famous, but other writings are relevant due to the importance that they played in the recruitment for the pilgrimage of 1146, and because they let us see how those who promoted the expedition understood the crusades in the mid twelfth-century.

Twelfth-century historical conciseness was heavily attached to biblical notions, and crusader texts clearly reflected this¹¹². The *Gesta Francorum* claims that those who died in the crusade were martyrs who fill the number of the dead in Revelation 6. Hemold of Bosau constructed his *Crronica Slavorum*, which tells the story of the evangelization and wars with the northern Slavs, as the conquest of the Promised Land. *Guibert* of Nogent’s recount of Urban II’s speech using the image of the Maccabees as the best example of martyrdom¹¹³. In fact, the Bible was used to interpret the First Crusade both in narratives and in the correspondence that was sent back and forth from Outremer by both clerics and laymen. Pope Paschal II wrote a letter to the victorious crusaders on 28 of April 1100 in which the constant use of biblical quotations helped to make sense of the triumph over the infidels¹¹⁴. Men like Godfrey of Bouillon and Daibert of Pisa wrote to the pope in autumn 1099 describing the

¹¹¹Katherine Allen Smith, “The Crusader Conquest of Jerusalem and Christ’s Cleansing of the Temple”, in *The Uses of the Bible in Crusader Sources*, ed. Elizabeth Lapina & Nicholas Morton (Leiden, Brill, 2017), 21.

¹¹²Harris, “The Bible and the Meaning of History in the Middle Ages”, 93

¹¹³Harris, “The Bible and the Meaning of History in the Middle Ages”, 97.

¹¹⁴The letter says as follows: “We know that you have accomplished what God promises to his people by means of His prophet: ‘I will dwell in them’ –he said- ‘and I shall walk with them’ (2 Corinthians 6:16), because He is dwelling in your breasts thanks to your faith and He is walking with you in your actions, so that He could openly defeat His enemies by means of you. God renewed the ancient miracles so that ‘one (defeated) a thousand, two ten thousand’ (Deuteronomy 32:30), and He opened the walls of hostile towns not by power of weapons, but by sound of clerical trumpets (Joshua 6: 1-20): Miriam Rita Tessera, “The Use of the Bible in Twelfth-Century Papal Letters to Outremer”, in *The Uses of the Bible in Crusader Sources*, ed. Elizabeth Lapina & Nicholas Morton (Leiden, Brill, 2017), 179.

enterprise as the fulfilment of biblical prophecy¹¹⁵ and soldiers of the First Crusade wrote letters home using the same language¹¹⁶.

Bernard of Clairvaux as well as Eugenius III used this type of language in their crusade-related texts. Written about 1130, *De laude novae militiae* is a propaganda text directed to the exaltation of the Knights Templar, which were to serve as an example to European warrior nobility¹¹⁷. Saint Bernard's interest in preaching the crusade was linked to a general intention of reforming the Church and society by changing the lives and attitudes of those lay folk who were in charge of ruling. Bernard seems to have been particularly concerned with the problem of violence in medieval society. For him, war could be a righteous endeavor when it was fought for the right cause; however, much of the violence that was carried out around him was led by selfish reasons, as he complained to the king of France in a letter written around 1143¹¹⁸. In juxtaposition to this "old sinful militia" that characterized the European nobility, Bernard praises the "new militia" in the form of the Knights Templar. For the abbot, the death of the pagan was a way of glorifying Christ, as long as it was done with the right intention: violence was only to be used as the last resource to prevent the persecution of Christians, not indiscriminately. Once again, we find the moral tenet that was central to the Second Crusade: the war against the infidel had to be guided by the correct motivations, otherwise it could be as sinful as any other type of violence¹¹⁹. This moral principle is further reinforced by appealing to Biblical and eschatological language. He claims that:

¹¹⁵Tessera, "The Use of the Bible in Twelfth-Century Papal Letters to Outremer", 183.

¹¹⁶Smith, "The Crusader Conquest of Jerusalem and Christ's Cleansing of the Temple" 28.

¹¹⁷In this article, Grabois argues that the Bernard's notion of *militia* was not necessary a new one, since it was rooted in the role that the Church had been promoting for the nobility through the Peace of God: Aryeh Grabois, "Militia and Malitia: The Bernardine Vision of Chivalry", in *The Second Crusade and the Cistercians*, ed. Michael Gervers (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 1992), 50.

¹¹⁸John Sommerfeldt, "The Bernardine Reform and the Crusading Spirit", *The Catholic Historical Review* 86, no. 4 (October 2000): 572.

¹¹⁹Kristin Skottki, "'Until the Full Number of the Gentiles has come in': Exegesis and Prophecy in St. Bernard's Crusade-Related Writings", in *The Uses of the Bible in Crusader Sources*, ed. Elizabeth Lapina & Nicholas Morton (Leiden, Brill, 2017), 246-247.

They (the Templars) are mindful of the words of Maccabees, "It is simple enough for a multitude to be vanquished by a handful. It makes no difference to the God of heaven whether he grants deliverance by the hands of few or many; for victory in war is not dependent on a big army, and bravery is the gift of heaven (1 Maccabees 3:18-19)."¹²⁰

For Saint Bernard, the Maccabees were foreshadowing the new militia in their responsibility of keeping Zion free of the "violators of the Law, so that the just people might enter Zion and with them Jesus Christ himself" as they had done in their war against Antiochus Epiphanes.¹²¹ Hence, the Templars' served as the example of what a just war was: it was in the service of God, typified by the Maccabees of the Old Testament, and played a central role in the larger theatre of history.

The reference to the Maccabees was popular as an allegorical moral framework for crusaders. Maccabean warriors were common biblical models for the Crusader hosts, not only in their endeavor to recover Jerusalem, but also in their zeal and determination to fight and die in the name of God's cause¹²². The Maccabean zeal served as a type for the warriors of the First Crusade, and that explained why God favored the 1099 expedition. *Quantum praedecessores* makes use of this Maccabean language. The text states that the faithful should:

Let that good man Mattathias serve as an example for you, who hesitated not at all to expose himself, with his sons and his parent, to death in order to preserve the laws of his fathers, and to relinquish all that he possessed in the world; and at last by the assistance of divine aid, though only after many labors, but he and his descendants triumphed manfully over their enemies¹²³.

¹²⁰Bernard of Clairvaux's *De laude novae militiae*, ed. Robert Kethelholn (2005), 11. Accessed April 16,2018 from: <http://www.deltacomweb.it/templari/bernardus-claraevallensis.de-laude-novae-militiae.pdf>

¹²¹Skottki, "Until the Full Number of the Gentiles has come in, 248.

¹²²Elizabeth Lapina, "The Maccabees and the Battle of Antioch", in *Dying for the Faith, Killing for the Faith: Old-Testament Faith-Warriors (1 and 2 Maccabees) in Historical Perspective*, ed. Gabriela Signori (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 147-159.

¹²³ Otto of Freising, *The Deeds of Frederick Barbarossa*, 72.

The allegory to the Maccabees is further expanded by the defilement of relics¹²⁴. We have already seen that the profanation of churches was common in crusading sermons. This behavior can easily be compared to that of the Seleucids in the Old Testament, since they profaned the Temple of God by raising a statue of Zeus and slaughtering unclean animals in the Temple in Jerusalem. (1 Mac. 1:47, 2 Mac. 6: 2, 18). The image of the enemies of Christianity as defilers of Churches becomes clearer if one takes into account this parallelism with the Maccabees, and explains why both narrative constructions were common when representing the crusades.

Furthermore, the excerpt seems to indicate some important ideas on how the Second Crusade was envisioned by the pope. The first half of the text is an exhortation of moral values, mainly that of self-sacrifice, through the example of Mattathias. The idea of relinquishing everything for the sake of God's cause was a central one to the crusading narrative; the bishop of Porto had praised the expeditioners to Lisbon because they had followed this apostolic call. Because the Maccabean story presented a mixture of both war and martyrdom, the image of the heroes of the Hanukah story was important for the portrayal of the Crusaders as both martyrs and warriors since the earliest narratives¹²⁵.

The second half of the passage ("and at last by the assistance of divine aid, though only after many labors, but he and his descendants triumphed manfully over their enemies") references to the victory with which the Maccabees were rewarded for their struggle in the name of God. This part is a promise of victory. If God had rewarded the clan of Mattathias with the destruction of the Antiochus' troops, from a typological perspective He would also be with the Christian knights that carried out the crusade in the same spirit. This promise is unique to the Second Crusade in comparison with the call at Clermont in 1095. In the records

¹²⁴ See chapter 1 footnotes 44, 54.

¹²⁵ Lapina, "The Maccabees and the Battle of Antioch", 147-159.

that we have about Urban II's sermon, only Guibert of Nogent mentions the Maccabees as example but with no explicit guarantee of victory: "If in olden times the Maccabees attained to the highest praise of piety because they fought for the ceremonies and the Temple, it is also justly granted you, Christian soldiers, to defend their liberty of your country by armed endeavor"¹²⁶. The pope seemed to have been confident in a victory in the East when he published *Quantum praedecessores* in 1145.

Quantum praedecessores, interestingly, hardly uses biblical references or direct quotations. This is surprising considering how popular was to express crusader ideas using Scripture¹²⁷. One of the themes used in the bull is the Maccabean one, the other one is a reference to Revelation 1:10. Miriam Tessera accurately recognizes the passage, but does not discuss it. This could imply that for her the use of Revelation 1:10 does not hold any particular meaning in *Quantum praedecessores*, but it is reasonable to argue that it is related to the expected success of the expedition of 1146. In the Bible, this passage announces a voice that sounds like a heavenly trumpet that orders John to write down his visions, which unleash the end times. The figure of the voice like a trumpet is now used for Urban II, since the text says that: "our predecessor of blessed memory, Pope Urban, sent forth *a voice like a heavenly trumpet* and undertook to summon the sons of the Holy Roman Church". Several scholars have argued how the First Crusade was motivated by eschatological ideas¹²⁸. The reference to the last book of the Bible could serve as an eschatological expectation. In the same way that the voice like a trumpet had opened the revelation to John, so Urban's voice

¹²⁶The different versions of Urban II's speech can be found Fordham University's website: <https://sourcebooks.fordham.edu/source/urban2-5vers.asp>

¹²⁷Tessera, "The Use of the Bible in Twelfth-Century Papal Letters to Outremer", 195.

¹²⁸For eschatological expectations related to the crusade see: Maria Ruby Wagner, "The Impact of the Second Crusade on the Angelology and Eschatology of Saint Bernard of Clairvaux", in *Journal of Religious Studies* 37, no. 1 (September 2013): 322-340; Jay Rubenstein, *Armies of Heaven: The First Crusade and the Quest for Apocalypse*, (New York: Basic Books, 2011); Hans Dietrich Kahl, "Crusade and Eschatology as Seen by St. Bernard of Clairvaux in the Years 1146 to 1148", in *The Second Crusade and the Cistercians*, ed. Michael Gervers (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1992), 35-48; Philippe Buc, "Crusade and Eschatology: Holy War fostered and inhibited", in *MIOG*, Vol. 125, No. 1, 2017, p. 304-339; among others.

had given rise to the (apparent) end times. Bernard of Clairvaux seem to have embraced a close idea, as *De laude novae militiae* shows by claiming that the Templar's service was directed to Christ entering Jerusalem with the faithful. We know that Eugenius III had been a monk under the holy abbot, so he might have shared similar expectations¹²⁹. The promise that the Crusade would be successful was reinforced by the ideas that history would repeat itself as it had done with the examples of the Maccabees and 1099, and that through the just fight against the infidel history was moving forward. It is possible to claim that the image of the trumpet from heaven can be related to war images from the Old Testament, such as Gideon's call for war (Judges 6:34) or Moses' call to Israel (Numbers 10:1-3). However, the wording of the bull points to the passage in Revelation

2.3 Crusader narratives through the prism of the Bible

2.3.1 Allegory and the portrayal of virtues and vices

Raol and Odo of Deuil have different ways of approaching the Bible in their narratives. While the former references the Bible forty-seven times,¹³⁰ the latter only has sixteen references to Scripture. Odo's limited use of the Bible is remarkable if we compare it to other narratives concerned with the Second Crusade like William of Tyre and Hemold of Bosau¹³¹. Despite this variance, both authors use allegory to portray moral behaviors in their accounts. This was not new to the narratives of the Second Crusade. The anonymous *Gesta Francorum*, the first crusader narrative, used a biblical *topos* to explain why the Crusaders

¹²⁹Despite his eschatological expectations, it is important to remember that Bernard never dared to offer a date in which he thought the Final Judgement would happen. All we can say is that he seems to have thought that the end was near: Kahl, "Crusade and Eschatology as Seen by St. Bernard of Clairvaux in the Years 1146 to 1148", 38; Skottki, "Until the Full Number of the Gentiles has come in, 249.

¹³⁰See Appendix A.

¹³¹Overall, Hemold of Bosau has 37 quotes up to the moment in which he begins the narrative of the Second Crusade (p. 52, 58, 73, 75, 84, 85, 90, 97, 99, 105, 108, 110, 113, 115, 118, 119, 128, 129, 131, 138, 140, 146, 149, 158, 161, 166) and William of Tyre quotes the Bible 128 times between books 1-15, right before the narrative of the Second Crusade begins (Vol. 1 p. 76, 79, 81, 84, 89-91, 93-95, 98, 115, 188, 266, 287, 290, 294, 296, 319, 331, 335, 338-348, 359, 374-375, 383, 386, 394-395, 416, 437, 449, 476, 487, 489, 497, 536; Vol. 2 2-7, 17, 25, 28, 34, 42, 69, 73, 81, 107).

defeated Kerbogha, the atabeg of Mosul, at the battle of Antioch¹³². The Magdeburg Charter, written in the early twelfth century by several bishops and nobles of the region of Northern Germany, claims that it is equally worthy to fight for the Church in the Northern regions of Europe as it was to do it in Jerusalem by portraying the northern Slavs as the ancient Canaanite enemies of Israel¹³³.

Odo of Deuil uses Scripture, first and foremost, to characterize the crusade and King Louis. Odo calls *Quantum praedecessores* sweeter than any honeycomb (Ps. 19:10) and claims that Pope Eugenius promised those taking the “easy yoke of Christ” (Mt. 11:30) the remission of sins. The idea here is the approval of the crusade as just and beneficial for Christians.¹³⁴ King Louis’ moral character is set through the use of biblical quotes when the monarch took the cross. Odo quotes Luke 14:27 (“Whoever does not carry the cross and follow me cannot be my disciple”) and John 19:17 (“and carrying the cross by himself, he went out to what is called the Place of the Skull, which in Hebrew is called Golgotha”) to mark the importance of the Crusade as *imitatio Christi*¹³⁵. This is a way of introducing the moral character of King Louis as a true follower of Christ, of whom he says: “Louis, son of

¹³²Kerbogha is portrayed as a proud and arrogant man who disregarded his mother’s warnings about facing the crusaders, for according to her he would be defeated. Among the reasons given by Kerbogha’s mother are astrological calculations, Quranic prophecies and references to biblical passages (Psalms 45:6, 89:7, 79:6, 113:3; Matthew 9:15; Galatians 4:1-7; Romans 8:17; Isaiah 45:6, 47:4; Malachi 1:11; Deuteronomy 11:24-25; Joshua 1:4-5; Exodus 20:11). The passage is modeled after Matthew 27:19, in which Pilate’s wife sends him a message asking him not to condemn Jesus: *Gesta Francorum et Aliorum Hierosolomitanoorum*, trans. Nirmal Dass (Maryland: Rowmann & Littlefield, 2011), 74-76

¹³³According to the document, the pagan priests claim that one of their gods named Pripegala is also Beelphegor or Baal of Peor, in a direct reference to Numbers 25:3: Giles Constable, “The Place of the Magdeburg Charter of 1107/1108 in the History of Eastern Germany and of the Crusades”, in *Vita Religiosa im Mittelalter*, ed. Franz Felten & Nikolas Jaspert, (Berlin: Duncker & Humboldt, 1999), 283-299.

¹³⁴Although the text does not mention explicitly that the letters that the King’s emissaries brought back from Rome contain the bull, the text says that the letters emphasized “moderation in arms and clothing”, which was one of the key points in *Quantum praedecessores: De profectioe Ludovici VII in orientem*, p. 9.

¹³⁵Maier has shown how the idea of the imitation of Christ was central to crusade propaganda, since the pilgrim was called to follow the message in the Gospels. The crusader was a soldier of Christ and by following Jesus even unto death. This remembrance of Jesus’ death on the cross was central to the idea of sacrifice in the crusade: Christoph Maier, *Crusade propaganda and Ideology: Model Sermons for the Preaching of the Cross* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 60.

King Louis, in order to be worthy of Christ, undertook to follow Him by bearing his cross on Easter at Vélezay”¹³⁶.

The introduction of the crusader as an imitator of Christ is also present in *De expugnatione*. The sermon of the bishop of Porto uses the Bible constantly to transmit moral ideas to the Christian army. The crusaders are called true followers of God using John 20:29, Psalm 118:23, Hebrews 13:13 and Isaiah 55:6¹³⁷ and they are warned against envy and greed through Isaiah 1:16 and Proverbs 14:30¹³⁸. Once again the theme of zeal in combination to righteous intentions is present in Raol’s narrative, this time as an allegorical imitation of Christ’s and his followers’ sufferings that those who embarked on it were willing to endure¹³⁹. Furthermore, Stephen Raulston has argued that going on a pilgrimage in the eleventh and twelfth century was seen as the repetition of the life of Christ from a typological point of view. According to him, the pilgrim followed the same path of Christ in relation to his departure from heaven; his descent, incarnation, suffering and sacrifice on earth; and then a return to his place of origin¹⁴⁰. From this perspective, the crusade could be framed as *imitatio Christi* within this scheme of exile, suffering and reintegration.

Juxtaposed to the moral characteristics of the Christians, other biblical passages are used to criticize both the Muslims and the Greeks. Odo describes the beauty of the Orthodox churches by quoting Psalm 26:8: “O Lord, I have cherished the beauty of Thy house”, just to turn it over its head by immediately claiming “if the light of the true faith shone therein”¹⁴¹.

¹³⁶ Odo of Deuil, *De projectione Ludovici VII in orientem*, 6.

¹³⁷ “Blessed are they that have not seen me and yet believed”; “This is the Lord’s doing, and it is marvelous to our eyes”; “you have gone forth without the camp bearing the reproach of the cross”; “you are seeking God while he may be found”: *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi*, 71, 73.

¹³⁸ “Put away the evil of your doings”; “A sound heart is the life of the flesh, but envy the rottenness of the bones”: *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi*, 73, 75.

¹³⁹ Smith, “The Crusader Conquest of Jerusalem and Christ’s Cleansing of the Temple”, p. 37.

¹⁴⁰ Stephen Raulston, “The Harmony of Staff and Sword: How Medieval Thinkers Saw Santiago Peregrino & Matamoros”, in *La corónica: A Journal of Medieval Hispanic Languages, Literatures, and Cultures* 36, no. 2 (Spring, 2008): 350.

¹⁴¹ Odo of Deuil, *De projectione Ludovici VII in orientem*, 57.

This is further evidence of how Schulster's argument of Odo's portrayal of the Greeks is misguided¹⁴². Odo is capable of admiring the beauty and piousness of some Greek rituals and churches, without endorsing their religious beliefs or treacherous behavior. He is delighted at the celebration of the feast of Saint Denis in Constantinople while criticizing the mistakes in their faith¹⁴³. In other passage, Emperor Manuel is described as a serpent and as "deaf and swollen with poison as an adder"¹⁴⁴, which is a rewording of Psalm 58:4. The opposition between the two rulers is clear at this point. While Louis VII is acting in the fashion of Christ by going through the sufferings that He endured, Manuel behaves like the serpent (possibly the Devil), full of poison and treachery. The Greeks are also the locust in Joel 1:4, since they: "despoiled [the crusaders] daily of life and possessions, 'just as the locusts consumes what the wingless locust has left'"¹⁴⁵.

In any case, Odo does not go beyond the allegorical interpretation of Scripture. His comparison of individuals with the Bible is limited to the adscription of moral characteristics. *De expugnatione*, on the other hand, characterizes the Moors from a typological point, meaning through an action. According to Raol, the defenders of the city tried to provoke the crusaders to attack them by questioning the tenets of their religion. They questioned several Christian beliefs and assumptions, like the idea that an all-powerful God would choose to be incarnate and born out of a poor woman, and insulted Christ by spitting on a cross and cleaning their rears with it. Raol concludes the passage by saying:

Christ was again seen actually blasphemed by unbelievers, saluted with mock genuflections, spat upon by wicked men, afflicted with chains, beaten with staves, and fastened to the opprobrious of the cross. Out of pity for which it

¹⁴² See chapter 1 footnote 75.

¹⁴³ Odo of Deuil, *De profectione Ludovici VII in orientem*, 69, 57.

¹⁴⁴ Odo of Deuil, *De profectione Ludovici VII in orientem*, 77.

¹⁴⁵ Odo of Deuil, *De profectione Ludovici VII in orientem*, 97.

was fitting that we should become more bitter against the enemies of the Cross¹⁴⁶.

In this case, the moral deficiencies of the Moors are portrayed as the repetition of the biblical type of the crowning of thorns, as it is narrated in John 19: 1-4, Mark 15:17 and Matthew 27:29. In the same way that the Roman soldiers were cruel in their mocking of the defenseless and innocent Jesus, so the Moors defiled the memory of Christ. In this way, the cruel treatment that the Church had endured under Moorish rule, which the author describes when the crusaders got to Iberia¹⁴⁷, is emphasized.

2.3.2: Typology and the interpretation of the narrative

The typological association between the Muslims and the crowning of thorns brings the question of how the narratives were seen from this form of biblical exegesis¹⁴⁸. Typological framing of crusader narrative was common since the First Crusade. The success of the 1099 was nothing less than an echo of the achievements of the ancient Israelites and the Apostles¹⁴⁹, and the way in which some events were described were meant to offer an interpretation to the expedition. The climatic conquest of Jerusalem was preceded by a procession carried out by the priests of the army around the walls of the city¹⁵⁰, which is reminiscent of Joshua 6: 1-20 and the fall of Jericho. This event would place the First Crusade as the repetition of the conquering of the Promised Land by the chosen people of God. The tendency to interpret crusader narratives through a biblical scope is also present in

¹⁴⁶*De expugnatione Lyxbonensis...* p. 133.

¹⁴⁷ See chapter 1 footnote 53.

¹⁴⁸ Jonathan Phillips has shown how visual representation in several churches presented the actions of the First Crusade as the repetition of biblical events: Phillips, *The Second Crusade*, ch. 3. Giles Constable has analyzed how Bible moralisée compared the events in the Crusades with those of Scripture in order to convey moral messages: Giles Constable, "The Bible Moralisée and the Crusades", in *The Experience of Crusading Vol.1: Western Approaches*, ed. Marcus Bull and Norman Housley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 209-222.

¹⁴⁹Smith, "The Crusader Conquest of Jerusalem and Christ's Cleansing of the Temple", p. 30.

¹⁵⁰*Gesta Francorum et Aliorum Hierosolomitanoorum*, 103.

later narratives. The *Historia Albigensis* portrays the Albigensian Crusade as the story of evil and good rulers, similar to the books of 1-2 Samuel and 1-2 Kings. Simon of Montfort is compared to David while Peter of Aragon, to Saul. The rulers of the Languedoc behave in a similar way to the idolatrous kings of Israel and Judah, like Ahab or Manasseh, who favored foreign rites and cults over the Law of Moses¹⁵¹. The *Chronicle of Prussia*, written in the first half of the fourteenth century, tells the story of the Teutonic Knights and their struggle against the pagans of the Baltic. The narrative is referred typologically to the Maccabean struggle. The pagans in the North are shown as defiling the Christian churches in similar ways that the Seleucids did with the Jerusalem Temple, some Christians who ally themselves with the Lithuanians are described like the Hellenizing Jews of the Biblical story, and the Teutonic Knights are praised as modern-day Maccabees¹⁵².

In the narratives of Odo and Raol we have two completely different ways of understand the Second Crusade typologically, mainly because Odo is not capable of offering a biblical model for his narrative while Raol does. In this sense, Rudi Linder is right when he claims that *De profectione* struggles when trying to come with an explanation as to why the expedition to the Middle East failed besides the blaming the crusaders for their sins or the Greeks for their treachery¹⁵³. The only passage in which Odo hints an explanation is when the Franks struggle to find new horses in Asia Minor by claiming that God is testing their patient as Paul claims in II Corinthians 11:26: “in perils in sea, in perils in the wilderness, in perils by the Heathen, and in perils among false brethren”¹⁵⁴. However, there is no larger biblical model that is guiding the way in which the crusade to the Middle East is narrated.

¹⁵¹Pierre des Vaux-de-Cernay, *Historia Albigensis*, trans. W.A. Silby and M.D. Silby (Rochester, NY: The Boydell Press, 1998), 22-25, 103-107, 212.

¹⁵²Nicolaus von Jeroschin, *The Chronicle of Prussia*, transl. Mary Fischer (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Group, 2010), 34, 44, 49, 88, 89, 167, 224, 233, 277, etc.

¹⁵³ Linder, “Odo of Deuil’s *The Journey of Louis VII to the East: Between The Song of Roland and Joinville’s Life of Saint Louis*”, 165-176.

¹⁵⁴ Odo of Deuil, *De profectione Ludovici VII in orientem*, 133.

The *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi* is different. Raol molded his account according to a Biblical model: the conquest of the Promised Land. During the sermon given at Porto, the bishop emphasizes that the crusaders are “the nation whose God is the Lord, and the people whom he hath chosen for his own inheritance”¹⁵⁵. The passage is a quotation of Psalm 33:12, and sets the tone of the crusaders as a new the Israel and Iberia as the land promised to them. Bishop Peter also promises that God will be with the army by quoting by quoting Deuteronomy 32:30 and Leviticus 26:8¹⁵⁶. Brett Edward Whalen has argued that Spain played a particular role in the world vision of the Gregorian Papacy, since it had belonged to the Roman faith before being taken by the Muslims. This link, according to Gregory VII, went all the way back to the times of the apostles, when the disciples of Paul, Peter and James had spread Christianity in the region. By right of evangelization, Spain was part and property of the papacy¹⁵⁷, as the negotiation with the defenders of Lisbon shows¹⁵⁸. Besides, at the end of the eleventh century and beginning of the twelfth, the growing influence of Cluniac missionaries expanded the ideas of the Reform papacy in Spain, which at the same time motivated a more confrontational attitude with the Muslim principalities instead of the politically-driven policy that had characterized Medieval Spain¹⁵⁹. With this in mind, it makes sense that the expedition to Lisbon was understood as a typology of Israel and the Promised Land: in both cases, the chosen people of God were taking what was their inheritance by the right of divine choice.

There are further passages that stress the idea of an Israel/Promised Land typology. The author calls the enemies both Moors and Moabites (Maurorum et Moabitarum). This

¹⁵⁵*De expugnatione Lyxbonensis*, 71.

¹⁵⁶“How one should chase a thousand and two put ten thousand to flight”; “Five of you shall chase a hundred, and a hundred of you shall put ten thousand to flight; and your enemies shall fall before you by the sword”. *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi*, 83, 85.

¹⁵⁷Whalen, *Dominion of God*, ch. 1.

¹⁵⁸See chapter 1 footnote 60.

¹⁵⁹Fletcher, “Reconquest and Crusade in Spain c. 1050-1150”, 38; O’Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade in Medieval Spain*, 19.

makes sense, since the Moabites were one of the many enemies that the Israelites had to face in their struggle to conquer and keep the Promised Land. The editor claims that the word Moabite refers to Almoravides, which is possible¹⁶⁰. Keeping in mind that both words have a similar sound and that the Moabites were not the fiercest enemies of the Israelites, it is possible that calling the Almoravides Moabites serves the double purpose of giving them a title and a typological association¹⁶¹. Likewise, the crusader army is set as followers of the Law by the establishment of “a life for a life and a tooth for a tooth”, paraphrasing in Exodus 21:24. The crusaders as Israel can be linked with the idea of sin and repentance, which is prevalent in the biblical story of the Chosen People. The Moabites/Moors are capable of dominating the Christians of Spain because of their sins in the same way as Ancient Israel was at the mercy of her enemies when she deviated from the Law¹⁶². In this sense, the Crusader army which follows God’s commandments is allowed to defeat their enemies, as Israel did when she repented and went back to the Lord. Another example found in the narrative is the Almighty hardening the heart of the Moors so they would not heed the offer of peace offered to them before the siege began. This final reference may point to the figure of the Pharaoh in Exodus, sinners in Isaiah 63:17, or Ahab in 1 Kings 22:19-23. Be it as it may, the idea is that all of these examples are related to the story of the Israelites and their conquest or possession of the Holy Land, which reinforces the typological relation between the crusaders and Israel.

Typology played an important role in Crusader narratives in general, since it gave them an interpretative framework about how they could relate to God’s salvation plan for humanity. However, the case of the Second Crusade seems problematic since the use of the Bible is mostly restricted to the characterization of individuals through vices and virtues.

¹⁶⁰*De expugnatione Lyxbonensi*, 68 footnote 1.

¹⁶¹*De expugnatione Lyxbonensis*, 69, 77, 117.

¹⁶²*De expugnatione Lyxbonensis*, 61.

Only the *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi* is fashioned under a biblical model. How can we explain this, considering the importance of typology in medieval historiography and its use in Crusading sources? Although the fact that the expedition to Lisbon was successful played a role in this process, it is important to ask the question why the typological interpretations of the defeats of Israel, which is central to the Old Testament, was not used by Odo.

Tuomas Lehtonen has argued that there are three categories of historical texts regarding the portrayal and explanation of the crusades. In the first place, there are those texts that offer no deeper explanation as to why events unraveled in a particular way and seemed to be more concerned with the mere description of what happened. Stories as the *Gesta Francorum* and *De profectione Ludovici* would fit in this category according to the author. In second place, there are texts that are heavily influenced by theological and ideological interpretations, like Guibert of Nogent's *Gesta Dei per Francos* and, for the purpose of this study, *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi*. Finally, there are those stories in the middle, which see the crusades as an initiative that comes from God, but whose development must be explained in human terms, like William of Tyre's *Historia*¹⁶³.

This classification of the narrative sources allows us to see a pattern regarding the narratives of the Second Crusade: the more successful a crusade was, the easier it was to come with a deeper theological explanation, which facilitated an interpretation of the narrative from a typological point of view. Since the crusade to the Levant ended in disaster, Odo of Deuil relies less on biblical typology than Raoul. For the *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi* was easier to use a typological approach to the expedition: it was the closest case to the success of 1099. However, in order to be able to grasp this idea, we need to inquire about the role of God and

¹⁶³Tuomas Lehtonen, "By the Help of God, Because of Our Sins, and by Chance: William of Tyre Explains the Crusades", in *Medieval History Writing and Crusading Ideology*, ed. Tuomas Lehtonen et al. (Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society, 2005) 79.

how both authors came with theological explanations for what happened in the Second Crusade; that will be the topic of the last chapter.

Chapter 3: The Second Crusade and Divine Intervention

3.1 *History, the Bible and the Crusades*

The medieval interpretation of time was linked to the Bible. For a person in the Middle Ages, the totality of human history had already been revealed to man from Creation to Final Judgement, and biblical typologies were pre-configurations of the events that were to take place in the future¹⁶⁴. The fact that early Christian writers used a chronographies that combined the events of the Old Testament with those narrated by classical authors is evidence that for them there was no occurrence that deserved being recorded that did not play, in some way, a part in the theater of men's salvation¹⁶⁵.

In the fifth century, Saint Augustine's theology of history stated that the present age was the last one. This did not permit any further significant historical development. Yet the changes that medieval society was experimenting in the twelfth century needed an explanation that fitted Christian theology. Works like Peter Comestor's *Historia* and the theological reflection of Hugh of St. Victor started to consider more optimistic versions of human agency which allowed for radical changes to take place even in the last age of the world¹⁶⁶. Among the radical changes that needed further explanation were the success of the First Crusade and the ideology that promoted by the reform papacy, since both were linked to one another.

The Gregorian Reform re-defined the relationship of Catholicism with other religions, such as the Greeks, Jews, Muslims and pagans. Beginning in the eleventh century, the papacy promoted a more active approach towards these groups in order to bring them into the fold of

¹⁶⁴Kempshall, *Rhetoric and the Writing of History*, 53.

¹⁶⁵Kempshall, *Rhetoric and the Writing of History*, 81-91.

¹⁶⁶Harris, "The Bible and the Meaning of History", 95.

St. Peter, justified in the universality of papal authority¹⁶⁷. In this process, the capture of Jerusalem played a central role in the idea that Western Christianity was a key agent in God's salvation plan. For Edward Whalen, "the Crusade revealed God's hand in history, an expression of the Lord's immanent justice in the economy of salvation. Framed in this manner, the capture of Jerusalem marked a transformative moment in the collective experience of Christendom, above all for the Western Christian followers of Rome"¹⁶⁸.

The fall of Jerusalem in 1099 easily fitted this interpretation brought by the papacy since, according to several scholars, the return to the Holy City was seen as a sign that history was moving forward towards its end¹⁶⁹. Robert Chazan states that anti-Jewish violence during the First Crusade was a manifestation of popular apocalyptic expectations. According to him, the forced conversion of the Jews would fulfil the Pauline prophecy found in Romans 11:25 and the end-times would begin in tone with the capture of Jerusalem.¹⁷⁰ Philippe Buc has argued that the Crusade was formulated by a tri-partite division of time. First, there was a violent Old Testament era, followed by the peaceful times of the Christian Church, and then a return to the violent tribulations with the coming of the Final Judgement. This perception was apparently present in the participants of the crusades¹⁷¹. Likewise, Jay Rubenstein suggests that the belief in the end-times was central in the motivations that led to the First Crusade and the violent events that came with it. For Rubenstein, the capture of Jerusalem would have reinforced eschatological idea even among some of the leaders of the 1096-1099 expedition

¹⁶⁷Whalen, *Dominion of God* (Kindle edition), pos. 369-506.

¹⁶⁸Whalen, *Dominion of God* (Kindle edition), pos. 526

¹⁶⁹ This position has been disputed by other scholars. Matthias Riedl (2017) has argued that there is hardly any evidence for texts calling for apocalyptic violence before the fifteenth century, since during most of the Middle-Ages apocalyptic beliefs relied mostly in God and doubted that humans could act have any influence in the coming of the end times (quietist determinism): Matthias Riedl, "Terrorism as 'Apocalyptic Violence': On the Meaning, and Validity of a New Analytical Category", in *Social Imaginaries* 3, no. 2 (2017): 77-107. Likewise, Robert Lerner suggests that ,edieval apocalyptic texts did not call for action. Robert Lerner: "Medieval Millenarianism and Violence", in *Pace e Guerra Nel Basso Medioevo*, (Spoleto: Fondazione Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 2004), 37-52.

¹⁷⁰ Robert Chazan, "Let not a Remnant or a Residue Escape: Millenarian Enthusiasm for the First Crusade", in *Speculum*, Vol. 84, No. 2 (2009): 289-313.

¹⁷¹ Philippe Buc, *Holy War, Martyrdom and Terror: Christianity, Violence and the West, ca. 70 C.E. to the Iraq War* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015), 70.

since, according to him, the election of Godfrey of Bouillon as protector of the Holy Sepulcher was influenced by the medieval legend of the Last World Emperor.¹⁷² The miracles that took place during the Crusade – such as the discovery of the Holy Lance in Antioch, or the help from the heavenly army during the battle of Antioch against Kerbogha of Mosul – were seen as indications that God was with the crusaders and that it was his will that the Latins captured Jerusalem¹⁷³.

The Second Crusade was different. The utter failure of the expedition to the Middle East led its chroniclers to find new explanations to understand of how a God-sanctioned expedition ended in such a humiliating defeat. *De profectione Ludovici* and *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi* approach miracles differently. While God is constantly present in the siege at Lisbon, miracles are rather scant in the account to the Middle East. This may be seen as a theological implicit interpretation of why God had not been with the crusaders. This statement implies two questions that need to be answered: how are God and miracles portrayed in the narrative sources of the Second Crusade, and what was the role that these authors gave the Second Crusade in the economy of salvation.

3.2 *God's presence in the Second Crusade*

3.2.1 *Miracles as approval of the crusade*

God was the primordial agent in the way in which human history developed in the sources of the Second Crusade. This is shown in two ways, either God is the motivation behind the events, or he manifests himself directly through miraculous deeds. *Quantum praedecessores* explicitly stated that “because of our own sins and those of the people, the city of Edessa... has been taken by the enemies of the cross of Christ, and many strongholds of the Christians have been seized by them”¹⁷⁴. This passage comes from a common Biblical

¹⁷²Jay Rubenstein, *Armies of Heaven: The First Crusade and the Quest for Apocalypse*, New York: Basic Books, 2011 293-304.

¹⁷³*Gesta Francorum et Aliorum Hierosolomitanoorum*, 78, 86.

¹⁷⁴Otto of Friesing, *The Deeds of Frederick Barbarossa*, 71.

trope: the sinfulness of individuals had direct impact in historical events. In the same way that Israel's disobedience had allowed for the destruction of Jerusalem by the Babylonians, through the sins of the Christians God had allowed Zenghi to capture Edessa in 1144. This does not mean that God had been the direct cause of it. Authors like William of Tyre build a moral case to explain the rise of Muslim power by blaming people like Count Joscelin of Edessa, the archbishop of the city, or Prince Raymond of Antioch¹⁷⁵, but the blaming on moral failings only reinforces the idea presented in *Quantum praedecessores*.

Miracles are the most direct way in which God manifests himself in Odo's and Raol's narratives. Miracle stories were a particular genre in the Middle Ages. They were written close to the moment when the alleged event had taken place and were used to explain current political situations or how events had happened in a certain manner¹⁷⁶. In this sense, miracles authenticated the moral and theological teaching that a historical narrative might want to convey¹⁷⁷. Since the Bible gave several instances in which God had manifested himself when his prophets performed supernatural feats, there was no problem for a medieval person in assuming the "real nature" of miracles¹⁷⁸. In Odo de Deuil's narrative, only seven passages are either explicitly miraculous or can be linked to God's will, while there are thirteen miracles in the *De expugnatione*¹⁷⁹. Counting the amount of episodes in which God is mentioned or implied to have participated brings back the categorization of crusading narratives mentioned by Lehtonen at the end of the previous chapter. It is possible to deduce that those narratives that were more relying in theological explanations (like Raol's account)

¹⁷⁵William of Tyre, *A History of the deeds done Beyond the Sea*, 141-143, 179-181.

¹⁷⁶Marcus Bull, "Views of Muslims and of Jerusalem in miracle stories, c. 1000-1200: reflections on the study of first crusaders' motivations in *The Experience of Crusading Vol. 1: Western Approaches*, Marcus Bull & Norman Housley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 27.

¹⁷⁷Beryl Smalley, *Historians in the Middle Ages*, New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1974, p. 27.

¹⁷⁸In the Classical and medieval tradition it was possible for a story to transmit larger truths and understanding even if the event narrated was not "factually true". The idea that events could be verisimilar instead of factually true played an important role in the complex tradition of medieval historiography. Verisimilitude could be used within a historical narrative as long as it made both narrative and rhetorical sense and as long as they transmitted a larger message: Jaime Borja, *Los indios medievales de Fray Pedro de Aguado: Construcción del idólatra y escritura de la historia en una crónica del siglo XVI* (Bogotá: Pontificia Universidad Javeriana, 2002), 59.

¹⁷⁹See Appendix B.

give a more prominent role to God than those that seem to be just descriptive, like *De profectione*; although this statement requires some reevaluation.

Miracles and saint-like figures indicate that the Second Crusade had divine approval. Saints play an important role in medieval historiography, since they served as exemplars for the living¹⁸⁰. Odo of Deuil tells the case of Alvisus, bishop of Arras, who died at Philopopolis on September 6 1147. The date plays an important role in the moral portrayal of the bishop, since not wanting to miss the celebration of the Virgin's birth and in his intention of dedicating his soul to her, he asked those present to sing the entire service to him. He was buried before the altar of the church of St. George and those who would sleep beneath the bier and above the grave would be healed from their fevers¹⁸¹. God healing some of the pilgrims through a saint evidences the idea that correct moral behavior was rewarded by God during the expedition.

Yet it is Bernard of Clairvaux the key figure that exemplifies how God was in favor of the crusade, at least at the moment it was launched. Odo of Deuil highlights that Bernard preached the crusade, motivated by the love of God and performed miracles:

“[Saint Bernard] mounted the platform [at Vézelay] accompanied by the King, who was wearing a cross; and when heaven's instrument poured forth the dew of the divine word, as he was wont, with loud outcry people on every side began to demand crosses... I refrain from describing the miracles which occurred there at that time, by reason of which it appeared that the undertaking had pleased the Lord...”¹⁸²

¹⁸⁰Smalley, *Historians in the Middle Ages*, 27-28.

¹⁸¹Odo of Deuil, *De profectione Ludovici VII in orientem*, 47.

¹⁸²Odo of Deuil, *De profectione Ludovici VII in orientem*, 9-11.

This characterization is confirmed by other sources, such as Otto of Freising and William of Tyre.¹⁸³

The lack of description of the miracles carried out by Bernard requires to check other sources, most importantly his *vita*. According to Geoffrey of Auxerre, the former abbot's secretary who started writing the life of the saint before Bernard's death in 1153¹⁸⁴, there was not a single day in which healings and miraculous events did not take place during the preaching tour. In fact, there was one particular day in which "more than twenty people were healed of various complaints". The Jesus *topos* plays an important role in this account, since in order to expose these healings the author makes a reference to Matthew 15: 30-31 when he says that "his (God's) servant caused those blind from their mother's womb to see, cripples to walk, the maimed to be healed, the deaf to hear, and the dumb to speak"¹⁸⁵. The use of this particular quote from the Gospels and the fact that multiple healings took place during the preaching of this unique event makes sense from the idea of *imitatio Christi*. The scene can be interpreted as the recreation of the passage in the Gospel of Matthew: in the same way that Christ's miracles led the people to "praise the God of Israel" (Matt. 15:31), so Bernard's healings are intentioned to lead the crusaders to answer the call of Jesus, typologically represented by the abbot of Clairvaux.

It is possible to argue that this streak of healings have more to do with Bernard's sainthood than with the crusade, but I believe that both elements are deeply linked. The *vita* seeks to whitewash Bernard's role in the preaching of the crusade by showing him as reluctant to accept this endeavor imposed to him by the pope¹⁸⁶. This contradicts what

¹⁸³William of Tyre, *A History of the Deeds done Beyond the Sea Vol. 2*, 164; Otto of Freising, *The Deeds of Frederic Barbarossa*, 76-78.

¹⁸⁴Hilary Costello, "Introduction", in *The First Life of St. Bernard of Clairvaux*, transl. Hillary Costello, (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2015), ix.

¹⁸⁵*The First Life of St. Bernard of Clairvaux*, 155-156.

¹⁸⁶The whitewashing of Bernard's image in relation to the Second Crusade has been highlighted by other authors. See: Kahl, "Crusade and Eschatology as seen by St. Bernard in the Years 1146-1148", 35; Maria Ruby Wagner: "The Impact of the Second Crusade on the Angelology and Eschatology of Saint Bernard of Clairvaux", *Journal of Religious Studies* 37, no. 1 (September 2013): 322-340.

Bernard wrote about the crusade in his various letters. Since miracles would seem to go against the agenda of the author, they serve a narrative purpose in the depiction of the tour carried out by the saint. Furthermore, the *vita* explains why the Crusade failed, and it has little to do with Bernard's preaching or with God's rejection of the armed pilgrimage to the Holy Land¹⁸⁷.

3.2.2: *Miracles and help*

God's active help in the expedition and the battlefield were further evidence that the Second Crusade was in principle pleasant to the Almighty. Because the crusades were fought in the name of God, His judgement was key to understand why one side had been victorious over the other,¹⁸⁸ and supernatural phenomena is shown in the sources as the way in which God ponders the crusaders' and their enemies' behavior. Christoph Maier has emphasized that the crusades were modeled on feudal imagery. As the Lord of the earth, all Christians owed service in war to God whenever he was attacked and in exchange, God granted them indulgence and forgiveness¹⁸⁹. From this point of view, it could also be argued that the crusaders expected God to fight alongside them, as a feudal lord was expected to fight with his vassals, through supernatural help. Miracles play this role in the narratives and sometimes they are presented in a biblical fashion. In Raol's and Odo's accounts, God is constantly trying to help the crusaders in the fight with the Muslims and Greeks, which reflects divine favor. However, the sinfulness of the Christians tend to undermine the Almighty's aid.

In *De profectone*, God aided the crusaders in two ways. First, He manipulated the weather and removed obstacles so the Franks maneuver easily. While maneuvering in Asia

¹⁸⁷The author compares St. Bernard to Moses as the guide of the crusade, and blames the crusaders of complaining and sinning as the Israelites had done in the desert. The crusade failed because of the sins of the crusaders. Furthermore, the *vita* claims that the Bernard's ability to do miracles after the Second Crusade shows that he had been absolved by God: *The First Life of St. Bernard of Clairvaux*, 156-158.

¹⁸⁸H.E.J. Cowdrey, "Christianity and the morality of warfare during the first century of crusading", in *The Experience of Crusading Vol. 1: Western Approaches*, ed. Marcus Bull and Norman Housley (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2003), 175.

¹⁸⁹Maier, *Crusade propaganda and Ideology: Model Sermons for the Preaching of the Cross*, 57.

Minor, it happened that: “to the amazement of the natives, we had crossed three rivers with ease, and that immediately after we crossed each had been flooded with rain. Therefore it was considered miraculous that, contrary to the ordinary course of events, the rains and the winter spared us.”¹⁹⁰ The story brings to mind the Israelites crossing of the Red Sea, implying that God was protecting the crusaders from their enemies in the same way that he had done it with His people against the Egyptians. This was common, besides the Maccabean image the struggles of the people of Israel, both escaping from Egypt and going into the Promised Land, was common in narratives and sermons¹⁹¹. Later, he says that after a battle with the Turks: “...by divine agency we advanced (for by the will of God the weather thereafter was not unpleasantly or cloudy and rainy until we reached Adalia)...”¹⁹²

Another way in which God helped the Franks was through His host of chivalric saints. The popularity of the chivalric saint evidences the prominence of the militant crusader ideology during the twelfth century. The cult of military saints was already popular before the crusades; however, the warrior saints became recurrent in iconography and the veneration of chivalric saints such as Saint George skyrocketed both in the Catholic and in the Orthodox world.¹⁹³ Chivalric saints were common since the First Crusade¹⁹⁴. In the Second Crusade, Odo of Deuil mentions how in one of the battles fought against the Turks: “there were people who said that they had seen ahead of us at the ford a certain white-clad knight, whom they had not seen before or since, and that he had struck the first blows in the battle”¹⁹⁵. Other sources from the period, like William of Tyre, also use the white-clad knight motif to portray

¹⁹⁰Odo of Deuil, *De profectione Ludovici VII in orientem*, 107.

¹⁹¹Maier, *Crusade propaganda and Ideology: Model Sermons for the Preaching of the Cross*, 55.

¹⁹²Odo of Deuil, *De profectione Ludovici VII in orientem*, 109.

¹⁹³Gábor Klaniczay, *Holy Ruler and Blessed Princess: Dynastic Cult in Medieval Central Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 184.

¹⁹⁴Beth Spacey has pointed out the parallels between the image of the celestial knight in the narratives of the First Crusade with later crusader accounts, like Odo’s *De profectione* and the *Historia de Expeditione Friderici Imperatoris*. Beth Spacey, “The Celestial Knight: Evoking the First Crusade in Odo of Deuil’s *De profectione Ludovici VII in Orientem* and in the Anonymous *Historia de Expeditione Friderici Imperatoris*”, in *Essays in Medieval Studies* 31 (2015): 65-82.

¹⁹⁵Odo of Deuil, *De profectione Ludovici VII in orientem*, 113.

divine assistance¹⁹⁶. The image of the white knight became constant in later crusader scenarios, being one of the most prominent that of Santiago *matamoros* (moor-killer) in Spain in thirteen century narrative, in which he is shown in similar fashion fighting for the Christians against the Moors¹⁹⁷.

3.2.3 Divine punishment

God is also shown punishing the enemies of the crusaders. Raol tells that once Lisbon was captured, a plague struck the Muslims. Although he does not mentions explicitly that God sent it, he states that the former inhabitants of the city turned to the Virgin Mary asking for deliverance. He concludes that “the prophecy of Isiah is happily being fulfilled in us in which it is said ‘and the bridle of error that was in the jaws of the people was turned into the song of a solemnity that was kept’ (Isaiah 30: 28-29, the passage it is a rewording of both verses)”¹⁹⁸. The fulfilment of prophecy is a clear indication that for the author the hand of God was behind these events. Likewise, Odo de Deuil tells how God punished the Greeks of the city of Adalia for their treachery with “sudden death that many houses there remained empty, and the living, stunned and fearful, planned to leave it altogether”¹⁹⁹.

This passage is mentioned right after Odo compares the Turks’ humanly behavior to the defeated Franks and the cruelty of the Greeks against the crusaders that were captured by them²⁰⁰. Although the defeat of the Turks was the goal of the Second Crusade, God is never shown attacking them directly. Instead, this plague against the population of Adalia would

¹⁹⁶A *History of the Deeds Done Beyond the Sea Vol.2*, 156. During an expedition against a Muslim city, William claims that a white-clad knight helped to guide the crusaders to water.

¹⁹⁷For different visions of Santiago as a white-clad knight during the Spanish Reconquista in the thirteenth century, see *Liber Sancti Iacobi: “Codex Calixtinus”, Book IV*, trans. Moralejo, Torres & Feo (Santiago de Compostela: Xunta de Galicia, 2001),68-69.; *Codex Calixtinus Book II*. S.N. S.A. Recovered from: <https://codexcalixtinus.es/codice-calixtino-libro-ii-traduccion/>; *Historia Silense*, trans. M. Gómez-Moreno (Madrid: Estudio Tipográfico Sucesores de Riva de Neyra, 1921),cxxiii; Lucas Obispo de Tuy, *Crónica de España*, trans. by Julio Puyol (Madrid: Rev. De Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos, 1926), 291; and *Primera Crónica General de España: O sea Historia de España que mandó componer Alfonso el Sabio y se continuaba bajo Sancho IV en 1289*, pub. Ramón Menéndez Vidal, dir. Marcelino Menéndez Pelayo (Madrid, Baylly/Bailliéree hijos Editores, 1906),306.

¹⁹⁸*De expugnatione Lyxbonensi*, 183.

¹⁹⁹Odo of Deuil, *De profectione Ludovici VII in orientem*, 141.

²⁰⁰ See chapter 1 footnote 86.

confirm that in *De profectione* the real enemies of the Catholics were the “false Christians”, embodied in the Byzantines, and not the Infidels. Schulster has suggested that this passage, in which the Turks are portrayed positively in comparison to the punishment of the Greeks, is an indication that Odo was captured by the Muslims and that he relinquished his faith temporarily²⁰¹. However, it seems more likely that this is a rhetorical tool to amplify the perfidy of the Byzantines.

The rest of the occasions in which God appears, He is shown admonishing punishment or chastising the crusaders. A particular event serves as the best example of divine punishment against the Christians during the Second Crusade. On September 7 1148, Conrad III's force camped near the River Melas, west of Constantinople. The following day a storm broke out that raised the level of the water from the river, flooding the plain where the army was stationed and dealing a considerable blow to the ranks of the German crusaders²⁰². In Odo of Deuil's account, this passage is narrated right after he exposed how the Teutonic crusaders killed those drunkards that were lagging behind the army and how their behavior had affected the way in which the Greeks greeted the Franks. The implication seems to be clear; the flood was righteous punishment for their plundering, violence and drunkenness²⁰³. This episode is remarkable since it is recorded by other twelfth century sources. Otto of Freising, who famously did not want to give an account of what happened in the expedition, makes an exception to mention the flood, which he also claims was the result of divine judgement²⁰⁴.

Hemold of Bosau stated in his *Cronica Slavorum* that a divine signal had admonished the flood. The day before a fog covered the army and when it lifted, the tents were covered in

²⁰¹Schulster, “The Strange Pilgrimage of Odo of Deuil”, 269.

²⁰²Phillips, *The Second Crusade*, 172-173.

²⁰³Odo of Deuil, *De profectione Ludovici VII in orientem*, 47-49.

²⁰⁴Otto of Freising, *The Deeds of Frederick Barbarossa*, 81.

drops of blood; this was a sign of the disaster to come²⁰⁵. These premonitions for disaster also take place in other narratives. William of Tyre claims that on the 6 of January 1147, a thunder sent by the Almighty struck the Church of the Holy Sepulcher and the people interpreted it as a portent of misfortune²⁰⁶. It is never made clear to which misfortune he talks about, but considering the dates it would make sense to claim that he refers to the disastrous expedition of 1146-1149. Odo de Deuil says that when the Greeks told the Franks that the Germans defeated the Turks and took Iconium, a miracle happened because that day “half of the Sun gave light to the world and the other half hid itself”. This represents the loss of half of the Crusader army, since the Germans had in fact been defeated in Asia Minor²⁰⁷.

God had been present to help the crusaders in several stages, but He had also been a prominent character in the defeat of the expedition by punishing the Christians. The defeats at the hands of the Turks, the setbacks before the walls of Damascus and the overall failure of the Crusade were adjudicated to God’s inscrutable judgement on the sins of those who had behaved in an unworthy manner during this most holy pilgrimage²⁰⁸.

3.2.4 God and victory: The case of Lisbon

De expugnatione Lyxbonensi shows God’s judgement in a more positive way. The text tells us the most about supernatural interventions in the cycle of sin and repentance that characterizes Raol’s account. God is present from the very beginning when the boats in which the crusaders were traveling were caught in unfavorable weather and those on board feared that they would sink. The crusaders recognized their sins and confessed with tears in

²⁰⁵Hemold of Bosau, *Cronica Slavorum*, 173. Considering that Hemold was writing some twenty years after the expedition is possible that he was referencing other sources, probably the Bible. In Scripture, blood serves as a witness to murder and violence in several passages like the murder of Abel, human violence before the flood or Proverbs 6:16 which states that God hates the hand that shed innocent blood. It might also be related to Ezekiel 35:6 in which God declares that he will deliver into bloodshed those who have loved bloodshed himself, since Hemold judges that the misfortunes of the crusaders were the result of God’s judgement because of their known sins.

²⁰⁶William of Tyre, *A History of the Deeds done Beyond the Sea Vol. 2*, 162.

²⁰⁷Odo de Deuil, *De profectione Ludovici in orientem*, 83.

²⁰⁸Hemold of Bosau, *Chronica Slavorum*, 174; William of Tyre, *A History of the Deeds Done Beyond the Sea Vol.2*, 171-172, 190, 195.

their eyes to the extent that “everyone congratulated himself upon receiving the singular privilege of a heavenly favor”. Raol claims that the miracles that took place at the boat were too many to be numbered, but the most important conclusion was that through divine mercy they made it safely to land²⁰⁹. The shipwreck topic is common in medieval miracle stories, since they served to show how a saint might help pilgrims in places beyond their cult sites²¹⁰. Although the *De expugnatione* mentions that it was God who helped them and not a saint, this episode serves as a sign of how He was to help the crusaders when going into the lands of the infidels, where his cult was not being kept. In addition, considering the idea of the overcoming of sin and doubt, the story could be familiar to the reader from a typological point of view such as the stories of Jonah and Saint Peter.

Once in Spain, God manifests himself constantly during conflict with the Moors. The arches of a bridge that could not be seen two years before the expedition serve as a prophecy for the coming of the Christians to liberate the Peninsula and a heavenly battle between dark and white clouds, in which the latter are victorious, are a premonition of divine favor. During the first skirmish of the siege, the crusaders were outnumbered and yet they were victorious which, for Raol, was a miracle. Whenever the crusaders find supplies for the army the author argues that it was done through the grace of God and before one of the battle the Eucharist turned to blood and flesh. Even Satan plays a role because once the siege was over he attempted to sow discord among the Christians had not been for “the breath of the Holy Spirit, as it were, repelling the chill of a misty cloud by a certain gleam of a noonday sun, reestablished the grateful bond of a returning concord”²¹¹.

How can we explain the differences between God’s portrayal in the *De expugnatione* and *De profectioe*? The outcome of the expedition is key. God’s miracles reinforce the moral portrayal of the Crusaders: He is more clearly present for those who fight the crusade

²⁰⁹*De expugnatione Lyxbonensi*, 61.

²¹⁰Bull, “Views of Muslims and of Jerusalem in miracle stories”, 33-34.

²¹¹*De expugnatione Lyxbonensi*, 65, 89, 129, 133, 135, 167, 179.

with the right intentions. That is why *De profectione* has a small amount of positive supernatural events in comparison to the *De expugnatione*: this is the reflection of a theological explanation of the Second Crusade. Lehtonen's characterization of crusader narratives is useful, but also deceiving²¹². We can divide the sources of the expedition of 1146 according to the role how explicit the theology is portrayed, not in its scope or in the fact that it is or it is not there. Just because Odo of Deuil's narrative seem more descriptive than explanatory does not mean that there is not a theological consideration about what happened during the Second Crusade in comparison to Raol's account.

3.3 What just happened? The theological explanation of failure

Odo of Deuil knew the narratives of the First Crusade. King Louis' chaplain prepared himself for the expedition by studying the stories about the fall of Jerusalem in 1099, most probably the *Gesta Francorum* and Raymond of Aguiler's text, which would have been present in the library collection at St. Denis²¹³. What did Odo think about his own experience in the Middle East when he compared them to the victories and the miraculous events that had taken place some fifty years before? The lack of divine help in decisive moments could be seen as a sad comparison with the First Crusade: God had been with the crusaders back then, but now it is clear that he was not²¹⁴.

3.3.1 Theology and the preaching of the Second Crusade

A good starting point might be to see how those who preached the crusade, pope Eugenius III and Bernard of Clairvaux, understood it. *Quantum praedecessores* begins the call for the Crusade by recalling how those who participated in the First Crusade:

²¹² See chapter 2 footnote 164.

²¹³ Phillips, "Odo of Deuil's *De profectione* as a source for the Second Crusade", 83-84.

²¹⁴ Both Philippe Buc (2017) and Giles Constable (1953) have addressed how contemporaries saw the defeat of the crusaders in the East. They have focused on sources different from the narrative sources used in this study. Among their conclusions is that many saw the defeat of the Second Crusade as the result of the sins of the crusaders, divine disapproval with the expedition, a diabolical plot to cheat the Christians, among others. See Philippe Buc, "Crusade and Eschatology: Holy War fostered and inhibited", in *MIOG*, Vol. 125, No. 1, 2017, p. 304-339; Giles Constable, "The Second Crusade as seen by Contemporaries", *Traditio* 9 (1953): 213-279.

[n]ot without great shedding of their own blood, and accompanied by divine aid, freed from the defilement of the heathens that city in which our Savior willed to suffer... These (the cities conquered by the First Crusade), by the grace of God and the zeal of your fathers who in the intervening years have striven mightily to defend them and to spread abroad the name of Christ in those parts, have been held by Christians down to our times; and other cities of the infidels have [also] been courageously stormed by them.

It is clear that the Second Crusade was called using the memory of the fall of Jerusalem of 1099. This is not surprising since the stories and images of the First Crusade were very popular during the first half of the twelfth century²¹⁵. The pope's intension is to remember the future pilgrims that God had rewarded the sacrifices of the Crusaders fifty years ago, and to shame them into not defending the territories won by the First Crusade.

It was Bernard of Clairvaux who established the theological meaning of the Second Crusade. In his letters, two central topics show how the abbot understood what the Second Crusade was about: the remission of sins and the end of times. For him, as for Pope Eugenius III, the fall of Edessa and the growing menace of Islam for the Latin states were the result of the sins of all Christians. Yet this was an opportunity to redeem themselves, because although God could smite down the infidels with his infinite power, all the faithful should:

consider with what care he plans our salvation and be amazed. Look, sinners, at the depths of his pity and take courage. He does not want your death but rather that you should turn to him and live. So he seeks not to overthrow you but help you... God is good, and where he intends on your punishment he would not have asked of you this present service or indeed have accepted it even had you offered it. Again I say consider the Almighty's goodness and pay heed to his plan of mercy²¹⁶.

Zenghi's siege of 1145 had been a catastrophe, but it also was a valuable opportunity for all the faithful to look for the salvation of their souls. Instead of mourning, the followers of Christ should rejoice at how generous is God to his people by allowing them to redeem

²¹⁵Phillips, *The Second Crusade*, ch. 2.

²¹⁶*The Letters of St. Bernard of Clairvaux*, transl. Bruno Scott James (Chicago: Henry Regnery Company, 1953), 461.

themselves through the pilgrimage to the Holy Land²¹⁷, for according to him this was the day of abundant salvation²¹⁸. This message is constantly repeated in letters to the English people, to the faithful of Germany and to the nobles of Bohemia. The excitement about this chance at salvation helps to see how the account recorded on his *vita*²¹⁹ is most probably an attempt of whitewashing his image in light of what happened during the expedition. His reluctance to preach is simply not present in his letters. True, he did forbid the members of his community to participate in the Crusade²²⁰, but it is clear that for the saint this was an unparalleled opportunity for the laity.

Yet Saint Bernard's *vita* is attempting to change the way in which the abbot saw the Second Crusade because of his eschatological expectations regarding the expedition. Eschatological ideas triggered his preaching²²¹ was central in his preaching. Kristin Skottki has argued that the abbot was interested both in the passage in Micah 4:1-5 about the nations' pilgrimage to Zion,²²² and Hans-Dietrich Kahl has exposed the role of the legend of the Last World Emperor in Bernard's preaching²²³. His letters evidence this. In his *epistola* to the faithful in Northern Germany, Bernard made a direct call to: "utterly forbid for any reason whatsoever a truce should be made with these peoples, either for the sake of money or for the sake of tribute, until such time as, by God's help, they shall be either converted or wiped

²¹⁷ Anne Bysted has argued that this argument proved key in the future interpretation of crusader indulgences, since it solved the problem posed by the apparent ability of humanity being able to save itself by going on these expeditions. Bernard's reasoning was that forgiveness and salvation was coming from God, since he was the one creating the situation for the crusade and the one summoning the faithful to fight for him. Ane Bysted, "The True Year of Jubilee: Bernard of Clairvaux on Crusades and Indulgences", in *The Second Crusade: Holy War on the Periphery of Latin Christendom*, ed. Jason Roche and Janus Moller Jensen (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2015), 45.

²¹⁸ *The Letters of St. Bernard of Clairvaux*, 461.

²¹⁹ See footnote 188 in this chapter.

²²⁰ *The Letters of St. Bernard of Clairvaux*, 468-469.

²²¹ Wagner: "The Impact of the Second Crusade on the Angelology and Eschatology of Saint Bernard of Clairvaux", 328.

²²² Skottki, "'Until the Full Number of the Gentiles has come in', 259. In the rest of her paper she mentions several other points that would lead to this eschatological idea: the new knighthood, the fulfilment of Old Testament types and prophecies and the justification for violence.

²²³ Kahl, "Crusade and Eschatology as Seen by St. Bernard of Clairvaux in the Years 1146 to 1148" 35-48. Among the reasons offered by Kahl are the radical call to exterminate the heathens of the north and the belief that the Last World Emperor's name would begin with a "C", this could have been Conrad III.

out”²²⁴. The call to utter conversion or destruction evidence of the abbot’s eschatological thinking, since it went against both theology and cannon law²²⁵. The call to embrace the cross or die seems to back up Buc’s statement that the last age of the Church was thought of being inhabited by the most dangerous kind of enemies, which called for radical measures²²⁶.

Bernard thought that the final conversion of all peoples was at hand since in the letter to all the faithful he mentions how Satan started to mobilize the enemies of Christianity because he:

is losing many of those whom he held bound by various crimes and enormities. Abandoned men are now being converted, turning aside from evil, and making ready to do good. But the evil one feared far more the damage he would incur from the conversion of the pagans, when he heard that their tale was to be completed, and the whole of Israel was to find salvation²²⁷.

Mentioning Israel’s salvation is fundamental. In in his letter to the archbishop of Mainz he condemns the teachings of a particular monk who was calling for pogroms in Germany by quoting Romans 11:25, which states the conversion of all the Gentiles and the salvation of Israel through their acceptance of Christ²²⁸. Bernard was pushing for the radical conversion of the gentiles in Northern Europe and he was forbidding the killing of Jews because both were necessary for the fulfilment of the Pauline prophecy about the end times.

3.3.2 The explanations in the narratives

How are the Bernardine ideas of forgiveness of sin and the final days portrayed in our main narrative sources? The first idea is the easiest one to recognize. Odo and Raol agree that the crusade and the fight against the infidel are valid ways in which forgiveness and salvation can be achieved. When Christians die in battle, the sources applause their deaths as examples of sacrifice and martyrdom. Odo of Deuil praises and laments the death of both German and

²²⁴St. Bernard of Clairvaux’s Letters, 467.

²²⁵Kahl, “Crusade and Eschatology as Seen by St. Bernard of Clairvaux in the Years 1146 to 1148”, 38.

²²⁶Buc, “Crusade and Eschatology: Holy War fostered and inhibited”, 336.

²²⁷The Letters of St. Bernard of Clairvaux, 467.

²²⁸The Letters of St. Bernard of Clairvaux, 466.

French crusaders at the hands of the Turks²²⁹, and Raol tells us how two churches were built on the places where the crusaders were buried²³⁰. However, the greatest proponent of this position is Otto of Freising. He did not want to write about the events of the Second Crusade, yet in chapter LXV of the first book of *The Deeds of Frederick Barbarossa* he offers his own interpretation of what had happened in the East. For Otto, the Second Crusade was a relative good. Things that are called “relatively good”, different from those that are “absolutely good” are those that prove to the usefulness for only a particular group people. Hence, the crusade had been good because

although it was not good for the enlargement of boundaries or for the advantage of bodies, it was good for the salvation of many souls, on condition however, that you interpret the word “good” not as an endowment of nature but always in the sense of useful... And yet if we should say that the holy abbot (Bernard of Clairvaux) was inspired by the Spirit of God to arouse us; but that we, by reason of our pride and arrogance not observing the salutary commandments, have deservedly suffered loss of property and persons... ²³¹.

This statement is important because it establishes that the crusade served a clear purpose and is the salvation of many souls; from that position it was “useful” within God’s plan for humanity. He seems to imply that those who died are the one who the ones who found salvation, since the defeat had come because of the survivor’s sinfulness. For Otto of Freising the crusade had indeed been summoned by God and it had counted with his approval, at least in the beginning; that’s why he claims that it had been the Holy Spirit which had called St. Bernard to preach it.

The Bernardine eschatological expectation is more difficult to discover in the narrative sources. For the abbot, eschatology had played a key fact in the taking of the cross in 1146, yet none of the narrative sources claim that the end of time was near at the time of the Second Crusade. Odo’s interpretation is very different from that of Raol’s. *De profectone* is not capable of exposing an explicit reason for the whole expedition as Otto of

²²⁹Odo of Deuil, *De profectone Ludovici VII in orientem*, 119.

²³⁰*De expugnatione Lyxbonensi*, 133.

²³¹Otto of Freising, *The Deeds of Frederick Barbarossa*, 106.

Friesing did. Odo seems to see the Second Crusade as an inconclusive fight, he expected for following expeditions to follow soon, if not as soon as the news of their defeat had reached Europe. He gives advice to those who would surely follow the crusaders in future and apparently immediate crusades: rely on experts like the Templars, avoid taking poor people and a large train of baggage, take particular routes, among others²³². For Odo, the Second Crusade could be seen like the first round in a larger battle, for he claims that there will always be pilgrims bound to the Holy Sepulcher that could use the advice that he is giving (this implies that he is keeping in mind crusades and not normal pilgrimages) and most importantly that:

[b]oth nations will always have something to bewail if the sons of these men do not avenge their parents' death. To us who suffered the Greeks' evil deeds, however, divine justice, and the fact that our people are not accustomed to endure shameful injuries for long, give hope of vengeance. Thus we comfort out sad hearts, and we follow the course of our misfortunes so that posterity may know of the Greeks' treacherous actions²³³.

However, it seems clear that Odo had expected more from the Second Crusade. His knowledge of the narratives of 1099, the lack of supernatural events and the general disappointment present at the end of the *De profectione* point in this direction²³⁴.

De expugnatione Lyxbonensi offers a different approach to the Second Crusade. At the end of his account, when Raol narrates how the Muslims had been stricken with the plague, he describes how their hearts turned to the Virgin Mary in their quest for relief and the fulfilment of the Isaiah prophecy. He does not make any clear statement whether the Moors actually converted or if they were healed, but his pity for them and his final prayer points to the fact that he expected conversions to take place soon²³⁵. This evidence of

²³²Odo of Deuil, *De profectione Ludovici VII in orientem*, 95, 117, 123.

²³³Odo of Deuil, *De profectione Ludovici VII in orientem*, 99.

²³⁴Rudi Linder has further argued that although it seems that for King Louis the act of crusading was a sufficient reward in itself; Odo clearly had expectations of triumph in the East: Linder, "Odo of Deuil's *The Journey of Louis VII to the East*", 169, 172.

²³⁵ Jonathan Wilson has also argued this position: Wilson, "Enigma of the *De Expugnatione Lyxbonensi*", 112; *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi*, 181-185.

Christianity advancing in the peninsula leads the author to testify that it had been God through his servants who had captured the city and struck down the sinners with vengeance. The siege of Lisbon had been a clear evidence of God's plan in action. The righteous way in which the crusaders had fought and their successful overcoming of sin and temptation, just as the Israelites had done when they had conquered the Holy Land, had led God to keep his side of the bargain when the pilgrims took the cross. As it had happened in Jerusalem in 1099, those who had fought in Lisbon had seen the history of salvation moving forward²³⁶, even if it was just a little bit²³⁷.

The key issue lies in this comparison with the First Crusade. The example of 1099 was present during the Second Crusade in the way that it was called for in *Quantum praedecessores*, the preaching to the pilgrims-to-be, and the way in which Odo of Deuil and Raol recorded the events that they witnessed. Raol had a clearer and more positive notion of what the Second Crusade had been about because it had lived to the expectations of what a pilgrimage of this magnitude was supposed to be; all the elements were there: temptation, redemption, miracles and final victory. Jonathan Wilson has called *De expugnatione* as an *exempla* for the Portuguese on how to defeat the Muslims with the help of the crusaders, but I think it goes farther than that²³⁸. Raol's narrative was a moral *exempla* of how and why a crusade was successful.

By comparison, Odo de Deuil could only compare the crusade with the passage in II Corinthians 11:26²³⁹ and hope that in future immediate crusades would make right all the wrongs that had taken. Linder has correctly described the *De projectione* as a transition

²³⁶Uri Shachar has argued that the image of the heavenly Jerusalem was re-symbolized as a physical and tangible place in an eschatological way in crusader literature. If such is the case, it is possible to argue that the passage in the sermon of Porto where the image of Jerusalem is used ambiguously to refer to both the earthly and celestial conveyed a large message about the way in which history was advancing towards its end with the siege of Lisbon: Uri Sachar, "Visual Hermeneutics of Sacred Space in Jewish and Christian Crusade Literature, in *The Uses of the Bible in Crusader Sources*, ed. Elizabeth Lapina & Nicholas Morton (Leiden, Brill, 2017), 47-48.

²³⁷*De expugnatione Lyxbonensi*, 183-185.

²³⁸Wilson, "Enigma of the *De Expugnatione Lyxbonensi*", 111.

²³⁹Odo of Deuil, *De projectione Ludovici VII in orientem*, 133.

narrative about the failure of crusading in comparison to Joinville's *Life of Saint Lois*²⁴⁰. Nevertheless, it went beyond that. The Second Crusade was a transitory moment in the history of the crusades. On the hand, the theology proposed in texts like *Quantum praedecessores* and Saint Bernard's writings show a growing institutionalization of the crusade idea. On the other one, the fact that it was the first great failure puzzled Odo of Deuil. Otto of Freising, who participated in the expedition to the east, could come with a sound reason for the Second Crusade, but he was writing twenty years after the events.

The Second Crusade offered a great opportunity of redemption for many. Memories of the First Crusade and the biblical typologies that had risen through its extraordinary capture of Jerusalem in 1099 seemed to promise that a repetition of these events would take place in the mid-twelfth century. Yet the utter failure caught many by surprise and even tested the faith and confidence in this type of expeditions as a worthy way to find salvation. The disappointment that failure had brought in comparison to 1099 cooled down militant fervor and confidence in this type of armed pilgrimage. Only the great disaster of 1187 would be able to revive the collective zeal that had led thousands to risk their lives in a long journey to the other side of the Mediterranean, looking for salvation.

²⁴⁰Linder, "Odo of Deuil's *The Journey of Louis VII to the East*", 165-176.

Conclusion

Around 1180, William of Tyre wrote that after the Second Crusade “fewer people, and those less fervent in spirit, undertook this pilgrimage [the crusade] thereafter”²⁴¹. The aftermath of the Second Crusade saw the continuous weakening of the Latin Kingdoms in the Levant. Damascus was captured by Nur ad-Din, Zenghi’s son, in 1154 and a series of failed Frankish adventures into Egypt paved the way for it to be captured by one of Nur ad-Din’s generals, a Kurd named Shirkuh, in 1169. By 1171 the Fatimid caliph of Egypt had died and Shirkuh’s nephew, the famous Saladin (Shirkuh had died in 1169 after taking control of Egypt), became sultan of the land of the Nile. Harassed by political instability, financial hardships and the enclosing of the Muslim siege, the Kingdom of Jerusalem was in a dire position. Emissaries were sent to the West begging for help, to little effect. The long shadow of the failure of 1148 in front of Damascus dissuaded many to go to the aid of Outremer. Only after the annihilation of the Jerusalem army at the Horns of Hattin on July 4, 1187 and the surrender of the Holy City on October 2 did the Catholic world awake from its 40-year crusading lethargy. The news were indeed shocking since apparently Urban III died when he was told about the catastrophe²⁴².

Christopher Tyerman has argued that there were no proper crusades in the twelfth century. According to him, Eugenius III called the Second Crusade in 1145 under the parameters and memories of the First Crusade, with no clear intention of creating a new ecclesiastical institution or movement. It is only during the papacy of Innocent III and later that a clear framework that differentiated the crusades from other pious activities appeared. However, the transformative experience of the crusade due to its perils and hazards implied

²⁴¹William of Tyre, *A History of the Deeds done Beyond the Sea* Vol. 2, 193.

²⁴²Tyerman, *Las Guerras de Dios*, 433-474.

that it was something new, which could not be understood by previous theological reasoning; the fact that for authors like Odo of Deuil was difficult to explain the failure of 1149 point in this direction²⁴³. The conclusion reached by this thesis follows this line of argumentation. The confusion as to why the Second Crusade had been defeated shows that there was still not a fully developed theology around the crusader movement.

As we have seen, the *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi* and the *De profectione Ludovici in orientem* have several key differences in their interpretations of the Second Crusade. The message of the capacity of the crusaders to overcome their sinful impulses, the use of typological framework to portray the expedition and the theological explanation for the result of both endeavors show how Odo and Raol had expected that the expeditions of 1146 would end in victory. The fact that the siege of Lisbon was successful and the campaign in the Middle East was not is the key factor to understand these differences, as long as we consider that the Second Crusade was being judged under the prism of 1099. From this perspective, is possible to argue that the Second Crusade was a transitory moment in the history of these expeditions, while a more sound theology for it was being established. Yet this can only be a temporary conclusion that needs to be complemented by carrying out a similar type of analysis (virtues and vices, the uses of the Bible and the theological explanation) in later narratives of the armed pilgrimages that followed the one of 1146-1149.

This thesis raises further questions of research. Due to limitation of space, the thesis did not exhaust the topic of the use of the Bible in these narratives. Apart from the Bible, the use of Classical typology and references is another interesting issue in these texts. Odo of Deuil and *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi* refer to Classical authors and early Christian writers.

²⁴³Christopher Tyerman, "Were there any Crusades in the Twelfth-Century?", in *The Crusades: The Essential Readings*, ed. Thomas Madden (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2002), 99-125.

Odo quotes the Aeneid when describing the Greeks²⁴⁴ while Raol claims that the crusaders saw sirens in their way to Spain²⁴⁵. The use of patristic authors, such as Isidore of Seville and Augustine of Hippo during the sermon at Porto shows how Raol understood the legal case for the justice of the crusade. The legal construction for the Second Crusade is a topic that has only been hinted at in this thesis, yet it would be fruitful to compare how other chroniclers used these authors to justify the expedition of 1146 and those that took place after it.

In 2011 crusader scholar Thomas Madden gave a lecture at the Augustine Institute in Greenwood Village, Colorado²⁴⁶. He stated that the events of September 11 2001 had rekindled the interest in the Crusades. Philippe Buc's 2015 book has proved the validity of this claim and has highlighted the relevance of studying religious violence both in past and present societies²⁴⁷. The growing presence of rhetoric about God-driven warfare, both in armed groups and mass media, calls for more studies about this phenomenon from a historical perspective. For a secular westerner, groups like ISIS, Al-Qaeda or Christian Identity might seem as irrational actors driven by fanatic ideas; the way in which these groups are portrayed in the news reinforce this stereotype. However, studying more carefully how past societies understood divinely-sanctioned war can shed light on the motivations, commonalities and exceptionalities of contemporary religious violence and, potentially, to more constructive ways about how to deal with these groups today.

²⁴⁴Odo of Deuil, *De projectione Ludovici VII in orientem*, 27.

²⁴⁵*De expugnatione Lyxbonensi*, 61.

²⁴⁶The conference can be seen at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pFt1ZRVqNOE>

²⁴⁷Buc, *Holy War, Martyrdom, and Terror: Christianity, Violence and the West*.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

Bernard of Clairvaux. *De laude novae militiae*, edited by Robert Kethelholn (2005).

Accessed from: <http://www.deltacomweb.it/templari/bernardus-claraevallensis.de-laude-novae-militiae.pdf>

De expugnatione Lyxbonensi. Tr. Charles Wendell David. New York: Columbia University Press, 1936.

Gesta Francorum et Aliorum Hierosolomitanorum. Tr. Nirmal Dass. Maryland: Rowmann & Littlefield, 2011.

Hemold of Bosau. *Cronica Slavorum*. Tr. Francis Joseph Tschan. New York: Octagon Books, 1966.

Nicolaus von Jeroschin. *The Chronicle of Prussia*. Tr. Mary Fischer. Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Group, 2010.

Odo of Deuil. *De profectione Ludovici VII in orientem*. Tr. Virginia Berry. New York: Columbia University Press, 1948.

Otto of Freising. *The Deeds of Frederick Barbarossa*. Tr. Charles Mierow. New York: Columbia University Press, 1953.

Otto of Freising, *The Two Cities*. Tr. Charles Mierow. New York: Columbia University Press, 1966.

Pierre des Vaux-de-Cernay. *Historia Albigensis*. Tr. W. A. Silby and M. D, Silby. Rochester, NY: The Boydell Press, 1998.

The First Life of St. Bernard of Clairvaux. Tr. Hillary Costello. Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2015.

William of Tyre. *A History of the Deeds Done Beyond the Sea Vol. 2*. Tr. Emily Babcock and A. C. Krey. New York: Columbia University Press, 1943.

Secondary Literature

Allen, Michael I. "Universal History 300-1000: Origins and Western Developments". In *Historiography in the Middle Ages*, Edited by Mauskopf Deliyannis, 17-42. Leiden: Brill, 2003.

Auerbach, Eric. *Mimesis: The Representation of Reality in Western Literature*. New Jersey, Princeton University Press, 2013.

Biller, Peter. "Confession in the Middle Ages: Introduction". In *Handling Sin: Confession in the Middle Ages*, edited by Peter Biller and A. J. Minnis, 1-34. York: York Medieval Press, 1998.

Borja, Jaime. *Los indios medievales de Fray Pedro de Aguado: Construcción del idólatra y escritura de la historia en una crónica del siglo XVI*. Bogotá: Pontificia Universidad Javeriana, 2002.

Bull, Marcus. "The Roots of Lay Enthusiasm for the First Crusade", In *The Crusades: The Essential Readings*, edited by Thomas Madden, 172-193. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.

——— "Views of Muslims and of Jerusalem in miracle stories, c. 1000-1200: reflections on the study of first crusaders' motivations. In *The Experience of Crusading Vol. 1: Western Approaches*, edited by Marcus Bull & Norman Housley, 13-38. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

Buc, Philippe. "Crusade and Eschatology: Holy War Fostered and Inhibited". *MIOG* 125, no. 1 (2017): 304-339.

——— *Holy War, Martyrdom and Terror: Christianity, Violence and the West*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015.

- Bysted, Ane. "Indulgences, Satisfaction and the Heart's Contrition in Twelfth-century Crusading Theology". In *Medieval History Writing and Crusading Ideology*. Edited by Tuomas Lehtonen et al. 85-94. Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society, 2005.
- . *The Crusade Indulgence: Spiritual Rewards and the Theology of the Crusades, c. 1095-1216*. Leiden: Brill, 2014.
- . "The True Year of Jubilee: Bernard of Clairvaux on Crusades and Indulgences". In *The Second Crusade: Holy War on the Periphery of Latin Christendom*, edited by Jason Roche and Janus Moller Jensen, 35-50. Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2015.
- Carleton, Diane. "The Western Attitude towards Islam during the Period of the Crusades". *Speculum* 6, no. 3 (July 1931): 329-343.
- Chazan, Robert. "Let not a Remnant or a Residue Escape: Millenarian Enthusiasm for the First Crusade". *Speculum*, Vol. 84, No. 2 (2009): 289-313
- Cole, Penny J. *The Preaching of the Crusades to the Holy Land, 1095-1270*. Cambridge, MA: The Medieval Academy of America, 1991.
- Constable, Giles. "A further note on the conquest of Lisbon in 1147". In *The Experience of Crusading Vol.1: Western Approaches*, edited by Marcus Bull and Norman Housley, 39-44. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.
- . "The Bible Moralisée and the Crusades". In *The Experience of Crusading Vol.1: Western Approaches*, edited by Marcus Bull and Norman Housley, 209-222. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.
- . "The Place of the Magdeburg Charter of 1107/1108 in the History of Eastern Germany and of the Crusades". In *Vita Religiosa im Mittelalter*, edited by Franz Felten & Nikolas Jaspert, 283-299. Berlin: Duncker & Humboldt, 1999.
- . "The Second Crusade as seen by Contemporaries". *Traditio* 9 (1953): 213-279.

- Cowdrey, H.E.J. "Christianity and the morality of warfare during the first century of crusading". In *The Experience of Crusading Vol. 1: Western Approaches*, edited by Marcus Bull & Norman Housley, 175-192. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.
- "The Peace and Truce of God in the Eleventh Century". *Past and Present* 46 (Feb. 1970): 42-67.
- de Lubac, Henri. *Medieval Exegesis: The Four Senses of Scripture I-III*. Tr. Mark Sebanc and E.M. Macierowski. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998-2009.
- Durán, Norma. *Formas de hacer la Historia: Historiografía Grecolatina y Medieval*. México DF: Adlaí Navarro García, 2001.
- Edbury, Peter & John Gordon Rowe. *William of Tyre: Historian of the Latin East*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988.
- Fletcher, R.A. "Reconquest and Crusade in Spain c. 1050-1150". *Transactions of the Royal History Society* 37 (1987): 31-47.
- Forey, Alan. "The Siege of Lisbon and the Second Crusade". *Portuguese Studies* 20 (2004): 1-13.
- France, John. *The Crusades and the Expansion of Catholic Christendom, 1000-1714*. London: Routledge, 2005.
- Frye, Northrop. *The Great Code: The Bible and Literature*. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich Publishers, 1982.
- Grabois, Aryeh. "Militia and Malitia: The Bernardine Vision of Chivalry". In *The Second Crusade and the Cistercians*, edited by Michael Gervers, 49-56. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 1992.
- Gurevich, Aaron. *Historical Anthropology of the Middle-Ages*. Oxford: Polity Press, 1992.

- Harris, Jennifer A. "The Bible and the Meaning of History". In *The Practice of the Bible in the Middle Ages*, edited by Susan Boynton & Diane Reilly, 84-104. New York: Columbia University Press, 2011.
- Harris, Jonathan. *Byzantium and the Crusades*. London: Bloomsbury, 2014.
- Kahl, Hans Dietrich. "Crusade and Eschatology as Seen by St. Bernard of Clairvaux in the Years 1146 to 1148". In *The Second Crusade and the Cisterians*, edited by Michael Gervers, 35-48. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1992.
- Kangas, Sini. "The Slaughter of the Innocents and the Depiction of Children in Twelfth and Thirteenth Century Sources of the Crusades". In *The Uses of the Bible in Crusader Sources*, edited by Elizabeth Lapina & Nicholas Morton, 74-104. Leiden, Brill, 2017.
- Katzir, Yael "The Second Crusade and the Redefinition of *Ecclesia*, *Christianitas* and Papal Coercive Power". In *The Second Crusade and the Cisterians*, edited by Michael Gervers, 3-12. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 1992.
- Kempshall, Matthew. *Rhetoric and the Writing of History*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011.
- Klaniczay, Gábor. *Holy Ruler and Blessed Princess: Dynastic Cult in Medieval Central Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.
- Lay, Stephen. "The Reconquest as Crusade in the Anonymous *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi*". *Al-Masaq: Islam and the Medieval Mediterranean* 14, no. 2 (2002): 123-130.
- Lapina, Elizabeth. "The Maccabees and the Battle of Antioch". In *Dying for the Faith, Killing for the Faith: Old-Testament Faith-Warriors (1 and 2 Maccabees) in Historical Perspective*, edited by Gabriela Signori, 147-159. Leiden: Brill, 2012.
- Lehtonen, Tuomas. "By the Help of God, Because of our Sins and by Chance: William of Tyre explains the Crusade". In *Medieval History Writing and Crusading Ideology*. Edited by Tuomas Lehtonen et al., 71-84. Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society, 2005.

- Lerner, Robert. "Medieval Millenarianism and Violence". In *Pace e Guerra Nel Basso Medioevo*, 37-52. Spoleto: Fondazione Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 2004.
- Linder, Rudi Paul. "Odo of Deuil *The Journey of Louis VII to the East: Between The Song of Roland and Joinville's Life of Saint Louis*". In *The Middle Ages in Texts and Texture: Reflections on Medieval Sources*, edited by Jason Glenn, 165-176. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2011.
- Livermore, Harold. "The 'Conquest of Lisbon' and its Author. *Portuguese Studies* 6 (1990): 1-16.
- Maier, Christoph. *Crusade Propaganda and Ideology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.
- Marsh, Robert. "Historical Interpretation and the History of Criticism", In *Literary Criticism and Historical Understanding: Selected Papers from the English Institute*, 1-24. New York: Columbia University Press, 1967.
- O'Callaghan, Jonathan. *Reconquest and Crusade in Medieval Spain*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003.
- Partner, Peter. *God of Battles: Holy Wars of Christianity and Islam*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997.
- Phillips, Jonathan. "Odo of Deuil's *De profectione Ludovici VII in Orientem* as a source for the Second Crusade". In *The Experience of Crusading*, 80-95. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.
- . "The Latin East: 1098-1291", In *The Oxford History of the Crusades*. Edited by Jonathan Riley-Smith, 111-137. Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1999.
- . *The Second Crusade: Extending the Frontiers of Christendom*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007.

- Purkis, William J. *Crusading Spirituality in the Holy Land and Iberia c. 1095-1187*. Rochester, NY: Boydell Press, 2014.
- Raulston, Stephen. "The Harmony of Staff and Sword: How Medieval Thinkers Saw Santiago Peregrino & Matamoros". *La corónica: A Journal of Medieval Hispanic Languages, Literatures, and Cultures* 36, no. 2 (Spring, 2008): 345-367.
- Riedl, Matthias. "Terrorism as 'Apocalyptic Violence': On the Meaning, and Validity of a New Analytical Category". *Social Imaginaries* 3, no. 2 (2017): 77-107.
- Riley-Smith, Jonathan. "The Crusading Movement and Historians". In *The Oxford History of the Crusades*, edited Jonathan Ryley Smith, 1-14. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999.
- . "Crusading as an act of love". In *The Crusades: The Essential Readings*, edited by Thomas Madden, 31-50. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2002.
- . *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading*. London: Continuum, 2001.
- . "The State of Mind of Crusaders to the East: 1095-1300". In *The Oxford History of the Crusades*, edited by Jonathan Riley-Smith, 68-90. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999.
- Rubenstein, Jay. *Armies of Heaven: The First Crusade and the Quest for Apocalypse*. New York: Basic Books, 2011.
- Sachar, Uri. "Visual Hermeneutics of Sacred Space in Jewish and Christian Crusade Literature". In *The Uses of the Bible in Crusader Sources*, edited by Elizabeth Lapina & Nicholas Morton, 42-62. Leiden, Brill, 2017.
- Schuster, Beate. "The Strange Pilgrimage Odo of Deuil". In *Medieval Concepts of the Past*. Edited by Gerd Althoff, Johannes Fried and Patrick Geary, 253-278. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.

- Skottki, Kristin. “‘Until the Full Number of the Gentiles has come in’: Exegesis and Prophecy in St. Bernard’s Crusade-Related Writings”. In *The Uses of the Bible in Crusader Sources*, edited by Elizabeth Lapina & Nicholas Morton, 236-272. Leiden, Brill, 2017.
- Smalley, Beryl. *Historians in the Middle Ages*. New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1974.
- Smith, Katherine Allen. “The Crusader Conquest of Jerusalem and Christ’s Cleansing of the Temple”, in *The Uses of the Bible in Crusader Sources*. Edited by Elizabeth Lapina & Nicholas Morton, 19-41. Leiden, Brill, 2017.
- Sommerfeldt, John. “The Bernardine Reform and the Crusading Spirit”. *The Catholic Historical Review* 86, no. 4 (October 2000): 567-578.
- Spacey, Beth. “The Celestial Knight: Evoking the First Crusade in Odo of Deuil’s *De profectione Ludovici VII in Orientem* and in the Anonymous *Historia de Expeditione Friderici Imperatoris*”. *Essays in Medieval Studies* 31 (2015): 65-82.
- Spiegel, Gabrielle. “History, Historicism and the Social Logic of the Text in the Middle-Ages”. In *Speculum* 65, no. 1 (Jan 1990): 59-86.
- Stark, Rodney. *God’s Battalions: The Case for the Crusades*. New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 2009.
- Tessera, Miriam Rita. “The Use of the Bible in Twelfth-Century Papal Letters to Outremer”. In *The Uses of the Bible in Crusader Sources*, edited by Elizabeth Lapina & Nicholas Morton, 179-205. Leiden, Brill, 2017.
- Tyerman, Christopher, *Las Guerras de Dios: una nueva historia de las cruzadas*. Tr. Cecilia Belza et al. Barcelona: Crítica, 2007.
- . *Cómo organizar una Cruzada*. Tr. Tomás Fernández & Beatriz Eguibar. Barcelona: Crítica, 2016.
- . *The Debate on the Crusades*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011.

——— *The Invention of the Crusades*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 1998.

van Liere, Frans. “Biblical Exegesis through the Twelfth Century”. In *The Practice of the Bible in the Middle Ages*, edited by Susan Boynton & Diane Reilly, 157-178. New York: Columbia University Press, 2011.

Wagner, Maria Ruby. “The Impact of the Second Crusade on the Angelology and Eschatology of Saint Bernard of Clairvaux”, *Journal of Religious Studies* 37, no. 1 (September 2013): 322-340.

Whalen, Brett Edward. *Dominion of God: Christendom and Apocalypse in the Middle Ages*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2009.

Wilson, Jonathan. “Enigma of the *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi*”. *Journal of Medieval Iberian Studies* 9, no. 1 (2017): 99-129.

Appendices

Appendix A: Biblical references in the narratives sources.

The following are the references to scripture as identified by the editors of both sources. The references can be literal, paraphrases or rewordings of Scripture.

De profectione Ludovici VII in orientem

Reference	Page	Context	Quote (as it appears in the source)
Romans 7:18	3	Letter to abbot Suger.	"...some facts about the crusade, yet <i>I cannot...</i> "
Luke 14:27; John 19:17	7	Louis VII takes the cross at Vézelay.	"...Louis, son of King Louis, in order <i>to be worthy of Christ, undertook to follow Him by bearing His cross</i> on Easter in Vézelay..."
Psalms 19:10	9	Emissaries come back from Rome with the pope's letters.	"They were received gladly and sent home glad, bearing <i>letters sweeter than any honeycomb...</i>
Matthew 11:30	9	Emissaries come back from Rome with the pope's letters.	"...which promised <i>those taking the easy yoke of Christ</i> the remission of all sins..."
Revelation 20:15	11	Louis sends messengers to Constantinople.	"Also King Louis sent other messengers to the Emperor of Constantinople, whose name I ignore because it is not recorded in <i>'the book of life'</i> ".
Proverbs 21:30	15	Odo describes the Greeks.	" <i>But because mortal wisdom and prudence do not exist against God,</i> they who were destined to die chose the route through Greece".
Luke 22:38	15	Louis VII designates of the regents of the Kingdom.	"... as they were returning, led by the holy abbot, the latter said, ' <i>Behold, here are the two swords; it is enough,</i> ' pointing out you, Father Suger, and the count of Nevers".

Matthew 11:30	15	Louis VII designates of the regents of the Kingdom.	“Then on you alone was placed the burden assigned to both, and you bore it in unruffled peace and felt <i>that it was the easy burden of Christ</i> ”.
Ecclesiastes 4:12	21	Louis VII designates of the regents of the Kingdom.	“(Count Raul) was added as the third administrator, lest you two should lack a temporal sword, so that ‘ <i>a threefold cord should not be quickly broken</i> ’”.
Psalms 26:8	57	Odo describes an Orthodox church.	“ <i>O Lord, I have cherished the beauty of Thy house...</i> ”
Psalms 58:4	77	Odo describes Emperor Manuel.	“...and with wise and gentle eloquence the bishop would have rendered the emperor tractable if that serpent could have been charmed by anyone; <i>but, deaf and swollen with poison as an adder</i> , he had changed from the man whom they had seen before...”
Hebrews 9:10	93	Odo describes the retreat of the German soldiers in Asia Minor.	“...the Germans did what they usually do not; condemning the retreat, but agreeing to it, <i>since the time called for reformation</i> , they therefor did what they could, they wished what they ought.”
Joel 1:4	97	Odo describes the Greeks.	“...the Greeks despoiled daily life and possessions, <i>‘just as the locust consumes what the wingless locust has left</i> ’”.
Psalms 23:5	105	Emperor Conrad gives a speech before King Louis.	“Knowing this, the emperor made a speech before the king and barons in which, perhaps unwittingly, he <i>gave us to drink the cup running over</i> , his own misfortune”.
II Corinthians 11:26	133	Odo describes the hardships of the Franks.	“...like Paul’s, to be tried <i>‘in perils in the sea, in perils in the wilderness, in perils by the Heathen, and in perils among false brethren</i> ’”.
Revelation 21,6, 13	143	Odo describes King	“...for he always took communion before he went to attack the

		Louis' piety.	enemy forces and on his return requested vespers and compline, <i>in such a wise always making God the alpha and omega of his deeds</i> ".
--	--	---------------	--

De expugnatione Lyxbonensi

Exodus 21:24	57	The army establishes internal laws.	"...and, furthermore, they sanctioned very strict laws, as, for example, <i>a life for a life and a tooth for a tooth</i> ".
Psalms 33:12	71	Bishop Peter gives a sermon at Porto.	" <i>Blessed is the nation whose God is the Lord, and the people whom he hath chosen for his own inheritance</i> ".
John 20:29	71	Bishop Peter gives a sermon at Porto.	"And deservedly is the truth of that highest beatitude in you, in which it is said, ' <i>Blessed are they that have not seen me and yet have believed</i> '".
Matthew 19:16-22; Mark 10: 17-22; Luke 18: 18-23	71	Bishop Peter gives a sermon at Porto.	' <i>Go and sell all</i> ', etc. Wieghe carefully what follows: ' <i>He was sad, for he had great possessions</i> '".
Psalms 118:23	73	Bishop Peter gives a sermon at Porto.	"Verily, ' <i>this is the Lord's doing, and it is marvelous to our eyes</i> '".
Hebrews 13:13	73	Bishop Peter gives a sermon at Porto.	"Verily, dear brothers, you have gone forth without <i>the camp bearing reproach of the cross</i> ..."
Isaiah 55:6	73	Bishop Peter gives a sermon at Porto.	"... <i>you are seeking God while he may be found</i> ..."
Luke 8:5, 11	73	Bishop Peter gives a sermon at Porto.	"' <i>The seed is the word of God</i> '. The word of God is God.
II Corinthians 9:10	73	Bishop Peter gives a sermon at Porto.	"And may the good God ' <i>increase the fruits of your righteousness</i> '".
Isaiah 1:16	73	Bishop Peter gives a sermon at Porto.	"Take care lest you wander away again after your own lusts. ' <i>Put away the evil of your doings</i> '

			from your midst.
Proverbs 14:30	75	Bishop Peter gives a sermon at Porto.	“Hence it is written, <i>‘A sound heart is the life of the flesh, but envy the rottenness of the bones’</i> ”.
II Kings 10:25	77	Bishop Peter gives a sermon at Porto.	“We believe it has already become well nough known in the countries from which you come that through the presence of the Moors and Moabites divine vengeance has smitten all Spain <i>with the edge of the sword...</i> ”.
Psalms 149:7	79	Bishop Peter gives a sermon at Porto.	<i>“Execute vengeance upon the heathen and punishments upon the people”</i> .
Matthew 15:5	79	Bishop Peter gives a sermon at Porto.	“As worthy sons, look not to the shame of a father nor say to a mother, <i>‘It is a gift by whatsoever thou mightiest be profited by me’</i> ”.
Matthew 26:52	81	Bishop Peter gives a sermon at Porto.	<i>“He that strikes with the sword shall perish with the sword...”</i>
Psalms 106:31	81	Bishop Peter gives a sermon at Porto.	“Phineas killed a man, <i>‘and it was counted unto him for righteousness’</i> ”.
Deuteronomy 13:6	83	Bishop Peter gives a sermon at Porto.	“Whence it is said in the Law, <i>‘If thy brother and thy friend and the wife of thy bosom wish to pervert thee from the truth, let thy hand be upon them and shed their blood’</i> ”.
Romans 6:19	83	Bishop Peter gives a sermon at Porto.	<i>“As ye have yielded your members servants to uncleanness unto iniquity, even so now yield your members’, etc.”</i>
Deuteronomy 32:30	85	Bishop Peter gives a sermon at Porto.	<i>“How one should chase a thousand and two put ten thousand to flight...”</i>
Leviticus 26:8	85	Bishop Peter gives a sermon at Porto.	<i>“Five of you shall chase a hundred, and a hundred of you shall put ten thousand to flight; and your enemies shall fall before</i>

			<i>you by the sword”.</i>
Romans 1:26	133	Siege of Lisbon	<i>“For God had given them up, as we afterwards perceived, unto vile affections”.</i>
Romans 13:7	147	A priest gives a sermon before the final assault.	<i>“St Paul, the teacher of the gentiles, point the way –the text in which he says to the Romans, ‘Render to all their dues, honor to whom honor [is due]’”.</i>
Matthew 26:27; 27:29-30; Mark 14:65; 15:17-19	149	A priest gives a sermon before the final assault.	<i>“...if you have trampled upon righteousness, you are like those who buffeted Christ, spat in his face, smote his head with a reed, and put a crown of thorns upon his head”.</i>
Malachi 1:7-8	149	A priest gives a sermon before the final assault.	<i>“Hear that prophet Malachi has said about you: ‘In that ye have brought to the altar polluted bread and stolen food and that ye have made as your votive offerings to God, the king of all, things that, if ye had offered them to your princes, they would surely not have received them’”.</i>
I Corinthians 3:19	149	A priest gives a sermon before the final assault.	<i>“It is folly and perfect nonsense for a man to think of deceiving God in any manner. ‘For the wisdom of this world is foolishness with God’”.</i>
Wisdom 1:4	149	A priest gives a sermon before the final assault.	<i>“But because it is said, ‘Wisdom will not enter into a soul that deviseth evil...’”</i>
James 3:15, 17	149	A priest gives a sermon before the final assault.	<i>“Brothers, as the apostle teaches, seek that wisdom which is above, not which is on the earth”.</i>
Ecclesiasticus 10:15	151	A priest gives a sermon before the final assault.	<i>“At this point enters pride, the beginning of all sin...”</i>
Ecclesiasticus 10:14	151	A priest gives a sermon before the final assault.	<i>“...the beginning of man’s pride is to apostatize from God.”</i>

Psalms 25:7	153	A priest gives a sermon before the final assault.	“Let the ignorant, if through repentance he comes to his senses and recognizes his fault, pray with tears and groans, and say with the prophet, <i>‘Remember not the sins of my youth nor my ignorances’</i> [sic]...”
I Timothy 1:13	153	A priest gives a sermon before the final assault.	“...in order that afterwards he may deserve to add with the apostle, <i>‘I obtained mercy because I did it ignorantly’</i> ”.
Matthew 3:8; Luke 3:8	153	A priest gives a sermon before the final assault.	“Let the neglectful with all diligence bring forth <i>‘fruits meet for repentance’</i> ...”
Psalms 62:10	153	A priest gives a sermon before the final assault.	“Brothers, <i>‘trust not in oppression, and become not vain in robbery’</i> ...”
Psalms 37:3-4	155	A priest gives a sermon before the final assault.	“... <i>‘trust in the Lord, and he shall give thee the desires of thine heart’</i> ”.
Philippians 1:21	157	A priest gives a sermon before the final assault.	“Here, therefore, <i>to live is glory and to dies is gain</i> ”.
Romans 8:35, 38-39	157	A priest gives a sermon before the final assault.	“I am persuaded that <i>neither famine nor the sword or tribulation nor distress shall separate us from Christ</i> ”.
Romans 9:3	159	A priest gives a sermon before the final assault.	“Beyond piety, so to say, for the sake of piety, he wishes to be done, <i>while he wishes himself accursed from Christ</i> , only that these shall be saved”.
Psalms 113:7	159	A priest gives a sermon before the final assault.	“... <i>who raiseth up the poor out of the dust and lifteth the needy out of the dunghill</i> ...”
Psalms 78:70	159	A priest gives a sermon before the final assault.	“...who <i>‘chose David his servant and took him from the sheepfolds’</i> ...”
Zechariah 11:15	159	A priest gives a sermon before the	“...may he so control us who lead that we may rule over his flock with discipline and not <i>with the</i>

		final assault.	<i>instruments of a foolish shepherd."</i>
Isaiah 30:28, 29	183	The Muslims turn to the Virgin after they are hit by a plague.	"And what else could occur to us as we wondered at these things than that prophecy of Isaiah was happily being fulfilled in us in which it is said, ' <i>And the bridle of error that was in the jaws of the people was turned into the song of a solemnity that was kept?</i> '".
Romans 9:18	185	Raol reflects on the successful siege.	" <i>For God hardeneth whom he will, and on whom he will he hath mercy</i> ".
Job 34:29	185	Raol prays for the Muslims.	"As it is said in Job, ' <i>When he giveth quietness, who then can make trouble? And when he hideth his face, who then can behold him?</i> '".
Matthew 11:25	185	Raol prays for the Muslims.	"In the Gospel when a subject of this sort was under discussion, the Lord said, ' <i>I thank thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth, that thou didst hide these things from the wise and understanding, and didst reveal them unto babes</i> '".
Matthew 11:26	185	Raol prays for the Muslims.	"And presently, adding a certain explanation of the hiding and revealing, he said, ' <i>Yea Father, for so it was well-pleasing in thy sight</i> '".
I Chronicles 21:15	185	Raol prays for the Muslims.	"...and with fear and anguish of spirit let us say unto God, ' <i>Spare now Lord, spare the work of thine hands. Lord, let the works of thy wrath be still. Lord, 'it is enough, stay now thine hand</i> '".
John 17:3	185	Raol prays for the Muslims.	"But rather, if it be possible, let their sorrow be turned into joy, ' <i>in order that they may know thee, the only living true God, and Jesus Christ, whom thou hast sent</i> ', even thy Son, who liveth and reigneth for ever and ever.

			Amen”.
--	--	--	--------

Appendix B: Supernatural interventions in the narratives

The following records the events that were either miraculous or that the authors interpret as being motivated by God.

De profectione Ludovici VII in orientem

Page	Event	Quote (as it appears in the source)
11	Bernard of Clairvaux makes several miracles during his preaching at Vézelay.	“I refrain from describing the miracles which occurred there at that time, by reason of which it appeared that the undertaking had pleased the Lord, for fear, if I write of only a few, it will not be believed that there were more, and lest, if I write many, I seem to have abandoned my theme”.
47	Many are healed at the tomb of Bishop Alvisus at Philopolis.	“I must tell you that I myself really saw sufferers from fever sleeping first beneath the bier and the, after the burial, above the grave and later thanking God and the deceased bishop for their cure”.
49	The flooding of the River Melas punishes the sins of the German crusaders. Although Odo does not make explicit the claim that it was a divine punishment, later authors like Otto of Freising and Hemold of Bosau argued that such was the case.	“Then, while he (Emperor Conrad) was encamped there for the night, there broke above them, we have heard, a rain which was really moderate, but which formed such a huge flood in the mountains tat it ravages rather than sprinkled them, for the swift, swollen flood seizing and rolling together in its course the tents and whatever they contained, cast them into the neighboring sea and drowned many thousands of the men”.
83	The sun appears in the sky, but only half of it gives light, signaling the annihilation of the German army at the hands of the Turks after being betrayed by the Greeks.	“On that day the sun saw a crime which it could not endure, but, so that this crime should not seem equal to the betrayal of the Lord, half of the sun gave light to the world and only half hid itself. Thus, when the army was proceeding without the king and saw the sun shaped like a half loaf of bread for most of the day, it feared that the king, who above all others shone faith, glowed with charity, and attained celestial heights because of hope, had been deprived of some part of his light by the treachery of the Greeks. But something else, equally lamentable, happened; for the German emperor, betrayed and secretly abandoned in narrow mountain passes by his guide, had been forced to withdraw after

		many thousands had been killed by the Turkish arrows, as we shall record hereafter”.
105	The Franks cross three rivers which immediately flood after they reach the other side.	“I should not omit the fact that on this journey, to the amazement of the natives, we had crossed three rivers with ease and that immediately after we crossed each had been flooded with rain. Therefore it was considered miraculous that, contrary to the ordinary course of events, the rains and the winter had spared us”.
109	God releases a storm in order to grant the Franks good weather for a while.	“Then, while we were intent upon resting and praising the Lord, the darkened sky, as if wishing to be cleansed by divine agency before we advanced (for by the will of God the weather thereafter was not unpleasantly cold or cloudy and rainy until we came to Adalia), loosed heavy rains, which made the streams in the valley overflow and the mountains grow white with snow”.
113	A celestial knight helps the crusaders fight the Turks.	“Actually there were people who said that they had seen ahead of us at the ford a certain white-clad knight, whom they had not seen before or since, and that he had struck the first blows in the battle”.
141	God curses the town of Adalia for their betrayal of the crusaders,	“Now God, cursing the town of Adalia, smote its people so severely with sudden death that many houses there remained empty, and the living, stunned and fearful, planned to leave it altogether”.

De expugnatione Lyxbonensi

61	God save the crusaders from a potential shipwreck, several miracles take place.	“Accordingly, through all the night of Ascension divine mercy was present as companion and protector of our men in travail, to the end that they might be corrected by chastisement but not delivered unto death... Thus it happened that divine grace passed no one by, and, indeed, that everyone congratulated himself upon receiving the singular privilege of a heavenly favor to such an extent that it would be tedious to relate in detail the divine miracles which ere revealed in visions”.
65	There is a prophecy regarding a bridge that foretold the	“Hence they relate the prophecy of a certain aged man of that people that when the arches of the

	coming of the crusaders and the defeat of the Muslims.	bridge should emerge, the destruction of the heathen and the end of idolatry in Spain would be at hand”.
69	An apparently miraculous bay heal the sick at Porto.	“The port contains a beach of salubrious sands on the south, extending from the first rock within the entrance to another rock farther up ad having extreme breadth of twelve paces at low tide. The sick are enveloped in these sands until the sea comes in with the rising tide and washes the off, and so they are healed. And the bishop there testified that his predecessor had thus been cured of a black and blue spot resembling leprosy”.
89	A battle between white and black clouds admonishes the victory of the crusaders.	“As we were entering the port a wonderful portent appeared to us in the air. For behold, great white clouds coming along with us from the direction of the Gauls were seen to encounter other great clouds bespattered with blackness coming from the mainland. Like ordered lines of battle with left wings locked together they collided with a marvelous impact, some in the manner of skirmishes attacking on right and left and then springing back into line, some encircling others in order to find a way through, some going right through the others and reducing them to a void like vapor, some being pressed downwards and now almost touching the water, others being lifted upwards and now borne from view in the firmament. When at last the great cloud coming from our direction and carrying with it all the impurity of the air, so that all the others which were peered as purest azure, pressed back all the others which were coming from the direction of the mainland, and, as a victress driving the booty before her, held all alone the mastery of the air, and all the others had either been reduced to nothing, or, towards the city, we all shouted, ‘Behold, our cloud has conquered! Behold, God is with us! The power of our enemies is destroyed! They are confounded for the Lord has put them to flight!’”.
129	The crusaders are victorious in their first battle.	“But now night interrupted the conflict, when the suburb had been captured not without an evident miracle in that some three thousand armed men took a town of fifteen thousand families which was hedged about with so many obstacles”.

133	The crusaders build a church where two persons had been miraculously healed.	“Meanwhile two churches were built by the Franks for the burial of the dead –one on the eastern side of the city by the men of Cologne and the Flemings, on a spot where two persons who were mute from their birth had with God’s aid received their speech...”
135	The Eucharist turns to flesh and blood.	“While all were intent upon these enterprises, a portent appeared among the Flemings. For on a Sunday after the completion of mass, a priest observed that the blessed bread was bloody, and, when he directed that it be purged with a knife, it was found to be as permeated with blood as flesh which can never be cut without bleeding”.
147	A priest, possibly Raol, with a relic of the True Cross gives a sermon.	“Accordingly, after a prayer and the sprinkling of holy water, a certain priest, holding a bit of the sacred wood of the cross in his hands, preached the following sermon”.
163	God protects the crusaders’ siege engines.	“So the engine was defended through the night by a prodigious effort, very few men being wounded, thanks to the protection of God, but the greater part of the Moors being cut to pieces in hand-to-hand or distant combat”.
167	Satan sows discord among the crusaders and the Holy Spirit reestablishes concord.	“Then the Old enemy, now finally about to be despoiled of his former rights, growled and was consumed with rage. He roiled the vials of his wickedness against all and through all; and the poison of his malice so far prevailed that amid repeated dissensions not one, or hardly one, agreed with another through the day. Indeed, when we were now almost at the entrance of the gates concord would have been broken had not our God interposed the right hand of his propitiation. But from the beginning of our association he always exercised the clemency of his goodness towards us, so that when from many and uncontrollable causes of discord even our leader in desperation lost control of their tempers, then at last the breath of the Holy Spirit, as it were, repelling the chill of a misty cloud by a certain gleam of the noonday sun, reestablished the grateful bond of returning concord”.
179	Food that had been inconsumable before the city fell became edible once the crusaders captured it. A	“Then we learned of a very wonderful miracle, namely, that for a fortnight before the capture of the city the victuals of the enemy became inedible on account of an intolerable stench,

	considerable amount of food miraculously appear after the city had been sacked.	although afterwards they tasted agreeable and acceptable both to us and them. And when the city had been ransacked, we found in the cellars as much as eight thousand seams of wheat and barley, and twelve thousand sextars of oil”.
181	The Moors are stricken by a plague that turns them to worship the Virgin Mary.	“Then there followed such a pestilence among the Moors that throughout the desert wastes, in vineyards, in villages and squares, and among the ruins of houses unnumbered thousands of corpses lay exposed to birds and beasts; and living men resembling bloodless beings went about the earth, and, grasping the symbol of the cross, they kissed it as suppliants and declared that Mary the Mother of God was good, so that in all their acts and speeches, even when they already <i>in extremis</i> , they interspersed the words <i>Marian bona, bona Maria</i> , and cried out pitifully. And what else could occur to us as we wondered at these things than that the prophecy of Isaiah was happily being fulfilled in us in which it is said, ‘And the bridle of error that was in the jaws of the people was turned into the song of solemnity that was kept?’”.
183	Raol confesses that the siege had been successful because of God.	“For our God has delivered the enemies of the cross into our hands. And divine vengeance has been pressed upon them with such severity that, as we see the city in ruins and the castle overthrown the field depopulated, the land reduced to solitude, with no inhabitants in the fields, and as we behold their mourning and lamentations, we are inclined to feel pity for them in their vicissitudes and evil fortunes and to suffer with them on account of their infirmities and to feel sorry that the lashings of divine justice are not yet at an end; and particularly are we moved to sorrow because not even among us Christians have sins been corrected amid the scourging of this action. There is a necessity for both sorrow and rejoicing. For when the omnipotent God strikes down sinners, whoever they be one must grieve for the sufferings of the perishing yet rejoice at the justice of the judge”,